South Korean Government Policy in the Development of K-pop[1]

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Abstract

This study analyzes the Korean government's K-Pop policies by period to shed light on the Korean government's role and how its policies have contributed to K-Pop's success.

The Kim Dae-jung government laid the foundation for the Korean cultural industry to grow by establishing laws, systems, and organizations; building necessary infrastructure; and increasing budget allocation. The Roh Moo-hyun government set the development of the cultural industry as a core task and implemented specific, in-depth policies for different areas. The Lee Myung-bak government actively pursued K-Pop–related policies, such as facilitating and hosting K-Pop events, based on the principles of competition and concentration. From the Park Geun-hye administration, policies to transition the existing Korean Wave into the New Korean Wave covering all areas of Korean culture were implemented through the cooperation of diverse agents. The Moon Jae-in government strengthened and expanded the systematic support for different cultural content by deepening the link between the Korean Wave and various industries.

The rise of Korea as a cultural powerhouse was made possible through a cooperative governance approach that connects the government's vision, active policy establishment and support, cooperation between related ministries and the private sector in policy implementation, and active consumer participation.

Keywords: K-Pop, Government policy, K-Pop's success, Korean Wave, Governance

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1. Introduction

Prior to analyzing the Korean government's K-Pop policy by period, this article discusses the research background, research questions, research objectives and research method.

1.1 Research Background

Korean popular songs began to gain popularity overseas as a genre referred to as “K-Pop” in the late 1990s. Starting with a boy group called H•O•T, which garnered wide popularity in South Korea (hereafter Korea) and Greater China, K-Pop centered on boy or girl bands referred to as “idol groups” and emerged as a mainstream music genre in the Asian market. However, in the sense that K-Pop’s popularity was still largely limited to Korea and a few other countries at this time, K-Pop was just a subculture from a global perspective. Now, K-Pop is no longer a subculture enjoyed only in Korea and Asia but a mainstream genre of global culture. PSY’s “Gangnam Style” signaled the rise of K-Pop in Western countries in 2012, and Korean male idol group BTS is solidifying K-Pop’s position as a mainstream popular music genre in the US and global market today. Although the Korean content industry is still small in terms of quantity, it is expected to lead the second-generation innovation of the Korean economy along with Korean semiconductors in terms of quality (Lee, 2021b, p. 1). As shown in Table 1, the Korean Wave, spearheaded by K-Pop from the mid-2000s, began to spread beyond Asia to the rest of the world.

Stages	Korean Wave 1.0	Korean Wave 2.0	Korean Wave 3.0	New Korean Wave
Period	1997–2000	2000–2010	2010–2019	2020–
Korean Wave Characteristics	Beginning	Spread	Globalization	Diversification and globalization
Core Genre	K-Drama	K-Pop	K-Pop	Korean culture and related industries
Representative Contents	Love, So What?, BOA, Winter Sonata	Idol groups (TVXQ!, Girls’ Generation), Daejanggeum	Gangnam Style, My Love from the Star, Running Man	BTS, BLACKPINK Parasite, webtoons, Squid Game
Countries/ regions	Asia	Asia, Central and South America, the Middle East, some parts of the US	Worldwide	Worldwide (Strategic promotion)

Stages	Korean Wave 1.0	Korean Wave 2.0	Korean Wave 3.0	New Korean Wave
Main consumers	Small group of enthusiasts	Individuals from age 10 through their 20s	Global citizens	Global citizens (customized approaches)
Main media	TV, Internet	YouTube, social media	All forms	All forms of media

<Table 1> Characteristics of the Korean Wave by period

Source: Reproduction of the table from Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2013a, p. 25), Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2020, p. 2)

What is the secret of K-Pop's success and popularity? How did K-Pop become a global trend in such a short time? A number of intertwining factors are behind this phenomenon, making it difficult to distill K-Pop's success into a single explanation. However, it can be said that the Korean government and its policies played a critical role in shaping K-Pop as we know it today.

Similar to the way the Korean government's role and strategies are viewed as factors behind the country's rapid economic growth and social development in the 1960s and 1970s, various explanations exist regarding the government's role in bringing about the development of the Korean Wave. As this development has been affected by changes in the government's role and policies, it can be a meaningful task to examine the influence of governmental policies on the progress of K-Pop as well.

As its main objective, this study sets the question of how K-Pop was able to make the leap to become mainstream global culture as its central objective and—out of the many factors that contributed to K-Pop's success—analyzes the Korean government's role and policies. Specifically, this study hypothesizes that the Korean government's policy efforts and support significantly contributed to the process through which K-Pop developed into a phenomenon of global mainstream culture and analyzes the policies of each administration, from the birth of K-Pop culture to the present, to determine whether and how those policies positively contributed to K-Pop's global success.

1.2 Literature Review

Numerous studies have examined the factors behind K-Pop's success from various perspectives. These can be broadly grouped into four streams.

The first stream is concerned with finding the reason for K-Pop's global success in K-Pop music. Yoo (2018) highlights K-Pop's music production method and musical characteristics as important factors behind K-Pop's success. Entertainment agencies, such as SM, YG, and JYP, produce K-Pop music through collective creation that engages various experts to create hit songs that reflect popular tastes and trends.

Lee (2011), on the other hand, examines how K-Pop characteristically combines various genres of music, saying that although early Korean dance music largely imitated Japanese and American pop music, K-Pop gradually fused the music of various countries, resulting in an inclusiveness that allowed K-Pop music to be easily understood and embraced internationally. Kim and Park (2013) and Min (2018) pinpoint K-Pop's song hooks, "killing parts," and danceable beats strategically leave a strong impression very quickly on foreign audiences who do not understand the Korean language. Also, in this stream of research, several studies have turned their attention to the characteristic storytelling of K-Pop as a factor in its success (Jung, 2019; Park et al., 2012; Kim and Kim, 2018). A representative example is BTS. BTS's song lyrics mainly tell stories about the thoughts, dreams, life and love of people in their teens and 20s. Critics have evaluated BTS's album 'Love Yourself' favorably for how it empathizes with and comforts listeners by embodying messages about pursuing one's dreams; overcoming unreasonable situations, injustice, or prejudice; and common struggles. Kim (2019) states that K-Pop expresses the identity of Korean popular music as well as the spirit of the times in a way that is relatable to people around the world. Lee and Chang (2019) emphasize that BTS's song lyrics are different from the excessively sensational and violent content often found in American pop music, and the wholesomeness of BTS's songs makes them approachable for audiences.

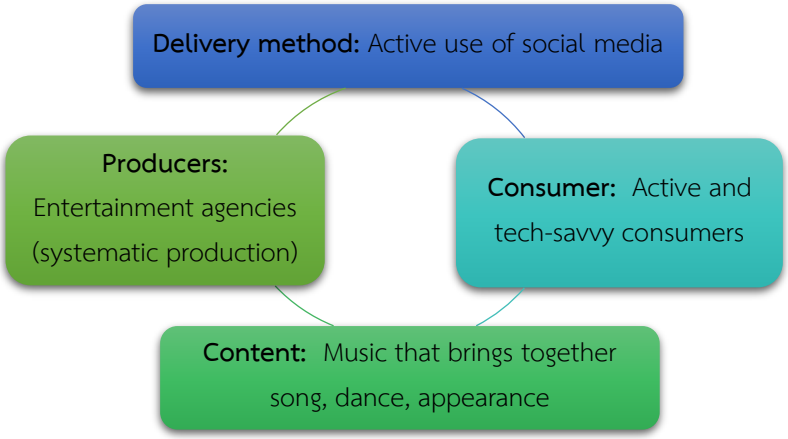
Second, Kim (2012), Kim (2013), Butsaban (2019), and Kim (2017) directed their attention to the systematic production systems and localization strategies of large entertainment agencies, such as the recruitment of idol group members from overseas markets they hope to enter so that it will be easier to build a fan base. As examples, these studies cite 2PM's Nichkhun as a representative success story and argue that non-Korean members in popular idol groups, such as BLACKPINK and TWICE, have played and continue to play a significant role in driving the popularity of K-Pop.

