

South Korean Perceptions of Soft Power: How the Hanguk People See Their Place in the World

Unji Baek

Joseph Molnar

Department of Sociology

Auburn University

United States of America

Abstract

This study analyzes how South Korean citizens evaluate their nation's soft power. In addition, two questions will add explanations to support the purpose of this research: 1) how South Koreans evaluate the nation's soft power according to demographic variables and 2) which factors shape perceptions of Koreans soft power. This research examined six independent variables and three dependent variables. Three independent variables were demographic factors, the remaining variables were determinants of social status. The results of ANOVA shows that: 1) Three independent variables, age, occupation, and level of education, affect South Korean perception for political Soft Power, 2) Four variables, region, age, level of education, and income, make an influence on perception of diplomatic Soft Power. 3) Occupation is the only factor which affects cultural Soft Power. Especially, age variable brought distinctive differences of perceived political and diplomatic Soft Power.

Introduction

Max Weber defined "power as the chance that an individual in a social relationship can achieve his or her own will even against the resistance of others" (Weber, 2009). As Weber said, power gave a nation leverage to get what it wants, so nations tried to get power to enforce their desire on other countries. However, in early days, nations mostly focused on hard power, meaning military and economic power, and used such power to force their preferences on relatively weak countries. This tendency to concentration amassing and protecting hard power changed with the emergence of the concept of soft power (Kalinowskin and Cho, 2012).

Joseph Nye published *Soft Power* (2004), emphasizing the importance of nonmilitary influence in international relations, introducing the concept of soft power. Nye contrasted soft power with hard power that is coercive by nature, and he compared soft power to attractiveness. Three determinants of a nation-states soft power are: (1) the attractiveness of its culture, (2) its political values, when it lives up to them at home and abroad and (3) its foreign policies, when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority (2004, Nye).

After soft power came to dominate international relations during peacetime, it becomes more and more difficult for nations to enforce demands through the relative strength of hard power. On the other hand, soft power can exert much leverage with little effort. Countries followed a country's culture and policy that has strong soft power spontaneously. The changing circumstance of current society lends weight to soft power, and the concept of soft power becomes a critical subject in political sociology.

Efforts to improve soft power commonly have occurred in international communities. China hosted the Beijing Olympics in 2008 and will hold the Shanghai EXPO in 2014. These events were intended to improve its national image in international society (Fan, 2008). Switzerland is a representative country which wields large leverage by keeping neutral position in international society.

Soft Power Perspectives

Power has been a critical subject in sociology. There were many studies, and scholars explained diverse aspects of power and defined it as various terms. Though, initial academic research just focused on coercive aspect of power, and it continued until the nineteenth century. Scholars assumed that the complex society needed a governing mechanism, and power and authority was means to control the society. However, the two means, power and authority, were defined differently. While power was regarded as an illegitimate mean of governing mechanism, authority was defined as a legitimate source. Scholars presumed power as just a coerce and conflict concept at that time (Boskoff, 1972). Such a tendency is transmitted by Karl Marx and Marxian theorist. As known well, Karl Marx was a materialist and had much concern about the conflict between classes. He presumed that capitalist and proletarian as an oppositional relationship, and that the mean of production brings power. Therefore, he regarded capitalists who take means of production control proletarians by using this power (Marx, 1904).

Furthermore, Dahrendorf, who is a Marxian, asserted that differential distribution of authority among social roles led to the formation of a 'conflict group'. According to Dahrendorf, a specific role and occupation entail the granting of right, and the right has a power which controls over others. Therefore, social roles accompany 'expectations of domination or subjection', and the distribution of authority is a source for the formation of a 'conflict group' (Dahrendorf, 1959). It is obvious that the definition about power by Marx and Dahrendorf is far from legitimate and cooperative power. Their assertion about power has a thread of connection with the concept of power, which coerces the power's intention to others. By considering the above theories, early scholars and Marxian defined their ideas about hard power which entails coercion and pressure.

The definition of power was extended by Max Weber through adding three types of legitimate authority: the charismatic, the traditional, and the rational-legal. Weber thought that society consistently faces crisis due to defiance towards existing authority. Thus, the society depends on personal and charismatic power to defeat the challenge. Though, charismatic power is unstable and temporary, so the governing class makes rule and official duty. Thus, charismatic power is replaced by the rational-legal power. As time goes on, the charismatic and rational-legal power lost their legitimacy, and is substituted by established authority, traditional legitimacy (Weber, 2009). In this explanation, Weber showed that coordination and leadership process of a society which emerged from a shared confidence about the legitimacy of command, and that how power goes over to authority. The extended concept of power displays that power has not only a compulsory character, but also legitimate and cooperative aspects. Although Weber did not use the term of soft power within the process, which members share confidence toward authority, it shows a similarity with soft power which was coined by Joseph Nye.

Furthermore, sociologists extended the definition of power by focusing on legitimacy and cooperative aspects of power. Michel Foucault asserted the disciplinary exercise by using the example of 'the Panopticon'. 'The Panopticon' is a circle prison which can observe prisoners in all directions. Philosopher, Jeremy Bentham initially referred to 'the Panopticon', and Foucault quoted the concept to explain how observation induces effect of power without coercive power. According to Foucault, the structure of the Panopticon provides view in all directions, so behaviors of prisoners in the prison are constantly overseen. Thus, they are conscious of the guard's observation and obey the regulations of prison. Foucault presumed that the current society is similar with the Panopticon. People who live in current society are under the domination of observation. Thus, they self-consciously obey the regulations, but they delude that they internalize the rules without external control (Foucault, 1977). Although Foucault's explanation was distant from another aspects of power which attract voluntary obedience from members, he suggested that how power applies leverage on people without physical force and coercion.

The above theories give theoretical basis associated with governing power, and the theory of Pierre Bourdieu provides a theoretical background about how culture endows dominant power. Pierre Bourdieu researched the relationship between social class and cultural preference, and verified how social structure affects cultural preference of individuals. Cultural preference was considered personal taste. Bourdieu argued that social class, in which a person belongs, determined cultural preference of individuals. Furthermore, people who experience limited culture share analogous experience with other people in the same class, so it led to reproduction of class structure. Therefore, people are under an unconscious domination of culture by sharing the same culture. His perspective shows how people are influenced by culture, and how a nation applies leverage on other country by having an influential culture.

