Ethnoscapes, Mediascapes, and Ideoscapes:
Socio-Cultural Relations between South Korea and China

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Since the normalization of the diplomatic relationship between South Korea and China in 1992, there has been an active interaction between the two countries which goes beyond differences in political, economic, social, and cultural systems. The astonishing growth in South Korea-China relations, however, has also increased areas in which conflict and clash may occur. In particular, the socio-cultural interaction between the two countries has created new identities, images, ideas and discourses, subsequently increasing the areas of conflict and clash. Based on Appadurai's discussion of the transnational interaction in the globalization process, the present paper analyzes the socio-cultural relationship between South Korea and China, focusing on ethnoscapes, mediascapes, *and* ideoscapes, *which are especially important in looking at socio-cultural dimensions.*

Keywords: South Korea-China Relations, Socio-Cultural Interaction, Transnational Migration, Korean Wave, China Model

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the normalization of the diplomatic relationship between South Korea and China in 1992, there has been an active transnational interaction between the two countries which goes beyond differences in political, economic, social, and cultural systems. The astounding development in South Korea-China relationship over the past twenty years has thus involved all areas encompassing economic, political, social and cultural interactions. One representative example of this active interaction is the growth in trade between the two countries. In 1992, South Korea's export to China was 2.65 billion U.S. Dollars (hereafter USD) and its trade volume with China was 6.38 billion USD, which was approximately 3.5% of South Korea's total export and 4.0% of gross trade volume, respectively. However, in 2011, South Korea's export to China increased 51 times to 134.18 billion USD and trade volume with China 35 times to 220.6 billion USD, taking up 24.2% of South Korea's total export and 20.4% of gross trade volume, respectively. Thus, as of 2011, South Korea's trade volume with China is larger than that with the U.S. (100.78 billion USD) and Japan (108 billion USD) combined, and the total export to China is not only larger than that to U.S. (56.2 billion USD) or to Japan (39.68 billion USD) but similar to that to U.S, Japan, and EU (55.7 billion USD) combined.[1]

South Korea has also become a very important trade partner to China. As of 2011, South Korea is China's third largest trading country in terms of gross trade volume, following the U.S. and Japan. South Korea's FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) to China has also grown from 223 million USD in 1992 to 7.345 billion USD in 2007. The amount decreased due to

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[1] According to the Chinese government, China's gross trade volume with South Korea is 245.6 billion USD in 2011. However, this paper uses the figures from Trade Statistics provided by Korean International Trade Association.

the global financial crisis but has regained growth afterwards, and as of 2011, is recorded at 4.874 billion USD.[2]

South Korea and China have also forged a close relationship in the diplomatic sphere, as exhibited in the two countries' cooperation surrounding North Korea's nuclear issue. Reflecting the development of political relations, the cooperation between South Korea and China has deepened from a "friendly cooperative relationship" at the beginning of the normalization of diplomatic relationship to the present "strategic cooperative partnership," an expression used for one of the most distinguished types of bilateral relationship in Chinese foreign policy (Kim, 2009).

In addition to the economic and political interaction, the socio-cultural interaction between the two countries has also been active. In 2011, more than 6.4 million have travelled between the two countries, which is a 50-times increase from 130,000 in 1992. The exchange in students have been particularly vibrant, with 62,957 South Korean students in China and 59,317 Chinese students in South Korea in 2011, recording the largest portion of international students in each others' country respectively. The rapid development of the bilateral relationship between the two countries in various areas since 1992 as such has led many scholars to make positive evaluations with expressions such as "dazzling development" (Cho, 2011:90), "rapid expansion" (Chung, 2011:19), "unbelievable, astounding growth" (Lee, D. 2008:227), and a "miracle in the diplomacy history" (Wang, 2007:45).

However, the astonishing growth in South Korea-China relations has also increased areas in which conflict and clash may occur, as well as the possibility of such unwelcome incidents due to the complexity and plurality of the two countries' interaction. Especially, the socio-cultural interaction which transcends systemic, national, ethnic, and cultural borders between the two countries has created new identities, new images, and new ideas and discourses, and has subsequently increased the areas of conflict and clash. The present paper thus will look at the current state of socio-cultural interaction between South Korea and China and analyze the areas of the socio-cultural conflicts between the two countries.

To this purpose, this paper will draw on Appadurai's discussion, which focuses on the socio-cultural dynamics in transnational interaction in the era of globalization. Appadurai illuminated that the globalization process does not only occur in economic and political spheres in ways of the movement in international capital or the creation of international organizations, but also has various other affects which give birth to new identities through the transnational interaction of images and imagination. According to Appadurai, global cultural flows in the globalization process can be categorized largely into five dimensions, that is: *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes*, *mediascapes*, and *ideoscapes*. These five 'scapes' refer to the respective dimensions of transnational interaction and interchange for people, machinery, money, images and information, and ideological ideas (Appadurai, 1996: 33-36). Of these 'scapes,' the most important in terms of socio-cultural interaction are the ethnoscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes.

The present paper therefore will analyze the social-cultural relationship between South Korea and China after the normalization of diplomatic relationship in 1992 with a focus on

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[2] The numbers above are figures based on investors' reports to the South Korean government. In terms of real figure, South Korea's FDI to China was 140 million USD in 1992, 5.268 billion USD in 2007, and 3.572 billion USD in 2011. Refer to Foreign Invest Statistics (By Country) provided by Korea Exim Bank.

ethnoscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes, among the five dimensions presented by Appadurai. First, the status of the socio-cultural interaction between South Korea and China which has been showing rapid growth since 1992 will be presented in terms of the three 'scapes,' followed by the content of the conflict and clash found in these dimensions. Lastly, suggestions for resolving the problems identified in this paper will be given based on the analysis.

2. SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERACTION BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA AND CHINA

2.1. Interactions in Ethnoscapes

In ethnoscapes, the landscape related to flows of people such as tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals who constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations (Appadurai, 1996:33), there has been a significant growth between South Korea and China since 1992. As the 837 weekly flights over 52 air routes between South Korea and China as of August 2012 exhibit, the population exchange between the two countries has grown enormously since 1992, when the number of population moving between the two countries was recorded at a mere 130,000. The last twenty years have greatly increased population movement, the number of which reached an astounding 6.4 million (6.7 million including flight attendants) in 2011, 50 times larger than that of 1992, and continual growth is expected to open an era in which more than 10 million people move between the two countries. With the great increase in population exchange in ethnoscapes, the number of South Korean consulates in China has been increased to ten offices including the one in Dalian which is scheduled to open soon. This number is the same as the number of South Korean consulates in Japan as well as that in the U.S., with whom diplomatic relationship was formed in 1965 and 1882, respectively. The population exchange in ethnoscapes can be divided into the movement from South Korea to China and that from China to South Korea.

First, to look at the movement from South Korea to China, the number of South Koreans visiting China for reasons of tourism, study abroad, and business has shown a steady annual increase since 1992. In 1992, the number of South Korean visitors to China was only 43,234 but the number recorded 4,185,000 (4,300,000 including flight attendants) in 2011. In the same year, the portion of South Koreans visiting China was 33% of all South Koreans going overseas, which means that one in three South Koreans going abroad had their destination as China. This number is almost a million South Koreans more than the number of South Koreans who went abroad to the U.S., Japan, and Europe combined (Korea Tourism Organization, 2012).

In particular, the number of South Korean students studying in China has greatly increased since 1992, and record shows that in 2011, there were 62,957 South Korean students, the largest portion amongst international students in China.[3] Although there were bouts of decrease in the number of South Koreans in China due to the 2008 global financial crisis and subsequent downturn in economy, as South Korea and China's economies recovered relatively fast from the crisis, the number of population exchange gained back its

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[3] Refer to International Student Statistics provided by Statistics Korea. According to China's Ministry of Education, in 2011, the number of South Korean students in China is 62,442 (Hao, 2012).

growing trend once again. As a result, today, the number of South Koreans residing in China, excluding ethic Korean Chinese, is estimated to be approximately 800,000 people, the largest among all foreigners in China.[4]

With the rise of China, the growth in visitors to China is not a trend exclusive to South Korea alone. However, the exceptional characteristic of South Koreans in ethnoscapes is that South Koreans have formed new spaces in major cities of China - concentrated settlements or Koreatowns (韩国城 *hanguocheng*) - unlike other foreigners. Koreatowns have emerged from the inflow of South Koreans not only in China's large cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenyang, but also in the Shandong province which has geographic proximity to and historical affinity with South Korea. Beijing's *Wangjing* and *Wudaokou* areas, Shanghai's *Gubei* area, Shenyang's *Xita* area, Qingdao's *Chengyangqu* area are some of the representative Koreatowns in China (Paik et al., 2010). Although there are also concentrated residential areas in China formed by foreigners of other nationalities as well, such as the area inhabited by Germans around Kempinski Hotel in Beijing, these concentrated residential areas are merely areas where people of the same nationality live in close quarters and without an organic relationship amongst the residents. By contrast, Koreatowns formed by South Koreans in China have developed into transnational ethnic communities centered on ethnic economies (Jeong, 2012). Thus, Koreatowns in major Chinese cities separate itself from those formed by foreigners of other nationalities and exhibit a characteristic exclusive to South Koreans.[5]

The formation of a South Korean society in China based on the rapid growth in ethnoscapes has also led to the development of civic organizations for South Koreans in China. Various forms of civic organizations have emerged in Koreatowns and have expanded their influence to larger scopes beyond the Koreatown districts. Most notable are the 'Korean Community China,' the largest civic organization for South Koreans in China, and the 'Korea Chamber of Commerce in China', mainly composed of China branch managers of South Korean conglomerates and large-scale businessmen.[6] In addition, there also exist other types of organizations such as alumni associations formed by long-term immigrants and students, South Korean religious groups, and associations among various types of South Korean businessmen. These groups have brought new types of transnational South Korean communities in China, providing what Appadurai termed as *diasporic public spheres* (Appadurai, 1996:21-22).

In parallel to the movement of South Koreans to China, the number of population movement from China to South Korea in ethnoscapes has also been increasing steadily since

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[4] This number is provided by the 'Korean Community China', the largest civil organization of South Koreans in China. However, Embassy of the Republic of Korea in China estimates the number of South Koreans in China as being largely from 370,000 to 850,000 as of 7 August 2012. On the other hand, Chinese newspaper, *Huanqiu Ribao*, reports that there were 14 Chinese cities with more than 10,000 South Korean residents and more than a million South Koreans residing in China (Yu, 2009).

[5] The Taiwanese have also formed concentrated settlements in major Chinese cities which are transnational ethnic communities centering on ethnic economies (Deng, 2006). However, considering that Taiwanese are ethnically Chinese, the concentrated settlements based on ethnic economies formed by South Koreans as foreigners can be considered exceptional.

[6] In particular, the Korean Community China has expanded to a nation-wide scale to cover all of China by increasing the number of local branches from 16 to 57. Interview with the chief-director of the Korean Community China, Beijing, 22 July 2010.

