Mapping the Presence of the Korean Wave in North Korea

Research Note

Bianca Milanowitsch

Abstract

This research note scrutinises the degree to which the Korean Wave – South Korean cultural exports, for example of pop music and television shows – has impacted North Korea. Hallyu, as the Korean Wave is also called, has reached the North through illegal trade, despite restrictions put in place by the regime, and has triggered a growing demand for South Korean productions. The South Korean government creates a presence in its northern neighbour by using Hallyu as a soft power tool that has become part of its foreign policy arsenal. The North has reacted to the influence of the Korean Wave with crackdowns and arrests, for example of government officials. Yet Hallyu may also serve the North Korean government's aim of prolonging its authoritarian rule, by using the South Korean cultural presence as a justification for feeling threatened by foreign intervention.

Keywords: North Korea, South Korea, soft power, Korean Wave, Hallyu, K-drama, K-pop

1. Introduction

The Winter Olympics held last February in Pyeongchang, in which a total of 92 countries participated, propelled South Korea into the focus of international media and sport fans alike. Although South Korea was the host country, North Korean participation in the event attracted as much attention as on previous occasions, for example when "[t]he two Koreas marched together under one flag at both the 2000 and 2004 Summer Games, as well as the 2006 Winter Games" (Calamur 2018).

The Winter Olympics, although a sporting event, showcased a cautious rapprochement between the two countries. The announcement that a Korean unified women's hockey team would compete in the Olympic tournament became the symbol of a possible future unification (Watson et al. 2018). In line

Bianca Milanowitsch, Department of Political Science, Philipps University Marburg, Germany; Milanowi@students.uni-marburg.de.

with that development, North Korea's political elite was also represented at the event, for example through the presence of Kim Jong-un's sister, Kim Yo-jong (Lim / Kim 2018).

Given the complicated relationship between the two countries, which includes on the one hand a continuous series of threats and such actions as South Korean propaganda music being broadcast towards the border between the countries (Berlinger / Soo 2018),[1] and on the other hand repeated efforts to broker a peace deal, with Kim Jong-un even recently visiting Seoul for a historic bilateral summit (Haas / Mccurry 2018), it is worth asking why the two sides would try to use such a public event to showcase a rapprochement. Several questions come to mind. Might the North Korean government's charm offensive towards its neighbour be the result of South Korea's appeasement efforts? Could these astonishing developments be seen as evidence that soft power has the potential to help overcome one of the longest-running conflicts in the world?

The present article focuses on the issue of South Korean soft power inroads into the North. The following sections map the intrusion of South Korean cultural soft power into North Korea, predominantly through the Korean Wave, and analyse the degree to which this foreign policy tool has been able to impact North Korean society.

2. Soft and hard power

The concept of hard power, an approach fitting the realist theory of international relations, describes the importance of a country's use of the military, of weapons and in general of aggressive politics to achieve its goals (Jackson / Sørensen 2007: 103). Coercion is its main component (Nye 2004: 2). Past examples of its use, in the context of international conflicts, were the military involvement of the US in Vietnam or the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

The opposite concept, known as soft power, means "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideology and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced" (Nye 2004: x). While coercion defines hard power, co-optation defines soft power. Soft power's aim is to make others, in this case states, change their behaviour, so that goals can be reached without the need for weapons or other types of pressure. "Ultimately, nations with the greatest soft power find that citizens of other countries aspire to share their values and institutions,

---

1   Such broadcasts have recently been discontinued, due to the detente between the two countries (Berlinger / Soo 2018).

and leaders of foreign countries view their policies as legitimate and want to follow their leads" (Kurlantzick 2005: 420).