Hard versus Soft Power

Meanwhile, the equilibrium between soft power and hard power is another problem. In 2011, the U.S. congress struggled to agree on a budget because of the distribution of the budget. There was a demand to decrease the military budget which represents hard power and to increase the nonmilitary budget. This dispute on whether to focus on soft power or hard power, has been recast into smart power which endeavors to balance soft power and hard power (J. S. Nye, 2011). Smart power is defined as a combination of hard power and soft power strategies by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (Nossel, 2004). The problem, how to balance the two, is still disputable in the United States; and this dilemma is not only for the U.S. It similarly occurs in other countries as well.

Essentially, maintaining soft power is a significant concern for small and mid-sized countries like South Korea (J. Nye & Kim, 2013). As Nye outlined in *the Soft Power and the Korean Wave*, it is hard for small and mid-sized countries to become super powers, but it is possible to wield outsized influence through soft power as Canada and Netherlands have done. The fact carries an important meaning for South Korea, because this country is small in size of area and population. Its area size ranks 109th (99,720 square kilometer, CIA 2013) and 27th in population (49,039,986, CIA 2013) in the world. Thus, improving soft power is especially significant for this country.

Nonetheless, South Korea could not focus on improving soft power because of the state of this country. Directly after independence from Japan, South Korea underwent the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. The war destroyed the majority of industry in the nation. Thus, South Korean government concentrated on developing the nation's infrastructure and its economic growth for several years after the war. In addition, South Korea made a truce with North Korea for 60 years, but North Korea has continued military provocations. According to the Ministry of National Defense of South Korea, North Korea has committed 1,959 infiltrations and 994 local provocations against South Korea after the truce. In addition, North Korea consistently threatens South Korea through the possession of nuclear weapons and long-distance missiles (Ministry of National Defense, 2012). Military confrontation with North Korea imperils national security and impedes stable development of South Korea. Thus, these circumstances make South Korea concentrate on hard power (military and economic power).

Meanwhile, the recent administration of South Korea has shown several movements to enhance soft power of this nation. Kim Young-sam, president, who ruled over South Korea from 1993 to 1998, emphasized transparency of government. Thus, the political reform became a driving force of political soft power. President Kim realized the corruption elimination of the government by severing the link between government and money politics. Economic transparency was established through "Real-name Financial System". "Real-name Financial System" means that the depositor can open an account under their true names. Before the approval of this law, people could make an account with a fake name, and it was an illegal way to make backstreet finance. In addition, President Kim compulsory dispersed a highly politicized group within the military which dominated military leadership positions to practice military transparency. Also, Kim Young-sam's government practiced globalization practice under the "Segeyhwa policy" (Lee, 2010)

Furthermore, Kim Dae-jung's government initiated making national brand. President Kim Dae-jung devoted his whole life to seek human right in Korea and around the world. He fought to guarantee liberty of political activity and human rights around the world such as Rangoon, Burma, and Timor. His efforts brought the development of democracy in South Korea, and his exertion to keep human right was imprinted on other countries. Also, this government practiced the engagement policy toward North Korea.

The government cohosted the 2002 World Cup with Japan. Such movement imprinted that South Korea as a developed country and which is trying to protect human rights.

With the inauguration of Lee Myung-bak as president, the government has advocated 'Korea Branding'. Nonetheless, these movements tend to dependent on 'Korean wave'. 'Korean wave' means the boom of Korean popular culture in foreign countries (Cho, 2005). Movements to enhance soft power mostly depend on popular culture is at risk for very partial and distorted image of a nation. Also, the fragmentary image is hard to link to the whole image of a nation. The case in Europe is that. Although the popular culture of South Korea become a huge success in Europe, the national image of South Korea is still an industrial powerhouse in European perception (J. Nye & Kim, 2013).

According to the report by the World Economic Forum, South Korean's ranking in national power is 25th and its military economic capability is 9th, but soft power is 12th (Reference). South Korea has relatively stronger economic and military power than its territory and population might lead one to expect. Nevertheless, its soft power is weaker than hard power, so it is possible to assert that the national power of South Korea will be strengthened by enhancing its soft power. During the first stage of development, it was an unavoidable choice to concentrate on economic development and military strength for South Korea. However, the change of policies is essential for the improvement of South Korea through focusing on Soft power than hard power. Accordingly, an objective analysis of soft power of South Korea might propose new directions for the South Korean government to improve its soft power in the global system. This study analyzes how South Korean citizens evaluate their nation's soft. In addition, two questions will add explanations to support the purpose of this research: 1) how South Koreans evaluate the nation's soft power according to demographic variables and 2) which factors shape perceptions of Koreans soft power.

Approach

This research uses six demographic factors as independent variables: residential area, age, gender, the level of education, occupation and income. Residential area is chosen for an independent variable by considering the historical background of South Korea. The eastern and western parts of South Korea were separated into independent countries during the period of the three states, and the state has lasted for 600 years (reference). In addition, present administrative districts are also divided by the western and the eastern. The western parts are Chonbuk and Chonnam Province, and the eastern part is Kyongbuk and Kyongnam Province (Figure 1). Thus, the eastern and western provinces of South Korea have indicated significantly different political and cultural tendencies albeit South Korea is a united nation. The western province primarily supported the progressive parties, while the eastern province supported the conservative parties. In addition, the majority of the population of South Korea lives in major cities such as Seoul, Pusan, Daegu, Incheon, Kwangju, Daejeon and Ulsan. The urban people show a different tendency as distinct from the category of the eastern and western part of a nation. Therefore, there is a possibility that residential areas will be a distinctive factor in analyzing diplomatic, political and military subjects of soft power.

In addition, gender is an independent variable by considering the draft system of South Korea. South Korea has kept mandatory military service for the male population after the division of the Korean peninsula, so South Korean men have to complete two years of military duty. Thus, the draft system for two years is likely to bring a difference of political, diplomatic and military attitude between males and females. Therefore, gender is a source of perceptions of political and diplomatic policies.

Meanwhile, age variable is also independent variable. Rapid change of South Korea during the last 60 years also affected the perceptions of South Koreans and brought a generation gap between old and new generations. The industrialization of South Korea started in 1953, and the society changed abruptly during the last 60 years. The procedure was called "the Miracle of Han River" because the country achieved outstanding economic development in a short period time. However, rushed development of the society did not allow enough time for people to adapt to changes within the society, and lead to conflicts among generations (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture [EKC], 2013). Therefore, age variable will be a good criterion to figure out differences of South Korean perceptions for soft power.

