

Production and Consumption of Contemporary Korean Cinema

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1. Introduction

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Korean cinema entered a new phase from the 1990s, which, on the surface, seemed a complete breakup from the past ~~on the surface~~. During the 1990s, ~~it the industry~~ underwent remarkable explosive growth in quantity and quality, overcoming a severe depression ~~from that lasted from~~ the 1970s to the 1980s. Through this period, its status changed from something subjected to disregard and ridicule in comparison with foreign cinema to a ~~most~~-fashionable cultural commodity ~~that should bein need of being~~ consumed before ~~anything elseany other~~. ~~Especially~~ This was especially the case with, *Silmido* and *Tae-Gguk-Ggi* (*Taegeukgi hwinallimyeo*), blockbusters ~~marking that marked~~ a new beginning ~~of for~~ Korean cinema by yielding with over 10 million viewers, and which crossed over the boundaries ~~iesy~~ of ~~movie mere movies~~ and emerged as a huge social phenomenon whose influence spread to all facets of Korean society.

However, as many scholars note, the Korean cinema circle from the 1990s, which appeared to have garnered economic success and cultural influence, cannot be easily characterized as being successful or having gone through a renaissance. The cinema community seems to have a rosy future, with possibilities for huge success at home and abroad, but actually it is a realm of contradiction ~~where-in which~~ different forces clash with one another behind ~~the-closed doors~~. Movies drawing 10 million viewers stand side by side with those with less than 10,000; some ~~cost are priced at~~ 10

billion won ~~to produce and others, and others,~~ at less than 1 billion won; and some are viewed in 400 screens simultaneously, while some find an audience in just one. Even in countries with a developed film industry, super-big movies and low-budget independent movies (indies) exist side by side. Extreme polarization might not ~~such~~ be such a strange thing, as it is everywhere. But in the Korean case, it is difficult to brush ~~it aside~~ aside this concern just because ~~it is~~ this polarization is common ~~everywhere~~ in other places, considering that ~~its~~ it's the Korean movie industry has achieved rapid ~~but superficial, extremely polarized growth on the surface in extreme polarization in over the span of~~ just over a decade, ~~as if in a pattern seeming to mimic Korea's copying its~~ extremely condensed economic growth. With a more objective viewpoint, one can realize that the growth of the Korean film industry was not realized under the circumstances ~~that of super-blockbuster movies and low-budget indie films~~ having their own production and consumption structures and a stable circulation distribution system, but from the over-performance of a handful of movies. The wide dispersion of the figures cited above do not indicate the coexistence of diverse movies, but that super-blockbuster movies, armed with economies of scale, have an oppressor's position and eat into the domain of small movies films. This trend has been generated ~~strengthened~~ generated by packaged movies, which came out in the early 1990s, and Korean-style blockbusters, which were produced by matching large capital and advanced technology. These two types of movies look very different, because most movies classified into the former ~~pursuer~~ restrict themselves to extremely light material, extreme lightness while the latter are hung-caught up on ~~with an~~ economy of scale with that results in excessive tension and seriousness. However, as ~~it~~ will be discussed later, they are like ~~the~~ two sides of a the same coin, produced from the industrialization of the Korean cinema circle, which progressed rapidly in the 1990s. Thus, it ~~has important significance~~ is important to historically examine the birth and ~~change~~ growth of ~~package~~ packaged cinema and its blockbuster variants; ~~blockbusters~~, for a macro-level review of the Korean film circle since the 1990s.

2-A New Beginning

The immediate starting point of the dramatic transition of Korean cinema industry in the 1990s may be traced to the fifth amendment ~~of to~~ the Cinema Law in 1985. The effect of the amendment in Korea may be compared to that of the anti-monopoly verdict against Paramount Pictures in the Hollywood movie industry. Shaking the existing

stable production system, it provided ~~a-the~~ direct momentum ~~to-from which~~ enormous change ~~to-arise~~arose. The Korean film industry, which had enjoyed a stable production system controlled by a handful of oligopolistic production companies until the amendment of the law, was faced with an unstable state of infinite competition with its legislation.¹ The legislative changes that had direct impacts included the switch~~hoverh~~ from an approval system to a registration system for the establishment of production companies ~~from an approval system~~, the ~~new~~ introduction of ~~the-a new~~ independent movie production system, and separate registration between importers and producers. The switch to the registration system resulted in the establishment of many new production companies, reshaping-which reshaped the movie production field by introducing ~~infinite-severe~~ competition. However, production liberalization did not immediately give way to active film production ~~immediately~~. The number of films produced in 1986, the first year after production liberalization, actually decreased from the previous years, ~~that-had~~when there had been about 20 production companies.² This proved the simple fact that ~~the~~ revitalization of the film industry cannot be achieved by a mere increase in manpower ~~increase~~ and passionate will alone, without a sufficient and stable supply of capital. What was more important than the simple movie production figures ~~of movie production~~ was the burgeoning of a new atmosphere. The emergence of new movie companies had more than a numerical meaning in the terrain of the Korean film industry. New companies were more actively engaged in film production, compared to the ~~-n~~ existing traditional ones, gradually becoming the main players ~~of-in~~ Korean cinema. The erection of new companies and intense competition from it worked as channels to attract an even ~~a~~ greater number of people, producing a good cyclical movement featuring the inflow of people ~~{(manpower)}~~ industrial vitalization, ~~—and the~~ inflow of more people ~~{(greater manpower)}~~. The entrancee advent of new manpower was distinctive in two areas, producers and directors. The second-generation producers of Korean cinema who would later create a new trend called “packagepackaged cinema” ~~—~~ including ~~Yoo-Yu~~ In-taek, ~~Shin~~ Cheol, ~~Ahn~~ Dong-gyu, Yi Choon~~Chun~~-yeon, Cha Seung-jae, Sim Jae-my~~young~~ ~~myeong~~ and Yi Eun~~—~~ entered the film industry during this period. So did many new directors, who might be called “Korean movie brats.” Among them, Jang Sun-~~wowu~~, Bak Gwang-soo and Hong Gi-seon were members of ~~a-the~~ college cineclub Yallas~~yeu~~ong and took part

¹ Gim Dong-ho, “Hanguk younghwa jeonghekwil baljeon-banghayange-gwanhan yeongu,” (A Study on the Direction for the Development of Korean Movie Industry), Master’s Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Public Administration, Hanyang University, Kim (-1989, p-71).

² Yi Lee Choong-jik, “Hanguk younghwa sangyounggwani byeoncheongwa baljeon-bangan” (Change and the Direction for the Development of Korean Movie Theaters), Seoul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, (-2001, p-59).

in the cinema movement through an independent movie organization named the Seoul Visual Collective. New talents who entered the movie circle during this period would later play a decisive [critical] role in formulating a-the new structure of the Korean film industry. Many new trends created by them, such as producer-centered “packagepackaged cinema” and Korean-style blockbusters, and-as well as the director-centered New Korean Cinema and its more recent variant—, auteur [auteurism] cinema—, continue until-to this today, all leading the renaissance of Korean cinema.

