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The Korean Wave in the Age of
World Order Reformation

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The Korean Wave in the Age of World Order Reformation¹

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1. Preface

Is the world order now reshaping through war? While COVID-19 is still ongoing, the Ukraine crisis, which began with the Russian invasion early last year, has entered a protracted war, and the recent invasion of Israel by the Palestinian militant group Hamas has pushed the world toward irreversible catastrophe. This can be seen as a symptom of the collapse that will fundamentally undermine the liberal international order that the United States seeks to uphold and a process of multipolar reformation of the world order. For example, in a recent speech at the Valdai Discussion Club forum, Putin said that "The Ukraine crisis is not a territorial conflict, and is about the principles underlying the new international order",² criticized the "colonial mentality of the United States, which tries to tell other countries 'you must,' 'you are obligated,' 'we are seriously warning you'." He emphasized that Russia needs to create a new international order. This is a strong response to the U.S. denial of the G2 structure the U.S. organized in response to the rise of China and the limits of violent intervention in the global economic and security order, such as the recent Indo-Pacific strategy and trade sanctions against China. In addition, the increasingly intense relations between 'China and Russia' and 'North Korea and Russia' are noteworthy as they seek to establish a new geopolitical order and reorganize the international order.

Meanwhile, Hamas and Islamic Jihad in the Palestinian Gaza Strip recently launched a surprise rocket attack on Israel in Operation Al-Aqsa Flood, and Israel has officially declared war on them. Hamas's attack on Israel is attributed to the U.S. normalization of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel, which prompted the U.S. and other Western countries to immediately declare their support, the U.S. to dispatch an aircraft carrier, and the war to escalate beyond repair.

China's stance on the situation has consistently emphasized the realization of a "two-state solution," criticizing the U.S. and the West for their "hasty side selection" and continued intervention. "The international community should encourage the two sides to resume peace talks and explore the path to lasting peace as soon as possible, and all parties involved in the Middle East peace process, including Palestine and Israel, should strive to create conditions for the realization of the two-state solution." China's call for a Middle East peace process is unlikely to change Beijing's stance on Taiwan, which has suggested armed reunification. However, its diplomatic successes in mediating the conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia, forging a trade alliance with Saudi Arabia, and advancing a power partnership with the Palestinians are significant, as is its position as a mediator and its ability to hold the United States accountable.

What does it mean for the discourse on the Korean Wave at this new juncture in world history? It has to do with keeping in mind the possibility that the future multipolar reformation of the world will not be driven by the hegemonic rivalry of centralized states or the convergence of national or ethnic interests, but rather by the possibility of building other paths. In short, today's world is not controlled by American and European power, as evidenced by Hamas. Arab powers, including Iran, have raised the issue of Israel and its U.S. backers as the source of the ongoing problems with the Palestinians and are willing to participate in finding a real solution.

¹ This research was supported by the Humanities Korea Program of the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF 2018S1A76A3A01080743). This article was written as a working paper supported by the Visiting Scholar Program at the Free University of Berlin.

² The 20th Annual Meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club. "Fair Multipolarity: How to Ensure Security and Development for Everyone."

China and Russia have also criticized U.S. support for the war and called for a two-state solution. However, we can see a wave of support for Hamas and the Palestinians from around the world. In this war, there are many actors practicing the politics of plurality in the name of peace.

This global recognition of the dire reality of Palestine and the peace wave from below was completely unexpected in the context of the U.S. and European support for Israel and the war. What kind of new globality has the world created amidst the contradictions of capital's globalization? At the level of common discourse, it can be described as "globality," which is the "inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before." (Thomas Friedman, 1999: 7-8) However, such a globality "might be based primarily on values of individualism, competition, and free-market capitalism, while another might encompass more communal and cooperative norms and institutions. These multiple alternatives point to the fundamentally indeterminate character of globality."³ The concept of globality that includes more communal and cooperative norms and institutions, then, allows for planning that looks beyond the existing nation-state system and its national imagination to future social conditions, such as the formation of high levels of social interdependence. These are neoliberal bodies, like Homo Economicus, but with aspects of what the digital revolution has brought to them: a disembodied globalization that has enabled the expansion of other social relations. The new globality, which is "characterized by the extension of social relations through the movement of immaterial things and processes, including words, images, electronic texts, and encoded capital such as cryptocurrencies,"⁴ is what the digital revolution has brought to bear on the possibility of new global networks.

So, how does the new multipolar realignment of the world and the possibility of a new globality at work in it relate to the Korean Wave? The Korean Wave has been a cultural phenomenon that has permeated Asia and the world since the 21st century, and in the three years of the coronavirus pandemic, it has continued to make cultural waves by announcing the global rise of the Korean cultural industry. In short, the Korean Wave marks the cultural transition of post-globalization or globalization, and its waves are expanding the global network at various points, so it can be said that it contains the possibility of affective solidarity to lead the transition of another world in the near future.

Therefore, this article takes the concept of 'globality and post-globality' and tries to visualize the power of plural politics leading the era of global transition through the global cultural phenomenon of the Korean Wave. In other words, I would like to discuss how the disembodied globalization of the Korean Wave and the new global and regional social relations it creates hold the possibility of new political societies from below.

This article organizes and discusses the following three points. First, it briefly summarizes the historical development of the Korean Wave and implies its process of transnational cultural construction.