Additionally, occupational cluster, income and the level of education which determine social standing could affect perception of South Korea. Social standing determines someone's social group and a group can affect someone's political perception (reference). Therefore, this paper assumes that people who have different occupation, income and the level of education have a distinctive perception about soft power.

Therefore, independent variables are these six factors, residential area, age, gender, occupation, income and the level of education.

In addition, how South Korean perceptions change according to demographic factor, this paper contrasts other countries' evaluation for soft power of South Korea to self-evaluation. For this contrast, this research uses other countries' data which was collected from Northeastern Asia countries and includes the United States. Therefore, each nation is also an independent variable for this analysis.

Meanwhile, dependent variables of this research are soft power of South Korea which is classified cultural, political and diplomatic fields according to the classification of Joseph Nye. As referred above, Joseph Nye considered cultural attractiveness, domestic political values and legitimacy of foreign policies as sources of soft power. Therefore, questions which ask about soft power are sorted into cultural, political and diplomatic fields, and are used as dependent variables.

Hypotheses

The first hypotheses is that people who live in a specific region will give a more generous or stingy evaluation toward political and diplomatic soft power. This hypothesis arises from the result of the supporting party which is displayed in *Soft Power in Asia Survey, 2008* (Reference). Each province showed distinctive distributions of supporting parties. In detail, people who live in metropolitan cities and capital showed neutral in supporting parties. However, inhabitants of Kyungsangdo and Jeonlodo displayed a biased tendency in supporting parties. People who live in Kyungsangdo mostly supported political parties which show a disposition toward being more conservative, while Jeonlodo was in reverse. Therefore, the political tendency may affect evaluations about governing policies.

Another hypothesis is that the old generation and young generation will evaluate national soft power differently. South Korea has a noticeable generation gap due to the rapid development of the society since the Korean War, and the generation gap affects their perception about social problems (Reference). Based on this finding, this research postulates that people may show different evaluations about cultural soft power according to age.

An additional hypothesis is that the social status can affect one's perception about soft power. By the dictionary definition, social status is the position of a person within the society, and it is determined by their ascribed and achieved status. Of two, this research has concern about achieved status which is determined by income, occupation, and the level of education, and verifies that people having different social status distinctively shows cultural inclination and political tendency.

The last hypothesis is that there is a gender effect on people's perception. South Korea has kept the draft system since the independence from Japan, so all males over 19 years old have military duty for 20 months. While the service, military authority educates enlisted men to enhance mental armament, and the soldiers live away from a society during duty. Therefore, this research assumes that the disconnected period from a society and specialized education produces distinction of perception about soft power by gender.

Method

Sample and Date Collection

This study uses data collected by the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations (CCFR), which examines the relationship of the U.S. and Asian countries in 2008. CCFR surveyed six countries which mainly affect the U.S. in Asia: the U.S., South Korea, China, Japan, Indonesia and Vietnam. While the larger project focused on six countries, this study focuses on a sample from South Korea citizens. The focus is on how South Koreans perceive their nation's standing in the world.

In the South Korean survey, 1029 respondents participated in face-to-face interviews, conducted between January 22th and February 5th, 2008. The respondents were presented two different questionnaires. One group included 512 participants who answered the A questionnaire. Another group of 517 participants answered the B questionnaire. Each questionnaire had several different questions. The A questionnaire had 16 additional questions which were not involved in B-type questionnaire, but the A-questionnaire did not include 14 questions which were contained in the B-type of questionnaire. Therefore, several results of questions just had less than 517 or 512 respondents. The Korean survey progressed as an interview, so the majority of participants completed the interview. Thus, the completion rate of the survey ensures the representativeness of the survey. Also, the study used a cross-sectional method that aimed at evaluating South Korean perceptions in a single point of time.

On the other hand, sample deviations of samples' subgroups were different with the known demographic characteristic by comparison with the demographic characteristic of South Korea, especially for the level of education. Therefore, CCFR revised sampling weight, but the result of weighted sampling was not different with the previous result (appendix 2).

This research used a multi-stage quota sample based on administrative districts of South Korea, so the number of respondents was allocated in proportion to the district population size.

The administrative districts of South Korea includes these 16 areas (figure1): Seoul Metropolitan Area, Busan City, Daegu City, Incheon City, Gwangju City, Daejeon City, Ulsan City, Gyeonggi Province, Gangwon Province, Chungbuk Province, Chungnam Province, Junbuk Province, Junnam Province, Gyeongbuk Province, Gyeongnam Province and Je-ju island. However, Je-ju Island accounts for but 1.1% the population of South Korea and is separated from the mainland. Thus, by considering the cost effectiveness of the study, this sample excluded Je-ju Island.

Measures

Gender was coded male as 1 and female as 2.

Age was measured in actual years and followed the rule of Korean age which becomes one-year-old right after a birth. Differently than other variables, age variable was collected in two types of data for the purpose of analysis, as continuous and discrete data. In case of discrete date, choices of the question are: 19~29 is 1, 30~39 is 2, 40~49 is 3, 50~59 is 4 and over 60 is 5. Continuous data of age was not coded and recorded in actual age.

There are 9 categories of occupation: agriculture, forestry or fishery is 1, self/management employed is 2, employed in sales or service works is 3, blue-collar is 4, white-collar is 5, housewife/home maker is 6, student is 7, no occupation, retired or others is 8, non-respondent is 9.

The question to ask about the level of education gave seven options to the interviewee: a below the middle school graduate, or below is 1, a high school graduate is 2, a college student is 3, a 2-year technical (professional) college graduate is 4, college is 5, postgraduate is 6, non-respondent is 9.

Income is measured in monthly income including all wages and pensions, and classified by 12 levels. Thus, the interviewer asked, "What is your average monthly income of your household for 2005, including all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that came in?" and gave twelve options for interviewee. 'Less than 1,000,000 won (approximately 1,000 dollars)' was coded 1, and each section had 990,000 won (990 dollars) discrepancy. Therefore, 9,000,000 ~ 9,990,000 won was 9, and 10,000,000 won or more (over 10,000) was 11. Non-respondent was coded 12.

Dependent variables reflect the results of 19 questions which are used by CCFR. CCFR asked 77 questions to evaluate the soft power of each country. Among those 77 questions, 19 questions are about how South Koreans perceive South Korean soft power: 8 questions for cultural soft power, 3 questions for political soft power and 8 questions for diplomatic soft power. However, this data is too large to use with every question, so epitomize these central dimensions were identified using factor analysis (Add the result of factor analysis).

