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Institutional Logics, Cultural Identity and Internationalisation of Art Films:

A Comparative Analysis of France and Korea

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Kent
in the subject of Management for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By Hyun Jeon Oh

Supervisors: Prof. Soo Hee LEE and Prof. Patricia Lewis

Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is Hyu Jeon Oh, the candidate's, own.

Date

Signed

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In discussing globalisation and the effect it has on different industries, one may ask, what makes the film sector special and interesting? Film is uniquely placed at the junction of international commerce and popular culture, being both an economic commodity and one of the most important forms of cultural production. Most importantly, it could be a valuable empirical measure of national responses to international competitive pressures in several different ways:

In large-scale commercial filmmaking, the economic incentive has been a powerful driving force behind the multiple efforts to support in both in its production and export. Since the very beginning, there has always existed a distinct national colour in the film products which competed with each other at international level, and this leads to interesting interplay between the domestic and international political economy of a nation (Keohane and Milner, 1996; Berger and Dore, 1996).

The film industry also encompasses multiple disciplines across the arts and industry that makes it an ideal window into global change (Wade, 1996; OECD, 1996; Danan, 1994). Moreover, the relatively low cost-to-profit ratio of transporting film meant that film has always had the edge when it came to internationalisation. Film markets were never segmented fully by national borders and film export was constrained only by policies and regulations placed on them for arbitrary reasons, such as “cultural exception” invoked by France during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade GATT negotiations in 1994 and hotly contested by the US in the following Uruguay rounds. This brings us to the next point: the overarching theme has been protecting film from the US hegemony. Resistance to U.S. film hegemony has been substantial, and general policy patterns have not varied simply with changes in American power. It is generally accepted that protectionism in the film industry is economically myopic on a national level (Wildman and Siwek, 1988; Noam and Millonzi, 1993). In other words, protectionist policies will be invoked by poorly endowed film

producers who cannot fight for themselves in an international market by means of the quality of their films (Irwin, 1996; Baldwin, 1985).

France is one of the earliest example of a country in Western Europe which has managed to establish a movement to protect its own identity and culture in an unreservedly nationalistic manner. Perhaps many complex reasons can be given as to why this came to be, from modern European history and the French language. The Second World War put a break on the kind of nationalistic pride displayed by Germany (and, to a smaller extent, Italy) even until now, whereas France saw no reason to curb its fully nationalistic approach when it came to protecting and defending its identity and culture, especially against the impending cultural invasion, this time from Hollywood, as well as English, the language of Hollywood. This has continued, and even today, one of the many obvious manifestation in non-cinema popular culture is the protectionist approach in dubbing most American TV shows and dramas France chooses to show, and how this compares to the Scandinavian countries where subtitles are preferred instead of voice dubbing and the subsequent higher proficiency there of the general public in English compared to France or even Germany.

It is in this context that France offers an exemplary case study, for France has a long history of a state film policy which Korea to some extent aspires to emulate. When the World Trade Organisation was formed in 1995 with the objective of reducing developed countries' national trade barriers for goods and services, France objected to cinema being included and threatened to withhold its signature from the largest trade agreement in history, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1993 (Presses universitaires de France, 1995). France saw Film as something special and wanted to put it above a mere economic product and did not want to subject their carefully constructed cultural policies to the same rules as were being applied to other goods and services. Jean-Michel Baer described "the capitalist logic and the logic of creation" as being different from each other (Baer, October, 2003:27).

Korea has a very different path of film history compared to France, but there may be some unique aspects of its modern and ancient history that place where it stands today on a similar footing to that of France. Geographically situated between China and Japan, it fought off numerous invasions from both countries. The Korean language is very different from Chinese (Language Isolate, most closely related to Japanese) and its people are on a separate genetic line of inheritance. Although there were in ancient times some cultural influences from China,

and several invasions from both China and Japan, Korea arguably managed to stay independent sandwiched between the two Asian superpowers for five thousand years. It is perhaps not overreaching to state that the very existence of Korea is living proof of the nationalistic and perhaps even defensive nature of Koreans to the point of xenophobia.

Being so ferociously defensive against not just its Asian neighbours but curious Western forays into the Far East, earned the Kingdom of Korea during *Joseon* Dynasty the description, the Hermit Kingdom. One of the consequences was that they were later to modernise than Japan, and in 1905, they became a protectorate of Japan until the end of 1945 when Japan lost the Second World War, and Korea was liberated from Japanese rule.

When films first came into the world, Korea was under Japanese occupation. A lot of modern Western contraptions, including filmmaking were first introduced at this time. After the so-called birth of the Korean film industry, which lay dormant throughout the poverty-stricken years after the Korean War, the protectionist policy of modern Korea which played out was then two-fold. Driving out and keeping out Japanese cultural influence was so deeply embedded in modern Korea it was hard to shake off to establish a starting point for its own unique modern identity, while embracing everything American from pop music, fashion to films. The US had defeated Japan in the Second World War and fought against the North Koreans and the Chinese in the Korean War that followed almost immediately. Hollywood's global domination was not initially something the South Koreans could afford to fear, economically, geo-politically or even culturally.

It was perhaps fast forward to the 1980s when domestic film industries in many countries shrivelled and were no longer able to compete with Hollywood products on their home turfs. Despite the accession of neoliberal governments and their pressures to remove restrictions on trade internationally, France rallied other countries to resist the application of liberalisation to cultural production. Despite the "Lilliputian" economic weight of cinema (Creton, 2004:279), the perception of film's imbrication with national identity conferred a disproportionately public importance on the film industry as a key catalyst for resistance to globalisation (Buchsbaum, 2017:15).

South Korea had by this time, as in all other aspects achieved miraculous progress following rapid industrialisation, and had a sizable film industry with a few runaway domestic box

office hits under its belt. It was starting to look to places like France for inspiration against Hollywood domination, but ironically with the diametrically opposite motivation of using domestic films as a possible economic product. The main body of what this work consists of follows from this. It is perhaps not surprising that where we are today, purely in terms of size (and net worth) put the two countries so close together in the world picture:

It is predicted that the global film market will see a growth from 44.8 billion dollars to 55.5 billion dollars (PwC, 2019; Korea Film Council, 2019) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Market Size and Forecast in the Global Film Market 2014-2023

(Unit: Million USD)

Division	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2018-2023 CAGR
Box office	31,968	36,491	37,606	39,205	41,250	43,369	45,155	47,323	49,083	51,045	4.35%
Film advertising	2,474	2,748	2,955	3,236	3,509	3,760	3,955	4,132	4,293	4,449	4.86%
Gross sales	34,442	39,239	40,562	42,441	44,759	47,129	49,110	51,455	53,376	55,494	4.39%

Source: PwC (2019) Global Entertainment and Media Outlook 2019-2023

France and South Korea are placed 6th and 7th in the top 10 countries in the global film market by sales: U.S.A., China, U.K., Japan, India, France, Korea, Germany, Australia and Mexico: according to the PwC, Global entertainment and Media Outlook 2019-2023 (see Table 2). This list takes into account both the ticket sales and film advertising sales.

Table 2. Top 10 Countries in the Global Film Market by Gross Sales based on 2018

(Unit: Million USD)

Rank	Country	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2018-2023 CAGR
1	USA	10,479	11,171	11,423	11,221	12,030	12,106	11,932	12,150	12,351	12,542	0.84%
2	China	4,728	6,966	7,371	8,984	9,880	11,048	12,279	13,488	14,450	15,481	9.4%
3	UK	1,615	1,885	1,888	1,962	2,048	2,104	2,163	2,219	2,272	2,322	2.55%
4	Japan	1,857	1,948	2,113	2,051	2,001	2,089	2,138	2,184	2,227	2,269	2.55%
5	India	1,364	1,484	1,465	1,534	1,691	1,860	2,032	2,201	2,371	2,543	8.51%
6	France	1,643	1,669	1,712	1,712	1,672	1,757	1,793	1,833	1,789	1,863	2.19%
7	Korea	1,540	1,480	1,572	1,582	1,629	1,686	1,734	1,781	1,825	1,867	2.77%
8	German	1,233	1,468	1,292	1,336	1,213	1,263	1,243	1,271	1,257	1,290	1.24%

9	Australia	858	983	1,007	967	1,002	1,018	1,048	1,078	1,107	1,137	2.56%
10	Mexico	647	757	851	904	954	1,004	1,050	1,097	1,142	1,182	4.38%

Source: PwC (2019) Global Entertainment and Media Outlook 2019-2023

In comparison, when the list is compiled taking only ticket sales into account, Korea is placed 5th and France 6th, according to Marché du Film 2019, “Focus - World Film Market Trends” (see Table 3).

Table 3. Top 10 Markets Worldwide by Gross Box Office (2014-2018)

(Unit: Billion USD)

Rank	Country	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Average increase / decrease rate over the last 5 years	2018 growth rate compared to 2017
1	USA/Canada	10.36	11.14	11.37	11.12	11.88	3.5%	6.8%
2	China	4.82	6.81	6.60	8.27	9.24	17.6%	11.7%
3	Japan	1.70	1.80	2.17	2.04	2.02	4.4%	-1.2%
4	UK	1.74	1.90	1.66	1.65	1.71	-0.5%	3.7%
5	Korea	1.49	1.37	1.45	1.60	1.65	2.6%	3.1%
6	France	1.77	1.48	1.54	1.56	1.58	-2.9%	1.1%
7	India	1.47	1.50	1.48	1.60	1.50	0.5%	-6.5%
8	German	1.30	1.29	1.13	1.19	1.06	-4.9%	-10.7%
9	Australia	0.87	0.89	0.91	0.92	0.93	1.6%	1.1%
10	Mexico	0.84	0.84	0.79	0.85	0.85	0.2%	-0.6%

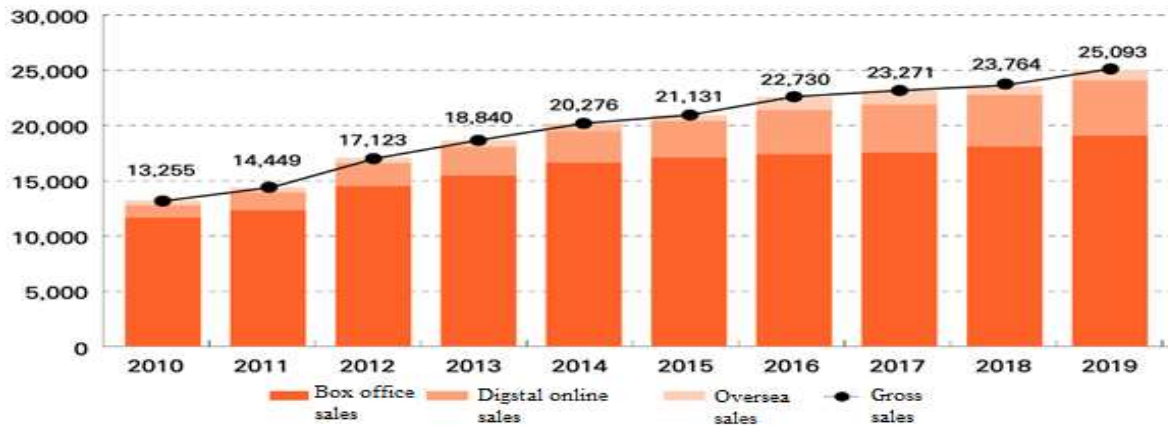
Source: Marché du Film (2019) Focus 2019 - World Film Market Trends

Film in Korea

The year 1919 is marked as the birth year of Korean films in Korean film history. It was on 27th October 1919 that the film “*Uirijeok Kuto*” was shown at the *Dansungsa* cinema in Seoul, Korea. A century has passed since then and in 2019 it is estimated that the Korean film market is worth over 6 trillion won (Korea Film Council, 2020:4), the number of cinema-goers has passed 200 million (227 million in 2019). Korean films’ share of the domestic market has passed 50 percent for 8 years running (51 percent in 2019) and sales hit a record high in 1.91 trillion won in 2019 (Korea Film Council, 2020:4) (see Table 4).

Figure 1. Sales Transition in Korean Film Industry Sectors (Box office, Digital online, Overseas) 2010-2019

(Unit: 10 Million won)



Source: Korea Film Council (2020:14) Korean Film Industry Settlement

Table 4. Major Statistics for the Korean Film Industry 2010-2019

Division		2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Cinema attendance (Unit: million persons)	Overall	14,918	15,972	19,489	21,335	21,506	21,729	21,702	21,987	21,639	22,668
	Change rate compared to the previous year	-5.0%	7.1%	22.0%	9.5%	0.8%	1.0%	-0.1%	1.3%	-1.6%	4.8%
	Korean film	6,940	8,287	11,461	12,729	10,770	11,293	11,655	11,390	11,015	11,562
	Change rate compared to the previous year	-9.2%	19.4%	38.3%	11.1%	-15.4%	4.9%	3.2%	-2.3%	-3.3%	5.0%
	Share	46.5%	51.9%	58.8%	59.7%	50.1%	52.0%	53.7%	51.8%	50.9%	51.0%
	Foreign film	7,978	7,685	8,028	8,606	10,736	10,436	10,047	10,597	10,624	11,106
	Change rate compared to the previous year	-1.0%	-3.7%	4.5%	7.2%	24.8%	-2.8%	-3.7%	5.5%	0.3%	4.5%
	Share	53.5%	48.1%	41.2%	40.3%	49.9%	48.0%	46.3%	48.2%	49.1%	49.0%
Number of films released	Korea film (Exact released)	140	150	175	183	217	232	302 (167)	376 (164)	454 (194)	502 (199)
	Foreign film (Exact released)	286	289	456	722	878	944	1,218 (411)	1,245 (456)	1,192 (534)	1,238 (448)
Number of Korea cinema screens		2,003	1,974	2,081	2,184	2,281	2,424	2,575	2,766	2,937	3,079
Number of Korea cinema sites		301	292	314	333	356	388	417	452	483	513
Attendance times per person		2.92	3.15	3.83	4.17	4.19	4.22	4.20	4.25	4.18	4.37
Korean film box-office profits		-12.6%	-16.5%	15.9%	16.8%	7.6%	4.0%	29.8%	18.0%	-4.8%	5.9%

Source: Korea Film Council (2020:16) Korean Film Industry Settlement 2019

In comparison to the overall increase in the size of the film market, the relative size of Art Films in Korea is showing a decreasing trend. Despite this, the number of cinema goers who went to see an art film was 1.3 percent in 2019, a record high in the last 5 years.

The percentage of showing of art films in cinema also increased 6.8 percent from the previous year to 29.6 percent, and the relative figure for audience and sales both increased significantly to 35.7 percent and 35.6 percent respectively (see Table 5).

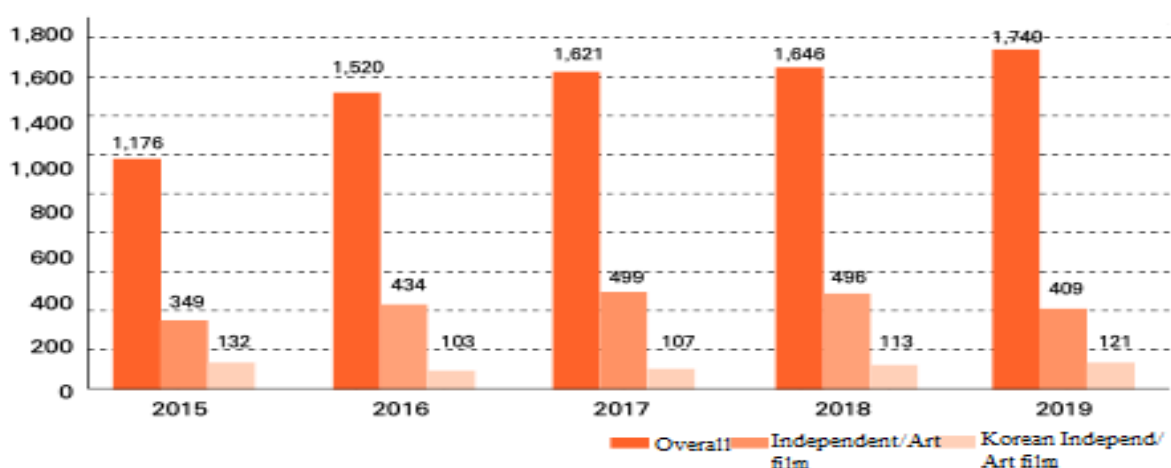
Table 5. Korean Independent / Art Film Releases and Audience Share 2015-2019

Year	Number of films released					National cinema attendance (Unit: Person)				
	Overall	Independent / Art film	Korean Independent / Art film	Share in Overall	Share in Independent / Art film	Overall	Independent / Art film	Korean Independent / Art film	Share in Overall	Share in Independent / Art film
2015	1,176	349	132	11.2%	37.8%	217,288,819	8,307,266	2,454,138	1.1%	29.5%
2016	1,520	434	103	6.8%	23.7%	217,024,355	9,676,476	1,716,294	0.8%	17.7%
2017	1,621	499	107	6.6%	21.4%	219,874,992	9,785,795	2,119,612	1.0%	21.7%
2018	1,646	496	113	6.9%	22.8%	216,385,720	8,579,356	1,104,499	0.5%	12.9%
2019	1,740	409	121	7.0%	29.6%	226,679,573	8,096,679	2,892,356	1.3%	35.7%

* National cinema attendance and sales are based on screenings

Source: Korea Film Council (2020:63) Korean Film Industry Settlement 2019

Figure 2. Korean Independent / Art Film Releases 2015-2019



Source: Korea film Council (2020:64) Korean Film Industry Settlement 2019

Although the relative percentage of Korean films in the overall figure of independent/art film (showing, audience, and sales) has decreased, the actual audience number and sales have both increased which clearly shows the box office success of Korean art films.

Bong, Joon Ho's "Parasite" managed to achieve the feat of being awarded the Palm d'Or at the Cannes International Film Festival, as well as winning four Oscars and a Golden Globe Award for Best Foreign Films. Usually, films which perform well in foreign film festivals might fare well around art house cinemas but they rarely join the rank of films which attract over 10 million in audience numbers. "Parasite" managed to reach an audience of over 108 million (31st December 2019). Its formidable box office success smashed the preconceived notion that festival winning films are boring art films (KOFICE, 2020:79).

The Korean film industry has experienced many periods of difficulty. Interestingly though, these hardships have helped it to form its own competitive advantage within the global film market. The Korean film industry achieved its competitiveness within a relatively short period of time and a step toward developing a new hip identity, that of Korea as one of Asia's cultural powerhouse (Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Parc and Moon, 2013; Huang, 2017).

Many countries are becoming interested in developing their film industries as a way of promoting their national culture and increasing their soft power. With the continued global dominance of Hollywood films, policy makers are increasingly considering government subsidies as an essential tool in promoting their national film industries. However, the actual effectiveness of subsidies in promoting a film industry remains debatable.

There are very few countries maintaining a certain market share through the government film policies, such as France and Korea. We try to identify them by comparing the processes of how they have adapted policies for competitiveness, and similarities and differences in the change of regime between two countries.

In light of the above, it is highly necessary and apt that a qualitative analysis be performed eventually in the hope of serving as a benchmarking reference applied to the Korean film market today. By looking in depth at the case of France, and the historical background of its film policy making, its successes and the mistakes it has made, Korean film policy makers could draw from it the direction they need to take in steering the Korean film industry dynamics, which stand at the crossroad of a certain level of success and stagnation.

In this introductory chapter the context and purpose behind the research is presented, followed by the proposed contribution to academic work in this area, the research questions, the choice and rationale for the choice of research design, strategy and methods and the structure adopted for analysis and presentation of the argument, findings and conclusions for the dissertation as a whole.

1.1. The Purpose of the Research

Cultural policy, as a part of national policy, should cover diverse cultural territory and fit its purpose based on distinct characteristics of the era and conditions of the time. Bennett (1998:199-216) claims that cultural policy forms national identity since culture works with the purpose of contributing to the economic development of the country, complementing the market system by national support and constructing a welfare state. The political field is interconnected with the cultural field as cultural policy forms national identity, enabling the Arts to contribute to social growth and economic development (Florida, 2002; Gray, 2007; Oakley, 2009).

The objective of cultural policy is to reduce cultural inequalities in support of cultural democracy and public participation as constituent elements of national identity (Zimmer and Toepler, 1996). This makes it possible to promote cultural diversity, realise cultural welfare and contribute to the development of economic and social development through culture. Film policy, as an area of cultural policy, shares the need and purpose of cultural policy and refers to the national policy on film culture and film industry (Moreau and Peltier, 2004). The field of film needs policy support because it has both economic and cultural effects.

This study explores the historical context of film policy in France and Korea from a cultural and industry perspective, scrutinising the government policies that form and support cultural awareness. The objective of this research is to specify the ideological background of film policy in France and Korea by comparing it with the film policy in Hollywood, delving into domestic and international dynamics of cultural production (Jäckel, 2007). This is important since film industry competitiveness relies on the ways in which cultural policy at national level responds to the challenges of global competition (Cowen, 2002; Scott, 2000). The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the relationship between national film policy and competitiveness focusing on France and Korea which develop national film policies that derive from national identity while responding to the global domination of Hollywood.

1.2. Key Arguments of the Thesis

Since the 1960s and 1970s, research in cultural economics has delineated public support for the arts, conceptualising artistic work as public goods that market dynamics often fail to support (Heilbrun and Gray, 1993; Wyszomirski, 1998). International comparative research on arts policy began in the mid-1980s, and it has been gradually increased into a more analytical direction by seeking the formation of theory in the 1990s. Specifically, Kawashima (1995) notes that comparative research in the field of arts policy is insufficient. The international comparative research on arts policy defines different types of governmental support and creates a standardised theoretical structure to delineate different characteristics of arts policy in each cultural context (Kawashima, 1995; Gray, 2007). As a result, research in cultural policies requires a historical examination of the conditions in which these policies emerge as social practices (Skocpol, 1984).

Schuster (1985) conducts research into types of arts support, ranging from direct government support to indirect measures, such as tax expenditures. Specifically, Schuster (1985) sheds light on the organisational structure of public support on arts and culture, highlighting regionalisation as a key indicator of cultural policy based on eight countries which are Canada, Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. In *Patron States*, Cummings and Katz (1987) analyse thirteen countries from Europe, North America and Japan, focusing on the relationship between government and arts. Cummings and Katz (1987) compare various cases from each country linking policy to the historical and political context in order to explain the structure of public spending in the field of culture.

Through this comparison, they analyse similarities and differences between countries, and then categorise government support into four types: patron, market manipulator, regulator and impresario (Cummings and Katz, 1987). As a result, they identify that policy instruments rely on institutional structures that reflect national traditions and political trajectories which strongly influence the arts (Cummings and Katz, 1987). Moreover, the purpose of arts policy varies between countries based on the creation of cultural identity, cultural protection from external threats, socio-economic reasons, preservation of cultural heritage, as well as confidence in the fundamental value of the arts (Cummings and Katz, 1987). Interestingly,

these conditions are still expected to influence film policies nowadays, but it is uncertain how globalisation influences cultural policies and identity in each country.

In addition, Zimmer and Toepler (1996) conducted international comparative research of the welfare sector into the field of arts and culture. In particular, they analysed how welfare state models (conservatism, liberalism, social democracy) and cultural policy are associated with each other by comparing the cases of Sweden, Germany and the United States. In this study, they set the comparison items into six clauses: (1) the motives and goals of cultural policy, (2) the methodology of support and discrimination between high and popular culture, (3) the structure of cultural organisations and government, (4) the range of public support for arts and culture, (5) arts organisation's own income level, and (6) cooperation type with the private sector (Zimmer and Toepler, 1996). It is notable that cultural policies, depending on the different welfare state models are similar, rather than striking differences. In this study, they also point out that 'Cultural Democracy', one of the core values of the era of the 1970s, can no longer justify public support for arts as the discussion about economic impact and effectiveness of arts was particularly increased in the 1980s (Zimmer and Toepler, 1996). Zimmer and Toepler (1999) note that cultural policy is closely related to the historical context and power structure of each country, as illustrated by the cultural policies of France, the United States and Sweden based on the types, structures and strategies of formation and implementation of policies. They separated and described the results as a bureaucratic model in France, a unionism model in Sweden and a non-profit organisation model like third-party government in the United States. As a result, they indicated that a new systematic paradigm analysing historical and institutional factors that affect cultural policy of each country is more useful since they found that a theoretical approach focusing on market failure is not appropriate for comparative research (Zimmer and Toepler, 1996).

Mulcahy (1998) compares different types of public support to explore various supporting methods of public support focusing on France, Germany, Norway and Canada based on such information as government structure (centralised model, decentralised model, free model, social democratic model, etc.), fiscal policy and cultural policies (the level of national identity and historical context). Then, he classifies the relationship between government and arts into four types based on the level of hegemony (country's cultural identity and national identity) and the extent of central government's role. They are divided into Royalist model of patronage by the Ministry of Culture in France, Princely model of patronage by distributed

and decentralised cultural affairs in Germany, Centralised decentralisation-model which is social democratic in Norway and Arm's length arts council model which is free in Canada. They also categorised public support models based on the hegemony of national culture and the role of government into Designer state (France, national support), Benefactor State (Germany, local government support), Manager State (Norway, the right) and Enabler State (Canada, grants). Although arts policy is closely related to the history and political structure in each country, the overall direction is changing towards decentralisation, increasing the role of the private sector, while promoting regional development and serious consideration of diversity and the uniqueness of the local culture (Gray, 2007).

O'Hagan (1998) analyses the development process and rationale of policy and economic issues that takes place between states and the arts sector in order to compare and analyse governmental support for arts in Europe and the United States. Subsequently, he delves into the details about various methods of national intervention, i.e. regulation (securing freedom of arts, copyright, trade regulation, etc.); taxation (tax relief for donations, property tax exemptions, exemptions for artists' income, etc.); and direct spending (the state-owned institutions, financial aid, matching grants, new income, developing new resources, etc.).

Comparative studies so far have used a macroscopic unit of analysis, such as a country or government. In addition, they have been focused on technical and interpretive research more than scientific explanation, with more structural and systematic research than behavioural or process studies. Also, most comparative studies selected systems of arts support by the public sector and the role of government as objects of research. Nonetheless, the need for international comparative studies on arts policies is growing in terms of practical and theoretical phases. Since the phenomenon of arts policies comprised various aspects, the concerned comparative research may use multi-dimensional approaches that make it possible to use diverse units of analysis, approaches and methods. Kawashima (1995), in his research on measures to develop comparative research, proposed clarity of the issue, selection of the scope, purpose of policy, measures of policy, results of policy (efficiency and effectiveness), and comparative research into policy among countries, as the main subjects of comparative research on cultural policies. Gray (1996) also showed in his research, as fields of his major interests in comparative research, the contents of cultural policy, the process of policy implementation, policy change, cultural economics, power structures, etc.

In this study, a cross-national comparative perspective is developed to shed light on the mechanisms of policy intervention and resource' distribution in the artistic field. However, operationalising research that incorporates many countries is particularly demanding, and for this reason some studies compare institutions and outcomes based on representative country groups (Hayek, 1948, 1960, 1973, 1976, 1981; Fukuyama, 1995). Those comparative studies among countries illuminate how economic power and the progress of the market may be different depending on the legal framework, as well as on country customs and traditions. Such differences can be even more distinct when targeted countries are divided into groups according to particular characteristics.

Hayek (1948, 1960, 1973, 1976, and 1981) points out from different perspectives some fatal flaws that the government shows in manipulating policies by intervening in the market and supporting some specific industries. He brings up a problem caused by the architect model. Hayek (1960) understood that the view of the architect model, according to which the government should have a prominent role in cultural production, derives from the rationalistic way of thinking in France. His perspective provides insight about the fundamental reason that the roles of governments differ by country. In other words, he suggests that the role of the government can be determined by various factors, such as the trace of history made by each country and characteristics of the laws and social systems.

Globalisation and competition are considered components that reinforce the competitiveness of the industry by enlarging the size of the market. Smith (1776) proposed that the size of the market determines the degree of division of labour. This brings specialism and technological development to the country, which also determines the society's competitiveness. In cultural studies, cultural policies are approached critically from the perspective of cultural politics. Bennett (1998) understands cultural studies as an interdisciplinary field that diagnoses the relationship between culture and power. Cultural studies are based on the perception that the problem of cultural policies is caused by cultural values and social power formed in the overall context of the symbolic meaning of production and circulation (Baker, 2004:40-41). This approach to cultural studies can work as a significant basis for the theory to understand the contextual factors of cultural policies and the impact of cultural policies on society. On the other hand, cultural studies which are based on cultural theories are often unable to analyse the specific policy programmes and their impacts, remaining only at the abstract and conceptual level.

This study selects France and Korea in order to compare their film policy regimes. The two nations have developed defensive nationalism to protect their own cultures in the midst of the overwhelming impact of the Hollywood film industry, maintaining market share to a certain degree, based on the government's active promotion policies. By comparing the processes by which they have made policies suitable for competitiveness, the study intends to identify some similarities and differences in the change of regime between France and Korea.

Based on the analytical framework, this study takes two factors into consideration in order to make up for problems raised in other studies. First, as the framework of the institution and policy analysis among two countries, the study applied the theory of institutionalism which considers institution and policy to be significant. Since institutionalism does not address cultural areas, this study integrates theories of cultural studies to find how competitiveness is influenced by the institution and policy in cultural areas.

Many theories on institutions and policies are used in social sciences. For example, the Variety of Capitalism approach (Hall and Soskice, 2001) provides theoretical perspectives on national and industry competitiveness. However, these two do not seem appropriate for this study. The unit of analysis in this study is national, because the analytical scope of both theories are at meso-level; they also possess weaknesses in that they did not analyse the scope, degree, policies or the method of governmental intervention in the context of a market-government relationship in their respective capitalist economies, and neither have they been previously applied to the cultural sector.

Theoretically, this research relies on the 'institutional logics perspective' to analyse film policies in France and Korea (Thornton et al., 2012). Institutional logics are defined as "the socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804). In particular, Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) investigate the artistic field, identifying a dual and hybrid logic that relies on both aesthetics and efficiency. Consequently, film policies in France and Korea are analysed in terms of aesthetic logics that delineate an emphasis on art films as a means of differentiation from mainstream Hollywood, and efficiency logics which emphasise cultural policies that improve film industry competitiveness and achievement of non-art related goals (Gray, 2007).

1.3. Research Questions

Film policy aims to improve the quality of films, while promoting the national film industry. At the same time, its top priority on policy tasks is to minimise as much as possible the impact of American films on the domestic market (Korea Film Council, 2000:29). In terms of film industry competitiveness, the French government's film policy is divided into two classes: (1) primarily supports for securing the quantitative reproduction of French film to strengthen the film industry; and (2) supports for boosting the quality level to enhance art film creativity (Farchy, 1999:174).

Korean film promotion policy has come down on the side of direct supports like enhancing film production motivation subsidising production costs and distribution facilities as well as indirect governmental supports such as manpower training, backing for film archive activities, modernising basic facilities required for production and expanding general supports. However, South Korean film policy has been focused on stable fundraising for film production. This gives rise to the second research question:

Q1: In what ways have film policies in France and Korea responded to the global domination of Hollywood?

The film market continues to grow due to the improvement in the quantity and quality of films (Owen and Wildman, 1992). The biggest strategic driver for promoting internationalisation of the film industry is securing additional profits in the international market. Then, it pursues diversification/expansion of the market in order to increase competitiveness through economies of scale related to market size (Owen and Wildman, 1992).

French government support for film industry internationalisation emphasis on dissemination and spread of French culture through French film and is based on supporting and encouraging international co-production and financial support for the international distribution of French film, development of an overseas film market, improvement in export through organisations in charge of film, and enactment of laws and regulations for film related to the European Union (EU) and active participation in the support system for European films.