One example of soft power is Hollywood's ability to influence local populations all over the world into seeing the US – its culture, its way of life – in a positive light. That type of projection has helped the US sustain an image such as the "American dream". Another type of soft power is the one China has achieved in regions such as Latin America (Milanowitsch 2018). Because its economic policies differ from the traditional neoliberal ones, for instance through trade deals signed with "no strings attached", China has already become the main commercial partner for several countries on the Latin American subcontinent (cf. Milanowitsch 2018: 52–55)

Soft power consists of different elements, which include but are not limited to ideology, political systems and culture (Nye 2004: 11). As will be seen through this article, and as is the reality when foreign policy is implemented, there exists a complex web of various aspects and elements that could be considered part of soft power and that were not included in Nye's initial definition of the concept. Culture, for instance, can also refer to education, language, clothing, music and media, depending on the country that is being analysed. This broader understanding of that concept is applied here. While theory clearly defines how to differentiate between soft and hard power, in research practice both concepts can be applied to the same type of action, depending on the perception by the receiving actor.

Broadening the definition of that concept to include that extended conceptualisation has only been explored by some authors and has not yet become part of mainstream theory. Among the exceptions is Geun Lee (2009a), who analyses the role of soft power in South Korea by applying Nye's theory to a case study. Lee "extended Nye's theory in terms of definition and categorization, by attaching the nature of power to its sources as a solution to the problem of distinguishing hard and soft powers" (Vasilevskytė 2013: 146). Sheng Ding (2010) combines the concept(s) of soft power with rising power, choosing China as a case study. The two concepts are seldom fused, because soft power is scarcely considered an element that promotes a country's rise (Milanowitsch 2018: 113). Pinar Bilgin and Berivan Eliş widen the definitions of both soft and hard power which, according to them, have remained too closely attached to Nye's initial definition and to the perspective of realism (Bilgin / Eliş 2008: 6). Massimo Di Ricco discusses migration as a soft power, showing how Colombia, a country that has many descendants from Arab countries, makes use of this circumstance in its foreign policy towards the Middle East (Di Ricco 2015: 32).

Soft and hard power are a reflection and a consequence of how North and South Korea have positioned themselves on the regional and world stage. North Korea's position within its own region is not easily defined by interna-

tional theory standards. It can best be considered a case sui generis (Tan 2015; Branigan 2011), especially since the presence of nuclear weapons, the country's relative isolation and other aspects further complicate its classification.

South Korea, in contrast, is a classical "middle power" – a term that can also be applied to its geographical position as a country surrounded by the stronger actors Japan and China (Kim / Jaffe 2010: 64). The country has been focusing on creating influence via means such as niche diplomacy. That type of diplomacy is how middle powers are able "to increase their global influence and acceptance through the employment of their specific capabilities" (Flemes 2007: 11). As an example of the implementation of niche diplomacy, the country has hosted G20 meetings and other international events, such as the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang. Being a middle power also means it has limited leeway within its own region, which is why soft power has become part of this middle power's tool arsenal, and the Korean Wave one of its main representatives (Milanowitsch 2018: 36; Wong 2016).

3. The Korean Wave

The Korean Wave has existed for more than two decades. The term, also known as Hallyu, was first used in China in the 1990s (Kim / Jaffe 2010: 152) when Korean television shows started reaching the local population. Soon afterwards, the Korean Wave became a regional success when it spread to neighbouring countries. During its next phase, the movement grew into an international trend (Kim / Marinescu 2015), when Korean cultural exports reached Central Europe, the Middle East, the US, Latin America and other regions. Hallyu is connected to several other elements of South Korea's export strategy and nation-branding, including business endeavours of conglomerates such as Samsung and LG. The Korean Wave should thus not be understood as an exclusively cultural phenomenon. The most important elements of Hallyu have been K-dramas (Korean TV dramas) and K-pop (Korean pop).

