Exports Driven by Hallyu Increasing South Korea’s Economic Growth - Cultural Diplomacy Approach

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Abstract

Hallyu, or what was known as the Korean Wave that expanded through globalisation, was used as a soft power instrument for South Korean cultural Diplomacy to repair South Korean relations with other countries, as well as to develop its economic sites. Hallyu products can increase South Korea’s GDP by 0.2% in 2004 or by $1.87 billion, and it even reached $12.3 in 2019. This study uses four variables of Hallyu products that drive Korean economics: Cosmetics or K-beauty, Fashions, Inbound Tourism and education, compared with the other four highest non-Hallyu variables such as Electrical, Nuclear, Vehicles and Plastics. By using the correlations analysis method with python, the mathematical model of finding shows that the correlation of Hallyu products to South Korea’s GDP per capita was robust, even reaching a positive number of 0.89 compared to non-Hallyu products with a positive value of 0.44. This circumstance indicates that the Hallyu product has a very high correlation, where there was a positive increase of a fixed proportion in the other. Therefore, cultural Diplomacy carried out by South Korea was an example of soft power that has succeeded in controlling not only diplomacy but the economy as well.

Keywords: Korean Wave (Hallyu); Soft Power; Cultural Diplomacy; GDP per capita

Korean Wave atau Hallyu, yang semakin meluas karena globalisasi digunakan sebagai instrumen soft-power diplomasi kebudayaan Korea Selatan memiliki peran besar dalam memperbaiki relasinya dengan beberapa negara hingga dalam pertumbuhan ekonominya. Sebelumnya produk Hallyu dapat menaikan GDP Korea Selatan sebesar 0,2% pada tahun 2004 atau sebesar $1,87 miliar, hingga menjadi $12,3 di tahun 2019. Adapun penelitian ini menggunakan empat variabel produk Hallyu yang diantaranya adalah Kosmetik atau K-beauty, Fesyen, Pariwisata dan Pendidikan, dengan membandingkan empat variabel tertinggi non-Hallyu yaitu Listrik, Nuklir, Mesin dan Plastik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis korelasi dengan python atau Model matematika untuk menemukan korelasi antara semua parameter menunjukkan bahwa korelasi produk Hallyu terhadap GDP per capita South Korea sangat kuat. Ditemukan bahwa pengaruh produk Hallyu bahkan mencapai angka positif 0,89 dibandingkan non-Hallyu products yang hanya bernilai positif 0,44, dan adanya peningkatan positif dari proporsi tetap yang lain. Diplomasi budaya yang dilakukan melalui Hallyu oleh Korea Selatan merupakan contoh soft power yang tidak hanya berhasil sebagai alat diplomasi namun juga di bidang ekonomi.

Kata Kunci: Gelombang Korea (Hallyu); Soft Power; Diplomasi Budaya; GDP per kapita
Introduction

South Korea has become a country that ranks at the top in terms of culture, even 26 Korean words have been added to the Oxford English Dictionary for example *K-Drama* or Korean Drama, *Hallyu* or Korean popular culture and *Korean Wave* (BBC, 2021; Lau, 2021). All these vocabularies were interpreted due to Korean culture that has been known globally and recognized by the world. As a country that produced bands and actors, the global wave of Korean Culture also has positive impacts on increasing its Gross Domestic Products (GDP), increasing its economy, and adding to the list of countries considered for investment. Dr Hye Kyung said that the success of export cultures such as “Squid Game” and “Parasite” also adds a more fantastic global thought by cultural producers so that they become international. Hallyu or Korean Wave itself was a phenomenon in which South Korean culture was well known to the world, and it can be felt by many people in the world; young, old, male and female. Even international organizations such as the United Nations invited BTS South Korean representatives in their mission. This Korean Wave first appeared in the mid-1990s after Korea established diplomatic relations with China in 1992. Korean TV dramas and pop music gained popularity among the Chinese-speaking community. In addition, the Korean Wave itself was used once in an article published by Beijing Youth Daily in early November 1999, which was later known by Korean society itself.