Second, it introduces the topography of recent Hallyu discourses and discusses their achievements and limitations. Third, it focuses on the recent rise in competitiveness of Hallyu cultural contents in line with the development of global media platforms, and discusses the semantic network of branches that are actively producing new cultural connections or affective solidarity amidst the global consumption trend of Hallyu, and the cultural path of transforming the world order.

³ Steger Manfred and Paul James (2019), "Outlining an Engaged Theory of Globalization," in *Globalization Matters: Engaging the Global in Unsettled Times*, Cambridge University Press, p.113-116.

⁴ Steger Manfred and Paul James (2019), p. 122.

2. Historical Development of the Korean Wave

The historical development of the Korean Wave is summarized in my book 'The Hallyu (Korean Wave) as a Cultural Choice in East Asia'. In a word, early Hallyu marks the process of reconfiguring culture in Asia in a transnational way. In this respect, it is necessary to distinguish between 'Hallyu as a cultural industry', 'Hallyu as a cultural phenomenon', and 'Hallyu as a mass cultural transportation'. This can be seen by understanding the Korean Wave at the national, ethnic, and various community levels in the Asian region. As a trend of global regionalization of capital, Asia's economic development and industrial restructuring have led to the industrialization of culture. As a result, whereas previously Western European culture and, to a lesser extent, Japanese culture were distributed and consumed in Asia, Asian cultural products have been produced, distributed, and consumed in Asia since the end of the 20th century. The Korean Wave is a practical example of this. The Korean Wave exemplifies the process by which Asian cultural products are created, distributed, and consumed in Asia. This has been discussed in the context of cultural industries such as cultural capital, star system, and fandom.

Secondly, as a cultural phenomenon, the Korean Wave reminds us of historical cultural processes in Asia. In the pre-modern period, the culture of the Korean peninsula was constructed in a cultural traffic that competed with Sinicisation. During the colonial period, colonized culture was constructed through forced cultural assimilation and Japanisation by Japan. And after independence from colonization, the Korean peninsula was subjugated to the global Cold War structure, resulting in a divided Korean peninsula with a segmented cultural composition of South Korea and North Korea. In the case of South Korea, it can be said that the national culture was composed of hybridity as the Cold War and Americanization were implemented in the modern nation-state construction process. Therefore, Hallyu research conducted by the Institute for East Asian Studies in Sungkonghoe University focused on the relational implications of Hallyu in Asia, which allowed us to realize the cultural landscape of Cold War Asia.

Hallyu of the early 21st century can be summarized by the concept of 'Pop-Asianism'. Pop-Asianism is conceptualized in terms of the production, distribution, and consumption of culture in Asia, where 'Asian culture by Asians for Asians' has been transnationalized by the selective consumption of the local public in each country and society. Pop-Asianism is a commercialized popular culture, but it is a force that enables people living in today's Asia to face each other across the historical divide by consuming it. Furthermore, it explains the process of constructing popular Asia from below. Even low-grade popular culture flows across borders and into various parts of Asia, interacting with each other and crossing into each other's histories and realities, and then back into its own histories and realities. It is through such transboundary experiences of cultural consumption, or the process of competition or articulation in enjoyment, that the Asian cultural landscape is being constructed. It is not a one-sided process. It is made possible through such cultural transportation, as the subjective cultural choices of local people in various parts of Asia are interactive and multidirectional. I would like to emphasize once again that cultural transportation has occurred through popular cultural products produced by the cultural industry, but it is primarily due to local subjective cultural choices. In Asia, cultural transportation can be said to be a process of subjective cultural selection and acceptance by Asians, and as a result, the cultural composition of each region is newly organized.

In fact, it was not Hallyu that spearheaded the cultural industry in Asia. The cultural industry first developed in Taiwan and Hong Kong in the 1970s and 80s, and when that content was exhausted, Japanese J-pop came to flavour Asia with its strict star system. Then, K-pop helped Korean conglomerates to expand their influence in the Asian market with cultural products. And above all, online games stood out as the cultural industry of the Korean Wave. As Korean semiconductor technology advanced, online games, which were not available in Western Europe, became mainstream in China thanks to the spread of fibre optic networks. At that time, the Beijing branch of the Cultural Contents Agency, which is affiliated with the Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, was established in Beijing to support small and medium-sized cultural industry

companies entering China and to advise Chinese investors about Korean cultural industries. Personally, I became interested in the Korean Wave through my frequent visits there, and I began to discourse on the phenomenon as a subject of academic research.

My decision to write a book on the Korean Wave was in response to the fact that the first book on the Korean Wave was published in Japan. As a cultural researcher, I was embarrassed that a book on the Korean Wave was published in Japan first. Even though I had been paying attention to the Korean Wave as an object of academic research, I had not been able to compile the results in a timely manner. Hallyu is "Pop-Asianism" generated by Korean cultural products, but the research results were submitted in Japan first. The "Japanese Styled Korean Wave" itself is an important marker of Asian cultural construction. However, the limitations of the cultural research approach were first realized at the ignition point of the Korean Wave, so I stayed in Beijing for a month and focused on the phenomena I had witnessed and been involved in while traveling around Asia, and compiled them into a book.