While South Korea had long produced television series and shows, mainly for domestic consumption, it was only in the late 1990s that they started to attract international attention. One particularly path-breaking drama was Korean Broadcast System's (KBS) *Winter Sonata*[2] (2002) (Russell 2008: 118–119), which swept across East Asia and opened the door for further productions to be acknowledged internationally. Other series followed, such as *Boys*

---

2   This love story portrays the relationship between two people, called Joon-sang and Yoo-jin. Soon after they fall in love, Joon-sang is involved in a car crash, which leaves him an amnesiac. He and his family then move to the US, where he gets a fresh start, while his friends in Korea believe he has died. One decade later, he returns to South Korea, where fate reunites him with Yoo-Jin. They fight for their love, against all odds, with plot twists including illness and Yoo-Jin's engagement to another man (Russell 2008: 118; Han / Lee 2008: 120–122).

over Flowers (2009, KBS), *Secret Garden* (2010/2011, Seoul Broadcasting System [SBS]) and most recently *Descendants of the Sun* (2016, KBS2) and *Goblin* (2016/2017, Total Variety Network). Their topics vary from romance to fantasy, thrillers and other genres.

K-pop followed K-drama onto the world stage, even though the genre had already existed before K-dramas became successful internationally. It developed from Japanese pop influences, western boy and girl groups (Kim / Jaffe 2010: 169–170) as well as Hip-Hop and has itself become a music genre. Its performers have managed to rise to the same level as American or British artists. One example is the boy group BTS, which has not only won international awards and even performed on American award shows (Herman 2017), but became the first K-pop act to reach the number one spot on the Billboard Artist 100 chart in the US (Zellner 2018).

Among other performances, including rock singers and dancers, K-pop artists such as the boy group EXO and singer CL (who herself used to be in a girl group, 2NE1) led the closing ceremony of the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics (Ducharme 2018), which underlines their importance to the country's image. Both acts are as famous internationally as they are in South Korea itself. For instance, EXO's "[f]ans say the K-pop band were chosen to perform at the ceremony not just because of their current popularity, but in part because of the unity they have represented in the region. [Their] achievements have placed them in the higher echelons of South Korean pop history, having sold more than 8m albums" (Belam 2018a).

4. Hallyu and North Korea

While Hallyu, with its music and television shows, as well as aspects such as makeup, brands and movies might be considered a harmless cultural phenomenon, it has in fact incited reactions throughout the East Asian region that are not entirely welcoming. "Korean government efforts and the massive influx of Korean cultural products have created in East Asia what could be dubbed as a 'Korean threat'. Japan and China have already started to limit the presence of K-dramas or movies in their markets, out of fear of a cultural domination" (Milanowitsch 2018: 66). While some actions had already been taken, such as imposing quotas (Russell 2008: 130) or reducing screen time for foreign productions, it was only in recent years – roughly from 2015 to 2017 – that China imposed a complete ban on South Korean products, which included K-dramas as well as K-pop. China proceeded to block Hallyu and the Korean cultural industry in general from entering one of its main markets as a reaction to the planned establishment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD)

in South Korea (Jun 2017: 159–164; Kim / Blanchard 2017). The Japanese reaction, of limiting Korean products' inroads out of fear of cultural domination, is astonishing – at least in light of the fact that K-dramas and especially K-pop in their beginnings had been heavily based on Japanese television and pop music (Russell 2008: 102–103).[3]

As a highly isolated country in the hands of a dictatorial regime that has lasted for more than 50 years, North Korea has succeeded in limiting the population's contacts with the outside world. While for other countries Korean productions might mean competition with local ones, in the North Korean case they also mean an infiltration of information from the outside (Lee 2016). The main difference between Hallyu in North Korea and Hallyu in other countries is that the products mostly enter the former illegally (Kang 2011; Lee 2015). The population is, with some exceptions for high-ranking officials, not allowed to watch K-dramas or to listen to K-pop (Lee 2015). "Kim Jong Un has interpreted the continued expansion of South Korean media to be a serious threat, therefore ordering strong crackdowns and punishments and urging […] surveillance units to double down on their duties" (Lee 2016).