In the late 1990s, the South Korean government proposed 'Globalisation of the Ethnic Culture' as a policy ideology by expanding the fields of cultural policy into cultural industries

and, as a result, specific and substantial support was followed by the establishment of international competitiveness and cultural identity of cultural industries. There are examples of support for international film festivals, hosting a Korean film week event overseas, and encouraging the government's export promotion as well as co-production. Thus, the following question is raised:

Q2: In what ways does government policy affect internationalisation of the film industry in France and Korea?

The supporting policy for film differentiation is connected to quality film/art film /national film, which reflects the art forms and life of its homeland, and eventually focusing on standing national films that contain one's own cultural identity (The Korean Cultural Policy Institute, 2001:44).

Nevertheless, there is no universal solution regarding national support systems and basic orientation of cultural policy toward diversity of film culture (art films, independent films, non-commercial use other films). In France, the principle of the public support system is to maintain its diversity, and it has two objectives. In particular, the French government supports: (1) new directors in terms of training talented individuals to make film; and (2) many film studios that they can make a greater variety of films. In other words, its aim is to prevent artistic and economic concentration by maintaining diversity of film directors and companies as they support emerging directors, film producers and actors, while ensuring fair competition among manufacturers.

Support for art film by Korean government aims to inspire writer consciousness and creative will, attempt a variety of film genres, expand the base of film audiences and induce development and activation of work that can compete in distinguished international film festivals by providing the soil of quality improvement and international competitiveness reinforcement and seeking support for cinematic quality. Unfortunately, however, the current institution for making art film only supports production and development of feature films and there is no policy of financial support for distribution and screening. The only indirect financial support system is tax benefits for exclusive theatres for art films. The third question therefore asks:

Q3: In what ways does government policy affect the cultural identity of national films in France and Korea?

French cultural policy has included culture as an important part of the national project with an emphasis on the public concern for culture. The French government recognises art and mainstream films as parts of its own culture, implementing a policy that actively supports and disseminates both. Specifically, the French film policy differs from the Korean approach, which is mainly focused on the film market that is pursuing the economic impact of cultural industries. Invariably pursued principles of French cultural policy based on the historical formation process can be called cultural diversity, cultural democracy and protection and expansion of French values (Moreau and Peltier, 2004). Although efficiency logic has been strengthened during the process of policy change in the French film industry, the aesthetic logic aims to foster a diverse and rich film culture with the target of stabilising and promoting the film industry (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005).

Korean film has been actively supported and protected under the great proposition by government for cultural values and diversity, which deliberately contradicts Hollywood, but the efficiency logic of this policy was transformed during the 1990s focusing more on market competitiveness as an effect of neo-liberalism (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Kang, 2007:28). Since then, the basic principles of national film policy have been consistently operated within the agenda of fostering the international competitiveness of the industry, while shaping an aesthetic logic that supports the development of highly artistic Korean films, marketing of Korean films and laying the foundations for international expansion (Choi, et. al., 1995:189-195). Since the 1990s, neo-liberalism in earnest of Korean film industry fully incorporated film into the market under the trend of globalisation and it was transformed into a best interests cultural industries. This leads to the fourth question:

Q4: What are the key differences between France and Korea in the ways by which (and the outcomes of which) government policy affects cultural identity and internationalisation?

1.4. Methodology

The aim of this study is to understand national film policy in France and Korea by considering the four research questions above. Given the characteristics of the research questions in this study a comparative analysis was performed to identify key determinants of

internalisation and film industry competitiveness as well as comparatively analysing similar or different growth patterns for cultural development between France and Korea. The analysis was performed with a historical perspective which provided longitudinal depth. The comparative historical approach provided an empirical in-depth description of policy and institutional change towards cultural development in France and Korea' contexts (Skocpol and Somers, 1980).

The basic research strategy of this study relies on a comparative analysis combined with a historical perspective. Data analysis is based on a comparative historical analysis in institutionalism and combined with an empirical investigation using different sources of secondary data to validate analytical frameworks and to examine the research questions proposed in this study.

Korea and France both share the characteristics of an Architect State (Dubois, 2014:6; Hong, 2006:30-34). An architect state is a state where centralised ministries would often adopt an interventionist role. France and Korea are selected because the two countries share a considerable number of common features with regard to government policy which protects cultural identity and economic structure although the history and performance of the film industry in France and Korea is rather dissimilar. France and Korea are categorised as dirigiste economies (Orru, 1997) or administrative economies (Cohen, 1995), having experienced much more drastic institutional change than corporatist countries such as Germany or Japan (Culpepper, 2005). The common characteristics of France and Korea are readily observable in such areas as political economic tradition (Orru, 1997) and industrial organisation (Guillén, 2004); state intervention, dominance of elite networks and big business groups (Lee and Yoo, 2007). The two countries also show strong nationhood (Nelson, 1992), while lacking corporatist arrangements or social pacts. Their corporate governance systems are characterised by pyramidal ownership structures and family control of large business groups (Smith, 2004; Lee and Yoo, 2007:456-457). As will be explained further in the methodology chapter, this thesis will address the questions by using the positive comparison method, by studying cases with similar national characteristics, followed by a negative comparison identifying different paths and outcomes between France and Korea.

The very complex and heterogeneous natures of institutions in Korea and France make it difficult for the insights and concepts from the research findings to be generalisable, and so the study will use descriptive methodology and a quantitative research method.

1.5. The Structure of the Thesis

Cultural policy regimes reflect the histories of nation and state building, the institutional configurations and the modes of government specific to each country, and also the patterns of the national cultural fields, which is their socio-economic structure, their internal hierarchies and the conceptions of the arts and culture that prevail within them. The respective importance of heritage and cultural industries, the polycentric or centralised organisation of the arts, the social distribution of tastes and cultural participation are the evaluative factors that shape specific national cultural policies which, in turn, impact them (Dubois, 2014:2).

The reasons for government support of culture are never exactly the same. Cumming and Katz (1987:350-368) argue that nations engage in the support of culture to create or consolidate identity, for cultural protection in the face of external threats, for social and economic reasons, for the preservation of cultural heritage, as well as in support of their belief in the intrinsic merit of the arts. Though not an exhaustive description of the tools of cultural policy in each country, this study lays out in broad strokes the evolution of and underlying principles governing cultural policies in both France and Korea, as well as something of their scope and thrust. Given the particular focus on film policy in this text, this thesis has paid significant attention to the policy tools and strategies that address support for the film industry. The eight chapters of the thesis are outlined as follows:

Chapter One, Introduction, describes the purpose behind the research presented in the dissertation, the research questions, the choice and rationale for the choice of research design and the structure adopted for analysis and presentation of the argument, findings and conclusions for the dissertation as a whole.

Chapter Two, Literature Review, discusses theoretical approaches of cultural policy discourse and national film policy, cultural policy studies, and institutional logics in the film industry. The first sections are government policies and institutions supporting national film industries. In the following section, we describe the two main bodies of literature that comprise the basis for theoretical framework.

Chapter Three, Theoretical Framework, presents an alternative approach to the rational institution theory and cultural policy studies perspective. Consideration of both cultural values and economic characteristics in an economy provides pervasive foundations for the institutional complementarities approach in the comparative analysis chapters of this study.

Chapter Four, Methodology, explains the methodological approach used in this research. The first section shows the basic research design and the second section addresses the primary research strategy of this thesis, namely comparative analysis using a historical perspective. The third section discusses the rationale for choosing the case countries of France and Korea. In the fourth section, the strategy for data analysis is discussed.

Chapter Five, State Institutions and Cultural Policy in France and Korea, reviews the historical background of cultural policy and film policy and then reviews a brief outline of historical characteristics of the two countries' policies.

Chapter Six, National Intervention for Internationalisation of Art Films in France and Korea, show how the development of film and its reparative institutions and the notions of legitimacy, identity and forms of film practice influence the film sector in two countries.

Chapter Seven, Cultural Identity of National Films in France and Korea, explores the historical background of national film policy and cultural identity in the two countries. After a brief outline of historical characteristics of national film policy in France and Korea, this study evaluates the effectiveness of their film policy and institutional framework. This chapter provides the historical and contextual analysis of specific institutional arrangements and policy changes in film industry structure.

Chapter Eight, Conclusion, provides a summary of key arguments in the findings and conclusion of the analysis, and further research directions of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on theoretical approaches to cultural policy discourse and national film policy, and institutional logics in the film industry (Jourdan, 2011). The first section describes the main strands of government policies and institutions supporting national film industries in other countries outside the United States. The subjects discussed are state-supported film policy in terms of globalisation and national film policy to understand the relationships between Hollywood power and issues of protectionist policies in other small to mid-sized cultural industries. In the following two sections are cultural policy studies and institutional logics in the film industry. We critically examine the mechanisms used to justify, effect or rationalise institutional change arising from attempts to introduce new or alternative institutional logics. This chapter also clarifies gaps in the current bodies of literature, specifically in the implementation and governance of cultural policy studies and their historical contingency and the role of individual cultural and social backgrounds in interpreting and mediating between insurgent and existing logics.

2.2. Cultural policy: State-Supported Film Policy

Culture is typically described in political discourse as the “arts.” A ministry of culture is an administrative agency responsible for public support of artistic activities (Williams, 1977:80). “Stated most simply, public policy is the sum of government activities, whether pursued directly or through agents, as those activities have influence on the lives of citizens” (Peters, 1996: 4).

The concept of cultural policy is historically established when a country or public institution introduces support and intervenes in the cultural and artistic sector. With the exception of France, it was well into the late 1960s when culture-related organisations were formed and public financial support for cultural activities became a sustained supply in both Europe and the US, and the origin for the practice of cultural policy can be traced to the basic rights with respect to culture, in other words, recognition of rights within the area of culture. It is

common to divide cultural rights into rights with respect to culture and cultural law formed to translate such rights into practice, and this idea was first mentioned in the constitution of the 4th Republic of France which subsequently provided the basis for other modern democratic nations (Kyouto, 2004:116-117).

As the concept of cultural rights is understood as part of a society (Kim, Y., 1988:21), developed nations went from categorising culture as a separate independent area of the economy to regarding all cultural phenomena as economic and social and all economic and social phenomena as cultural phenomena. As a result, culture and society are one indivisible body, which in turn gives rise to government intervention that takes the form of cultural policy. Each country possesses its own parameters with regards cultural policy including its target, scale, method of operation and degree of intervention and consequently a diverse concept of cultural policy has existed according to each academic definition. Globerman (2003) argues that cultural policy is the government's act of making the decision to prioritise the support of the arts by public resources. In order to increase national competitiveness cultural policies embrace various methods including the direct support for artistic and creative activities, the preservation and promotion of traditional culture, and the establishment of cultural identity which is a malleable construct that transforms over time (Globerman, 2003).

2.2.1. The Objective of Cultural Policy

Since the Second World War the public has gradually engaged more with culture, and thus the cultural policy of each nation has included the protection of traditional culture and pure art and minority cultural producers through rules and regulations, as well as the establishment of organisation and expansion of infrastructure by establishing human resources, finance, facilities, and an administrative system. However, after the second half of the twentieth century, mainly due to information and communication technologies (ICT) and globalisation, cultural policy underpins the standardisation of culture, the protection and promotion of regional culture, as well as the popularisation and industrialisation of culture according to economic principles and improvement of cultural welfare of cultural consumers (Kim, Y., et. al., 2003:12-13).

Oliver Bennet (1995:199-216) argues that cultural policies rely on the following five principles: the establishment of the nation's status, economic importance, revision of the

cultural market, reformation of its people, re-building and establishment of the welfare state after the war. The establishment of a nation's status aims is symbolic using culture to form the identity and inspire pride in its people. Reformation of cultural market corresponds to recognition of the need to revise the existing system which relies on a small number of specific supporters which was the remnant of the nineteenth century European feudal system whereby the ruling class possesses both the money and the regional ruling power through industrial and civil revolution and the disappearance of such ruling class. As a result, regional independent bodies became involved in the support of culture in Europe. In terms of economic factors, it is argued that there is an economic benefit to the cultural intervention of a nation, and especially in the case of regional independent bodies, since festivals or cultural events can attract many tourists to contribute to the development of the regional economy.

Reformation of the people refers to the highlighting of the need for cultural policy to educate people classified as working class and commoners which have come to represent comparatively lower and uneducated people compared to the middle class following the separation of the two classes through the industrial revolution of the 19th century. Through the establishment of art galleries and museums one could hope to achieve the education of the workers and the commoners to realise the importance of culture and nurture them into becoming a superior workforce. Lastly, restoration and establishment of a welfare state corresponds to the realisation that the quality of life of the whole society needs to be improved, and cultural policy needs to reflect this in its objective.

In general, cultural policy consists of preservation and development of traditional culture including cultural heritage, the creation and promotion of the arts, the improvement of the quality of cultural life of the people, the creation of socio-economic value for culture based on the historical background, the political, legal and socio-economic factors, as well as the gradual internationalisation of culture (Im, H., 2003:57). Korean academics also include the improvement of cultural welfare, the development of culture and arts, the development of regional culture and the improvement of the creativity of its people as main objectives of cultural policy (Jung, H., 2004:45).

2.2.2. Typologies of Cultural Policies

Cultural policy can be classified into two categories – a liberal form and a constructive form, depending on the degree of intervention. It can then be sub-classified into central

government-led policy such as in the case of France and Korea, independent regional body-led form as in Germany, private organisation-led form in the case of the US, and finally a composite form in the case of the United Kingdom (Kim, B., 2003:30-37).

The liberal form of cultural policy regards all cultural phenomena as self-sustainable and autonomous. In this form, an explicit cultural policy is disfavoured and when a cultural need arises, a spontaneous regulator which predicts the demand and the controls the supply would appear. A specific government policy intervention is therefore unnecessary because the structure of culture corresponding to economic development establishes itself in a spontaneous manner. In this case, government intervention is minimal and limited to an administrative role that assures a natural formation of demand and supply. The US is a representative example of a country which employs such a form of cultural policy in that they do not operate an independent administrative department in charge of cultural policy but leave this role to private organisations such as the National Endowment for the Arts which promotes arts and culture at a federal level.

The constructive form of cultural policy refers to the government taking control over all cultural phenomena and its autonomous application as well as setting cultural targets through direct intervention by means of regulations and facilities. Therefore, under constructive cultural policy a strong facility becomes necessary. France is the representative example of this form of cultural policy. Traditionally under the central government, the French Ministry of Culture (currently Ministry of Culture and Communication) has carried out the cultural exception policy of rejecting globalisation, market standardisation and commercialisation of culture against the standardisation and conformation centred on American culture.

In the case of Korea, although the development of cultural policy was based on the example of constructive cultural policy such as that of the French model, the development policy was unilaterally imitated from an overtly political objective of the government. In particular, during the 1970s an archetypal cultural policy intensified and the area of culture and art became dependent on economic growth, achieving a quantitative expansion. In the midst of this, Korean cultural policy became focused on legitimation or integration within the system and therefore garnered criticism that it weakened the true binding of culture to society (Kim, Y., 1988:27).

In the way cultural policy is developed there is hardly another country other than the US which adopts a liberal form, and in most countries the cultural intervention of the government is taken simply as an essential prerequisite. The objective of the constructive form of cultural policy rests on the preservation of traditional culture and its development in a sustainable and self-regulating strategy. In the next chapter we compare the cultural policy practiced in France led by a strong central government and that of Korea, the historical development, main policies and ideals. We compare the film policy as an expression of a political ideal in both countries and in particular, hope to examine the film support policy for the promotion of diversification of culture.

2.3. State Supported National Film Policy: Protection and Resistance

The cultural argument considers a national film industry a vital means for indigenous cultural expression. A national film industry plays the role of providing the soil upon which local filmmakers can communicate the unique ideas, beliefs, narratives, myths, values, practices, costumes, environments and histories of a country. Similarly, film, as a mass medium of communication, provides the national audience with an opportunity to view those elements that are part of their shared cultural experience. As such, many national governments have argued that support of their national film industries is necessary as a means to protect the expressions of national culture and identity from the dominant forces of Hollywood media.

The industrial argument hopes to address the commercial and industrial dimensions of filmmaking. Film industries in many capitalist countries are profit-making enterprises. Capital is invested in the development and production of films with the expectation that the final product will generate enough revenue to achieve a net profit for the investors and tax income for state coffers. Governments are often interested in supporting the national film industry believing it can be a source of revenue and employment, contributing to the overall national economy.

These two arguments have led to considerable debate regarding the function of national cinema and the objectives of government support for national film industries. Both approaches, though, consider government action a necessary response to the perceived threat to the national culture or economy. Consequently, government support for the national film industry is a common practice in many nations. Generally, the state, employing some

variation of these two key arguments, will conclude that its national film industry is important enough to call for state involvement. The policies established will often be the product of negotiation between the opposing elements of the two arguments.

The notion of film is as “social practice” for filmmakers and audiences (Turner, 1993b:7). Through the narratives, formal representations, and character behaviours in film, systems of meaning and interpretations of the culture can be exchanged and negotiated. Therefore, dominant social groups are often concerned that cinematic representations do not challenge or conflict with their political or economic interests. To gain a degree of control over film representations, these dominant social groups, through the state, are frequently involved in supporting and regulating film production. Moran (1996:7) observes that, “the general pattern is evident: national governments across the world in recent times have in varying degrees been involved in promoting and supporting their national film production industries.”

Definitions and Functions of National Film

In many countries outside the United States, there are government-funded programmes supporting the production of national film. Johnson (1996:133) suggests that direct government support of a national cinema “is the rule rather than the exception.” Identifying national film can be viewed as part of the broader social struggle for meaning.

As such, the concept is part of the social discourse from which a dominant ideology emerges. The state and dominant social groups can often influence the meanings defining national cinemas so that they may closely comply with their political, economic and cultural interests. However, other social groups may have other distinct meanings of national cinema that conflict and challenge the state. Higson (1989) suggests that the process of identifying a national cinema is similar to the strategies used to establish dominant ideologies. Dominant ideologies are presented as singular, naturalised, and “taken for granted” interpretations of reality.

Alternative perspectives from minority social groups are at the same time minimised. Thus, Higson (1989:37) notes, identifying national film, is first of all to specify a coherence and a unity; it is to proclaim a unique identity and a stable set of meanings. The process of identification is thus invariably a hegemonising, mythologising process, involving both the production and assignation of a particular set of meanings, and the attempt to contain, or

prevent the potential proliferation of other meanings. In this sense, the identification of a national cinema entails the confrontation of different interpretations of the national ideology. States will favour a select set of images and representations that can cinematically express their objectives, while diminishing alternative or challenging interpretations. Thus, Higson adds, “histories of national cinema can only therefore really be understood as histories of crisis and conflict, or resistance and negotiation” (Higson, 1989:37). In this confrontation, dominant social groups will attempt to foreground the interpretations of a national cinema that will be popularly accepted while concurrently appropriating or weakening the relevance of interpretations offered by other groups.

Modern state institutions play a role in steering the ideological confrontation in the direction favouring dominant social groups. Higson (1989:44) notes that it is, of course, the function of institutions - and in this case national cinema - to pull together diverse and contradictory discourses, to articulate a contradictory unity, to play a part in the hegemonic process of achieving consensus, and containing difference and contradiction.

These state institutions can ensure that the defining terms of national cinema that are publicly accepted as normal are ones that are closely aligned with the interests of the dominant social powers. However, despite the efforts of the state institutions to achieve a single set of meanings to define the national cinema, alternative interpretations exist and continue to contribute to the discourse. Moran (1996:10) notes that, “there is no such thing as a ‘national cinema’ if the phrase is used to designate a single, unitary object. National populations are marked by a multiplicity of cultural communities to which individuals belong in varying degrees.” Thus, national cinemas will be defined by the on-going confrontation between the cinematic goals and objectives of a diverse and complex national population and of the interests of the state and dominant social powers.

Jacka (1993:116) observes that, “in spite of the breakdown of national boundaries caused by capitalism in its present phase, economies are still administered along national lines, even when the administration is tightly constrained by transnational forces.” National governments retain significant influence in supporting the political, economic and cultural interests of the nation’s dominant social groups. National institutions continue to determine the films that are supported and produced with government aid as well as those foreign films that are allowed to enter the nation. Crofts (1998:389) notes that, “it is still state policies and legislation or

lack of them which substantially regulate and control film subsidies, tariff constraints, industrial assistance, copyright and licensing arrangements, censorship, training institutions, and so on.” Elsewhere, Crofts (1993:62) argues that, “it would be foolhardy to underestimate the continuing power of the nation-state.” Indeed, it is the perceived threats to national interests and cultural identities that emerge from the global media environment that empowers the state in defining the national cinema.

The various functions of national cinema outlined by scholars can be grouped into four general categories. These are (1) to serve as an alternative to the dominant Hollywood cinema; (2) to create and sustain national unity and specificity; (3) to project a distinct national identity in the international arena; and (4) to challenge a monolithic conception of national identity by exploring the tensions and fragmentation in society. National cinema serves both sociological and aesthetic purposes, both internal and external functions. Through power, vertical integration and skilful co-opting of alternative aesthetic and generic codes, Hollywood has effectively crippled the film industries of many Western nations. As a result, many national cinemas are only poor imitations of Hollywood. In his taxonomy of national cinemas, Crofts (2009:56) has a category labelled “Imitating Hollywood”, in which he suggests that Britain, Canada, and Australia, in particular, have attempted to “beat Hollywood at its own game” and that their imitations have failed. In a later article, he has renamed this category “other entertainment cinemas”.

Scholars have also suggested that national cinema plays an important role in creating national identity. According to Jameson, national cinema helps to construct the unity of the nation and the subjectivity of its citizens.

Hollywood's Global Dominance

National film policies are often established as a means to protect national films and film industries from forces beyond national borders. The global media industry, specifically that originating in the Hollywood production infrastructure, is presented as dangerous to national economic and cultural interests. Hollywood is frequently perceived as a threatening other to justify state involvement in the film industry. Higson (1989:37) notes that the concept of national cinema has almost invariably been mobilised as a strategy of cultural and economic resistance; a means of asserting national autonomy in the face of Hollywood's international

domination. The images, values and behaviours often represented in Hollywood films, the state argues, are seen as conflicting with those aligned with the national and cultural identity. In addition, because the fundamental power of the Hollywood industry is located in its ability to distribute films globally, national film industries are often economically or infrastructurally incapable of producing and distributing films on the national and international scale similar to Hollywood. Thus, in many nations, Hollywood produced films are more available and attended by national audiences than those produced within the state. Moran (1996:7) notes that the Hollywood film industry has been and continues to be the dominant film industry in world terms. The presence and influence of the Hollywood film industry will frequently be an inescapable force in the development of national film policies.

Hollywood's global dominance in film dates from the First World War. Prior to the war, United States films were the weaker international competitors to the French film industry. However, Thompson (1985:1) explains, the war significantly diminished French film production, thus, "the resultant gap in supplies to film-consuming countries allowed American exporters to step in." United States' film exports were expanded not only in Europe, but throughout the world. While European film producing countries were mired in military struggle, the US was also able to establish and fortify distribution networks to Asia, Africa, Australia, Canada and Latin America. These regions were eager to supplant the loss of European film imports.

This opportune global expansion lifted the US film industry to a position of world dominance that continues to the present. Thompson (1985:91) notes that, "the key to the USA's continued hegemony after the war lies in the fact that the film industry ceased to focus so exclusively on Europe, both as a market and as a point of world distribution." Following the war, a large portion of US film exports was again sent to Europe. The US film industry was by that point in a much stronger industrial position than those of the rebuilding European nations. The US film industry was able to build on this advantage and enhance its dominance in subsequent years. Following the Second World War and continuing through the 1950s, international distribution, in particular to Europe, became more important to Hollywood. The peak year for film attendance in the United States was 1946 with over four billion admissions (Stevens, 2001). However, the introduction of television in the United States, along with the broad movement of the population away from urban centres, resulted in a decline in film attendance. Consequently, US film companies increasingly placed greater significance on

international markets and international audiences to compensate for domestic losses. Lev (1993:17) explains that, “European markets became a necessity, not a luxury, to American film companies in the 1950s, because the American audience for motion pictures was rapidly shrinking”. In the 1980s, the Hollywood film industry further expanded its participation globally. The industry exercised its existing global dominance to capitalise on changes in media technologies and regulatory structures. Balio (1996:25) suggests that Hollywood’s expansion at this time “was a result of the upgrading of motion picture theatres, the emancipation of state-controlled broadcasting, the spread of cable and satellite services, and the pent-up demand for entertainment of all types.”

With this expansion, Hollywood was able to extend its power and control over the international film industry. Balio explains that Hollywood responded to the changing media environment by partnering and forming alliances with other media producers and distributors, such as the merger between Warner Communications and Time, Inc. Additionally, Hollywood became more aggressive in acquiring films to distribute through their expanded network. US film companies would strike exclusive contracts with independent film companies to produce material for the larger media companies. Finally, Hollywood sought out international sources of financing to distribute the risks and debt load that are characteristic features of film production.

When addressing and responding to the global enterprise of the Hollywood film production industry, it is important to recognise that Hollywood can decreasingly be identified as a distinctly United States’ entity. Rather, through growing cooperation between national film industries throughout the world and Hollywood linking film financing, production facilities and talent, the reach of the Hollywood industry has expanded globally. It is increasingly difficult for national film industries to separate themselves from Hollywood. Moran (1996:7) suggests that “Hollywood is no longer out there, beyond their national border, but is instead very much a component of their own national cinema.” This merging of national film industries with Hollywood can influence decisions regarding what films are produced and shown throughout the world. In addition, the global distribution of US films and the participation of Hollywood in national film productions can also shape the manner in which narratives are represented in national films. The methods of cinematic representation that are utilised by many Hollywood films have been “naturalised” and established as the standard mode of communication in feature films internationally. Thompson (1985:ix) notes that, from

the mid-teens to the present, with no end in sight - a large number of films screened in most countries have been of one type: the classical Hollywood narrative film in continuity style. As a result, most other styles have generally been seen as alternatives to this style. Thus, Hollywood films, their means of communication and their representations of ideological concepts are significant elements within the traditions and consciousnesses of film cultures throughout the world.

State Policies of Protection and Resistance

As Crofts' taxonomy outlines, there are a number of ways in which national film production can respond to Hollywood's grip on the international film industry. Though Hollywood has a dominant presence globally, indigenous film industries have been established in many countries and regions throughout the world. However, as was also indicated above, direct government support and protection of these national film industries are also common. Moran (1996:4) observes, "the state is everywhere concerned with cinema." The state will often step in to provide aid when it is determined that the existence of national film production is in danger.

Linking indigenous film production with broader national economic and cultural interests, the state will establish film support programmes. Frequently, the threat to the film industry is presented by the state as emanating from beyond national borders, most frequently from the Hollywood industry. Higson (1989:43) argues that the state intervenes only when there is a felt fear of the potential power of a foreign cinema, and particularly when the products - and therefore the ideologies and values - of a foreign cinema are widely circulated within a nation-state, and assumed to be having a detrimental effect on that nation-state's economy.

Generally, two fundamental arguments are given to justify state's action to support a national film industry, one cultural and the other industrial. The cultural argument considers a national film industry as a means for indigenous cultural expression. A national film industry is seen as a vehicle for local filmmakers to communicate the unique ideas, beliefs, narratives, myths, values, practices, costumes, environment and history of a country. Similarly, film, as a mass medium, provides the national audience with an opportunity to view those elements that are part of their shared cultural and national identities. In this sense, film is seen as playing an important part in the social creation of meaning. The cultural argument for state film support,

however, suggests that these cultural functions of film are being threatened by the proliferation of films from outside the country, particularly those originating in Hollywood. Native images and narratives in film will be weakened or buried by the overwhelming presence of foreign films and their representations of foreign ideologies. State support is necessary, therefore, in order to maintain a national film industry to produce indigenous cultural representations. Turner (1993b:137) notes that, “film does serve important cultural functions and those countries which have set up their own industries aim at recovering some control over these functions”.

The second fundamental argument behind state assistance addresses the commercial and industrial dimensions of filmmaking. Moran (1996:1) suggests that, “the material existence of a film is a prior, necessary condition to its capacity to engender any ideological effects. In other words, before film can be considered as a cultural object, it must first be conceived as an industry.” As a commercial enterprise, national film industries provide employment for large numbers of people, generate revenue through national and international distribution, and attract foreign investment into the country. A thriving national film industry can be a significant component in the broader national economy. This potential economic contribution for film production within a country has given prominence to its industrial framing.

Nowell-Smith (1998:6) argues that, “the cinema is an industry through and through. The determining role of industrial factors has meant that national cinemas have always been principally defined economically, as the product of national industries, produced with national resources, and traded with national currency.” Therefore, national film industries can be seen as a valuable component of the national economic base.

However, national film industries are often placed in a position of competition with the global Hollywood industry. With Hollywood’s established international control over the paths of distribution and exhibition, many national industries experience difficulty developing independently. Thus, the state often steps in to provide economic protection and support to their national industries. Industrial arguments make the case that the state should be involved in national film because of the industry’s economic contribution. Hill (1992:10) explains that the argument “lays stress upon the value of a national film industry to the national economy in terms of the creation of jobs, attraction of overseas investment, export earnings and general knock-on effects for the service industries and tourism.” Without state support and protection,

national film industries would have difficulty surviving. Filmmaking can often be a high cost operation. Even low budget film productions incur the costs of talent, crews, travel, sets, costumes, production equipment, security, and lab processing.

In many countries, particularly those with small populations, it is difficult for filmmakers to recover those costs once the film is complete. For instance, Johnson (1996:131) explains the dilemma in Latin America: “unable to depend even on home markets for a return on investment, and lacking access to significant ancillary markets, unprotected Latin America film industries have lacked the capital necessary to sustain continuous production on a large scale.” Infrequent productions in smaller countries can also further restrain development of a national film industry by inhibiting private financial support. McIntyre (1994:92) describes the situation in Scotland, where there are not enough national film productions to draw private investor interest. He notes that, “there are simply inadequate numbers of projects which are structured, as far as financial institutions are concerned, so as to have sufficient earning potential to cover their costs.” Recognising that the continued existence of the national film industry, and thus its cultural and economic functions, may be under threat, governments will often respond by establishing policies and institutions to protect and support indigenous film production.

Dermody and Jacka (1987:16) note that, “a film industry constantly slides into ‘culture’ - a cultural industry. Circuits of money and circuits of meaning are deeply involved with each other in film production.” The social components and relationships that characterise national industries and businesses are also representative of the national cultural identity. Elsewhere, Jacka (1993) observes that the employment issues of the commercial argument are also associated with the cultural argument. She notes that the very existence of the professions covered by the various unions (the actors, writers, directors, designer, photographers, etc.) depend on the prior existence of the various forms of cultural production, and their expansions depends on the growth of the various cultural forms (Jacka, 1993:116).

The development of a national film industry is thus a process of interpreting, exchanging, negotiating and sharing the elements of these two fundamental discourses. The industry emerges from social discourses among the range of political, economic and cultural interests. However, when governments are involved with national film support, the defining terms of the industry may be situated within a framework that can more closely represent the interests

of the state and the dominant social powers rather than the indigenous filmmaking community.

2.4. Policy Instruments for State Film Support

The approach that governments take to protect and support the national film industry can take a number of forms. Schnitman (1984) makes a distinction between restrictive, protective and comprehensive state policies to protect indigenous filmmaking. Restrictive state policies are intended to shield the national film industry from the perceived invasion of films from outside national borders. These policies would include quotas for film imports and exhibition, high tariffs and custom duties.