The Pop-Asianism of Hallyu at the time revealed cultural transportation in the streaming aspects of its fandom, such as how the drama 'Boys Over Flowers' was consumed in four different countries. It also testified to the process of horizontal cultural hybridization, as Yohei Hasegawa, one of the members of 'Kiaha & the Faces', wrote in his book 'Go! A Rock Tour of Korea' (2015, Art Books). On the one hand, it reveals the ecosystem of cultural workers in the process of reorganizing culture in various parts of Asia through the transboundary cultural consumption of the Korean Wave, and on the other hand, it shows how these cultural workers lead the construction of culture that is not reducible to a single country through transboundary cultural transportation. In China, programs have been created to mimic Korea's "Star Birth," which has led to unexpected phenomena.

For example, China's "Super Women (超級女性, 2004-2006)" program promoted the process of women's return to the centre of cultural production. In addition, when the Fukushima nuclear disaster occurred in Japan, Hallyu stars were active in providing daily necessities to the Japanese people, and their fans quickly provided information about the aftermath of the disaster and support to the local people. The path of these relationships shows that fandom sites were a great source of emotional solidarity as a base for interaction. This can be understood not only as a phenomenon of mass cultural transportation from below in Asia, but also as a process of restoring real connections among people living in Asia today.

By the 2010s, Hallyu had undergone a complex transition, which can be characterized as globalization. As Hallyu cultural products are widely consumed in Asia, the cultural industry is institutionalized in South Korea. In China, the cultural industry has seen an urgent and widespread growth. There was previously only a Culture Bureau under the Ministry of Culture, which responded to and managed the cultural needs of the people. However, in response to the explosive development of the Korean Wave, a 'Culture Industry Bureau' was created, and the proportions of the Culture Bureau and the Culture Industry Bureau gradually became equal. China is a socialist country, so the scope of cultural projects is broad, but as cultural demand has increased with economic growth and transnational cultural transportation has spread, the trend of becoming a cultural industry superpower has been driven at the national level. Not only in China, but also in Vietnam, Indonesia, and other countries, the process of state building and institutionalizing strong control over culture and promoting the growth of cultural industries is prominent. Therefore, the Asian development of the Korean Wave, or Pop-Asianism, can be said to be a benchmark for the production and control of culture in Asia.

Around 2020, the Korean Wave had become a phenomenon that has gone beyond Pop-Asianism to pop globalism, as cultural consumption has become commonplace due to the development and spread of the online non-face-to-face economy, resulting in widespread demand for Korean cultural contents specialized for the digital environment. Recently, two leading figures of K-pop (Park Jin-young and Bang Shi-hyuk) appeared on a television entertainment program to explain the development process of K-pop and raise its prospects. According to them, the first stage of K-pop was 'Korean singers + Korean K-pop', the second stage was 'mixed nationalities + Korean and foreign languages', and the third stage was 'local singers + local languages'. They believe that K-pop is now in the midst of its third phase, and they want to respond accordingly. "K-pop fandom is creating a

huge global phenomenon, but it's very intense. There's a very heavy fandom right now, and it's dominating. But in the future, Hallyu needs to be consumed as a lighter, more casual and universalized culture that anyone can enjoy from time to time, and we need to move towards a structure where a so-called light fandom can be created to make that happen." From the perspective of the cultural entertainer industry, their position is that it is time to move from the days of running around with business cards to create economic value to strengthening the industry's permanent structure and establishing themselves in the global pop music market beyond Asia.

We need to look specifically at how these cultural industries have created a cultural market for Hallyu in Asia. Earlier, we discussed the issue of cultural construction in which 'Pop-Asianism' operates. If we look at the process of its development in Indonesia, we can see that it is done by transplanting the structure of the Hallyu cultural industry to the local Asian context. I-pop, or Indonesian pop, is a clear example of this. What are the consequences of this? In Indonesia, which is a Muslim country, it is a natural process for young people to consume I-pop and adults to enjoy traditional culture, so-called generational cultural conflict. However, while this may seem to be the case on the surface, there are other phenomena that can be observed. In short, the answer to the question "Do Indonesian women only consume K-pop?" would be no. Indonesian women's politics of plurality have been played out in many ways, and they have risen above the challenges of the pandemic. During the pandemic, many places in Indonesia's 17,000-island archipelago were without internet access. When Korean idol groups perform in Indonesia or elsewhere, it is not uncommon to see a large female fan base cheering them on, but not all Indonesian women consume K-pop. It is worth taking a closer look at what goes on in their daily lives, even if it's just as a reaction to the Korean Wave. Without such interest, there will only be an economic objectification of them as objects to be monetized, and often irresponsible cases of overlooking the local consequences of the Korean Wave. I spoke with an old friend, a professor there (Melani Budianta), about the state of women in Indonesia when the Korean Wave "re-emerged" during the COVID-19 pandemic. She poignantly conveyed the issue of how Indonesian women "struggled to cope with their plight during the pandemic, and how they dealt with the many pressures that came their way and the intensity of their labour. As a result, they acquired new digital skills, and in doing so took an active role in the construction of new relationships and social communities locally.