The internet, which is Hallyu's main channel of interaction with the outside world, is also restricted for North Koreans (Asher 2016), although it is is the main device that can be credited with the long duration and for the success of the Korean Wave (Kim 2011: 16). Social media and especially the online platform "Naver", which administrates its own online live video platform (VLIVE), search engine, online café and even web drama broadcast network, are being used strategically by artists to interact with their worldwide fans. Except for the North Korean elite, using the internet is not an option for North Koreans (Asher 2016). This might be one of the reasons why there is so much fascination with South Korean cultural products: the lure of the forbidden.

North Korean history, its commonalities and differences with South Korea, the Kim regime and its isolation have also intrigued the South Korean public – as well as producers, writers and directors. For decades, the North has been an inspiration for K-dramas and movies. When the Korean Wave started, North Korea automatically became part of it, as a frequent topic. Examples include the movie *Shiri* (1999, Kang Je-gyu) about North Korean agents present in South Korea and the possibility of a future reunification, *JSA* (2000, Park Chan-wook) an award-winning movie about the friendship between North Korean and South Korean soldiers at the Korean Demilitarized Zone, *As One* (2012, Moon Hyung-sung), *The Berlin File* (2013, Ryoo Seung-wan) and *Secretly Greatly* (2013, Jang Cheol-soo).

---

3   The same can be said for Korean entertainment shows, which have themselves become role models for other productions in East Asia. There are e.g. Chinese remakes of long-running South Korean entertainment shows like *Infinity Challenge* (MBC, Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) or *Running Man* (SBS).

Apart from movies, several South Korean dramas also focus on North Korea. To name but a few: *Iris* (2009, KBS) and spin-offs as well as sequels related to it, *City Hunter* (2011, SBS), *The King 2 Hearts* (2012, MBC) and *Doctor Strange*r (2014, SBS). Most of the plots are related to espionage (by defectors as well as by government agents posing as South Koreans) or to murder plots, which is why they do not necessarily reflect daily life in North Korea. *Shiri* was one of the few Korean Wave products to touch upon a future reunification.

The cultural ties between the two Koreas, as restricted and as influenced by popular opinion as they may be, have also begun to raise attention in North Korea. Korean movies, music and television series are smuggled into the country on a continuous basis (Voice of America 2009). The existing black-market trade is a consequence of the lack of access to the internet and other communication channels that would enable the population to obtain Korean Wave products. For instance, it is illegal in the North to listen to anything other than state-run radio (Kang 2010). Still, some channels for interaction remain available. One example is that border guards, with very low salaries, are open to bribery (Hajek 2017). While it is difficult to establish what came first – South Koreans smuggling cultural products into North Korean for profit or North Koreans buying Hallyu products due to their interest in South Korea – the fact is the Korean Wave has been able to enter North Korea (Kang 2010; Voice of America 2009).

There are different reactions to the growing presence of Hallyu in the North. On the one hand, there is the population, especially the younger generation, which watches and listens to Korean Wave products on illegal playing devices or on Notels4 that have been adapted so that they cannot be traced back (although they must be registered officially). On the other hand, the North Korean government reacts with repression: due to the fear of infiltration of society and of word-of-mouth propaganda, consumption of Hallyu products is punishable by death (Radio Free Asia 2017). As an example, in 2014 "North Korea […] reportedly publicly executed up to at least 50 people […], including several party officials for watching soap operas. Pyongyang […] purged about 10 officials from Kim Jong-un's Workers' Party for watching [them]" (Dearden 2014). According to media sources, since there is so much secrecy surrounding North Korean internal affairs, "viewing or listening to South Korean programs or broadcasts" has become part of the country's criminal code of actions punishable by death (Death Penalty Worldwide 2014).