4) New Korean Cinema

The so-called Korean movie brats, who entered the film industry in the second half of the 1980s, started, though not for the first time in Korea, a cinema movement ~~which-that~~ linked theory and practice³ and addressed social issues with sharp sensitivity while inheriting traditional ~~cinema’s~~ auteurism—cinema. They were involved mainly in independent movies, but upon entering the established cinema community, they created a-new trends, under the changed social milieu. While the Hollywood movie brats ~~had~~ were possessed a self-consciousness of ‘film as art,’ their Korean counterparts brimmed with-over with high self-consciousness as activists, based on a clear notion on-of the power of movie-film as a medium of change, and-modeled-modeling it on the-Third World people-cinema.⁴ Meanwhile, Yi Jang-ho and Bae Chang-ho, who worked in the traditional production environment of Chungmuro, wanted to get closer to the reality of life [real-life] in the-its pre-existing context and made movies with a high-strong social

³ Despite its failure, the Visual Age movement may be regarded as the first cinema movement in Korea, in the sense that it was the first serious attempt to produce new films in terms of theory and production volume (An 2001). The Seoul Visual Collective published a film theory book and, in particular, Jang Sun-woo dabbled in theoretical criticism in the article “Yeollyeojin yeonghwa-reul wihayeo” (For Open Cinema) (Seoul Visual Collective 1983). ~~Despite its failure, the Visual Age movement may be regarded as the first cinema movement in Korea, in the sense that it was the first serious attempt to produce new films in terms of theory and production volume. (Ahn Jae-seok, “Cheongnyeon youngghwa woondongeroseowi ‘youngsang sidaee’ daehan yeongu” (A Study on “Visual Age” as a Youth Cinema Movement), Master’s Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Advanced Imaging Science, Multimedia and Film, Chungang University, 2001.)—~~
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⁴ “The people cinema movement of the Third World began with great emphasis on its role as a cultural movement for the struggle to liberate both the nation and the people and for the establishment of independent national and grassroots culture (Seoul Visual Collective 1985, 13 and recited from An 2001).The people cinema movement of the Third World began with great emphasis on its role as a cultural movement for the struggle to liberate the nation and the people and for the establishment of independent national and grass root culture.” (Seoul Visual Collective, *Youngghwa woondongnon* (Cinema Movement Theory), Seoul: Hwada chulpansa, 1985, p. 13; and recited from Ahn Jae seok, *ibid*.

to the message, including *Children of Darkness* (*Eodum-ui jasikdeul*), *Declaration of Fools* (*Babo seoneon*), and *The People of Kkobang Village* (*Kkobang dongne saramdeul*). With the entry of these figures, social issue movies appeared in the Chungmuro production scene, whose sole concern used to be market success. The emergence of new directors ushering in a new trend-way of filmmaking signified a full-scale change in the terrain of the film industry, which was directly related to the massive social change movement in Korea during the 1980s.⁵

The fifth amendment of the Cinema Law on the film industry shook off the conventional production practices and conceived of a new trend. This new trend did not remain at the industrial level and soon transpired-traveled-over to the aesthetic and style dimensions, earning a new name. Kim Kyung-hyun (Kyuveong-hyueon) gives an appellation-coined the term "New Korean Cinema" to the films produced under the influence of the changing environment of the Korean motion picture industry after 1986.⁶ The term New Korean Cinema refers to films based on the combination of social awareness and consciousness as author which-were-produced while the Korean film industry was under a great change from the matching of big business capital and new manpower. It is reflective of the social consciousness of the majority for the first time in its history. Being a variant of independent movies or reflection on the historical and cultural particularities of Korea, it attempted to define itself as a critical counter cinema-against a Hollywood cinema based-backed-by-on-universal capital, particularly-particularly in the form of Hollywood blockbusters. Of course, Hollywood, as conceived by those movies, cannot be viewed as the universal form of cinema. It might be more proper to say that it is a particular form of cinema adopted by a particular cinema industry called Hollywood in order to cope with a particular business crisis and the form of national cinema in a particular region. However, it may have a sort of quasi-

⁵ Yi Hyo-in, *Woori younghwawi mongsanggewa oman* (Illusion and Arrogance of Korean Cinema), Seoul: Mingeul, (1994, pp. 174-176).

⁶ Kyung Hyun Kim, "The New Korean Cinema: Framing the Shifting Boundaries of History, Class and Gender," Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of University of South California, 1998. The New Korean Cinema is defined by discourses of five subjects: post-colonialism (*Silver Stallion* (1991) and *White Badge* (1992)), national division (*Gilsottum* (1985) and *Berlin Report* (1991)), modernization, democratization (*Black Republic* (1990) and *A Petal* (1996)), and globalization (*Out to the World* (1994) and *To You, From Me* (1994)). This means that it refers to films made with the injection of capital and new manpower in proactive response to the contradictions that arose in capitalistic modernization of Korea-Kim (1998). The New Korean Cinema is defined by discourses around five subjects: post-colonialism (*Silver Stallion* (*Eunma-neun ojanneunda*, 1991) and *White Badge* (*Hayan jeonjaeng*, 1992), *National Division* (*Gilsottum* (1985) and *Berlin Report* (*Bereullin ripoteu*, 1991), modernization, democratization (*Black Republic* (*Geudeuldo uricheoreom*, 1990) and *A Petal* (*Kkotnip*, 1996), and globalization (*Out to the World* (*Sesangbakkeuro*, 1994) and *To You, From Me* (*Neo-ege na-reul bonaenda*, 1994). This means that it refers to films made with the injection of capital and new manpower in proactive response to the contradictions that arose in the capitalistic modernization of Korean society.

universality, in the sense that the nature of capital and production structure that maintains and represents the film industry follows the core logic of ~~the core in~~ post-capitalism, ~~which is a superior system in the contemporary era. [???~~. In this regard, it may be more reasonable to view the expansion of Hollywood blockbusters throughout the global market as not just ~~as at~~ the success of American cinema, but as a cultural manifestation of the power of capital in undergoing infinite expansion. Hollywood blockbusters engage in a kind of cultural war for hegemony against particularities ~~resisting that resist~~ it in specific battlefields ~~called of the~~ local. The emergence of the New Korean Cinema represents the embattlement of a local specificity ~~to confront~~ confrontation with the quasi-universality transmitted by blockbusters and the beginning of a fully-blown cultural war to ~~hold-maintain~~ cultural hegemony.⁷ A distinct characteristic that arose in this process was ~~an-the~~ auteurist tendency. As an attempt to counter commercial films made with large amounts of capital, such as is the case with Hollywood movies, auteurism was, in a sense, a strategic choice ~~in a sense~~. Thus, it had a different meaning from its general meaning; it was not a return to art, but a strategy ~~for-through which~~ real practice ~~to-could~~ differentiate itself from Hollywood blockbusters. At the same time, it tried to upgrade the status of Korean cinema in popular culture by saving it from being relegated to the status of cheap entertainment.⁸ It should also be noted that auteurism gained distinct recognition partly because the appearance of the New Korean Cinema ~~concurrent-coincided~~ with the beginning of the active introduction of Korean films to other countries. In the West, non-Hollywood movies tend to be called author-auteur cinemas and circulated as art films, regardless of their real content.⁹ In summary, to view ~~from an industrial aspect~~ how auteurism in the

⁷ The success of Korean cinema during the 1960s should be understood as due to the protection wall under the import regulation system rather than as a victory in the battle with the cultural industry represented by Hollywood. Therefore, it can be reasonably said that it was from the New Korean Cinema that Korean films began to achieve some success in a period when competition between universality and particularity occurred at a full scale around the world. The success of Korean cinemas during the 1960s should be conceived due to the protection wall under the import regulation system rather than as a victory in the battle with the cultural industry represented by Hollywood. Therefore, it can be reasonably said that it was from the New Korean Cinema that Korean films began to achieve some success in a period when competition between universality and particularity occurred at a full scale around the world.

⁸ Moon (Jae-cheol, "Younghwajeok-gieokgwa munhwajeok-jeongcheseunge-gwanhan-yeongu: Post-Korean New Wave rul joongsimeuro" (A Study on Cinematic Memory and Cultural Identity: The Case of the Post-Korean New Wave), Ph. D. Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Advanced Imaging Science, Multimedia and Film, Chungang University, 2002, pp. 10-11).