Third, there are studies analyzing K-Pop's success in terms of changes in the media environment. Cho and Sim (2013) and Byeon (2011) argue that the development of social media from the late 2000s played a decisive role in K-Pop's entry into overseas markets. The development of social media has enabled the simultaneous global consumption of K-Pop. K-Pop music and news are spread spontaneously via various social media services by their users, rather than via broadcasting stations, entertainment agencies, or the artists themselves. Kim and Kang (2013) studied the transmedia strategy of "Gangnam Style" to demonstrate how K-Pop songs are circulated, consumed, and accepted around the world very quickly through YouTube.

Lastly, another stream of research investigates K-Pop fandoms. According to Jenkins (2006), Kim (2014), and Lee (2020), K-Pop fans interact with each other in online fan communities, through which they create a participatory culture and form a collective identity. The BTS fan club, known by the abbreviation "ARMY," consists not just of those passionate about BTS's music but also shows their dedication and interest in all activities of the BTS members. Yoon (2019) also pinpoints BTS's global fandom as one off the group's success factors, noting that people around the world—regardless of ethnicity, language, and gender—are avid fans of BTS, and this popular reception is maintained and strengthened by the group's fandom. BTS has been recognized as one of the most influential groups in the world, and their economic

value is estimated to exceed 1 trillion Korean won. The BTS effect has brought an increase in the number of non–Korean speakers learning Korean lyrics, and more people have engaged in philanthropic activities following the words and actions of BTS members.

As such, existing studies have commonly cited K-Pop's musical characteristics created through entertainment agencies' systematic music production methods, the development of digital media, and fandoms as factors in its success. Seo et al. (2012) analyzed these success factors based on the Cultural Diamond Model proposed by Griswold (1994) and suggested the 'Diamond Model of Success' for K-Pop shown in Figure 1.



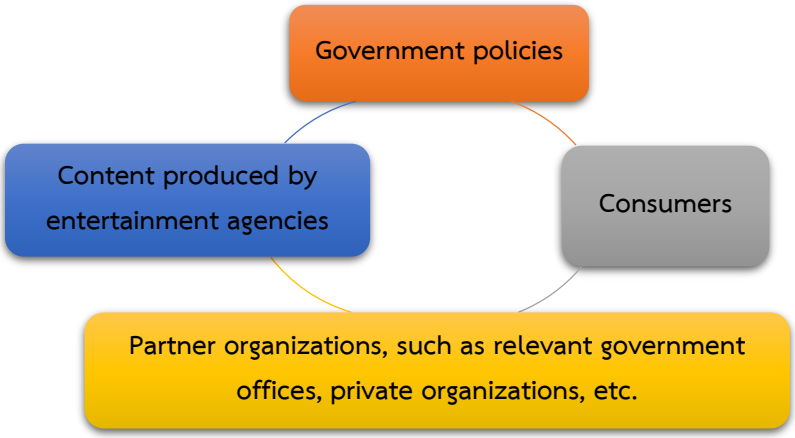
<Figure 1> K-Pop's 'Diamond Model of Success' (Seo et al., 2012)

Choi (2014) analyzes government policy efforts in the development of K-Pop by examining the relationship between the formation of the New Korean Wave, which encompasses all areas of Korean culture (K-Culture) rather than focusing on specific types of content. In Choi's study, the New Korean Wave is conceptualized as a cultural construct formed through complex and multilayered amalgamations and is analyzed in terms of the relationship between the government's Korean Wave policies and socio-cultural changes encompassing academia, capital, media, local governments, and the public.

However, studies that examine governmental policies in relation to K-Pop's progress of development are very scarce. To address this gap, this study investigates the government's policy efforts based on existing literature and new sources to analyze how the government has contributed to the development of K-Pop so far and suggests the role it can play in promoting K-Pop's continued development as well as the Korean Wave's transition to the New Korean Wave. Since there are few studies that have identified the correlation between government policy and the cultivation of K-Pop, it is expected that this study will be able to present new insights into K-Pop's success.

Whereas the focus of the diamond model of success for K-Pop is on the relationship between the producers (entertainment agencies) and the consumers (K-Pop fans), this study reconceptualizes this as a

model of governance that forges cooperation among various agents, including the government, entertainment agencies, various partner organizations that support implementation of government policies, and consumers. Governance generally refers to problem-solving through so-called 'steering methods,' such as dialogue, negotiation, and coordination, in networks and partnerships between the government and civil society actors, as opposed to top-down control exerted by government (Kim, 2008). Cooperative governance, in particular, utilizes open networks and emphasizes cooperation among various actors who participate voluntarily. Here, a network refers to a partnership, in contrast to unilateral commands from the government (Lee, 2002). Based on this understanding of governance, K-Pop's model of success can be expressed as the model of cooperative governance, including governmental policies and support, shown in Figure 2.



<Figure 2> K-Pop's Success Factors: Governance Model

1.3 Research Methodology and Scope

This study attempts to examine the government's policies and role in K-Pop's development through an empirical method based on a survey of literature. The research is mainly based on primary sources and supplemented by secondary sources when primary sources are unavailable. Also, various media reports and news articles are used as references that provide timely updates on notable events and phenomena.

The details and characteristics of K-Pop's development are reviewed and analyzed based on existing studies, research published by the Korean Foundation for International Cultural Exchange (KOFICE), and relevant news articles. The Korean government's K-Pop-related policies are examined from records in the Presidential Archives, information on the government's cultural policies published by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and related laws and regulations, as well as secondary sources, such as *Hallyu and Cultural Policies* and the annual *Hallyu White Paper* published by KOFICE.

In terms of scope, this study looks at the period from the Kim Dae-jung government through the Moon Jae-in government. In other words, this study examines the cultural policies of the Kim Dae-jung, Roh Moo-hyun, Lee Myung-bak, Park Geun-hye, and Moon Jae-in governments. Due to the considerable number and range of cultural policies implemented over this period exceeding 20 years, the focus is placed on the policies and cases related to K-Pop in each period.

2. Development of K-Pop

The second part of this study examines the developmental stages of the Korean Wave and analyzes the success and performance of the Korean Wave.