There are 19 questions are used to form the dependent variables, and the questions were measured in 10 scales, except for two questions (Appendix 2). Two questions were collected by a categorical data, and they are as follows: One question, which asked the cultural influence of South Korea in Asia, was collected by categorical data, and had two options. 1 was 'mainly a good thing, and 2 was 'mainly a bad thing'. Another question asked about the influence of South Korea in Asia. The question had five options: very positive is 1, somewhat positive is 2, somewhat negative is 3, very negative is 4, neither positive nor negative is 5.

Analysis

The result of the survey was coded by SPSS and was analyzed through three analysis methods: ANOVA, Correlation and Chi-square.

First of all, ANOVA used the results of 17 questions which except for two categorical data as dependent variables and all demographic factors as independent variables. Thus, this analysis will provide an explanation of how South Koreans perceive their soft power according to demographic factors differently.

In addition, correlation analysis focuses on verifying the relationship between age variables and perceptions of South Korean about soft power. Thus, this analysis uses age variable, as an independent variable, and uses the result of 19 questions as dependent variables. Correlation analysis will verify that how old and new generations evaluate the soft power of their nation differently.

In sequence, Chi-square analysis provides additional explanations for the soft power of South Korean. This analysis uses all demographic variables as independent variables and two categorical data as dependent variables. Thus, this analysis will answer the research question that whether South Koreans evaluate their influence positively or negatively in Asia by comparing means of each category.

Results

Table1

Description of Dependent and Independent variables, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Survey 2008

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
1. Residential area	1029	14	1	15	6.81	4.67
2. Gender	1029	1	1	2	1.50	.50
3. Categorical Age	1029	4	1	5	2.89	1.39
4. Scale Age	1029	67	19	86	43.20	14.67
5. Occupation	1029	8	1	9	4.88	1.78
6. Education Level	1029	8	1	9	3.36	1.63
7. Average Income	1012	10	1	11	4.07	2.07
8. Cultural Influence(1:Good, 2:Bad)	1014	1	1	2	1.09	.28
9. Highly Educated Population(10scale)	517	10	0	10	8.18	1.62
10. Advanced Technology(10scale)	514	10	0	10	7.72	1.50
11. Appealing Popular culture(10scale)	514	8	2	10	7.55	1.71
12. Rich Cultural Heritage(10scale)	514	10	0	10	8.01	1.63
13. Attractive destination for Tour (10scale)	515	10	0	10	7.04	1.80
14. Religious Tradition(10scale)	509	10	0	10	6.02	2.29
15. High Quality University(10scale)	514	10	0	10	6.32	2.13
16. Political System(10scale)	511	10	0	10	5.33	2.10
17. Economic Opportunities(10scale)	515	10	0	10	5.57	1.81
18. Effective government(10scale)	1014	10	0	10	5.89	1.72
19. Influence in Asia (1:Very positive, 5:Very Negative)	1019	4	1	5	2.21	.79
20. Diplomacy to resolve problem(10scale)	512	10	0	10	6.31	1.80
21. Respect for Sovereignty(10scale)	507	10	0	10	6.36	1.90
22. Develop other's Economy(10scale)	510	10	0	10	5.96	2.03
23. Build Trust and Cooperation(10scale)	509	10	0	10	6.17	1.94
24. Assistance for Humanitarian crisis (10scale)	511	10	0	10	6.87	1.80
25. Leadership(10scale)	507	10	0	10	6.13	2.00
26. Respect for Human Right(10scale)	506	10	0	10	6.28	1.89

The distribution of residential districts is: Seoul 21.6%(222), Pusan 7.5%(77), Daegu 5%(51), Incheon 5.1%(52), Kwangju 3.1%(32), Daejon 3.1%(32), Ulsan 1.9%(20), Kyong'gi Province 22%(226), Kwanwon Province 3.1%(32), Chungbuk Province 3.1%(32), Chungnam Province 4.1%(42), Chonbuk Province 4.1%(42), Chonnam Province 4.1%(42), Kyongbuk Province 5.7%(59), Kyongnam Province 6.6%(68). Thus, 222 respondents who reside in Seoul took the highest percentage of respondents as a single city among 1029 participants.

The gender rate is shown evenly, so female account for 50.4% of whole respondents and male is 49.6%.

The number of respondents by age and gender appear evenly. Ages included these five groups: 19~29, 30~39, 40~49, 50~59 and over 60. The number of participants according to age group is as following: 19~29 20.5%(211), 30~39 22.9%(236), 40~49 22.4%(230), 50~59 15.9%(164) and over 60 18.3%(188). Each group has a similar number of respondents in principle; but relatively the 30~39 age group took up the largest ratio, and the 50~59 age group occupied the smallest ratio. The groups by gender are mostly the same, too. Male respondents were 49.6% (510), and female respondents were 50.4% (519).

In contrast, the numbers of other categories are unevenly displayed such as occupation, age, level of education and the income level of groups. According to classification by occupation, the occupation distribution of respondents is: agriculture, forestry or fishery 1.7%(17), self/management employed respondents 12.7%(131), employed in sales or service works 10.5%(108), blue-collar 6.5%(67), white-collar was 33.4%(344), housewife/home maker 17.9%(184), student 9.4%(97), no occupation/retired others 7.7%(79) and non-respondents 2%(2). White-collar workers took up the largest portion of respondents.

Also, a level of education tended to be concentrated on a high school graduate and college graduate group: a below the middle school graduate or below 13.6%(140), a high school graduate 29%(298), a college student 9.4%(97), a 2-year technical(professional) college graduate 11.6%(119), college 29.4%(303), post graduate 6.9%(71), non-respondents 1%(1). The groups of a high school graduate and college graduate groups occupied 58.04% of the whole, so the groups took up the biggest part of the occupation distribution.

The subgroup of monthly income divided by 11 groups: Less than 1,000,000 won 7.5%(77), 1,000,000~1,999,000 won 14.2%(146), 2,000,000~2,990,000 won 19.8%(204), 3,000,000~3,990,000 won 22.5%(232), 4,000,000~4,990,000 won 16%(165), 5,000,000~5,990,000 won 8.7%(90), 6,000,000~6,990,000 won 3.3%(34), 7,000,000~7,990,000 won 1.8%(19), 8,000,000~8,990,000 won 1.4%(14), 9,000,000~9,990,000 won 1.0%(10) and 10,000,00 won or more 2.0%(21). Respondents who earn 3,000,000~3,990,000 took up the largest portion.