⁹ Kim Kyung Hyun (1998, 97). In Gwon-taek's films are typical examples of this. His transformation from a typical commercial moviemaker from Chungmuro to an authorist director seeking artful and artistic quality in his films must have been based on his personal awakening and motivation (->-resolution to change his style-resolution?). However, it might be somewhat related to the fact that he received awards at international film festivals and thereby, came to be certified as an "auteur" that he continued to produce not-so-commercial films amidst the intense competition that prevailed from since 1985. Kim Kyung Hyun, ibid., p. 97. In Gwon-taek's films are typical examples of this. His transformation from a typical

New Korean Cinema received special recognition from an industrial aspect, it can be argued that when commercial movies with a stable, fixed —, though depressed —, form were in jeopardy from external (legal and institutional) factors, they found a way out ~~{towards}~~ revitalization} by adopting a critical perspective which—that existed outside the mainstream. This is quite similar to the renaissance of the New Hollywood, i.e., the New American Cinema, in the sense that in-crisis-the cinema industry and interests of cinema capital in crisis revoked auteurism, and-mixed with it, and it played a bridge role to—in the switch from traditional commercial cinema to a new form of commercial cinema (blockbusters) within a new media environment.¹⁰ The New American Cinema had a short life, losing popular support, whereas the New Korean Cinema still has the-an auteurist quality, which—this is mainly due to its “realism,”¹¹ a tradition of Korean cinema, and it is classified and circulated as national cinema or art cinema, which gets recognition in the art film market, including international film festivals.

2) PackagePackaged Cinema

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While the Korean movie brats, or new-comers who entered the industry after the fifth amendment of to the Cinema Law, led the New Korean Cinema, the combination of new producers and a new form of capital gave birth to an entirely different genre —, “packagepackaged cinema.” While the New Korean Cinema saved the industry from imminent evaporation, just like the New American Cinema did, and called attention to

~~commercial-moviemaker of Chungmuro to an authorist director seeking artful quality in his films must have been based on his personal awakening and decision. However, it might be somewhat related to the fact that he received awards at international film festivals and thereby, certified as an ‘auteur’ that he continued to produce not so-commercial films in intense competition that prevailed from since 1985.~~

¹⁰~~—It does not mean that classical Hollywood (prior to the New Hollywood) and classical Chungmuro (prior to the New Chungmuro) share a similar structure or status. In a comparison like this one, the focus is on the production system and stability of the industrial structure. From the 1970s to the early 1980s, Korean cinema had a low recognition and the production system of Chungmuro was at the brink of extinction. Yet oligopolistic production continued, guaranteed under the legal system. It does not mean that classical Hollywood (prior to the New Hollywood) and classical Chungmuro (prior to the New Chungmuro) share a similar structure or status. In a comparison like this one, the focus is on the production system and stability of industrial structure. In the 1970s to the early 1980s, Korean cinema had a low recognition and the production system of Chungmuro was at the brink of extinction. Yet oligopolistic production continued, guaranteed under the legal system.~~

¹¹ Moon Jae-cheol raises a question about the status of realism in Korean cinema. He thinks that in Korean cinema realism does not have concrete objects of representation and instead, unlike in Western cinema, operates as a sort of complementary signifier that complements what is missing to be complete. This notion of realism in Korean cinema can be applied to Korean blockbusters as well.~~Moon Jae-cheol raises a question on the status of realism in Korean cinema. He thinks that in Korean cinema realism does not have concrete objects of representation and instead, unlike in Western cinema, operates as a sort of complementary signifier which complements what is lacking [missing] to be complete. This notion of realism in Korean cinema can be applied to Korean blockbusters as well.~~

the social functions of art and its value as artsuch, the new film production system created by the new form of packagepackaged cinema was similar to the structure of the blockbuster-producing new Hollywood. As mentioned above, although the production companies that flourished with production liberalization in the second half of the 1980s had the initiative in production, they had no capital for independent film production nor stable distribution networks.¹² They had to rely on the-existing local promoters, who prevented them from building a stable production system. In-It was in this precarious situation that- the direct distribution of foreign movies began. In 1988, the Ministry of Finance lifted the regulation on limiting foreign investment in movie distribution and production, allowing foreign movie companies to establish local firms to import and distribute movies from their headquarters directly.

_____ In March 1988, *Fatal Attraction* was screened in Korea, which was the first movie directly distributed by UIP-CIC, a joint world distribution company of Hollywood. The appearance of direct distributors from Hollywood, who had in their hands a large number of movies with a superior position in capital and market success, dealt a serious blow to the Korean film industry. The power of directly distributed movies kept on-growing till 1993.¹³ Also, in 1994, the limit placed on the number of prints was wiped-outeliminated completely in-1994 in accordance with the agreement reached at the second round of negotiations on Korean and American cinemas.¹⁴ Korea's film market became completely open under the pressure exercised in the typical Hollywood business style of taking advantage of its economically superior position to pressure-push the opening of foreign movie markets to-open-up, being completely exposed to the tide of indiscriminate and infinite competition defenselessly. Infinite competition eliminated the most important income source of the Korean film production companies, which were making profits from importing foreign movies instead of producing films. The ebb of film capital amid the active production of new movies resulted in the hollowing-out of capital. In these circumstances, big businesses or conglomerates (jchaebolsaebeols) made inroads into the film industry,

¹² See Korea Culture Policy Institute, "Younghwa-yotong-baegup-gujowi-hyeonhwanggwagaeseon banghyang-yeongu" (A Study on the Current Status and Improvement of the Cinema Circulation and Distribution System), (1998, p.10).

¹³ Korean Film Council (, "Hanguk-younghwa-saneup-gujo-boonseok: Hollywood-younghwa-jikbae ihurul joongsimeuro" (Analysis of the Structure of Korean Movie Industry: After the Direct Distribution of Hollywood Cinemas), 2001 [참고문헌에 2001로 적혀있음], 2, pp. 18-19).

¹⁴ The lifting of the limit on the number of prints had an enormous impact on the Korean film industry, which will be discussed in detail later in this paper. At first, it greatly helped Hollywood distributors expand their power, and then, later, with the emergence of Korean distribution managers, it exercised great influence on the birth and expansion of Korean blockbusters. Ultimately, it operated as a mechanism of putting pressure on small movies, regardless of the distributor's nationality. The lifting of the limit on the number of prints had an enormous impact on the Korean film industry, which will be discussed in detail later in this paper. At first, it greatly helped Hollywood distributors expand their power, and then, later, with the emergence of Korean distribution managers, it exercised a great influence on the birth and expansion of Korean blockbusters. Ultimately, it operated as a mechanism of putting pressure on small movies, regardless of the distributor's nationality.