Film quotas can take the form of screen quotas and foreign films quotas. Screen quota policies will designate a portion of the exhibitor's screen time that must be dedicated to indigenous films. The foreign films quotas, though, establish a limit on the number of foreign films that are permitted to enter the country annually. Johnson (1996:135) suggests that restrictive state policies are "designed to give local industries some breathing room by impeding a complete takeover of the local markets by foreign concerns." However, he also notes that screen quotas are not always effective in making national films part of the social practice. Though film exhibitors may be required to show a set number of national films, it does not mean that there will be audiences that will want to view the films. Johnson explains that governments "cannot legislate compulsory attendance by a public long conditioned by the products of Hollywood" (Johnson, 1996:136). If the national films are not attractive to the public, they may choose not to attend the films. Another weakness of screen quotas, Johnson argues, is that they are difficult to enforce since film exhibitors often consider the requirements a detrimental government imposition on their businesses. They argue that screen quotas shift the financial risks of the filmmakers onto their businesses. Consequently, exhibitors will often take advantage of loopholes in the government policy to bypass the quotas. Other restrictive measures, such as import quotas, tariffs and custom duties may have been more effective in creating a space for national film. However, those measures have been weakened through the overall growth of international trade and the gradual dismantling of national trade restrictions throughout the world.

Supportive state policies, in contrast to restrictive policies, provide financial aid directly to the filmmakers. This assistance can take the form of loans, grants, prizes, tax credits and technical training. The function of these supportive programs is to relieve some or all of the financial burdens that may be inhibiting the establishment of an indigenous film industry. Filmmakers are better able to carry on with national productions with the financial support provided by the government (Murschetz, Teichmann, and Karmasin, 2018).

Finney (1996), looking at Europe, outlines six government support mechanisms that are generally used to assist national film productions. These mechanisms, which are also used in other countries throughout the world, include subsidy programmes, such as soft, culture-oriented subsidies, selective aid and automatic aid; loans, which take in regional, economic loans and tough, repayable-loans; and finally tax incentives. Soft, cultural-oriented subsidies provide grants for films made in smaller countries where language limitations and a small population often limit the chances of commercial success. The objective of this kind of support is to develop new and emerging national voices in film. A similar kind of assistance, referred to as selective aid, also focuses on developing new filmmaking talent by providing inexperienced directors with the funding to produce initial projects. Both types of state funding base their selection on culturally oriented projects and rarely does the government expect the money to be recouped. A more common type of state subsidy Finney refers to as automatic support. Best illustrated by the French film support system, this funding mechanism places a levy on all theatre revenues for films shown in the country, including foreign as well as national films. The funds' collected in a year through this levy are then redistributed to national filmmakers proportional to the share their films gathered of the total revenue from all films shown that year. This automatic support can then be used to pay off outstanding expenses from the productions or invest in future films.

The above demonstrates that there are a number of ways, representing Schnitman's (1984) restrictive and supportive protection policies, that the state is involved in national as well as international film production. Rarely, however, do states select a singular approach for protecting and supporting the national film industry. Instead, Schnitman suggests that states can also establish a comprehensive state policy to assist the film industry. In this strategy, states will utilise both restrictive policies to protect national filmmakers from foreign domination while also employing supportive policies to encourage the indigenous industry's development and growth. The balance between restrictive and protective policies, and the

specific programs implemented will be unique for each nation. The political, cultural and economic goals of the state and the dominant social powers, the available financial resources, and institutional traditions will play a large part in determining the structure of the comprehensive state policy. In addition, film support programmes in other countries and regions can influence national approaches for assistance. The effectiveness of policies and institutions in foreign nations can provide models to emulate or reject in establishing state film support schemes. Thus, countries may observe the results and mimic the state lending programmes of the Australian Film Commission, the French tax shelters for film investments, or the regional production subsidies of Germany. Consequently, specific government programs backing indigenous film often change and restructure adapting to the shifting national and international political, economic, and cultural contexts.

In the following section, we describe the main bodies of literature that comprise the basis for theoretical framework.

2.5. Institutional Logics

Culture is no longer a homogeneous set of characteristics that defines an institution or organisation, but rather can vary as an agent or individual changes location within the institution or order and applies highly personal forms of decision making to rationalise his or her position and role in that order (Friedland and Alford 1991:242). This insight implies that economic rationales are not the only determinants of change and subsequent research has shifted focus slightly to encompass additionally political, cultural and ecological determinants of such shifts (Thornton, 2002). Lounsbury and Glynn (2001) also discuss the use of symbolic language to justify and then legitimate the activities of entrepreneurs such that they attract additional resources for their ventures.

Institutionalists have been studying collective levels of analysis that examine the ways that wider and non-intuitive orders of social structure take shape and have an impact on organisational elements and processes (Scott, 1995). In particular, there have been several studies examining institutional effects on societal systems (Fligstein, 1990, 1991; Hall, 1986; and Whitley, 1992). This research focused on changes over time in governmental policies. The present study extends this line of work that emphasises the importance of history, attending to when and how developments occurred, giving primary focus to the changes at

the institutional level (Scott, 1995).

Institutional logics theory originated in the work were conducted by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Meyer and Rowan emphasised the symbolic nature of organisational life and argued that the basis for public legitimacy amongst organisations is largely based on institutional rituals and practices that make the organisation appear to conform to the expectations of other constituent members in the organisational field. DiMaggio and Powell focused on the material aspects, i.e. macro structures and practices of organisations rather than the individual. In this case purely normative (behavioural obligations requiring conformity to a set of values such as professional standards) or regulative measures (coercive obligations comprising rules that entail normative and legal sanctions if violated) were regarded as insufficient to explain the variety and complexity of organisations. This also applied to mimetic behaviour whereby an organisation imitated that of others in its field as a response to uncertainty.

Friedland and Alford (1991) introduced institutional logics as a conceptual device to relocate individual and organisational behaviour in a societal context. The stated project was to break away from theories that posit instrumental and rational individuals, or view organisations as isolated from their institutional or societal environment. By and large, this stance was in line with the core contribution of institutional theory as a “foil to economic rationality” (Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer and Zilber, 2010:1235). Institutional logics have been defined as the ‘socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804). Logics are both symbolic and material: they are cultural beliefs that provide default templates for organising and behaving, and shape the cognition of agents by informing their rationality (Dunn and Jones, 2010; Lounsbury, 2007; Rao, Monin, and Durand, 2003; Jourdan, Durand, and Thornton, 2017).

Although the logic of economic rationality, i.e. one that incorporates the market, corporate, state, and professional logics into one overarching logic underpins both perspectives, logics exemplifying other notions of value, e.g. the family, religion and community were under-represented, being seen as insufficiently modern or rational (Thornton et al., 2012:23). Nevertheless, the quest for legitimacy as the fundamental institutional question led Mizruchi

and Fein to extrapolate DiMaggio and Powell's (1983:150) exegesis on why organisations appear so similar in modern industrialised societies.

However, several criticisms were levelled at DiMaggio and Powell's structuration proposition, principally because the theory failed to recognise the organisation itself as a key source of rationalisation alongside the state, market and professions (Thornton et al., 2012). Although DiMaggio and Powell (1983) later modified their proposition to acknowledge the influence of culture and other factors that shape cognitive views or perceptions of the world they did not elaborate on the role of agents or interests in the structuration process.

Greenwood et al. (2010) question the prevalence of research on dominant market-oriented logics governing organisational practice and change and give insight into other institutional forces such as the family and the state and their impact on organisations. Moreover, the characteristics of an organisation such as its structure, ownership, governance, and identity can make it particularly sensitive to certain logics and less so to others, with the multiplicity of extant logics and their degrees of incompatibility exacerbating the complexity of organisational practice and responses to change (Greenwood et al., 2011:334).

The ability of organisations to maintain numerous logics is discussed by Thornton et al. (2012) in their exegesis of their micro foundational model of institutional logics to explain why an individual actor's position within the organisational field may determine what forms of social practice he/she engages in and which logic or logics may prevail as a consequence.

Much research on institutional logics has also focussed on the instruments or carriers of the logics according to which the institution operates. These tend to reflect normative and coercive isomorphic tendencies that affect a particular occupational group or profession operating within a given environment (Haveman and Gualtieri, 2017; Greve and Zhang, 2017). This so-called 'functional' approach contrasts with the later 'conflict' perspective, which shifted the level of analysis: "Whereas functional scholars had concentrated their attention on the history and functioning of a single occupational group, conflict scholars upgraded to a population ecology level, comparing and contrasting the history and experience of multiple occupations as they competed for dominance, or even to an organisation field level, taking into account the existence of numerous, competing players, as well as the role of the state" (Scott, 2008: 221).

The exploration of the nature of conflict and resistance in organisational fields at an

organisational and individual level tends to be neglected in much neo-institutional literature. Whilst recognising the existence of multiple logics and the competition amongst them to dominate a field, the actual mechanisms by which this occurs and the means employed by actors to both accommodate alternative logics whilst maintaining previously held ones is less well documented. In the next section we review the literature relevant to the cultural/creative sector that does reflect a conflict/resistance outlook and that is articulated at both an organisational and actor level.

Logics shape individual and organisational action in several ways (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008): they underlie collective identities (Lok, 2010; Zhou, 2005), they form the bedrock upon which status orderings develop (Lounsbury, 2002), they provide default classification and categorisation schemes (Rao, Monin and Durand, 2005; Ruef, 1999), and they affect the allocation of individuals and organisations' attention to sets of issues – by defining what is meaningful – and to potentially available solutions (Ocasio, 1997). In other words, logics condition how agents understand and interpret economic processes, and shape the way they organise and formulate strategic decisions. For instance, Thornton's studies of the higher-education publishing industry show that the determinants of organisational structure (Thornton, 2002), but also the factors underlying key decision about acquisitions (Thornton, 2001) and executive succession (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999) all changed when the industry shifted from an editorial logic, which strongly curbed economic pressures on firms, to a market logic.

We specifically focus on the case of industries where two distinct logics co-exist (Dunn and Jones, 2010; Lounsbury, 2007). Although the idea that “institutional environments are pluralistic” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977:356) was laid in the foundations of the theory, early works in the organisational institutionalism tradition were mostly concerned with the “inexorable push towards homogenisation” driven by isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 148).

Environments may be heterogeneous in the first place but, the theory predicts, they tend to an end state in which institutional homogeneity prevails. As norms of collective activity, values and meanings are widely shared and accepted, organisations in need for legitimacy to succeed and survive are led to adopt increasingly similar formal structures and practices

independently of technical considerations (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983). Similarity in structures and practices in turn contributes to the maintenance of a stable singular institutional order.

Yet, challenging the prediction of DiMaggio and Powell (1983) that “in the long run” organisational forms and practices converge, a growing number of empirical studies document cases of sustained institutional plurality. For instance, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) show how the market logic contested over several decades the dominance of an editorial logic in the U.S. higher-education publishing industry. Rao, Monin and Durand (2003) document the emergence of Nouvelle Cuisine as a durable alternative to Classical Cuisine in the French gastronomic industry. Reay and Hinings (2005) describe how the medical-professionalism logic and the business-like logic were engaged in a lasting competition over values and meaning in the health care system of Alberta. In all these cases, shifts in logic dominance do not translate into institutional hegemony: a new rising logic does not eradicate an ancient one (Schneiberg, 2007). Rather they both persist, and sometimes are in competition with each other for dominance, but there is no evidence, in these settings, that a logic will eventually defeat the other entirely. To the contrary, it appears that dual-logics arrangements may sometimes endure over decades: in a longitudinal study of archival sources, Dunn and Jones (2010) find that the two logics of care and science have co-existed in medical education in the U.S. throughout the 20th century (1910-2005).

Studying persistent duality departs from the exploration of institutional change. If duality does not necessarily imply change (i.e., dual-logic settings may be stable), institutional change is likely to lead to a state of heterogeneity as some agents adopt new values, meanings, and cultural schemas that challenge accepted ones. For instance, peripheral players may advocate institutional innovations resisted by more central players, as illustrated by the case of the U.S. broadcasting industry (Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, and King, 1991). Or elite’s members may promote new practices to develop a new advantageous role identity, setting them apart from their peers, as in the case of French chefs (Rao et al., 2003). But beyond the examination of the factors that underlie institutional change, one key challenge institutional scholars face is to understand the conditions that favour the maintenance of distinct dual logics rather than a return to a homogenous singular institutional order. As Schneiberg (2007:73) points out, there is a need “to consider how alternatives are segregated from one another, and can persist for some time”. As argued before, a fully homogenous institutional order is probably more an ideal state than an observable situation; the focus here is hence on

the dynamics that drive institutional contexts toward persistent duality, halting or slowing down the predicted inexorable trend towards homogenisation.

Importantly, an emphasis on the persistence of institutional heterogeneity also helps recasting the debate between agency and structure in way that is highly relevant to strategic management. If logics embody default “rules of the game” (Dunn and Jones, 2010:114) that define how organisations and firms ought to organise and behave, examining how different sets of rules come to endure, and how that affects practices in a given competitive arena are critical questions. The study of heterogeneity is at the heart of strategy, from the heterogeneity that may arise from different industry structures or distinct strategic groups, to the heterogeneity among firms endowed with diverse stocks of resources and capabilities. Specifically, the relative positions of organisations in a dual-logic institutional structure may not only be associated with differences in practices, but is also likely to affect key organisational outcomes, such the ability to strive and survive – the central concern of strategic management.

Two Competing Institutional Logics in the Film Industry

As demonstrated by Zuckerman and Kim (2003), these two segments sharply differ in terms of the share of screens and audience attained, the genres of the films produced, the nature of critical reception, and, more importantly, their collective identities, which are defined in contrast to each other. While the history of the division goes back to as early as the beginning of the industry (Merritt, 2000; Mezias and Mezias, 2000; Zuckerman and Kim, 2003).

Similar to the patterns of concentration and specialisation found in many other industries (Peterson and Berger, 1975; Carroll, 1985; Carroll and Swaminathan, 2000; Boone, van Witteloostuijn, and Carroll, 2002), the mainstream Hollywood studios ever-increasing devotion to mass-produced, mass-marketed blockbuster films has generated greater opportunities for alternatives to be created outside the studio system (Baker and Faulkner, 1991; Levy, 1999). As Levy (1999: 501) noted the concept that best describes independents in the 1990s is that of institutionalisation.

Indies now form an industry that runs not so much against Hollywood as parallel to Hollywood. American culture has two legitimate film industries, mainstream and independent, each grounded in its own organisational structure. While audiences overlap for some

Hollywood and indie fare, the core audience for each type of film is different too. Such division within a field can be found in other cultural industries as well due to the intrinsic dilemma of artistic versus commercial interests (Hirsch, 1972; Becker, 1982; Caves, 2000; Alvarez et al., 2005; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007).

In the feature film industry, the mainstream segment corresponds to the field of large-scale production, and the independent segment is considered as the field of restricted production (Nakajima, 2007; Berra, 2008; King, 2009). The structure of the film industry is determined by the interactions of the three “logics of filmmaking” – logics of political legitimacy, economic viability, and artistic autonomy (Nakajima (2007). This leaves the market logic to be dominant in the mainstream segment of the film industry, while an aesthetic logic prevails in the independent segment (Jourdan, 2011, 2018).

Market logic dominates the institutional logic of the mainstream segment. The mainstream studios primary goal is inarguably making profits even when they attempt to achieve the balance between artistic and commercial interests (Berra, 2008:113). The prevailing logic in the independent segment is best captured by the term, “independent spirit,” (Boyle, 2004:175). The dominant institutional logic of the independent segment in film industry is the aesthetic logic, under which the film directors have the creative and financial control over their own film projects and strive for artistic satisfaction. Independent filmmakers value artistic freedom, uniqueness of vision, provocative subject matters, and financial independence.

2.6. Conclusions

The literature review contributes to the construction of the integrated institutional logics theoretical framework described in Chapter Three. The review highlights gaps in cultural policy approach and institutional theory and how these theories apply to film industry.

Our objective is to conduct a multilayer analysis of the impact of cultural policy on logics of practice influencing legitimacy, identity and artistic practice in France and Korea film sectors. We demonstrate how to do this using a comparative-historical approach based on contrasting historical determinants of cultural policy and its implementation in both countries. Issues arising from conflicts between logics are explored using critical discourse analysis to

illustrate processes of sensemaking as participants seek to rationalise their constructed understanding of reality.

The historical determinants of cultural policy making in a present-day context of globalisation and neo-liberalism are relatively well understood. However, whilst cultural policy literature and work on institutional logics has emphasised institutional issues of structure and practice, the way in which these changes manifest themselves at an organisational and actor level is less well documented (Pratt, 2005). This aims not only to illustrate the analysis using cases examples, but also to show how the integrated framework can be operationalised at each level.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe a theoretical framework that addresses research questions that firstly, asks why differences exist between countries in the implementation of cultural policies in spite of articulating similar instrumental aims and secondly, examines how film sector organisations and individuals mediate the effects of extrinsic policy objectives through changes to notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice and to their relative positions in the field of film.

The cultural policy studies theories are brought in and considered together to find the link between institution and policy, and their effects. Cultural policy studies put forward a rich variety of detailed theoretical logic and evidence regarding the target and area of research of culture. In order to consider policy from a critical viewpoint, it is necessary to look at how the varying mixture of economics, administration, cultural history, creative industries, structure of government and administration advances cultural policy (Cunningham, 1991). These cultural research approaches provide important theoretical basis for showing the origins and social effects of cultural policy.

We apply an integrated institutional logics framework to the analysis of key cultural policy documents and the responses to those documents amongst film sector practitioners that reflect the approach proposed by Thornton et al. (2012). The framework is characterised by four main principles that see institutions and their structures. Firstly, as part of broader social and cultural systems which comprise of actors who can influence institutional change depending on their positioning within the system or field and concomitant access to resources. Secondly, the integrated approach recognises institutions as combining both material and symbolic elements structures and practices and interpretations and perceptions. Thirdly, we understand that the positioning of institutions, organisations and actors in a field is historically contingent. We apply this assumption to the comparative historical analysis of France and Korea film sectors to demonstrate differences in emphasis and prioritisation of cultural policy making

and responses in both countries. Fourthly, we recognise that logics can reside in multiple forms and at multiple levels within a field.

We also use institutional theory with sensemaking theory as a means to trace the forms of interaction which “mediate between the competing logics and the dynamics of identities within and across organisations” (Thornton et al., 2012). This gives us insight into the mechanisms used to justify or rationalise changes to organisational practice and identity and legitimate claims about new or modified roles and their organisational contribution.

3.2. The Theoretical Viewpoint of Cultural Policy Studies

Cunningham (1991) argues that cultural policy research needs to move from solely relying on cultural studies as the theoretical foundation, into applying the methodologies from a variety of academic fields. In particular, by pointing out that the traditional model of the mutual relationship between theory and implementation - ‘theory supports praxis and praxis implements theory’ - does not apply in cultural theory and cultural policy, through analysing the arts, film and broadcasting policy that is being undertaken, he argues that in order for cultural policy to be able to realise the cultural theory agendas, there is a need for cultural policy to transition to a critical cultural policy while forming a theoretical connection to cultural theory (Cunningham, 1991).

For this reason, Cunningham (1991) proposes the need to undertake research in an expanded academic arena that is beyond the boundaries of pure humanities which rely on the investigative method of resistance and progress. In order to deal with policy from a critical perspective, there is a need to be able to analyse how cultural policy is developed by the combined impact of economics, administrative law, cultural history, entertainment industry, government, administrative structure and procedure, and parliamentary democracy, and this is what highlights the need for the cultural policy studies to overcome the boundaries of existing discussions on cultural theory.

This perspective is also aligned with Miller and Yudice (2002), who base cultural policy studies on an arts-humanities approach that incorporates the question of artistic taste, arts and culture, and policy and the citizens’ rights (Scullion and Garcia, 2005). Formulating policies or the assessment of policies from a variety of angles are activities which help to solidify the foundation for cultural policy studies. In terms of the fundamental role of cultural policy

studies they are along the same lines as McGuigan (2008), but by arguing that the processes of formation, administration and review of policies should be included as a key research area, they leave open the possibilities of incorporating methodologies from other academic areas, in a similar vein to Cunningham. Whereas Bennett and his followers take a flexible stance in incorporating a variety of academic interests and methodologies into cultural policy, academics including McGuigan who follow the Frankfurtian critical theory take a tentative position regarding cultural policy study through a variety of methodological explanations and their results.

The focus of cultural policy study is what role and function the government will assume in relation to cultural arts, and how they will be carried out and managed. As such, the key themes explored include the issue of state intervention pursuant to public interest in the cultural arts, and the corresponding issue of the function and role of the state, the relationship between culture and policy, and research on the administrative regime/institution/functions in relation to cultural policy. Although there is some coverage of the political theory (policy agenda setting, policy decisions), it is insufficient to be seen as a significant research community (Cherbo and Wyszomirski, 2002).

Originally, the research focus of politics are the composition and operation of political authority/institutions/system and the actions of political organisations, and the subject of political research tends to be limited to the range that is directly connected to those. However, in cultural policy studies, there are some academics who start from the political background and research their shared points with policy studies, and in the process, they have been producing some unique research results.

For example, whereas an analysis founded on politics would typically involve researching the political authority surrounding cultural arts or their forms of institutionalisation, Wyszomirsky (2000) and Mulcahy (2006) can be said to be studying these overlapping areas. Wyszomirsky simply considers the actions and inactions of the government in the cultural arts realms as cultural policy (Cherbo and Wyszomirski, 2002), and in this case, the 'cultural policy' - as a series of government activities undertaken on supporting subjects that it sees as worthwhile - would be representative of the values implicitly supported by the government, or the product of a political choice amongst the various forms and levels that the government is able to select. In this case, by only allowing the application of the form and content of

cultural policy on the cultural policy which is based around the autonomous actions of government, it became impossible to deduce a general system of cultural policy, and problematic in attributing it as a unique activity in each country (Gray, 2008).

The portion which reflects the characteristics of policy studies, and be distinguished from study of public administration, is those relating to the policy planning, organisation and bureaucracy, and policy review. The research on policy goals and the process of planning them into national policy, as well as the research on organisations and bureaucracies in relation to cultural policy, is dealt with in detail by research which formed part of the creation of French cultural policy and the Department of Culture (Dubois, 1999; Urfalino, 1984).

In order to overcome the country-specific cultural policy research which arises as a result of the characteristics of the methodologies as pointed out by Gray earlier, a variety of comparative policy studies have been attempted. However, unlike policy comparisons in other areas, comparative studies in cultural policy are prevented from achieving a causative relationship due to the fact that there are national variances in the range and concept covered by the concept of the field, and the data for undertaking the comparative studies are not maintained consistently. The works of Katz and Cummings (1987) consider the purpose of comparing cultural policy to be the portrayal, description and evaluation of cultural policy, which involves a general description of each country's cultural policy and implicitly assessing which types of cultural policy are having a greater effect. The research of Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) carries this further and classified four detailed variables as the standards of comparison - policy goals, methods of funding, dynamics of the policy, and setting of the artistic assessment and the status of the artist – and analysed the characteristics based on these classifications.

The administrative themes that are analysed in cultural policy studies, and their theories and methodologies, are active in the organisational and regional administration. In particular, the research on the organisation structure in the public sector that supports cultural arts (DiMaggio, 1986; Toepler, 2001), and the study on the research and financial support for regional cultural administration systems (Cohen, 2002; Gray, 2002) are becoming a consistent and traditional topics of research.

Except for the national contexts and the differences in interpretation, the policy study in

cultural policy is relatively uncontroversial in the application of theory and methodologies compared to the study of cultural arts in other disciplines. This is because the substance of 'culture', as the subject or topic of cultural policy study, does not give rise to a review of whether it is justified or not, but rather how it passes the social qualification process of the policy process, and the focus is on the substance and process of the resulting detailed policy being operated (administered) and reviewed.

Research on cultural policy has been undertaken under the following three main areas. Firstly, by focusing on the effect of the cultural domain on regional development or industrial progress, and investigating the cultural policy that has been pursued in order to obtain these effects. Cultural policy has been a key factor in the economic and regional development of a number of European countries in the last 20-30 years. The cultural policy studies in this field focus on analysing the relationship between cultural policy and regional development in terms of each national case studies, and in turn the economic effect of the cultural policies on regional development. In particular, by looking at how cultural policy has dealt with the issues that arise as a result of the decline of previous industries and the resulting mass unemployment, rise of recent emigrants and immigrants and the accompanying diversification and neglected groups, it aims to show how effectively the cultural domain has been utilised for regional development (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993).

Secondly, the critical approach to the relationship between culture and authority which is focused on the critical functions of the cultural domain. 'Culture' and 'policies' are not limited to the domains of 'arts' and 'public administration'. More than that, culture incorporates all institutions and societal acts which constitute the 'signifying systems' of a particular society. Therefore, the cultural policy studies of this area are characterised by the perceived need for cultural policy to exceed the limitations of the arts domain and be expanded into the broader domain of the relationship between culture and authority which unfold while surrounding the 'signifying systems'.

The culture policy studies which calls for an emphasis on the relationship between culture and authority, in leaning on the critical viewpoint, start from the recognition that 'policy' itself is closely linked to the concepts of rule or authority. Looking at the linguistic roots, the word 'policy' has its roots in the ancient French word 'police', which means 'to manage', and in 16th century Britain the word became settled as 'policy' which had a similar meaning as

‘government’. This shows that the concept of policy has its broad origins that is based on management and protection (McGuigan, 1996:7).

Whereas the English word ‘policy’ has its roots on the ancient French word ‘to manage’ (police), in France the word ‘politique’ served as the roots of both of the two words ‘policy’ and ‘politics’, where ‘le politique’ denoted the institutionalised politics, and ‘la politique’ came to mean the science of politics, in other words policy. By analysing the origins of these words, it is argued that the second type of cultural policy study needs to focus on the science of politics, i.e. the dynamic relationships in society surrounding rule and authority, rather than the domain of institutionalised politics (le politique). Furthermore, the study of this area points out that the definition of cultural policy should not be limited to the series of activities which are undertaken as an administrative process by a government official, but instead should be understood in an expanded form that deals with the numerous issues surrounding the control and suppression of free activities.

The third type of cultural policy studies focuses on its role in the cultural domain as a means or tool for its activities, and this approach emphasises that cultural policy has always been used as the means and tools towards achieving a better goal. In this, culture is understood to play the role of a catalyst that brings change in the general lifestyle which consists of customs, beliefs and values, rather than simply meaning a particular domain or lifestyle. Drawing on the notion that culture is utilised as a means towards a better goal, this position argues that culture possesses the characteristic of ‘strategic normativity’ (Bennett, 1998:91).

Despite their differences, these developments in cultural policy studies share the common ground that the cultural domain is increasingly taking a more important role in public policy. In other words, as the cultural domain – which has traditionally not attracted a great deal of interest in either economic or political aspects in the past – becomes a key area of public policy, it shows that the interest and research on the cultural domain has become an important part of the research on public policy. Furthermore, these trends in research show that, rather than being restricted to the aspect of cultural administration, cultural policy studies are being expanded into a wider analysis on the cultural domain generally, in other words the relationships between culture and rule, and culture and authority, as well as the institutions and cultural activities in a wide variety of cultures.

3.3. Institutional Logics

Social actors do not attend to all of their goals, problems, and solutions at the same time due to bounded rationality (Simon, 1947). Because of the limits in cognitive capacity and resource availability, they focus only on a small subset of those multiple goals, problems, and solutions that compete for their attention (Cyert and March, 1963; Sullivan, 2010). According to the theory of attention allocation (March and Olsen, 1976; Ocasio, 1997), institutional logics provide the social actors with a set of values that order the legitimacy, importance, and relevance of the goals, problems, and solutions and, thereby, influence their distribution of attention. When social actors identify with the collective identities of the social groups they belong to, they are likely to conform to the dominant institutional logics within the social groups (March and Olsen, 1989; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; cf. Prahalad and Bettis, 1986). Therefore, the social actors are likely to allocate their attention to certain goals, problems, and solution that are congruent with the dominant logics in a given institutional context.

Social actors often face multiple competing institutional logics, which “shape individual preferences and organisational interests as well as the repertoire of behaviours by which they may attain them” (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 232). As different goals attract varying levels of attention under competing institutional logics (Reay and Hinings, 2005; Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007; Greenwood et al., 2010), the salience of an evaluative criterion for assessing the actors depends on the extent to which the criterion is congruent with the primary goals and values under the prevailing institutional logics. The prevailing logics shape the meaning, appropriateness, and legitimacy of various evaluative criteria in relation to their primary and ancillary goals and, therefore, determine which criterion is of primary or ancillary salience in a given institutional context.

3.3.1. Fields and Institutional Logics

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983:143), an organisational field refers to “those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products.” This conception combines the approaches of organisational populations and organisation sets, while also attending to the interaction of diverse populations, as does the work of community ecology (Astley, 1985; Baum and Singh, 1994:Chaps.16-20). However, the primary point of departure from these approaches,

particularly community ecology, is that cultural and functional boundaries replace geographical boundaries and the role of authority and power relationships are taken into account in addition to direct competitive or exchange relationships among organisations.

Organisational fields provide an important intermediate unit that connects the study of individual organisational structure and functioning with the study of societal level processes (Scott, 1994b); indirectly, fields address the multi-level character of industries and environments (Hirsch, 1985; 1972). DiMaggio (1983:337) asserts that the organisational field "...has emerged as a critical unit bridging the organisational and societal levels in the study of social and community change." The notion of organisational field connotes the existence of a community of organisations and actors that partake of a common meaning system (Scott, 1994a).

These "meaning systems" can also be termed as institutional or field-level logics (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Institutional theorists and others argue that organisational fields operate under one or more sets of institutional logics and that contest among these field level logics needs to be given greater attention in research. Institutional logics have been defined as an array of material practices and symbolic constructions that constitute organising principles that guide activity within the field. Institutional logics encompass both cultural orders (systems of interrelated distinctions, rules, values, and norms) and their associated practices (rituals, routines, and solution strategies utilised by participants in the field) through which the former are enacted and reproduced (Scott, Pollack, and Mendel, forthcoming). Institutional logics are "symbolically grounded, organisationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained, and hence have specific historical limits" (Friedland and Alford, 1991:248-9). These logics provide meaning simultaneously through symbolic systems at the field level and material practices at the organisational or individual level. Institutional logics are persistent and self-reproducing in nature such that individual and organisational actors behave in observable social relations according to the non-observable referents of the symbolic systems while also aiding in the reproduction of these systems. Thus, these logics are very much a field-level phenomenon in that the behaviours make sense to those who enact the behaviour only in relation to the overarching symbolic systems and that those symbolic systems only make sense in terms of the enacted behaviour (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

Organisational fields are defined and shaped by the presence of particular belief (symbolic) systems that guide and orient the behaviour of field participants (Scott, 1994a). Professionals, the state, and corporate actors (organisations) all intersect to create and codify belief systems (Freidson, 1986; Scott, 1994a). The pronounced tendency in modern society toward rationalisation (the identification of explicit causal logics and rules for identifying goals and codifying procedures) has traditionally been viewed as the main mechanism that operates to delimit organisational fields, shaping and sharpening their boundaries (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1994a). Yet, field level logics are often conceptualised as instrumental and efficiency-driven while being separate from (even in opposition to) institutionally defined belief systems (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Meyer and Scott, 1983; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Current research, however, supports the view that all organisations operate within these institutionally defined arenas in which such symbolic systems act in a cognitive and normative fashion to govern the selection of means (i.e. technologies, other practices) and specify the criteria of effectiveness and efficiency (e.g. Fligstein, 1990; Powell, 1991; Scott, Mendel, and Pollack, forthcoming; Whitley, 1992; Krücken, Meyer, and Walgenbach, 2017).

