

Soft Power

In The Context Of South Korea

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Abstract

According to Joseph S. Nye, soft power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants by attracting and seducing others. Ever since he coined the term “soft power” and developed its concept in the late 1980s, it has become a popular concept both in the academic and the policy world. Yet, the concept of soft power has evolved little in terms of theory, and its historical applications have been restricted to the analysis of US foreign policy. In this sense, it can be stated that soft power wielded by other countries beyond the USA requires a rigorous scholarly treatment in order to develop the notion further.

In recent years, South Korea has been becoming one of the influential soft powers by attracting others through its culture. Responding to the recent emergence of South Korea’s soft power, this thesis will purport to evaluate the existing circumstance of South Korea’s soft power in the case of its higher education. The research question will be to answer how South Korea have produced their soft power through its tertiary education, and from its experience, what kinds of foreign policy implications and practices worthy to be learnt by other states can be revealed from its practical achievements in the East Asian region. Subsequently, it can be concluded that South Korea will intervene the major competition for soft power in East Asia between the USA and China by the attempts of South Korea to expand its soft power.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN - Association of Southeast Asian Nations

ARF - ASEAN Regional Forum

CPC - Communist Party of China

EAS - East Asian Summit

FDI - Foreign Direct Investment

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GNI - Gross National Income

KOICA - Korea International Cooperation Agency

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

ODA - Official Development Assistance

OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PKO - Peacekeeping Operation

PPP - Purchasing Power Parity

ROK - Republic of Korea

INTRODUCTION

According to Joseph S. Nye, soft power is “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants”¹ by attracting and seducing others. Ever since he coined the term “soft power” and developed its concept in the late 1980s, it has become a popular concept both in the academic and the policy world. Although the concept “soft power” is relatively new in the academic circuit, historically, the great powers that had exercised their influence on a global scale such as Britain, France, German and Spain never neglected the importance of soft power, and paid much more attention to it by using different types of resources and tools. The 20th century witnessed a fierce competition between two superpowers, namely the USA and the Soviet Union, for wielding soft power over the world. With the growing impact of the processes of interdependence and globalization in recent years, the international arena has changed to a less brutal one than ever. Since relying on sticks and carrots in foreign policy has generated considerable cost due to ongoing changes in world politics, the importance and application of soft power has been elevated in recent days. Yet, the concept of soft power has evolved little in terms of theory, and its historical applications have been restricted to the analysis of US foreign policy², despite the scant attention to Japan’s soft power and the recent boom of literature on China’s soft power. In this sense, it can be stated that soft power wielded by other countries beyond the USA requires a rigorous scholarly treatment in order to develop the notion further.

South Korea is one of countries that exercise strong “hard power”, and ranks 9th in terms of hard power³. It has the world’s sixth largest number of active troops, the world’s second largest number of reserve troops and the eleventh largest defense budget, largely due

¹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 2

² Giulio M., Gallarotti, "Soft Power: What it is, Why it's Important, and the Conditions Under Which it Can Be Effectively Used" *Division II Faculty Publications*. Paper 57 [2011]

³ Joseph S. Nye Jr., “South Korea’s growing soft power” [Nov 10, 2009] <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/nye76/English> [accessed May 10, 2011]

to the long-term problematic relations with North Korea which is one of the two divided Korean nations resulting from the Korean War between 1950 and 1953. Its geographical location neighboring three giant states such as China, Russia and Japan also contribute to develop strong army that can defend it. Economically, South Korea is one of “four Asian tigers” that are highly developed economies, and its economic success based on export-orient economy is known as the “Miracle of Han River”. Today, South Korea has grown the 13th largest economy in the world from one of the poorest countries, and joined OECD and G-20.

In recent years, South Korea has been becoming one of the influential soft powers in a way of attracting others through its culture, competing with other experienced actors in soft power such as the USA, Japan and China in the international arena particularly in East Asia. Although as an emerging competitor in soft power, the South Korean policy practice in this field has been attracting the attention of many researchers, they are mostly dealing with its cultural aspect, the phenomenon entitled “Korean wave” referring to the increased popularity of Korean culture around the world. Yet, culture is just one aspect of soft power, and in Nye’s words, it consists of cultural and political values and foreign policies that other countries see as legitimate and having moral authority. Therefore, it is significant to study other aspects of Korean soft power such as a higher education that affects the minds and hearts of people in not immediate, but in-depth ways. Moreover, in terms of its growing cultural influence over East Asia and “even the rest of the globe”⁴, South Korea is an interesting case which is especially worthy of notice, since it demonstrates the success of non-western values and culture in the current world dominated by Western values and lifestyles.

My research goal in this thesis is to reveal and evaluate the existing circumstance of South Korea’s soft power in the case of its higher education. Considering this gap in existing literature resulting from the lack of the comprehensive books and research of the South

⁴ David C. Kang, “Status and Leadership on the Korean Peninsula”, *Foreign Policy Institute* [Fall 2010]: 550

Korea's soft power, the thesis will look into its practices to exercise soft power in terms of higher education in comparison with other potential competitors in East Asia where it operates. Taking into account the other states' practices, the thesis will purport to answer how South Korea have produced their soft power through its tertiary education, and from its experience, what kinds of foreign policy implications and practices worthy to be learnt by other states can be revealed from its practical achievements in the East Asian region.

The thesis proceeds in four parts. First, I examine the main concept of soft power and the core ideas of the existing literature on it. Second, I analyze the background of soft power in the East Asian region and identify the how main actors exercise three main sources of soft power: culture, domestic political values, and foreign policies, since Nye points out that soft power of a country primarily depends on them⁵. Third, soft power projected by South Korea will be examined. Fourth, one aspect of South Korea's soft power which is its higher education as a source of soft power will be tackled in depth. Finally, the concluding section draws together the empirical evidence and outlines the import of findings for theory.

⁵ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 11

CHAPTER 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW

There are two main streams in the existing literature in soft power. The scholars in the first stream mostly deal with the theoretical aspects of soft power, whereas other group of scholars mainly deals with the practical aspects of soft power. Therefore, the literature review will be divided into two sections which reflect on the main streams of literature in soft power.

1.1 Theoretical aspects of soft power

As a pioneer of soft power, Joseph Nye is considered as the most important researcher in this field, and his works on this field are valuable written sources for further study, since he always clarifies and corrects the concept by giving an academic response to others' engagement of the term's usage. In his book entitled *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power* in 1990, Joseph Nye first coined the term soft power to define "the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants"⁶ by attracting and seducing others rather than using coercion or payments. In his 2004 book which is entitled *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Nye more elaborates his concept "soft power" by asking how soft power is different from hard power which relies on payment and coercion, and why it is becoming more important in the age of globalization and information technology. Nye further makes a clear cut distinction between these two sorts of power by pointing out that hard power can rest on inducements or threats, while soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others.⁷ According to him, soft power of a country primarily depends on three sources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when

⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power* [New York: Basic Books, 1990], 32

⁷ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 5

they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)⁸. By placing culture, values, and policy on equal footing, Nye accurately disentangles soft power from a common confusion that misunderstands it as a cultural attractiveness and put it into a broader sense.

After Nye introduced the term “soft power” in his 1990 book, this notion has gained a greater popularity both in the academic and the policy world. For instance, the concept of soft appears as a larger part in the 2007 volume *Power in World Politics*, which resulted from a forum, organized by the journal *Millennium* in 2005, that engaged with the concept of power in international relations⁹. A Google search for “soft power” in December 2006 increased to 67 million English-language hits from only 60,000 in August 2005¹⁰. Similarly, a Japanese-language search yielded 130,000 hits as of August 2006, compared to a mere 3,000 hits a year earlier. These numbers show that there has been an implicit dramatic increase in the usage of soft power, even though the comparison is somewhat imprecise. The search hits have covered the articles applying the soft power to topics ranging from the psychology of suicide bombing to China’s Africa policy¹¹.

There is a growing amount of literature concerning soft power based on the main principles and theoretical frameworks that Nye have laid down. In their edited book entitled *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States*, Watanabe and McConnell assess the popularity of soft power as a prominent notion arguing that Nye’s work constructed a platform for debate for both policy makers and scholars from diverse disciplines. As a consequence, Nye’s notion of soft power might be considered as an alternative to military and economic might by achieving wide currency in foreign policy. With a foreword of Joseph Nye, the collection of articles is divided into five parts written by researchers focusing on different soft power assets such as higher education, J-wave,

⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 11

⁹ Alexander Vuving, “How soft power works” *American Political Science Association* [2009]: 2

¹⁰ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], XVII

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVII

Hollywood movies, baseball, public diplomacy and civil society. Rather focusing on the theoretical aspects of Nye's notion, this book primarily aims to offer recommendations to the decision-makers in both in Japan and the United States regarding how to effectively improve soft power in the changing circumstances where other peer countries ambitiously engage in soft power as a condition of success in foreign policy. This reveals the practicality of book. Moreover, the book carefully examines how soft power works in the bilateral relations between Japan and the USA based on solid facts and figures. The editors agree on Nye's idea claiming that the concept of soft power is recently articulated, however "the behavior it denotes is as old as human history"¹². Nye mentions that soft power practice is implicitly seen in the Lao-tzu's comment arguing that "a leader is best not when people obey his commands, but when they barely know he exists"¹³. Like Nye, Watanabe and David L. Connell claim that "the art of winning hearts and minds" is not new by stating that the philosophy of the ancient Chinese strategist Sunzi rested on precisely this idea of soft power. In tracing the historical roots and applications of soft power, it can be stated that the authors enrich its literature with other resources beyond the Western ones.