During the recent coronavirus pandemic, the relatively good response to the pandemic in Asia was widely criticized in Western European intellectual circles as a dissipation of Asian collectivism and authoritarianism. Unlike the so-called developed countries in the West, whose financial industry is the mainstay of the global division of labour, which were unable to produce even a single mask, Asia, the world's factory zone, was able to respond relatively reliably due to its stable production of medical devices and national-level information regulation system. However, the fact is that it was only a phenomenal response to the conditions of such a huge global disaster, and there was no deep reflection on the neoliberal accumulation system that was the root cause of the crisis, both nationally and socially, and no effort to make a fundamental overcoming process. Rather, the problem is that a more sophisticated form of disaster capitalism has been put into operation in the West and Asia, and in the case of Korea, the damage to bio-politics has been more pronounced. On the one hand, the economic interests of each individual have been pitted against each other, and on the other hand, the survival crisis of non-regular workers, women, minorities, refugees, etc. who are underemployed and in a state of extermination has been highlighted.

It is noteworthy that Korea's cultural content industry, which has just joined the ranks of the developed countries, is creating global reverberations with cultural products that highlight the naked social disaster.

One is the creation of a worlding format. For example, BTS has created a Korean pattern of pop-globalization by establishing a network of relationships across Asia and the world through the continuous opening of transboundary communication channels, forming a consumption mechanism of widespread fandom and embedding universal messages such as humanity.

The other is the rapid rise in the competitiveness of Hallyu cultural contents to match the development of global media platforms. This, of course, can be understood as a manifestation of Korea's socio-cultural vitality,

which has been proven by the Candlelight Revolution, and its capacity for cultural content that sharpened the problem of neoliberal governability. However, it emphasizes the position of cultural dissemination, and how it is producing new cultural or emotional solidarity in the context of global consumption trends, or more positively, at the global level, needs further explanation. It may be a reminder of and interest in the new globalization that I raised earlier, or it may be a line of hope for culture in this time of global crisis. For example, it is necessary to recognize the emergence of neoliberal bodies such as Homo Economicus and what the digital revolution has brought to them. These are aspects of disembodied globalization as a new iteration of globalization that have enabled the expansion of other social relations.

3. The discursive terrain of the Korean Wave

As the Korean Wave has continued to percolate through Asia and the world in a transnational manner for more than two decades, there have been many studies of the Korean Wave, which can be broadly categorized into two main streams. One is from a cultural studies standpoint, where the transnational mass cultural transportation of the Korean Wave as a cultural phenomenon is the subject of scholarly research, addressing the process of new cultural construction and its ramifications in 21st century Korea, Asia, and the world. The other is to raise the mechanism of economic value creation for the sustainability of Hallyu as a cultural industry in the context of cultural industry or economic interests.

If you look at the top five countries that recently streamed K-pop, the United States is number one. The global reach of the Korean Wave has also been studied locally. The discourse often discusses BTS's success in speaking to a "universal agenda" as one of the reasons for their success. There is also a lot of talk about Hallyu being institutionally supported by state-level promotion programs. In fact, the Korean Literature and Translation Agency has been carrying out various projects to revitalize 'Korean literary contents' under the concept of 'literary hallyu'. As Hallyu cultural products are consumed globally, Korean literature has also begun to receive global attention, and while translation and publication were previously carried out through publishing agencies, the KTA is now taking the lead. It has established a graduate school of translation, trained local translators, and is systematically supporting local translation and publication. It even convenes influential local publishers to meet and provide information, translation support, and intervene in the local publication of Korean literary works. It is said that the literary wave is now making waves. If you look at the distribution of the KTA's translation projects, it covers many language areas. This year's Seoul International Writers' Festival was also very successful with 8,293 participants. This is the kind of evidence of "national initiative" that is meaningfully accepted by overseas researchers and foreign media.

What is the discursive landscape of Hallyu in Korea? Many studies are being conducted in various fields, and I do not have a complete picture of the discursive landscape of the Korean Wave. Therefore, in this article, I will examine Hallyu discourse landscape by focusing on the articles published in the 'Hwanghae Review' 'Hallyu' special issue, "Facing the Hallyu in the Post-Globalization Era", Hwanghae Review 115, 2022). As mentioned earlier, Hallyu discourses can be broadly categorized into 'academic discourse', 'policy discourse', and 'commercial discourse'. The main division can be seen as a contest between 'government-led' and 'private academic research' discourses, which refer to the cultural phenomenon of the Korean Wave as K-Culture and Hallyu, respectively.

The differentiation of Hallyu in academic discourse is also notable. Previously, it was limited to cultural studies and cultural sociology, but now it has been expanded and differentiated into the fields of political science, economics, business administration, public administration, and social science. This can be seen by examining the theoretical bases of academic research discourses. First of all, 'critical cultural studies' has been continuously conducting research on Hallyu phenomenon, mainly in the field of media studies. Of course, from the perspective of inter-Asian cultural studies, which I have conducted with my colleagues, Hallyu studies have raised the issue of Asian popular cultural transportation and cultural construction. Recently, there has been a

proliferation of discussions on the relevance of Hallyu to the changes in platforms such as OTT due to globalization and the digital revolution. The following are some of the major recent Hallyu discourses.