There were 19 questions about soft power, but 6 questions are excluded by considering the result of correlation and factor analysis. The questions about cultural soft power are a discrete question and six continuous questions. Factor analysis analyzes the six continuous questions, and the result of the factor analysis is used to sup up questions for use as dependent variable. Six continuous questions ask about how strong South Korea has highly educated population, advanced science and technology, an appealing popular culture, a rich cultural heritage, an attractive destination for tourism, a developed religious tradition and a high quality university as 10 scale.

Six questions are significantly correlated. Especially, the correlations among three questions which asked about science and technology, popular culture and rich cultural heritage was strong, but other variables were not strongly correlated. (Table1). Thus, this research did factor analysis twice by using questions which are highly correlated with other questions. The first factor analysis included all seven questions which are associated with cultural analysis, and the second one contains 3 questions which are highly correlated. According to the result of the first factor analysis, one component was extracted. The new variable, which was constructed by SPSS, can account for 3.394 variables worth of variance based on a linear combination of the seven original variables. This is equivalent to 48.5% of the total variance for the data set.

Meanwhile, the result of factor analysis which highly correlated with each other was stronger. The eigenvalue was 2.06, and the new component accounts for 68.5% of the total variance for the data set. Based on the result of correlation and factor analysis, four questions are excluded and three questions are used to explain cultural soft power. However, just one component was extracted from the result of factor analysis, so the sum of three questions was used as dependent variable.

There were three questions about politics, and three questions are highly correlated with each other. Furthermore, the eigenvalue of three questions are 2.06, and the component explained 70.9 of the original data set. Therefore, all three questions are used as dependent variable about political soft power.

On the other hand, this research did correlation analysis and factor analysis to select dependent variables among 8 questions about diplomatic problem. According to the correlation result of seven questions except for a categorical question, five questions are strongly correlated with each other. Two questions, which ask how well South Korea uses diplomacy to solve key problems and demonstrate leadership in Asia, are excluded. The eigenvalue was 3.167, and the new component accounts for 63.345% of the total variance for the data. The eigenvalue is bigger and the new component is more explainable for the original date than using 7 questions. Therefore, this research uses 5 questions as dependent variable about diplomatic soft power.

Table 2

Correlation of 7 questions about Cultural Soft Power, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Survey 2008

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Highly Educated Population	--						
Advanced Technology	.49**	--					
Appealing Popular culture	.38**	.49**	--				
Rich Cultural Heritage	.42**	.55**	.55**	--			
Attractive destination for Tour	.28**	.40**	.44**	.48**	--		
Developed Religious Tradition	.21**	.26**	.32**	.28**	.41**	--	
High Quality University	.35**	.39**	.40**	.34**	.45**	.44**	--

N=1029

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)*

Table 3

Correlation of Age and Cultural Soft Power, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Survey 2008

	1	2	3	4
Age	--			
Advanced Technology	-.02	--		
Appealing Popular culture	-.01	.49**	--	
Rich Cultural Heritage	-.07	.55**	.55**	--

N=1029

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)*

An association between continuous age variable and three questions about cultural soft power is measured by their correlation coefficient. Each question which asks about cultural soft power is correlated with each other, but is not correlated with age variable. Based on the results of correlation between age and three questions, the values of *r* range from $-.07$ to $-.02$. In detail, the question, which asks about how strong South Korean technology is, and age variable is negatively correlated, but it is not significant ($r=-.02$; $p<0.01$). The question about popular culture is also show negative and weak correlation with age ($r=-.01$; $p<0.01$). Comparatively, the question about cultural heritage shows stronger correlation with age than other questions, but it is not significant, too ($r=-.07$; $p<0.01$). The results means that age and cultural soft power are not correlated.

Table 4

Correlation of Age and Political Soft Power, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Survey 2008

	1	2	3	4
Age	--			
Political System	.22**	--		
Economic Opportunities	.16**	.68**	--	
Effective government	.19**	.51**	.50**	--

N=1029

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)*

Meanwhile, another correlation analyzed the association between age variable and three questions about political soft power. The questions ask about a political system of South Korea, economic opportunities in South Korea and the effectiveness of the government. According to the result of the correlation analysis, the values of *r* range from $.16$ to $.68$, and every value are significant. The correlation coefficient between age and political system is significant and the value is the biggest among three questions ($r=.22$; $p<0.01$). The *r*-value of age and the question about economic opportunity is $.16$. Although the value is small, but is still significant ($r=.16$; $p<0.01$). The *r*-value of age and the question about the effectiveness of government is $.19$, and also significant. Therefore, all the results of the correlation show that political soft power is associated with age variable.

Table 6

ANOVA of Cultural Soft Power by Administrative Districts, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Survey 2008

	Administrative Districts					F-ratio	
	df	CapitalArea	Gangwon	Chungcheong	Gyeongsan		Jeolla
Advanced Technology							
Mean	4	7.55	6.94	8.21	7.92	7.72	3.98*
(S.D)		(1.45)	(2.82)	(1.46)	(1.37)	(1.42)	
Appealing Popular culture							
Mean	4	7.48	7.27	7.92	7.65	7.33	1.18
(S.D)		(1.75)	(2.02)	(1.57)	(1.64)	(1.72)	
Rich Cultural Heritage							
Mean	4	7.95	7.38	8.40	8.23	7.57	3.18*
(S.D)		(1.66)	(2.73)	(1.33)	(1.39)	(1.77)	
Political System							
Mean	4	5.18	4.81	5.37	5.54	5.57	1.09
(S.D)		(2.16)	(2.81)	(2.17)	(1.99)	(1.81)	
Economic Opportunities							
Mean	4	5.51	5.00	5.51	5.83	5.43	1.29
(S.D)		(1.86)	(2.34)	(1.74)	(1.72)	(1.72)	
Effective government							
Mean	4	5.78	5.50	6.09	5.94	6.15	1.96
(S.D)		(1.80)	(1.95)	(1.80)	(1.50)	(1.70)	
Diplomacy to resolve problem							
Mean	4	6.04	6.38	6.81	6.40	6.76	3.49*
(S.D)		(1.80)	(2.00)	(1.93)	(1.68)	(1.71)	
Develop other nation's							
Economy	4	5.82	5.44	6.55	5.94	6.22	1.95
(S.D)		(1.95)	(1.86)	(1.79)	(2.17)	(2.19)	
Build Trust and Cooperation							
Mean	4	5.93	5.50	6.75	6.26	6.60	3.45*
(S.D)		(1.95)	(1.16)	(1.95)	(1.82)	(2.15)	
Assistance for Humanitarian							
crisis	4	6.60	6.19	7.23	7.07	7.45	4.47**
(S.D)		(1.80)	(1.38)	(1.79)	(1.69)	(1.96)	
Respect for Human Right							
Mean	4	6.04	5.81	7.25	6.28	6.55	5.17**
(S.D)		(1.96)	(.91)	(1.75)	(1.69)	(2.09)	
Number of Respondents		500	32	106	275	116	