1992. The number of Chinese visitors to South Korea has increased from 45,187 in 1992 to 2,220,000 (2,400,000 including flight attendants) in 2011, which takes up 23.5% of all foreigners visiting South Korea (Korea Tourism Organization, 2012). This number is expected to reach three million within the year and over ten million by 2020. With the rapid increase in Chinese visitors to South Korea, the annual number of visas issued to Chinese nationals by the South Korean authorities was recorded to be more than one million for the first time in 2011. Excluding Hong Kong and Macau, South Korea was the most popular destination amongst Chinese in the same year. In particular, the number of Chinese students coming to South Korea to study has increased greatly. Whereas there were only 17 Chinese students in South Korea in 1992, the number increased to more than 10,000 in 2005 and to 59,317 in 2011 which takes up 66.2% of the 89,537 international students in South Korea (National Institute for International Education, 2012). Even when the exchange students and language students are excluded from the numbers, the number of Chinese students studying towards a degree has grown from 278 in 1995 to 46,378 in 2011, which is 72.9% of all international students studying towards a degree in South Korea.[7]

The exceptional number of incoming population from China has made the Chinese the most important group of foreigners for South Korea. Of the 1,420,000 foreigners residing in South Korea in March 2012, Chinese take up 690,000 (of which ethnic Korean Chinese are about 480,000) and 50% of the all foreign residents in South Korea. The number of long-term Chinese residents in South Korea is rapidly increasing as well. For instance, of the 110,028 foreigners registered at the South Korean Immigration Service under the Ministry of Justice in 1995, the number of Chinese was 19,192, which was only 17.4% of the total number of foreigners registered, but in 2011, the number of Chinese registered was 536,699 out of a total of 982,461 registered foreigners, taking up a 54.6%.[8] This rapid increase in the number of long-term Chinese residents in South Korea resulted in the emergence of the "new overseas Chinese (新华侨 *xinhuaqiao*)," composed of Chinese migrants from mainland China and distinct from the previous overseas Chinese. The new overseas Chinese have formed new concentrated settlements of their own, separate from existing Chinatowns, in areas such as Garibong-dong, Noyu-dong, and Daerim-dong in Seoul and Ansan in Gyeonggi-do. With the inflow of the new overseas Chinese, these areas have transformed from being residential and work areas of low-wage laborers during South Korea's industrialization into concentrated (Korean) Chinese settlements. These new inhabitants have actively created various socio-cultural communities in South Korea.[9]

As seen from above, the flow of population in ethnoscapes has made important contributions to the relationship between South Korea and China. Through ethnoscapes, China provided cheap but qualified labor to South Korea, while South Korea helped in

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[7] Refer to Education Statistics provided by Korean Educational Development Institute.

[8] Refer to Korea Immigration Service Statistics provided by Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Korea.

[9] The active population exchange in ethnoscapes since 1992 has also contributed to the redevelopment of existing Chinatowns. One example can be the Chinatown in Bukseong-dong, Incheon city, which was formed by Chinese traders who followed the Qing army during the *Imogullan* military uprising in 1882. Afterwards, this Chinatown met a downturn as it experienced difficulties in economic activity through the course of the Korean War, currency reform, and the imposition of stricter regulations on their land ownership, but the increase in new overseas Chinese along with the rise of China has given it a second life.

adding vitalization to the Chinese market. More than anything, the transnational movement of students has made an important contribution in increasing socio-cultural understanding between the two countries.

2.2. Interactions in Mediascapes

South Korea and China have also experienced large-scale interaction in mediascapes which "refer both to the distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios) ... and to the images of the world created by these media" (Appadurai, 1996:35). Most representative of the socio-cultural interaction in mediascapes are the Korean wave (韩流 *hanliu* in Chinese and *hallyu* in Korean) in China and the China fever (汉风 *hanfeng*, 中国风 *Zhongguofeng,* 中国热 *Zhongguore*) in South Korea.

The Korean wave rose from the popularity of South Korea's TV dramas, popular music, movies and films, and online games in China. With the rise of the Korean wave, the export of South Korean media contents to China achieved a steady increase. During the period from 2008, when a K-pop boom hit China, to 2010, the average annual increase in the export value of South Korean media contents to China has been 35%, showing a jump from 400 million USD to 750 million USD (Park and Kim, 2012:4). Let's look at the Korean wave in China by category.

South Korean TV dramas started attracting the Chinese audience with "What is Love (*Sarangi Mwogillae*)" in 1997, succeeded by the very popular "A Wish Upon a Star (*Byeoreun Nae Gaseume*)" in 1999 and "A Jewel in the Palace (*Daejanggeum*)" in 2005, at which point the Korean wave in the TV drama industry found its peak (Gwak, 2005). Although the export of South Korean TV dramas to China decreased since 2006 due to the new regulations instated by the Chinese government on the import and broadcasting of foreign media contents, South Korean broadcasting contents export to China has shown a rise again after 2009, as the genres of contents in demand diversified to include variety shows and documentaries (Park and Kim, 2012:4).

South Korean TV dramas themselves have also expanded in type, from melodramas and trendy dramas, to include family dramas as well through the popularity of "Famous Seven Princesses," whose final episode broadcasted on Hunan satellite TV rated 20.17% and thereby renewed the record for highest rating among South Korean TV dramas in China which was previously held by "A Jewel in the Palace." In addition, the popularity of "Full House" and "Temptation of Wife" in 2009 has led to an increase in South Korean drama remakes by Chinese productions, which has also been very popular as exemplified by the Chinese remake of "Temptation of Wife" which held the top position in ratings on Hunan satellite TV during its broadcast since the first airing in March 2011.