2.1 The History of K-Pop

The term ‘K-Pop’ does not refer to the entirety of Korean pop music but mainly refers to idol groups’ dance music produced by Korean entertainment agencies and consumed internationally (Lee 2016, p. 3). K-Pop was not a commonly used term up to the early 2010s. It was only after Korean idol groups began to enter overseas markets and gain global attention that the term became used and understood by overseas audiences to mean Korean idol group dance music (Lee & Chang, 2019, p. 2). Since the 1990s, K-Pop has come to be led by so-called 'corporate idols'. Under this model, a company called an entertainment agency achieves commercial success by selecting talented trainees, training them systematically, further narrowing their selected trainees through internal competition, and then debuting each selected group as an idol group by appropriately combining their talents, strengths, and weaknesses to be commercially viable. The company decides everything about these commercially created idol groups. For example, the group's image (e.g., 'innocent', 'cutie', 'manly', etc.), music lyrics and composition, and even on-air dialogue are all decided by the company. In the past, Korean songs consisted of a limited range of masterpieces crafted by artisans with innate talents, but idol groups are mass-produced products that are commercially planned and created. In other words, K-Pop can be said to have gone through a process similar to that of the music industry in general. As idols acted as the mainstream of K-pop, other genres of music naturally lost their competitiveness.

In 1996, SM Entertainment producer Lee Soo-man launched H•O•T, Korea’s first idol group that modeled on Seo Taiji and Boys and Japanese idol groups. H•O•T became a great success, not only in Korea but also in China and Taiwan. In 1997, JYP Entertainment and YG Entertainment were established. Together with SM Entertainment, the number of major entertainment agencies in Korea now stood at three, and these three companies brought idol group music into the center of Korea’s music market. In the late 1990s, the 1997 financial crisis and widespread illegal music sharing made possible by the development of online

technologies brought immense challenges that threatened the survival of Korea's music industry. Because Korean popular music had mainly been for the domestic audience up to this time, entertainment agencies faced a severe drop in their profits in the domestic market, whose size is limited. Thus, they began to turn their eyes to foreign markets that have larger consumer bases and fandoms (Jeong, 2012, p. 45). Large entertainment agencies targeted the Asian market and trained their idol group members in foreign languages, such as Chinese, Japanese, and English, to debut them in Japan and China. When K-Pop became successful in other Asian markets, these agencies began to recruit foreign members from Japan, China, Thailand, and other countries to create international idol groups. In 2011, SM Entertainment held a world concert tour in the UK, the US, and Southeast Asia, starting with a performance in Paris, France; in this same year, YouTube added K-Pop as a separate genre of music (Na, 2011).

Korean entertainment agencies invested heavily in their major idol groups and artists, including Girls' Generation, WonderGirls, and BoA, from the late 2000s to the early 2010s to move beyond Asia and enter the US market, but their efforts were not met with immediate success. Then, PSY's "Gangnam Style" gained worldwide attention in 2012, marking a major turning point. In 2016, BTS achieved widespread popularity in the US music market, solidifying K-Pop as a mainstream music genre worldwide.

Rank	Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
1	United States	14,873	14,892	14,914	14,903	15,183	15,549
2	Japan	5,118	5,443	4,761	4,605	4,615	4,560
3	UK	4,079	3,868	3,917	3,878	3,884	3,903
4	Germany	3,646	3,598	3,644	3,700	3,785	3,838
5	France	1,979	1,956	1,912	1,855	1,809	1,795
6	Canada	1,111	1,154	1,151	1,104	1,115	1,122
7	Australia	1,014	1,026	960	925	911	905
8	Italy	904	853	838	824	869	870
9	China	638	675	716	785	865	957
10	Korea	703	709	722	781	833	887
Rank	**Country**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2015–2020 CAGR (%)**	
1	United States	16,078	16,736	17,369	18,041	3.5	
2	Japan	4,451	4,297	4,113	3,886	3.4	
3	UK	3,935	3,966	4,001	4,023	0.7	
4	Germany	3,908	3,977	5,050	4,103	1.6	
5	France	1,797	1,800	1,801	1,788	0.2	
6	Canada	1,130	1,141	1,159	1,183	1.2	
7	Australia	900	902	904	911	0.0	
8	Italy	868	867	885	857	0.3	
9	China	1,057	1,164	1,271	1,367	9.6	
10	Korea	942	1,007	1,065	1,125	6.2	

<Table 2> Size and Outlook of the Music Industry by Country (top 10 countries as of 2015, in millions of USD) (Korea Creative Content Agency, 2016, p. 363)

Table 2 summarizes the size and outlook of the music industry by country. The US and Japan have the largest music industries in the global music market, and the size of Korea's music industry is significantly smaller, ranking tenth largest. However, while the music industries of Japan, France, and Italy are expected to shrink over time, Korea's music industry has been steadily growing. Up to the 1990s, Korea's music industry was strictly for the domestic market, very small in size and having barely any presence overseas. However, since K-Pop idol groups began entering overseas markets, K-Pop's influence has grown globally. The K-Pop craze has become a force strong enough to present a new avenue for Korea's tertiary sector (also known as the 'soft' industry). Evolving into a dynamic cross-border cultural phenomenon driven by transnational capital and media, K-Pop is now thought to be comparable to the Hollywood film industry, which currently accounts for 70% of the global film market (Lee, 2021).

2.2 K-Pop's Global Performance

According to the "2020 Survey on Overseas Hallyu Status" published by KOFICE, 18.5% of the respondents said that K-Pop is the word that comes to mind when thinking of Korea. Table 3 shows which cultural content people associate with Korea and the Korean Wave by region. The results were similar across all regions, not only in Asia but also in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, and Africa.

(Unit: %, multiple-answer)

	Asia	Americas	Europe	Middle East	Africa	Overall
K-Pop	63.0	60.2	51.2	47.5	53.3	58.7
TV Dramas	60.1	41.3	36.1	45.5	45.5	50.9
Movies	50.4	42.3	40.6	43.8	53.0	47.0
Korean Food	47.1	39.1	36.6	40.3	49.3	43.5
Fashion	46.9	37.4	37.9	38.3	47.8	43.3
Beauty Products	43.0	29.3	31.7	36.5	31.3	37.8
TV Shows	42.6	27.1	27.5	35.5	42.8	36.9

<Table 3> Cultural content associated with the Korean Wave KOFICE (2020, 85)

In addition to the economic benefits from the increase in music exports, K-Pop's global popularity also brought indirect effects, such as an increase in the number of Korea-bound international students and non-Koreans learning the Korean language. The number of people taking the Test of Proficiency in Korean

(TOPIK) increased 108-fold over 20 years, from 2,692 in 1997 (the first year of the exam) to 290,638 in 2017 (Jo, 2018). BTS's song lyrics are used as texts for learning Korean, and the president of the Korea Foundation has remarked that leading foreign universities are showing interest in Korean language courses using BTS lyrics and are continuously expanding the number of Korean language courses they offer.

A country's national brand is formed through a combination of tangible and intangible values, such as the level of recognition, favorability, and trust felt toward the country by people around the world, and is considered an important factor in a country's competitiveness (Roh & Yun, 2019). Korea has been actively utilizing the Korean Wave and its associated cultural content to build and strengthen its national brand and image. The success of K-Pop raised the national brand of Korea and revitalized the country's economy, and it is expected that K-Pop will continue to drive the expansion of Korea's cultural industry.

3. The Korean Government's Roles and Policies in relation to K-Pop

The third part of this article compares and analyzes the government's K-pop policies by period from the Kim Dae-jung government to the Moon Jae-in government and considers each government's role in the development of K-pop.