The popularity of South Korean culture has not escaped the attention of the South Korean government to take advantage, because Hallyu was used as a form of cultural diplomacy and entered the creative industry to serve the nation’s interests. The popularity of South Korean culture has been carried out various missions, that have penetrated and have incorporated all aspects of its culture into multiple sectors such as K-Pop, K-Drama, K-Food, K-Cosmetics, K-Drama Fashion and K-Merchandise. It was undeniable that now South Korea’s culture has been accepted and used as a contemporary trend in society. The popularity of Korean culture was not even only felt in Asian countries, just like the world storm, but it also became very popular in American and European countries. The data says that South Korea’s GDP was developing by $9.48 billion in exports in recent years (Park 2021). According to Global Hallyu Trends (2020) which was issued by the Korea Foundation for International Cultural Exchange, in 2019 Hallyu reached $95.935 billion or an increase of 26.1%, which even contributed 87.6% in tourism export growth compared to 2018.

The South Korean economy was even known as one of the fastest-growing economies in the Asia Pacific area. In this dynamic world, many forms of cultural diplomacy were carried out to translate practical benefits for the
economic welfare of the world community. Cultural diplomacy encouraged researchers to dig deeper, and this caused this study to be still exploratory. One particular soft part of the new public diplomacy was namely the use of instruments, which invest in mutual exchanges and learning processes rather than actions that tend to influence the attractions of the other by unilateral means such as the setup of cultural institutes in third countries. Burnay et al. (2014) explained that there was a ‘soft’ part in the concept of the new public diplomacy, that the use of instruments that emphasize the exchange mechanism through a learning process that went beyond previous actions. It was also aimed at attracting the attention of other parties unilaterally. This meant that with a set of cultural institutions in third-world countries, for example, as done by China, India or South Korea. South Korea used and strengthened the soft power two-way to increase its role and influence on the international stage in its journey. Korea has a great ambition to strengthen global power and increase global empathy as a passion (Cultural – Hallyu) in its foreign policy.

Methods

Data collection and operational definition of variables

This study aimed to obtain the magnitude of the correlation generated by the top four of Hallyu’s Products on South Korea’s economic growth with an increasing GDP per capita. The data used were the panel data for five years, dating from 2016 to 2020, due to some data in 2021 has not been completed yet. In addition, comparisons were made with exports of the top four Non-Hallyu products. These two parameters were used to calculate their correlation to the increase in GDP per capita. The operational Definitions of variables table was available in the Annex of this report, and the addition of the Non-Hallyu product variable was intended to make the calculation fairer. The four products themselves were the most significant export value, according to Korea Customs Service (2021).

Measures (research model)

The author used the correlations analysis method with python. The mathematical model of finding the correlation between the top four Hallyu Products such as Export Cosmetics, Fashions, Inbound Tourism and International Student and Training against Non-Hallyu products such as Electrical, Nuclear, Vehicles and Plastics to GDP Per Capita was as follows:
x was a variable feature correlating with GDP meanwhile y means GDP per capita. The four Hallyu products were Cosmetics or K-Beauty, Fashions, Tourism and Education, meanwhile, the Non-Hallyu products are Electrical, Nuclear, Vehicles and Plastics. The correlation coefficient was a value that indicates the strength of the relationship between variables. The coefficient can take any value from -1 to 1 (CFI 2022). In which -1 means Perfect Negative Correlation; 0 Means No Correlation and 1 means perfect positive correlation. The primary data were obtained from official sources, namely the World Bank, Korea Customs Service and KOFICE websites. The data obtained was the data sought for correlation with the economic growth of South Korea, just like Hallyu’s products and non-Hallyu’s.

Hypotheses

Hallyu and GDP per Capita

In this paper, the researcher used descriptive quantitative methods to explore various unique phenomena from South Korean cultural diplomacy through Hallyu. In explaining the role of Cultural Diplomacy carried out by Korea, the author took four export categories of Hallyu’s products and compared them with non-Hallyu’s products as material for in-depth discussion. The top four export categories for Hallyu products were Cosmetics or K-Beauty, Fashion, Tourism and Education through international student and training. These four categories became parameters for testing whether the Korean government can use Hallyu’s products to improve diplomatic relations, especially with countries in conflict with Korea. The issues related were the rejection or banning act by the government of other countries, and whether using Hallyu’s cultural diplomacy products can improve the economy in South Korea. So the first hypothesis would be Hallyu has a positive effect on economic growth in South Korea.