Departing from Nye's approach to soft power, scholar Mingjiang Li suggests new approach in order to illustrate the growing soft power of China in recent years. He argues in his edited *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* that "soft power does not exist in the nature of certain sources of power but rather it has to be nurtured through a soft use of power"¹⁴ based on the core propositions in Nye's theoretical framework. By thoroughly analyzing Nye's work, Li evaluates that Nye makes a clear-cut distinction between how soft and hard powers are used, however, the concept of soft power still needs to be better understood and scrutinized since Nye does not draw the exact boundary between

¹² Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], IX

¹³ Ibid., IX

¹⁴ Mingjiang Li, *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* [Lexington Books, 2009], 3

hard power and soft power. According to Li, this uncertainty of soft power reveals that the new phrase has generated more confusion than clarity, and it reveals that the concept of soft power is “under-theorized,” “analytically fuzzy” and “in lack of academic refinement”¹⁵. Therefore, he suggests the behavioral approach to capture the essence of soft power rather than the resource-based approach adopted by Nye. Examining the recent increase in Chinese soft power, he justifies the behavioral approach by claiming that it would provide answers to a few empirical as well as logical puzzles that the latter one cannot explain. In other words, Li notes that soft power should be approached based on how it is used in terms of its objectives rather than associating sources with it. If culture, ideology, and values are utilized for coercion, these cannot be counted as “soft power”, even though their associating sources are “soft”. On the contrary, military and economic might can be turned into soft power, and receive a lot of admiration from other states if they are used for good will. In this sense, soft power lies in the soft use of power to nurture a state’s attraction, persuasiveness, and appeal. Li further justifies his approach on soft power based on certain examples such as culture. Although culture, for instance, is one of the potential sources that nurture soft power, it does not mean that all elements can produce attraction and appeal among other countries. Some aspects of culture may be considered as appropriate in particular countries or societies but may be completely unacceptable to others. Therefore, a state must attempt to display the good part of its culture that most countries would accept and favor, according to Li. Moreover, he argues that this behavioral approach is more appropriate and better to explain why China’s soft power has increased over the past decades.

Some other scholars argue that Nye’s conceptualizations of soft power are somehow problematic since they are ambiguous to the certain degree. For instance, these conceptualizations do not reveal how resources of power can be converted into power that

¹⁵Mingjiang Li, “Domestic Sources of China’s Soft Power Approach,” *China Security*, Vol. 5, No. 2 [2009]: 37; Ichihara, Maiko. “Making the Case for Soft Power,” *SAIS Review*, Vol. 26,

influences the actual behavior and produces favorable outcomes. In order to remedy this paucity, several attempts have been made by academic communities. Aiming at pushing Nye's analysis further, Alexander Vuving rigorously utilizes the notion of the "three faces of power" introduced by Steven Lukes and Kenneth Boulding. In his seminal book which marked a major contribution to the debates over power since Weber, Lukes identifies the "three faces of power": the power to make and implement decisions, the power to set agendas, and the power to manipulate what others think what they want. Differently from Lukes, Boulding suggests his own "three faces of power" which are the power to destroy, the power to pay and the power to bring people together by getting others to care for you, respect you, or identify with you. In comparison with Luke's and Boulding's view of power, Vuving examines how soft power works depending on what causes it and concludes that Nye's conception of power can be perceived as a "coherent view that has successfully integrated the insights of both Lukes's and Boulding's and is more comprehensive than either of two"¹⁶. Inquiring into both hard power and soft power, Pinar Bilgin and Bervian Elis evaluate in their 2008 paper that Nye's writings have gone some ways to complement realist IR by highlighting non-material forms of power that are overlooked in realist power analysis and looking at non-visible forms of power relations what Lukes refers to as the second face of power. However, Nye's conception of soft power still remains shallow, since "the limits of Nye's approach, which is characterized as "two-and-half dimensional power analysis", does not allow him to offer a theory of power that reflects upon its own moment(s) and site(s) of production and "not-so-soft" expression"¹⁷.

¹⁶ Alexander Vuving, "How soft power works" *American Political Science Association* [2009]: 18

¹⁷ Pinar Bilgin and Bervian Elis, "Hard Power, Soft Power: Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis" *Insight Turkey Vol.10, No. 2* [2008]: 14

1.2 *Practical aspects of soft power*

One of the main goals that Nye wrote these books on soft power was to give a “wake-up call” to Americans. According to the examples that Nye uses in his book, in the run-up to the Iraq War, polls showed that the United States lost an average of 30 points of support in most European countries. Levels of support were even lower in Islamic countries. Nye argues that most of those who had negative views said they blamed the policies of the Bush administration rather than America in general.¹⁸ The war in Iraq is a good example which shows that an excessive or inappropriate use of hard power can lead to the decline of a state’s soft power. In such circumstances, the USA is required to re-consider its capability of “attractiveness” by evaluating its achievements and failures. By addressing this necessity, Nye gives recommendations for architects of US foreign policy how to handle the various resources to overcome the practical problems.

Yet, this devotion of Nye, which addresses the needs to fix the sharp drop in recent years due to the US war in Iraq, allows other researchers to criticize his research as “too unilateralist”. In other words, criticisms argue that Nye’s examination of the US soft power in comparison with other actors and the presentation of its foreign policy drawbacks in most books and articles make his work too “American centered”¹⁹. In his article “Dancing alone”, Womack describes Nye as a unilateralist who sees soft power primarily in terms of making American goals more attractive. Womack charged that Nye “does not see American policy and goals as interactive with the rest of world”²⁰. Similarly, Bohas claims in an article with the subtitle “Reflection on the Shallow Concept of Soft Power” that Nye does not stress the shaping of foreign societies by non-state actors and their crucial role in American predominance. In other words, Nye’s analysis is overly state-centered in the eyes of these

¹⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 35

¹⁹ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], XXIII

²⁰ Brantly Womack, “Dancing Alone: A Hard Look at Soft Power”. *Japan Focus* [November, 2005] <http://japanfocus.org/-Brantly-Womack/1975> [accessed May 01, 2011]

scholars. Yet, a careful reading of Nye's work reveals that he acknowledges the active role of non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations, international organizations, businesses, universities, ethnic groups and religious organizations in wielding soft power. Nye also recognizes that governments cannot manage soft power to the same extent as hard power. Yet, it cannot be denied that Nye's analysis is ultimately devoted to provide the "Prince" with advice. For instance, he always reminds of the perils awaiting governments that overlook soft power. In other words, Nye not only introduces a new concept into diplomatic and political vocabulary, but also he calls on the United States to make more efficient use of its existing resources of soft power²¹.

Overly, the book written by Li is concerned soft power policies conducted by China in corresponding to its increasing influence as one of the great powers in international relations in the last few decades. Interestingly, Li's book aims to analyze the notion of soft power in the context of China based on two perspectives: domestic and external. According to the domestic discourse of China on soft power, as a country that strives for becoming one of the world powers, it can be argued that successfully exercising soft power is one of the important factors to achieve the status and influence of the world power in world politics. Preoccupied with the goal to be recognized as one of the global powers, China has been paying a considerable attention to wield soft power around the world, and this aspiration has been backed by its rapid economic development in recent years. Even though Chinese views on soft power widely vary, most of analysts agree that "its soft power has lagged behind its own hard power growth and the soft power of other major powers, particularly that of the USA"²² despite some significant achievements. Both decision-makers and intellectuals are under the process of searching for a soft power strategy to advance China's international status and image. Li concludes that "soft power is partially conceived as a tool for defensive

²¹ Pinar Bilgin and Bervian Elis, "Hard Power, Soft Power: Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis" *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 2 [2008], 10

²² Mingjiang Li, *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* [Lexington Books, 2009], 28

purposes in China's international politics and as the means to achieve various domestic goals at the moment"²³. Exploring the external discourse on China's soft power, Yongjin Zhang, one of the contributors to the book, argues that "China has built up its soft power at the expense of the United States"²⁴ concerning the growing importance of Chinese soft power in world politics. Furthermore, the external discourse on the soft power of China is richer, better conceptualized, and much more focused in comparison with the domestic one, which is fragmented and reactive with less analytical rigor.

Based on the existing literature on soft power, the next chapter will deal with the background of soft power in East Asia by examining the three main actors in the rivalry for soft power.

²³ Mingjiang Li, *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* [Lexington Books, 2009], 11

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 45

CHAPTER 2 – BACKGROUND OF SOFT POWER IN EAST ASIA

In the early twenty-first century, “Asia remains the only region of the world where all the major powers interact: the United States, Russia, China, India and Japan”²⁵. Similarly to the entire Asia, East Asia is also considered as a center where all the major powers interact, since most major powers of Asia are located there. As economic and military competition is being held among the world major powers and the regional powers, they are struggling with each other for gaining soft power advantages. In the region of East Asia, the traditional powers such as the USA and Japan are continuously seeking to preserve their soft power influence over the region, whereas the emerging powers such as China are ambitiously undertaking to get influence that can match their national economic strength and international status. In addition to their stiff competition for soft power, South Korea is emerging as one of the powerful actors in a way of attracting others through its culture, especially popular culture.