3.1. Kim Dae-jung Government

The foundation of Korea's cultural industry promotion policy began amidst national chaos such as the IMF bailout crisis. From the beginning of the Kim Dae-jung administration, neoliberal economic policies were forced in exchange for bailout funds, and cultural policies had to be discussed within the capitalist industrial structure according to the neoliberal economic principles presented by major powers. In line with the information technology (IT) revolution that swept the world at the time, emphasis was placed on cultural industries that economically integrate traditional culture and fine arts. At the time, the government renamed the Ministry of Culture and Sports to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to further highlight the cultural industry aspect.

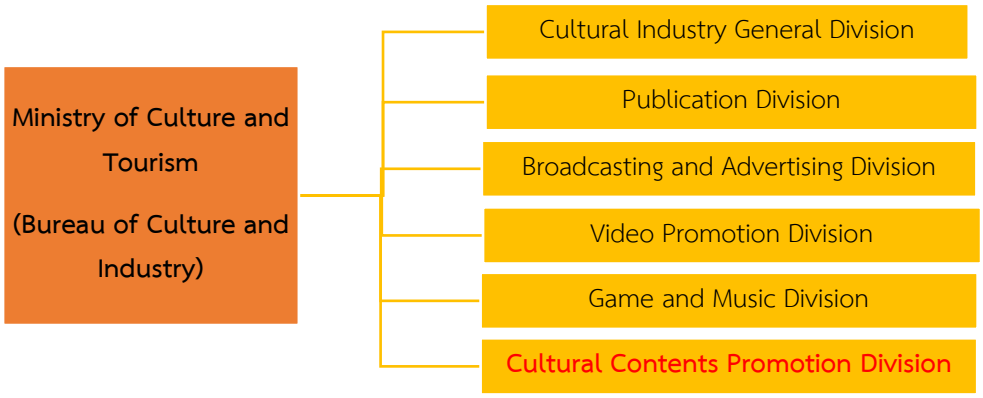
The Kim Dae-jung government first began to use the term "Korean Wave" (Hallyu) in policy announcements. Recognizing the importance of the cultural industry, the Kim government began to pursue specific policies for promoting the Korean Wave. Aside from the Ministry of Culture and Sports's restructuring into the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the "Vision 21 for Cultural Industries: The Five-Year Plan for Developing Cultural Industries" was announced in February 2000. The goals and details of this five-year plan are summarized in Table 4.

Goal	- Develop the cultural industry into a national basic industry of the 21st century. - Position the cultural industry as the leading industry of the nation's knowledge-based economy.
Music Industry	- Focus on securing regional bases for overseas expansion, such as establishing a Korean Music Information Center in Beijing. - Establish a Music Industry Support Center by October 2000. - Modernize music distribution. - Build a database for music records and launch a portal site. - Protect intellectual property rights, such as prohibiting illegal sharing and reproduction. - Cultivate advanced digital technology professionals for the music industry by establishing music academies. - Strengthen overseas promotion of Korean music to increase export of music records.

<Table 4> Vision 21 for Cultural Industries: The Five-Year Plan for Developing Cultural Industries (Music Industry Only)

Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2000)

The Kim government implemented and revised laws, systems, and organizations, including the Framework Act on the Promotion of Cultural Industries, to abolish restrictive regulations and censorship and provide support for artists. Furthermore, the government laid the foundation for the Korean cultural industry to expand by building necessary infrastructure, cultivating professionals, increasing budgets and funds, and conducting policy research for supporting the Korean Wave abroad through various institutions (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2001). In order to establish a support system for the intensive promotion of the cultural content industry, the Cultural Contents Promotion Division was established in the Cultural Industry Bureau. The organization chart is shown in figure 3.



<Figure 3> Ministry of Culture and Tourism organization chart (2000) Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2012, p. 51)

In addition to creating the Cultural Contents Promotion Division under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Korea Cultural Contents Promotion Agency (which became merged into the present Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA) was launched on August 24, 2001 to provide support for various types of cultural content, such as developing high-quality content and applied technology, providing marketing support, developing policies, and cultivating professionals through training in the fields of animated movies, music records, animation and cartoon characters, comic books, and video games. By the end of 2001, KOCCA focused on preparations for full-scale support projects and organized the basics of project planning, budgeting, staffing, securing space, and making basic regulations. In 2002, full-fledged projects first started, and they can be largely divided into manpower training, cultural archetype digital content development projects, technology development projects, and content discovery and development support projects. Industry genres have expanded from animation, characters, and music to cartoons, mobile content, Internet content, and edutainment. Promotion of cultural content overseas, which had been focused on participating in overseas exhibitions and holding DICON, an international digital exhibition, was expanded in 2003 to include export of cultural content, establishment of a comprehensive export information support system, and hosting of Korea-China-Japan cultural industry forums (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2012a, pp. 51–53).

The term “Korean Wave” (Hallyu) came to the forefront in the “Support Measures for Cultivating the Hallyu Industry” announced by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on August 30, 2001. These measures included expanding governmental support for strengthening the global competitiveness of Korean popular culture; establishing an association of industry actors for promoting the exchange of cultural content in Asia and encouraging the development of high-quality cultural content; constructing centers for experiencing the Korean Wave; establishing overseas offices of the Korea Cultural Contents Promotion Agency; creating a Korean Wave hub in various major cities around the world where people can experience Korea’s popular music, video games, animation and cartoon characters, and fashion; and holding joint events with other countries, such as Korea-China youth music festivals and cultural week events held in each other’s countries (National Archives of Korea, 2001).

Several measures specifically addressed the music industry: securing regional bases for overseas expansion, such as establishing a Korean Music Information Center in Beijing; establishing a support center for the music industry; modernizing music distribution; building a music information database and opening an online portal with information on Korean music; protecting intellectual property rights, such as prohibiting illegal sharing and reproductions; cultivating advanced digital technology professionals for the music industry by establishing music academies; and strengthening overseas promotion of Korean music to increase exports of music records. The national budget for developing the cultural industry was increased from 16.8 billion won in 1998 to 100 billion won in 1999, then again to 178.6 billion won later on. Four billion won was set aside as the budget for providing loans for producing high-quality music records, and the national budget for promoting the music industry was increased from 940 million won in 1997 to 14.5

billion won in 2000 (Son, 2015, p. 207). The government also actively supported the production Chinese and Japanese versions of Korean music records (Ministry of Culture & Tourism, 2000).

Starting in 1998, the Kim Dae-jung administration pushed ahead with a deliberate opening to Japanese culture. This opening—including to J-Pop—allowed Korean pop culture to absorb elements of Japanese pop culture and create hybrid cultural products. In addition, exchanges with Korean popular culture and understanding of Korean popular culture spread in Japan as well. In other words, this opening to Japanese popular culture led to the expansion of exchanges and collaboration between Korean and Japanese popular culture, which can be seen as having an impact on the development of K-Pop (Jang et al., 2012, p. 698).

In the content industry, many see the opening to Japanese pop culture as a turning point in the Korean content industry. At the time, the media and the cultural world were criticized for giving away cultural sovereignty to Japan. There was a concern that the fledgling Korean cultural industry would disappear in an instant due to the arrival of high-quality Japanese pop culture. President Kim Dae-jung pushed strongly for opening, saying, “The 21st century is the era of the cultural industry, and further cultural isolation policies are of no help to anyone.” There ended up being no significant cultural invasion, and on the contrary it served as an opportunity for Korean content, such as the “Yonsama craze,” to enter Japan.