In addition to that, South Korea also has many MNCs that boosts the country’s economy, such as Hyundai, KIA and Samsung. Furthermore, South Korea’s Nuclear, Plastic and Vehicle exports were also high and
and became the highest export products. Thus, the author argued that the correlation between Hallyu products can increase and decrease GDP per capita, and the correlation value was higher than that of Non-Hallyu products. To sum up, the second hypothesis would be Hallyu products have a high positive correlation with GDP per capita compared to Non-Hallyu Products.

**Analytical Framework**

**Cultural Diplomacy in International Relations**

International relations have been marked by the emergence of non-governmental actors as a counterweight to government actors who have dominated the international arena so far. Non-government actors have significant roles in the economy, war, peace, etc. The discussion included a description of the actors’ activities during the proposal process, using cultural elements as soft power to achieve national interests. Soft power itself was the power of a country to achieve its national interests through a non-coercive approach to other countries or actors, either by influencing, inviting cooperation, diplomacy, or so on. An example of it was diplomacy as one of the essential instruments in implementing a country’s national interest. Through diplomacy, a country can build an image of itself, and therefore bilateral relations between countries could be supported by cultural diplomacy an act of soft power to realize national interests in cultural relations between two countries with different national contexts. Instruments of human resources, communication and information, humanity and the arts were global interdependence agendas in international politics.

Furthermore, cultural diplomacy was closely related to developments in the global economy, which was supported by the principle of cultural diversity (Ang et al. 2015). In their article, Ronit Appel et al. (2008) show that cultural diplomacy has the power and potential to change one’s opinion about a country. Therefore, cultural diversity and uniqueness were invaluable assets that can be used as a tool to improve the country’s public image in the eyes of the international community. Therefore, the author raised a unique topic to find out how effective South Korea’s cultural diplomacy was, and how it can increase its country’s GDP through culture.

South Korea was one of the Asian countries that were active in implementing Public Diplomacy, which felt as if its image was not as good as the performance of its economic development. This desire to equalize the pace of economic growth and image improvement made South Korea was in earnest in carrying out cultural diplomacy. Objective evidence of
the South Korean government’s seriousness in using cultural diplomacy to achieve interests was in the MoFA Republic of Korea. Through that, the South Korean government firmly stated that they would focus on implementing diplomacy by involving various parties, one of which was carried out using the Hallyu.

Every country has problems, of course, especially if they are neighbours; the percentage was likely to be more significant because they also share a border area prone to conflict. With geographical proximity, of course, there are two possibilities, namely leading to cooperation or conflict (Glosserman and Snyder 2015). Some countries denied, restricted or opposed the existence of Hallyu and prohibit their citizens from consuming Hallyu. but on the other hand Hallyu itself was a suitable medium for introducing South Korea to the international community. Although it doesn’t always run smoothly, cultural diplomacy aimed to improve the country’s image, especially with countries that have or were still in conflicts, such as China and Japan. Japan, an archipelagic country with an area of 364,555 Km2, of which its population reached more than 126 million people with a Yearly % Change of -0.30% (Worldmeter 2020), has a border on the west side with South Korea. In Japan, the government strictly prohibited Hallyu with the hashtag ‘Anti-Korean Wave’, because it triggered competition between the two countries that previously had a complicated history. The weakening of the Japanese economic sector also started anti-Korean groups to protest against the government. In the perspective of constructivism, the element of international relations was constructed in such a way, and it was not a structural development of an anarchic state system and constant human nature (Glosserman and Snyder 2015).

On the other hand, China was also one of the biggest exports, with around $5.3 billion in 2014, and the high population of China was directly proportional to the people’s need for entertainment and something fresh that Korea has to offer. It caused Korean TV and K-Pop Music to dominate the entertainment industry in China. China then restricted the entry of K-Pop culture and various forms of Hallyu entertainment into their country. Even China also has prohibited its citizens from watching and imitating Korean fashion. Maizland’s (2017) report states that China does not like Washington’s agreement with Seoul to build a missile shield system or THAAD. China took action by giving a warning even though it could not cancel the agreement between the two countries; China then vented its anger against Hallyu and took out Hallyu in its country. For example, broadcasting TV dramas and eating fried chicken were banned because it was popular among young people in China. It was because Beijing was in dispute, that it blocked Hallyu from streaming in China. Internet users
also posted boycotts of Korean Beauty Products and many artists cancelled tours to China.