This chapter evaluates East Asia’s overall soft power in terms by examining the USA, China and Japan exercise three main sources of soft power: culture, domestic political values, and foreign policies, since Nye points out that soft power of a country primarily depends on them²⁶. In order evaluate culture as a source of soft power, both high culture “such as literature, art and education, which appeals to elites”²⁷, and popular culture, “which focuses on mass entertainment”²⁸, will be addressed. Examining domestic values will be difficult in the examples of these three countries, since these countries do not have globally disseminated domestic values such as democracy despite the United States. However, these countries share

²⁵ David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda, eds., *International relations in Asia* [Boulevard: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008], 11

²⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 11

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 11

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11

a common characteristic, which is their highly developed economy. Therefore, the national economic development of each country will be evaluated as a source of domestic policies that generate soft power. It can be explained by the fact that economic strength also produces soft power in terms of its influence on other countries by making them to emulate it, although it is understood as very much a form of hard power²⁹. In addition to the above mentioned points, the obstacles and challenges that each nation faces in terms of soft power will also be noted in this chapter.

2.1 United States

The United States is the most important player in the stiff competition for soft power in East Asia, even though it is not geographically located in the region. The United States globally exercises influential power sources that are crucial for comprising soft power, as “the world’s sole superpower in terms of economic and military capability and primary architect of the existing international order”³⁰. Nye claims that “the United States is the strongest nation in not only military and economic power but also in a third dimension which is called soft power”³¹. Moreover, Hubert Vedrine who is a former foreign minister of France states that the USA is powerful, since it can “inspire the dreams and desires of others, thanks to the mastery of global images through film and television and because, for these same reasons, large numbers of students from other countries come to the United States to finish their studies”³².

For the United States, its culture is one of the notable sources of soft power. Historically, both high and popular culture has produced significant soft power for the United States. America’s culture is universalistic, since it promotes universal values and interests

²⁹ Thomas U. Berger, “Japan in Asia: A Hard Case for Soft Power”, *Foreign Policy Institute* [Fall 2010]: 569

³⁰ Thomas U. Berger, Mike M. Mochizuki and Jitsuo Tsuvhiyama, eds., *Japan in International Politics* [Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007], 229

³¹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 33

³² Hubert Vedrine and Dominique Moisi. *France in an age of globalization* [Washington, DC: Brookings Institutions Press, 2001]

that others share. In doing so, the United States' probability of getting its desired outcomes is increased because of the relationships of attraction and duty that its culture creates. The German editor Josef Joffe argued that America's soft power was larger than its military and economic asset: "U.S culture, low-brow or high, radiates outward with an intensity last seen in the days of the Roman Empire-but with a novel twist. Rome's and Soviet Russia's cultural sway stopped exactly at their military borders. America's soft power, though, rules over an empire on which the sun never sets"³³. As one of the noteworthy examples of soft power sources, US educational system, particularly higher education system has been appealing to foreign students and scholars. Attracting students and scholars from many countries, the United States has become the largest host country for international students. Based on its world-class universities, the USA attracted over 600,000 international students in the academic year of 2009/2010, which is the largest number in the world. Furthermore, America is widely admired by the world for its well-known scholars, Noble laureates, the world leading educational institutions as well as a record of scientific discoveries. In terms of popular culture, America has successfully been wining the hearts and minds of people overseas by distributing its movies, music, television shows and books around the world. Today, the United States is far and away the world's number one exporter of films and television programs, and has more than twice as many music sales as the next-ranked Japan. Furthermore, it publishes more books than any other country³⁴.

The US economy itself produces soft power in many ways. Today, the United States is the largest economy in the world with a per capita GDP of US\$ 47,700³⁵, and produces 30 percent of total gross domestic product (GDP), when measured at market exchange rates or 21 percent at purchasing power parity (PPP) rates. Furthermore it is home of nearly half of

³³ Josef Joffe, "Who's Afraid of Mr. Big?" *The National Interest* [Summer 2001]: 43

³⁴ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 34

³⁵ The United States' economy <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html> [accessed May 20, 2011]

the top 500 global companies, and sixty-two of the top 100 global brands are American, as well as eight of the top ten business school³⁶. However, the US share of world GDP is likely to decline due to faster growth in poorer countries. The US economic model produces a greater amount of attractiveness among the developing countries. Even though it is discredited by some developing countries, the Washington Consensus based on Western liberal political economy driven by the United States, is still strong, but far from dominant in the soft power stakes. Globally, the initial ideas of economist John Williamson, later labeled as the Washington Consensus, were applied in the developing countries in mid 1990s, following the collapse of the socialist model from Soviet days. The Consensus's main ideas laid the foundations for the ten points including everything fiscal discipline to deregulation, openness to FDI and competitive exchange rates³⁷.

During the certain periods of its history, the USA foreign policy towards to the rest of world has increasingly been received a greater amount of legitimacy. One of the most prominent initiatives of US foreign policy was an idea of establishing the United Nations after WWII. By co-founding this international organization which is the most influential in the international community, the US not only contributed to the international peace and prosperity, but also greatly enhanced its soft power. Similarly, introduced in 1947, the Marshall Plan for helping to re-build European economies was one of foreign policy practices showing that the US successfully obtained appraisal from the others. The program was successful, since it was based on inclusive and far-sighted definitions of the national interests of the USA rather than the narrow and myopic one³⁸. The US' global-reach initiatives of foreign policy which call for increasing the ODA and combating HIV/AIDS have been fostering its soft power by receiving the admiration and sympathy from the other countries.

³⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 33

³⁷ Joshua Copper Ramo, "The Beijing Consensus" *The Foreign Policy Centre* [May 2004]: 29

³⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 34

Generally, US foreign policy which is consistently based on democracy and the respect of human rights, always wins the hearts and minds of people who strive for freedom.

The United States faces obstacles and challenges in terms of projecting soft power largely due to the increasing anti-Americanism around the world. In recent years, anti-Americanism has increased around the world, and the United States' soft power has faced a sharp decline due to the Bush administration's policy, especially in relation to the recent war in Iraq. For example, according to Gallup International, pluralities in 29 countries say that their view of the United States had been negatively influenced by Washington's policies³⁹. But, this decline of the US image is not the first instance ever happened. Nye argues that prior to the Iraqi war, there were four periods when American attractiveness dropped in Europe: after the 1956 Suez Canal crisis; during the "ban the bomb" movement of the late fifties and early sixties; during the Vietnam War era in the late sixties and early seventies; and during the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Germany in the early eighties⁴⁰. In these periods, the loss of attractiveness hindered US efforts to achieve its desired policy outcomes. Moreover, the American government was not able to obtain support from other countries for the Vietnam War, because it was largely opposed in Britain, France, Germany and Italy. For example, in France, Vietnam "contributed to the popular support that sustained de Gaulle's increasingly anti-NATO and anti-U.S stance."⁴¹ Learning from the prior instances of drop in soft power, US policy makers are required to renew its foreign policy toward the rest of world by reflecting the changing nature of international relations and focusing on soft power rather than hard power.

³⁹Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "The Decline of America's soft Power: Why Washington should worry" *Foreign Affairs* [May/June, 2004]: 16

⁴⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 36

⁴¹ Thomas Alan Schwartz, *Lyndon Johnson and Europe* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003], 85

2.2 Japan

Japan is a traditional competitor that has accumulated enormous experience and rich cultural heritage in the competition of wielding soft power. Its early experience on winning the hearts and minds of people in foreign countries is related to year 1873, when Tokyo spent “a full 1 percent of national budget on exhibitions of Japanese culture at National Expo in Vienna”⁴². In 1923, Japan adopted cultural diplomacy when the Diet (Parliament) created a Special Account, based largely on the country’s share of the Boxer indemnity to fund cultural activities related to China. In the same year, further legislation to establish the China Cultural Affairs Bureau within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was passed by the Diet. However, these efforts to enhance soft power in China failed in 1930s due to its occupation of Manchuria and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident which caused war between these two countries. After its WWII defeat, Japan focused on its economic development and reentry into the international community by addressing issues of reparations and normalizing diplomatic ties. The Japanese government was able to channel more sources and attention to soft power diplomacy such as establishing the Japan Foundation for global outreach, after settling some of these legacy issues, and becoming an economic superpower by the early 1970s.⁴³

Japan possesses and exercises a substantial amount of soft power through the proliferation of its culture around the world. Nye notes that “Japan has more potential soft power resources than any other Asian country”⁴⁴, especially in terms of its culture. Japan’s traditional arts, design, and cuisine have long been admired by the outside world. Japanese also takes advantage from the cultural attractiveness of its traditional spiritual disciplines such as Zen Buddhism and the martial arts⁴⁵. Although the two decade-long economic stagnation starting from 1990s tarnished Japan’s reputation for economic power, it did not

⁴² Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 20

⁴³ Peng Er Lam, “Japan’s Quest For Soft Power: Attraction and Limitation”, *East Asia* [2007]: 353

⁴⁴ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 85

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 86

erase the national's soft power resources based on its culture⁴⁶. In recent years, Japan's cultural influence has grown thanks to its cultural products that have been widely disseminated and consumed. Globally popularizing the Japanese pop culture, manga (comics) and home video games are examples of the cultural capital that Japan exercises. In particular, Japan has recently emerging as a cultural power in the East Asian region. Toys and stationary items depicting Japanese animated characters such as Pokemon, Hello Kitty and Anpan Man are ubiquitously sold in almost every country of East Asia. According to the survey conducted in 2001, the Korean comic market is dominated by Japanese comics, which accounts for 70% of market share⁴⁷. On the other hand, 30% of young people are fans of Japanese culture such as music and drama, in the case of Taiwan⁴⁸.