Younghan Cho's 'Hallyu and Pop Globalism: Imagining a New Globality through the Korean Wave' analyses the Korean Wave phenomenon through L. Grosberg's concept of conjuncture. This article characterizes the transformation of the Korean Wave from a cultural 'flow' to a cultural 'flood' and its global triggering as a new phase of global popular culture, and inquires into the possibilities and limits of the new globalities it constitutes. In doing so, the article identifies the organic crisis at the heart of the Hallyu's flood as a crack in the uniqueness and centrality of American popular culture. Cho argues that the Korean Wave has gained a new status as a major global popular cultural current by using the United States as a tool, and interprets American popular culture as an ever-present element of the Korean Wave. Thus, he makes an epistemological shift to approach American popular culture as an insider rather than an outsider of the Korean Wave. However, he critically examines the characteristics and limitations of Hallyu as a cultural flood in that it utilizes and expands the existing dominant structures of capitalist accumulation and nation-centrism rather than cracking them, and argues that Hallyu is a method rather than an end in itself in global popular culture. He suggests that the Korean Wave should continue as a tributary rather than a tsunami in the realm of global popular culture because it should exist as a possibility of multiple modernities as a new globality, just as it contributed to the process of "localizing American popular culture," and because it is indispensable for the diverse and vibrant survival of the ecosystem of Korean popular culture.

In 'Global Media Platforms and the Hallyu Cultural Content Industry', Dalyong Jin analyses the changes in global media platforms due to the digital revolution and the development of the Hallyu cultural content industry, which is the best beneficiary of the digital revolution, and discusses its possibilities and limitations in the cultural economic and cultural social contexts. The role of digital platforms is expanding as a structural factor leading the New Wave era. Cultural production, distribution, and consumption are taking place in close interrelationship with digital platforms, and as a result, changes in the cultural industry are foreshadowed. Jin notes the positive phenomenon of culture participating in political and social movements through digital platforms. However, given the high dependence of the new wave on digital platforms, she is wary of the global digital platforms' governance of Hallyu content and the platform imperialism that dominates the Korean cultural market. Thus, the spread of the New Wave by digital platforms does not mean that the conflict between global and local power has been offset, but rather that a new form of Western domination is being formed. This is because we are concerned about the subordination of Hallyu contents and systems by global platform capital.

Dongyeon Lee takes issue with the Western media's view of Hallyu as an extension of state-driven modern manufacturing (see "Is Hallyu a Product of Cultural Nationalism? On the Ambivalence of the Generative Principle", 2022). He criticizes that the general sentiment of the Korean media and the Korean public towards Hallyu is also based on the perspective of patriotism or cultural nationalism, and thus cannot escape the suspicion of nationality, people, and nationalism that the "K" symbol represents, and unravels the process of production and reproduction of Hallyu cultural nationalism. By tracing the historical process of the Korean government's Hallyu support policy, he analysed that the Korean government has provided indirect support centred on production infrastructure and market information rather than content production support. His article also points out that there are many gaps between the state's support and the Hallyu content production scene, and that the reality of the state's support is not felt by the Hallyu content production scene. In addition, it captures the problem of cultural nationalism inherent in the Korean government and society's desire for the cultural industry and the desire for cultural power through the principle of embryology and explains its ambivalence. First of all, Hallyu's cultural nationalism may be a psychological phenomenon created by the public itself.

He make clear that Hallyu cultural nationalism is a product of the recognition struggle to escape the cultural unconscious and the repressed place of the unconscious, and it is also a residual product of cultural practices to overcome the trauma of the psychological warfare. In that sense, Hallyu cultural nationalism

produces cultural pride of "Koreanization" from the outside by meeting with global fandom, but at the same time, it also touches the reverse side of the delusion of cultural nationalism. Hallyu cultural nationalism is also the emotional platform of the most classic and radical economic absorber, which transforms the public's feelings about Hallyu as an everyday affection rather than a political ideology into the logic of cultural capital. Lee emphasizes that this is why Hallyu cultural nationalism cannot be viewed as an ideology or a mechanism of nationalistic pride as a false consciousness; it is always ambivalent, neither oppressive nor liberating, but rather both at the same time.

Kiwoong Lee's "Post-Globalization and the Korean Wave Assemblage" uses the concept of post-globalization as a category to capture the changes in globalization and to explore the implications of those changes, shifting the discussion of the Korean Wave from one limited to the creation of economic value to a rhizomatic process that is formed in the relationships of various heterogeneous actors. Drawing on the issue of the expansion of virtual space in the new definition of globalization by Steger Manfred and others, this article argues that Hallyu, which is expanding its territory based on virtual space, can be considered as a symbolic popular culture of post-globalization, and draws attention to the powerful effects of the combination of Hallyu content and social media. Lee sees Hallyu as a participatory culture that goes far beyond the formation of fan communities and the production and dissemination of fan creations, leading to profound changes in a wide range of areas, from international politics to the individual self to space and time.

He approaches this through the concept of assemblage (Deleuze's assemblage) to appreciate the unspecified locations and political ramifications of the Korean Wave. As a result, the expansion of Hallyu's territory across the globe is causing major changes in the global spatial order, and to the extent that it has given rise to fan nationalism, it is exerting a powerful transformative force by subverting new spatial and temporal hierarchies and changing individual identities. However, he also points out that YouTube and Netflix are the biggest factors that have enabled the Hallyu's rise as a global popular culture, and that Hallyu is moving further and further away from Korea through deterritorialization and reterritorialization, and the more it does so, the more its Koreanness becomes dependent on convenient and customary judgments.