The struggle in this contemporary era was no longer truce fights or military attacks, but a Chinese counterattack that forced foreign cultural pushbacks to enter, to increase solidarity and love among the Chinese people. China also did not want its population to be influenced by foreign cultures that entered to damage its sovereignty. As a result, the two countries clashed on the international stage and affected exports and relations between countries. This was where cultural diplomacy came into play. Even though Hallyu was boycotted, it can still enter Beijing and get positive and negative responses. It can be said that Hallyu in China was cool, but maybe not cool enough. For example, when it aired on Youku, the Chinese Ministry of Public Security, warned Chinese citizens not to watch too many episodes. They loved Korean Culture, but still, they had to express their support to the government against Korean Culture and Business (Maizland, 2017). Chinese regulators also remind millennials to stop spending money to support their idols as a form of clean-up Hallyu fandom act (Sung Jin 2021). This was a step forward from the government’s recommendation in the speech to the CCP Central Committee “Uphold and Develop Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” by Mr Xi Jinping (The Policy Planning Staff, Office of the Secretary of State 2020).

In the constellation of its foreign policy, South Korea has several national interests, one of which was advancing and developing the national economy. South Korea need excellent support from Asia’s most robust economic country to build its economy, namely China. Joseph Nye (1990) defined power as when one country gets other countries to want what it wants—might be called co-optive. The Source of soft power itself consist of assets that produce attractiveness; Nye describes it in three sources namely cultural attractions, ideology and international institutions. Korea sold their culture and became one of the most favoured cultures by Chinese citizens. R.P. Barston, in his book Modern Diplomacy (2019), stated that actors involved in soft power were not only government but also actors, singers, MNCs, mass media and even civil society.

The Cultural Diplomacy strategy carried out by South Korea has positively impacted the two countries in the economic sector because South Korea and China agreed and signed a 2015 bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA). As a result, their trade intensified, and the total export driven by Hallyu reached US$ 12,319 Million in 2020 (KOFICE 2021, Global Hallyu Trends 2020). The success of this Cultural Diplomacy Strategy has improved the national image both in Korea and in China. The bilateral cooperation between the two was getting better in social culture, economy, tourism,
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politics, education and others, reflecting that the relationship between the two countries was getting closer and closer. Even President Park called this FTA ‘a historic milestone in the countries’ as Tiezzi (2015) quoted. In 2018, China finally lifted the ban and allowed several regions to tour South Korea (Yonhap 2020).

In short, countries that restricted Hallyu entertainment from entering their countries have had conflicts in the past with South Korea. Now the country that opposed Hallyu has become very withered and can’t stem this wave. Because it was difficult to manipulate their desires as humans will naturally follow what they want to follow. Likewise, the state will follow what it wanted to. The cultural diplomacy carried out by Korea was, that if Korea can make its culture look legitimate in the eyes of other countries, it will face less resistance to its wishes. Korea will still face resistance, but not hard because other parties are also willing to follow. If the ideology offered was attractive, more parties will be willing to follow. There were two possibilities which ideology would grow the power to set international norms, improve policies, and increase cooperation because there were demands for consistency of the people, which would be difficult to change. On the other hand, the state would limit their activities, making the state a dominant actor that was controlling, coercing, or warning hard, usually called using hard power. So we can tell that instead of incurring high costs to contain Hallyu, besides being costly, it also required significant effort. Therefore, the state was better off cooperating under current conditions, carrying benefits in both directions, and the threat of conflict was reduced because they both benefit.

GDP increasing in South Korea

In this study, the author wanted to test whether there was a significant effect between Hallyu products in developing the South Korean economy compared to if there was no Hallyu Product. The author compares GDP per capita in 2016-2020 to see if there was a significant pattern regarding Hallyu exports. The South Korean government has always boosted the economy by selling South Korean culture. This will be very visible as almost all levels of society know where South Korea was located, the typical food, cosmetics and the language. In Oh’s (2010) article, it was stated that in the 1950s, South Korea was a developing country with a per capita income of less than $100 and making the country one of the poorest countries in Asia. With the end of the war, the Korean economy slowly recovered, but until the 1990s, South Korea was still a vulnerable and weak country. In the 2000s, the Korean economy rose, and less than 50 years after the rise of Korea, this country was ranked the 12th largest economy according to Worldmeter (2021). According to World Bank data, in 2020, South
Korea’s GDP will reach 1.631 trillion USD (World Bank 2020a; World Bank 2020b).