3.3.2. Institutions, Logics and Change

Considerable theoretical interests focus on the origins or development of institutions and the ways in which institutions, once established, can change. Relatively little attention has been given to the dynamic nature of this change, particularly as it results from the contestation between the multiple institutional logics that exist within a field at any given time. It is recognised that institutions are symbols and material practices, and that society is composed of multiple institutional logics which are available to individuals and organisations as bases for action. Institutions are multiple and potentially contradictory and therefore make multiple logics available to individuals and organisations (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

These logics represent and identify varying interests and divergent bases of action within a field or society (Scott, 1994a). Friedland and Alford argue that contestation over which sets of logics are to have jurisdiction over which fields and arenas provides much of the basis for change and conflict in modern economic and social fields. Institutional transformation is associated with the creation of both new social relationships and new symbolic orders (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 250). Jepperson (1991) defined this type of institutional change as re-institutionalisation such that previous social orders or patterns that have attained a

certain state or property are replaced by other institutions formed around different principles or rules. However, there is little specific attention given to the relationship among these multiple logics, constituted by the collaboration or competition between these belief systems, and the effects of this contestation on the actors within the field (or vice versa). Researchers like Jepperson (1991) acknowledge that institutions can develop contradictions with their environments or with other institutions, yet these contradictions are seen as exogenous environmental shocks that force institutional change. Such shocks block the activation of reproductive procedures or thwart the successful completion of reproductive procedures, which then modify or destroy previous institutions. In this sense, change is seen as primarily exogenously produced and “jolt-like” in occurrence (Meyer, Brooks, and Goes, 1990).

Processes of institutional change, such as de-institutionalisation and even reinstitutionalisation, have been defined and discussed (Jepperson, 1991; Oliver, 1992), but rarely developed empirically, particularly at the field level. Yet, there is a need for more research that theorises about change processes at the field level extending to the inclusion of those processes operating at the organisation and the population level within the field. Too often, there is a tendency to address such processes at either the organisational, population, or societal level without recognising that all levels of the entire system are interdependent and have cross-effects on the empirical domain (Hirsch, 1985). Scott, Mendel, and Pollack (forthcoming:3) maintain that “a field-level approach requires attention to changes involving the erosion of boundaries between organisations or between populations, the creation of new types of organisations or new types of linkages among organisations, and the co-evolution of populations”. In order to understand these multi-level change processes better, it is important to develop a greater understanding of both the emergence and decline dynamics of field-level institutions and logics. While a substantial amount of work exists that has centred on theorising about the evolution and emergence of institutions and logics, explaining the demise of these cultural orders and organising principles needs more attention.

3.3.3. Reconceptualising Institutional Logics

Institutions are composed of “...cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers- cultures, structures, and routines; and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction” (Scott, 1995:33). We will use this definition as the basis for refining the explanation of

institutional logics, yet explicate these aspects in terms that are more dynamic. Institutional logics are the cultural belief systems that define and give meaning to the actors and activities within an organisational field. These logics provide meaning to social behaviour, yet they serve as the basis for both stability and change within the field. At any given time, logics identify the varying interests and divergent bases of action that exist in an organisational field (Scott, 1994a). We assert that the amount of contestation or consensus among interests and actors in a field determines the stability or change of institutional logics over time.

We conceptualise institutional logics as the superordinate meaning systems that represent prevailing institutions in a field and are reflective of the cognitive, normative, and regulative aspects of a field. For definitional purposes, we primarily draw on the standard conceptual apparatus (Scott, 1995). We discuss all three aspects included in the current conceptualisation of institutional logics as each aspect embodies the field that provides content to the institutional logic. These aspects interact and give vigour to the overall logic itself as well as the actors and structures and activities within the field. Hirsch and others underscore the need to recognise these three elements of institutions simultaneously as opposed to separately (Hirsch, 1997; Scott, 1994b); these three aspects are crucial to the conceptualisation of logics. Hirsch points out that the difficulties in such separation leads to the neglect of the ways in which these aspects interact. We assert that better explanation of the emergence, stability, erosion, and change of institutions and prevailing logics comes from recognising this interaction.

The regulative aspect of institutional logics includes those regulative processes - rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities - as well as the actors or bodies that participate in these processes. Regulative processes involve "... the capacity to establish rules, inspect or review others' conformity to them, and as necessary, manipulate sanctions - rewards or punishments - in an attempt to influence future behaviour" (Scott, 1995:35). The normative aspect consists of systems and actors that introduce a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimension into the social life of a field. Normative systems define the goals or objectives while also designating the appropriate ways to pursue them. They include norms, values, and definitions of roles as conceptions of appropriate action for particular individuals or specific social positions. It is argued that normative rules impose constraints on social behaviour while also empowering and enabling social action. Thus, actors that are representative of this element provide such normative systems while conferring rights, responsibilities, privileges, duties,

licenses and mandates for activity within the field. The cognitive aspect of a logic serves as a dual-level phenomenon since, by definition, those rules that constitute the nature of reality also provide the frames through which meanings develop. Defined as such, institutional logics, in themselves, serve as the same reality providing and meaning-framework for an entire field of activity. Thus, the cognitive aspect is both a part of an institutional logic as well as the very essence of what a logic is for an institutional field. Cognitive aspects consist of symbols and constitutive rules that create categories and construct typifications of what defines the field. They are the processes by which “concrete and subjectively unique experiences...are ongoingly subsumed under general orders of meaning that are both objectively and subjectively real” (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:39). Thus, these processes variously apply to things, ideas, events, and actors. Cognitive frameworks are socially constructed such that they emerge in interaction and are sustained and changed through ongoing interaction (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Thus, in field level terms, cognitive frameworks are the socially constructed meanings that dictate the actors, organisational templates, demands, concerns, rights and behaviour that constitutes action within the field. The larger societal meaning of a field and what a field is composed of and what action is allowable within a field is both dictated and defined by the cognitive frameworks of a field. Certain actions and actors within the cognitive elements of a field’s institutional logic enact these frameworks.

Standard definition of institutions also points out the multiple levels at which these elements and its carriers exist. Again, institutional logics are the superordinate meaning systems that represent these institutions at the field level. Thus, within a field, actors, organisational forms, and activities that serve as carriers of the logics both represent and intersect the boundaries of the cognitive, normative and regulative aspects. In this vein, at the most individual level, heterogeneous entities composed of differentiated actors pursuing goals and promoting interests constitute institutional logics. At the same time, these actors comprise groups or forms that are also promoting certain interests. All of these actors and forms fall within one or more of the three main elements of an institutional environment: cognitive, regulative, and normative. These elements (comprised of the both the activity and meaning systems of these forms and actors) constitute the institutional logics that guide and orient the behaviour of an organisational field.

Different belief systems are present, yet the aspects alter and the dynamics shuffle over time

and affect which logics prevail. Scott (1994a) identifies four types of field situations that pertain to the extent of contentedness of relevant belief systems. These are: (1) Generic or “meta” institutional patterns present; (2) A single, exclusive belief system that dominates the organisational field; (3) A single, dominant belief system but in addition alternative secondary forms; or (4) The presence of two or more strong, competing or conflicting belief systems. These situations can provide an explanation for how institutional logics change over time. These situation types are particularly relevant to the re-conceptualised framework presented here on institutional logics.

3.3.4. Conflicting Logics of Social and Aristic Practice

In institutional environments where prevailing logics are threatened through alternative business models or as the result of policy changes research has tended to focus on the determinants that either describe or justify the logics, for example the rate at which a ‘new’ organisational form is adopted (Thornton, 2002) or examine the mechanisms that actors use to accommodate competing logics over a period of time (Reay and Hinings, 2009). Other research has looked in more detail at how a redefinition of organisational participants can be used to supplant one logic with another using business planning as a control mechanism (Oakes et al., 1998). Further research has examined how the situation of an actor within a particular organisational environment can result in diverse micro-level institutional logics being accommodated despite the existence of overarching institutional logics that have gradually evolved through combinations of social interactions that shape social practices and structures (Sarma, 2013:13).

Underpinning these strands of research are two main concepts, namely that logics influence organisational forms and managerial practices and secondly that logics are historically contingent (Greenwood et al., 2010). “Although situated in the neo-institutional literature, the concept of institutional logics as an orienting strategy has been rejected as simply an extension of studies on isomorphism or attempts to address the structure-agency dialectic due to the limited autonomy of the agent” (Sarma, 2013:134).

As institutional theory suggests, policy formation and its implementation is shaped by multiple - formal and informal, state and non-state - institutional agents, the influential power of which is exerted and negotiated contextually between and within them, as well as with macro-level forces (Braman, 2011; Freedman, 2008, 2010; Thompson, 2011).

Policy design involves the efforts of political actors at different levels of institutional influence to formulate policy goals and connect them to instruments for realising those goals (e.g., policy tools, rules, government agencies) and to allocate resources for the requisite implementation tasks (Howlett et al. 2015; May 2003). Multilevel systems of governance mean that more abstract policy goals and implementation preferences, or “governance arrangements,” at the macro level constrain policy design options at the meso and micro levels. Meso-level institutions are of particular importance in combining policy objectives and instruments into programmes designed to address market or government failures (Dollery and Wallis, 1999), as well as constraining programme adaptation to policy targets and implementation at the micro level.

In this case society is conceptualised as an inter-institutional system to allow for institutional logics to be applied at macro (societal), meso (organisational) and micro (individual) levels of analysis. In other words, the basis for conforming or conflicting with the prevailing opportunities or constraints is provided by institutional logics using sensemaking and decision-making mechanisms that help to rationalise responses and inform discursive strategies addressing the legitimacy, identity and practices of field participants.

Opponents of the instrumental, market-driven view contend that the diversity of cultural workers and their roles in the creative process and the environments in which they operate necessitates an alternative analytical perspective that focuses instead on social relations rather than on set organisational structures and boundaries. At an individual level the question arises as to how such conflicting logics affect the creative and artistic practices of those directly involved in producing cultural works. This is as yet a comparatively under-researched area in the cultural industries debate.

The economic imperative of the relationship may actually override inherent contradictions and conflicts between commercial and artistic logics and come to dominate the relationship between the arts organisation and the sponsor. The exchange of symbolic capital for economic capital in such a case may result in the artistic integrity and legitimacy of the arts organisation being questioned as a consequence as in the unfortunate case of the LAMoCA and its Murakami exhibition in 2007 (Chong, 2010:73). Therefore adopting this perspective enables us to link economic rationality arguments for change at an institutional and organisational level with individual resistance and compliance and to pursue a critical

analysis of discourses generated from a coercive and a normative perspective.

Understanding this aspect is important as it establishes a firmer link between the concepts of historical institutionalism (macro level), structuration (meso level) and individual (micro level) agency in understanding how policy development and dissemination processes translate policy inputs into outcomes in terms of social and creative practice.

In the following sections we consider the contribution that the literatures on sensemaking make to dealing with these gaps in institutional theory.

3.4. Institutional Theory with Sensemaking Theory

Institutional theory is well suited to explain the effects or outcomes of institutional pressures (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009), it does not explicitly take into account the question of how social practices are internalised and reproduced through human actions (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). Fligstein (2001) goes as far as arguing that institutional theory considers organisational actors as being passive recipients or ‘cultural dopes’ who use readily available scripts provided by government, professionals, or other institutional carriers to structure their actions. With this we maintain that, whereas institutional theory provides powerful explanations of the influences of institutional structures, it does not specifically address how the human agency influences the social practices from which the institutions are created.

We explore the potential of using institutional theory with sensemaking theory as interpretive lenses for analysing in organisations. We suggest that each theoretical perspective has its own explanatory power and that a combination of the two theories facilitates a much richer interpretation by linking micro-macro levels of analysis.

Only few studies in other research disciplines have sought to combine institutional theory and sensemaking theory to investigate social phenomena (Weick et al., 2005; Weber and Glynn, 2006). Furthermore, to our knowledge, few previous studies have made the combination addressing multiple levels (Currie, 2009).

An important distinction between the two theories is the level of analysis addressed. While organisational institutionalism (new institutional theory) (Greenwood et al., 2008) primarily focuses on macro-level structures addressing the organisational field level and organisational level of analysis, sensemaking theory primarily addresses microlevel processes (Weber and

Glynn, 2006), although it occasionally focuses on organisational-level phenomena. We posit that a combination of the two theories is fruitful in providing a multi-level analysis in organisations, as each theory, although extendable upwards or downwards in levels, has its explanatory power in either macro- or micro-level processes; thereby, the two theories complement one another (Weber and Glynn, 2006). Furthermore, both theories are logically compatible due to their common origin and philosophical tradition (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Schutz, 1967), and both can be categorised as social theories (Kjærgaard and Vendelø, 2008; Currie, 2009) addressing related phenomena (Weber and Glynn, 2006).

Institutional theory provides us with three key constructs: rationalised myths, isomorphism, and institutional logics that we consider useful when investigating implementation as a social phenomenon. Rationalised myths are part of the institutional context, and they are often disguised as rational arguments used by organisations to ‘maximise their legitimacy and increase their resources and survival capabilities’ (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Meyer and Rowan (1977) argue that rationalised myths and taken-for-granted rules lead to isomorphism (structural similarity), where the formal structures of organisations need to conform to society to obtain legitimacy. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) ‘move’ the focus on isomorphism from society level to the organisational field level and introduce the concepts of coercive, normative, and cognitive institutional pressures. They argue that these pressures lead to isomorphism where organisations live in an iron cage. Liang et al. (2007) postulate that cognitive, coercive, and normative institutional pressures impact the assimilation of enterprise systems. 1990).

Institutional pressures are normally exerted from the society and organisational field on organisations and individuals as a top-down process; however, bottom-up processes also impact structures in the organisational field and society. This emphasises the reciprocal interaction between levels where macro-structures in society are bridged by organisational fields to micro-structures in organisations or even ‘down’ to the individual actor level, and vice versa (Scott, 2008). The reciprocal interaction between levels is an important aspect, which allows for ‘connecting’ macro-level structures with local subjective sensemaking processes, as we will elaborate further. There has been much emphasis placed on isomorphism within institutional theory (Greenwood et al., 2008), but this focus has more recently progressed to address the effects of different, often conflicting institutional logics on individuals and organisations. We therefore extend the core constructs presented above with a

third construct, institutional logics that ‘... shape rational, mindful behaviour, and individual and organisational actors have some hand in shaping and changing institutional logics’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Institutional logics link institutions and actions and provide a bridge between macro-structural perspectives (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and microprocess approaches (Zucker, 1977). Multiple institutional logics are ‘available’ for organisations and individuals (Scott, 2008), and the embedded agency in institutional logics presupposes partial autonomy for individuals and organisations (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Although institutional logics have the embedded agency, we still lack a detailed understanding of how individuals, as well as organisations, choose between the available multiple logics, often contradictory, and then ‘edit’ the roles and scripts (Weber and Glynn, 2006) embedded in institutional logics. This is where sensemaking theory serves as an appropriate approach. A combination of the two theories facilitates a much richer interpretation, as we are able to link macro-states that ‘frame’ the behaviour of individual actors with the situated actions and interpretations of the individual actors that reconstruct macro-states.

3.5. Conclusions

This chapter has developed a theoretical framework. The review highlights gaps in cultural policy research and institutional theory and how these theories apply to film studies. Our objective is to conduct a multilayer analysis of the impact of cultural policy on logics of practice influencing legitimacy, identity and artistic practice in France and Korea film sectors. In the overarching research design described in Chapter Four we demonstrate how to do this using a comparative-historical approach based on contrasting historical determinants of cultural policy and its implementation in both countries.

We combine institutional theory with cultural and film politics’ research using a comparative approach based on historic institutionalism to create an integrated analytical framework for conducting multi-level analysis in the cultural field. This work provides a bridge between film studies traditionally focused on historical, aesthetic and collective accounts of film and the move towards film as a social practice situated in organisations that in turn form part of highly complex institutional environments. This research will give a more nuanced picture of cultural policy determinants and how they impact on different sectors of the arts when implemented.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter we aim to establish an appropriate research design to operationalise the research questions, and collect and analyse data. This chapter comprises of research design, research strategy and methods applied to the analysis of data pertaining to France and Korean government film policy texts and responses to those texts in the form of journal articles, website transcriptions of interviews and on-line news reports and articles.

The research strategy is designed to explore questions relating to the discursive role played by government policy on culture in establishing extrinsic logics and how these insurgent logics affect notions of legitimacy, identity and artistic practice amongst actors and institutions in the film sector through a textual analysis of their responses to these logics. This quantitative approach is complemented by a detailed description of the comparative historical approach which considers the institutional contexts of the selected case studies. The use of comparative historical analysis allows us to situate the analysis of cultural policy and film policy in France and Korea in a context that considers the historical, processual, institutional and timing issues that have affected the development of the sector from a cultural and political perspective since the Second World War up to the present day.

The first section shows the basic research design and the second section addresses primary research strategy of this thesis, namely comparative analysis using a historical perspective. The third section discusses the rationale for choosing the case countries of France and Korea. In the fourth section, the strategy for data analysis is discussed.

4.2. Research Design

In a discursive and interpretive analysis such as the questions posed by the research outline presented here, it is generally acknowledged that there might not be a single or common answer. For analysis performed in the context of historical cultural policy and film policy, an interpretive approach is justified. The choice of a cross-national comparative study has the aim of comparing and contrasting responses to the neo-liberal project of cultural

commercialisation and performance measurement of public services in two countries, namely those of France and Korea.

A comparative analysis depends on a method of agreement and difference (Hall, 2003; Mill, 1872) to examine the conditions of similar or different outcomes by comparing cases. This thesis relies on the method of agreement, otherwise known as positive comparison. A rigorous analysis is performed on the similar institutional characteristics of the cultural policy regime case studies. On the basis of the theoretical and empirical observations, case study countries which are selected should share many institutional characteristics. Therefore, in terms of the similar institutional characteristics of the selected case countries, the comparative analysis of this study may rely on the traditional agreement or positive comparative approach.

By applying comparative historical analysis to the art film sectors of France and Korea, similarities and differences between the two are highlighted. The aim is to investigate how responses to policy initiatives in the film sector in France and Korea have been influenced by a set of historical political and institutional factors and in which combination.

Through applying a rational use of measurements of variables, modelling, procedures and sample size and data sources to research questions, a comparative analysis was performed to identify the key determinant of the cultural policy. The comparative historical approach provides an empirical description of policy and institutional change in cultural development in France and Korea.

First, a certain level of comparability is achieved by selecting policy texts which applied to the entire film field in both countries which spanned the same time period - the decade between 1999 and 2016. By choosing not to consider the political role that the authors have in terms of enforcing the implementation, and also foregoing the degree of autonomy the film organisations have in terms of vetoing or modifying the policy initiatives, the difference between the two countries is addressed, and made somewhat comparable, in both the analysis of the core policy texts and the case policy. This is made possible due to the fact that despite the policies and history of the French and Korean film sectors having been surprisingly similar until the mid-1990s, these two industries have taken a very different path since the late 1990s.

There are three main factors which have led to the publication of the main policy texts in both Korea and France and it is noted that the sequence of events is broadly similar in the two countries. Firstly, acknowledgement that film in general was under-represented as an arts form when compared to theatre or music. Secondly, adoption of a ‘new public management’ agenda across the arts that required publicly subsidised organisations to demonstrate positive economic and societal benefits as well as efficient management of resources in the wake of globalisation and pressures on government finances. Lastly, recognition that film could serve a variety of social welfare purposes as well as artistic ones.

The weakness shown in previous studies in failing to capture the underlying significance of political and institutional conditions in comparing patterns of cultural policy and sectoral specialisation is improved by selecting more than one case from the state-led cultural policy regime. Similarities in institutional characteristics in different regional locations and cultural traditions across countries are shown in a number of comparative studies.

In accordance with Djelic (1998:14) the analysis was focused on historical and contextual singularities in order to produce detailed case studies with systematic comparison generalisable. A comparative historical analysis method based on historical events and social processes across times and places can help in clarifying both internal and external factors which drive the institutional change. This method is often used when political and socioeconomic circumstances are examined only in a small number of cases (Skocpol, 1979) and it acts as connection between evidence and theory with cases (Schutt, 2006).

Moreover, a comparative historical analysis can help the studied cases explore theoretical propositions and prove their empirical validity. Rueschemeyer (2003:316) states “In this confrontation of theoretical claims with empirical evidence, analytical history enjoys two significant advantages compared to all but the most exceptional quantitative research: it permits a much more direct and frequent repeated interplay between theoretical development and data, and it allows for a closer matching of conceptual intent and empirical evidence.” By considering causal relationships, historical sequences over time, and contextualised comparisons of the similarities between cases historical comparative studies provide effective analytical views.

Lastly but most importantly perhaps, time-evolution of institution and the impact of cultural, economic and historical differences on the subjects are studied by this method (Bettis, 1991). This was apt for looking at the similarities and differences between France and Korea by examining institutional change over time and its influence on cultural policy.

4.3. Primary Research Strategy

Yin (1994) emphasises the importance of the selection of the appropriate methodology according to the type of research question one wishes to address in a study. This study adopts a combined method of comparative analysis placed in a historical perspective and an embedded case study approach. The research must place the policy analysis in the context of historical developments in cultural policy in both France and Korea as well as identify a core set of variables which can be compared between the case examples in France and Korea. The heterogeneous development of Korean film and French film fields can also be accommodated. This allows us the freedom where no standardised survey of the sector or the constituent policy needs to be carried out.

4.3.1. Comparative Historical Analysis

The main methodology employed by this study is comparative historical analysis. The background when assessing of the case policy is provided by historical processes and institutional arrangement. This is the so-called 'contrast of contexts' which is the primary logic underlying the comparative historical analysis approach. A descriptive methodology is sought when examining the cultural policy and its historical trajectory in France in Korea which are highly similar from each other as well as complex in their features, making the insights which arise from the research validation harder to generalise and standardise. How the cultural policy makers today justify their course of action by funding and the discursive responses by film companies and professionals are studied in order to understand their role.

There are two aspects of comparative historical analysis which can be employed in studies such as these - positive comparison (Hall, 2003; Mill 1872) or method of agreement, and negative comparison, or method of difference. A comparative analysis aimed to examine an alternative theoretical framework that incorporates aspects have been insufficiently considered in the existing literature. This approach comprises the method of agreement or positive comparison (Hall, 2003; Mill, 1872) and difference or negative comparison. It is used to examine the conditions of similar or different outcomes by comparing two countries.

In comparing two countries such as France and Korea, the result of a negative comparison is explained through a method of positive comparison. What this refers to is that first, countries from one cultural policy regime, such as the Architect state (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989:54-55), will be compared for their similarities. The architect state relies on centralised ministries. This type of interventionist state involvement characterises France (Dubois, 2014:6) and Korea (Hong, 2006:30-34), while most governments adopt a less directly activist role. The architect state refers to countries such as France and Korea (Dubois, 2014:6; Hong, 2006:30-34), where the state plays a direct interventionist role in its policy making compared to other countries. Therefore, the similarities between these two architect states will be examined, followed by performing a negative comparison identifying the different paths and determinants.

This study shows that the political and institutional arrangements, e.g. legal and regulatory infrastructure, rather than other general factors such as psychology, economics and technology, are the main reasons between the difference between the policies and its outcomes in these countries. Through the choice of ‘example policy’ where embedded case examples of the film sector in France and Korea are used to highlight the point to be proven. A case study serves the role of providing insight into an issue or refinement of theory, playing a supportive role and facilitating our understanding of something (Stake, 1994, 1998:88).

What is common between France and Korea film sector policies - the key discursive themes on legitimacy, identity and artistic practice - provide a common context setting upon which the difference between the two is played out using the intrinsic characteristics of each case. By investigating each case, the variations in cultural policy deployment and outcomes are explained. Whilst doing so, one must make sure to take particular care when investigating the culturally embedded intentions of the individuals or the body in the given historical setting. Following Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003:9), “Comparative historical studies can yield more meaningful advice concerning contemporary choices and possibilities than studies that aim for universal truths but cannot grasp critical historical details”. Therefore, one must make sure that the points developed and arguments derived are relevant and significant in the present (Skocpol, 1984:368).

4.3.2. Case Study Approach

According to Yin (1994) and Eisenhardt (1989), case study research is a positivist methodology - a qualitative research defining causal relationships between variables and developing theories in the same way as quantitative methods do. It is imperative to apply rigorous standards due to the complexity and the non-homogeneity of the data. Even so, if the researcher attempts to generalise the case study insights by establishing causal or correlative relationships, the selection of variables must be done with care (Huberman and Miles, 1998).

Although the individual case is attributed with inherent uniqueness in such approach, in order to make the cross-case comparison, this uniqueness is often lost in generalisation (Huberman and Miles, 1998:192). This is considered as the main weakness of this approach.

Robert Stake (1994, 1998) has an alternative perspective on case research in which the case plays a supportive role in gaining more insight. According to Stake, case studies are instrumental, or intrinsic, and the context in which the case exists are so unique in its complexity that only when variation or dissimilar events, processes or contexts are investigated (Hartley, 1994, 2004).

In this study, the context is French and Korean film sectors which have followed complex historical trajectories since the Second World War. Therefore, an inductive approach is presented here instead of a deductive method. The historical development of film and how it has come to shape present day events and behaviours is examined.

4.4. Object of Study

Rueschemeyer (2003:331) emphasises the importance of conceptual equivalence which must be demonstrated when comparing phenomena in two different national and cultural settings, especially when theoretical value is to be gained from examining single or few cases.

Demonstrating the conceptual equivalence between the two countries Korea and France in the field of film could be construed as the main objective of this study.

In the case of Korea, despite the surprising and unexpected success of its film industry in the modern era which arose from relative nothing, its film policies have played almost no significant role in achieving this success. The tumultuous years which saw Korea into modernity were marred by two successive historic events, namely the Japanese occupation

which lasted 35 years from 1910 to 1945 and also the Korean War. The film industry at this time also got almost totally destroyed, and apart from a brief moment of success during the immediate post war years, slumped again from the 1970s until the mid-1990s.

It was during the late 1990s that the Korean film industry came into its own. Korean films have an average market share of 54 percent over the last decade, reaching 60-65 percent at its peak. Its success is also demonstrated from many Korean film productions winning many awards at international film festivals, as well as the Korean culture being in vogue. The main film policies and quota system carried out by Korea can be summarised as the following:

First, the system of quotas (both import quotas imposed 1956 to 1986 and screen quota imposed in 1966 until today) has not had the desired effect, and if anything, has worsened the situation - limiting the quantity of imported films induced the Korean moviegoers to go and see all the good quality imported foreign films and Korean filmmakers to produce bad quality movies. Screen quota, on the other hand has been an ineffective tool at best, because having a compulsory minimum number of days Korean movies are presented in cinema did not translate to moviegoers to go and watch the movies.

Second, provisions such as allowing free market access of the US film-makers in Korean distribution has had the counter-intuitive but desired effect of creating an environment of competition which saw Korean film makers striving to make more lucrative movies.

Third, one of the main areas of focus in this particular work is the subsidy policy. Subsidising film industry in Korea has not been around long enough historically to have its impact measured, as the Korean film had already reached the summit level of success a decade before the subsidy system had been put in place.

When the policies and history of the film sector in France and Korea are examined, one finds that this unlikely pair shares many parallel courses and have been similar at least up to the mid-1990s. There are calls within the Korean film sector to implement a subsidy scheme for the films in the style of the French film subsidy policy for this reason. Since the late 1990s, however, one finds that the industries of the two countries have gone on their separate ways. Therefore, a comparative study of the two countries in this sector should be very interesting and presents us with a valuable insight, especially when one is considering the question

whether Korea should benchmark the French when it comes to implementing film policies with subsidies.

The question to ask is whether one could benchmark the French film policy to the situation in Korea and apply it directly? By performing a research where the film policy of the two countries are studied in parallel (Hong, 2006:31-32) the difference in their effect on the film world is highlighted. This leads to the conclusion that there exists a high possibility where benchmarking the French film policy making in Korea would render the effort ineffective and result in error. One specific example is how the Korean Film Council(KOFIC) has benchmarked French 'automatic support policy' to execute 'Korean financial support programme for new releases film' where based on the box office performance of the films, financial support is offered to production companies to make films in the future, hoping to create a stable financial environment for film production. In strengthening the middle-level production companies the plan is to change the current unstable Korean film production environment where large conglomerate on the top and minor creators at the bottom are the main performers. However, this approach does not take into fact that the extreme difference in situation that the Korean and French film distribution and cinema are currently in. In the case of France, 50 percent of national cinemas consist of 'art film cinema' where 96 percent of cinemas in Korea are conglomerate multiplexes. In the end an extremely few number of conglomerate-backed production-distribution film companies would reap the benefit of the financial support policy.

If an environment where diverse films can be shown does not exist, Korean financial support programme for new releases film' cannot succeed in its objective. The most important factor that needs to be addressed is the way the film is viewed as a cultural object by the society, and a policy that can bring this about. This naturally leads to the conclusion that one must compare and contrast the French film cultural policy. Of course, even in France, due to the global trend in recent years the emphasis on film as a commercial product in film industry is considered during policy making, however, it is very much based on the two pillars of cultural diversity and cultural democracy, and this is unchanged.

The objective of this study, through a comparative historical analysis of French and Korean film and cultural policy, is to attempt to find a direction in which the Korean film

policymaking for art film and film culture should take, its implication and eventually to benchmark it.

4.5. Comparative Historical Analysis

At its simplest, Ragin (1987:3-4) defines comparative research as uses comparable data from at least two societies. Cross-cultural, cross-national research can be included as well as broader themes of comparing historical periods, regions, communities and institutional sectors.

Skocpol and Somers (1980:174) state comparative history is not new. As long as people have investigated social life, there has been recurrent fascination with juxtaposing historical patterns from two or more times or places.

Amenta's (2000:93-94) definition of comparative and historical research on social policy development does not limit the analysis to specific methods or choices of data, and this will be the mode employed by the current work. It is hoped that by employing this mode, causal origins and differences as well as similarities between countries with regards to settings which arise such as business globalisation, its practice and the homogenisation across the borders of these practices. Amenta (2000:100) also postulates on the merits of comparative historical methods over other single-case examples or over-simplified causal analysis from theoretical arguments. This can be limited to citing modernisation and industrialisation as the main drivers of the social policy development. Others such as Belfiore and Bennett (2007: 139-140) also mention the advantage of a historical approach to the understanding of the impacts of the arts as "it brings to the light the complex nature of the disquisitions that have taken place in the past around the arts and their effects."

Historical comparative research was adopted to address the relationship between national film policy and the global domination of Hollywood. In other words, it lies on a foundation of the question, "What effect can national policy have on the formation and expansion to the global domination of Hollywood?"

The historical comparative research method enables comparisons of times and events, by studying the relationship between events which have influenced the past, continue to influence the present and will affect the future, to inform possible outcomes and provide answers to research questions (Neuman, 2007). Neuman (2007) observes that "the historical

comparative research is appropriate when asking big questions about micro-level change or for understanding social processes that operate across time or are universal across several societies”. It is a suitable method for examining the combinations of social factors which produce a specific outcome and for comparing entire social systems to assess what is common across societies and what is unique.

In this study, political institutions and parties involved in the cultural policy making in the film sector of France and Korea are considered. This study also looks at the type of governance (centralised), historical trajectory of cultural politics in both countries and the historical context of the artistic sector.

In the following, the topic of epistemological positioning is addressed, which explains the main approach taken in the comparative historical analysis used in this thesis.

4.5.1. Epistemological Positioning

A very broad definition of comparative-historical research has given rise to a wide variety of methodologies to emerge. A positivist and predominantly quantitative perspective overarches the debate, and a constructionist view of the world which allows for an interpretive view of data from analysis of particular cases and bounded environments, as well as generalisations based on relationships within a relevant set of variables are all playing part in this debate.

The first epistemological position requires that the researcher should be able to separate their analysis from the context in which the macro-social system operates and reduce the influencing factors to a small number which is collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive. The aim is to identify universal characteristics or trends which are shared across macro-social systems, i.e. countries, nation states and societies.

The two most important works which set out the two epistemological positions are Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somer’s ‘The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry Comparative Studies in Society and History’ (1980) and Charles Ragin’s ‘The Comparative Method’ (1987). Skocpol and Somers (1980) argues that three main logics for comparing macro-social phenomena must prevail.