Certainly, Japan's economic model is an essential soft power asset. Japan is the first Asian nation that successfully became industrialized and modernized, and its economic model is widely conceived as successful by many East Asian countries including Korea, Taiwan and Indonesia. The Japanese economy took off in the 1960s, and rapidly increased with an annual growth in GDP averaging at 10.4⁴⁹ percent during that time. Since then, increasingly admiringly, the international community began to talk about that Japan would be a model for other developing countries. In other words, Japan's remarkable economic performance not only made the Japanese wealthy, but also enhanced the country's soft power by the end of the previous century⁵⁰. As opposed to China, ten other Asian smaller states such as Singapore, South Korea and Malaysia closely followed the Japan's strategy of targeting strategic industries for development, financing major projects, exporting fiercely and

⁴⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 86

⁴⁷ Kaeunghun Yoon, "The Development and Problems of Soft Power between South Korea and Japan in Study of International Relations", *Saitama Gakuen University Bulletins* []: 192

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 192

⁴⁹ Hiroko Tabuchi, 'Chinese Economic Juggernaut Is Gaining on Japan', *New York Times*, 2 October 2009 www.nytimes.com/2009/10/02/business/economy/02yen.html [accessed May 19, 2011]

⁵⁰ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power Matters in Asia." *The Japan Times*, December 5, 2005.

protecting infant industries⁵¹. Even these countries' development is defined as the flying geese pattern of economic development (with Japan as the lead goose). However, all talks of Japan as a model for other developing countries disappeared, since its economy faced prolonged stagnation after the bubble economy burst in 1991. This was also partly because of that many of the high growth Asian economies following in Japan's footsteps were at spectacular failure during the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998. Even though some scholars contend that "Japan had become a model not of emulation, but for what to avoid in managing the economy by start of the twenty-first century"⁵², Japan's economy remains powerful in terms of being one of the soft power sources that may influence the extent to which other countries seek to emulate it as a model.

In pursuit of cooperative and multilateral diplomacy, the Japanese soft power is partly derived from its foreign policy. As one of the largest aid donors, Japan gains sympathy from ODA which is considered as "one of the pillars of soft power"⁵³. According to OECD source, the total amount of Japan's ODA reached US\$ 9.6 billion or 0.19% of GNI⁵⁴ in 2008, but the Japanese government is steadily decreasing ODA, responding to its current economic situation. As a responsible member of the international community, Japan has contributed its troops to serve in the international peacekeeping by taking part in 8 peacekeeping operations such as in Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador, the Golan Heights and Timor-Leste⁵⁵. Moreover, Japan has actively been engaging in discussions for further improvements of these operations. Willing to play an active role in promoting regional cooperation, Japan proposed different schemes for the Asian regional integration in 1960s. However, these

⁵¹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 84

⁵² Thomas U. Berger, "Japan in Asia: A Hard Case For Soft Power," *Foreign Policy Institute* [Fall 2010], 572

⁵³ Peng Er Lam, "Japan's Quest For Soft Power: Attraction and Limitation", *East Asia* [2007]: 356

⁵⁴ OECD, "Aid Statistics, Donor Aid Charts" <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/42/5/44285062.gif> [accessed May 25, 2011]

⁵⁵ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Japan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations" <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/pamph2005.html> [accessed May 10, 2011]

initiatives did not obtain popular support from the other Asian countries in terms of foreign policy because of their deep suspicions regarding Japan⁵⁶.

Japan's soft power in East Asia faces obstacles and challenges of the particular historical memories. Due to its past militarism in the previous century, Japan has been portrayed by Chinese and Koreans in negative ways. Largely due to it, Japan is unlikely to truly win the hearts and minds of these countries, and the East Asian region is not a comparatively fertile ground for advancing Japanese attractiveness. In order to overcome its burden of negative historical memories, one of Japan's soft power policy goals is to create a new image of Japan. To this end, Japan is seeking to replace its past negative image with "cool", "fun" or "hip" one by promoting the production, diffusion and global consumption of manga and anime (the Japanese version of animation). In regards to China, Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Aso proposed in 2006 that manga and anime could be the way to hearts of people.⁵⁷ Japanese other pop cultural assets, especially dramas also play a crucial role to soften negative memories of wartime by creating new image of a kinder, softer Japan. Furthermore, Japanese popular culture such as pop music, drama, movie and manga, which is one of the important sources of soft power, is not only purported to bolster its image overseas, but also to promote the consumption of Japanese products. Some positive impacts on the reception of Japanese pop culture have already been observed in the East Asian countries. For example, "the early consumers of Japanese pop culture are turning out to be opinion leaders in Hong Kong, while the younger generation tends to see Japan as a source of pop culture and a posh shopping destination"⁵⁸. Moreover, Japan became the largest host

⁵⁶ Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* [Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005], 62

⁵⁷ Peng Er Lam, "Japan's Quest for Soft Power: Attraction and Limitation," *East Asia* 24 [2007]: 350

⁵⁸ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 125

country for international students in Asia, and 137, 200⁵⁹ international students were studying in Japan as of May, 2009. Out of them, more than 90 percent come from Asia, and the large majority is Chinese students.

2.3 China

Besides the United States and Japan, China is a predominant actor in this power competition. As it has been growing, China's incredible economic growth has been attracting global attention in recent years. Now, China is the second largest economy which is growing "nearly five times as quickly as Japan"⁶⁰. Due to the rapid economic development in the last few decades, China's hard power and soft power are both expected to widely increase in the foreseeable future. Based on advantages generated by economic achievements, China is likely to adopt a more assertive foreign policy towards the rest of the world in order to be recognized as one of the superpowers. China's near future goal is to emerge as a de-facto leader in Asia by playing a more active role in multilateral cooperation organizations. Its active participation in major regional organizations by including itself through the initiatives such as ASEAN plus Three (APT), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and East Asian Summit (EAS) can be regarded as its successful achievements of foreign policy towards Asia. As a consequence, the majority of the international community sees China as the future leader of Asia, but the rise of China has also triggered some concerns among them. According to the survey conducted by the Chicago Institute on Global Affairs, "strong majorities in the United States (71%), Japan (89%), and South Korea (77%) say they are either "somewhat" or "very" uncomfortable with the idea of China one day becoming the leader of Asia. In Indonesia and Vietnam, the percentages are 45 and 39, respectively"⁶¹. In order to reduce these concerns,

⁵⁹International students in Japan (statistics) http://www.g-studyinjapan.jasso.go.jp/en/modules/pico/index.php?content_id=25 [accessed May 05, 2010]

⁶⁰ Christopher B. Whitney and David Shambaugh, "Soft Power in Asia: Results of a 2008 Multinational Survey of Public Opinion", *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs* [2008]: 4

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5

China places an emphasis on “soft power” as an important power resource of its “peaceful rise”. Chinese government officials, media and scholars now discuss how to effectively develop Chinese soft power in the relations with other countries.

Conducting a successful soft power policy, China takes advantage of its culture that is perceived as unique. According to an international survey in 1999, China was regarded as a nation with a unique culture and tradition⁶². Its art, fashion, cuisine have already had a strong influence on other parts of the world. Historically, China has rich traditions to disseminate its own culture in the outside world, and especially its neighboring countries in East Asia received a lot from China in terms of culture and were inherently influenced by China for centuries. For example, North and South Korea, Japan and Vietnam adopted the Confucian culture, as well as Chinese forms of government, art and literature, and these cultural impacts still are evident among them. Through its appealing impact of culture, China has been undertaking to greatly increase its attractiveness in foreign lands by actively promoting Chinese culture. In his speech to the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 2007, President Hu Jintao highlighted that the CPC must "enhance culture as part of the soft power of our country to better guarantee the people's basic cultural rights and interests"⁶³. For the purpose of soft power policy, the Confucius Institute, which is China's equivalent to the British Council, the French Institute Alliance Francaise and the German Goethe Institute, is considered as one of the important tools of soft power⁶⁴, and was firstly established in 2004. With the purpose to promote the learning of Chinese language and culture, “there have been 322 Confucius Institutes and 369 Confucius Classrooms established in 96 countries, by end of 2010”⁶⁵.