filling up the vacuum of capital. To cope with changes in the media environment, the expansion of the video market, and the launch of cable TV, big businesses started to invest directly in the film industry.¹⁵ Their investments may have been motivated by the belief that they could ensure secure revenue by developing new channels, that is, video and cable TV, and that new Chungmuro manpower would mean stable investment partners and transparent maintenance. While conglomerates entered the industry easily and without any resistance in from the cinema community owing to the because of changes in the circumstances of the film industry, their decision to invest in film is related to the change in the macro media environment. Firstly, among conglomerates, major manufacturers of home electronics such as Daewoo, GumsungGold Star, Samsung and SKC entered the video market for owing to the market diversification and synergy effect that came from linking various related products. However, foreign movies with a huge market success potential were in the hands of direct distributors, and those outside the realms of direct distribution fetched high copyright fees due to intense competition among domestic distributors. With the rise of copyright fees of for foreign movies, those of Korean movies hiked also went up. The growing influence of direct distribution in the video circulation industry and the skyrocketing copyright fees of films caused the conglomerates difficulties in program supply and demand, making them feel the need to be self-sufficient with screen contents. Secondly, with the planned launching of cable television and satellite broadcasting, profits to be generated from films were expected to increase as more channels become available to play them on. Conglomerates were planning to enter the cable television business, which was scheduled to start in 1993. It was the same as Western media moguls felt feeling the need to own film companies in order to produce the contents to play on their multi-channel media. Korean big businesses that had the ambition to enter the film industry, industry yearned to form huge media groups, as found in the West. Besides, the diversification of media channels offered a favorable condition within which to induce big business capital, with the potential to work as a safety valve by making it easier to retrieve make back the production costs. Also, new distribution and marketing practices established by the direct distributors played a pioneering role by enabling a switch to an efficient media group. Thirdly, change in the manpower of Chungmuro should be noted. From the viewpoint of conglomerates which that stressed transparency in finance and capital management, the existing production system of Chungmuro was far from being transparent, even at the minimum level. In It was under this condition, that they expected the new bloods, equipped with Hollywood-style production talents to be good investment partners. Chaebols-Jaebols that made inroads into the movie industry in response to the changing internal and external conditions operated as an important source of production capital until their withdrawal after the 1997 economic crisis, which greatly influence ceding the change in the structure and production practices of the Korean cinema industry.

¹⁵ Gwon Kwon (Mi-jeong, “90 nyeondae hanguk younghwawi jejak bangsik yeongu: Jabongwa inryeokwi byeonhwa, gu younghyangul joongsimeuro” (A Study on the Production System of Korean Movies in the 1990s: Change in Capital and Manpower and Its Impacts), Master’s Thesis submitted to the Department of Theater and Film, Dongguk University, 1995, pp. 55-57).

The companies that churned out many films in the second half of the 1980s, led by ~~the second-generation~~ [a new generation of] producers, pursued Hollywood-style industrialization. However, without the distribution networks or production capital that major studios in Hollywood had, they survived like small production companies, securing the production cost of a single movie and depending on its ~~outcome~~ ~~reception~~ ~~success~~ in the market ~~[living on the income generated from it depending on how successful it was]~~. For film production, they made a package deal with an investor, ~~which was~~ a big business, like in New Hollywood. The producer persuades the investor with a proposal package that describes in minute detail the intent of production, synopsis, market research, main actors, production company, director, and possibility and plans of sponsorship. A quasi-Hollywood system ~~is~~ ~~was~~ born in the process of combining the investment capital of conglomerates and production companies ~~banging~~ ~~bringing together~~ new producers and adopting contents standardization based on market research, ~~a~~ star system, ~~and the~~ thorough division of labor among the staff, marketing and publicity. Films produced in this system are called ~~package~~ ~~packaged~~ cinemas.

~~In~~ ~~According to~~ international standards, the production system of the ~~package~~ ~~packaged~~ cinema has nothing special and may look quite similar to that of ordinary commercial films. However, in the history of Korean film industry, the ~~package~~ ~~packaged~~ cinema marks the beginning of new production practices and capital inflow ~~that are~~—distinctive from the old way of ~~doing~~ business. Most notable is emphasis on and investment in prior research and marketing. In the stage of prior research, the target audience is determined roughly, ~~a~~ market survey on their needs is conducted, ~~the a~~ scenario is written based on ~~it that~~, and marketing points are set. In this process, the scenario, which is the design of a cinema, is drawn up like designing a product to conform to the desire of consumers, rather than being written ~~with the~~ ~~—from~~ creative inspiration of an artist. In addition, marketing is planned systematically by dividing the production period into three stages, pre-shooting, shooting and post-shooting.¹⁶ Movie marketing is deployed ~~in~~ ~~through~~ various methods, including paid commercials, publicity, exploitation and promotion.¹⁷ With thorough preparation and ~~a~~ division of labor among the specialized staff, it was very effective, in ~~comparison to the~~

¹⁶ Hong (Su-jeong, “80 nyeondae huban saerowoon younghwa saneup jeonraki younghwa texte michin younghyang yeongu” (A Study on the Influence of New Strategies of the Cinema Industry on the Movie Text in the Second Half of the 1980s), Master’s Thesis submitted to the Department of Communication, Seoul National University, 1994, p. 78).

¹⁷ Publicize the aspects of a cinema that have news value; exploit them purposefully to draw media attention; and sell and distribute various products utilizing the movie contents and characters (Jowett and Linton 1980). Publicize the aspects of a cinema that have news value; exploit them purposefully to draw media attention; and sell and distribute various products utilizing the movie contents and characters. (Garth Jowett and James Linton, *Movies as Mass Communication*, Beverly Hills & London: Sage, 1980)

comparable to the Chungmuro films, which were which that were instantly made in slapdash fashion as an slapdash productions made in opportunistic response to the import caps on —instantly for because of the import quotas of foreign movies. Based on the effectiveness, it effectively appealed to the audience through marketing rather than via the movie's text. Conglomerate capital, which was more modern and bigger than that found in Chungmuro capital, required rational and calculated systematization in the linkage with the new production staff. The new elements in the production of the packagepackaged cinema can be regarded to result from the mixture of internal will for change and external demand. PackagePackaged movies that came out since *Marriage Story* (*Gyeolhon iyagi*), the first of this brand, are distinguished from the Chungmuro movies in that they show the characteristics of Hollywood in production and marketing and are cycled with a new circulation pattern, regardless of content and style.

Figure 1

The lightness and caricature of everyday life portrayed in the packagepackaged cinema is clearly different from the critical reflection on modernity in the New Korean Cinema. Considering that the New Korean Cinema was also made by big business capital, this difference cannot be explained, obviously, by where the capital came from, i.e. —[who financed it]. Maybe it has more to do with the facts that the modernization of classical capitalism ended in Korea in the late 1980s —with the achievement of material success and progress of democratization on the surface¹⁸ —and as well as with the fact that the industrialization of culture began with the start of consumption-oriented capitalism [consumer capitalism, or mass consumption capitalism] in the 1980s.¹⁹ Both

¹⁸ Kwak (2003). From this viewpoint, the queer trajectory of director Jang Sun-woo, a leader of the New Korean Cinema, can be understood more easily. He made *The Age of Success* (*Seonggong sidae*) with an ambition to produce the film version of Marx's *Capital*, and demonstrates in *Lovers in Wumukbaemi* (*Wumukbaemi-ui sarang*) his deep insights into the darker side of modernization in the love of down-and-out people. Then, he shot *The Road to the Racetrack* (*Gyeongmajang ganeun gil*) and *To You, From Me* (*Neo-ege nareul bonaenda*) scripted from Korean postmodern novels. The transition might be regarded not as in terms of a single artist's idiosyncracies. (→ 변덕 caprices?) but as a process of undergoing personal transformation to reflect on the changing facets of modernity. Kwak Hanju, "Discourse of Modernization in 1990s' Korean Cinema," in Jenny Kwok Wah Lau (ed.), *Cinemas and Popular Media in Transcultural East Asia*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003. From this viewpoint, the queer trajectory of director Jang Sun-woo, a leader of the New Korean Cinema, can be understood more easily. He made *The Age of Success* with an ambition to produce the film version of Marx's *Capital*, and demonstrates in *Lovers in Wumukbaemi* his deep insights into the darker side of modernization in the love of down and out people. Then, he shot *The Road to the Racetrack* and *To You, From Me* scripted from Korean postmodern novels. The transition may be regarded not as an artist's idiosyncraeies [caprices] but as a process of undergoing personal transformation to reflect on the changing facets of modernity.