There is a third reaction, which is that of the South Korean government. It has used Hallyu as a method to taunt the other country. In response to constant provocations by the North Korean government, South Korea experimented with exerting pressure on North Korean soldiers and government offi-

---

4   A Notel is a type of portable media player, which can be used to watch, for example, DVDs or videos on USB sticks. It is a device that has been approved by the government (Hajek 2017).

cials at the Demilitarized Zone by installing loudspeakers and uninterruptedly broadcasting K-pop music, as well as government slogans and radio broadcasts (Choi 2015). Famous boy and girl groups such as Big Bang and Apink saw their music and songs repetitively broadcast towards the other side. This led to reactions by the North that included the threat to destroy the South Korean loudspeakers – and to the same technique being applied by the North Korean side, albeit with less success due to the lack of modern technology (Paterson 2016). While this phase has now passed, K-pop is still being used for "propaganda" reasons and for the projection of soft power in situations in which there is contact with North Korea (Herman 2018).[5]

Another aspect that should be analysed is whether cultural soft power, and in this case the Korean Wave, has the potential to trigger regime change. To accept this assumption would be an overstatement. Nonetheless, Hallyu's broadcasts into North Korea proved for instance that "popularity trickles down to ordinary residents and is especially favoured by younger generations. […] Prolonged listening of these broadcasts day and night typically has a gradated and ultimately transformative effect […]. The North Korean government's enraged response is proof positive of the threat these broadcasts pose to its grip on power" (Paterson 2016).

One of the most important arguments against the Korean Wave being able to transform into a type of Trojan horse for South Korean interests, is how it is already affecting the North Korean population. Each crackdown by the government serves as a justification for the North Korean regime to distrust South Korea and allows it to continuously perpetuate the threat narrative. Thus far, Kim Jong-un's regime has repeatedly taken drastic actions again its own people, has jailed many and executed others (Radio Free Asia 2013; Lee 2016) who allegedly smuggled or consumed cultural products stemming from South Korea.

The Korean Wave portrays a specific image of South Korea. Be it K-pop, K-dramas, movies or other products, the fact is that they tend to "beautify" life in that country. Cultural industries, as is also the case with Hollywood or Bollywood, create an imagery that does not reflect reality. This is what North Koreans who watch or listen to Korean cultural products are confronted with. Many defectors are initially inspired to flee, lured by what is perceived to be a better life (Reuters 2011), but might become disillusioned by life in South Korea when they discover the difference between idealised and real-life conditions.

Changing the mentality and ideology from within works better if people's mindsets are impacted with images that show a better life and an alternative,

5   The South Korean government has been deliberately present in the growth of the Korean Wave (Milanowitsch 2018: 42–45). It has done so by using several channels. One of them is financial support, as well as through the creation or remodelling of institutions centred on Korean culture and on Hallyu such as the Korea Foundation, the Korea Cultural Information Center, the King Sejong Institute, the Korea Foundation for International Culture Exchange, international film festivals and others (Milanowitsch 2018: 36–43).

such as those offered by Hallyu. They might not necessarily want to defect or flee to South Korea but will still be more open towards change, and towards growing closer to that country than those who do not have any contact with Hallyu. If hard power were used instead, for example by attacking North Korea, then that is the image that would stay with people and that could remain as a collective memory. The direct use of hard power methods might also upset the existing balance, on which all actors have agreed for the past half-century. Furthermore, military deterrence has not worked thus far. The North Korean regime has either refrained from taking any action at all or has responded with threats and missile launches (Kim 2018). With this in mind and considering that other angles of the bilateral relationship are strained or limited (economic pressure, etc.), soft power is a policy option with considerable potential to effect political impact.

5. Concluding thoughts

This research note started by illustrating the use of soft power via the sports diplomacy witnessed during the Winter Olympics of 2018, an event that boosted the international images of both North and South Korea and raised the topic of a future reunification. Subsequent sections noted the penetration of the Korean Wave into North Korea, specifically through K-pop and K-dramas, which have reached that country through a mixture of factors, such as a growing demand for South Korean productions that is met through a flourishing illegal trade.