In "The Long Shadow of Orientalism — Korean Cultural Discourse in the German Media during the Coronavirus," Eun-jeung Lee problematizes the fixed view of the Korean Wave in German and European society as a historical development of orientalism. Focusing on four major German newspapers (FAZ, SZ, FR, and Die Welt) and magazines (Die Zeit, Stern, and Spiegel) from April 2019 to April 2022, this article examines the German media's coverage and commentary on issues that have drawn global attention to Korea, such as the coronavirus pandemic and Korean pop culture, and criticizes the perspectives and ways in which the German media deal with Korean culture. The prescriptive view of the German media is that it is a dissipation of European arrogance. First of all, before Corona and the Korean Wave, the German media had little or no interest in South Korea. However, even during the period of relatively high coverage of Korea due to special occasions such as the democratization movement, economic growth, and the Asian economic crisis, and the rise of the Korean Wave after BTS and *The Squid Game*, there was a change in reporting that the Korean Wave "broke the cultural hegemony of the English-speaking West for the first time in the history of popular culture," but Eurocentric cultural supremacist thinking remained at the core of the coverage. Lee believes it is difficult to expect German journalists and intellectuals to embrace the new cultural power that is emerging in non-Anglo-American countries like South Korea. This is in contrast to the perception in the United States and Israel, where cultural consumers bemoan their perceived peripheral position in terms of access to the cultural territory of the Korean Wave.

Hyojin Kim's "Exploring the Possibilities and Conditions of Critical 'K-Fandom' Studies" examines the potential for critical fandom studies in Korea through books that address gender issues in idol culture ("Queerology: Subversion, Disruption, and the Play of Desire," "Alpes x Queer," and "Feminology"). Hyojin Kim notes that the very 'event' in which these books were planned and prepared was the experience of increased diversity and empowerment in fandom brought about by the cultural phenomenon of the 'feminist reboot'. She

notes the process of 'inventing' the concepts of queer fandom, 'queerfest', and feminology, respectively.

Hyojin Kim argues that these books demonstrate that feminist and queer studies perspectives in idol fandom studies are not the exclusive domain of academics and researchers, and that they are rare examples of a more direct intersection of idol fandom needs and academic interests based on contemporaneity and fieldwork. The changes that have occurred in Korean idol fandom cannot be explained solely in terms of the industry, but rather were first raised within and outside of idol fandom, along with the rise of gender issues in Korean society. Kim therefore notes that these books chart a different trajectory from fandom studies, especially those originating in the West. Kim argues that K-POP is a globalized cultural industry that is being embraced and hybridized in different ways in different regions and societies, and that Korean idol fandom practices are charting their own trajectory that is not encompassed by Western-based fandom studies, further reinforcing the diversity and heterogeneity of K-POP fandom. This article thus highlights the ways in which cultural practices and norms stemming from idol fandom have transcended its boundaries and influenced other areas of Korean society, even abroad, and calls for a shift in the way we view fandom as a mere consumer of a cultural industry. If K-POP has established itself globally as a unique genre, the phenomenon of K-fandom can also be seen as a perspective and approach to Korean society. Above all, this essay affirms that these books were conceived within the sphere of influence of the feminist reboot, and that "self-reflection and criticism are emerging within female fandom, the most important pillar of idol culture," thus "calling for a sophisticated feminology discourse" (p. 5).

On the other hand, when looking at policy discourses, there are 'governance discourses' of national cultural industries. The policy discourses related to Hallyu are in the realm of discourses that focus on the economic regulatory power of globalization, which is called the Born Global discourse. And in Korea, discussions centred on the creation of economic value continue to dominate Hallyu discourse. Policy discourse, globalization discourse, and institutional discourse combine to drive the commercial discourse. Discussions related to BTS's growth history, current status, and prospects are also based on this Born global theory.

The question is how to develop a Hallyu discourse in cultural studies that critically intervenes in this process. Therefore, this article will focus on new media platforms and 'disembodied globalization'. While the development of global media platforms and the Hallyu wave can be seen in the discursive terrain discussed above, the issue of the Hallyu wave's spill over effects will be key. It is necessary to deepen the issue of the scalability of Hallyu cultural content from the rapid rise of its competitiveness to the constitutive issue of post-globalization.

Next, we should not overlook the process by which the Korean socio-cultural experience validated by the Candlelight Revolution is expressed in Hallyu's cultural contents. For example, "The Squid Game" and "Parasite" are examples of this, as they sharpen the problem of neoliberal governability. As the Korean Wave is being produced, distributed, and consumed on a global scale beyond Asia, the issues of economic value creation and the construction of new cultures cannot be overlooked. However, in this era of world crisis, it is relevant to pay attention to the global network through the development of media outlets because the world today is in a very urgent crisis. The power of affective solidarity from below may open up a path of hope to break through today's global disaster.