K-pop also made a significant contribution to the Korean wave in China. The spread of South Korean popular music, exhibited by huge successes such as the 2000 H.O.T China Concert, established K-pop as a bona-fide musical genre in China, and K-pop fans are consuming South Korean popular music in real time through internet sites. The popularity of K-pop has lifted the export of South Korean music contents from 850,000 USD in 2006 to 3,630,000 USD in 2010, a 4-times increase over the five-year period (Park and Kim, 2012:5). K-pop not only exerted its influence in terms of music, but also in the lifestyle and fashions of its avid Chinese followers, especially the young generation. These Chinese fans embraced the culture represented by the South Korean singers into their daily lives by imitating their

fashion and hairstyle, a phenomenon which attracted broad attention by the media. The Korean wave led by K-pop even resulted in the formation of *hahanzu* (哈韩族) – a group of young Chinese people who are deeply interested and immersed in Korean culture – and contributed much in creating a positive image of South Korea to the Chinese population.

In terms of South Korean movies, although the limit on the number of foreign films allowed in national theatres imposed by the Chinese government continue to be an obstacle, South Korean films also boast wide popularity through unofficial channels. At the same time, there has been an increase in South Korea-China joint film productions and the appearance of South Korean actors in Chinese films, all of which have contributed to the expansion of the Korean wave. Online games are also contributing to the inflow of South Korean cultural contents into China, with the export value growing 3.8 times from 160 million USD in 2008 to approximately 600 million USD in 2010 (Park and Kim, 2012:5).

Like the Korean wave in China, the interest in China gave birth to the China fever in South Korea. The China fever first appeared in the form of heated enthusiasm towards learning Chinese and studying abroad in China. For example, the number of South Koreans taking the Chinese efficiency test, HSK, increased from 487 people in 1993, when it was first held in South Korea, to 53,000 people in 2010. In the same year, it was estimated that more than half of the population taking the test, which was held 292 places in 70 countries around the world, were South Koreans (Education Office of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Korea, 2012; Shin, 2011). The heightened interest in learning Chinese amongst South Koreans can also be evidenced by the number of students choosing Chinese as their second language in high-schools, which has also increased drastically from 43,942 in 1992 to 199,816 in 2011.[10]

With the rise of China, the China fever, which was mainly centered on learning Chinese language or studying abroad in China, evolved into an overall interest in Chinese culture amongst South Koreans. Responding such change in trend, the first Confucius Institute (孔子学院 *Kongzi xueyuan*), the overseas agency for promoting Chinese language and Chinese culture, was established in Seoul in November 2004, and has since then established a total of 19 Confucius Institutes in South Korea as of 2011. These Institutes not only train Chinese language teachers but also run various programs such as study abroad preparation classes, Chinese culture classes, Chinese language competitions, cultivating pro-Chinese population in South Korea.

One significant result of the China fever in South Korea is the speedy increase in the number of China-related departments established in universities. In 1991, the year before the normalization of diplomatic relationship, there were only 61 China-related departments in four-year universities, most of which were departments of Chinese language and literature, but at present in 2012, there are 140 departments including 61 departments of China area studies that comprehensively deal with China.[11] The surge in China-related departments in universities reflect the evolution of the China fever in South Korea from learning Chinese language or studying abroad in China to an overall interest in Chinese culture and society.

The gradual expansion of shared cultural images in mediascapes between South Korea and China, represented by the Korean wave and the China fever, has contributed greatly to

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[10] Refer to Education Statistics provided by Korean Educational Development Institute.

[11] Refer to Education Statistics provided by Korean Educational Development Institute. When including specialized colleges, the number of China-related departments is about 208 at present in 2012.

the deepening of socio-cultural understanding between the two countries. The Korean wave, which became a cultural phenomenon in China, functioned as a medium through which Chinese people formed their images and perception of South Korea. By consuming and enjoying South Korean TV dramas, pop music, and movies, Chinese people have been able to increase their understanding of and identification with South Korea. In other words, by becoming an opening through which the Chinese gained an understanding of South Korean society, the Korean wave contributed in forging a tighter South Korea-China relationship by building a stronger sense of cultural affinity towards South Korea in its Chinese audiences (Zhang, 2006).

Like the Korean wave, the China fever in South Korea which sparked from a renewed interest in China after 1992 has also played a significant role in enhancing South Koreans' perception and understanding of China. With China's rapid economic growth and rising status in the world order working as an additional factor to fuel South Koreans' enthusiasm to learn more about China, the China fever continues to change South Koreans' perception of China. Therefore, the China fever also has a substantial socio-cultural implication for the South Korea-China relationship.

2.3. Interactions in Ideoscapes

In ideoscapes, which refers to the concatenations of images closely related to the interaction and the reconstruction of ideological and counter-ideological ideas consisting elements of the Enlightenment world view such as freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term democracy (Appadurai, 1996: 36),[12] an interaction which was not possible before due to the differences in political system has occurred and expanded between South Korea and China.

This interaction in ideoscapes accelerated through the flow in ethnoscapes, which allowed the exchange of discourses amongst opinion leaders such as scholars, journalists, and politicians. In particular, the exchange of students between the two countries has a very important significance. As Nye points out, many of the students who study abroad return to their home country after graduation and become opinion leaders, introducing and disseminating the values and ideologies of the countries in which they studied. Thus the exchange of international students has great significance in terms of ideoscapes (Nye, 2004: 13). This situation also applies to South Korea-China interactions in ideoscapes.

As an example, as of 28 November, 2012, the accumulated number of South Korean doctorate graduates who received their degree in China since 1992 has rapidly increased from only one to 1,176.[13] Among these graduates, many are actively pursuing their careers in South Korea and became opinion leaders. The rise in recognition and status of Chinese doctorate degrees can be seen in the example of the doctorate graduates from China including Taiwan and Hong Kong who are currently professors at China-related departments in South Korea's four-year universities. At present in 2012, there are 243 such professors who take up 25.1% of the total number of professors at China-related departments in South

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[12] According to Appadurai, mediascapes and ideoscapes are closely related landscapes of images (1996:35).