The considerable impact of Hallyu on North Korea is evidenced by the regime's reaction to it as if it were an existential threat. For an isolated country such as North Korea, which tightly controls ideology and its own population, attractions emanating from other countries, and in particular from its southern neighbour, can be considered dangerous to the survival of the regime. The possession of DVDs and other activities related to the Korean Wave are punishable by death, and Kim Jong-un's regime uses arrests and crackdowns for propaganda reasons to demonstrate to the population how much South Korea is trying to harm the country.

While it can be assumed that productions from other countries are also entering the country, the interest shown towards the Korean Wave might be related not only to geographical proximity, but also to the cultural connections between both countries – including, of course, the common language, which makes the contents easier to understand. Joseph S. Nye (2004: 16) confirms this by affirming that "popular culture is more likely to attract people and produce soft power in the sense of preferred outcomes in situations where

cultures are somewhat similar rather than widely dissimilar". The argument about similar cultures might also explain why there is a reciprocal bilateral fascination from each Korea toward the other. While Hallyu has been quite successful, albeit with limits due to the restrictions in North Korea, the North has also inspired several productions in South Korea.

Whereas the Korean Wave has been able to capture the attention of fans in many countries due to its strong presence on social media and online portals, this does not apply to isolated North Korea, which is why this case is unique within the analysis of Hallyu's development and the reasons for its success. Finally, one key issue that requires further research is the extent to which the South Korean government could potentially encourage change within North Korea through soft power alone. As has been shown, any such effort could well backfire, with Hallyu ultimately reinforcing persistence of the North Korean regime.

References

Asher, Saira (2016): What the North Korean Internet Really Looks Like. BBC News, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37426725 (accessed 8 March 2018).

Belam, Martin (2018): EXO: K-pop Boyband Thrills Winter Olympics Closing Ceremony. The Guardian, 24 February 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/feb/24/who-are-exo-the-boyband-about-to-thrill-the-winter-olympics-south-korea-k-pop (accessed 29 April 2018).

Berlinger, Joshua / Soo, Yoonjung (2018): South Korea Stops Blasting Propaganda as Summit Looms. CNN International, https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/23/asia/north-korea-south-korea-upcoming-summit-intl/index.html (accessed 30 April 2018).

Bilgin, Pinar / Eliş, Berivan (2008): Hard Power, Soft Power: Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis. *Insight Turkey* 10(2), pp. 5–20. www.bilkent.edu.tr/~pbilgin/Bilgin-Elis-IT-2008.pdf (accessed 23 February 2018).

Branigan, Tania (2011): Kim Jong-un Hailed as Kim Jong-il's Successor by North Korean Media. *The Guardian*, 19 December 2011. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/19/kim-jong-il-north-korea (accessed 8 March 2018).

Calamur, Krishdanev (2018): North Korea and the Spotty Record of Sports Diplomacy. *The Atlantic*, 9 January 2018. www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/01/sports-diplomacy/550028 (accessed 19 February 2018).

Choi, Ha-young (2015): K-pop against Kim: The Radio Broadcasts that Have Incensed North Korea. *The Guardian*, 19 August 2015. www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/19/south-korea-radio-voice-freedom-dmz (accessed 23 February 2018).

Dearden, Lizzie (2014): North Korean Officials "Publicly Executed for Watching South Korean Soap Operas". *Independent*, 29 October 2014. www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/north-korean-officials-publicly-executed-for-watching-south-korean-soap-operas-9825170.html (accessed 7 March 2018).

Death Penalty Worldwide (2014): North Korea. Death Penalty Worldwide, www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/country-searchpost.cfm?country=north+korea (accessed 28 April 2018).

Di Ricco, Massimo (2015): Migraciones internacionales y poder blando: posibles aportes de la comunidad colombo-árabe In: Mauricio Jaramillo Jassir (ed.): *Poder blando y diplomacia cultural: Elementos claves de políticas exteriores en transformaciones*. Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, pp. 31–46.