¹⁹ G.Kang Nae-hee, *Sinjayujunwina munhwa: Nodong sahoieseo munhwasaheiro* (Neo liberalism and Culture: From Labor Society to Culture Society), Seoul: Munhwa gwahaksa, (2000, p. 33).

the New Korean Cinema and the ~~package~~packaged cinema pursued something new to differentiate themselves from the conventional Chungmuro films, but they differed in where they found ~~the new~~this newness. The former located it in ~~the a~~ critical perspective on modernity, while the latter in following the superficial ~~lightness-levity~~ presented by the flow of capital. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that they show different levels of industrialization, although both were born in ~~the~~ full-scale industrialization of Korean cinema production.²⁰ ~~Package~~Packaged films share the same external characteristics as Korean-style blockbusters, including the inflow of large capital, ~~and~~ emphasis on marketing, and narratives of simple summary-like ideas. The only differences are the smaller volume of capital and ~~fewer special effects, fewer spectacles.~~ This is mainly because Korean film makers still lack aggressive confidence and ~~the~~ film technology to fill ~~them~~their films with ~~spectacles [special effects? Grand seenees? Action?]~~flashy special-effects eye candy and because producers and investors are unwilling to invest ~~a~~large sums of money for the uncertainty of recovering investment money due to deficient transparency in distribution and screening. ~~To view it another way, it can be said that the difference between packaged cinema in the early 1990s and Korean-style blockbusters was a result of the amount of money invested.~~ Although it benchmarked Hollywood genre movies at the outset, ~~the package~~packaged cinema concentrated on a particular genre, romantic comedy, under various limitations such as production cost, distribution capability, market size and available technology. This is supported by the remarks of producer Cha Seung-jae that “In cinema, size (i.e., blockbusters) is only the outcome of the subject matter that is dealt with. Now we can deal with what we could not in the past ~~for in terms of~~ large production costs.”²¹ The

²⁰ ~~The nature of capital itself does not define that of cinema directly. This is because capital demands to generate more capital, not a specific form or content. Films with anti-capital components can be made with big business capital as long as they can bring lots of revenue. In other words, capital does not inspect cinema directly. Due to the contradictory relations between capital and cinema, subversive cinemas are produced sometimes, which contain components opposing dominant ideology. The nature of capital itself does not define that of cinema directly. This is because capital demands the generation of more capital, not a specific form or content. Films with anti-capital components can be made with big business capital as long as they can bring lots of revenue. In other words, capital does not inspect cinema directly. Due to the contradictory relations between capital and cinema, subversive cinemas are produced sometimes, which contain components opposing the dominant ideology.—~~

²¹ See *Cine 21*, —August 24 (1999). Paradoxically, this is the same as admitting that Korean-style blockbusters, just like Hollywood blockbusters, are not completely differentiated from low-budget movies. ~~As a matter of fact, Korean-style blockbusters tend to make up its deficient deficiencies in spectacle scenes by borrowingutilizing scenes of sentimental melodramatic love drama or slapstick comedy genre.~~See “Teukjip Joonggan-gyeolsan — Hangukhyung blockbuster: Jejakja oin blockbuster japyeong”²² (Special Topic, Mid-term Assessment — Korean style Blockbusters: Self-evaluation of Five Blockbuster Producers, *Cine 21* — 8, 24 (August 24, 1999) [화인필요]). Paradoxically, it is the same as admitting that Korean-style blockbusters, just like Hollywood blockbusters, are not completely differentiated from low-

steady increase of the average production cost of ~~packagepackaged~~ films may be a ~~proofevidence~~ that they are getting ready to transform into another variant, Korean-style blockbusters. The average production cost of Chungmuro movies remained at 500 million to 600 million won till the 1990s, but it climbed to 1.5 billion to 2 billion won after a few years.²² ~~The decrease of movie production due to a sharp increase of production costs occurred in Hollywood as well, so this might be unavoidable as long as profit maximization is sought for with the movie as a commodity. Media commodities require a smaller amount of additional costs from the selling stage, after production costs are paid. Excluding marketing expenses, super blockbusters and low-budget movies need require roughly the same selling expensescost to sell. Thus, blockbusters, with a relatively lower share of additional cost costsfor wide screening in the total production cost and while being sure selling points for spectacles, enjoy big advantages in distribution and screening. In this sense, scale of economyEconomies of scale are isare~~ applied to cinema, ~~tooas well~~. Increasing production costs ~~accompanied by a decreasing number of movie productions~~ may be a natural outcome ~~to that~~ occurs ~~along~~ with the accumulation of capital in the film industry and entry into the terrain of a bigger ~~industryone~~. As mentioned previously, the same thing happened in Hollywood, when the studios turned to the blockbuster strategy in the reshuffle to be part of the media groups. The emergence of new digital technology played an important role in the shift from ~~packagepackaged~~ cinema to Korean-style blockbusters. Digital technology is vital in the qualitative change of transforming the increased investment capital into ~~fantastie distinctive special effects spectaclesspectacle images~~, which will be discussed in greater detail later. *Gumiho* (half-human and half-fox), made by ShinCine in 1994, utilized ~~the~~ CGI and ~~actively~~ publicized ~~itthis factactively, showing which demonstrated~~ a new possibility for Korean cinema. Although it was not classified as a Korean blockbuster, it had the characteristics of ~~the being the~~ prototype of Korean blockbusters ~~to that would~~ come in ~~subsequent years~~ the following years.

Korean blockbusters

서식 있음

~~The birth of Korean blockbusters in the framework of the packaged cinema is intertwined with the ebbing of the capital of conservative jaebeols' capital, the subsequent inflow of speculative financial capital and the entrance of late-comer~~

~~budget movies.~~

²² Im Hye-won, "Daegieupwi youngghwa-jejak-sarye-yeongu: 'Jungle-story'-wi-jejak-gwajeongeul jeongsimeuro" (A Case Study of Chaebols' Movie Production: *Jungle Story*), Master's Thesis submitted to the Department of Film Studies, Chungang University, (1997).

jaebeols giving more focus to distribution than the actual production of cinema.²³ The Kim Dae-jung government designated visual arts as a venture industry under the a policy to promote cultural the culture industry, and while providing funding support and tax breaks, listed it as a business to receive benefits in the Basic Law øffor Promoting Cultural Industriesy Promotion, and legislated stipulations on the establishment of investment cooperatives [companies] to enable stable funding for film production.²⁴ These institutional changes opened the way for financial capital to invest in the film industry. Venture investment companiesventure production companies?창투사, which were involved in incubating new firms and registering them with the hot KOSDAQ during the recovery from the economic crisis, were looking for new investment targets to channel the watershed of investment funds. The monumental success set by *Shiri* was an important case that presented new possibilities; this unusual success was not a one-time fluke but represented the starting point of a new departure.

서식 있음

Figure 2. 쉬리 포스터

Audiences gradually began to prefer Korean films, and this naturally led to an increase in market share for Korean films. It is explained clearly by the increase in market share of Korean film. In 1998, the market share of Korean films was only 21.3%, but it rose to 35.8% in 1999, 32% in 2000, 42.6% in 2001, 45% in 2002, 49.6% in 2003, and 54.2% in 2004.²⁵ As the revenue from Korean films grew, the Korean film industry gained acceptance as an attractive target for investments. In fact, film production was an attractive investment item considering the quick capital turnaround in the film industry, good future prospects for the future, and an improved brand image.²⁶ TheSuche

서식 있음

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²³ In this paper, Korean blockbusters are regarded as a variant of package cinemapackaged cinemas. So the transition from package cinemapackaged cinemas to blockbusters does not mean its disappearance, but an evolution to a different genre. In this paper, Korean blockbusters are regarded as a variant of packaged cinema. So the transition from packaged cinema to blockbusters does not mean its disappearance, but an evolution to a different genre.