** $p=0.001$ level * $p=0.05$ level $N=1029$

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) analyzes whether there is a difference of cognition about soft power by administrative district. Thus, this analysis compared three groups which were divided by administrative area, so each group had distinguished respondents with other groups. That is, each group did not affect other groups and independent. As comparing mean values of each question which asks about cultural soft power, residents of Chungcheongdo rated the highest score; and inhabitants of Gangwondo rated the lowest score on all questions.

The respondents of Chungcheongdo rated 8.21 out of 10, but inhabitants of Gangwondo rated 6.94 for the question how strong Korean technology and science are. . There was a significant effect of administrative on the evaluation about technology and science of South Korea at the $p<.05$ level for the five conditions [F (4, 1028) =3.98, $p=.05$]. The result displays that South Korean differently evaluates the degree of development of the technology and science according to the administrative districts.

Such result was similar in the question about cultural heritage. The respondents of Chungcheongdo rated 8.40 out of 10, but inhabitants of Gangwondo rated 7.38 about cultural heritage of South Korea. There was a significant effect of administrative on the evaluation about cultural heritage at the $p < .05$ level for the five conditions [F (4, 1028) = 3.18, $p = .05$]. Although there was not significant difference of the perception about popular culture, Chungcheongdo still show the favorable evaluation about cultural soft power, and Gangwondo in reverse [F(4,1028)=1.18, $p = .05$]. To sum up, inhabitants from different districts showed significant differences about the perception of soft power.

Table 5
Factor Analysis of Six Questions about Cultural Soft Power, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Survey 2008

	Loadings*	
	Factor 1: Cultural Soft Power	Communality
Rich Cultural Heritage	.76	.58
Appealing Popular culture	.75	.56
Advanced Technology	.74	.55
Attractive destination for Tour	.71	.51
High Quality University	.68	.47
Developed Religious Tradition	.57	.33
Eigenvalue	3.39	
% of Total Variance	48.42	
Total Variance	48.42	

**Method of Extraction: principle component analysis*

Six questions relating to cultural soft power were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with varimax rotation. The analysis yielded a factor explaining a total of 48.42% of the variance for the entire set of variables. The factor was labeled to cultural soft power to estimate the perception of South Korean by the following questions: the strength of South Korean cultural heritage, popular culture, technology, destination for tour, high quality university, developed religious tradition.

Region as an independent variable, and the result showed an unexpected result. This r hypothesized effect was that each region will show different perceived Soft Power, because South Korea has shown stark differences of political tendency according to region. However, there was no significant difference of perceived political Soft Power by region. Although each province has differing political opinions, such tendency does not affect evaluation of political Soft Power. These facts verify that region is not a factor which affects evaluation for political and diplomatic Soft Power.

Secondly, by considering two-year mandatory military service of South Korea, this research hypothesized that two year mandatory military service affects men or women’s perception for Soft Power. Nevertheless, Table 3 shows that gender is not a significant factor which exerts an effect on perception of Soft Power. The result supports that two year of mandatory service does not exert male’s perception.

In contrast, age was a very strong indicator for perceived Soft Power. Table 4 shows that age groups displayed very distinctive perception for political and diplomatic Soft Power. Although perceived cultural Soft Power was not significantly different by age, South Koreans highly evaluated their cultural Soft Power than other types of Soft Power. The fact means that regardless of age, South Korean perceives that South Korea has stronger cultural Soft Power than political and diplomatic Soft Power.

Meanwhile, perception for political and diplomatic Soft Power was significantly different by age. The fact, that South Koreans under 40 rate political Soft Power very low, has an important meaning. People under 40s, who born in the mid-70s, has a high-level educational background. According to the report of educational attainment by National Statistical Office, 64 percent of South Korean the age of 25~34 and 49 percent of South Koreans the age of 35-44 had at least a bachelor’s degree, but 13% of old generation among 55~64 age completed college (Table 10). The gap was the largest rate among OECD nations. The fact means that well educated generation tends to suspect political legitimacy of South Korea.

The fourth ANOVA is shown in Table 6, and used occupation as independent variable. This ANOVA was the only analysis which brought significant result for cultural Soft Power. The result support Pierre Bourdieu's theory that culture reproduces social status. Moreover, different occupational cluster showed different attitude for political Soft Power. Generally, people who have higher education level rigidly evaluate political Soft Power, and people who have lower education level. The result has a similarity with the fifth ANOVA by level of education in fifth ANOVA.

In the ANOVA which use level of education as independent variable, political and diplomatic Soft Power is differently displayed by levels of independent variable. People who completed a higher educational degree believe that South Korea has weak political and diplomatic Soft Power.

Actually, suspicion for political justification of South Korea consistently is raised at home and abroad. Unhealthy links between politics and economy made social structure which advantageous for the wealthy. The structure leads to an abnormal economic structure, conglomerate. Besides, according to the report of World Economic Forum (WEF), South Korea is weak in public trust in politicians (112th), transparency of government policymaking (137th), protection of minority shareholders' interests (124th) among 148 countries (Schwab & Sala-i-Martin, 2013). These factor shows that South Korean politics is not trusted by people and foreign nations, and verify necessity of political transparency to improve Soft Power.

Conclusion

South Korea has a necessity to enhance political Soft Power through political legitimacy. Weak political Soft Power not only disturbs economic development, but also damages national brand. Therefore, coming policies ought to focus on restoring public trust. The procedure can be making a policy to break the chain of collusive ties between politicians and businessmen. Alleviating the gap between the rich and poor can be a way. The efforts will help to improve political Soft Power.