One of the causes of the development of the South Korean economy was the emergence of non-state actors, namely the Multinational Corporations (MNC). Companies such as Hyundai and KIA in the automobile sector, Samsung and LG in the electronics sector, and Lotte Shopping Center in the lifestyle sector. Thus, it can be seen that the MNCs have helped in increasing South Korea’s economic growth. As one of the effects of globalization, actors in international relations also grew in variety; non-state actors have become increasingly influential in influencing the order of international relations. In the report, the Hallyu effect was enormous, accounting for 0.2% of South Korea’s GDP in 2004, or about $1.87 billion (Guo et al. n.d). Over the past 20 years, South Korea has become very rich and futuristic. All parts of the Korean wave must have boosted the Korean economy by developing $9.48 billion in exports (Park 2019). As recent as 2019, Hallyu had an estimated $12.3 billion boost on the Korean economy (Guo et al. n.d).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

In this research, panel data was used to analyze the correlation between Hallyu products and non-Hallyu products on economic growth in South Korea. The data used included Cosmetics or K-beauty H.S. Code 33, Fashion H.S. Code 61, Electrical H.S. Code 85, Nuclear H.S. Code 34, Vehicles H.S. Code 87: Plastics H.S. Code 39, and GDP are in the U.S. $. While the number of travellers or Inbound Tourism Demand, students and trainees in-person units. The panel data of 8 product categories are collected, and 40 data are included for each variable. The descriptive statistics of the data can be summarized in Annex. According to data from Korea Customs Service (2021), the largest export was Electrical H.S. Code 85, which reached the most significant value in 2018 at 184,588,192, and the lowest was Plastics H.S. Code 39 of 27,648,753 in 2016. GDP per capita fluctuates and in 2020 was the lowest because it was associated with a global pandemic. For Hallyu products, the largest category was Tourism which reached 17,502,756 persons in 2019.

Hypotheses Test

As a result of the model fit test to correlations analysis method with phyton, the mathematical model of finding the correlation between the top four Hallyu Products Vs Non-Hallyu products to GDP proved to be the most
Hallyu Products Vs Non-Hallyu products to GDP proved to be the most suitable. Table 1 shows the results of hypothesis testing on the impact of Hallyu and Non-Hallyu products on GDP per capita.

![Figure 1. Correlation between all variables](image)

From the results above, it can be seen that the correlation of Hallyu products to South Korea’s GDP per capita was robust, even reaching a positive number of 0.89 compared to Non-Hallyu products, which have a positive value of 0.44. This number indicated that the Hallyu product has a very high correlation, where there was a positive increase of a fixed proportion in the other. For example, Hallyu’s products go up in almost perfect correlation with GDP Per Capita. According to data, Hallyu’s Product that dominates the correlation was tourism, whereas many international tourists went 2016-2020 As for tourism, South Korea has as many as 66,728,829 people, and the majority of them visit because of pleasure. In line with the Yehia report (2019), which states that tourism boosted the revenue of the economy, created thousands of job opportunities, developed infrastructure and indirectly instilled Korean culture into the world. The South Korean Government relied on tourism for a significant percentage of their revenue to invest a lot in the country’s infrastructure. Increasing the number of international tourists visiting can grow the economy of residents and was a factor with great potential to improve the local economy.

Tourism was expected to continue growing rapidly due to Hallyu. Countries that reject Hallyu’s presence because of language barriers, different histories and other conflicts have gradually accepted terms and conditions. Even in India, they held an intercultural dialogue at the Indo-Korean Cultural and Information Center or InKo in Chennai. It aimed to support and promote arts and culture between India and Korea. Promoting Korean language
courses, music concerts, and theatre collaborations would strengthen the partnership between the two countries (Jafer 2021). On the other side of the world, Japan was also taking an approach to accepting Hallyu culture with Joint Digital Multimedia Broadcasting for Korea and Japan according to Lee et al. (n.d.), there was a collaboration of DMB satellite from Florida, the United States, which has joint ownership with Japan’s Mobile Broadcasting Corporation and TU Media Corp. Korea. TU Media Corp has provided service on the Satellite Digital Multimedia Broadcasting network with full coverage for the Korean peninsula (TU Media Corp 2022).