First, the parallel demonstration of theory applies to generalised theories to demonstrate the universality of certain trajectories using case studies.

Second, contrast of contexts bases the analysis on an idealised construct in order to highlight the unique features of a particular case or situation and the resulting path dependency of the trajectory through a historical analysis of each case.

Third, comparative history as macro-causal analysis. This latter approach identifies causal factors using multi-variant analysis of large numbers of variables from multiple cases with the dual aims of producing generalisations based on statistical analysis whilst gathering an in-depth understanding of specific cases (Rihoux, 2006:680).

In Skocpol's (1984) concluding essay to her edited volume 'Vision and Method in Historical Sociology' she expands on the thoughts of nine eminent historical sociologists and her own to present a more detailed evaluation of the three main approaches outlined in her and Somers' (1980) paper. In his review of the book by Skocpol (1984) edited volume 'Vision and Method in Historical Sociology', Modell (1986) summarises Skocpol's findings of the drawbacks of each method. While the generalised theory approach does not take sufficient account of true experience, contrasts of contexts relies too heavily on interpretation. Only the third method which emphasises the 'valid causal connections' appears to satisfy demands for validity across: "...similar historical circumstances or else account in potentially generalisable terms for different outcomes across space and time in otherwise similar cases" (Skocpol, 1984:375-376).

Ragin (1987), on the other hand allows for a quasi-positivist stance and presents a 'synthetic' comparative strategy. By combining the strengths of case-oriented method with multi-variate through a Boolean approach, it purports to "...provides a way to address large numbers of cases without forsaking complexity" and allows for social scientists to be broad without forcing them to resort to vague and imprecise generalisations. According to Ragin (1987:171), the Boolean approach moves from traditional case-oriented methods by taking a large number of cases, but retains some of the logic of the case-oriented approach.

A synthetic strategy should satisfy at least five criteria in order to develop research into universal theories : (1) The strategy must be able to deal with large numbers of cases; (2) It must accommodate causal complexity by enabling an examination of different combinations of causal conditions; (3) Whilst being able to deal with causal complexity the strategy must nonetheless look to simplify that complexity as much as possible; (4) The strategy should

specify and define units of analysis and the social processes in such a manner that interpretation and insight is holistic and supports a macro-level interpretation of a phenomenon; and (5) The synthetic strategy should combine alternative, possible explanations for observations with a theory or set of theories that can be tested via the strategy.

More recent work by researchers such as James Mahoney (2008:413, 430) has involved relabelling of Ragin's terminology of macro-social (variable) and within systems (case study) to population-oriented and case-oriented. Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003:6, 10) have emphasised the importance of the following number of points during performing a comparative historical analysis "...a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualised comparison." Comparative analysis should include a multi-level perspective, i.e. macro-social and within-systems. Moreover, a comparative analysis should include event-based analysis including events (such as revolutions), phenomena (such as emergence of political regimes), and processes (such as development of welfare states) and their contributing factors such as culture and institutional development over time.

In the following section, the issues associated with Comparative Historical Analysis are mentioned and examples of recent integrative approaches are discussed briefly.

4.5.2. Causal Analysis

Because 'social phenomena are complex' causal analysis faces two main difficulties when it attempts to produce reliable and valid results (Ragin 1987:19). The first is defining the boundaries and scope of a case so that they allow for comparable analysis across multiple macro-social systems. The other is when the results arise from a combination of different causes, and to identify the set of primary causes for the outcome (Ragin, 1987:20).

Recently there has been significant progress in addressing these difficulties which might allay the concerns about causal complexity. Examples of methods such as Boolean algebra, typological theory, set theory and calculus (Mahoney, 2004) have all been developed in order to explain an outcome where it is necessary to differentiate between the objectives of case- and population-oriented research. In the case of case-oriented research which is intended to combine historical interpretation with causal analysis, producing some limited degree of

generalisation, there are two methods available to establish causation - Mill's method of agreement and Mill's indirect method of difference. While the first attempts to identify a single causal condition or a combination of conditions that always appear to precede a given event or phenomenon, the second, indirect method, almost does a "...a double application of the method of agreement" (Ragin, 1987:39) - a 'n and/nor' approach where the researcher (1) first looks for circumstances where effect A has a cause B, (2) circumstance where effect A is absent and also the cause B is absent. (3) Therefore, this can lead to the assumption that B is the cause of A. In the case of variable-oriented method, the main difficulty is the dependence on statistical control as opposed to experimental control techniques for establishing causation due to the complexity of social phenomena. Therefore, it is always advised that the users of statistical techniques recognise that simplification is necessary when making generalising statements about the effect of variables under investigation.

4.5.3. Unit of Analysis

The problem of ambiguity may arise in a comparative historical study such as this, because while data is collected at one level (at the case or within a system), the interpretation of the collected data occurs at another (macro level) to explain a broader phenomenon.

The two units, namely observational unit and explanatory one is distinguished by Ragin (1987:8-9) who says one occurs at the data collection and the other at the theoretical/explanation level. This system is challenged by the likes of Bendix who says this sort of analysis would over-generalise and exaggerate the homogeneity of the underlying structures. He argues that the most appropriate units of analysis are simply social groups and organisations within a society (Rueschemeyer, 1984:135-136). Therefore, in this thesis, groups, organisation and institutions and their relations with one another is addressed in order to support the assumptions which overarch the generalising theories.

4.5.4. Context and Cultural Factors

Redding (2005) and Pudelko (2007) describe context, both cultural and institutional as a key factor in comparison studies of international management, and Pudelko (2007:15) states the main focus is on asking whether management theories and practices have universal applicability or if they are limited to a particular country or region. For the general research the underlying assumption is that it is rooted in economic, technological, and institutional terms. Rational institutionalists take the view that institutional change is a mechanism that

has an explicit role in generating and sustaining stability and historical institutionalists take the view that institutions emerge over time as a result of temporal sequence. Theda Skocpol (1995:105), a historical institutionalist, states by four kinds of process that form the basis for analysis: “One, the establishment and transformations of state and party organisations through which politicians pursue policy initiatives. Two, the effects of political institutions and procedures as well as social changes and institutions on the identities, goals, and capacities of social groups that become involved in politics. Three, the fit or lack thereof between the goals and capacities of various politically active groups and the historically changing points of access and leverage allowed by a nation's political institutions. And four, the ways in which previously established social policies affect subsequent policies over time.”

Within the area of historical institutionalist studies, there are also various of schools of thoughts such as convergence and divergence which refer to the changes over time or the effect of historical processes (Pudelko, 2007).

4.5.5. Path Dependence

The idea of historical institutionalism has emerged in recent decades within the field of comparative historical research as it tracks and compares the changes over time in institutional arrangements as an important contributing factor to wider changes in macro-social level phenomena such as class structures or changes in political regimes.

In turn, the algorithm behind historical institutionalism itself can be roughly divided into the two ideas comprising of constant-cause and path-dependence¹. While constant-cause attribute the same factors whether functional, political or cultural to the origins persistence and changes of the time of the institution whereas path-dependence looks for the reason elsewhere outside the equation and suggest that the changes might be different to those that account for the genesis of the institution (Thelen, 2003:214). Thus, the path-dependence is a view taken by researchers who require a narrative style to the analysis, who would like to maintain that the comprehensive understanding of events is necessary arguing that the temporal nature and sequencing of events plays a role in the subsequent development of macro systems.

¹ Constant-cause explanations suggest that the same factors, whether functional, political or cultural, typify the origins, persistence and changes over time of the institution. Path-dependent explanations suggest that change may be due to factors different to those that account for the genesis of the institution (Thelen, in Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (eds.), 2003:214.)

By considering how the historical and political changes affect the role of institutions such as the Centre national du cinéma et de l'image animée (CNC) of France, which are institutions responsible for cultural policy making and implementation, this research tries to come up with a path-dependent perspective on the development, articulation and dissemination of cultural policy which resembles what is termed by Thelen (2003) as 'institutional conversion' i.e. the redirection of objectives. In France and Korea, policy attachment is the most relevant example of this in the cultural fields.

There are specific applications of methods such as counter-factual analysis and non-linear pattern analysis as tools for temporal analysis which include process analysis and sequence and duration arguments, which Mahoney (2004) states are necessary in performing a path-dependent analysis. However, Sewell (1996:262-263), has a much broader definition of path dependence: "...what has happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time" (Thelen, 2003:218) and this is what this study is going to adopt. This is in agreement with the main historicist-interpretive approach to policy analysis in chapter 5 and with the 'contrast of contexts' viewpoint.

4.6. Criteria for the Case Selection

A comparative approach using case selection is a common method in studies of institutional change and its effects on policies, whether the studies adopt positivist (Benbasat et al., 1987; Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1994) or phenomenological perspectives (Geertz, 1973; Stake, 1994). Case selection in comparative studies are required to satisfy the prerequisites of a comparative approach, not least for a rich understanding of the context of the research and the enacted processes this brings to the study (Morris and Wood, 1991).

There is not a comprehensive list of case selection methods or possible case study designs in comparative studies (Van Evera, 1997), however, and most economic convergence research do not address the rationale for the reason they select specific countries either. Some actually have contradictions for their rationale for case selection and actual implementation, for example, Hall and Soskice (2001:19) state their rationale on "the large OECD nations" yet their selected case studies are of Finland, Denmark and Norway (see Marceau, 1992; Nelson, 1992) showing contradictions.

This chapter hopes to explain the rationale for case selection, balancing both representativeness and comparability of cases while minimising the trade-off which accompany the choice of case study (Gerring, 2004).

4.6.1. Generalisability

Generalisability, otherwise known as external validity, refers to the extent to whether the results of analysis could be applied to other research settings (Saunders et al., 2003:102). In comparative analysis, case studies often suffer from lack of generalisability, especially when the number of cases is not large. There are two approaches in case studies - a positivist approach and a phenomenological approach. Positivist approach is when the number of cases is large based on the similarity of case background. According to Yin (1994) the positivist approach would take a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clear-cut. Phenomenological case, on the other hand, asserts that case study is not a choice of method but a choice of object to be studied or a unique bounded system (Geertz,1993), and concentrate on describing and getting an optimal understanding of the cases themselves rather than generalisations (Stake, 1994).

Gerring (2004:348) has succinctly summarised the dilemma choosing between the positivist approach and phenomenological approach when it comes to comparative analysis, “a research design invariably faces a choice between knowing more about less or knowing less about more”. What this means is the following:

There have been studies performed taking the phenomenological approach on the subject of corporate governance (Aoki, 1999; Bloch and Kremp, 2001) which analyses the specific features of one country. These studies provide contextual data and enhance the understanding of the phenomenon but lacks in their abilities to extend into generalised cases. Other studies have chosen to adopt the positivist approach, (for instance, Coffee, 2001; La Porta et al., 1999a, 1999b;) and La Porta et al. (1999a)’s study has managed to perform an analysis on 27 countries but such studies come under criticism that it is lacking in acknowledging the intrinsic importance of cases and gives no explanation for their contextual background conditions.

According to Skocpol (2003), comparative analysis does not always require cross sectional research with large numbers, unlike many of the dominant methodologies of sociology and political science in the 1960s and 1970s. Conceptual frameworks, by drawing from a two-sided comparison, work as a compromise between comparability and representativeness, by drawing on a small number of cases using explicit or implicit clustering processes. Clustering methods are used to select a few case countries from a couple of sub-groups, and detailed analyses are performed on the selected cases (Amable, 2003; Guillén, 2001; Hall and Soskice, 2001). Compromise is achieved and generalisability is acquired for the case study by means of categorisation and conceptualisation (Ragin, 1994). Sub-national units or time periods can be subsequently enlarged (King et al., 1994).

The current work relies on a two-sided comparison and hopes to achieve a balance between generalisations and contextual particularities.

4.6.2. Three Criteria for Case Selection

There are three criteria for case selection when analysing institutional change under globalisation (Van Evera, 1997).

(1) Data Richness and Diverse Predictions:

Data richness requires large amounts of available data and previous studies are important influence in selection of cases. Sometimes, data are selected which are approached by competing explanations and theories in this study, due to the fact that there are diverse arguments for issues embedded in this study. OECD member countries provide cases for most studies of economic convergence. Hall and Soskice (2001) classify divergent capitalism economies into LMEs CMEs using 22 OECD countries, and Coffee (2001)'s case countries are implicitly drawn from the OECD member countries without explanation for his case selection.

(2) Similarity of Case Background:

Van Evera (1997:83) states that a theory which is inferred from, or tested by a case which resembles a second case will more often operate in the second case as well. While this might sound obvious it is important in doing a controlled comparison to select cases with similar institutional characteristics for this reason. Yin (2003) emphasises that key definitions used in

the study should not be idiosyncratic, and the unit of analysis should be clearly defined. Many studies do satisfy such criteria, but contextual similarities are often disregarded in such studies. Locke and Thelen (1995) show that physical similarities without contextual understanding could mislead research findings. This study has selected case countries which share three common conditions: political characteristics, economic structures and organisational change.

(3) Prototypicality and Importance of Case Background Conditions

There is some reach towards generalisability by selecting cases which can represent the typical characteristics and contextual importance in related studies. Theories which pass the tests posed by cases selected in this way are more likely to travel well, or applied to other cases (Van Evera, 1997:84).

By selecting countries which are based on the three principles above will minimise the trade-offs between comparability and representativeness. It is hoped that in this study the selected countries will enlighten and give answers on contextual homogeneity and external heterogeneity, which would translate to the case countries being utilised for both empirical inquiry and phenomenological understanding.

4.6.3. The Case Countries: A Comparative Analysis of the Architect Policy Regime, Franc and Korea

There exists a gap in the existing literature of comparative analysis which aims to examine an alternative theoretical framework which incorporates all sufficient aspects. This approach is comprised of the method of agreement or positive comparison (Hall, 2003; Mill, 1872) and difference or negative comparison. By comparing cases, this research tries to shed light on an implicit result of negative comparison through performing an analysis of positive comparison. The case countries will be selected from the architect state i.e. one cultural regime (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989:54-55). The architect state has centralised ministries and this is true of France (Dubois, 2014:6) and Korea (Hong, 2006:30-34), especially when it comes to a direct interventionist role the government play. Therefore, this study uses the method of positive comparison by looking at cases with similar characteristics, and then method of negative comparison to identify different paths and determinants between the two countries.

Generalisability and validation of research findings are made difficult in the case of Korea and France due to the high level of complexity and heterogeneity in the institutional features. Therefore, a comparative historical analysis using a descriptive methodology was used for this study and a quantitative method was employed to look for empirical support for the proposed analytical framework.

In comparison to corporatist countries such as Germany and Japan (Culpepper, 2005), Korea and France are categorised as dirigiste economies (Orru, 1997) or administrative economies (Cohenm, 1995) and have experience much more drastic institutional change. Despite the dissimilarity in the history and the performance of the film industries, France and Korea share considerable common features in government policy which is protectionist towards their own cultural identity and economic structure. Political Tradition (Orru, 1997) and industrial organisation (Guillén, 2004), state intervention, dominance of elite networks and big business groups are all characteristics which the two countries share. The two countries also share strong nationhood (Nelson, 1992) while lacking corporatist arrangements or social pacts. Pyramidal ownership structure and family control of large business groups or conglomerates (Smith, 2004; Lee and Yoo, 2007:456-457) are also seen in the corporate governance systems of both countries.

4.7. Empirical Data Analysis

This study is a comparative analysis with a historical perspective. The data analysis is a comparative historical analysis in institutionalism, supported by an empirical investigation via interviews. The interview has become the main data collection procedure closely associated with qualitative, human scientific research. Kvale (1983, 1994, and 2009 with Brinkmann) has stated that interviewing is probably the most cited in the entire field of qualitative research. Different sources of secondary data and interviews support the analytical framework, and allow us to examine the research questions posed in the thesis.

4.7.1. Principles of Data Analysis

Taylor (2005) defines qualitative data analysis as the act of processing qualitative data to explain, understand and interpret the people and situations under investigation. Usually the researcher will write up the findings and code these into themes (Tyler and Baxter, 2005). In this study, the interpretation of the qualitative data from the interviews, condensing their meaning is done in several steps. First, all the audio recorded interviews are transcribed,

summarised and categorised under different headings. The transcript is read several times and the data is divided into discrete parts. Second, meaning units consisting of sentence parses are identified. Thirdly, each natural meaning unit is defined according to the underlying theme. Fourth, all the meaning units are considered in terms of the objective of the study. Finally, each of the units are integrated into a coherent structure, reducing the large data set into a more manageable set of underlying themes.

4.7.2. Measurement and Validity

Rogers (1961) has stated “Scientific methodology needs to be seen for what it truly is, a way of preventing me from deceiving myself in regard to my creatively formed subjective hunches which have developed out of the relationship between me and my material” (Raimond, 1993:55).

In empirical studies, measurements affect the credibility of research findings more so than in other studies, therefore the job of selecting appropriate measurement and establishing their quality is an important issue (Schoenfeldt, 1984). Validity is about what should be measured (Hair et al., 1998) and is concerned with whether a measure can accurately represent the subject under analysis. In this study, ‘institutional context’ which reflects the tradition of organisational formation in Architect cultural policy regime, is used to secure and increase the validity of measurement and to help enlighten the logic of institutional transformation in France and Korea.

4.7.3. Data and Reliability

Reliability in data collecting refers to the degree to which the collection method yields consistent findings and similar conclusions under repeated measuring (Saunders et al., 2003), and this is an important issue to obtain credibility and quality of the research. According to Easterby-Smith et al. (2002:53), reliability is assessed by the following three questions : (1) will the measures yield the same results on other occasions; (2) will similar observations be reached by other observers; and (3) is there transparency in how sense was made from the raw data

The use of secondary data, e.g. archives and reports can address the first two points as they may be able to bypass the threats posed by participant error or bias (Robson, 2002) which can make the collected data less reliable. Moreover, compared to primary data, most secondary

data in its permanently available form can be checked easily by other researchers (Denscombe, 1998). Secondary data are provided in an unobtrusive form, with a degree of anonymity, preventing sensitive situations from arising by restricting access to employees or locations (Cowton, 1998). Observer error or bias may still remain in secondary data, but it is hoped that screening of collected data by multiple researchers would dilute the effect posed to the reliability of the data. There is also a tradition that corporate governance studies rely on secondary data. As analysis of institutional change would require a longitudinal approach, i.e. information over a period of time, primary data is at a disadvantage to secondary data in the acquiring of time-dependent information. In this study, existing multiple sources of secondary data is utilised in comparative historical approach.

The secondary data in the field is identified by six specific electronic databases they arise from. They are : (1) Korean national assembly library's digital library, (2) Korean film council (KOFIC) publications, (3) catalogue général de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, (4) Centre National du cinéma et de l'image animée (CNC), (5) integrated catalogue of the British library, and (6) University of Kent's electronic libraries. First, keywords such as film, film industry, film policy, internationalisation, film making, film distribution, film festival are used to search appropriate sources, and then references from these sources are used to locate other related sources.

Data for historical records are found in major national archives (Webb, Campee et al., 1966). Historical data for comparative research can draw its sources from archival data, secondary sources, running records and recollections (Schutt, 2006). This study looks at the national film policy and industrial development which covers the period since the setting up of the Korean film council in 1999. The study on Korea film council in Korea and the CNC in France draws from the archive which provides material on all aspects of activities of the film council. Annual reports of the councils and other materials which document the film industry are used as main data source. On a running timeline of the film policy and industry history in both France and Korea, the data is analysed in the global context in comparison with supporting industries.

In order to understand national and international conditions during the same period as the historical study in film policy and industrial development, representative events are selected from selected samples from significant publication about industry and policy. The primary

sources of this research sector are the electronic database systems at the National assembly library, Samsung Economic Research institute, and CNC.

Representative events are selected from significant industry and policy publications in order to understand national and international conditions in the same time period in which the film policy and industrial development are analysed. Electronic database system at the National assembly library, Samsung Economic Research Institute and CNC provide the main sources of this research sector.

By taking interview data from Cine21 which is the main industry magazine of the Korean film industry, the climate of the Korean film industry from 2000 (post IMF) until 2016 is analysed.

According to Bryman (2001), interviewing is the most common qualitative data collection method. Purposeful sampling, which according to Maxwell (1996:70) is a kind of qualitative sampling (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993) is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately to provide information that cannot be gained from other choices. Exploratory interviews have been undertaken with senior managers in government relations and film trade business relations in Korea. The interviews shed light on current film policies, national business support programmes for art film, and film council activities and art film subsidies in KOFIC. The exploratory interviews with businesses were undertaken only in South Korea, because there were also difficulties in recruiting businesses to participate in the research. The exploratory interviews include information about the organisation the interviewees work for and the interview date; while maintaining the interviewees' anonymity

Exploratory Interviews

Interviewing is undoubtedly the most common qualitative data-collection method (Bryman, 2001). Exploratory interviews are regarded as opportunities for researchers to probe deeply to uncover new clues, thereby opening up new dimensions to problems, and to secure vivid, accurate inclusive accounts of interviewees' personal experiences (Burgess, 1994). The interviews are designed to develop ideas rather than gather facts and statistics, and to understand how people think and feel about the topics of concern to the research (Oppenheim, 1992). In other words, the interviews focus on the interviewees' perceptions about particular

situation or context (Powney and Watts, 1987), although the interviewees may not necessarily be familiar with the interviewer's agenda (Robson, 1993).

This study employed the exploratory interview with semi-structured questions. The semi-structured interview gives the interviewee the freedom to steer the conversation and allows them to express their opinions, confirming the influencing factors for further researches (Miller, 1983). Exploratory interviews in this study were therefore undertaken either during the period covered by the literature reviews or later. The interviews were designed to obtain an overview of current film policies, national business support programmes for art film, with an emphasis on the interviewees' perceptions of national business support programmes for art film. Exploratory interviews were also undertaken with film experts who are involved in art film subsidy in South Korea, to elicit their opinions of national film policy and the national business support programme for art film from a business perspective, and to develop ideas to further investigate the research areas.

In this study, thus, detailed information on implementing national film policy and national support programmes for art film in Korea is gathered through the standardised open-ended interviews.

The Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview has a core of standard questions or topics, with additional questions generated by the interviewee's response, which gives interviewees the freedom to steer the conversation (Miller, 1983). This approach can obtain richer data which is usually more local in nature and may be less easy to interpret. The semi-structured interviews were undertaken to identify drivers and barriers to operating the Korean national business support programme for art film, based on the findings of the exploratory interviews. It is commonly accepted that the semi-structured interview obtains more detailed ideas. The semi-structured interviews in this study, thus, aimed to gather more detailed and in-depth information on implementing art film policy in Korea.

Sampling

Adopting a reliable and valid method to select samples is a crucial factor in qualitative research. There are various ways for researchers to select samples, among them non-

probability sampling methods such as convenience, snowball, theoretical, and purposive sampling (Polit and Beck, 1998; Black, 1999; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Firstly, convenience sampling is an easy economical way to begin the sampling process, but it is not popular because it may be the least rigorous technique, often failing to provide the most information-rich sources. Secondly, snowball sampling asks early informants to make referrals to other or previous study participants. This approach is more efficient and practical than convenience sampling and takes less time screening people to determine whether they are appropriate for the study, however the resulting sample may be restricted to a small network of acquaintances. Thirdly, theoretical sampling is the basis of grounded theory, in which the researcher's theory develops through shifting the emerging collected data. This method describes the process of selecting new research sites or cases to compare with others which have already been studied. Lastly, much qualitative research eventually evolves to become purposive (or purposeful), sampling. Most researchers believe the purposive selection method most appropriate for studies because it allows active selection of the most productive sample to answer the research questions.

This study, therefore, used non-probability sampling, a purposive selection method rather than one which was random or characterised by probability. Babbie and Mouton (2001) stress that purposive sampling is based on the researcher's perception of the population, its elements, and the nature of the research aims. This method is also appropriate for sampling a small sector of a larger population where many members are easily identified but comprehensive enumeration would be time-consuming, costly and practically impossible. Purposive sampling was used here to find variables which might influence the national film policy and national business support programmes for art film.

The population in question consisted of people involved in national film policies and national businesses support programmes for art film in South Korea, from which a broad range of samples was selected for the in-depth interviews, to understand different perspectives in different organisations. This data was collected over four months in South Korea between August and November 2016. The target population for the interview was firstly, senior managers in government relations and film trade business relations, secondly, film council activities and art film subsidies in KOFIC, thirdly, businesses involved in the programmes, and lastly, film policy experts.

A letter of invitation was sent to potential interviewees, explaining why they had been selected for interview. In South Korea some 20 people involved in the national film support programme in government relations agreed to do the one-to-one interview: 3 managers from the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) and KOFIC. 12 people agreed to do interview in film expert: 1 director of art film distribution companies, 8 film directors/managers/producers who are involved in arts film subsidy from businesses, 2 professors from a university and 1 film expert.

All respondents were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality both for themselves and their organisations, and as an incentive to participate in the study, they would also receive a report of this study. Following Table 6 include each interviewee's title and organisation, experience/skills, and interview date.

Table 6. Interviewees

Interviewee	Title	Organisation	Experience/skills	Interview Date
GOV 1	Senior manager	MCST	Policy	4 August 2016
GOV 2	Senior manager	KOFIC	Policy Subsidy programmes	18 August 2016
GOV 3	Senior manager	KOFIC	Policy Subsidy programmes	18 August 2016
BU 1	Director	Business	Distributions	11 September 2016
BU 2	Film director	Business	Production	17 September 2016
BU 3	Film director	Business	Production	17 September 2016
BU 4	Film director	Business	Production	13 October 2016
BU 5	Producer	Business	Management	13 October 2016
BU 6	Producer	Business	Management	14 October 2016
BU 7	Producer	Business	Management	14 October 2016
BU 8	Manager	Business	Management	15 October 2016
BU 9	Manager	Business	Management	15 October 2016
Expert 1	Film critics	Korea Association of Film Critics	Film policy	15 October 2016
AC 1	Professor	University	Film policy	3 November 2017
AC 2	Professor	University	Film policy	7 November 2017

The Process of Analysis

The analysis process typically involves the researcher writing up findings and coding these into themes: (1) identification of text passages and (2) applying labels to them (Gibbs, 2002; Tyler and Baxter, 2005). The interpretation of the qualitative data from the interviews, and condensing their meaning, had several stages in this study. Firstly, all the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and the information from the individual transcripts was summarised and categorised under topic headings, according to which organisation the respondent worked for. The researcher read each transcript several times to gain a clear sense of the participants' accounts, and data was broken down into discrete parts. Secondly, the *natural meaning units* were identified. Such units consisted of sentence fragments or phrases, complete sentences, and portions of paragraphs. Thirdly, each *natural meaning unit* was defined according to the underlying theme conveyed by the unit. Lastly, all the *meaning units* were considered in terms of the specific purpose of the study: how each *meaning unit* fits with and/or informs the research questions, and the incisively worded *meaning units* were integrated into a coherent structure to reduce the larger data set into more manageable sets of underlying themes. The strengths and weaknesses of the programme at strategic and operational level were identified and classified at this stage (See Chapter 6 and 7).

4.8. Conclusions

The objective of this study is to conduct a multilayer analysis of the impact of cultural policy on legitimacy, identity and artistic practice in the French and Korean film sector. We have shown in this chapter the basic issues of research design, case selection and data analysis. The analysis examines the institutional characteristics in France and Korea and its possible implementation in Korea. The review also highlights gaps in cultural policy research and how the theories apply to film studies.

According to Pratt (2005) in the context of globalisation and neo-liberalism how historical factors can influence cultural policy making is well understood. What is lacking, however, is the study done on how the changes manifest themselves at an organisational and actor level below the level of institutional issues of structure and practice.

This research has taken cases from France and Korea, based on the similarities in terms of their economic and political structures of the two countries, as well as the intention to acquire

generalisability of the same cultural policy regime. Contextual understanding of institutional change is provided by the discussion of data analysis.

In summary, the qualitative methods used in this study are: (1) Historical comparative analysis to understand the history of film policy and industry development in France and Korea. (2) Interview research to look at the effects of the film policy and art film subsidy. (3) Benchmarking approach to extract possible implications in future Korean arts film policy from the French arts film policy.

CHAPTER 5

State Institutions and Cultural Policy in France and Korea

5.1. Introduction

Cultural policy consists of the state's efforts to shape national identity and articulate a public philosophy embodying its most significant values (Lloyd, 1984:2), and refers to various forms of intervention as the government and other public sector institutions interact with the cultural sphere. It is notable that cultural policies vary according to the national and temporal context that shapes the purpose, role, scope, method of government intervention. In general, cultural policies take the form of financial support, development, promotion and regulation.

In most countries, one of the most important means of cultural policy is financial support. The support for the Arts initiates with subsidies that cover losses arising from the market risk. This sought to encourage the will of expression of artists by supporting professional artists through a public choice (Lee, H., 2006). Specifically, the need for public support in films takes place in terms of the economic, political and social aspects of film production associated with market failure (Lee, D., 2002). Since the distribution of resources in the cultural sphere is hindered by factors such as incomplete competition, market failures are often caused by the external aspects and government support aims to remedy these shortcomings (Hansmann, 1980).

The notion that government support is needed in the non-profit cultural arts organisations which produce art films or independent films due to the state of imperfect competition arising from the costs and conditions of the cultural arts sector can be seen as extensions of Baumol's "cost diseases" and cultural-economic research. In particular, Baumol (1999) argued that "Change the Rules Will Lead to a Change in Culture, each government started to seek a real change in the cultural industry landscape by intervening into the market".

Film policies derive from the broader framework of cultural policy that depends on the ways in which each government allocates resources on the cultural field (Yang, K., 2004). In France, public intervention aims to ensure citizens' equal access and participation to culture. This is based on the French constitution, and the government must ensure that all of the

citizens are able to enjoy a cultural life. In France, culture is a key independent policy area alongside the economy and society. Accordingly, the government needs to actively deal with barriers to an equal access and participation in the cultural life, and the government policy can be aimed at a removing such barriers from a particular group or region within the country (MCC, 2004).

Cultural policy in France contributes towards the creation, preservation and succession of cultural art heritage. Cultural heritage is a collective shared national asset, and therefore key responsibility of each government is to preserve it. Interestingly, cultural art heritage differs from normal goods, because it is intangible and contains cultural value that reflects both on tradition and cultural diversity (Caves, 2000). Unlike other industries that operate on the principle of free market, cultural industries are partially protected by governments, and they are partially exposed to market dynamics (Galloway and Dunlop, 2006).

This chapter examines the government policies and institutions that support national film industries in France and Korea. Historically, film support institutions and policies have been created to preserve indigenous cultural expression and foster national economic health in response to the perceived threats posed by external film industries, mostly the Hollywood film industry. States are situated in a position of power to influence cultural meaning-making, and instituted nationally and internationally to establish and maintain indigenous film production.

There are two fundamental arguments given to justify government support to national film industries, one cultural and the other industrial. Cultural logic is to protect the expressions of national culture and identity from the dominant forces of Hollywood media. A national film industry is seen as a vehicle for local filmmakers to communicate the unique ideas, beliefs, narratives, myths, values, practices, costumes, environments and histories of a country.

Industrial logic is that governments are often interested in supporting the national film industry believing it can be a source of revenue and employment, contributing to the overall national economy.

In this chapter, the film policy of France and Korea is analysed according to the cultural and political ideology in each national context. It is notable that film policies develop upon three pillars: the historical evolution of film policies that create a trajectory upon which film

policies emerge; film policies in terms of cultural policies which derive from the political objectives of each government; and film archiving as means of film policy.

The first section historically analysed cultural policy of both countries, while the policy ideology is discussed in terms of justifying film policy support. The second section shows how the cultural policies of the governments have closely followed and affected the film policies within each ideological frame.