Nevertheless, efforts to enhance ought to be enforced under a precondition that balanced development between Soft Power and Hard Power. It is inevitable to concern Hard Power such as military power, because South Korea has continued military confrontation with North Korea. If this country largely concentrates on Hard Power, it will create an air of anxiety from surrounding and oppositional countries. While South Korea will be lost deterrent force if the country just focus on enhancing Soft Power. Therefore, the theory of Smart Power, which stresses balance between Soft Power and Hard Power, gives an important lesson for policy making of South Korea. Smart Power facilitates to reduce budget which is spent to sustain military power through alternatives such as alliances and international institutions.

In addition, South Korea needs to diversify efforts to enhance Soft Power. Although South Koreans commonly agree that South Korea has comparatively stronger cultural Soft Power than political and diplomatic Soft Power, cultural Soft Power of South Korea leans to popular culture (Nye & Kim, 2013). Therefore, the nation is supposed to expand field to enhance cultural Soft Power. Coming efforts are not supposed to be limited to popular culture.

This research followed three classification of Soft Power by Joseph Nye, cultural, political and diplomatic Soft Power. However, some say that his classification is ambiguous, and suggest a new classification which based on sources of power. On the other hand, it need to specify measured field of Soft Power. Monocle's measurement used five categories of culture, diplomacy, education, business/innovation, and government to analyze Soft Power accurately.

In addition, this data was collected in 2008. For the period, South Korea endured many social events. First female president is elected, and South Korea hosted Yeosu Expo and Group of 20(G20). The sinking of Sewol ferry, which caused many casualties, shocked the entire nation, and brought a question for safety ignorance of South Korea. There were many social events which affect perceived Soft Power of South Korea, so perception for Soft Power can be changed. Therefore, additional research to analyze present status of perceived Soft Power by South Korea is needed.

Furthermore, most independent variables did not draw significant result with reference to perceived cultural Soft Power. Only occupational cluster brought significant result. Thus, this result got meaningful implication for improving political and diplomatic Soft Power. Therefore, further research need to find out significant independent variable which can bring significant difference of perceived Soft Power.

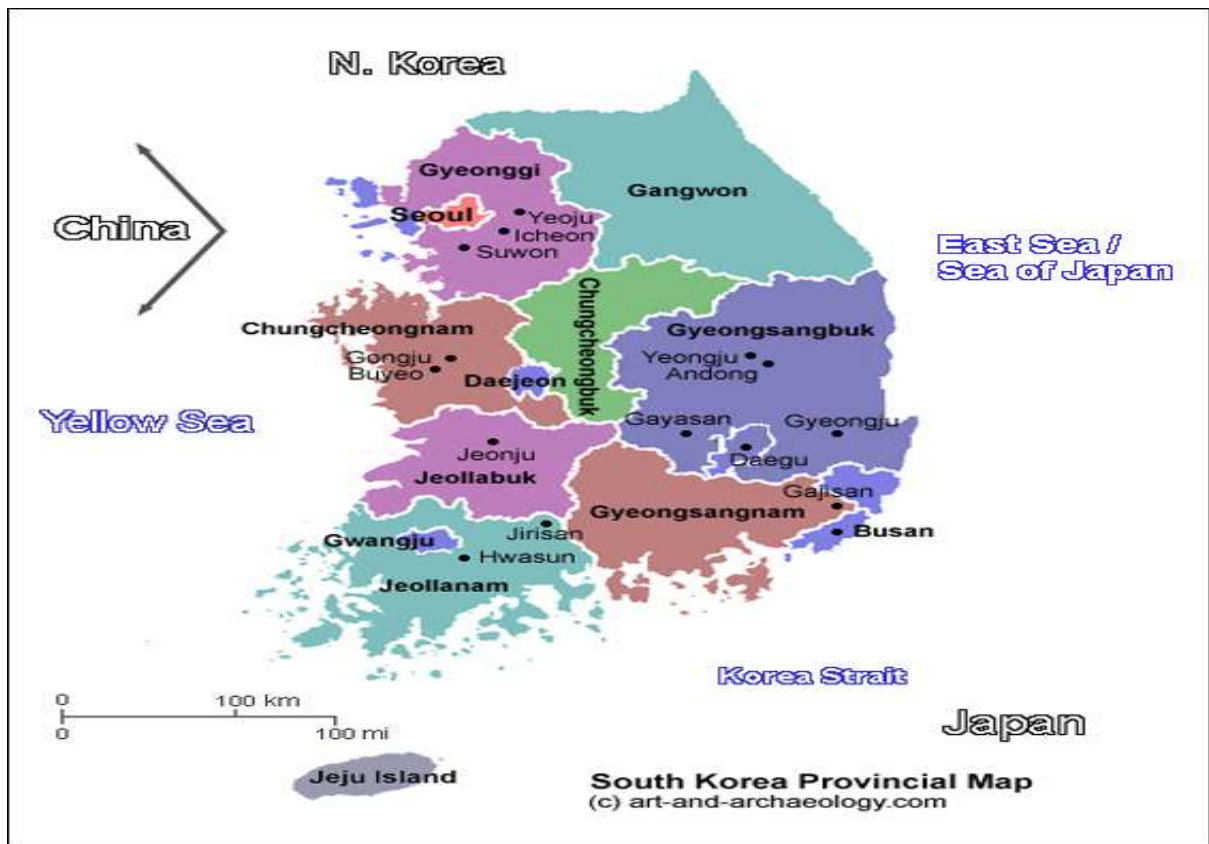


Figure 1. Provincial Map of South Korea

Appendiz.

Classification of Korean Study Regions

		Provincial Subunits*		
		Si	Gun	Gu
Metropolitan Area	Gyeonggido	28	3	20
	Seoul			
	Incheon			
Chungcheong province	Chungcheongnamdo	8	7	2
	Chungcheonbukdo	3	8	2
	Daejeon			
Jeollado province	Jeonllanamdo	5	17	
	Jeonllabukdo	6	8	2
	Gwangju			
Gyeongsangdo province	Gyeongsangnamdo	8	10	5
	Gyongsanbukdo	10	13	2
	Daegu			
	Busan			
	Ulsan			
Gangwondo province				

*Si, Gun, and Gu are subunits of a Korean province; Seoul, Incheon, Daejeon, Gwangju, Daegu, Busan, Ulsan are singular metropolitan cities, so do not have subunit(Si, Gun, and Gu)