From the analysis above, we can conclude that the hypothesis and the study results show the same value, which was both shown an increase in South Korea’s GDP that was driven by Hallyu. In addition, because Korean products have become one of the leads in a fashion that many followers use, buy and consume, therefore the hypothesis established by judging that GDP per capita will increase Hallyu Product was accurate.

![Figure 2. Features Correlating with GDP per capita](image)

It can be seen from the picture above that Hallyu products have a correlation value of 0.89, which was equivalent to vehicle sales in South Korea. Furthermore, if we look more closely, tourism was also a Hallyu’s product variable. It has a correlation value of 0.88 an almost perfect correlation with GDP Per Capita compared to other variables such as education and fashion. On the other hand, non-Hallyu products such as nuclear, Plastic and Electrical Machinery exports, which have a low correlation to GDP, are 0.33, 0.39 and 0.28, respectively. If \( r \) was near 0, then the two variables have no linear relation, as the increase in GDP per capita in South Korea has a weak correlation with Non-Hallyu products.
In a report published by Global Hallyu Trends (2020), it was stated that in 2017-2018 America and Asia preferred to dine at Korean restaurants, while in 2019, they showed a willingness to travel to South Korea instead. Cultural Diplomacy was very strong here because South Korean culture penetrates the human soul in various parts of the world. They use cosmetics, clothes and fashion, followed by a direct exploration of Korea and increasing inbound tourism. The author argues that by knowing and being curious about its culture, people tend to want to be closer and understand by learning the language. Therefore, the domino effect was the increase in international students entering Korea. Korea was one of the countries that implements the Korean Language Ability Test, commonly called TOPIK, to become a student at one of the universities. Or suppose TOPIK was deemed too complex for non-Korean native language students to achieve. In that case, they ease the requirement by allowing English as an International Language to register with IELTS (International English Language Testing System), TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) or TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), which later will have stabilization or language lessons for one year for curriculum adjustments and stabilization before actually starting lectures in Korea. All these circles are the effect of Cultural Diplomacy carried out by the Korean Government, using the wave to achieve its national interest, namely strengthening the economy in Asia.

Judging from the description above, the spread of the Korean Wave to these countries cannot be denied being seen as a South Korean soft power that can spread its culture indirectly through the Korean wave. This was seen in the film industry field, where this film indirectly provides knowledge to the audience about culture, technology, music, fashion styles, attitudes, accents, food, and beautiful shooting locations in South Korea that make the audience interested. Furthermore, the actors in the film or drama showed have good-looking actors and actresses who pay great attention to appearance and high quality. And even in the music industry, South Korea has music groups, namely Girl Bands and Boy Bands, famous even though they are young but have beautiful faces, dance abilities, unique fashion styles, and golden voices. Furthermore, this condition will consciously attract tourists to visit Korea or study Korean culture.

**Conclusion**

Cultural Soft Diplomacy carried out by Korea also shows the country’s ability to regulate the situation so that other countries develop their choices or deliver their interests consistently due to this cultural attraction. Cultural attractions also form the same rules as international regimes. He can also influence the politics, economy and international relations between the
countries involved. In this case, South Korea’s influence was enormous in spreading culture and increasing domestic tourism by using the Korean Wave, which can attract almost all audiences worldwide to know all about South Korea. Therefore, the hypothesis and the analysis results have the same results and were accurate.

The result of correlating Hallyu products has a correlation value of 0.89, equivalent to vehicle sales in South Korea. Furthermore, let’s look more closely, at tourism as a Hallyu’s product variable. It has a correlation value of 0.88 an almost perfect correlation with GDP Per Capita compared to other variables such as education and fashion. Tourism was expected to continue growing rapidly due to Hallyu. Hallyu’s products go up in an almost perfect correlation with GDP Per Capita. According to data, as many international tourists went, from 2016-to 2020, 66,728,829 people visited South Korea because of pleasure. This shows that cultural diplomacy can grow the economy in South Korea. Korea will also achieve its national interest, namely, to equalize the pace of economic development and improve its image using soft power. If Korea can make its culture look legitimate in the eyes of other countries, it will face less resistance to its wishes.
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