[13] This figure is from the number of South Korean doctorate graduates who received their degrees in China reported in the Foreign Doctorate Degree Registration System of the National Research Foundation of Korea, as of November 2012.

Korea's four-year universities. What is more is that, among these 243 professors, 54 professors teach social science curriculums, which is 40.6% of the total number of social science professors at China-related departments in South Korea's four-year universities.[14]

The number of Chinese who received Ph. D. degrees in South Korea has also increased at a fast pace. There are currently no official figures for the number of Chinese doctorate graduates who received their Ph. D. degrees in South Korea, but when looking at the number of Chinese doctorate degree candidates registered in South Korean universities, the numbers are quite astonishing: the accumulated number of Chinese who registered in South Korean doctorate degree programs from January 2003 to November 2012 is 11,483.[15] These graduates are also active opinion leaders in China after graduation, among which a representative example can be the recent appointment of a Chinese doctoral graduate, who received his Ph. D. at the Graduate School of Public Administration at Seoul National University, as the President of Yanbian University in China.

The socio-cultural interaction in ideoscapes created the basis for mutual cooperation between South Korea and China and presents a possibility for the formation of discourse on important topics such as political democracy, economic development, and Asian values. In ideoscapes, South Korea provided discourses and experiences related to its strategy of economic development, method of rural development represented by Saemaul movement, and process of political democratization to China, while at the same time, China provided a practical possibility of constructing an alternative model for the U.S.-led world order represented by the China model and the confidence and pride for the Asian era to South Korea.

3. SOCIO-CULTURAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA AND CHINA

The socio-cultural interaction between South Korea and China, which developed rapidly since the reinstatement of South Korea-China relations in 1992, has contributed greatly in deepening the mutual understanding between the two countries. However, due to the difference in political systems, social situations, and cultural backgrounds, socio-cultural interactions between the two countries have at times also led to misunderstanding and conflict. As the actors of socio-cultural interaction between the two countries pluralized and diversified with the expansion in South Korea-China relations, the possibility of conflict and clash in the socio-cultural sphere has also shown respective growth. The following illustrates the socio-cultural conflicts in the three dimensions of ethnoscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes.

3.1. Conflicts in Ethnoscapes

The transnational movement of South Koreans into China often raises anti-Korean sentiments in China. Since South Koreans build tightly-knitted settlements centered on ethnic economies which take the form of Koreatowns in China's major cities, Koreatowns

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[14] The figures on the doctorate graduates from China including Taiwan and Hong Kong who are currently professors at China-related departments in South Korea's four-year universities are compiled from information on South Korean universities' websites.

[15] Refer to Education Statistics provided by Korean Educational Development Institute.

are often the target and breeding-ground of anti-Korean sentiments felt by the Chinese. For Chinese residents living in or nearby Koreatowns, the loud noise made by their South Korean neighbors and the illegal status of many South Koreans living in Koreatowns are cited as major reasons for the negative image they have of South Koreans in China, while Chinese authorities point to the illegal missionary work by South Koreans to Chinese as a big reason. Not a small number of Chinese have a negative attitude towards Koreatowns in China's major cities, for instance, more than twice the number of Chinese has answered "not welcome" rather than "welcome" to the question asking how they feel about incoming South Koreans to Beijing's Wangjing area (Zhang, Piao, and Zheng, 2009:115).

The active interaction between the two countries in ethnoscapes also inevitably brings out the conflict related to the ethic Korean Chinese. In particular, the interaction in ethnoscapes brought a huge transformation into the Korean Chinese society in China and resulted in a heated debate on the collapse of the Korean Chinese community. Korean Chinese refer to approximately two million ethnic Koreans who reside in China as Chinese citizens, belonging to one of China's ethnic minorities (少数民族 *shaoshu minzu*). Many Koreans have migrated into northeast China since the start of the late nineteenth century, especially in present-day Jilin, Heilongjiang and Liaoning provinces, whose descendants became known as *chaoxianzu* in Chinese and *joseonjok* in Korean (Kim, 2010:3-4). From the time when they started migrating into China, Korean Chinese lived in concentrated settlements and remained in northeast China with limited spatial movement until the 1980s (Yoon, 2012: 417). China's economic reforms, however, spurred a change in the Korean Chinese community by propelling them to leave their traditional residences in three provinces of northeast China in search for higher-paying jobs. Especially, the huge inflow of South Koreans to China's major cities since the normalization of diplomatic relations in 1992 brought their ethnically-tied Korean Chinese into South Korean-concentrated neighborhoods in urban areas, causing a massive migration of Korean Chinese.

At present, it is estimated that there are less than a million Korean Chinese in the three provinces of northeast China, while there is estimated to be about 500,000 in China's major cities and 500,000 in South Korea and other foreign countries.[16] Due to the large drain in population, the traditional settlements of Korean Chinese have found themselves in danger of disintegration. In particular, because so many have moved to South Korea and major urban areas in China following South Koreans who entered China after 1992, concerns have been raised about the dissolution of Korean Chinese families and the collapse of ethnic education, enforcing the sense of crisis felt by the Korean Chinese community. As a result, the inflow of South Koreans into China since 1992 have been underscored as the reason behind the disintegration of traditional Korean Chinese communities (Rui, 2009:1-4).

The interaction between the two countries in ethnoscapes have also resulted in a serious conflict related to the Korean Chinese's characteristics as *kuajing minzu* (跨境民族 meaning transnational ethnic group) of China with neighboring North and South Koreas as their ethnic homeland.[17] The dual identity of Korean Chinese - the ethnic identity as Korean and the nationality (citizenship) as Chinese - has sometimes led to serious misunderstanding between

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[16] Statistics provided by Embassy of the Republic of Korea in China, 7 August 2012.