References

- Bohorquez, Tysha (2005). "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics". Retrieved from UCLA International Institute website: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=34734>
- Boskoff, Alvin. (1972). *The Mosaic of Sociological Theory*. New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. (1990). *Three Faces of Power*. California, CA: Sage Publication.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, & Wacquant, Loïc JD. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Cabalza, Chester. B. . (2011). Is South Korea Open for Soft Power Diplomacy? *Executive Policy Brief*, 1(13), 1-8.
- Cho, Hae Joang. (2005). Reading the 'Korean Wave' as a Sign of Global Shift. *Korea Journal*, 45(4), 147-182.
- Cho, Sung Mo. (2003). *The Rise of Soft Power in a Globalized World: South Korea's Potential Role in a Globalizing East Asia*. (Master's Thesis), Yonsei University, Seoul. Retrieved from <http://www.riss.kr/link?id=T8871642>
- Choe, Heung Seog. (2013). Regional Conflicts of South Korea: Aspects and Measures 109-128. Retrieved from The Korean Association for Policy Studies website: http://www.kaps.or.kr/src/data/view.php?no=1735&page=1&sort1=&sort2=&s_year=&s_kind=&s_title=%C1%F6%BF%AA%B0%A5%B5%EE&s_author=
- Dahl, Robert A. (1957). The Concept of Power. *Behavioral Science*, 2(3), 201-215. doi: 10.1002/bs.3830020303
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. (1959). *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. California, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Domett, Tania. (2005). Soft Power in Global Politics? Diplomatic Partners as Transversal Actors. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 40(2), 289-306.
- Fan, Ying. (2008). Soft Power: Power of Attraction or Confusion? *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 4(2), 147-158. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/pb.2008.4>
- Ferguson, Niall. (2003). Power. *Foreign Policy*(134), 18-24. doi: 10.2307/3183518
- Foucault, Michel. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York, NY: Random House LLC.
- Gelb, Leslie H. (2009). *Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy*. New York, NY: Harper New York.
- Gomichon, Maxime. (2013). Joseph Nye on Soft Power. *Women*, 14, 16.
- Gramsci, Antonio. (1995). *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ham, In hee. (2013). Current Situation of Generation Conflict and Prospect to Integrate Generations. 47-69. The Korean Association for Policy Studies. Retrieved from website: http://www.kaps.or.kr/src/data/view.php?no=1733&page=2&sort1=&sort2=&s_year=&s_kind=&s_title=&s_author
- Henslin, James M. (2011). *Sociology* (Vol. 8). Boston, MA: Pearson Education (US).
- Hollingshead, August B, & Redlich, Fredrick C. (1957). *Two factor Index of Social Position*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Anonymous. Iraq War. (2014) *Wikipedia*.
- Jeong, Eunkyoun, & Hah, Yangsoo. (2014). The Effect of Ego-Resiliency, Social Support, Military Life Satisfaction on Growth Related Military Service in Korean Veterans. *Journal of Military Nursing Research*, 32(1), 13.
- T Kalinowski, H Cho (2012) Korea's search for a global role between hard economic interests and soft power. *European Journal of Development Research* 24 (2), 242-260
- Lee, Geun. (2009). A Theory of Soft Power and Korea's Soft Power Strategy. *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 21(2), 205-218. doi: 10.1080/10163270902913962
- Lee, Minah. (2010). *The Accumulation of Soft Power Resources in Korea*. (Master's Thesis), Seoul National University, Seoul. Retrieved from <http://www.riss.kr/link?id=T12193433>
- Lukes, Steven. (2005). *Power: A Radical View* (Vol. 2). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Markus, Hazel, Smith, Jeanne, & Moreland, Richard L. (1985). Role of the Self-Concept in the Perception of Others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49(6), 1494-1512. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.49.6.1494.
- Marx, Karl. (1904). *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*: Charles H. Kerr.
- Marx, Karl, & Engels, Friedrich. (2012). *The Communist Manifesto*: Yale University Press.
- Nossel, Suzanne. (2004). Smart Power. *Foreign Affairs*, 83(2), 131.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2002). Limits of American Power. *Political Science Quarterly*, 117(4), 545-559.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2011). The War on Soft Power. *Foreign Policy*, 12, 1-5.
- Nye, Joseph S, & Kim, Youna. (2013). *Soft Power and the Korean Wave*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Peace Corps. (2013, Nov. 21. 2013). from <http://www.peacecorps.gov>
- Rankings-Country by Country. (2013). *Wikipedia*. Retrieved from http://countrybrandingwiki.org/index.php/Main_Page
- Schneider, Cynthia P. (2003). Diplomacy That Works: 'Best Practices' in Cultural Diplomacy. *Cultural Diplomacy Research Series*. Retrieved from www.culturalpolicy.org
- Schwab, Klaus, & Sala-i-Martin, Xavier. (2013). *Insight Report: The Global Competitiveness Report 2013-2014*. Paper presented at the Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Sedikides, Constantine. (1993). Assessment, Enhancement, and Verification Determinants of the Self-Evaluation Process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65(2), 317.
- Singer, J David. (1963). Inter-Nation Influence: a Formal Model. *The American Political Science Review*, 57(2), 420-430.
- Soft Power. (2013). *Wikipedia*. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soft_power#cite_note-17
- U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (2013). *The World Factbook* Retrieved from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>
- Vuving, Alexander L. (2009). *How Soft Power works*. Paper presented at the Ponencia Presentada en Soft Power and Smart Power, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Canadá.
- Weber, Max. (2009). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Boskoff, Alvin. (1972). *The mosaic of sociological theory*: Crowell.
- Cho, Hae-Joang. (2005). Reading the "Korean Wave" as a sign of global shift. *Korea Journal*, 45(4), 147-182.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. (1959). *Class and class conflict in industrial society*: Stanford University Press.
- Fan, Ying. (2008). Soft power: Power of attraction or confusion? *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 4(2), 147-158.
- Foucault, Michel. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*: Random House LLC.
- Lee, Minah. (2010). *The Accumulation of Soft Power Resources in Korea*. (Master), Seoul National University, Graduate School of International Studies.
- Marx, Karl. (1904). *A contribution to the critique of political economy*: Charles H. Kerr.
- Nossel, Suzanne. (2004). Smart power. *Foreign Aff.*, 83, 131.
- Nye, Joseph, & Kim, Youna. (2013). Soft power and the Korean Wave. *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global*, 31.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2011). The war on soft power. *Foreign Policy*, 12.
- Weber, Max. (2009). *The theory of social and economic organization*: Simon and Schuster.