5.2. Cultural Policy in France

French historians divide the history of the French cultural policy of the late 20th century into 4 eras (Girard, 1996:13-18). The first era consists of two parts (from 1959 until 1969) were dominated by the co-existence of Charles de Gaulle and André Malraux, while from 1969 until 1973 was the era of Jacques Duhamel's under the Pompidou government (Girard, 1996). The second era from 1974 until 1981 was Valery Giscard d'Estaing's government, the third era from 1981 until 1993 was dominated by the French president Mitterrand and Jack Lang, and the fourth, from 1993 refers to the late Mitterrand's government and the Chirac's government (Girard, 1996).

5.2.1. Cultural Policy of André Malraux

Traditionally, French thinkers have been in agreement with the idea that the state (L'Etat) has cultural responsibility. During the absolute monarchy in the 17th century, there was a focus on the two roles taken by the patron and the censor (censeur). The first role provided support for the artist both individual and the organisation, and the second role applied a strict regulation to the production and the distribution of the artistic product (Song, D., et. el., 2003:249). Specifically, Louis XIII established the French Academy (Académie Française) in order to reinforce his role as a patron to protect and guard the official concept of the art. During the times of Louis XIV, the monarch appointed Colbert in the role of the Surintendant des Batiments, Arts et Manufactures to be in charge of buildings, arts and manufacture, a role which could be traced back to correspond to the job of Minister of Culture of today. Since then the origin and tradition of the support for literature and arts was carried through the age of revolution, and as the public thirst for culture increased, people started to show more interest in cultural heritage. To meet the increasing demand for arts and culture, a new organisation (Inspection generale des monuments historiques) was founded with the objective to focus on cultural heritage.

During the 1870's with the establishment of the 3rd Republic, a change occurred in the traditional role of the state as a patron of the arts. Previous policy had focused on the artistic merits, increasing the accessibility and thus democratisation of culture. As part of that, public schools (*école républicaine*)², were which were founded in order to provide education to the masses as well as music and art schools established in different regions included culture and art in their curriculum.

Moreover, *Théâtre national populaire* was established in 1920 so that the privileges of enjoying the culture could be experienced by the public. In 1913, France dominated 85 percent of the world cinema market but the Second World War brought a slump period to the French film industry, and foreign film quota system was established in European countries with the purpose of protecting each national film industry against the American films which encroached on the European film market. In 1928, through an agreement with the US, France implemented a quota system of importing seven films to one film produced in France, and allocated four out of the seven imported to be films from the US, however, this in effect had the result of opening the doors of the market to the American films. Consequently from 1929, 1200 American films were imported every year from the US and until the Second World War, the French film market was dominated by the American films (Lee, S., 2005:523-538).

During the era of the *Front Populaire* (1936-1938) and the era of Vichy government (1940-1944) this trend continued. Remarkably, it was reinforced during the 4th Republic when the democratisation of culture was specifically stipulated throughout the constitution (Eling, 1999:3). During this period, cultural policy focused particularly on film protection (Eling, 1999). In 1964 according to the Blum-Byrnes agreement, American films started to be imported into France and the French government established the National Cinema Centre to protect its own film companies and started giving funding support. Through the 'Avances sur Recette' system of supplying funding for the production costs without charging interest, they tried to revitalise the French film industry but the cultural policy of the 1940's still suffered difficulties from lack of finance. Money allocated to the arts only amounted to 0.1-0.2 percent of overall national finance budget, and the usefulness of the money was forever questioned by the government finance. It was probably due to the fact that there was no independent government ministry which was in charge of culture that it was hard to solve the

² state schools in the British system

problem of the financial difficulties (Joo, H., 2010:443). The main achievement of this period can be listed as the establishment of 'Maisons des jeunes et de la culture' which can be thought of the predecessor of 'Maisons de la culture' by André Malraux, and the policy of 'décentralisation théâtrale'- a decentralisation of movie theatres to establish a network of theatres that public throughout the whole of France can easily access.

In 1958 the fifth republic was founded, and the President Charles de Gaulle who put forward the idea of 'Gaullisme'³ as a ruling ideology to recover the grandeur and the pride France had enjoyed up until the Second World War, wished to achieve this by a method which was to implement a strong cultural policy. He established the ministry of cultural affairs (Ministre des Affaires culturelles), and appointed André Malraux as its minister. Through the decree on the establishment of the ministry of cultural affairs at the time, he stated as the founding objective: "The ministry of cultural affairs must give privilege of enjoying as much human legacy, in particular French legacy, to as many French nationals as possible and it must fulfil the responsibility of enriching creativity which gives rise to artistic creations" (Eling, 1999:5).

In order to realise the above, the target objective of the ministry consisted of: (1) the proliferation of the cultural heritage for the whole population, (2) renewal of the cultural heritage through support for creative artists, (3) preservation of all forms of cultural heritage, and (4) democratisation of culture. The target area of the arts consisted of music, performing arts, literature, formative arts, architecture and films.

Until the establishment of the ministry of culture⁴ in 1959, the bureaucratic organisation in control of the management of the arts had very limited scope of operation, only directing a small number of national arts organisations or being in charge of cultural events all which belonged to different departments. With the appointment of André Malraux, France formed a

³ President De Gaulle possessed a belief that France must be the number one country in the world and that without this grandeur France could not be, and to him the fate of France did not stop with the onset of the 20th century but that it was continuing in a new way. Therefore, he wished to recover 'la grandeur of France, and this ideology as his is known as 'Gaullisme'.

⁴ The French 'ministry of culture' has undergone many subsequent changes of nomenclature and categorisation since the establishment of 'ministre des Affaires culturelles' in 1959. In 1977, it became ministre des Affaires culturelles, in 1978, ministre de la Culture et de la Communication, then in 1981 ministre de la Culture, followed by ministre de la Culture et de la Communication in 1986. In 1988, it became ministre de la Culture et de la Communication, des Grands travaux et du Bicentenaire, only to change back to ministere de la Culture et de la Communication in 1991. In 1992 it was ministere de l'Education nationale et de la Culture, then the next year 1993 it became ministre de la Culture et de la francophonie, in 1995 simply ministre de la Culture, and in 1997 it remained as the ministre de la Culture et de la communication.

large scale cultural bureaucratic organisation which introduced a new vision for cultural policy. André Malraux concentrated under the authority of newly created institution activities related to cinema technology which used to belong to the national research institute and the minister of industry, the arts and literature, the French national archives, the rights of the detailed tasks of the high commission for youth and sports among others.

The cultural policy of Malraux aimed to democratise culture which sought to proliferate and supply of 'high culture' in the traditional sense. In addition, his cultural policy included notions of decentralisation of culture, cultural pluralism, and an open policy to share with the rest of the world. He anticipated that the ministry of culture should take over the control over the arts that used to be under the ministry of education, but that it would realise the dream of making culture gratuitous or 'for free'. His intention was to bring together the aesthetic and the educational level in order to provide the people who had not the opportunity to get close to the area of artistic creation with a universal right of access (Song, D., et. el., 2003:257). He focused on the protection and the development of the cultural heritage in order to expand area of cultural activities. After the war, the French society was facing the problem of 'rebuilding the nation'. A pressing task was to find the solution to the problem of de-culturalisation (people leaving or avoiding of culture) due to a rapid change in the French society. To provide identity for those French nationals who could not adapt to the rapid change in society, and to help them recover a social solidarity became a facing task of the cultural policy. Within this context, André Malraux continued to work for the inclusion of cultural plans within the '5 year National Socio-Economic Development Plan' subsequently succeeding in establishing the Commission de reéquipement culturel et du patrimoine artistique within the 4th national plan. He included the cultural policy operation in the '5th National Plan (1961-1965) and sustained the continued support for the creative activities (Im, M., 2002:298). From this time for the first time in history, cultural policy became part of the national plan, enabling a consistent development as well as budget support.

The main enterprise of the cultural policy at the time consisted of preservation and restoration of public monuments, increasing of regional cultural facilities, and starting of support policy for the creative sector. From 1964, he published an extensive list of cultural assets encompassing churches and old castles, houses and farms in the cities and countryside of various regions (Koo, K., 1999:109). He also strengthened the effective indirect support towards the French film production (Kim, H., 1993:315). Apart from this, Malraux became a

symbolic figure of French cultural policy by many other achievements including the reformation of architecture education, establishment of a private promotion fund for the theatre play and national opera, Historic monument Cadastral Act, protection law of historic sites, establishment of the Paris Symphony Orchestra and the Film Archive, ordering the cleaning of around 10,000 historic monuments including the Louvre museum, establishment of centre for cultural activities and the work on 'maison de la culture'. However, during this time the budget allocated for the culture remained at not more than 0.43 percent of the overall national budget (Choi, J., 2001:115).

André Malraux placed an emphasis on establishing social solidarity through culture, while shaping French cultural identity. He advocated for the autonomy of culture, the promotion of high culture as well as for the democratisation of culture, and during his term he conceived the idea of founding 'maison de la culture' in each 95 regions (département) throughout France in order to realise decentralisation of culture. At the time he was under the impression that through cultural acts ('action culturelle'), one could solve socio-economic problems. Cultural acts were regarded as general acts and formed the main roadmap of the national cultural policy.

The cultural acts could be realised at an institutional level at 'maison de la culture', in other words, through 'maison de la culture' the French people were provided with physical locations for meetings at which they could practice such 'cultural acts' and also presented with opportunities to easily approach artistic cultural activities through which their cultural desires could be satiated. This in turn would result in the strong formation of social solidarity. 'Maison de la culture' is to be a place where media of plays, music, films, formative arts, literature, or disciplines in science or humanities can be expressed and it is also to be a place where acts achieved in these various areas should provide lasting and remaining tools. It is to be a place where regional culture should be promoted as well as club activities and exchanges can take place (Song, D., et. el., 2003:198-199).

At the time, the state and regional communities participated equally (50 percent each part) in covering the building costs of 'maison de la culture'. 'Maison de la culture' was built as a multipurpose cultural space to support the creative activities of the artists and to let the regional inhabitants enjoy the products of such activities. The ministry of culture suggested as part of the facilities housed in the place the following: up to 2 multi-purpose halls to put on

plays, music concerts and film showing, an exhibition hall, a small scale public space, a library, a room for listening to the audio-visual records, and a meeting space. After the opening, the showing of a lot of films with mass appeal were included in the program in order for people who lived in areas other than Paris to get closer to high culture, and this was with the expectation that if they visited 'maison de la culture' often enough they would someday be coming in order to see music performance or plays. However, there were relatively higher number of works which required a certain cultural refinement or knowledge in order for them to be enjoyed; therefore, it was proven difficult to simply induce the enjoyment of high culture through an increased frequency of contact. Maison de la culture as a non-profit organisation was managed by the state as well as the local committees made up of the local communities and the inhabitants. Despite the fact that 'Maison de la culture' having the benefit of possessing a multipurpose function where they could promote a co-operative development from having all the cultural acts in one place, effectively it led to the decrease of actual creation and production costs due to the enormous management costs and the labour costs being required. In order to overcome this problem a lot of efforts were sought but despite all, since 1973 any new establishment of maison de la culture became impossible and only 12 such places remained (Kim, H., 1993:316).

5.2.2. The Cultural Policy of Jack Lang

In 1981, François Mitterrand was elected and the socialists became the ruling party. Jack Lang was appointed (1981-1993) as the minister of culture, prioritising the expansion of the cultural meaning and the abandonment of the elitist approach to culture. In particular, the social growth and the intellectual heritage of the 1968 revolution underpinned cultural policy. In January 1975, 'Rencontres Internationale de la Culture' led by the socialists, culture was defined as a collective symbolism which is justified through ideology and experienced through everyday life (Kim, M., 1999:225).

Afterwards, through the presidential election, Mitterrand as a candidate of the socialist party coined 110 propositions as the election pledge, and based on this the ruling socialist government started the most comprehensive and detailed cultural policy in history via ideological analysis of the relationship between economy, government and culture. The 110 propositions at the time included animation and diffusion as the objectives of the cultural policy – animation had the meaning to include the French public in the cultural activities and

diffusion meant to distribute the cultural products extensively.

In order to implement such a policy, Mitterrand expressed a strong will to increase the budget for culture (Eling, 1999:6) and as a result the year after the socialist government came to power in 1982, the budget for the ministry of culture increased 79 percent relative to the previous year (from 0.47 percent of the national budget in 1981 to 0.76 percent in 1982). In 1993, the budget for French ministry of culture reached 13.7 billion Francs (1 percent of the national budget) and this is seen as a result of institutional stability provided by the ruling socialist government since the 1980s.

The cultural ministry budget the year after Jack Lang was appointed was for 'Cultural Development' which encompasses the two areas of cultural democratisation and art education. It went from 1.5 percent in 1981 to 12.1 percent in 1982. Although there was a slight drop in the percentage allocated to the area of 'preservation of historical monuments', it still takes up a largest proportion of the overall budget. The support for the area of films and visual arts also saw a high increase throughout the 1980s.

Jack Lang made clear that his ideology of (1) culture is not limited to a privileged class of consumers, (2) culture is comprehensive, and (3) culture forms a part of life. The crux of cultural policy born from these ideals was characterised by an attempt to re-regulate the whole territory of cultural activities. It soon became a policy to expand the area of cultural activities and to encourage more French people to take part in creation and distribution of culture. By obtaining an unprecedented financial support Jack Lang was able to carry out the new program of promotion of culture effectively. Therefore, culture started to take its place in a financial level as well as within a regulatory level. Culture also became an object that most regional leaders of the country must take an interest in (Kim, C., 1997:67-68).

Jack Lang shared with Malraux the ideology of education of high culture and popularisation, but he wanted to include a comparative popular culture within the cultural territory in order to facilitate the artistic activities of the people. In order to raise consciousness through culture he wanted to abolish the cultural privileges and dilute the bourgeois influence on culture within the French society as well as eliminate the relationship of cultural enjoyment corresponding to each rank belonging to an organisation in order to change the unequal structure of culture. In order to achieve these objectives, it was necessary to ease the

approachability to culture and by expanding cultural space, he sought for expansion through participation. Culture was defined as part of life (*une dimension de la vie*) by emphasising the importance of participation and solving the cultural unfairness (Im, M., 2002:305).

As mentioned above, in order to abolish the privilege class of culture, he tried to include popular art such as songs, entertainment, jazz, fashion, comics, circus which used to be excluded from being part of the cultural policy. Lang also placed focus on collaboration with the ministry of education as well as ministry of public information in order to facilitate the participation of television and radio in the promotion of art education. He did not discriminate between pure culture and popular culture which represented the cultural industry and included in the target for support the areas of music recording, visual, crafts, city environment, industrial design, fashion, interior design, photography, musical instrument production. He wanted to lead the increase of national and private support to invigorate the activities of regional organisation, public organisations, companies, labour unions, organisations of cultural activities, cultural experts (Koo, K., 1999:112-113).

Lang explicitly presented these policy changes through the forms of financial support and the examples of these include financing support for French rock groups or opening the museum of cartoons (*Musée de la bande dessinée*). The cultural policy also clearly distinguishes itself in the '9th National Plan (1984-1989)', and the '4 priorities in the cultural policy' included in this plan involves : (1) development of creativity of the youth by increasing education and training in areas of imagination, sensitivity and expressiveness, also increasing the time devoted to education in the arts, (2) development of cultural industry, in particular decentralising the publishing and audio-visual industry into regions, and establishing a production line and distribution network, (3) redistribution of centres *diraction culturelle* nationwide in a more balanced manner, and (4) strengthening of scientific technology (Koo, K., 1999:113).

In order to realise such a democratisation of culture Jack Lang brought in the idea of 'barrier abolition'. He attempted to escape from the approach of his predecessor André Malraux who only included artistic culture in cultural policy making and who ostracised the entertainment element of culture from being included in the target of the cultural policy. Through the abolition of this barrier, Jack Lang tried to narrow the gap between the elitist art and popular art and wanted to widen the target object of cultural policy from being unitary to plural. As a

result, as mentioned above popular areas such as comics, fashion, chanson, video, circus, cooking became eligible for support from the ministry of culture on the same level as the areas of opera, literature and classical music.

5.4.3. The Establishment and Expansion of the French Cultural Identity

Jack Lang emphasised the identity of the French culture in his cultural policy and in particular, he recognised the complementary nature of culture and economy, which together form the cultural industry. At the time, there was a very strong opinion within the French public that a complete change of awareness within the cultural industry was in order. Compared to the support from the country for the arts, the influence exerted on the public was very high, and products of the cultural industry had to be reformed and improved. Therefore, Jack Lang set the following targets in providing support for the culture industry; (1) to win against the international standardisation, (2) to preserve a sense of belonging in the society, especially with respect to a particular culture, (3) to instil something French in the audience – the consumers of cultural industry, and (4) to highlight a French cultural value in the public cultural medium (Kim, H., 1993:318).

Jack Lang emphasised the fact that not only France but the whole of Europe was set to re-confirm European rationale in order to revitalise a European cultural identity at the 1982 European Economic Union meeting of the cultural ministers in Napoli, Italy. As a result, policies adopted included the establishment of ‘space audio-visual European’, European Cultural Foundation, and encouragement of collaboration at a European level. The main representative policy which reflected to the collaboration of European countries against the domination of the US, while protecting the national identity of France was the agreement to broadcast European programs above a certain quota on the TV and radio. The policy of ‘TV sans frontier’ which came into effect after October 1989 brought the result of weakening of the barrier within Europe and strengthening the border Europe has with the rest of the world. In the case of France, it was specifically set that a strict quota system of showing more than 60 percent of feature films only produced in Europe, and that 50 percent of those must have been produced in French.

The French culture and art policy emphasised the protection of French identity of the French culture as well as that of the whole European cultural identity, and placed priority in creativity and originality in all areas of culture seeking for a better cultural democracy within

such an environment.

5.2.4. Cultural Exception and Diversity of Culture

In the Uruguay round of the GATT in 1993 there was a dispute over the subject of cultural exception. France argued for an exception to be applied to cultural products in international markets, so that a country could protect its culture whose products have a different character to other general products by allowing a protectionist policy to be applied. The term cultural exception (*exception culturelle*) was recognised by other countries and became the rational basis behind employing a protectionist policy in international market of cultural products such as films, television programs and pop music. The objective of cultural exception consists of maintaining cultural identity in order to foster cultural diversity and differentiate substantially from the conventions of Americanisation. The principle of democratisation of culture carried on in the 1980s developed into the principles of cultural exception and cultural diversity. Methods such as strengthening cultural and art education for the public, regionalisation of culture, ensuring an egalitarian approach to culture were employed to preserve and maintain the diversity of culture.

In May 2007, President Sarkozy came to power and the French cultural policy placed its focus on developing the cultural industry within the capitalist economy whilst maintaining its emphasis on the diversity of culture. In particular, the meeting between cultural industry based on digital technologies and the arts became the new interest. In February 2009, the council for artistic creations was founded (*conseil pour la création artistique*) and a reform of the cultural policy as a whole was attempted. Despite the 10 Plans for the development and democratisation of culture put forward by the council in 2009, the cultural policy of Sarkozy faced criticism from the cultural artists and intellectuals that it regarded art and culture from the point of view of productivity and efficiency (Baecque, 2008). However, the cultural policy of the Sarkozy government can also be placed within the same wide framework of the extension of the original cultural policy which has its roots in cultural democratisation and diversity and raising the cultural status of the France (Joo, H., 2010:450).

In 1959 with the founding of the ministry of culture, the policy to support film industry became systematically organised through laws and regulations and Malraux first and foremost approached films from a cultural point of view. When the number of cinema audience decreased, he adopted a policy of supporting the films by their artistic merit through

a graded financial support system, therefore ensuring a high quality of the films. In 1961 art houses were built to have dedicated showings of art films, and through reforming 'avance-sur-recettes' basis for the appearance of 'auteur films' was created (Joo, H., 2010:444). Moreover, works were films were categorised as cultural heritage, and a body which carried on the work of collecting, arranging and storing of the past films was put under the charge of the CNC, reinforcing the system of film storage. Afterwards according to the laws set in 1975 and 1977, all films produced in France were compelled by law to be stored in the National Library (Joo, H., 2010:459).

5.2.5. Film Policy according to Ideologies of the Cultural Policy

Ideology of the Cultural Policy

Since the establishment of the ministry of culture in 1959 until today, throughout several different ministers of culture, and changes between the left and the right-wing governments, there has been a consistent theme in the French cultural policy of 'cultural democratisation'. Although there have been differences with respect to the cultural territory in which the cultural policy should be applied to, and also with regards to how the concept of culture should be defined in different eras, the idea of cultural democratisation played a vital role in improving the rights and privileges of culture for the French people.

André Malraux and Jack Lang each held the appointment of cultural minister for 10 years under absolute confidence of the respective presidents de Gaulle and Mitterrand, and therefore they were able to carry out the cultural policy in a consistent and continuous manner, establishing the framework of the French cultural policy. Straight after his inauguration, President de Gaulle, deploring the reality of the French of having lost their status after the War, wanted to France to rise from the feeling of defeat to recreate the great France of the previous era. At the time de Gaulle thought that France must become the No.1 country in the world and without this feeling of grandeur France could not exist. In order to recover the 'grandeur' he thought France should rediscover meaning from the past, realise the French value, moreover create a new French value- he expressed it as Gaullisme, and it stood for: recovering the grandeur, establishing the independence of the country, (l'indépendance), establishing the military capability (la puissance), and realising its worth in the areas of political diplomacy, society and culture (Yang, J., 2002:7-8).

It was within this background that André Malraux became the first ever French minister for ministry of culture, the first independent ministry established exclusive for this subject, and as a man who shared the same ideals and sentiments as de Gaulle, Malraux put forward democratisation of culture as the main objective of the cultural policy, in order to unify the French people, improve social solidarity and recover their pride through the enjoyment of the arts.

To Malraux, only highbrow art such as music (except popular music), literature, performance art, formative art, architecture, and films belonged to the area of culture, and this was because by restricting the area of art so that a common person could not easily pursue it, in other words only by making art worth sharing to be the target of the cultural policy, would coincide with Gaullisme which stood for recovering 'la grandeur'. Malraux suggested the establishment of 'maison de la culture' as a way of utilising space, costs and time with regards to bringing culture to the people. At the time he had plans of building at least one 'maison de la culture' in every 95 region (département) in the country, and envisioned having all French people draw paintings, watch plays, and watch films in the 'maison', just as every French child had the right to learn how to read (Kim, M, 1999:223). The plan which Malraux even went as far to call an 'adventure in the spiritual domain' (une aventure dans le domaine de respi) failed in obtaining adequate funding to be built everywhere in France like he wanted, but became a symbolic place where Malraux's original idea of cultural democratisation could be realised through participation, creation and distribution of culture, all which can be said to be components of democratisation.

On the other hand, Jack Lang who was appointed as the minister of culture by the Socialist government which came into power in 1981, attempted to eliminate the elitist element of the cultural democratisation from Malraux's previous cultural policy, while inheriting the idea of democratisation itself. Jack Lang adhered to the open attitude of *décloisonnement* by including pop music, Jazz, comics, circus, fashion and cooking in the target territory of the cultural policy as well as Malraux's high art. With such official and full policy support as well as budget support, comics museum and circus school were established and cultural events such as Music Festivals (Fête de la musique), Film Festivals (Fête du cinema), Open days for Historical Monuments (Journée de portes ouvertes dans les monuments historique), Photography Festival (photofolies) were held. Due to these policy changes, from the right political camp Jack Lang was criticised as an 'unprecedented destroyer of culture' who was

more interested in exhibitionist cultural administration rather than having an interest in the cultural heritage (Kim, M., 1999:226-227).

Jack Lang regarded culture as a dimension of life (*une dimension de la vie*) rather than distinguishing or discriminating as an arbitrary interpretation, attempting to change the participation in it from passive to active, and he had faith that this was the way of democratising culture. This re-definition of culture ended up leading to much active participation in culture from the people, and achieved a more open democratisation than that which had been pursued by Malraux. If Jack Lang's democratisation of culture played a role of destroying the barrier between the high art and popular art, his other policy of culture decentralisation started with the objective of reducing the gap between Paris and other regions (Kim, H., 1993:9).

Traditionally, cultural policy of France has centred on supporting the production and preservation of artistic work. Support for the production of art works can be thought to focus on the realisation of idea of cultural diversity. In the beginning, this was limited to the production of high art, but more and more diverse cultures (minor culture, subculture) became part of the object of the policy making. Moreover, the idea of welfare and democratisation in the cultural territory led the policy making to the consumption and enjoyment of culture, in other words towards the 'supply' end side of culture (Ahn, J., 2008:397).

It is remarkable that French cultural policy is intertwined with the foreign policy, as in some cases cultural policy is almost equivalent to foreign policy. The budget allocated to managing the cultural institutes, cultural centres overseas as well as libraries and overseas cultural enterprise amounts to 40 percent of the overall budget of the ministry of culture. The overseas cultural policy of France is seen as a direct way of achieving the protection and expansion of French values.

Film Policy according to Ideologies of the Cultural Policy

Film occupies a special position in the French cultural policy. This is because it is recognised as both culture and industry. France being the country which invented films dominated the early film market of the world, protecting its film industry from the domination of the US

films. It is notable that since the First World War, France applied an economic protectionist policy promoting author films among other policies of cultural fostering.

With the invention of film by the Lumiere brothers, many film makers such as Méliès got involved into film production. As a result, the French film industry grew rapidly, and in 1913 French films dominated 85 percent of the world film market. However, due to the effects of the war, French film industry suffered stagnation and the domination of film market was passed over to the American films. Each country in Europe tried to set up facilities of protecting its own film industry against the dominating force of the American films in the European film market by setting up the Film Europe movement, - a movement to create a Pan-European film industry, but this failed.

Foreign film import quota system was set up to protect domestic films against the American films. France set the upper limit of importing 7 works of foreign films, 4 of them American, to each French film produced, but this actually resulted in opening up the market to the American films. As a consequence, every year since 1929, around 1,000 American films were imported. In 1936, France-US agreement widened the market opening for the US films, and until the beginning of the Second World War, French film market was absolutely dominated by the American films (Lee, S., 2005:525-538). During the times of the Vichy government which came into power during the Second World War, it became possible to ban American films and this resulted in protecting the film French film industry from the US domination. During the Vichy government laws and regulations which formed the basis of the French film industry were established. For example, COIC (Comité d'Organisation de l'Industrie Cinématographique) was founded in order to protect the film industry, and through a law decreed on 25th October 1946 COIC was replaced by CNC.

After the end of the war, the problem of importing American films which had stopped during the war, was re-discussed and through the Blum-Byrnes agreement between France and the US in 1946, French cinemas were required to show domestic films for 4 weeks in a period, and 16 weeks in a year, while all control over the import of US films was abolished. However, when the American films started to be imported into France, the French government established the CNC and asked the US for a re-round of agreements. As a result of the re-round called the Paris Agreement, the compulsory period of domestic film showing was increased to 5 weeks from 4 weeks in one period, and a limit of 121 works of American films

and 65 non-American foreign films was placed. Moreover, CNC decreed the Film Support law in 1948, and came up with a special taxation for the support of films (TSA) in order to establish the film promotion fund, starting an active support policy for the film industry (Lee, S., 2005:523-538).

The French film policy considers both the artistic and the industry sides of film producing, and is carried out based on the two pillars of the national film centre and the film promotion fund. Its direction is roughly divided into three parts, Firstly, through indirect financial support – automatic and selective financial support, film financing from banks and other special financial institutions, various tax exemption, compulsory film production investment from TV broadcasting companies, preservation of film heritage, raising high-calibre film workers and educational program improving the interest in films. Secondly, policy that regulates through new laws and controls over film industry through – film ratings and certificate committee, film deposit law, license system for various film-related work, and regulations concerning the screening and distribution of films. Finally, the policy that focuses on the international distribution of French culture through French films, including promotion of the international collaboration of film production, financial support for French films distributed abroad, development of foreign market and increase of export by the film export department, and taking active part in law-making on films within the EEC as well as the European film support system.

In the 1970s, the development of the TV industry alongside the relationship between films and broadcasting became an important aspect of French film policy. In 1972, CNC under an agreement with the ORTF, made it compulsory for broadcasting companies to take part in film production. In film programming, it was compulsory to have over 50 percent of French films scheduled based on a quota system. In 1982, the regulatory measures on the relationship between films and broadcasting were specified explicitly in the law, while broadcasting companies must invest a certain proportion of their sales into film production, and must abide by the quota system set for French and European films.

Moreover, there was a limit on the number of broadcasted films, and films can only be sold on videos a year after the opening screening, and can only be broadcast on TV three years later. According to the 1957 Rome Agreement, European Economic Community was established, which got rid of the protection barriers between the countries within Europe and

guaranteed the free trade, and this became another area of contention for the French film industry protection policy. From the early 1980s there was a gradual pressure from the free trade agreements (including GATT) and French film protectionist policy was strongly criticised at international level. Responding to this, the French ministry of culture started claiming idea of 'cultural exception' in terms of film and the broadcasting industry, receiving the political support of other European countries as means of protectionism against Hollywood international domination.

In the 1980s France started to recognise the importance of the cultural industry. While cultural creation was recognised as a component of economic development, cultural policy aimed to provide direct and indirect support to companies operating in this field. As a result, financial support for companies, indirect support through tax redemption as well as direct support started to appear. In this process, there was a re-examination of what is modern and what is traditional, culture and industry, culture and entertainment, and the French cultural policy started to pay more attention on the industry side (Creton, 1997:122). The establishment of Film and Culture Industry Promotion Fund (IFCIC) and Audio-visual Production Finance Company (SOFIC) happened around this time (The Korea Cultural Policy Institute, 1997:152). Nevertheless, the strong support towards film production was criticised within France.

This is because the support for French film is given in two different ways. The first is a pre-selection method, where they pre-select films by new directors who have yet to make a name for them, or to support experimental films, and the second is an automatic support by which fund which is accumulated in ratio to the success of sales is automatically given to the production company. Around 60 percent of the French film production support is given via the second method of automatic support. It is remarkable that 60 percent of the funds allocated for the automatic support are absorbed by the 10 production companies and only 10 percent of it is distributed to the remaining 115 production companies. Companies that are already dominating the market also receive the support. This centralisation of automatic support deepens the domination of large companies amplifying inequalities within the industry, while having negative consequences for film quality. Actually, the numbers of films that win awards at International film festival have been dropping every year since 1987 (Lalevee and Levy-Hartmann, 2007).

Since the 1980s and the rise of the neo-liberal globalisation, the French government attempts to promote the French film industry, concentrating on the economic value of the industry. It is notable that within French government, there are supporters of globalisation pressurising for replacement of ethnocentric views on culture, claiming for embracing a cultural policy that has global impact. This can be interpreted as a reaction to the domination of Hollywood films after the second half of the 1980s, and a way to produce internationally appealing art and commercial films (Danan, 1994:216).

Over time, French cultural policy has been developed based on the ideas of cultural diversity, cultural democratisation, protection and expansion of French values. In contrast to cultural industries approach in the US, according to which 'cultural industry must also be recognised as production and consumption ruled by market economy', Mitterrand claimed that 'spiritual creations are being changed into products' and this shows the French opinion on what a culture is. This position taken by France also influenced other European countries, energised by Jacques Delors who was then the president of the EC (France National Cultural Policy Committee, 1997:31). The ideology of cultural diversity is explicitly divided in the French film policy into the following parts: automatic support and pre-selected support which ensures diverse production of films, and support on distribution and screening which ensures that diverse films can be seen by many audience (especially with regards to art film support and broadcasting quota system etc.).