⁶² Lai Hongyu, “China's Cultural Diplomacy: Going for Soft Power,” *EAI Background Brief* No. 308 [2006]:2

⁶³ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. “The Olympics and Chinese Soft Power” [August, 2008] http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-nye/the-olympics-and-chinese_b_120909.html [accessed May 09, 2010]

⁶⁴ Lai Hongyu, “China's Cultural Diplomacy: Going for Soft Power,” *EAI Background Brief* No. 308 [2006]:2

⁶⁵ “Confucius Institutes in the World” http://www.chinese.cn/college/en/node_1979.htm [accessed May 23, 2011]

Embracing an idea of being responsible power in the international community, China seeks to extend its attractiveness through its foreign policy. During the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998, Beijing provided funds to the countries suffering from the crisis. Even though the funds were small, this China's initiative to help its neighbors, who had serious difficulties, scored it high diplomatic points⁶⁶. Moreover, China has increased its participation in peacekeeping operations by supporting the United Nations peacekeeping missions in the various parts of the world, especially in Africa. Zheng argues that China sent out around 15,000 doctors to more than 47 African countries and treated 180 million African patients⁶⁷. Furthermore, China undertakes to use the resources derived from its high economic performance through providing developing countries with ODA, and this initiative is more visible in Africa. According to Rotberg, as the larger investor, buyer, and aid donor in a number of African countries, China has replaced European, American, and the Japanese soft power diplomacy in many countries of the sub-Sahara⁶⁸. However, it must be noted that the Chinese ODA is not sufficient in comparison with others, and for example, China contributed US\$ 1.4 billion, but it was much smaller than the average ODA of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee countries, which was US\$ 4.7 billion. Concluding foreign policy adopted by China in recent years, Nye states that under the slogan "China's peaceful rise", this soft power diplomacy helps to alleviate fears and reduce the likelihood of other countries allying to balance a rising power⁶⁹. Although China has succeeded in the competition of soft power to a certain extent, "it ranks well below the US in the estimation of most the Asians surveyed"⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ Thomas G. Moore and Dixia Yang, "Empowered and Restrained: Chinese Foreign Policy in the Age of Economic Interdependence," in David Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of the Reform, 1978-2000* [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001], chapter 7

⁶⁷ Sook-Jong Lee, "China's Soft Power: Its Limits and Potentials", EAI Issue Briefing no.7 [2009]: 2

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1

⁶⁹ Joseph S. Nye Jr., "The Rise of China's Soft Power" *Wall Street Journal Asia* [December 29, 2005] http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1499/rise_of_chinas_soft_power.html [accessed May 10, 2011]

⁷⁰ Christopher B. Whitney and David Shambaugh, "Soft Power in Asia: Results of a 2008 Multinational Survey of Public Opinion", *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs* [2008]

China's economic success is itself one of the crucial sources that can potentially provide soft power, and many developing countries have been attracted to its model of development which is known as the "Beijing Consensus". It is a specific term dubbed in 2004 by Joshua Ramo that has a key feature of having a strong state that is capable of shaping a national consensus on modernization, ensuring an overall political and macroeconomic stability, and pursuing wide-ranging domestic reforms⁷¹. Launched in the late 1970s, the reform programs focusing on the industrial, agricultural, defense, and science and technology sectors introduced by Deng Xiaoping brought an incredible economic prosperity to the people of China in the short term, and thanks to them, China has emerged as one of the great powers. At the same, China's impressive economic achievement has continuously received appraisal from the outside world, and, for many developing countries, its development model is seen as an alternative to the "Washington Consensus" driven by the USA. A growing number of developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America started to express their interests to learn from the Chinese experience, since the US development model based on free-market economy has failed to bring democracy and development in past years. In particular, "China's economic achievements serve as a good example in the eyes of many African nations"⁷² which have lost their faith in the Western prescriptions for running economy. However, it must be noted that the perspective of attractiveness shown by other developing countries to this economic model directly depends on how China tackles many social, environmental, and political challenges accompanied with its development.

There are many talks regarding the rising influence of China in terms of soft power, but many of them overlook the obstacles and challenges that China faces. As mentioned before in the case of the USA, when a country's culture includes universal values and its policies promoting values and interests that others share, it increases the probability of

⁷¹ Mingjiang Li, *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* [Lexington Books, 2009], 127

⁷² Heather Sidiropoulos, "China and Africa: Into Africa," *The World Today* 62, no. 10 [2006]

obtaining its desired outcomes. Judging by Nye's perspective, it can be argued that China lacks the universalistic values in terms of political values. China's political system is different from the one based on the Western liberal democracy, which is shared by most of the world's nations. Certainly, most of the global community is less likely to be attracted to the authoritarian China. Moreover, China is not appealing and attractive in terms of ensuring human rights, it is often accused of its human rights abuses restricting some rights such as the freedoms of speech, movements and religions of its citizens. According to the reports issued by the Amnesty International and the Freedom House, China ranks among the least free countries in the world, with an abysmal ranking⁷³. "Many non-governmental organizations that generates much of American soft power"⁷⁴ are absent in China. Even though some progress is observed, China's culture cannot produce a sufficient amount of attractiveness being competitive to the USA in terms of soft power. Its high culture elements such as universities and academic institutions are far from the level that America has reached. On the other hand, China's popular culture lacks cultural industries like Hollywood. In relation to obstacles that it faces, Nye concludes that "China still has a long way to go, just as China's economic and military power is far from matching that of the US"⁷⁵.

In sum, the above mentioned countries have relatively different sources of soft power. Despite the decline in its attractiveness due to the certain phenomenon, the USA remains the most powerful state in terms of soft power. From the examination of soft power wielded by the USA, China and Japan, it can be revealed that the USA is the most influential actor in terms of all aspects of soft power that are measured. However, it should be stated that there is a decline in terms of the attractiveness produced by the US economic model, since it has failed to bring democracy and development in many developing countries in recent years.

⁷³ Mingjiang Li, *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* [Lexington Books, 2009], 50

⁷⁴ Joseph S. Nye Jr., "The Rise of China's Soft Power" *Wall Street Journal Asia* [December 29, 2005] http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1499/rise_of_chinas_soft_power.html [accessed May 10, 2011]

⁷⁵ Ibid.,

Japan can be regarded as the second powerful actor in the competition for soft power between the countries in East Asia. Similarly to the USA, Japan has been losing the economic model's attractiveness in many developing countries, due to its prolonged economic stagnation and the failure of the high growth Asian economies following in Japan's footsteps during the Asian financial crisis. Challenging the influence exerted by the US and Japan over the East Asian region, China is rising as a new soft power. Firstly, China, who had the fastest growing economy in 2010, took over Japan's position as the world's second largest economy, and the rise of China presents a power shift from Japan to China in East Asia. This power shift can also be observed in terms of soft power. Consequently, "Japan's status deteriorated, whereas China's reputation soared"⁷⁶. It can be concluded that the major competition in East Asia for soft power would be between the USA and China in the future, due to the assertive efforts by China. Nevertheless, China still is behind the USA and Japan in terms of projecting soft power in East Asia.

⁷⁶ Yul Sohn, 'Japan's New Regionalism: China Shock, Values, and the East Asian Community', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 50, No. 3 [2010]: 504

CHAPTER 3 – SOUTH KOREA

This chapter will be devoted to addressing soft power wielded by South Korea in general. Similarly to the above mentioned countries, South Korea's soft power will be examined by how it exercises three main sources of soft power: culture, domestic political values, and foreign policies. In addition to the above mentioned points, the obstacles and challenges that South Korea faces in terms of soft power will also be noted in this chapter.

South Korea is considered as a rookie in the competition for soft power, while its influence largely resulted from its growing cultural impact on the East Asian region reveals that it is emerging as one of the promising regional powers in terms of soft power. Although South Korea ranks low compared to the USA, China and Japan in terms of military and economic strengths, "South Korea has impressive potentials of soft power"⁷⁷, as Nye points out. According to the six cross-national survey conducted by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs and the East Asia in 2008, "the perceptions of South Korea are relatively positive among the major powers, especially among Chinese"⁷⁸.

South Korea has a unique culture that produces soft power. Korea is located on the Korean Peninsula neighboring by China to the west and Japan to the east, and this geographical location affected it to develop a unique culture. While historically, the culture of Korea has been hugely influenced by China, it has been a main resource for Japan to receive Chinese culture. These three countries have exchanged people, foods, products and knowledge for more than 1000 years. Besides Buddhism introduced by China in 372, Christianity is one of the most widespread religions in South Korea, and it is also the second-

⁷⁷Joseph S. Nye Jr., "South Korea's growing soft power" [May 10, 2009] <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/nye76/English> [accessed May 10, 2011]

⁷⁸Christopher B. Whitney and David Shambaugh, "Soft Power in Asia: Results of a 2008 Multinational Survey of Public Opinion", *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs* [2008]: 21

largest missionary-sending nation. This unique cultural heritage provides opportunities to spread its cultural influence around the world. Largely influenced by Chinese culture, traditions of Korean art, crafts and cuisine have already popularized around the world. But the impacts of Korean traditional culture are relatively low compared to popular culture.

The Korean popular culture is a core of its soft power sources. In 1998, South Korea determined its cultural sector as one of the main industries for its economy in the new century⁷⁹, and is often referred to as an example of successful practices in soft power. In the recent decade, Korean pop culture has become popular among younger generations in Asia, especially in several East Asian countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia, Thailand, Vietnam and the People's Republic of China⁸⁰. This growing popularity of Korean pop culture was marked by the rise of the "Korean wave" or "Hallyu". Launching from early 2000, the "Korean wave" is the specific term for the rising popularity of South Korean culture around the world. As a transnational phenomenon, the Korean wave is often understood as the logical outgrowth of Korea's growing economic status and power in Asia⁸¹. The Korean wave has made Korea a leading exporter of music, films and television programs to Asian countries by generating a total revenue that reached 500 million US dollars in 2002 and 1 billion US dollars in 2005. Although the growing influence of Korean culture has negative effects in some countries, it is generally understood in a positive way. According to the above mentioned six cross-national survey, majorities or pluralities in every country agree that the spread of South Korean cultural influence is "mainly a good thing" (79% in China, 78% in Japan, 44% in Indonesia, and 83% in Vietnam)⁸².