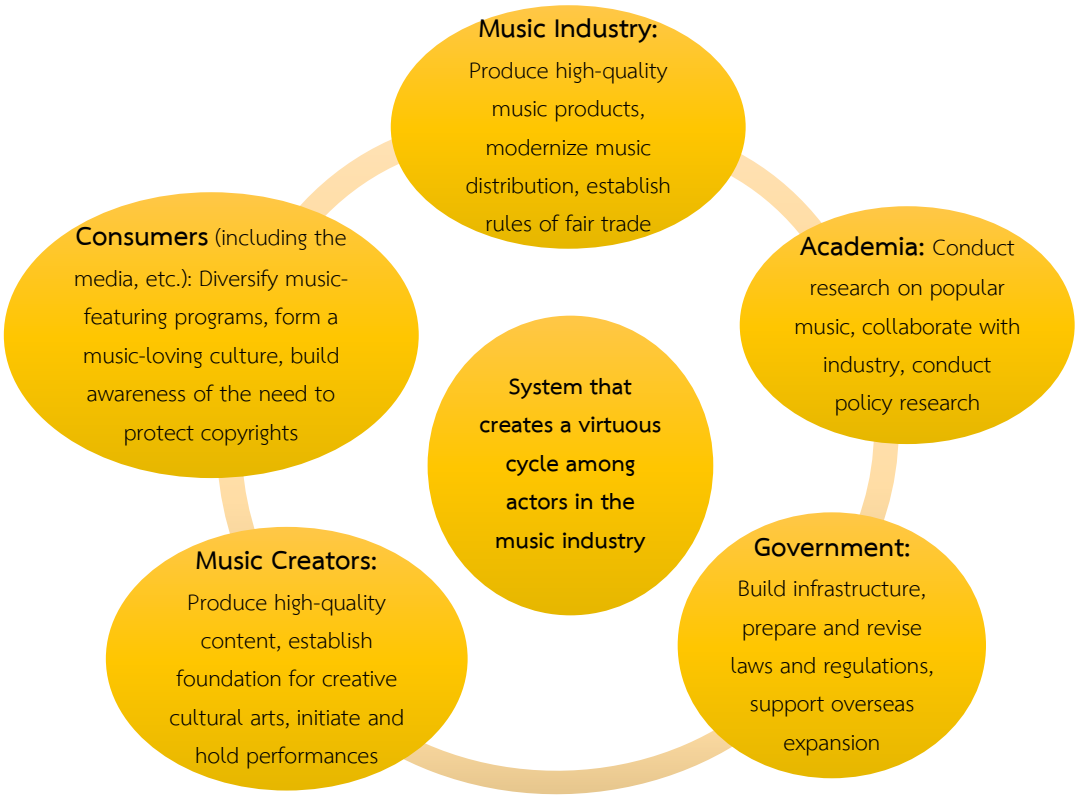
The reason many people recognize the Kim Dae-jung government as the government under which the Korean cultural industry blossomed is that the president consistently emphasized the cultural industry as a new driving force for Korean industry in the 21st century. In particular, in 1999, at the beginning of the government's inauguration, the cultural sector's long-held goal of 1% in the cultural budget was achieved. This means that the government had not only been talking about it but also priming the pump for the growth of the cultural industry by securing substantial budgetary resources.

3.2 Roh Moo-hyun Government

A private organization dedicated to promoting Korean Wave projects was established during the Roh Moo-hyun government called the Korea Foundation For Asian Culture Exchange (currently KOFICE). This organization was put in charge of exchanging Korean Wave–related information and supporting overseas expansion by companies in the cultural industry with the goal of revitalizing Korean Wave–related businesses. On December 17, 2003, the Roh government announced the “Participatory Government’s Policy Vision for the Cultural Industry,” which made it clear that the government viewed the Korean Wave as an important policy agenda item for Korea’s rise as a cultural powerhouse. Recognizing that the cultural industry had much higher growth potential than other industries, the policy vision set forth the strengthening of manpower, investment, R&D, and overseas expansion as well as the establishment of a cooperative network bringing together central and local governments, the private sector, and academia as Korea’s national strategy for becoming one of the world’s top five cultural powerhouses (Ministry of Culture &

Tourism, 2003).

The Roh government held a high view of Korean popular music's potential for advancing Korea's cultural industry overseas and enhancing Korea's national image. Accordingly, the music industry was viewed as a key industry for leading Korean culture in the 21st century (Ministry of Culture & Tourism, 2003). The Roh government showed its strong intention to promote the music industry by announcing the "Five-year Plan for Promoting the Music Industry" in March 2003, immediately after President Roh's inauguration. This plan revealed the characteristics of the Roh government's approach of "classification" and "specialization" in developing the cultural content industry. As shown in Figure 4, the Roh government defined five main actors in the music industry – the government, the music industry, music creators, consumers (including the media, etc.), and academia – and set specific policy directions based on each of their roles and functions. Although the term "K-Pop" was not used, the Roh government's vision and plans designated the music industry as a core area and laid out strategies that took the form of cooperative governance in which the major actors form a network to achieve the common goal of making Korea one of the world's top five cultural powerhouses.



<Figure 4> Roles and Functions of the Actors in the Music Industry

(Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2003, p. 13)

Also, the Music Industry Promotion Act was enacted in 2006, creating a legal basis for governmental support for K-Pop–related international cooperation and overseas expansion, especially through Article 12 of the Music Industry Promotion Act, which stipulates as follows:

Music Industry Promotion Act [Enforced October 29, 2006] [Act No. 7942, Enacted April 28, 2006]
Article 12 (Assistance in International Cooperation and Advancement into Overseas Markets)

1. The Minister of Culture and Tourism shall lay a foundation for boosting international cooperation and exchange of the music industry and raising the international standing of the industry.
2. In order to promote advancement of music performances and music records, etc. into overseas markets, the Minister of Culture and Tourism may provide support for activities to establish cooperative systems in relation to exportation, including joint production with foreign countries, assistance in marketing and advertising activities in overseas markets, inducing of foreign investments, and holding of international music record fairs.
3. The Minister of Culture and Tourism may establish and operate offices in foreign countries in order to efficiently promote the activities referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2).

In the mid-2000s, the export of broadcast programs and films—the main cultural content types of the Korean Wave in this period—showed stagnation due to anti–Korean Wave movements abroad. In response, the government established an advisory committee on Korean Wave policies to identify the status and problems of the Korean Wave and establish appropriate countermeasures at the national level. The committee was composed of 25 key figures or experts not only in various cultural industries (e.g., television, film, broadcasting, and music) but also in academic, economic, legal, and media circles. The heads of six agencies and organizations related to cultural content, such as the Korea Cultural Content Promotion Agency, were also members of the committee. The committee's basic principle was that the Korean Wave would be promoted by the private sector, but the government should create an environment that supports the industry's activities (Lee, 2005).

In July 2005, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism presented "C-KOREA 2010: Future Strategy for Realizing a Prosperous and Happy Nation through Culture" to the president, which outlined the strategies for the Korean Wave's continuous development and expansion (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2005).