The film policy's goal of democratisation targets in fact to enrich film education. Moreover, policy attempts to stimulate local governments to broaden audience participation in film production. The idea of protecting and expanding French values is treated with importance especially with respect to foreign relations, and is also related to the idea of cultural diversity. Many countries treat the protection of its own cultural values as the most important task in their cultural policy. However, during the de Gaulle government, there exists also a motive of raising the status and international power of France through its culture. This is also an important idea in the relation France has with the US who uses its huge influence of the film industry to threaten France. The specific policy which deals with the protection and expansion of French values involves several works of promoting French films abroad as part of the foreign policy, and industry support mechanism which tries to provide a stable source of production finance for French films include several industry support system (film

production support from the broadcasting industry, SOFICA, tax exemption system) (Ahn, J., 2008:396-397).

5.3. Cultural Policy in Korea

After the liberation in 1945, the Korean society was in a chaotic state riddled with many conflicts between the traditional culture and the foreign culture, which reflected on the struggle between pure and popular culture, as well as the confrontation between the official culture and the culture of resistance culture (Kim, M., 1998). Fundamentally, the debate about cultural policy revolved around cultural instrumentalism which saw culture as a tool and the principle of culture-for-its-own-sake.

The government concentrated on policies which put the economic growth at the forefront, deepening inequalities between many parts of the society. Cultural policies often had strong political symbolism, and consequently, they were restricted into benefiting an elite minority, allowing limited spectrum for public participation. As a result, Korean cultural policies have been assessed as not being able to meet the majority of expectations and demand which the Korean public had for the satisfaction of its cultural needs. In the middle of the 1980s decade, Korea came to host mega events such as the Asian Games as well as the Seoul Olympic Games, leading to a change in the public consciousness and the cultural policies of the government. The spirit of the times resulted in the establishment of the ministry of culture which became the independent institution solely in charge of cultural administration in the 1990. Since then the ministry of culture have gone through changes in the nomenclature to ministry of culture and sports in 1993, ministry of culture and tourism in 1998, and ministry of culture sports and tourism in 2008.

Unlike France, cultural policy in Korea has changed its objective and ideology varying according to the political objectives of each government. In this case there is a perspective of dividing the era of the cultural policies based on the government change into 8 connecting stages⁵ starting from the Rhee, Sungman government until the current participatory government. There is also a system of division into 4 eras only depending on the cultural policy on its own, into the four broad stages of formation, institutionalisation, growth and

⁵ Rhee, Sungman government (1948-1960), the 3rd Republic (1961-1972), the 4th Republic(1973-1979), the 5th Republic(1980-1987), the 6th Republic (1988-1993), Civil government(1993-1998), People's government(1998-2003), Participatory government(2003-2008) these form the 8 stages.

maturity. From a very large scale point of view, like in the case of France which started out with the onset of the de Gaulle government of its 5th Republic and with the establishment of *Ministere des Affaires Culturelles* in 1959, taking root and systemising the French cultural policy, similar parallel can be drawn in Korea, with the President's directive no. 12895 in January 1990, to found a ministry of culture finally giving rise to people's cultural rights and participation on a systematic level. With this model, we hope to analyse the development stages of the Korean cultural policy broadly in two main stages, under each government.

5.3.1. Cultural Policy before the Establishment of the Ministry of Culture

The Rhee, Sungman government (1948-1960) which was established in 1948, put forward as its main ruling ideology 'anti-communism', 'democracy' and 'nationalism'. Chaotic events, such as the Korean War, followed Korean liberation, and therefore, culture was regarded as an important tool to realise the ruling ideology of South-North Korean unification, while cultural policy based on this idea was formed only within the framework of anti-communism and nationalism. There was much difficulty in carrying out the actual practical policy due to a vulnerable socio-economic situation straight after the war.

In 1948, the Rhee, Sungman government founded the Ministry of information⁶, and the 'Art Exhibition of Republic of Korea' was established with the event to be hosted by the government. Moreover, cultural organisations which were managed during the Japanese colonial times acquired proper legal national status such as the national museums and national library, and during the Korean War on 7th August 1952, legislation no. 248 'culture protection law' was decreed in an attempt to protect and preserve the tangible cultural asset, and consequently the academy of science and academy of art were established. In 1953 there was a decree for cultural people to be registered, and in 1954 a training school for Korean traditional music was built followed by the 'Korean Academy of Arts Prize' being established in 1955. In 1954, there was a reform on the law regarding the 'tax on admissions to movie cinema' giving tax break on the admissions fee to Korean movies. In 1958 and 1959 'Hansan film production promotion and measure to preferential compensation for film entertainment circulation' as well as 'foreign film quota system' were introduced (Im, H., 2003:95).

⁶ The cultural part was initially divided into and operated under two parts – ministry of information under the prime minister and ministry culture and education but in 1956, the information service joined the President's direct press service and films and book publishing was united with the ministry of culture and education.

The Rhee, Sungman government stayed limited in its scope of cultural policy mainly concerned with establishing, operating new national cultural organisations, and supporting a small number of civil organisations in the difficult times after the war with its limited finance, however credit should be given to the fact that it laid the foundations for consolidating the work related to cultural area within an administrative framework.

The Park, Junghee government (1961-1979) which came into power in 1961 proclaimed 'modernisation of homeland', 'anti-communism', 'nationalism' as its ruling ideology. Under such ideological framework the cultural policy of this time put forward the elevation of national culture as its priority and various institutional strategies was laid down in order to make this settle among the people. In 1961, information service was founded and the area of performing arts and films, and periodical publication was brought back under the auspices of the information service, from the ministry of culture and education which had happened in 1959. In 1965, according to the 'Furtherance of Local Cultural Projects Act' the regional cultural organisations were made into corporations, and given financial support usually in promoting the government policies among the people, and in 1968, the ministry for culture and information⁷ was established to bring the work of managing cultural assets, museums, art, publishing and religious affairs under the new ministry from the existing ministry of culture and education which had been in charge of these areas. The 1960s was a period of construction⁸ in which various regulatory and legal frameworks were introduced in order to modify the legal and administrative properties of cultural policy.

In the 1970s, the Korean cultural policy faced a big turning point due to the enactment of the 'culture and arts promotion law' in 1972, which provided the institutional foundation of cultural policy. As was written in the 1st article of the 'cultural and arts law' this law aimed to 'contribute towards the restoration of the national culture by inheriting and succeeding the traditional culture of Korea and creating new culture through supporting activities which promote culture and art' (Lee, S., 1972).

⁷ The ministry for culture and information became reduced to department of culture and arts in 1979 through a reorganisation plan. A department for international exchange was founded, and department for culture was founded in overseas information service.

⁸ In 1961 information service was established, in 1961 enactment of law on performance and registration of printing house, 1962 enactment of law on protection of cultural assets, law on management of Buddhist asset, management of assets of Confucian School, in 1963 enactment of laws on UNESCO registration.

In 1973 Korean Culture and Arts services which oversaw the support administration work of culture and art was founded as a special non-profit organisation so that government support could be realised in an earnest manner.⁹ In 1974 for the first time in the history of Korean cultural policy a mid-long term plan was made under the title ‘The 1st Arts and Literature Promotion 5 year plan’. The main objectives of this policy plan were ‘establishing the correct racial history and creation of new racial culture’, ‘improvement of people’s cultural level’ and ‘enhancing of the national prestige through active international exchange’ (Art Council Korea, 1979). In 1978 ‘The 2nd Arts and Literature promotion 5 year plan’ was made, with the objective of ‘racial culture tradition research and development’, ‘creation of new racial culture and art based on the traditional culture’, ‘promotion of balanced and fair cultural life’, and ‘improving international exchange of culture and art’.

The budget for culture in the 1970s increased steadily over time as it became diversified from the normal government allocated amount to include culture and arts promotion fund and the publishing fund. In 1973 the budget allocated for culture and arts was 870 million won, but in 1974 this increased to 1.4 billion won, then 4.8 billion won in 1979. The budget for cultural asset management also increased from 3.06 billion won in 1973 to 11.6 billion won in 1979.

The Chun, Doohwan government (1981-1987) came into power in 1981 and indicated externally the strong desire to advance national culture by specifying article no.13 in the constitution of the 5th republic. In 1981 in the “New Culture Policy” the government set ‘establishing cultural identity’, ‘welfare division of cultural privileges’, ‘improving creative cultural capabilities’, ‘improving social education through various cultural facilities’. In 1983 ‘the Fifth National amendment Plan for socio-economic development’ was proclaimed and in this ‘cultural development’ was included as a crucial development strategy of 3 plans of national policy bringing cultural policy to the forefront of area for improvement in national development. In 1984, ‘5 year plan of revival of regional cultural activities and expansion of cultural facilities’ was proclaimed. In the plan was the objective to build six multi-cultural halls with performance hall and exhibition space in different cities and provinces according to each cultural infrastructure with 1.65 billion won budget invested for 5 years from 1984 (Koo, K., 1999:171-172). Moreover, the ‘6th socioeconomic 5 year development plan’ proclaimed in 1986 stated ‘realisation of cultural welfare’, ‘establishment of cultural identity’, and

⁹ Korean culture and arts promotion service was changed into Culture and Arts Committee in August 2005, according to a reform law on culture and arts promotion decreed earlier that year on 27th January.

‘vitalising cultural creativity’, ‘internationalisation of culture’, and ‘activating culture for national development’ as basis for its policy.

The Chun, Doo-hwan government started the building of national modern art museum, Seoul Arts Centre, National Centre for Korean traditional music and this is closely related to the increase in budget for culture. The percentage culture took up in the overall national budget increased from 0.23 percent (1980) to 0.3 percent (1987) and budget for culture and art specifically increased 14.59 billion won (1980) to 20.92 billion won (1983), then again to 54.02 billion won in 1986. Moreover, around this time, various existing laws on culture and arts promotion, performance, film, cultural asset protection, advertising standards agency, records and copyright all went through various reform, and new laws on building protection (1984) and museums (1985) were decreed.

The Roh, Taewoo government (1988-1992) which came into power in 1988 concentrated on the successful hosting of the impending Seoul Olympics and raising awareness of Korean culture through this event by opening culture and arts exchange at a promotional level, and relaxing of the pre-censoring of film scenario. This sort of opening of culture and art to communist countries and countries with no diplomatic relations just prior to and after the Olympic games faced criticism that it had no practical result in cultural policy but was simply an external promotion for show but nonetheless can be seen to have provided positive opportunity for diversification of culture.

5.3.2. Cultural Policy after the Establishment of the Ministry of Culture

Notably, Korean cultural policy has become more systematic and diverse since the 1990s. In particular, the Roh, Taewoo government initiated a new cultural strategy under the slogan ‘cultural democracy’, focusing on participation, promotion and encouragement rather than control, regulation and restriction. At the time, socio-economic development of the country was re-approached in the light of culture, and for this reason, cultural policies were addressed from a macro-level and long-term perspective. Principally, culture was expected to play a pivotal role in the nation’s development strategy (Choi, J., 2001:158-15), and for this reason in January that year under the president’s directive no.12895, ministry of culture was founded. According to this directive, the ministry of culture became an independent and responsible for all cultural affairs, while proclaiming ‘cultural development 10 year plan (1990-1999)’ to suggest a comprehensive cultural direction which consisted of the following five basic course

of direction in order to realise the 'cultural welfare nation': (1) framework of 'welfare of culture' directed to enrichment of the mind, (2) framework of 'harmony of culture' to solve conflict, (3) framework of 'openness of culture' in preparation of industrial era, (4) framework of 'national culture' in the pacific rim era, and (5) framework of 'culture for unification' to prepare for an era of co-operation between the North and the South Korea.

This plan tried to differentiate itself from the previous policies by recognising the people not just to be consumers of culture, but also creators. The purpose of this cultural policy was to connect areas of artistic creativity with practical experience emphasising rather than increasing the welfare level through a cultural life. The ministry of culture also held short term planned cultural events to bridge the gap between culture and the public, building a mobile art gallery, national theatre, library, museum, while organising various cultural actions revolving around the Korean traditional music theatre, movies, family cultural movement, cultural postcard movement, the selection of cultural person of the month, book tokens, designation of the year of culture, establishing of the Ssamji Plaza, cultural sarang-bang movement, building the creative village, operation of Korean cultural school (Koo, K., 1999:177-178).

In the last year of the Roh, Taewoo government in 1992, 'the 7th socio-economic development plan' was proclaimed which included in it the following objectives of the cultural policy: 'improvement of cultural creativity', 'improvement of the function of cultural media and expansion of cultural enjoyment', 'facilitating regional culture', 'promotion of international cultural exchange'. The budget for culture continued to increase from 87.43 billion won in 1990, 121.84 billion won in 1991, 143.67 billion won in 1992. In the case of the year 1992, the percentage taken up was 0.43 percent of the whole national budget, that compared to the early 1980s¹⁰, this meant an increase of over twice in ratio to the overall amount, and the volume increase was over 10 times.

In 1993, the Kim, Youngsam government came into power (1993-1997) and with the presidential directive no.13869, the ministry of culture was merged with the sports and youth ministry to become the ministry of culture and sports. Soon afterwards a new culture, sports and youth promotion 5 year plan and a new Korean culture 5 year plan were announced. This

¹⁰ In the case of 1981, the whole amount allocated to culture and art was 14.284 billion won, and it was 0.18 percent of the whole national budget.

policy was based on principles, such as 'from regulation to freedom', 'central to region', 'creative class to enjoyment class', 'division to unification', 'towards a wider world'. Consequently 'vitalisation of regional culture', 'fair distribution of cultural welfare', 'improvement of cultural creativity', 'improving of the cultural environment', 'developing cultural industry', 'improving of the corporate culture', 'Hankyoreh culture establishment' were suggested. There was also an attempt to establish a culture for unification and exchange of culture between the North and the South Korea (Choi, J., 2001:161).

In 1995, there was a lot of interest in 'globalisation of Korean cultural art' and policies such as 'plan to connect culture and tourism in the time of globalisation' were suggested. In 1996, 'Vision and Strategy of Korean culture facing the 21st Century' was announced with 'industrialisation and informatisation of culture', 'globalisation of our culture and art', 'improving people's cultural life', 'establishing cultural environment in readiness for re-unification' within its ideology (Im, H., 2003:112). In 1997, the plan titled 'Culture Vision 2000' was announced 'culture of diversity and integration', 'enriched lives and democratic culture', 'industrialisation of culture and culturisation of industry', 'national culture facing re-unification', 'generalisation of cultural globalisation' were all suggested as new framework for culture.

As its task, 'cultural education for a creative human being', 'expansion of support for culture and art creation', 'nurturing of cultural industry and culturisation of industry', 'encouraging regional culture', 'establishing a national culture facing re-unification', 'globalisation of Korean culture' were suggested. Among the set tasks, 'encouraging regional culture' is related to the historic fact that in 1995, South Korea had its first president elected by popular vote. Afterwards, cultural policy became closely connected to revitalising regions, and as a result, hosting cultural and art events and building of cultural and art centres, expansion of cultural space, building of centre for culture all became priorities in the policy making of the time.

From the legal and regulatory point, in 1994 'regional cultural promotion law' was proclaimed and in 1995 for the fostering of visual culture and industry, 'audio-visual promotion basic law' was proclaimed, as well as 'film promotion law' during the same year. The 'film promotion law' included various clauses on deregulation of film production registration, deregulation of film production and import result, relaxing the limit on number

of independent film production, abolition of film production reporting, abolition of export recommendation, reformation of ratings system, and specifying of government's film promotion policy objective, establishing occupations in co-production of film production, obligatory image data submission, support for exclusive screening cinemas, establishing of a fund for film promotion, and in 1995 the law on records and videos underwent a reform.

The budget for culture during the Kim Youngsam government was increased from 166.9 billion won on culture in the year 1993 when the new ministry of culture and sports was founded to 220 billion won in 1994, 299.2 billion won in 1995, 350.8 billion won in 1996 and finally to 442.3 billion won in 1997. The ratio of budget on culture to the national culture also expanded from 0.44 percent in 1993 to 0.62 percent in 1997.

President Kim Daejung came into power in 1998 (government 1998-2002) and at his presidential inauguration speech he stated the importance of 'building of creative knowledge nation based on cultural development', stating that 'we must make an effort to globalise our national culture. Moreover, we must inherit the high cultural merit hidden in our traditional culture and develop it. The cultural industry is the industry of the 21st century'.

A blueprint for promoting the exporting image industry, animation, conference, and tourism industry into the overseas market was provided expanding the work of cultural policy into the area of cultural industry. With the government change, immediately the existing culture and sports ministry was changed into culture and tourism ministry, and 'New cultural policy of the People's government' which based itself on building of a cultural welfare state was stated, emphasising the 'power of culture'. Through 'Culture vision 21' the ideology of the cultural policy was set to 'improving the quality of life through culture and creating money and competitiveness for the country', 'knowledge information society with culture at the central value', 'building of a post-modern society', 'solving conflict and prejudice and creating a cultural democracy of harmony and balance', 'establishing cultural identity and realising globalism through cultural diversity' and specific plans to achieve these were suggested.

It is notable that in terms of the budget allocated for culture during this time was that for the first time the ratio of budget for culture exceeded 1 percent of the whole national budget. In 1998, the first year of the government there was 484.8 billion won earmarked for culture, and this increased to 664.7 billion won in 1999, 963.9 billion won in 2000 with the percentage of

the national budget exceeding 1.02 percent. This is a symbolic result showing how the importance of culture has been recognised as a policy priority for the government.

The direction of the cultural policy taken by the government of Roh, Muhyun (2003-2008) can be explained by voluntary participatory decentralisation and integration and connection. Through mid-long term policy visions such as Creative Korea, New Arts policy, C-Korea 2010, they tried to provide a creative environment through improving the cultural enjoyment of the people, aiming for a balanced national development, support for marginalised area and getting more public participation within the cultural administration, creating more synergy between culture, tourism and sports industries, all which would lead to an improved core capabilities of the culture industry (Park, K., 2009:227-228).

Once the Kim, Daejoong government had been laying the foundation for fostering cultural contents by establishing the basic laws for cultural industry promotion and preparing the comprehensive support system for the cultural industries, the government of Roh Moohyun not only continued with the cultural contents fostering in preparation for the expansion and globalisation of the *Hallyu* (Korean wave), but also tried to include art and sports, next generation multimedia industries, tourism, leisure sports into the policy target. The relevant organisation was divided into media department in charge of newspapers and broadcasting and publishing, and another department of cultural industries in charge of audio-visual, records games and cultural contents (Park, K., 2009:230). The Lee, Myungbak government (2008-2013) tried to aim at being an open and tolerant nation, by having all of its people enjoy the benefits and richness of a cultural life and to raise the national brand and image abroad. Unlike the Roh Muhyun government which stood for an egalitarian division in its policy, the Lee government promotes competition for getting the support to encourage competitiveness in a strategic manner, and in its arts policy, it emphasises artistic superiority and quality (Park, K., 2009:265-266).

5.3.3. Film Policy according to Ideologies of the Cultural Policy

Ideology of Cultural Policy

The period in-between Korean liberation and 1980, the cultural policy could not escape from the cold war ideology, and was largely used as a tool of defender-promoter of ‘free democracy’. Until 1950’s, the cultural policy lacked a clear idea of what culture is, but

operated mainly as an instrument for proliferating the ideology of ‘anti-communism’ and ‘nationalism’ in the chaos which followed the liberation and the ravages of the Korean war. Even during this time, a minimum level of policy was carried out, including the establishment of the National Theatre and National Korean Traditional Music Hall, as well as the legislation of the culture protection law and copyright law, however there was a lack of financial system set in place by the government in order to carry out a macroscopic work apart from the very basic protection of traditional cultural heritage and art. In other words, political ideology ruled all aspect of society too strongly, impeding free creation and development of ideas (Choi, J., 2001:164-165). Only one part of argument was shown to rise to the surface under the banner of nationalism, and although cultural activities that were carried out under the ruling ideology were allowed with lenience, there was a strict exclusion of any leftist ideology by anti-communism (Jung, C., 2004:114-115). Rather than cultural policy existing in the atmosphere of prioritising national culture, it could be said that the cultural policy existed for the sake of delivering ideology pursued by the nation.

The cultural policy of the 1960s became more institutionalised compared to the 1950’s and lots of support as well as regulatory measures were made with respect to cultural art. Park, Junghee government which came into power through the 5.16 coup d’état inherited the ideology of anti-communism and nationalism from the Rhee, Sungman government as well as claiming for modernisation of the nation. The cultural policy was developed with the objective of bringing people together ideologically, and it is thought that culture was believed to have the power of healing social ills. During the rapid modernisation led by the government in the 1960s various social problems occurred due to the desolate spirit and the contradictory values which arose during the modernisation process.

Moreover, cultural policy at this time was utilised as an instrumental tool for economic development. In his annual state, president Park, Junghee stated that cultural and education administration should take care of providing the spiritual support for modernisation, and in order to achieve this, we must strive to foster self-reliance of the people, promotion of industry, science and technology education for the innovation of people’s lives, develop national culture and art to instil inspiration in people’s spirits.

In the 1966 address, he stated that the racial superiority must be strongly invoked for the sake of the modernisation of the nation, and emphasised the importance of the role of the culture

and the importance of education. In the New Year's address in 1968, he stated that for the economic development we needed human modernisation, self-realisation, and a human economy, and in particular, diligent and self-reliant people. In order to realise a self-reliant economy people should abandon habits, such as pleasure-seeking, blame, jealousy, envy and instead, and embrace values such as being diligent, frugal, self-reliant, co-operative and had love for one's own country. He thought that culture and education, and the role of media were important for this, and regarded the relationship between culture and economic development as a close one, even going so far as to call culture 'the second economy'. Through direct intervention of the state, the Park, Junghee government supported various areas related to culture by enacting various cultural legislation, supported various cultural organisations and set up cultural prizes, and established 'Korea Art and Culture Ethics Committee' to control cultural activities, which combined both support and control.

In the 1970s, Korean cultural policy finally reached a comprehensive level under more substantial aid and support. 'Culture and Art Promotion law' in 1972 was the first institutional facility to lay the basis for cultural policy, and the 'Literature and Art Promotion 5 year plan' in 1974 was the first mid-to-long term plan in the history of Korean cultural policy. However, despite all this, the cultural policy was not free from being criticised as a propaganda machine for the government for justification of its own political system during and after his Yushin administration. As shown in the example above of 'Culture and Art Promotion Law', the main content of this law was the succession of traditional culture and discovery and preservation of cultural asset, ultimately stating establishment of national culture as its biggest target. However, for Park, Junghee government traditional culture was simply an agent for unifying the society, establishing cultural identity, and economic development, and through this it hoped to maintain status-quo. Therefore, the cultural policy of this time stayed limited at the level of supporting the government ideology under the banner of 'nation modernisation'.

In the 1980s the concept of 'welfare' was introduced into the Korean cultural policy, and the improvement of cultural welfare was emphasised. First of all, the Chun, Doohwan government stated 'creation of an advanced fatherland' as the ruling ideology, and consequently as a means of improving the quality of life for people, 'social justice' and 'cultural welfare' came to the fore. Through the '5 year socio-economic reform plan' there

was a policy change towards inclusion, so that the whole population and not just artists would be the beneficiary of cultural policy.

According to this, there was an expansion of cultural facilities and infrastructure across the whole country, not just in the capital Seoul, and the support for popular culture also improved. According to the city, and the prefecture, many art centres housing exhibitions and concert halls were built, as well as mobile museums and galleries have been created to bring art and culture to the mass. The cultural policy of the mid 1980s compared to that of the 1970s finally became an independent national policy objective of its own from being a tool of national modernisation. Despite the quantitative and the qualitative change the political justification present since the times of the Chun, Doohwan government for the cultural policy made it difficult to get the full support of the people, and even came to face the resistance of an autochthonic ‘mass culture’ which lead to a cultural division.

In the 1990s, an open cultural policy was introduced. Prior to the hosting of the 1988 Seoul Olympic games, the Roh Taewoo government which had just come into power, wanted to encourage participation into the Olympics in order to promote the country to the world. As a result, the government carried out an open cultural policy and relaxed much of the regulations. These measures taken with respect to communist countries and countries with which there were no relations, marked a turning point for the Korean cultural policy towards diversification, and in the 1990s the first administrative deregulation towards opening of the culture was set in motion.

With the establishment of an independent cultural ministry solely in charge of the culture, and through the ‘Culture Development 10 year Plan’ the direction of ideology of welfare, harmony, openness, and re-unification within the framework of culture was set. Most of all, emphasising the ‘recovery of homogeneity of national culture’ on the level of cultural development showed a clearly improved capacity for discriminating, and provided an opportunity to enter the stage of the Korean cultural policy-making of cultural development which pursued openness and diversity of Kim Youngsam government which came into power in 1993, set its cultural policy direction towards globalisation as well as seeking a ‘qualitative’ improvement rather than one of quantitative improvement.

Therefore, the direction of the cultural policy was set to improve the average quality of life of each individual, and through this the dignity of each person as a responsible being would be protected. Moreover, a policy for establishing a cultural environment for re-unification was implemented, through a detailed and phased plan of North-South cultural exchange, in order to recover the homogeneity of Korean culture.

The ideology of the cultural policy of the Kim Youngsam government can be summarised as 'becoming a developed cultural welfare state'. In order to realise this, 'de-regulation', 'from centre to the regions' 'from the creative class to the enjoyment' was all used as the slogan for the policy. The Kim Youngsam government was a civilian government which came after many years of authoritarian military governments and was proud of being established in a democratic manner, declaring participation and accessibility as the defining principles of cultural policy.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the cultural market was opened up as the Kim Youngsam government guaranteed to advance the conglomerates of the cultural market, which resulted into the expansion of the Korean cultural market. In 1995, the system of local governments was set in motion and the cultural policy developed in close relation with regional cultural development. Regional cultural policy which had been limited to public administrative duties diversified into many different areas of work, and cultural venues which protected and created each regional specialty and benefit were built and regional events were hosted, as dictated by a practical policy planning.

By the middle 1990s, based on the credit of being a 'civilian government' as well as 'taking the correct approach to history', and in order to differentiate itself and improving on the negative nationalist connotation of the policies of the previous government ideas like 'one-nation culture', 'homogeneity of North-South Korean culture' were promoted for reconciliation. This trend in cultural policy continued into the Kim Daejoong government, and by the end of the 1990s, cultural policy was including practical and administrative support for the international competitiveness of the cultural policy and establishment of a cultural identity.

By recognising cultural industries as knowledge-intensive and closely related to the IT industry, the Korean government introduced a new framework that included laws and

administrative measures, for creating value, raising specialist labour, improving creativity in cultural domains, while developing new industries through the investments in infrastructure. In addition, the policy of tolerance towards North Korea was implemented through active cultural and artistic exchange. In general, it was through the 1990s when the cultural policy of Korea underwent a transition from that of control and regulations in the past into one of promotion and encouragement. The Roh, Muhyun government's cultural policy ideology that concentrated on creating cultural value in various areas of the society, while enhancing participation, while aiming to create a strong cultural identity through improving diversity. Essentially, the new framework for cultural policy aims to stimulate private initiatives towards culture at regional level and global cultural exchange for peace and prosperity all were sought as universal realisation of culture (Kim, C., 2009:104).

Film Policy according to Ideologies of the Cultural Policy

For a long time, the Korean film industry has received preferential treatment in its policy. From the founding of the modern nation of Korea, the Korean government has treated Korean films differently to foreign films and has tried to improve the quality of Korean film culture as well as nurturing and developing the Korean films (Hwang, H., 1995:68). From the 1st Republic after the liberation until today, many film policies have been implemented, and the main policy can be roughly divided into the three categories of regulation, protection and promotion.

In 1905, the first film was introduced in Korea, and regulation about films started around that time. Film regulation system which was introduced during the Japanese occupation period as a method of ruling the colony has kept its original shape since and throughout the liberation and establishment of the Korean government until today, forming the basis of the film policy of Korea (Lee, B., 2001:64). It is not an overstatement to say that the initial film policy consisted entirely of control and regulation administration (Kim, H., 1994:196). The security law decreed by the Japanese empire in Korea in July 1907 during the last days of the 'Korean Empire' can be construed to be the prototype of Korean film policy. The suppression and the control were strengthened by the Japanese through the Chosun Film Law decree on Chosun films (Chosun was the Dynasty of Korea at the time of Japanese occupation, and the name by which Korea was referred to) with the outbreak of the Second World War and Korea under the Japanese rule also transitioned into a war-mobilised state. In this decree, all productions,

distributions and screening of films had to have permission, and both pre-censorship and post-censorship were strengthened, keeping a strict control on the Chosun film industry (Yang, K., 2004:24).

After the liberation from the Japanese colonial rule in 1946 the U.S. Army headquarters controlled the Korean films through the military government law no. 68 (control of moving pictures) and no. 115 (permission for production, distribution and screening of films), but established Chosun Film headquarters to allow the production of broadcast news and films, and based on this, activities of the Korean film world re-started. However, straight after the foundation of the first government (Rhee, Sungman) in 1949, 90 percent of films screened in Korea were from abroad, and consequently to protect and nurture the Korean film industry, the government started a film policy. Park, Junghee government decreed the film law in 1962 and the policy of protection, support and control of film industry was carried out. The 1962 film law is the first law founded in order to protect and nurture Korean film industry, and until it is replaced in 1995 by the film promotion law formed the root of modern Korean film administrative policy (Yang, K., 2010:37-38).

From the 1960s until the 1970s film policy was a film industry protection policy controlling the import of foreign films. In 1966, for the first time, the screen quota system which dictated the compulsory showing of Korean films was implemented. This policy was re-enforced 4 times until 1973, and the minimum number of days that Korean films had to be screened increased from over 30 days (3rd reform in law in 1970) to over 121 days a year (Kim, J., 2006:5).

Moreover, in the 1973 Film Promotion Corporation (seen to be the precursor to Korean Film Council) was founded in order to produce policy films which were hard to produce by private film production companies and to support the anti-communism and modernisation ideology. In the 1980s the Chun, Doohwan government transitioned from the existing protectionist policy to gradually open up its policy. A key characteristic of the film policy at the time is the opening of the Korean film market through the two steps of Korea-US agreement, and the reinforcement of the screen quota system. In 1985, by reaching the 1st film agreement between the US and the Korea, the first ever direct distribution of films started through the UIP, and through the second film agreement the markets were effectively fully open with the exception of the compulsory Korean-film screening system (Yang, K., 2010:63). In the 1980s

due to the open policy film production gained freedom from the policy enforced regulation of the 1970s (Yang, K., 2004:50).

The Kim, Youngsam government's policy on the film industry was carried over from the extension of the neo-liberal economic policy. If the previous governments had used film as a tool for reigning and carried out the regulation-centred policy, from the government of Kim, Youngsam onwards, film policy was carried out as a part of the economic policy. De-regulatory measures which overlooked the inclusion of large conglomerates in the film industry and industry support formed the pillar of the Kim, Youngsam government's film policy. In 1995, through the film and audio-visual promotion law, direct support became available via film promotion fund and tax credit. From the mid-1990s the policy underwent a change allowing venture capital and investment companies to join the film market, bringing a diversification of the fund. With the appearance of project management film companies, reasonable production practice was promoted to change the production structure.

In the latter part of the 1990s Kim, Daejoong government which set sail with the onset of the financial crisis wanted to apply the principles of neo-liberalism – privatisation, de-regulation, transparency and openness to most areas of Korean society to the film policy. In 1998 in the inauguration address by the president in February, Kim stated that the cultural industry was to be regarded as a 21st century industry, and expanding the creative cultural output through nurture of cultural industry was promised. In the Cultural Industry Vision 21 (2000) the attitude that cultural industry would be made into a major means of increasing the national competitiveness was made explicit, and the measures typical of an industrial policy were taken, including administrative regulation, industry rationalisation, tax reduction and redemption, policy finance (Ryu, H., 2005:12).

In addition, through the cultural industry promotion basic law (1999), the film industry became eligible for benefits of a small-to-medium sized business support, and investment association code made sure film production finance could be stabilised. In 2001, film promotion committee was formed and in March 2000, "Korean Film Promotion Comprehensive Plan" was written which was a mid-to-long term development film promotion policy. In the plan which contained the clause of making 100 major films, and 1000 independent films, the important plan as to how these films would be distributed was

missing, therefore it was criticised as being heavily biased towards the productions (Ryu, H., 2005:31) highlighting the heavy industry-bias of film policy (Lee, W., 2002).