²⁴ Jo (Joon-hyeong, "Hanguk younghwa saneop mit jeonghae daehan-yoengu: segyehwa daehan-daeung gwajeongeul-joongsimeuro" (A Study on Korean Cinema Industry and Policy: A Response to Globalization), Master's Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Advanced Imaging Science, Multimedia and Film, Chungang University, 2001, pp. 81-82).

²⁵ On the other hand, the market share of American film decreased gradually: from 72.3% in 1998, 56.3% in 1999, 55.4% in 2000, 46.4% in 2001, 48.4% in 2002, 43.5% in 2003, to 41.2% in 2004.

한국영화연감, www.kofic.or.kr

²⁶ Ministry of Culture and Tourism, *Hanguk younghwa sangyounggwanni byeoncheongwa baljeonbangan* (Change and Development Plans of Korean Movie Theaters), 2001, p. 117. Thirteen investment cooperatives [firms] were established until 2004, with a total investment of 115 billion won, including Muhan Investment, Mirae Asset Group, Dream Venture Capital, Cowell Venture Capital, Tube

financial capital has the characteristic of moving around strictly on the rates of return. While *jaebeols* regarded film as an engine of media contents circulation and invested with a long-term perspective, financial capital calculates the return rate of each film and disperse risks to guarantee a certain level of return. Thus, what matters to them the most is not to create a system for stable film production, but to maximize profits through the economy of scale each time it invests. In this regard, the investment scale has increased for blockbusters, compared to packaged cinemas. The early-comer *jaebeols* left the film industry after the onslaught of the economic crisis and now late-comers such as CJ and Dongyang came to replace them. Samsung and Daewoo, among the former, pursued a classical Hollywood studio model with vertical integration in production, distribution and broadcasting. But they did not make much profit in the longer term and had to manage with a weak financial system by investing without having done thorough research into market size and profit structures. When Korea was hit by the economic crisis, they had were forced to exit from the film market, unable to overcome a ~~fluidity~~ ~~(→-liquidity?)~~y ~~-~~crisis. Meanwhile, late-comer *jaebeols* focused on the substructure of distribution and broadcasting, instead of production. The first thing they did upon entering the industry was building build multiplex theaters, or movie theater complexes having multiple screens. Although the number of screens permitted in a multiplex theater differs from a one country to another, the primary criterion to be counted as one considered one is whether they have various convenience facilities, state-of-the-art equipment, as well as and culture and entertainment spaces. Multiplex theaters played the role of making film spectatorship a holistic leisure activity²⁷ and increased the overall number of people coming to the theater. The availability of many screens reduced the waiting time of viewers and the simultaneous screening of different films satisfied various consumer needs. ~~of consumers.~~ Having By supplementary facilities such as shopping malls and restaurants in on the premises, one-stop entertainment was ~~became~~ literally possible. The sharp increase of screens in via multiplexes enabled a-the advent of the wide release, which was of great importance as a blockbuster strategy. The

Investment, SoBig Venture, MVP Capital, Ilshin Investment Capital, Venture Plus, KMA Venture Capital and Samsung Venture Investment. Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2001, 117). Twelve investment firms were established until 2004, with a total investment of 115 billion won, including Muhan Investment, Mirae Asset Group, Dream Venture Capital, Cowell Venture Capital, Tube Investment, SoBig Venture, MVP Capital, Ilshin Investment Capital, Dream Venture Capital, Venture Plus, KMA Venture Capital and Samsung Venture Investment. 12로 바뀌주세요. 오타입니다. 13개라고 했는데, 소개된 투자조합은 12개입니다. 나머지 한 개 알려주세요.

²⁷ Samsung Economic Research Institute, *Hanguk-younghwa-saneupwi-seonsoonhwan-gujowa-baljeon-jeonryak* (The Good Cycle Structure and Development Strategies of Korean Film Industry), (2002, p. 23).

wide release contributed to highlighting the importance of distribution and marketing in films by demonstrating that distribution and marketing ~~can~~ could increase the absolute number of viewers, irrespective of contents and quality.

One more thing to note besides these points is that the Korean film industry has not accumulated sufficient know-how in production and producing (coordination of the entire process of production), although the overall structure has matured. New manpower produces films addressing new subjects with the injection of new capital ~~and~~ ~~(delete?)~~ appealing ~~which appeals~~ to a new-generation of spectators in a new fashion way. However, problems linger, such ~~that~~ ~~as~~ that those involved in film production ~~are~~ remain being inexperienced in dealing with big large funds big budgets, and are subject to the problem of ~~and their~~ their individual experiences ~~have not not~~ having reached a sufficient level; ~~and~~ ~~are~~ is even this limited experience is often not passed down to others. ~~[this previous sentence was vague, although grammatically fine.]~~. They repeatedly gain experience through trials and errors, which results in increasing production costs in many cases, producing and the production of blockbusters unintentionally. Sometimes, the final production cost is many times larger than what was projected at the planning stage, and this occurs mainly because they lack the know-how experience of at film production management. This only renders more persuasive such claims that some blockbusters are mere products of failed producing and that they are no different from other packaged films. However, these are, in most cases, caused by repeating trials and errors undisciplined shooting of in spectacle shooting films with insufficient know-how inadequate experience, rather than by the result of simple schedule mismanagement or irresponsible production staff. Perhaps Maybe, the process of developing know-how experience through trials and errors should be included in the total cost of spectacle the production of spectacle film. It should also be noted that the less-specialized production management overlaps with the overall level of blockbuster production in the Korean film industry. The general instability in production management reflects the ~~a Korean particularity peculiar~~ characteristic unique to ~~in the sense that it is a characteristic of~~ the Korean film industry, which underwent fully-blown industrialization and modernization in the second half of the 1990s, and that of Korean modernization as well.

Another New Beginning

서식 있음

The Korean film industry of the 1990s which, at first glance, may have looked uniform

in a cursory look [at first sight], was actually going through experiencing both successes and failures in terms of the market and criticism critical reception, characterized by the coexistence of various brands genres, such as the auteurist cinema inheriting that had inherited the lineage legacy of the New Korea Cinema, the a newly- emerged packaged cinema, and its variant a variety of blockbusters seeking the that in search of the advantages of economies of scale. This transformation did not occur independently, in isolation, in a merely within the space called Korea. The Korean market, which is the main scene of Korean cinema, is completely open to Hollywood cinema, so Korean cinema exists within the on the same wave length as that of Hollywood cinema. Capitalist modernization, which began under the Park JChung-h-Hee regime from the early 1960s, is still on-going underway, and with an outward-looking economic system, Korea is influenced most strongly by the economy, society and culture of the United States, its foremost trading partner and a propagator of Western culture. The expression that “If the United States coughs, Korea gets the flu” succinctly describes the relationship between Korea’s overall economic structure and that of the United States (or the core of world economy symbolized by it). Cinema is not an exception in to this. The consumption of contemporary Korean cinema is not limited to the territory of Korea and has expanded into the vast Asian and Western market. Also, the capital invested in the production of Korean films has a multinational character and can no longer be called Korean or ‘national’ capital. The Korean film industry is being incorporated into the huge tide of the global reshuffle of the media industry. In this regard, the above-mentioned three trends that occurred in Korean cinema since the 1990s have the meaning signify of three different responses of local resistance to the Hollywood blockbusters that are continually trying to broaden the scope of quasi-universality. To put it another way, it was an act of industrial resistance for the purpose of securing the economic sphere of the Korean film market while independently confronting Western-centered Hollywood culture. The cinema industry and the cinema market occupy more than a simple economic status in a post-capitalist society, where images and the culture industry producing that produce them are emphasized as the most important and most profitable industry. The culture industry creates the highest value-added and functions as an engine which that drives the circulation of the contents produced by the media industry.²⁸ From an economic perspective, Hollywood cinema,