4. Post-globalization and affective engagement

The concept of globalization, which is central to this essay, is constructed from a position of understanding the shifts in globalization theories. Arif Dirlik's concept of 'global modernity' raises the issue of 'place-based politics', and my constitutive concept of globalization complements this theoretical framework for explaining the practice of social movements as a politics of place. And in fact, many urban theories, such as Michael Peter Smith's Social Constructionist urban theory, have been influential in transforming this concept of globalization. Therefore, new urban theories have raised the issue of understanding globalization not only in terms of structural changes in global capital, but also as a "restructuring and expansion of flow networks" and its

connection to local spaces. Smith critiques the concept of globalization as perceived by urbanists such as David Harvey, John Friedmann, and Saskia Sassen. It criticizes the dichotomous separation of global and local in their discourses, and the economic focus on globalization, and subverts the global city discourse with the theory of transnational cities. It aims to draw attention to the opening of new oppositional spaces at the global level.

Aihwa Ong's concept of 'Worlding Asia' is also important. Drawing attention to Asia's unique cultural landscapes and criticizing how "globalist and postcolonial discourses of urbanization" hierarchize the experience of Asian cities, Ong posits three "strategic forms of worlding practice. The three strategic practices are modelling in composition, cross-referencing, and new solidarity. When the Institute of East Asian Studies at Anglican University organized the 2017 International Conference of Inter Asia Cultural Studies, the theme of 'Worlding Asia' was chosen because it was necessary to pay attention to the horizontal relational construction and its strategic practices in Asia. The concept of 'Worlding Asia' also provides a perspective to elucidate the pathways through which the Korean Wave is opening up new cultural territories in Asia and the world.

What is 'post-globalization'? Globalization, or the globalization of capital, is characterized by economic regulatory forces such as "the free movement of capital, the flexibility of labour, and the diminishing role of the state," resulting in global division of labour and unemployment. Post-globalization, however, takes issue with the fact that the globalization of capital does not operate only as a contradiction of its own intensified system of accumulation, but as a "superposition of the contradictions of colonialism, the Cold War, and globalization. The concept of 'post-globalization' was adopted to raise the issue of the aggregation of these overlapping contradictions.

For example, when Korea and Japan have a trade conflict over recruitment, why is it called a trade conflict when it is a historical issue? It is because of the historical overlap of contradictions that are visible in the form of contradictions from previous eras that do not end but continue to push forward to the present. Therefore, the concept of post-globalization is used to explain the overlap of contradictions and to propose a solution. In that sense, post-globalization is not only a historical analysis framework, but also a concept that identifies the location of the dynamics of contradictions. It encompasses the new performers of globalization and the actors in the politics of plurality.

Therefore, if we historicize the global development of the Korean Wave today, we can summarize the initial stage as a cultural phenomenon that was oriented toward 'pop Asianism' or 'glocalism'. The current stage of the Korean Wave is the development of 'Worlding Asia' or pop globalism, and the Korean Wave is a sign of post-globalization. This is because today's Korean Wave is characterized by a global network of cultural performers and the possibility of 'sympathetic solidarity'. Therefore, when discourse on the Korean Wave in the current phase of global order reorganization, it is necessary to examine the state of Korean and global bodies, not only in terms of inter-state relations or economic logic. For example, in China, young people are choosing "tangping" (躺平).⁵ Friends who do nothing and do not get up are becoming a social problem. In addition, the phenomenon of children becoming "professional children" and receiving monthly salaries from their parents has also emerged in China. Socially, they do not choose a job or a career path, and they are forced into a full-time status of being a child. In Palestine, many young men go to war and die. In Ukraine, some young men are on the front lines with the neo-Nazi far right. And then there are fandoms, including ATMYs around the world who are into Korean culture. It is limiting to discuss the adoption of Hallyu without paying attention to the social disconnection and transboundary connections that its disembodied bodies create. Hallyu discourse, which is reduced to the economic value creation of the cultural content industry and the status of a cultural powerhouse, is indeed very narrow. The current issues of hateful Korean culture and nationalism are in fact a result of this context.

⁵ Tangping, or tangping, is a Chinese neologism, meaning "flat on the ground," or "lying flat," and refers to the practice of young Chinese people spending most of their time lying down at home, avoiding active work and consumption, performing minimal subsistence activities, in order to resist the Communist Party's economic assault.

In order to overcome the neoliberal disaster that is the current stage of capitalism, we need a new imagination of what is possible through cultural paths, and since critical intervention in reality is the essence of cultural studies, we need to sharpen the meaning of discourse on Korean culture.

To move beyond the neoliberal disaster that is the current phase of capitalism, we need a new imagination that can make cultural pathways visible. Critical intervention in reality is the essence of cultural studies, so it is necessary to sharpen the semantic web of what it means to discourse the Han.

I have recently been studying 'non-aligned movements' and 'Third World movements'. If I introduce a crucial point in the process to remind us of the issue of a new global transition, we can recall the moment in the 1970s when Mao Zedong raised the strategic line of "Three Worlds" (1974). The Three Worlds Thesis was put forward after the Sino-U.S. détente and the U.S. recognition of a united China in the Shanghai Communique (Feb. 22, 1973), as China responded to the Soviet Union as a hostile power. The 1960s and 70s saw the revitalization of the Non-Aligned and Third World movements, which led to the establishment of a majority politics at the United Nations, and the victory of Vietnam over the United States in the Vietnam War. Therefore, it was possible to submit a global strategic line that reorganized the world into three orders rather than the postwar Cold War system. The postwar world seems to have been maintained by the Cold War system of cold peace, but wars continued in various parts of Asia. Therefore, postwar Asia was marked by a process of forming a peace regime on a global scale to create a peaceful Asia instead of a warring Asia. In short, the end of the Korean War and the Indochina War, the Geneva Conference (1954) for a political settlement, and the revitalization of the Non-Aligned/Third World Movement led to efforts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to jointly deal with problematic issues and resolve them with peace regimes. The post-war world history has a distinct historical context of experiences that pushed for such majoritarian politics.