[17] *Kuajing minzu* (also called 跨界民族 *kuajie minzu*), a concept used for the ethnic minorities in China, refers to the ethnic minorities of Chinese nationality who reside in China, but who also have an independent ethnic state of their origin (homeland) along the border. For the concept of *kuajing minzu*, refer to Jin and Wang 1994.

the two countries, while new areas of conflict have surfaced with the development of South Korea-China relations, notably between South Koreans and Korean Chinese. At the beginning of the normalization of diplomatic relationship between the two countries, there had formed a cooperative relationship between these two groups. This cooperative relationship, however, changed to a competitive and strained relationship as many Korean Chinese entered the businesses areas cultivated by South Korean businessmen - such as restaurants, real estate agencies, and tourist agencies - and became competitors against South Korean entrepreneurs. Especially after the 2008 global financial crisis, the tension deepened as many Korean Chinese took over enterprises formerly owned by South Koreans who were but to sell their businesses due to financial difficulties brought by the Korean won's decline against the Chinese yuan.

The population flow in ethnoscapes between South Korea and China has also led to problems surrounding illegal activities and the rights of transnational migrants. In 2011, the number of Chinese illegal migrants who reside in South Korea was estimated to be 67,034. Looking at Chinese illegal migration to South Korea more closely, separate trends can be found in that of Korean Chinese and of (non-Korean Chinese) Chinese migrants over the past decade. The number of Korean Chinese illegal migrants has increased from 22,128 in 1992 to 58,705 in 2002, but with the instatement of immigration policies favorable to ethnic Koreans, the number started to decrease, to 17,284 in 2011.[18] On the other hand, the number of (non-Korean Chinese) Chinese illegal migrants was only 736 in 1992, but has continually increased to reach 49,750 in 2011.[19]

Criminal activity by South Koreans in China is also becoming a social problem. The problem with legality faced by South Koreans in China is as follows. First is the problem of rapid increase of illegal stay by South Koreans in China. According to the Chinese government, the number of South Korean illegal migrants in China is estimated to be almost 20,000 in 2011. The number increased greatly in 2008 during the Beijing Olympic Games when there was a crackdown on illegal migrants and high rejection of short-term visas, which shows that the growth in the number of illegal South Korean migrants has a close relationship with the rigidity and vagueness of the Chinese government's policy for the foreign residency.

At the same time, some of the South Koreans in China, who fell to the lower end of the social ladder due to the social stratification in South Korean society in China spurred by China's rapid economic development, have been involved in various criminal activities. According to Embassy of the Republic of Korea in China, many of the 394 cases of reported crimes by South Koreans in China in 2011 were related to the South Koreans in this social group.[20] This new social group of South Koreans in China, like *tailiu* (台流) who have been identified as a social problem in the Taiwanese society in mainland China (Choi, 2008), has potential to taint South Korea's image in China and to become a social problem.

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[18] An example can be the 'Visit and Employment Programme (*Bangmun chuieop jedo*) for Ethnic Koreans with Foreign Citizenship' in 2007, which allows free entry and departure from South Korea for five years and employment by any company in South Korea for three years to ethnic Koreans over the age of 25 (Seol and Skrentny, 2009).

[19] Refer to Korea Immigration Service Statistics provided by Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Korea.

[20] Statistics provided by Embassy of the Republic of Korea in China, 7 August 2012.

3.2. Conflicts in Mediascapes

The interaction in mediascapes has also raised new socio-cultural conflicts between South Korea and China, especially as both countries actively use their cultural resources as a way to increase influence in each other's country. As explained before, with the growing popularity of South Korean TV dramas and K-pop, the Korean wave began to spread in China amongst the general Chinese public. In the beginning, the South Korean government actively supported the spread of the Korean wave, not only for the sake of economic profit through the development of cultural industries, but also to achieve better performance of South Korea's diplomatic policies by promoting the Korean cultural standard in Asia. In other words, the use of cultural resources through the Korean wave was an important element in South Korea's soft power strategy (Lee, 2009). In fact, government agencies such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Korean Culture and Contents Agency, and the Korean National Tourism Office have pursued various projects towards the promotion of the Korean wave. Such efforts by the South Korean government came into conflict with China's strategy to enforce its soft power through the use of its cultural resources, and resulted in a clash within mediascapes.

China is also actively using its Chinese culture to increase its soft power. China's efforts towards this end can be seen as an attempt to create a cultural standard through the revival and spread of the Chinese civilization in Asia (Cho, 2010:180). Evidence of such intention can be found in China's response to the spread of the Korean wave in China. In the early years of the Korean wave, South Korean TV dramas were actively embraced by Chinese TV stations and other companies who faced fierce competition for new program contents, eagerly increasing their import of South Korean dramas, K-pop, and various other cultural products after their initial try at airing South Korean dramas gained success among Chinese audiences. The relatively cheap price of South Korean cultural contents also fueled the acceleration of the import growth.

However, with the success of "Daejanggeum" in China in 2005, the minus effects resulting from the high popularity of South Korean drama series began to come into light through complaints from Chinese production companies who lost work because of the import of South Korean dramas. Responding to the general opinion demanding increased protection of the Chinese drama industry, Chinese government made various measures to bridle the import of foreign TV programs, including the "Notice on the strengthened law for imported foreign TV dramas" in 2002, "Regulations on import and broadcasting management of foreign TV programs" in 2004, and "Notice on the strengthened import and broadcasting management of foreign drama" in 2012. With the implementation of policies restricting import of foreign broadcasting contents, South Korean drama imports began to dive downwards from 2006.