²⁸ The ‘discourse on *Jurassic Park* under the Kim Young Sam administration that a single movie generated more revenue than what was earned by selling hundreds of thousands of Hyundai cars, gave people a clear idea about the importance of cinema as a culture industry, though it was highly exaggerated. The discourse on *Jurassic Park* under the Kim Young-s-Sam administration that a single movie generated more revenue than what was earned by selling hundreds of thousands of Hyundai cars, gave people a

especially blockbusters, may be compared to the front-line soldiers of economic invasion created by the Hollywood film industry, which is itself a part of the transnational media conglomerates possessing global networks that possess monopolistic control over the global market. As mentioned above, in confronting Hollywood, the Korean film industry did not yet appear to be equipped with a stable production system. In this sense, the market success achieved by Korean films was granted a special meaning beyond mere numbers.²⁹ Whether it is an auteur film, a packaged cinema or a blockbuster, each one is a replacement commodity which that takes the place of an imported Hollywood blockbuster and a national cultural commodity which that increases the nation's income via export. This means that Korean cinemas are actively consumed actively as national or counter cinemas or counter cinemas at the economic level.³⁰

These tendencies of Korean cinema recorded in the domestic market are followed by a pressing order to the industry to go abroad. The successes of Korean films in foreign markets in the second half of the 1990s provoke the same emotions people felt in the 1970s for making when the nation achieved a record-level export increase of

clear idea about the importance of cinema as a culture industry, though it was highly exaggerated.

²⁹ The facts that some blockbusters like *Silmido* and *Tae Guk Gi* had over 10 million viewers, that more than 80 percent of viewers select Korean movies, and that Hollywood movies are hard to find in Korean theaters, do not mean that Korean cinema and cinema industry have overcome Hollywood and have an independent ground. Behind some dazzling successes of several blockbusters exists a very weak cinema industry whose balance sheet is in the red in the overall sense. The facts that some blockbusters like *Silmido* and *Tae Guk Gi* had over 10 million viewers, that more than 80 percent of viewers select Korean movies, and that Hollywood movies are hard to find in Korean theaters, do not mean that Korean cinema and the cinema industry have overcome Hollywood and occupy an independent ground. Behind the dazzling successes of several blockbusters exists a very weak cinema industry whose balance sheet is in the red in the overall sense.

³⁰ National cinema is a very complex concept and is used with different meanings in different contexts. In the theories that appeared after the 1980s, it is generally conceptualized as 'national cinemas,' not 'national cinema.' National cinemas are differentiated diversely. For example, Susan Hayward distinguishes cinema of the center and cinema of the periphery. (Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema*, Routledge, 1993) But it is generally understood as cinemas produced in response or resistance against the external force, Hollywood. In the case of Korean national cinema, especially, Korean blockbusters, Hayward's meaning of national cinema—resisting against cinema of the center, i.e., Hollywood—seems most strong [relevant]. National cinema is a very complex concept and is used with different meanings in different contexts. In the theories that appeared after the 1980s, it is generally conceptualized as 'national cinemas,' not 'national cinema.' National cinemas are diversely differentiated. For example, Susan Hayward distinguishes cinema of the center and cinema of the periphery (Hayward 1993). But these [??]—this are is generally understood in terms of cinema produced in response or resistance against an external force, namely that of Hollywood. In the case of Korean national cinema, especially, Korean blockbusters, Hayward's meaning of national cinema—resisting against cinema of the center, i.e., Hollywood—seems to be the most relevant point.

Korean goods. ³¹

As shown in the table, the revenue from the exports of Korean films has increased steadily. Between 1997 and 1998, it increased six times from 490,000 dollars to over 3 million dollars, and more than 100 times over the eight-year period from 1997 to 2004. ~~A foremost~~ ~~The biggest biggest reason for behind the~~ ~~this~~ remarkable growth is the outstanding performance of packaged cinemas and blockbusters, as examined previously. Improved industrial competitiveness achieved by changing the way of business practices and the increase of investment funds from diverse funding sources boosted the industrial commercial competitiveness of Korean films. This can be seen as an internal factor of export increase, and there are along with several other factors that we should not fail to ~~notice~~-consider. One notable thing is the *hallyu* (~~the~~ Korean wave) phenomenon that is widely spreading in throughout Asia. *Hallyu* refers to the phenomenon that people, especially, young people, in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Vietnam voraciously enjoying and consuming Korean pop culture voraciously [with fervor], including music, television dramas, fashion, tourism and cinema, from the second half of the 1990s.³² It first began in China with enjoying the rise in popularity of Korean music and television dramas and soon made a geographic expansion to Japan and Southeast Asia, and a scope expansion while expanding in scope to add include Korean film and fashion in the list, becoming even stronger as it gained more momentum ~~(→ influence. ? 영향력을 넓혀가고 있음).~~ -The rise in Korean cinema's popularity is an example of the scope expansion of *hallyu*, so in that the increased film export is directly associated with *hallyu*. Film exports increased sharply in 1998, which overlaps with the period when the winds of *hallyu* started to blow.

³¹ Korean Film Council (~~-, *Hanguk younghwa yeongam 2005* (Korean Cinema Yearbook 2005), Seoul: Korean Film Council, 2006~~2005).

Revenue from the Export of Korean Films

(unit: US \$)

<u>1997</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>
<u>492,000</u>	<u>3,073,750</u>	<u>5,969,219</u>	<u>7,053,745</u>	<u>11,249,573</u>	<u>14,952,089</u>	<u>30,979,000</u>	<u>58,284,000</u>

³² Cho Jo Han-Hye-jeong, "Global jigak byeondongwi jinghuro ingneun hanryu yeolpoong" (The Hot-Korean-Wave as a Symptom of Global Earthshaking Change), in Jo Han-Hye-jeong et al. (ed.), 'Hanryu'wa asiawi daejoong munhwa ('Hanryu' and Popular Culture in Asia), Seoul: Yonsei University-Press, (2005, p-2).

Meanwhile, the amazing growth of cinema exports in the subsequent years ~~times~~ coincides with the growing influence of *hallyu* in Asia.³³ Also, the fact that Korean film export is very low in North ~~(delete?)~~ America, the world's largest cinema market, and is limited to Asia, indicates that the demand for Korean films comes mainly from the Asian film market, which is another further evidence supporting the relationship between *hallyu* and Korean film export growth.³⁴

Most discussions on of *hallyu* made in Korea give focus to focus on the positive effects in on the culture and economy caused by this unanticipated phenomenon. In the cultural dimension, they range from expressions of simple contentment satisfaction that Korea has finally entered the cultural center, all the way ~~(delete?)~~ to a neo-liberal stance that a new competitive cultural commodity has been discovered, all seeming points of view to agree on the positive influence of that *hallyu* on has on the Korean economy and culture. We do not need to be overly optimistic about the new possibilities presented by *hallyu*, but even so, it still has is of, importance as even its negative implications may actually have a positive potential. ~~as well as and its [their?] counteraction along with counter reactions such as is found in [this sentence is difficult to figure out with the amount of information in it. the latter half needs to be fixed.]. movements.~~

As examined above, nowadays there exist strong globalizing trends led by multinational corporations and their First World countries, along with counter-reactions, such as is found in anti-globalization or regionalization movements. Anti-globalization or regionalization takes the form of civilian-based regional alliances or economic blocs. Particularly, the maturing of regional blocs formed at the economic dimension leads to regional economic growth and active communication and exchange. Bilateral waves produced from the interaction broaden to an even greater scope. 잘 옮기신 것 같습니다. 지역적 블록 내에서의 활발한 상호교류로 인해 어느 한 쪽으로의 일방적인 힘이 전달되는 것이 아니라 모든 관계하는 국가들이 서로 거대한 영

³³ It is difficult to pinpoint precisely when *hallyu* began to blow, but it came to have a clear reality as Chinese newspapers started reporting the phenomenon in 1999. (Jang Su-hyeon, *Joongguk-eun wei hanryu-eul sayonghana: Hanryu-wi joongguk-jeok todaye daehan dahakmunjeok-jeopgeun* (Why Does China Accept the Korean Wave?: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Chinese Basis of the Korean Wave), Seoul: Hakgobang, 2004, p. 123. It is difficult to pinpoint precisely when the *hallyu* began to blow, but it came into clearest relief when as Chinese newspapers started reporting the phenomenon in 1999 (Jang 2004, 123).