The world is now in a mode of war. Therefore, how to reorganize the world in this war mode, the global order, and how to turn this stage of disaster and war into a peaceful world. Is it impossible to build a peace regime for this from the bottom-up? What kind of power can the Korean Wave have in this regard? As an important manifestation of post-globalization, the Korean Wave is characterized by 'sensory involvement' or 'affective involvement'. There is Hannah Arendt's concept of 'deprivation of the private sphere'. It means that the private sphere has become so large that it is deprived of all realistic and objective relationships or possibilities, and it is a sign that young people in the modern world have lost the ability to think mentally and act politically in practice. However, what has been confirmed in the global cultural phenomenon of the Korean Wave is the 'power of mutual transmission' and the process of affective involvement generated by the disembodied bodies of post globalization. Therefore, even if there is a process of mediation and refraction due to other interventions, it is a time of urgent need for the awareness of 'worldlessness' or 'worldlessness without its own world' and the politics of plurality.

To recall, the period after World War II is called the "postwar period," but Asia was actually in a constant state of postwar. After the war, Asia continued to experience wars such as the Chinese Civil War, the Korean War, the Indochina War, the Sino-Japanese Conflict, the Vietnam War, the Cambodian War, and the Sino-Mongolian War. In that case, the world history of the Cold War, the so-called "cold peace," should be rewritten as the hour hand of Asia. Asia has the largest number of U.S. military bases in the world, and the struggle against those bases continues in Okinawa and South Korea, where the war spectacle society continues. In addition, it is no exaggeration to say that Northeast Asia is currently experiencing a heightened state of war on the Korean Peninsula and the cross-strait. Above all, in today's neoliberal world, irregular workers, women, minorities, refugees, etc. are in a state of war just to live their daily lives in the midst of disaster capitalism.

How do people living in Asia and the world today confront the temporality and spatiality of these large and small "wars" and "post-war" recurrences? If we are in a crisis situation where the war mode is being activated again, the only way for everyone to live is to change it to a peace mode. In that case, it will be important to build such a transboundary peace regime not as a political choice based on interests, such as negotiations between states, but as a broad-based anti-war solidarity flow from below. Therefore, it is urgent to revisit and discourse on Hallyu in terms of affective engagement.

5. Conclusion

The Korean Wave is not just out there. It is because the world has entered the place where we live now. Korea is now a multicultural society. There are many areas where the percentage of elementary school students with mixed race is over 10%. Of course, this state of Asia within us is also a channel through which the Korean Wave is sent to Asia and the world, and it is also a relationship that flows back. Myanmar women are fighting against the dictatorship, but what do they sing as they fight? In Myanmar's anti-military dictatorship struggle, "The March for the Beloved," known as Asia's "international song," is often sung. Under neoliberalism, the transnational flow of global labour is a natural phenomenon. In Thailand's pro-democracy struggle, the protesters carried the slogan "Solidarity with democracy, not the promotion of a security Korean Wave". The Thai government imported tear gas from South Korea to suppress the pro-democracy movement, so progressives in Thailand called for solidarity with democracy, not the Korean Wave. However, it is worth noting that the protests are being organized in South Korea by migrant workers from Thailand and social democratic movements in South Korea.

BTS's "Sugar" made a song about "Unbanning" and the hip-hop scene and rhyme are very refreshing. I have been researching non-aligned/Third World movements lately. One of its theoretical pillars, Samir Amin, submitted a proposal called 'Delinking'⁶ from the capitalist system of accumulation. I was very much enlightened by that idea of 'Delinking'. On an emotional level, Sugar's "Unbanning" is a call to today's youth to break away from this mainstream discourse. The transposition of the similarity between the concepts of 'Delinking' and 'Unbanning' standing side by side is amazing.

The information overload prohibits freedom of imagination and demands uniformity of thought. Slaves to capital, slaves to money, slaves to hate and bigotry, slaves to YouTube, slaves to Netflix, Selfishness and greed run amok, It's easy to close your eyes, It's easy to be comfortable, Views clearly divided by interest, Envy and jealousy, Everyone's blind, Do not get swept away in the tsunami of information, Unaware of the shackles we put on each other. We all know the difference between freedom and indulgence, So this song is unbanning, hop on board, now, the rhythm of the pounding Maybe, this is also another unbanning!

Are your judgments and assumptions based on solid convictions, and do you believe that your freedom is the same as the freedom of others, then do not hesitate to jump on board.

How can the world change from a neoliberal mode of war to a pluralistic and equitable mode of peace through culture? Not wanting to lose sight of the "place" and "power" of culture is an important rationale for continuing to study the Korean Wave. It is my sincere hope that the global and regional ripples of today's Korean Wave will be a shining example of a new path to peace for all.

⁶ Samir Amin/Michael Wolfers, *Delinking; Towards a Polycentric World*, Zed Books Ltd. 1990, London. Delinking was first published in French under the title *La Déconnexion* by Edition La Découverte, Paris, 1985.