At the same time, the Korean wave has been often disparaged as a product of commercial capitalism and criticized as cultural invasion in China. In particular, just like the anti-Korean wave movement in Japan (嫌韓流) which looks down upon Korean culture, there emerged a Chinese anti-Korean wave movement (抗韓流 *kanghanliu*) to fight against the Korean wave and preserve China's cultural domain among the Chinese working in media and entertainment industries as well as Chinese internet users. Chinese people were not happy with the drastic trade imbalance in cultural products between South Korea and China, and believed that this was only possible through the strong push of the South Korean government.

As such, interactions in mediascapes between South Korea and China ended up in conflicts related to cultural nationalism (Leung, 2008).

Another notable conflict that came about as the two countries started to actively use their cultural resources to their benefit is the "cultural origin" dispute, formed primarily amongst young internet users. Debates on the origins of various traditional cultures such as *Dano* (端午, *Duanwu* in China) festivals, printing press technology, Chinese characters, Chinese medicine, and *Kimchi* have spread through the internet in both countries and have become a conflict ground between the younger generations of the two countries. One clear example of such dispute is that on the Dano/Duanwu festival. Although both the Dano and Duanwu festivals are celebrated on the same day, the two festivals are particular to their respective countries and are distinct from each other in their contents. However, upon the registration of South Korea's *Gangneung Dano* festival on the UNESCO cultural heritage list in 2005, a flood of criticism soon arose from many Chinese netizens who accused South Korea for hijacking their Chinese cultural heritage, the Duanwu festival. Expressions of cultural nationalism abounded as the furious comments made by Chinese netizens were responded by those in South Korea, resulting in a mutually-abusive dispute of words. After a while, the dispute itself faded away, but it led to a more protective stance from the Chinese and the Chinese government to protect and promote their cultural traditions (Park, 2010).

As discussed above, conflicts between South Korea and China in mediascapes often involve cultural nationalism which spark heated debate and result in unfavorable attitudes and lowered esteem toward each other's country. The promotion of the Korean wave by South Korea and that of the Chinese civilization by China can both be seen as a competition to establish a cultural standard favorable to their selves. This competition between South Korea and China, however, may lead to a situation which has potential to further the conflict and clash in mediascapes.

3.3. Conflicts in Ideoscapes

The most serious conflict and misunderstanding in the interaction in ideoscapes is related to overheated nationalism and nationalistic values found in both South Korea and China. China's "Northeast (History) Project (*Dongbei gongcheng*)" and its complications with South Korea's history of Goguryeo is a representative case. The distortion of the history of Goguryeo by Chinese scholars in Dongbei gongcheng and the Chinese government's inappropriate response to South Korea's remonstrance in 2004 and 2006 raised historical interpretation and representation as an important diplomatic issue between South Korea and China. There are various opinions about the intentions of China's Dongbei gongcheng, such as it being a cultural expansion with the occupation of North Korean territory in mind (Lee and Hong, 2008) or a national attempt to integrate the ethnic minorities within China's territory (Lee, H. 2008), but whatever the intention, Dongbei gongcheng worked as a critical trigger in turning the previously pro-Chinese Koreans against China and has been used as supporting evidence for the China threat in South Korea (Cho, 2010:179-180).

Historical reconstruction is an important task for China in building and integrating the Chinese state, and so, the soft conflict surrounding history is expected to continue between South Korea and China. In particular, the results of *Qingshi gongcheng* (清史工程), which is China's monumental work to compile the history of the Qing Dynasty, scheduled to be completed in 2012 in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the collapse of the Qing dynasty, has potential to become another ground for conflict between South Korea and China

when it is revealed, depending on the narration it contains on the relationship between the Qing Dynasty and Chosun Dynasty. This soft conflict surrounding history can be developed into the hard dispute if stimulated by nationalistic sentiments (Chung, 2011:313).

China's grand strategy following the rise of China and the pursuit of international status by South Korea as a "middle power" is creating another conflict in ideoscapes. It has been argued that, besides increases in economic and military power, the strengthening of China's soft power has been pivotal in expanding the country's remarkable increase in Asia over the past decade, and as such, soft power has an important place in China's grand strategy. China's strategy to increase soft power is based on the Chinese developmental model (or the Beijing Consensus), foreign policies (peaceful rise, peaceful development, harmonious world), and Chinese culture (Cho and Jeong, 2008). In order to promote its soft power resources, China is not only using forum diplomacy through the Boao Forum, Beijing Forum, Shanghai Forum, Summer Davos, and 21st Century Forum, but also exercising cultural diplomacy through the establishment of 358 Confucius Institutes and around 500 Confucius Academies in 105 countries around the world as of 2011. At present, China is putting its efforts on spreading the "China model" (中国模式 *Zhongguo moshi*), mainly targeting underdeveloped authoritarian countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who aim to maintain their authoritarian rule while pursuing economic growth. As a result, China's position and influence have grown considerably in these countries (Zhao, 2010).

Like China, South Korea is also trying to propagate "the Korea development model" to third world countries. South Korea grew into a middle power through economic development and political democratization, and made its mark as a new player in middle power diplomacy by hosting the G20 meeting in 2008 (Cooper and Mo, 2011:21). In recognition of the growing conflict between developed countries and developing countries opening up larger and more significant roles to middle powers in international multilateral negotiations, South Korea has been pursuing a foreign policy which focuses its efforts on repositioning itself in the world as well as in Asia. Emphasized in these efforts are the "Korean development model" of the double achievement of economic development and political democratization. The "New Asia Design" of the Lee Myungbak administration is an exemplary strategy in this line, which aims to actively disseminate the Korean development model to ASEAN countries through the conclusion of FTAs, expansion of ODA, and strengthening of economic cooperation (Cho, 2010:182).