⁷⁹ Mingjiang Li, *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* [Lexington Books, 2009], 33

⁸⁰ Toru Hanaki, Arvind Singhal, Min Wha Han, Do Kyun Kim and Ketan Chitnis, "Hanryu Sweeps East Asia : How Winter Sonata is Gripping Japan", *International Communication Gazette* no. 69 [2007]: 281

⁸¹ So Young Park, "Transnational Adoption, Hallyu, and the Politics of Korean Popular Culture", *Biography* 33, no. 1 [Winter 2010]: 159

⁸² Christopher B. Whitney and David Shambaugh, "Soft Power in Asia: Results of a 2008 Multinational Survey of Public Opinion", *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs* [2008]: 22

The Korean Wave is an important force for expanding the attractiveness of Korea by increasing the popularity of the Korean language. This transnational phenomenon has a lot of positive effects such as the attraction of a large number of customers in Korean restaurants, and the increase of Korean consumer products, but its role in the proliferation of Korean language among foreign audience is more critical in terms of examining soft power wielded by Korea. This can be explained by the fact that if a country's language gains a wide popularity among the other nations, it means that country is attractive in terms of culture, since language is a part of a country's culture. Due to their infatuation with Korean culture resulting from the Korean wave, the learning of Korean language among people in Asian countries has increased. For example, in Japan, "the Korean-language schools have proliferated, and the audience for NHK's Korean language instruction program has doubled in past few years"⁸³. Similarly in Singapore, the Korean Wave resulted in the demand of the acquisition and learning of the Korean language, and for example, the number of students learning Korean at Inlingua School of Language had grown by 60 percent in 2003 compared with 2001 because of the interest generated by Korean dramas⁸⁴. These numbers and facts demonstrate that Korea's attractiveness and influence have widely increased in many Asian countries.

One of the positive impacts produced by the Korean wave is to alter or improve the perceptions of South Korea. In many Asian countries, Korea takes advantages of the Korean Wave that is contended by the National Assembly Speaker of South Korea, Park Hee-tae as "the best ambassador to deeply touch the hearts of people"⁸⁵. Depicting pure love, *Winter*

⁸³ Toru Hanaki, Arvind Singhal, Min Wha Han, Do Kyun Kim and Ketan Chitnis, "Hanryu Sweeps East Asia : How Winter Sonata is Gripping Japan", *International Communication Gazette* no. 69 [2007]: 281

⁸⁴ Doobo Shim, "Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia" *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no.1 [January 2006]: 30

⁸⁵ Eun-jung Kim, "G-20 Speakers' Consultation eyes promoting cultural diplomacy", *Younapnews.co.kr*, May 12, 2011
<http://english.ynhapnews.co.kr/culturesports/2011/05/12/73/0701000000AEN20110512012100315F.HTML>
[accessed May 15, 2010]

Sonata is one of the most successful projects of Korean wave achieving an immense popularity among Asian countries, particularly in Japan. This drama helped to foster a better understanding of South Korea. Many Japanese audiences stated that their perceptions of South Koreans became quite positive after watching *Winter Sonata*. Most Japanese perceive South Korea as a country that is geographically close but psychologically far. *Winter Sonata* provided the Japanese audiences with an opportunity to take a closer look at Korea and to become more familiar with its landscapes, habits and everyday lives⁸⁶. After the 20- episode *Winter Sonata* was aired abroad, Chuncheon in Gangwon Province was once crowded with foreign tourists to see the house at which a leading actor stayed in the drama and the number of tourist reached 390,000 in 2005 in comparison with 139,000 tourists in 2003.

The Korean economic development that was achieved within only a couple of decades is one of the important resources to enhance its reputation and attractiveness around the world. After the Korean War in 1950-1953, Korea became the poorest country with per capita income of less than 100 US\$ per year, but today it has grown into the 13th largest economy in the world. Korea's choice for economic development is usually characterized by export-led industrialization. This development model is not peculiar in the East Asia, and largely indebted to the Japanese one. By adopting this strategy, Korea successfully overcame "several difficulties, such as a shortage of food, inadequate capital accumulation, low level of technologies, and high unemployment ratio"⁸⁷ faced by Korea in the early 1960s, mostly resulting from the war devastation. Today, Korea is also a leading producer of semiconductor, ship, machinery, and electronic and telecommunication products, and has been renowned by its brands produced by the manufacturing corporations such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai in the world. While Korea lacked technological capabilities for

⁸⁶ Toru Hanaki, Arvind Singhal, Min Wha Han, Do Kyun Kim and Ketan Chitnis, "Hanryu Sweeps East Asia : How Winter Sonata is Gripping Japan", *International Communication Gazette* no. 69 [2007]: 289

⁸⁷ Tamio Hattori, "Economic Development and Technology Accumulation: Experience of South Korea", *Economic and Political Weekly* 34, No. 22 [May 29 - Jun. 4, 1999]: 79

industrialization in the 1960s, it has become one of the largest producers of new technologies. Obviously, the lesson derived from the Korean experience on development is an appealing example for many developing countries.

Besides the increasing cultural influence over the region of East Asia, particular achievements of its foreign policy produce the attractiveness among the international community. With “1.80 % of average quarterly GDP growth from 1970 until 2010”⁸⁸, its economic success allows Korea to conduct a wide range of foreign policies toward the rest of world, especially developing countries in Asia. In 1991, KOICA was founded as an agency responsible exclusively for granting aid under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and started providing full-scale assistance for developing countries. The volume of Korea’s ODA has steadily grown since 1987. In 2005, the total amount of Korea’s ODA reached 752 million USD or 0.1% of the nation’s GNI, recording the largest amount ever. Korea has announced to spend 1.6 trillion won, or 0.14 percent of the country’s gross national income (GNI), to provide assistance to less developed countries in 2011⁸⁹. According to Lee, South Korea’s contribution to Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) through its engagement both in the United Nations and other multilateral military operations is more impressive. Consequently, she argues that South Korea has sent about 30,000 soldiers to 18 countries and 21 regions as part of PKO activities since it first dispatched army engineers to Somalia in 1993⁹⁰. At the same time, South Korea has extended its international engagements by participating in major multinational organizations such as ASEAN with added membership along with China and Japan. These accomplishments by made Korea are aimed to advance its attractiveness and reputation in the international political arena. Furthermore, South Korea raised its international visibility by hosting major international events such as the Olympic Games in

⁸⁸ South Korea GDP growth rate <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/Economics/GDP-Growth.aspx?Symbol=KRW> [accessed May 10, 2010]

⁸⁹Tae-hoon Lee, “Korea to double overseas emergency relief aid,” *The Korean Times* [December, 2010] http://m.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2010/12/117_77303.html [accessed May 10, 2010]

⁹⁰ Sook-Jong Lee, “South Korea’s Soft Power Diplomacy”, *EAI Issue Briefing no. 1* [2009]: 2

1988 and FIFA World Cup in 2002 (co-hosted with Japan). It also hosted G-20 Seoul Summit as well as ROK-China-Japan Trilateral Summit in 2010. The above mentioned positive measures which have been taken up by the Korean governments to bolster the Korean diplomatic soft power are perceived as important steps to enhance the range of foreign policy around the world. However, South Korea's foreign policy has not sufficiently nurtured its attractiveness among the other East Asian nations. According to the six cross-national survey, South Korea receives moderate marks for its regional diplomacy. Americans rank it in terms of its use of diplomacy to solve key problems in Asia, placing it after Japan but before China, whereas the Chinese give Korea their highest ranking when it comes to building trust and cooperation among Asian countries. The Japanese rank South Korea on all aspects of diplomacy usually ahead China, while Indonesians and Vietnamese do not rank Korea as high as the major powers in terms of diplomacy. It indicates that South Korea is relatively less powerful in terms of diplomatic soft power compared with other aspects of soft power.

The soft power projected by South Korea is enduringly undermined by obstacles and challenges resulting from soft power limitations in inter-Korean relations. While South Korea has been attracting the rest of the world through its economic development, popular culture and soft power diplomacy to a certain extent, its soft power's inability to manage problematic relations with its "poor cousin"⁹¹, North Korea, reveals some obstacles and challenges it has to settle. In terms of soft power policies to reconcile the hostile relations between the two countries, there have been a number of positive developments such as family reunion visits, limited tourism in North Korea, the Kaesong joint industrial complex, inter-Korean summits, joint participation in sports events, and frequent cultural exchanges⁹². Nevertheless, these achievements cannot earn sufficient support from its counterpart, and it demonstrates that

⁹¹ Victor Cha, "South Korea: Anchored or Adrift?", *Strategic Asia 2003-2004* [Seattle, WA: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2004]

⁹² Roger L. Janelli and Dawnhee Yim, "Soft Power, Korea and the Politics of Culture", *Institute of East Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley* [Oct 2007]:5

South Korea's soft power cannot equally affect the behavior of other countries, when it comes in relations with the countries who have different political values and ideas. In doing so, its soft power cannot be a supplementary force for hard power resting on coercion and inducement in reconciling the problematic relations with North Korea which cause the main threat to its security.