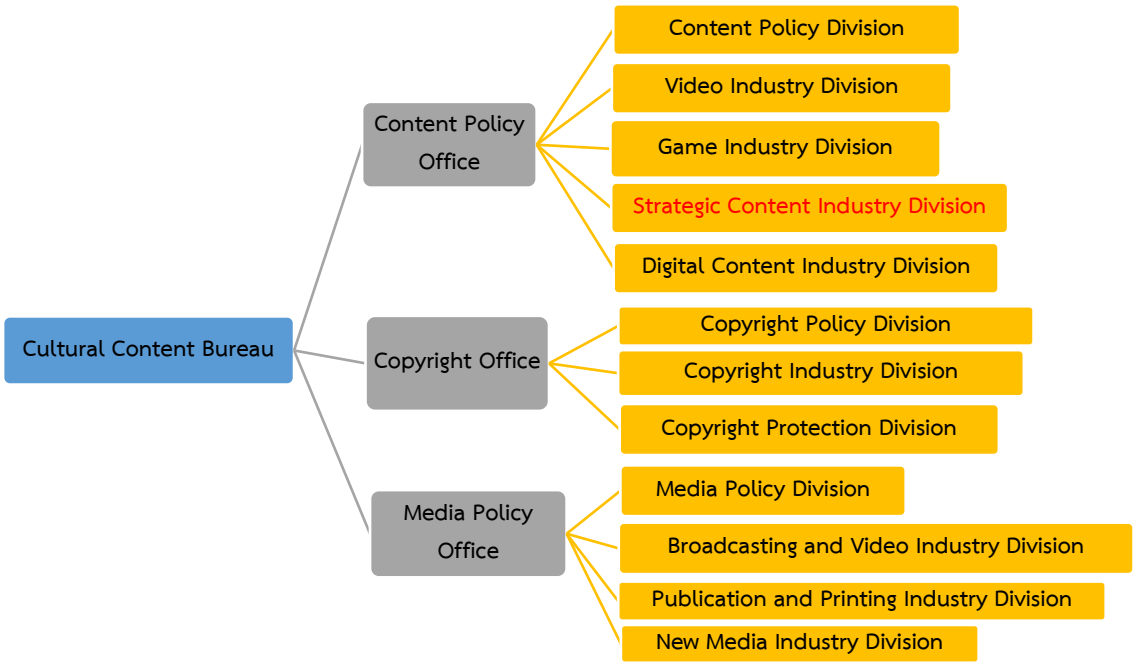
The key tasks set by the Roh Moo-hyun government aimed at creating a global market for Korea's cultural industry and strengthening the power of Korea's national brand through the globalization of the Korean Wave. To this end, strategic and systematic policies were implemented for the video game industry, film industry, music industry, and broadcasting content industry. In implementing these policies, the Roh Moo-hyun government sought to establish a system of governance by signing agreements between relevant ministries to maximize the synergy of the policies through a strong cooperation among companies, universities, and research institutes. One of the successful outcomes of this cooperative governance was

the Regional Cultural Industry Complex in Daegu, a cultural industry cluster specializing in video games and more created at a university building through the cooperation of private companies, universities, and the central and local governments (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2005, p. 22). Also, the Asia Song Festival was held for the first time through exchanges and cooperation between the government and private organizations, including the Korea Foundation For Asian Culture Exchange, which was established during this period. The Asia Song Festival continues to serve as a venue that brings together K-pop and Asian singers today (Korean Foundation for International Cultural Exchange, 2004).

If the Kim government laid a foothold for Korea's cultural industry to grow upon, the Roh government assessed the Korean Wave and supported its growth by setting the development of the cultural industry as a core task and implementing policies customized specifically to each area of culture. KOFICE was put in charge of the Korean Wave–related projects, while governance was put into practice through supportive policies engaging the cooperation of the private sector and academia, such as governmental measures for dealing with difficulties met by the Korean Wave and promoting its sustainable development.

3.3 Lee Myung-bak Government

The Lee government strategically prioritized specific cultural content based on its salability and commerciality, aiming to create the largest added value by cultivating the cultural content that will sell the most (Choi, 2014, p. 72). After seeing the popularity of K-Pop concerts in Paris, France, and in Latin America in 2011 and the worldwide success of PSY's "Gangnam Style" in 2012, the Lee government understood the value of K-Pop and implemented focused policies for K-Pop's development. Moving beyond the Roh government's Korean Wave policies that were largely centered on the Northeast Asia region, the Lee government sought to promote Korean Wave content in worldwide markets. The establishment of the Hallyu Culture Promotion Taskforce under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2012 formalized and institutionalized the government's support for the Korean Wave. The Hallyu Culture Promotion Taskforce took on the role of providing comprehensive and systematic governmental support to channel the global interest in K-Pop to all aspects of Korean culture (Kim, 2012). Policies to bolster the Korean Wave targeting not just Asia but also global audiences were implemented—especially those that supported the continuous globalization of K-Pop through focused development of K-Pop content. Various new consultative bodies promoting the Korean Wave culture invited participation from the private sector. The Hallyu Culture Promotion Advisory Committee was one such body that was created to discuss future policy directions and tasks for developing an inclusive Korean Wave that encompasses all areas of Korean culture in the era of the Korean Wave 3.0. The committee was composed of leading figures in academic and economic circles, the popular and traditional culture and arts scene, the cultural content industry, and the tourism industry.



<Figure 5> Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism organization chart (2008) (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2012a, p. 90)

As shown in Figure 5, a strategic content industry division was established under the Content Policy Office. The biggest cultural policy difference between the Lee government and previous governments is that unlike the previous governments' focus on promoting cultural exchange and providing equal support for all areas, the Lee government encouraged competition and offered intensive support for specific areas that could boost the global competitiveness of Korean cultural content. When K-Pop emerged as a winner, it became the focus of the Lee government's support. This included expanding infrastructure for K-Pop, such as opening a special performance hall for pop music performances in 2011, and officially declaring the enhancement of K-Pop's global competitiveness as a major goal in the "Mid-to-Long-Term Plan for Developing the Popular Culture and Arts Industry." (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2011). The Presidential Council on National Branding, which was established with the objective of promoting and managing Korea's global image, held the K-Pop World Festival, a global K-Pop event. The Presidential Council on National Branding and related ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, KBS, Changwon City, and others engaged in cooperative governance to hold qualifying rounds at Korean cultural centers worldwide for overseas K-Pop fans. The K-Pop World Festival was the final round, in which the winners of the qualifying rounds came to compete in Changwon, Korea. The K-Pop World Festival has been held with great success since 2011, opening a new chapter in enhancing Korea's global image worldwide. Furthermore, pan-government support was provided to Korean Wave–related projects, such as Korean Wave events hosted by the Presidential Council on National Branding with the cooperation of relevant ministries.

The active implementation of policies targeting domestic and overseas audiences was met by active cooperation from the audiences themselves. As more and more overseas K-Pop fans became interested in learning Korean language, the Lee government strengthened the role of Korean cultural centers and the King Sejong Institutes established overseas in disseminating Korean popular culture and Korean language. A typical example is the dissemination of Korean language education in Thailand. In 2008, Korean language education was included in curricula not only at Thailand's universities but also at secondary schools by professors from the Department of Korean Language at Songkla University. (Prof. Dr. Parit Yinsen was the first professor of Korean language education in Thailand, contributing immensely to including the inclusion of Korean language as a part of Thailand's middle and high school curricula.) The Korea Foundation and KOFICE provided scholarships and dispatched teachers to solve the shortage of Korean language teachers, and the Korean Embassy and Korean companies such as Samsung Corporation also contributed to establishing and spreading Korean language education in Thailand (Yinsen, 2011). Overall, the wide implementation of Korean language education in Thailand can be viewed as an outcome gained through the cooperative network that brought together the Korean government's active support and the willingness of related government ministries, institutions, companies, and overseas consumers.