With both South Korea and China pushing their own strategies to propagate their respective development models as above, the competition and conflict in ideoscapes between the two countries have increased considerably. This competition and conflict is expected to deepen as both countries continue their efforts to further their soft power.

4. CONCLUSION

The socio-cultural relationship between South Korea and China since the normalization of diplomatic relationship in 1992 has shown rapid development in various facets. However, despite the deepened cooperation between the two countries over the past 20 years, there still remain serious challenges which need to be resolved to improve their bilateral relations. Based on Appadurai's discussion of the transnational interaction in the globalization process, the present paper analyzed the socio-cultural relationship between South Korea and China focusing on ethnoscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes which are especially important in

looking at socio-cultural dimensions.

According to Appadurai, the current cultural global flows occur in and through the growing disjunctures among ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes (1996:37). These disjunctures are phenomena of contradiction and tension which occur due to the disparate courses that the global flow of people, technology, capital, image, and ideas take, in different speed, different origin and different destination. It is these very disjunctures amongst the 'scapes' that is intensifying the conflict and clash in the socio-cultural relations between South Korea and China. What follows are suggestions for South Korea to deal with the socio-cultural clash and conflict coming from these disjunctures.

First, South Korea should make an initiative in transnational migration diplomacy. As illustrated above, South Korea and China have rapidly developed mutual population interaction in ethnoscapes. However, this rapid flow in ethnoscapes has not been followed up by legal, civic, and institutional developments which balance the global flow amongst the five dimensions. Thus, South Korea needs to find a way to balance the rapid growth in ethnoscapes with the other dimensions by gradually eliminating the institutional regulations which prescribe illegal status to transnational migrants and limit the transnational movement of population. This can be done by making the initiative to lead the movement towards securing basic human rights for transnational migrants, and establishing a global or, at minimum, Asian standard for transnational migration. Through these efforts, South Korea will be able to gain the legitimacy to request the guarantee of human rights for its nationals residing in China.

Although extending political rights to transnational migrants is difficult when nation-state borders are still in effect, initiatives such as eliminating discriminatory elements in the market will make a valid and meaningful contribution in increasing the economic rights of transnational migrants regardless of nation-state borders. As an institutional initiative to support this, South Korea can consider establishing a new administrative agency for immigration which integrates and unifies transnational migrant policies currently divided under the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Policy and Trade, and Ministry of Labor and so on.

In mediascapes, South Korea should establish the Korean wave as the driving force for the formation of a common Asian culture. In order to do so, South Korea first needs to put effort in reconstructing the Korean wave as Asian public goods that go beyond the Korean identity. Asian countries already share a cultural affinity of which exposure to each other's popular culture can renew awareness. For example, the Korean wave struck a common cord in Chinese people with its shared cultural background based on Confucian traditions. The portrayals of South Koreans in everyday life showed the Chinese that they have a lot in common with South Koreans and increased the feeling of familiarity. Such cultural affinity has been the basis for arguments made in previous literature that augmented transnational exchange of popular culture in Asia may lead to the formation of an Asian consciousness (Baek, 2005; Cho, 2005).

To reconstruct the Korean wave into a common Asian culture, efforts needs to be made to create a "new Korean wave" which unearths, develops, and integrates common cultures shared by various Asian countries while strengthening the hold of the Korean wave, so that it can endure and win over emotionally charged narratives of nationalism (Jang, 2005). Implementing a specific strategy to respond to the anti-Korean wave in China can be a practical step to creating the new Korean wave. As mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons for the Chinese anti-Korean wave movement is the dissatisfaction with the trade

imbalance in cultural products between South Korea and China, which is believed by the Chinese to be a result of the strong push by the South Korean government. In order to bring balance to the cultural exchange between South Korea and China, various types of cooperative and collaborative cultural projects should be pursued between the two countries to strengthen South Korea-China relations. Some examples for these projects which have already been realized are Chinese domestic dramas with South Korean actors and joint and collaborative film productions.

At the same time, in order to resolve the wariness felt by Chinese people about South Korean government's strong drive for the promotion of its cultural product export, it is suggested that these efforts be made through private exchange rather than through government-led policies. For instance, the Korean wave together with donation diplomacy by private sector participation towards assisting underprivileged Chinese, in line with China's efforts to build a "Harmonious Society," can be one of the ways in which these efforts can take form. Through these processes, the Korean wave can create the foundation for "the new Korean wave" which is not just popular culture imported from South Korea but that which can embrace Chinese culture.

For ideoscapes, South Korea needs pursue an "Asian Consensus" as a universal value. In other words, South Korea should sublimate the Seoul Consensus, based on the experience of economic development and political democratization together with the cultural dynamics of the Korean wave, to a universal Asian Consensus, and provide an alternative model to the essentially "Western" Washington Consensus or the Beijing Consensus which is basically a development state model. As a universal Asian Consensus, the Seoul Consensus will allow a fuller representation of the Asian experience to the development of the human civilization.

What is most important in the formation of an Asian Consensus is the interaction of the intellectuals and civil society amongst Asian countries. In particular, that of intellectuals is particularly important because it will create a space for discourse on various socio-cultural elements that can later become the standard for a universal Asian culture. Despite their close cultural affinity, the countries in Asia have not been able to form a proper space for discourse due to the differences in ethnicity, religion, historical background, and language. Thus, the space for discourse towards forming an Asian Consensus will provide a much-awaited stage for opinion leaders of each country to raise their opinions and share their ideas. By creating a space for active and vibrant discussion amongst opinion leaders, it will be possible to move closer to finding a universal value for Asian culture and an Asian standard, both of which are necessary for the formation of an Asian Consensus.

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