Ding, Sheng (2010): Analyzing Rising Power from the Perspective of Soft Power: A New Look at China's Rise to the Status Quo Power. *Journal of Contemporary China* 19(64), pp. 255–272. www.risingpowersinitiative.org/wp-content/upl oads/ding1.pdf (accessed 15 March 2017).

Ducharme, Jamie (2018): Very Passionate K-Pop Fans Inevitably Lost It over the Winter Olympics Closing Ceremony Performances. *Time*, 26 February 2018. http://time.com/5174898/olympics-closing-ceremonies-k-pop-performers (accessed 27 April 2018).

Flemes, Daniel (2007): Emerging Middle Powers' Soft Balancing Strategy: State and Perspective of the IBSA Dialogue Forum. GIGA Working Papers 57, pp. 1–31. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1007692.

Haas, Benjamin / Mccurry, Justin (2018): Korea Summit: Leaders Vow to "Write New Chapter" in Peninsula's History. *The Guardian*, 27 April 2018. www.theguardian.com/world/ 2018/apr/27/korea-summit-leaders-vow-to-write-new-chapter-in-peninsulas-history (accessed 28 April 2018).

Hajek, Danny (2017): Watching Foreign Movies Is Illegal in North Korea, but Some Do It Anyway. NPR, https://www.npr.org/2017/07/05/534742750/watching-foreign-movies-is-illegal-in-north-korea-but-plenty-do-it-anyway (accessed 21 February 2018).

Han, Hee-Joo / Lee, Jae-Sub (2008): A Study on the KBS TV Drama Winter Sonata and Its Impact on Korea's Hallyu Tourism Development. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 24(2-3), pp. 115–126. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548 400802092593.

Herman, Tamar (2017): Rising K-Pop Superstars BTS Will Perform at the AMAs. Forbes, 3 November 2017. https://www.forbes.com/sites/tamarherman/2017/11/03/rising-k-pop-superstars-bts-will-perform-at-the-amas/#511b1de10cef (accessed 29 April 2018).

Herman, Tamar (2018): Pyeongchang 2018 Opening Ceremony Forgoes K-Pop, Opts for Unity Amid Political Tension. *Forbes*, 9 February 2018. www.forbes.com/sites/tamarherman/2018/02/09/pyeongchang-2018-opening-ceremony-forgoes-k-pop-opts-for-unity-amid-political-tension/#704180dc7cf2 (accessed 29 April 2018).

Jackson, Robert / Sørensen, Georg (2007): *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*. 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jun, Hannah (2017): Hallyu at a Crossroads: The Clash of Korea's Soft Power Success and China's Hard Power Threat in Light of Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) System Deployment. *Asian International Studies Review* 18(1), pp. 153–169. http://dx.doi.org/10.169 34/isr.18.1.201706.153.

Kang, Dong-wan / Park, Jung-ran (2011): South Korean Visual Media in North Korea: Distribution Channels and Impact. *Unification Policy Studies* 19(2), pp. 80–101. www.koreafocus.or.kr/design2/layout/content_print.asp?group_id=103523 (accessed 20 February 2018).

Kang, Hyun-kyung (2010): Hallyu to Cushion Culture Shock after S-N Reunification. *The Korea Times*, 16 May 2010. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2010/05/116_65955.html (accessed 7 March 2018).

Kim, Christine / Blanchard, Ben (2017): China, South Korea Agree to Mend Ties after THAAD Standoff. Reuters, www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-missiles/china-south-korea-agree-to-mend-ties-after-thaad-standoff-idUSKBN1D003G (accessed 28 April 2018).

Kim, Hyung Eun (2018): North Korea: A Sporting History of Bombs and Diplomacy. BBC News, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-42618217 (accessed 27 February 2018).

Kim, Myung Oak / Jaffe, Sam (2010): *The New Korea: An Inside Look at South Korea's Economic Rise*. New York: AMACOM.