Area	Core Task	Projects
Globalization of Korean music and strengthening international cooperation	Reignite the Korean Wave through K-Pop	- Expand K-Pop showcases in Asia - Strengthen the Asia Song Festival - Create an Asian music market that Korea, China, and Japan
	Pioneer new markets and build a global Korean Wave market	- Build a global broadcasting network for K-Pop music programs - Hold Korean music performances in overseas music markets - Develop new markets worldwide
Revitalize the domestic market for popular music	Increase the use of music content through a focus on music-related issues	- Create and promote new popular music charts globally - Create a Korean Grammy Awards - Strengthen the function of *noraebang* (karaoke) in the music industry - Run campaigns to eliminate illegal music sharing
	Strengthen the base for creative music production to promote production of diverse music	- Support various newcomers, such as indie/non-mainstream musicians - Support popular music concerts and festivals - Support the Korean Music Awards and Golden Disc Awards
	Run educational programs on music copyright and enforce the prohibition	- Strengthen control over copyright infringement - Run programs that raise awareness about copyright

	of copyright infringement more strictly	protection
Build infrastructure for the music industry and strengthen its basis for growth	Expand the music industry's infrastructure	- Renovate the Olympic Hall and the KOCCA Contents Hall - Cultivate young global talents in the field of popular music - Attach registered mark to music content
	Raise the reputation of Korean popular music and preserve its legacy	- Build a commemorative hall for popular culture - Build a Korean music data center
	Improve the regulations and institutional systems related to the music industry	- Hold forums on promoting the music industry - Hold international popular music conferences - Conduct R&D for improving systems

<Table 5> Mid-term Plan for Promoting the Music Industry (2009–2013)

(Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism 2009)

The "Mid-term Plan for Promoting the Music Industry" announced in 2009 shows how the Lee government viewed its role in promoting K-Pop. The Lee government singled out K-Pop as a core area and set aside a total of 127.5 billion won to pursue the twenty-three tasks set under three main strategies. The main policies for promoting the music industry included supporting overseas expansion of entertainment agencies by hosting events, such as the Seoul International Music Fair (MU:CON) and overseas K-Pop showcases; setting up TV channels for K-Pop music overseas; marketing K-Pop at famous overseas festivals; and including K-Pop concerts in the programs of domestic festivals to attract tourists. The government also used Korean cultural centers overseas to facilitate formation of Korean Wave fan clubs and support local community-based Korean Wave projects. The government's mobilization of the national budget for domestic and international promotion and marketing K-Pop and K-Pop idol groups, who are the products of entertainment agencies, suggests that the Lee government viewed and supported the entertainment industry as a national industry (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2012b). As shown in Table 6, the Korea Tourism Organization, Visit Korea Committee, Korea Foundation for Cultural Industry and Exchange, KOCCA, Korean Culture and Information Service, Presidential Council on National Branding, Korea Communications Commission, and others, all of which are under the umbrella of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, organized, hosted, or sponsored a variety of events. That is, these events were not simply held by local governments; the central government strategically and directly held and promoted these events as national projects.

Event	Details
2011 Incheon Korean Music Wave	Hosted by: Incheon City, Incheon Tourism Organization, HH Company, MBC Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korea Tourism Organization
2011 Korea Drama Festival	Hosted by: Korea Drama Festival Organization Committee Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, South Gyeongsang Province, Jinju City, Korea Communications Commission, etc.
2011 Hallyu Dream Festival	Hosted by: Visit Korea Committee, North Gyeongsang Province, Gyeongju City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Tourism Association Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korea Tourism Organization
2011 Asia Song Festival	Hosted by: Korea Foundation for Cultural Industry and Exchange, Daegu City, UNICEF, KBS Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, IAAF World Championships in Athletics Daegu Organization Committee, Korea Tourism Organization
Hallyu Beach Concert	Hosted by: Busan City, Visit Korea Committee, SBS,
Hallyu Week Festival	Hosted by: Korea Tourism Organization Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Gangwon Province
K-Pop World Festival	Hosted by: KBS, Changwon City Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korean Culture and Information Service, Presidential Council on National Branding Sponsored by: Samsung Corporation, Kyongnam Bank
K-Pop Hallyu Concert	Hosted by: TVN, International Event Team of the Korea Tourism Organization Supported by: Yeosu Expo 2012, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
2012 Asia Song Festival	Hosted by: Korea Foundation for Cultural Industry and Exchange, Yeosu Expo Organizing Committee Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korea Tourism Organization
The 4th Incheon Korean Music Wave	Hosted by: Incheon City, Incheon Housing and City Development Corporation, SBS Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korea Tourism Organization
2012 Hallyu Dream Festival	Hosted by: Korea Entertainment Producer's Association, Visit Korea Committee, North Gyeongsang Province, Gyeongju City Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
2012 Korea Drama Festival	Hosted by: Korea Drama Festival Organizing Committee Supported by: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, South Gyeongsang Province, Jinju City, Korea Communications Commission, Korea Tourism Organization, Korea Foundation for Cultural Industry and Exchange, KOCCA, Korea People in Broadcasting Association

<Table 6> Local Korean Wave concerts supported by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2011–2012) (Choi, 2014, p. 150)

During the Lee government, the growing number of audition programs for discovering new K-Pop singers led to a new kind of K-Pop boom, one that stirred K-Pop followers to dream about becoming a K-Pop star. This boom caused the number of vocal academies to increase by tenfold and the number of applied music academies to around 3,000. The government's strategic support for spreading K-Pop also played a hand in creating this boom. For instance, the government signed an MOU with Google to open a K-Pop channel on YouTube (Choi, 2013, p. 202) and even participated in the production of survival audition programs and held seminars for parents with children aspiring to become K-Pop stars. The Lee government also strategically marketed various industries in conjunction with K-Pop. For example, utilizing the success of "Gangnam Style," the government developed tourism products that included tours of the Gangnam district and created the K-Star Road in the Cheongdam-dong area. It was also the Lee government that first introduced medical tourism to Korea, which brought together secondary and tertiary service industries by combining medical services and tourism, targeting fans who want to look like K-Pop idols (Korea Tourism Organization, 2011, p. 24).

KOCCA was newly reorganized by integrating existing content-related promotion agencies that had been classified by genre, such as broadcasting, games, animation, and music. It tried to strengthen comprehensive content development by avoiding duplication of functions and establishing comprehensive, mid- to long-term policies covering all fields of content. Through this, the content industry achieved rapid growth both quantitatively and qualitatively, and in 2010, the market size ranked 3rd in Asia and 9th in the world.

To summarize, as K-Pop gained global popularity, the Lee government actively planned related policies and worked with relevant ministries and private networks to implement them. The government's principle of "selection and concentration" brought forth K-Pop–centered policies that placed the government at the forefront of K-Pop promotion and marketing. Korean Wave–related divisions and teams were created not only in the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, which is in charge of cultural policies, but even in ministries that are unrelated to cultural projects or affairs. This demonstrates the deep involvement of the government in almost all projects related to the Korean Wave. The cooperative governance system that was in operation brought together relevant public and private actors in a cohesive network to cooperate with one another under the common goal of realizing greater national development. Coupled with the general public's full support for K-Pop, this enabled K-Pop to spread even further.