CHAPTER 4 – SOUTH KOREA’S HIGHER EDUCATION

This chapter will measure South Korea’s soft power in terms of the attractiveness created by its higher education, since Nye argues that higher education is perceived as one of the critical sources of soft power. In doing so, the chapter aims at revealing another aspect of soft power that most scholars have not examined yet. Firstly, the historical account of the relationship between higher education and soft power in general. Then, the higher educational attractiveness of Korea will be measured in relation to the above mentioned three countries through some statistical numbers and facts.

The relations between higher education and soft power haven always been recognized for all historical periods of the modern university. Since the first establishment of the present university in the medieval century, students have studied abroad and have been influenced by what they learned and experienced. Similarly, faculty members and researchers have gone abroad to spread knowledge from country to country. In doing so, medieval universities became international institutions bringing together students and faculty from different countries in Europe and operating in a single language, Latin. The medieval university served as a core immunity of power for the Catholic Church, through its strong emphasis on theology and canon law. Moreover, the church’s soft power largely depended on the Jesuit mission of spreading the faith through education. Historically, the Jesuits recognized education as a powerful force and established schools and universities around the world to spread knowledge and Roman Catholicism. Missionaries from various other Christian denominations were also actively involved in higher education overseas⁹³. Colonial administration also often found higher education as a useful accompaniment to sustaining

⁹³ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 38

their influence. The British were particularly practiced in establishing institutions on site and in sending promising students from the colonized regions back to England to study at their universities. For example, in India, the first British-style colleges and universities were established in the mid of 18th century, and students educated at these institutions provided the basis for the colonial administration for more than century. Colonial education also led to the rise of nationalist movements in many colonized countries such as India. Both Mohandas Gandhi and Jawarhalal Nehru were educated in colonial schools in India and then in England⁹⁴.

There are arguably two main impacts resulted by higher education, when it comes to be related to the foreign context. One of them is its impact to create and sustain international understanding. After completing studies, international students usually return home with their own information and knowledge on the culture of the host country. The information and knowledge obtained through personal experience helps them to have a better understanding of the host country. In doing so, peoples who have better understanding of a country tend to hold positive views and favorably support the country. In this sense, higher educational exchange plays a role in establishing of soft power infrastructure that the country may obtain the desired outcomes without using inducements or threats. Concerning higher educational exchange programs, as one of the sources to create a favorable environment for foreign policy, Nye concludes that “the millions of people who have studied in the United States over years constitute a remarkable reservoir of goodwill for our country”⁹⁵. Similarly, Secretary of State Colin Powell argued “I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future leaders who have been educated here”⁹⁶.

⁹⁴ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 39

⁹⁵ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. [New York: Public Affairs, 2004], 45

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 44

Tertiary education's importance is revealed in terms of helping people to shape their worldview. The experience of studying, either in one's own country or abroad, helps to shape one's worldview and attitudes toward society and culture. There are a number of examples showing how higher educational exchange programs influenced to shape one's worldview. The impacts of higher education on one's view are clearly understood in the examples of elites who have a strong influence on the decision-making process, since their accomplishments are not only more influential in foreign policy, but also easy to trace back through documented evidence. For instance, the educational exchange programs between the USA and the Soviet Union during the Cold War had powerful policy effects, despite the fact that the number of participants was low. In the 1950s, only 40 to 50 college and graduate students from each country were involved in these programs. However, many former students studying at US universities eventually wound up in positions where they were able to affect policy outcomes that were important to the US. Strongly influenced by his studies with the political scientist David Truman at Columbia University in 1958, Alexandar Yakolev eventually became a key liberalizing influence on the Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev after his appointment as the head of an important institute and a Politburo member⁹⁷. Regarding the importance of higher education in shaping one's attitudes and perceptions, Nye points out that "educating "elites" (or future leaders) of another country might be viewed as a direct investment in building soft power by the host country"⁹⁸.

Judging by Nye's account, the number of international students is one of the facts showing that a country's education and research content are globally attractive, since he concludes that "the presence of large numbers of international students and scholars in the

⁹⁷ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. [New York: Public Affairs, 2004]: 46

⁹⁸ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 79

United States serves as a social index of American soft power”⁹⁹. The following statistics indicate that the Republic of Korea still lags behind its competitors, namely, the USA, Japan and China, in terms of the number of international students. According to figures from the Ministry of Justice of Korea, the Republic of Korea attracted 84,000 foreign students. Out of them, 62,451 visas were issued for students seeking different degrees and 18,534 were issued for students to attend language programs. Moreover, 41,692 were studying for their bachelor degrees, 11,804 for their master’s and 3,545 for doctorate among those who had student visas. Seventy five were researchers.¹⁰⁰ In comparison with the number of the other three states, this number is relatively low. For example, the United States has the largest number of international student population, with nearly 600,000¹⁰¹ students choosing to broaden their knowledge and life experience, while China hosted more than 265,000¹⁰² foreign students from 195 countries in 2010, which is the highest number since the founding of New China in 1949. It makes China the largest host country for international students in Asia by replacing Japan which had been the Asian leader in international student enrolment until then. Even though it is no longer the leader, Japan received 141,774¹⁰³ international students as of May 1, 2010, 6.8% up on the previous year. These statistics reveal that the number of international students studying in Korea is one seventh of the students studying in the USA. This number is also one third of the international students in China and half of the international students in Japan, respectively. The disparity in the number of international students in these countries presents that South Korea is less competitive in terms of the attractiveness produced by its tertiary education. This circumstance requires South Korea to place more emphasis on the

⁹⁹ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 76

¹⁰⁰ “10,000 foreign students in Korea illegally” The Korea Herald/Asia News Network, Apr 30, 2010 <http://www.asiaone.com/News/Education/Story/A1Story20100430-213324.html> [accessed May 05, 2011]

¹⁰¹ Study in the USA, May 2, 2011, http://www.internationalstudent.com/study_usa/ [accessed May 05, 2011]

¹⁰² “China: Foreign Students Hit a Record”, The Associated Press, March 4, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/05/world/asia/05briefs-China.html> [accessed May 5, 2011]

¹⁰³ “International Students in Japan 2010” http://www.jaso.go.jp/statistics/intl_student/data10_e.html [accessed May 05, 2011]

educational sector by indicating that the internationalization of higher education is one of the national policy priorities in order to survive in the fierce competition for the rapidly expanding market of international study. In order to do so, the government of South Korea should provide incentives funds with universities for enrolling foreign students, and accelerate the activities of the government agencies responsible for the recruitment of international students. At the same time, this number suggests that South Korea is to strengthen the competitiveness of higher education program and increase its prestige in order to attract more students.

Recognizing the impacts resulted by higher education, many foreign countries place an emphasis on educational exchange programs run by themselves, and these programs are understood as a powerful instrument in the hands of policy makers to pursue national interest in a convincing, intelligent and cost-efficient manner. In order to strengthen their soft power, the governments of the above mentioned countries initiated their own the government funded scholarship programs designed to support international educational exchange programs. The United States has a historical experience of using academic exchanges and scholarship programs as an instrument to strengthen a positive American image worldwide, and US higher education played a role in the ideological struggle with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. In 1946, the US government established The Fulbright Scholarship Program in order to increase the mutual understanding between the peoples of the US and other countries through the exchange of people, knowledge and, skills. The Fulbright Program, operating in over 155 countries, is the one of the most prestigious scholarship programs, and 42 alumni have won the Nobel Prize since its inception. As of 2010, 192,800 people from foreign countries benefited from this program. To date, some 79,000 students from approximately 160 countries and regions around the world have studied in Japan under the Japanese Government (Monbukagakusho) Scholarship program established in 1954. For Korea, the

government funded scholarships are given to international students under the Global Korea Scholarship, which is a re-design of the scholarship program entitled “the Korean Government Scholarship Program”.

The amount of money allocated to the scholarship is one of the indices to present how much effort is put by the countries to promote government sponsored scholarships. The government funded scholarships available for international students serve as a critical incentive to attract international students, since obtaining higher education has not always been cheap. Funded by the US government, this program provides 8,000 grants annually to undertake graduate study, advanced research, university lecturing, and classroom teaching, and roughly 4,000 foreign students, and 900 visiting scholars receive awards. In the fiscal year of 2010, the congressional appropriation for the Fulbright Program was \$253.8 million. China is one of the countries making a huge amount of investment to promote the scholarships given to students wishing to study in China. According to agreements and programs signed by the Chinese government and the governments of other countries as well as international organizations, the Chinese government offered Chinese Education Scholarships to 34 countries in 2010¹⁰⁴. These scholarships to overseas students were worth 880 million RMB (80 million euro)¹⁰⁵. Moreover, the China Scholarship Council provided 20,000 scholarships for international students in 2010, doubling the 2007 number. For Japan, “90 percent of international students are supported neither by the Japanese government by nor home governments”¹⁰⁶. As of May 1 2010, there were 10,168¹⁰⁷ foreign students studying in Japan as Japanese government scholarship students. In 2010, the Korean government

¹⁰⁴ “China wants more foreign students to consider using its universities”, Relaxnews, September 29, 2010 <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/china-wants-more-foreign-students-to-consider-using-its-universities-2092614.html> [accessed May 05, 2011]

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁰⁶ Watanabe Yashushi and David L. McConnell, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* [M.E Sharpe Inc. 2008], 63

¹⁰⁷ “International Students in Japan 2010” http://www.jasso.go.jp/statistics/intl_student/data10_e.html [accessed May 05, 2011]

allocated up to KRW 51.5 billion won to support 2,100 new scholarship students under the Global Korea Scholarship.