Kim, Yoon Mi (2011): K-Pop: *A New Force in Pop Music*. (Korean Culture 2). Seoul: Korean Culture and Information Service.

Kim, Youngmi / Marinescu, Valentina (2015): Mapping South Korea's Soft Power: Sources, Actors, Tools, and Impacts. *Romanian Journal of Sociological Studies* 1, pp. 3–12. http://journalofsociology.ro/wp-content/uploads/ 2015/08/Full-text-pdf.pdf (accessed 19 February 2018).

Kurlantzick, Joshua (2005): The Decline of American Soft Power. *Current History* 104, pp. 419–424. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Kurlantzick.pdf (accessed 27 February 2018).

Lee, Je Son (2015): Ask a North Korean: Do You Love K-pop too? *The Guardian*, 18 June 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/18/k-pop-south-korea-ask-a-north-korean (accessed 7 March 2018).

Lee, Sang Yong (2016): Hallyu's Hooks Deep into North Korean Society. Daily NK, www.dailynk.com/english/read.php?num=13873&cataId=nk01500 (accessed 3 March 2018).

Lim, Min-hyuk / Kim, Myong-song (2018): Kim Jong-un's Sister to Attend Opening of Pyeongchang Olympics. The Chosun Ilbo, http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2018/02/08/201802 0800886.html (accessed 25 April 2018).

Milanowitsch, Bianca (2018): Impact of Asian Soft Power in Latin America: China and South Korea as Emerging Powers in the Subcontinent. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Philipps University Marburg. http://dx.doi.org/10.17192/z2018.0078.

Nye, Joseph S. (2004): *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

Paterson, Simeon (2016): Korean Loudspeakers: What Are the North and South Shouting About? BBC News, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35278451 (accessed 8 March 2018).

Radio Free Asia (2007): North Korea Cracks Down on Korean Wave of Illicit TV. Radio Free Asia, www.rfa.org/english/news/in_depth/korea_wave-20070717.html (accessed 19 February 2018).

Reuters (2011): "Korean Wave" Set to Swamp North Korea, Academics Say. Reuters, www.reuters.com/article/us-media-northkorea/korean-wave-set-to-swamp-north-korea-academics-say-idUSTRE73S5J420110429 (accessed 7 March 2018).

Russell, Mark James (2008): *Pop Goes Korea: Behind the Revolution in Movies, Music, and Internet Culture*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.

Tan, Morse (2015): *North Korea, International Law and the Dual Crises*. London / New York: Routledge.

Vasilevskytė, Simona (2013): Discussing Soft Power Theory after Nye: The Case of Geun Lee's Theoretical Approach. *Regioninès Studijos* 7, pp. 145–157. http://vddb.library.lt/fedora/get/LT-eLABa-0001:J.04~2013~ISSN_2029-2074.N_7. PG_145-157/DS.002.1.01.ARTIC (accessed 7 March 2018).

Voice of America (2009): South Korean Pop Culture Reaches into North Korea. Voice of America, www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2008-09-04-voa18/400535.html (accessed 7 March 2018).

Watson, Ivan / Ko, Stella / McKenzie, Sheena (2018): Joint Korean Ice Hockey Team Plays for First Time ahead of Olympics. CNN International, https://edition.cnn.com/2018/02/04/sport/north-south-korea-ice-hockey-intl/index.html (accessed 25 April 2018).

Wong, Siew Ying (2016): How Can Singapore Learn from the Success of Hallyu? *The Straits Times*, 26 September 2016. www.straitstimes.com/business/takeaways-from-the-success-of-hallyu (accessed 23 April 2018).

Zellner, Xander (2018): BTS Becomes First K-Pop Act to Hit No.1 on Billboard Artist 100 Chart. Billboard.com, https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/8458534/bts-first-k-pop-act-hit-no-1-artist-100-chart (accessed 6 June 2018).