³⁴ The most successful Korean film in North America until now is Kim Gi-duk's *Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter and Spring*, which had a fiaseo in Korea and other parts of Asia. As shown in this case, export of Korean films is concentrated in package cinema packaged cinemas and blockbusters rather than auteurist cinemas. The most successful Korean film in North America until now is Kim Gi-duk's *Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter and Spring* (*Bom, yeoreum, ga-eul, gyeoul geurigo bom*), which was a bomb in Korea and other parts of Asia. As shown in this case, the export of Korean films is concentrated in packaged cinemas focused on star actors and blockbusters rather than auteurist cinemas.

향력을 주고 받는다는 의미입니다. This new chemistry ultimately establishes a new regional order.³⁵ *Hallyu* may be regarded as a cultural phenomenon that has been occurring as a while new regional order is being formulated. New possibilities presented by *hallyu* begin with the new order. It is not a global phenomenon; it is something to be explained in the framework of regionalization. *Hallyu* was an indigenous cultural phenomenon from the beginning. The Korean cultural commodities which had sweeping popularity in through the East Asian zone, including China and Japan, were not planned and produced with foreign markets in mind, but for domestic consumption. Thanks to the emergence of a new regional economy, active exchange between people and new media such as cable broadcasting and the Internet, consumers consumed the cultural goods of *hallyu* voraciously and made further demands to the producers. It can be argued that *hallyu* started when Korean cultural producers began to develop cultural goods responding to the demands of Asian consumers; in other words, when the local cultural industry of Korea started to respond to the demand for regionalization in Asia. It can be viewed as a process that of a consumption culture of in a newly industrializing economy, that of Korea, spreadings to other Asian countries. Of course, the Korean pop culture referred to by *hallyu* is not a completely new one; it is a (→can be said that aa) middle-class culture of a newly industrializing country in Asia. As Iwabuchi Koichi points out that culture may be consist of Americanized pop culture as consumed in cities created by industrialization,³⁶ and it is difficult to define it as a culture of Asian specificity or Asian community. In the case of cinemas, this criticism is clearly valid.

In this paper, the main currents of the contemporary Korean cinema industry are divided into three, auteurist cinema, packaged cinema and Korean-style blockbusters. As examined above, packaged cinemas and blockbusters have been produced in the process such that the Korean film industry becomes quasi-Hollywood, so in that the two they cinemas share many characteristics of Hollywood between in the both industrial foundation and film text. (→so they share many characteristics of with Hollywood in terms of their industrial foundations and texts. [What's a film test?]) In cinemas, they are the major leading force of *hallyu*, while auteurist movies have consist of only a relatively small portion. This trend will deepen for the time being, considering that star marketing is very important in the current trend of *hallyu*. However, it is not necessary to accept the criticism that cinemas consumed in the *hallyu* is nothing more than

³⁵ Bak (Won-dam, *Dongasiawi munhwa seontae hanryu* (East Asia's Cultural Choice: The Korean Wave), Seoul: Pentagram, 2004, pp. 306-307).

³⁶ Iwabuchi (Koichi, *Rogue Flows: Trans-Asian Cultural Traffic* [화인 필요], Seoul: Doseo chulpan to hanawi munhwa, 2004, p. 58).

Americanized pop culture and a cheap replacement commodities. It should be reminded noted that *hallyu* was not unilaterally created unilaterally by its suppliers and that it is enjoyed by fervently enjoyed by its consumers with fervor. Considering that the greatest problem of the mainstream commercial pop culture represented by Hollywood is unilateral instillation transformation into spectators without interaction, the characteristics of *hallyu* in its generation (origination or birth?) and its origins require a reassessment of its cultural value and that of Korean cinema, which is a part of it. From an industrial viewpoint, the fact that the cinema market created by *hallyu* is an auxiliary one should the fact be reminded [should not be overlooked] that the cinema market created by *hallyu* is an extra (an addition auxiliary one) should not be overlooked. Although the Korean film industry is very successful at the present time and has made remarkable take-offs several times grown remarkably, its production and consumption system is unstable. As many know, the aggrandizement (overgrowth) of packaged films and blockbusters has that of eclipsed small films, which curtailing diversity in production. The ever-growing average production cost raises the risks of film production. In this situation, the additional market created by *hallyu* offers new possibilities, albeit its danger along with new dangers (risks?). A thoroughly economic view cast on of *hallyu* boosters and their sole interest in the value it generates will be result in another reckless economic regression. Yet the economic possibilities posited by *hallyu*, which is are well-timed with the packaged films and blockbusters going hat have been pursuing after market expansion from the mid 1990s, operate as a new driving force of behind the Korean film industry.

From a cultural dimension, the three types of cinemas newly emerged in the 1990s reflect the specificity peculiarity of Korea to some degree and occupy the status of national cinemas as counter cinemas to Hollywood. From an industrial aspect, packaged cinemas and blockbusters continue to achieve record-level growth and are expanding to the pan-Asian zone with the unexpected boon of *hallyu*. 마지막 결론이라는 점에서 반복을 했는데요, 너무 이상하면 알려주시기 바랍니다. Each of them was impregnated in a different structure and occupies a different status, and their relationships are quite complex. For instance, with the ebbing social consciousness from the 1990s, auteurist films no longer have an overall define the overall trend and remain on the level of individual reflection. Meanwhile, packaged cinemas and blockbusters show a contradictory tendency, both imitating and countering Hollywood, like an Archbald paradox. Taking the appearance of both regional warriors countering foreign forces and another breed of oppressors; they do not effectively incorporate effectively

multi-directional and multi-layered tension in the periphery of Korea.³⁷ Yet they disclose the contradictory aspect of Korean modernity to a certain extent and their attitude of translation and imitation generates some overflow. They are similar to Hollywood movies, but they are not Hollywood movies. The difference revealed in this similarity seems to be the starting point for the direction that Korean films must pursue. The unexpected success of Korean films, based on their anticipated success in the domestic market and their entry into the Pan-Asian market via the "Korean wave", can be considered an index showing that Korean films have entered a new phase. If Korean films that came out in the 1990s were an effort to distinguish themselves and survive individually within the local region of Korea, then it can be said that the Korean films that have come out since the year 2000 have been an effort to pursue both individual survival and new possibilities for Asian movies by further expanding their scope. It is now time to examine coldly/dispassionately whether the new attempts being made by Korean movies can really find alternative possibilities that accurately reflect regional characteristics or whether they are only blindly following the quasi-universal Hollywood hegemony. At this point in time, entering the new millennium, Korean films stand at the crossroad of a new starting point.

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