Addressing the increasing demand in the international student market, other three governments have been putting considerable efforts in order to increase their soft power, except USA. According to a report, the global student market will rapidly expand in the foreseeable future. This report indicates that the number of foreign students worldwide is expected to be at about 5 million in 2015, increasing to 7 million by 2025.¹⁰⁸ Since the international movement of students at the level of higher education is expected to increase in the future, it is obvious that the world powers will compete for attracting talent from overseas in order to bolster their soft power. In particular, many Asian nations have emerged as important destinations for higher education attracting a larger number of students from within their region and from the other regions. According to goals outlined in its National Plan for Long and Medium-Term Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020), China seeks to raise the number of international students to 500,000 by 2020 in order to open up Chinese institutes of higher education to the outside world. In doing so, China is expected to be Asia's largest international destination in ten years, and possibly the number two world destination after the USA. To this end, the Ministry of Education of China is undertaking to implement policies such as easier visa access, an increase in the number of scholarships available and more English language courses.

Similarly to China, Japan also plans to increase the number of foreign students in Japan. In 2008, Japanese government announced its campaign entitled "300,000 Students Plan", which calls for an increase of the number of foreign students in Japan from the current 120,000 to 300,000 by 2020 in the hopes of improving the level of research at universities and attracting talent from overseas. The campaign aims at making a significant increase in the

¹⁰⁸ "The "300,000 Foreign Students Plan" Campaign" <http://www.studyjapan.go.jp/en/toj/toj09e.html> [accessed May 05, 2011]

number of foreign students in Japan in the next five years.¹⁰⁹ In order to reach this goal, the Japanese government plans to ease immigration procedures, increase the number of classes taught in English and promote September admissions. Furthermore, 30 universities of Japan's top universities are expected to be designed as key centers for international recruitment.

In addition, South Korea has also been striving for attracting more foreign students in recent years. According to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Korea sets a goal to increase the number of foreign students up to 100,000 by 2012. In order to improve the universities' quality and competitiveness, the Korean government allocated USD 600 million over 5 years as part of "World Class University" Project designed to assist Korean universities to develop research capacities. Within the framework of the "Brain Korea-21" project supported by the Korean government, 81 faculty members including 9 Nobel laureates will work in South Korea over the next few years. New Songdo City's Global University Campus invited 15 foreign universities to open a branch campus with financial incentives¹¹⁰.

Despite some scant support, the US government does not have a well-coordinated national strategy to enroll more international students through the long and medium term programs as the other three governments have proposed. In this regard, some policy makers have already expressed their concerns. For example, Victor C. Johnson, senior adviser for public policy at NAFSA: Association of International Educators, argues that "We don't want to wake up one day and find out that, because we have not adopted a national policy, we're no longer competitive. We need to respond before it's too late to do something"¹¹¹. Therefore,

¹⁰⁹“The "300,000 Foreign Students Plan" Campaign” <http://www.studyjapan.go.jp/en/toj/toj09e.html> [accessed May 05, 2011]

¹¹⁰ Judson C King, "The Global Competition for Talent: The Rapidly Changing Market for International Students and the Need for a Strategic Approach in the US" *Change magazine* [July/August 2009]: 3

¹¹¹ Karin Fischer, "Number of Foreign Students in U.S. Hit a New High Last Year", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Nov 16, 2009 <http://chronicle.com/article/Number-of-Foreign-Students-in/49142/> [accessed May 05, 2011]

there is no guarantee that this continued American success will remain, even though it continues to absorb the largest number of international students worldwide, since it would face vigorous competition from other competitors such as China, Japan and Korea, who have national policies to promote the “internationalization” of higher education.

In terms of higher education exchange programs, an interesting picture is revealed in the case of South Korea. With nearly 600,000, the United States remains the largest host country of international students, whereas China has emerged as Asia’s top destination of international students by replacing Japan. Japan is no longer attractive in terms of higher education, which is one of the indices of soft power, in comparison with China, but it is more appealing than Korea. It suggests that China, Japan, and Korea are not sufficiently attractive to their own students in comparison with their giant competitor. In particular, Korea is the weakest competitor if it is compared with other three countries. But, South Korea would soften its weakness through the government sponsored programs, and several measures to nurture its higher education’s attractiveness have already been taken by its government. Similarly to South Korea, China and Japan set long and medium term goals to advance their higher education’s attractiveness. As a consequence, the USA which is the most dominant would face fierce rivalry from other competitors, who have national policies to promote “internationalization” of higher education, such as China, Japan and Korea.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Nye defines soft power as an ability of get what you want through attraction rather the coercion or payments, and states that soft power rests on culture, political values and foreign policies. Although it is criticized as conceptually ill-defined or analytically fuzzy, recently the concept of soft power received much more attention from both academics and policy practitioners in the international arena. Similar to military and economic competition among them, the world major powers are struggling with each other in order to wield soft power. For their power struggle, East Asia is perceived as one of the main competition fields, since three of main powers are located in the region. As the sole superpower in world politics, the USA is a dominant player in the soft power arena thanks to its attractive global image. As it is growing further, China's role is increasing both in the soft and hard power arenas. With an enormous experience to win the hearts and minds, Japan is considered as a powerful competitor in East Asia due to its successful economy and the proliferation of popular culture. In addition to the US, Japan, China, Korea is emerging as a strong competitor for soft power based on its growing cultural influence in the recent decade.

Overall, it can be argued that the United States is the most powerful player in terms of all the aspects of soft power among the East Asian nations. After the USA, Japan ranks as the second soft power in East Asia, whereas China is the third power in terms of its attractiveness. Nevertheless, China is very close to the second, and would rank higher on some aspects of soft power. Even though it ranks below in comparison with other three countries, Korea ranks well above than Japan and China according to the certain aspects of its culture. When three main sources are separately examined, the following examinations can be demonstrated.

In terms of culture, the US's popular culture continues to remain the most powerful, while the Korean popular has emerged by challenging other powerful actors such the US and Japan. For Korea, the cultural aspect of soft power is the most prominent, and its attractiveness mainly depends on the growing cultural influence coming from the specific transnational phenomenon entitled the "Korean Wave" in the East Asia. For Japan, some aspects of its popular culture such as anime and manga remain attractive among the youths in East Asia, and the future cultural policy towards the outside world might be based on strengthening these aspects. However, it should be noted that the Japanese cultural influence in East Asia is not as influential as that of South Korea in terms of certain aspects such as music and dramas. The Chinese traditional culture still ranks well in terms of producing soft power, but its popular culture is not successful in comparison with other countries despite its ambitious initiatives proposed by the Chinese government.

In terms of domestic policies, the US economic development model is the most appealing to many developing since it is the world's largest economy, whereas the Chinese model cannot produce attractiveness as the US does, even though it is praised by some developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Japanese model is no longer appealing to the rest of the world largely due to its prolonged economic stagnation and the failure of the high growth Asian economies following in Japan's footsteps during the Asian financial crisis. Since the Korean economic development is largely indebted to the Japanese one, it cannot be attractive as the models of the US and China. In terms of foreign policy, all four countries have own advantages over the others if certain policy practices are separately evaluated. But these practices are often undermined by the obstacles and challenges that each of them faces in terms of soft power.

Each of the four countries has obstacles and challenges that they face in terms of soft power. The US soft power is largely challenged by the increasing anti-Americanism around

the world due to its recent foreign policy relying on hard power, whereas China is not an attractive country in terms of domestic policy, one of the main dimensions of soft power, because of its restriction on human rights and explicit rejection of liberal democratic values. The Japanese soft power mainly suffers from its negative image among many countries in East Asia as result of its militarism in the previous century, therefore Japan is putting considerable efforts into washing away these negative memories of the past by promoting the consumption of its cultural products. Korea is regarded by many Asian countries as less influential country in terms of diplomatic soft power, but the main obstacles and challenges arise from its inability to affect the audience of North Korea who has different political values and ideas. In doing so, its soft power cannot be a supplementary force for hard power resting on coercion and inducement in reconciling the problematic relations with North Korea which cause the main threat to its security.

In terms of higher education exchange programs, an interesting picture is revealed in the case of South Korea. With over 600,000, the United States remains the largest host country of international students, whereas China has emerged as Asia's top destination of international students by replacing Japan. Japan is no longer attractive in terms of higher education, which is one of the indices of soft power, in comparison with China, but it is more appealing than Korea. It suggests that China, Japan, and Korea are not sufficiently attractive to their own students in comparison with their giant competitor. In particular, Korea is the weakest competitor if it is compared with other three countries. But, South Korea would soften its weakness through the government sponsored programs, and several measures to nurture its higher education's attractiveness have already been taken by its government. Similarly to South Korea, China and Japan set long and medium term goals to advance their higher education's attractiveness. As a consequence, the USA which is the most dominant

would face fierce rivalry from other competitors, who have national policies to promote “internationalization” of higher education, such as China, Japan and Korea.

In sum, it can be noted that the major competition for soft power in East Asia would be between USA and China due to the assertive efforts by China. Nevertheless, this competition would be intervened by the efforts of Japan to preserve its existing influence and the attempts of South Korea to expand its soft power in the region.

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