3.4 Park Geun-hye Government

The focus of the Park Geun-hye government's Korean Wave policy was on moving away from the

policies led by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism toward establishing a cooperative system with other agencies and the private sector. The Hallyu 3.0 Committee, which is a public-private advisory body composed of members of the academia, related organizations, the content industry, and the government, was launched on March 19, 2014, followed by the launch of the Hallyu Content Planning Taskforce on June 19, 2015. The Hallyu Content Planning Taskforce was put in charge of establishing a cooperative system between the government and the private sector and creating ties between the cultural industry and other industries. Essentially, it was a private advisory body for creating Korean Wave 3.0 encompassing diverse genres and regions beyond the K-drama–oriented Korean Wave 1.0 and the K-Pop–oriented Korean Wave 2.0 (Korean Foundation for International Cultural Exchange, 2014).

The Hallyu Content Planning Taskforce was jointly headed by the Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism, representing the government, and the president of the Korean Broadcasters Association, representing the private sector. Vice-ministerial-level officers of the Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Korea Communications Commission also participated as members of the taskforce to provide policy support for leading private businesses in diverse genres of the Korean Wave, such as K-Pop, TV dramas, movies, musicals, and video games. From the private sector, experts were invited from various fields, including broadcasting, film, music and entertainment, design, performance, publishing, finance, fashion, food, beauty, corporate philanthropy (mécénat), trade, media, and so on.

While the Lee government had placed widely popular Korean Wave content, such as K-Pop, at the forefront and provided support based on the principle of selection and concentration, the Park government sought to expand the scope of K-content to all areas of Korean society, including food, education, and sports, while also actively supporting the K-Pop industry and further devising measures to support the development of K-Culture.

3.5 Moon Jae-in Government

The Moon government sought to resolve the problems that hindered the global spread of the Korean Wave and induce a positive ripple effect through the Korean Wave at the same time. Like the preceding government, the Moon government emphasized the need for systematic efforts to continuously spread the Korean Wave. To this end, the government pursued policies to deepen the link between the Korean Wave and other industries and manage anti–Korean Wave sentiment overseas. It decided to establish a cross-ministerial body for managing implementation of and intra-government cooperation for Korean Wave policies. To provide stronger support for the New Korean Wave (K-Culture), the Moon Jae-in government created the Hallyu Content Cooperation Division within the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, the first division to be created to provide support for the Korean Wave in a government ministry. The K-Culture Cooperation Committee included representatives from the Ministry of Culture, Sports and

Tourism, related ministries, heads of public institutions, and experts, and it was created to establish a cooperative system for analyzing data and information related to the Korean Wave and reviewing Korean Wave policies (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2020). As K-Pop's popularity grew around the world, the governance system (consisting of the government and its ministries, entertainment agencies, partner organizations, and consumers) also became stronger. The government bolstered its cooperation with the private sector and upgraded the scale of the Korea Convention (K-CON), an annual Korean Wave convention held in locations across the world and an example of using the Korean Wave for marketing products made by small-and-medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Ministries worked together to hold various events, vitalize online sales and live commerce, and support the marketing activities of various industries, including medical tourism, fashion, food, and beauty.

In the "Policy Plan for Promoting the New Korean Wave" announced in 2020, the Moon government classified the characteristics of the Korean Wave by period into four stages and defined the present stage of the Korean Wave as the 'New Korean Wave (K-Culture).' The functioning of cooperative governance in developing the New Korean Wave under the Moon government is seen in the projects and initiatives that connected the Korean Wave with Korean language education. The government pursued policies toward supporting Korean language education overseas, such as expanding the operations of designated King Sejong Institutes around the world, dispatching more Korean language teachers overseas, assisting in the development of local school education, supporting the inclusion of regular Korean courses in the curricula of elementary and middle schools overseas, and promoting Korean studies at foreign universities by establishing strategic research centers for Korean studies. In the private sector, Big Hit Entertainment (now HIVE), to which BTS belongs, produced Korean language learning content for global fans who have difficulty enjoying K-Pop due to the language barrier. Using this content, professors of Korean language education at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS) and the research team at the Korean Language Contents Institute (KOLCI) developed a Korean language curriculum. Universities in the US, France, Egypt, and Vietnam opened online Korean language courses based on this curriculum and content, and the Korea Foundation and HUFS worked together to promote Korean language education overseas (Yoon, 2020). The Ministry of Education decided to develop and distribute Korean textbooks for overseas elementary, middle and high schools using the lyrics of BTS's hit songs (Park, 2021).

At the same time, the Moon government emphasized the promotion of "good action" through the Korean Wave. While Korean Wave policies so far had focused on spreading and sustaining the influence of the Korean Wave, the Moon government hoped to expand the cultural content export market and related industries together by emphasizing two-way cultural exchange rather than the one-way diffusion of the Korean Wave (Korean Foundation for International Cultural Exchange, 2018, p. 134). An example is the Moon government's New Southern Policy, which sought to establish a win-win relationship through bilateral cooperation rather than creating a unilateral flow of influence. The Korean Wave was given a central role in this policy, which envisioned the fostering of mutually beneficial relationships with ASEAN countries that

have developed a favorable attitude toward Korea through the Korean Wave for both cultural and industrial development through diverse exchanges using the Korean Wave as a foothold. In ASEAN countries, a growing number of youths revere K-Pop idols and hope to become like them, and the number of consumers who want to learn Korean and understand Korean culture has also been increasing. In Thailand, for instance, Thai K-Pop idols, such as Nichkhun, Lisa, and BamBam, have become role models for the younger generation. For the ASEAN countries, the global phenomena created by K-Pop idols such as BTS has made Korea an interesting example to study as a model for cultural growth. The Moon government's New Southern Policy has been contributing to building a positive image of the Korean Wave. The emphasis placed on pursuing diverse exchanges through bilateral cooperation rather than promoting the Korean Wave unilaterally has strengthened the favorable perception of not only Korea's image and national brand in terms of Korean Wave content but also Korean products and businesses in various industries.

4. Conclusion

Few studies have discussed how the Korean government's role and policies have contributed to the success of K-Pop so far. However, since the Kim Dae-jung government to the present, significant governmental efforts have been made to achieve national development through the fostering of the cultural industry. The Korean government has continuously implemented various policies to develop the cultural industry as a means to overcome economic difficulties and, later on, to establish Korea as a cultural powerhouse. In this process to realize policies and initiatives, the government forged a governance system based on a cooperative network comprising the government, public and private organizations, entertainment agencies, the academia, and consumers.

It is no coincidence that Korea became a cultural powerhouse. It is an achievement made possible through cooperative governance that closely connected the government's vision and goals, active policies and governmental support, activities and practices of related ministries and the private sector, and active consumer participation. Korea achieved miraculous economic growth in the 1970s, and once again, the country achieved another miracle of becoming a cultural powerhouse in the 21st century. The success of K-Pop cannot be ascribed to a single factor, and among the many factors that contributed to K-Pop's growth, it is undeniable that the government's policies and support, which have not been given proper attention, played a major role in establishing a governance model that created a firm network of cooperation under a common goal.

The Korean government's vision and role will continue to be an important factor for Korea to secure its position as a cultural powerhouse through the Korean Wave. Just as Korea's model of economic growth now serves as a model for developing countries, the success of K-Pop can also provide useful direction and guidance for other countries in developing their cultural industries.

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