In 2001, the problem of the screen domination was raised, and there was a small film movement called the 'Wanarago movement' – which showed that cultural diversity became the new issue in Korean film policy and drew attention to the fact that rather than production of films, the distribution and screening of films became of higher interest. Accordingly, the direction of the original policy of 'production-centred support for industry' of the Film Council changed into a policy of diversity, focusing on low-budget films, independent films and animation (Cine21, 12 June, 2002). During the Roh, Muhyun government the 5 main tasks were specified in order to improve the diversity of Korean films and to raise public character of the policy : (1) revitalisation of the Korean film production and distribution focused on diversity; (2) strengthening the policy research and nurturing of the film work force; (3) strengthening the public nature of the audio-visual technology and obtaining the national competitiveness, (4) supporting audio-visual media for improvement of the cultural capacity, and (5) globalisation of Korean films and encouraging international network. Through this, several tasks were chosen by the Korean Film Council including: the production of art films and independent films, 10 percent showing of art films in exclusive Cinematheque venues (based on the number of screens), revitalisation of production/distribution of documentary and short films, media education and accessibility of public, diversity improvement (Kim, C., 2009:144-145). However, it was hard to escape from the new-economic principle and economic paradigm such as the 2007 US-Korea FTA (Kim, C., 2009:189).

5.4. Comparison of the two Countries' Policies

A direct comparison of the two countries reveals that the cultural policy of France and Korea varies over time, but they both have been carried out by a strong central government with a historic motivation and objective. Both France and Korea have relied on the central power to make policy decisions to select the cultural objectives and means, constructing mechanisms for active intervention in the cultural system, while utilising a self-regulatory effect on achieving these objectives. In other words, they both employ constructivist cultural policy (Kim, B., 2003:30-31).

France is regarded as the European country with the largest target area for its practical

cultural policy, and under the Jacobin tradition of strong central power, it has included historical monuments, cultural exchange, preservation of data, library policy, education of artists, films, museums, society art education, cultural development to encourage creativity and increase originality and they do not scrimp on financial support. France has practiced 'cultural exception' or 'French exception' in order to protect itself against globalisation, market uniformisation, and indiscriminate free competition especially in the face of US-led market domination.

Korea has a similar scope of cultural policy as France, practicing a strong central government led cultural policy. It is remarkable that there was a time in Korea when the budget allocated for culture has taken 1 percent of the whole national budget. However, despite such general similarity in external form, France and Korea have shown a marked difference in how they have recognised culture and developed the objective and ideology in the policy making.

France has recognised culture as an indispensable factor for enriching lives, and without any difference whether the left or the right wing government was in power, it has implemented a consistent policy of disseminating culture to its people with no change in its basic tenet. Korea has regarded culture as a form of collective group spirit, and has tried to use it as a tool for reformation. Throughout the period of André Malraux and Jack Lang, the French cultural policy has made efforts to realise 'cultural democratisation' in a systematic manner. Malraux through 'maison de la culture', and Jack Lang through 'cultural decentralisation policy' have improved public access to culture.

In contrast, until the 1990s the dominant ideologies in Korea were anti-communism and nationalism, which emphasised an exclusive national culture, which was manipulated in order to control national consciousness as a political tool to prolong the political domination. Since the 1990s, the actual political democratisation has partially abolished this ideology, but South Korea has still been lacking an actual plan of action and consistency, as policy-makers were mainly capitalising on vague slogans such as 'globalisation', 'finding the true history', or 'new intellectual', being relatively unable to satisfy the fundamental needs of the public for culture.

Kim Eling (1999:1) states that there is hardly any other country where the government's policy on arts take such an important place in the political discourse and has such a direct

influence on the cultural life of the people than that of French Films which have a strong industry character are also ruled by the active interventionist policy of the French government. It is certainly very different from the case of Korea where the economic result of the cultural industry is the ultimate purpose, as all discussions on the film policy are centred around the film market. This can be explained by the fact that the historical background and the perception of film is different in the two countries (Ahn, J., 2008:390).

The cultural diversity principle of France started with the founding of the cultural ministry in 1958, through the appearance of the socialist government in 1981 and through the Uruguay round in 1993 became the basic principle of the cultural policy. “Culture is unlike other commodity therefore deserves an exceptional treatment”. Under the principle of cultural exception, France has been justifying its support policy for its own film industry. In 1997, since the appearance of the civil government, Korea also strengthened its support for various areas in the cultural industry, and with the debate over the screen quota system; there has been an increased interest in the principle of cultural diversity.

In 1946, the French government which realised the importance of the film industry founded the CNC to start supporting the film industry. In particular through the establishment of the ministry of culture and appearance of André Malraux, French film reached its heyday. The ministry of culture which realised the importance of films – from the cultural point of view as well as from the industry’s point of view, took a deep interest in art and experimental cinema. However, with the domination of Hollywood films since the 1970s French films start to lose its reputation. In this trend the victory of Mitterrand in 1981 and his cultural minister Jack Lang bring about a paradigm shift to the cultural policy. According to Kingdon (1984:240)’s theory of ‘political window’ the appearance of the socialist party came with the concern over the cultural imperialism of the US (the trend of problem recognition), preparation of new cultural policy by the socialist government (the trend of policy making) and the absolute landslide victory at both the presidential and the national assembly elections and the combination of all the factors above contributed towards a policy change which was deep and wide. In the middle of such changes, the minister Jack Lang prepared the base in which French films could take on the American films by making compulsory the support for broadcasting media, and cultural and industrial support for the film world. The reason why France could explicitly ask for ‘cultural exception’ at the Uruguay round was because a base had already been prepared by such a political process.

In the case of Korea, the arrival of a democratic government created a tendency towards following French, and in particular applying a dispute over the screen quota system. However, due to environmental reasons in 1981, the socialist party in France, and that of Kim, Daejung government started to diverge clearly. Although film is recognised as a combination of culture and industry in both countries, the recognition in Korea is centred on its industrial/commercial value rather than on its cultural value.

5.5. Conclusions

This chapter conducts a historical analysis and comparison of cultural policies in France and Korea, before delving into the particularities of film policies in each country. Both countries embraced a policy of cultural diversity reacting against the global domination of Hollywood. Both France and Korea aim to create a strong national identity through film policy, and for this reason they have supported directly and indirectly the production and archiving of films. However, in France film policy aims to archive both cultural and economic objectives, while in Korea it principally aims to create a competitive industry that contributes to the economy.

In France, the consensus on the cultural exception was realised through the 1980s. It is notable that in the absence of government support, French film identity would be seriously threatened. As a result, policy-makers responded by developing a film policy that aims to disseminate French films worldwide. However, these initiatives can also be considered as a reiteration of older policies, or as a reflection of a long French tradition rather than a real breakthrough in the film policy. For instance, Jack Lang's policies were not significantly modified. Nevertheless, French film policy revolves around the principle of cultural exception, and in particular around factors such as the passion for cinema, the creation of CNC and the Ministry of Culture, and the role of André Malraux as the founder of cultural policies. As a result, the unique identity of French cinema did not emerge from one breakthrough, but through progressive steps that took place in continuous manner.

Among the policies in the 1980s, one that attracted particular attention is the restructuring of the relationship between cinema and television. The imposition of duties on television has been the main contributor to the financing of production, instead of distributors. Government intervention has ensured a good quantitative performance of French films on the screens, but the method of allocation grants the problem of efficiency. According to the analysis of some economists, national films have suffered the negative effects of regulations and subsidies. The

perversity of support mechanisms makes it possible for producers already installed pre-finance their productions without the public rooms are the sanctions, artistically or commercially.

When the state intervenes on the artistic choices, one might question the criteria that lead a particular commission to support films. It is true that some art films often struggle to find their audience and to meet the demands of profitability that television can be expected of them. In addition, TV channels broadcast in inaccessible zones the French works sometimes demanding their cultural qualities deprive of hope for economic success. Instead, they prefer to prime time a foreign production to lower artistic content, but the cost in terms of guaranteed audience.

The history of film policy in Korea was also analysed in two periods. In general, three types of public intervention are identified over the two periods: censorship, economic support and cultural support through screen quotas. The first period, which extends from 1962 to 1987, is characterised by the regulatory state intervention, especially through censorship. Despite the lack of a real commitment, we are also witnessing the gradual establishment of cultural intervention (the screen quota system) and economic development of the state (the creation of KMMPC) in the film industry. These years were marked by economic dirigisme and state paternalism imposed by administrative elites. On the field of film, the state offers protection to private actors with the guarantee of clean development. In exchange, professionals are obliged to follow the guidance provided by the government. With the exception of concerns regarding censorship, the Korean market was well protected from external threats. Although the relationship between the public and private seems balanced, ultimately, we can estimate that trade between the state and the cinema at that time had a rather prescribed form and especially repressive.

The second period extends from 1988 to 1997, and corresponds to the economic restructuring of the film industry following the opening of the market. Thus, this period is characterised by the prominence of economic intervention. This is also the time when the overall direction of the film gradually changes from political control (by censorship) support. The State then promotes the participation of chaebols and creates a first fund dedicated to film. In fact, from 1994-1995, the notions of competitiveness, profitability, market structure dominated interventions by public authorities in the cultural industries Public intervention in the film

industry includes three measures, which are censorship, economic support and cultural support through screen quotas.

Although both France and Korea develop cultural policies that aim for cultural diversity, a significant difference in their film policies is observed. In France, the first public intervention derives its legitimacy from market failures. After the creation of the French Ministry of Culture, France developed several policies to help the spread of movies deemed "difficult" (creation and diffusion mechanism ahead of revenue, creating the label "arthouse," etc.). Malraux Lang and his successors, they tried to impose that "the cinema is primarily a source of emotion, history and culture, and therefore it must be earned using the state."

In Korea, the creation of the Ministry of Culture is not clearly oriented towards enhancing the cultural value of cultural products. Rather, the legitimacy of public intervention in the field of film rather is driven by economic benefits. Prior to the development of support mechanisms for cultural purposes, Korean film was entirely exposed to the market dynamics. The gradual spread of liberal view says that the state has done nothing to oppose the further concentration of the market, even encouraging, any regulation is perceived as against-productive. After just three years of independence, the functions of the Ministry of Culture to extend business of sports, youth and even the promotion of tourism. As the change of administrations granted cultural designation symbolises the Department must establish another principle of public action beyond the cultural logics. Thus, the administrative elites could not take the initiative to develop its own logic except film. This study shows that the historical evolution of Korean film policies may seem far removed from that of France.

A significant difference between the French cultural policy and that of Korea is that the French government departments are establishing and administering policies according to the principles and ideologies based on social value. For instance, 'démocratisation culturelle', 'démocratie culturelle' and 'diversité culturelle' are important principles and ideologies of cultural policy which has been maintained to the present.

One of the important characteristics of Jack Lang's cultural policy is that he pursued growth in the cultural industry while emphasising the economic aspect of culture. The 1980s was a period where a policy of deregulation and privatisation of the broadcasting sector was pursued, as American films and broadcast programs were extensively scheduled into the

programming in order to fill the shortage in the audio visual media, where the government implemented measures such as SOFICA (1985) and COSIP (1986) in order to support the audio visual production industry (Brochand, 2006:584~585).

The French cultural industry support policies were pursued with the rise in prominence of the viewpoint which combines culture and the economy, and this can be seen as a protectionist policy designed to prevent the monopolisation and penetration of the American cultural industry. Subsequently, the defensive and protectionist aspect in relation to its own cultural industry is clearly shown in the 'exception culturelle' as advocated by Jacques Toubon in the early 1990s. For this reasons, the "cultural exception" was replaced by "diversity" which could include the development of the culture in other regions, societies and countries (Sapiro, 2006), and although cultural diversity started out as a tool of justification in order to protect the French cultural industry from the outside, it had an important aspect which reflected the values of democracy, and therefore served as a key ideological axis for the French cultural policy and resulted in its actual realisation in policy (Lee, W., 2009:476-478). The ideology of cultural diversity became the basis of argument for the policies designed to protect the French audio-visual industry.

In the case of Korea, the biggest justification of the government policy on the cultural industry after 1998 was the economic value of the film industry. During the IMF economic crisis, the ideological focus of the film industry policy was on economic growth, and the support initiatives pursued included film export policy. France has pursued a series of initiatives such as film archives and supporting art experiment cinema in order to provide diversity to the film industry, and this had a positive effect on the protection of a variety of films with a high artistic value. However, it is not easy to maintain regulation and subsidies as measures for protection and promotion in the capitalist system which operates according to competitive market mechanisms. As a cultural asset of a community, films form the material basis of a society's cultural activities, and furthermore help to form the shared consciousness of a community. Accordingly, it is necessary to view films from more than just the economic value aspect, to include the intellectual, emotional, moral and psychological aspects. The French film industry policy is pursued in order to preserve the cultural value of the film industry and also encourage diversity. Just as diversity, complexity and artistic value are the strengths of the French films, the French film policy should aim to improve and expand the

diversity and artistic value of films, in circumstances where the film archives and the art experimental cinema are finding it increasingly difficult to stay in the market.

CHAPTER 6

National Intervention for Internationalisation of Art Films in France and Korea: A Qualitative Data Analysis

6.1. Introduction

Governments are drawn to intervene when society develops in a less-than-ideal direction, and the usual form of intervention will be through the development of policies. For example, in a capitalist market economy, governments may intervene to counter problems characteristic of a market economy, correcting sub-optimal division problems when the market economy fails to create a successful division of its own accord (Noh, W. J., 2007:34-35). In other words, government will intervene with policies for the public good to solve problems which cannot be solved by an individual or a company alone. The justification of state intervention comes when a problem is corrected and society moves in the direction of a public good.

Coase (1937, 1984) has described the construction of systems to reduce uncertainty in trade between economic entities. Designing and changing systems are the main instruments of policy makers. Public policy-making and government intervention through regulation are divided into three main types: (1) censorship, repressive laws, propaganda, and moral and ideological regulation of production, (2) domestic market protectionism with emphasis on an economic point of view, and (3) creativity which is emphasised from a socialistic point of view and defence of quality culture production. The mode of public intervention with regards to the culture industry can be diverse from being regulatory to aid (Sapiro, 2005:10). The main aim of film policy is on improving the quality of the country's own films and reducing the dominance or influence of American films on their own market (Korea Film Council, 2000:29).

Policy makers regulate film production as part of cultural industry regulation, while national regulation places culture including film as art under a broad definition of public property, reflected in non-economic goals. French national civil servants, unlike their US counterparts, recognise and support film as something which forms an ideological or educational entity.

French film policy making falls under the Ministère des Affaires Culturelles¹¹ (Ministry of Cultural Affairs) and not under the Ministère de l'Industrie (Ministry of Industry), and this decision highlights the direction of the French government when it placed film policy making under a regulating body which is guided not by economic principles but rather to achieve a cultural goal with no necessary profit-making component (Filbbert, 2001:36).

A number of governments around the world have sought to intervene significantly in their film industries in order to promote their activities. In particular, when facing the market dominance of Hollywood films, many countries have felt the need to protect their film industries through subsidies and various other protectionist measures. With the continued global dominance of Hollywood films, policy makers are increasingly considering government subsidies as an essential tool in promoting national film industries.

State intervention can take one of three forms: (1) active government involvement, (2) passive management which takes care of the minimum necessary work, and (3) a laissez-faire approach that leaves almost everything to the industry's own free market machinery. France, Australia and South Korea all fall under the first form of active government involvement.

To elaborate, Centre National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée (CNC) of France, the Australian Film Commission (AFC) and the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) are all central administrative bodies which lead policy-making in their respective countries. They manage such activities as raising capital for production, support and compensation, and overseas publicity. The support they provide can be broadly divided into the two following categories: direct support which covers the production costs for art films including independent film, and indirect support which provides the basic framework and development of a workforce so that long-term support for the industry is maintained. Planning a balanced development of both the film industry and the Film culture is an important government role (Korean Film Archive, 2002:26-27).

During the golden era of French films in the early 1900s, France's filmmaking studios

¹¹ The official name of Régime de Vichy is État Français Vichy government (1940-1944). Under the provisional French government (Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Française) (3rd June 1944 to 27th October 1946) in Oct 1946, CNC is established to lend functional flexibility and power in the character of a public/state establishment (établissement public d'Etat). At the time the organisation in charge was industry of culture and at the start of the 5th republic (1959 onwards) the first ministry of culture was established and CNC moved to be affiliated under the ministry of culture (Im, 1987:122).

dominated the world and protected their domestic markets against American competition with no state support. French films have steadily lost their market share to America in the decades since then. To protect and promote the French film industry, the French government has steeply increased subsidies since the 1980s (Dale, 1997). The Korean government has tried various policies to promote Korea's film industry since the liberation from Japan, but only the intensified screen quota system produced significant change (Mesmer, 2013). Since the late 1990s, however, Korean films have become internationally competitive and are a leading product of the Korean Wave, contributing to a new, hip identity as Korea emerges as "Asia's cultural powerhouse" (Chua and Iwabuchi, 2008; Huang, 2017).

Until the mid-1990s, the French and Korean film sectors had surprisingly similar histories and policies, though since then their paths have significantly diverged with remarkable success in South Korea and depressing stagnation in France. The French subsidy regime has failed to achieve its primary goal of increasing the "rayonnement" (attractiveness) of the French film industry.

This study examines film policy-making by the French and Korean governments from both an industry-oriented and a culture-based perspective within a historical background, and highlights the impact on policy-making of public cultural awareness and emerging change. It also examines the ideological background informing French and South Korean film policies in comparison with Hollywood film policy, and the role government intervention plays in an environment of globalised film industry competition. Finally, it investigates the relationship between Art films and internationalisation. At its base is the question, "What effect can national policy have on the formation and expansion of internationalisation in art films?"

This chapter is organised as follows: in the next section the notion and institution of art film are reviewed from a theoretical perspective. Then Art film support policy is scrutinised in the context of how to identify and discriminate against the influence of globalisation and Hollywood dominance in film production. Subsidy emerged in Korea in the late 1990s when the Korean government recognised the film industry's importance as an economic driver and was in a position to fund it, and subsidy is today the policy most frequently discussed in Korea. In the second part, the concepts and approaches that define art films are reviewed and art film's internationalisation is discussed to provide a comprehensive review of how strategies to internationalise art films are formulated.

6.2. Notion and Institution of Art Film

6.2.1. Notion of Art Film

Art film (or art cinema) is referred to under a number of names. Depending on the academic definition, European Art film embraces several genres including France's "Nouvelle vague," Spanish "surrealism," and Italian "Neo-realism" (Forbes and Street, 2000:211). Art film is categorised under avant-garde films and therefore also includes experimental films and independent films¹² (Phillips, 1999:332). The late 1940s saw the arrival of diverse art film forms in the West, under the names of New Cinema, or "Modernism." Whatever the name, these films share a common objective of breaking out of traditional usage and finding alternative ways of making films. What they have in common includes questioning the relationship between films and reality and between films and viewers of film (Moon, 2002:136-138).

A film possesses many different characteristics, and while it may be artistic, entertainment-focused, and commercial, it also serves as a means of communication. How a film is viewed depends on each viewer (Cha, 1994:416). Viewed within the framework of the mass-media industry, the film industry acquires an additional dimension of economic profitability on top of creativity (Kim, 2000:430), and from a purely industry point of view, the film industry's main target becomes profitability. This is not usually the view of creators who regard films as the culmination of effort that goes into creating the best art form. For those who see the industry as primarily profit-driven, creative and artistic values become no more than by-products of a commercially successful film, one which happens also to be regarded as possessing artistic value (Dominick, 1996:286).

Hayward (1996:8-10) claims that the accepted definition of art films rests on a certain kind of European film which is experimental in its technique and narrative. She also claims that, in general, art films with low-to-medium production costs try to fulfil some sort of aesthetic objective and cinematic practice, and are made outside the dominant film production framework. Film categories which could be so disguised include French "Nouvelle Vague", German "New Cinema" and "Underground" films from the United States. These films are produced with financial support from government or using money the individual producers

¹² The term "independent film" came about to represent those who work on their own terms outside the system of the Hollywood studio system and other studio systems.

raise themselves.

From the early times of film-making there have existed efforts to emphasise the “art” nature of film in order to distinguish it from low-brow common popular arts (or industrial product) and to join other art forms such as theatre and literature. The word “film d’art”¹³ was first used in France in 1908, in order to attract middle- and upper-class audiences into the film which, up to that point, was still a popular medium. Filming theatre plays recognised as a legitimate art form was an attempt to create an art-form in its own right. Therefore, since its beginning as popular entertainment, film was able to acquire a certain status as a form of art and, in the 1920s, with the support of the art movement of German Expressionism and French Avant-garde, art film managed to forge a close relationship with avant-garde.

In the 1930s, art film continued to be influenced in part by French and Italian Realism to include social and psychological realism, and finally in the 1950s it acquired the legitimacy and the level of “politique des auteurs”¹⁴ (auteurism in French). Tudor (1986) divides the evolution of film-making since the 1960s broadly into two categories; the first was concerned mainly with the form of film, and the second was the improvement that people wished to make following interpretational analysis - an attempt based on critical analysis – at the cost of doing away with the aesthetic question. If the first category mainly included the serious films of Europe in the late 1950s, the increased critical interest in films in the second category was in Hollywood films. This categorisation has naturally led to the serious films made in Europe becoming known as “art films” and films have been divided into “art film” or “(popular) entertainment film”. Continuing this theme, Tudor says that art film can be thought of as a separate film genre. For example, films which draw comparatively high-brow middle and upper class audiences may be called “art films”. This definition is confined to a particular

¹³ The first time the term art film appeared in world cinema was through the Italian art film movement called “Film d’Arte” in the 1900s. It was a term applied to describe the production side of the film – an attempt had been made to bring a “theatre” aspect to films by employing famous stage actors and adapting classic literature to make them look more cultural. In 1908, a film company by the name ‘Film d’Art’ was established in Paris, and this again was a way of bringing theatre into the films. Films which were simple transfer from classic plays with famous actors from the ‘Comédie Française’ borrowed artistic qualities from the existing plays. The movement to make films into something cultural from within started in the 1920s among French Avant Garde directors and critics such as Riccioto Canudo under the name ‘film society’ or ‘film club’. This film culture movement gave birth to Cinéphilie. Directors such as Francois Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard and critics lead auteurist films and Nouvelle Vague centred around Cinéphilie and Cahier du Cinema.

¹⁴ Auteurism which started with young group of critics such as Cahier du Cinema, saw that the film director’s main decision factors on the quality of the film were mise-en-scene and personal style, just as pen and writing style were to an author. The writing style of the film is made by the director/author.

group of a particular society's culture, and the genre can be defined in a looser sense by letting the audience define it instead of relying on the analysis of critics. In this sense, art films become a separate genre, though lacking a clear boundary. If, in a certain culture at a certain time, a unique series of characteristics can be attributed to a certain group of films known as "art films" which have a certain audience, then that series of characteristics would then be used to naturally define the genre of art films, leading to a new categorisation (Park, 1994:223-224).

In summary, the concept of art film can be divided into 3 categories. The first is somewhat questionable and depends on whether it is made in Europe or in Hollywood, on the assumption that films not made in Hollywood will automatically have a stronger connection to their society's culture and art. In binary distinctions of art/industry, culture/entertainment, meaning/profit, European films will be assumed (not always correctly) to the first. The second is a narrow definition and includes reactive measures taken by various countries to counter the customs of film production in Hollywood. This is also questionable, amounting as it does to a simple equivalence between art film and national film. The Hollywood movie-making tradition is seen as controlling the global market by making films with easy to understand concepts and storylines supported by a strong marketing strategy and distribution channel, and countries feeling threatened by this are seen as concentrating on their own social experience and identity (Simpson, 2001:21-22). Finally, the third and most acceptable definition sees art film as an extension of the classical tradition or, to put it simply, high-quality films. Even before US film industry hegemony, European countries were making films that might not have a strong popular appeal but met middle class artistic expectations and appreciation of and appealed to a small audience; this tradition has simply evolved into the concept of art films.

Therefore, one can conclude that art film is a superior quality national film which possesses its own cultural identity. However, as seen from such definition, the production of such films lies too far from the framework of an industry, so it becomes necessary for the government to support such endeavour (The Korean Cultural Policy Institute, 2001:44).

On the other hand, in terms of sociological point of view, art film is based on sociological classification and sociological activity, which is sub-categorised by physical infrastructure. What is meant by social classification system (film as "the seventh art") is that art film can

either be a category which is defined either as art film or commercial (popular films) depending on the perception, whereas physical infrastructure equates to various support policy, theater exclusive for art films, critical and academic journal and film festivals. Film Director, Film Critics, academics, officials, viewers which make up the ‘actors’ of the earlier defined film art as a sociological activity are forever vitalising and re-producing the categorisation through critical discourse, public support or naming at marketing. For instance, film promotion agencies would support art films based on critics and society’s definition by supporting the production or managing the theatres, and in turn thus produced art films would be shown in special exclusive theatres, resulting in critical discourse and viewers experience, and this would constitute as an entity in the category of arts (Neale, 1981:13).

6.2.2. The Institution of Art Film as a Mechanism of Discriminating Film

Art Film has been present as a concept in Europe since the early 20th century. Simply put, the origin of art film is associated with two historical phenomena. First is the relationship between film, a new form of culture and existing classical art (Darré, 2000; Neale, 1981; Lee, 2007). In the 1910s, film tried to incorporate existing classic literature, theatre plays and highbrow art by adaptation to broaden audiences to include those from the working class as well as the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. From the 1920s, intellectuals and artists began to emerge whose interest lay in art film. Directors who tried to understand and work in film-making as a personal and artistic expression also appeared. This gave birth to experimental film-making and theoretical attempts to define film as a form of art.

Film-related magazines and cinema expert groups or cine-clubs became the basis of such activities, through which art film grew to become an important link between the existing art world and the newly formed film world.

Another issue which arose with respect to the emergence and development of the concept of art film is the transnational nature of films and the relationship between countries (Neal, 1981:30). National market protection and censor-related policies are examples and the increase of art film is closely related to the increase of Hollywood-produced popular entertainment on the French, Italian and German film markets after the First World War. Following this phenomenon, art film took a direction synonymous with restraining American cultural hegemony. However, the arrival of talking films led Hollywood to great success, while avant-garde film production went into decline with the coming of the Second World

War. With the fall of Fascist governments in Europe after the Second World War, each European country which took the course of either free-democracy or social-democracy would seek to develop its own film industry against Hollywood domination by providing systematic support.

Definitions of Art film used to be confined to the traditional narrative form, but around the time of the Second World War the fall of the studio system, and emergence of individual-focused auteurism increased the possibilities. Western European countries tried to protect their own film industry and culture by producing different types of film. Until then there had not been any agreed definition of art film, despite several attempts to define and regulate it, and eventually the definition had settled on high-level art films shown in an Art House (Cook, 1988:200-216). In the 1960s and early 1970s during the peak of Hollywood films and American popular culture, art film, armed with iconic, striving-against ideologies, represented some sort of adversarial concept against the Hollywood films in a complex phenomenon that arose in relation to many facets including terminology and film production and screening related to cultural ideology.

Art film is an issue which deeply connected to value judgment and justice, and European countries including France and Italy have adopted a protective attitude which supports the various standards and discourse of Art film against the dominant Hollywood films. In other words, to these countries, art film could develop into a critically and economically achieving “national film”. National film takes form against the commercial dominance of Hollywood films. The only way to compete against American filmmaking with its studio system and huge production capital was to make films that were different and the chosen fields for difference were high art and cultural tradition. In this way, Art Film obtained its own economic and cultural arena and European film directors got support from their own governments to produce art films which gained reputation in international film festivals as well as international competitive edge (Neale, 1988).

Thus developed the concept and institution of Art Film in history. An interesting point to note is that, even though each country has slightly varying conditions, the development of art film is closely related to the screening space. From the 1920s, France and Germany, Soviet Russia and Denmark all built specialist movie theatres which screened high quality international films. These venues catalysed the interchange of ideas between intellectuals and the civilised

and cultured as well as activities of the “cineclubs.” After the Second World War, art-cinema theatre venues such as Cinematheque of France continued with the tradition, establishing a very important background for the film culture (Darré, 2000:22-35). However, during the 1980s the concept of Art film dwindled even in Europe. There was a backlash against elitist art, and large-scale film capital adopted different strategies so that art film lost its effectiveness (Stafford, 2007:71-72). However, art house continues to exist with government support and has continued to support the sub-culture films and cinema to this day.

6.2.3. Branding of Art Film and its Distribution as Discriminating Film

Early movies which started from the Lumière Brothers and Edison used to be viewed mainly by the proletariat (working class), but as the bourgeoisie joined the audience the films developed rapidly. This change was not a complete move from proletariat to bourgeoisie and both classes were provided for. The First World War gave the US the chance to take pole position as a leading movie exporting nation. Led by Hollywood stars, the fun and entertainment-oriented format of Hollywood films tied the separate entities of “class” and the “mass” together, bringing together Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. Therefore, Art film was born in the 1920s influenced by the trend of European “modernism” with strategic and artistic spirit to fight against a huge tidal wave of Hollywood films.

Looked at from a film history’s point of view, the 1920s was a time of experimentation and artistic achievement with the production of entertainment film, art film, avant-garde, documentary, and political films. However, the diverse genres were united with the arrival of sound, the hegemony passed to Hollywood and to this day the standard mainstream paradigm of film is in the hands of Hollywood. The advantage and strength of Hollywood lies in the fact that they are able to produce a diverse range of films – fun and entertaining – to be enjoyed by a large audience.

In contrast, art films are concerned with the two ideas of “novelty” and “nationalism”, and contain a unique element that makes them different from popular Hollywood films; rather than entertainment and fun they often make the audience think and pass on a message, letting them experience a film of a certain level of quality.

Since the Second World War, this diametrically opposite character of art films and Hollywood films underwent a change when a form of films arose that lay somewhere in the middle and

combined the advantages of each camp. It is a concept not so wholly representative as Bourgeois vs Proletariat, but forms an area in the middle.

It was initiated by Hollywood filmmakers who had the necessary huge capital and market lead, as they tried to produce new kind of films incorporating European artistry (directors and subject matter) with American entertainment character (capital, distribution market, movie-stars) in order to attract larger audiences. These films do not limit themselves to one-nation production but, depending on the country they are shown in, can often share many nationalities including the UK, Italy, USA and France. The 1988 Cannes and Venice Film Festivals divided films not by the country of origin but according to the character of the directors. Peter Lev (Lev, 1993:1-2) calls this kind of film “Euro-American Cinema” and gives their defining characteristics as follows: (1) Many are in English, (2) Directors are usually from Europe, (3) the production cost compared with European Art films is high, (4) staff and starring cast combine people from more than two countries, (5) the character of these films resembles that of European Art films, (6) entertaining characteristics of American films are used, and (7) they often base themselves on commonalities between American and European culture (Lev, 1993:31). These mixed character films are not necessarily one independent genre but have been evolving and defined and redefined in a dynamic way to find a place in a traditional metagenic gap between European Art films and American entertainment films. With Hollywood at its centre and the rise of many other film-making countries (the third film world) including South American and Asian countries together with new international production involving trans-national companies this new world has room for many exciting changes and could very well develop to form its own arena of film diversity and business (Jeon, 2001:285).

To distribute films across national borders, it is necessary to assign a national character to films through which the film becomes a brand (Harbord, 2002:12).

Until the 1980s, film critics have regarded national films as a kind of backlash against the world domination of Hollywood and these national films have become synonymous with art film during distribution and critique (Crofts, 2000:1-2). At the time in Europe, the category of Art film produced films which differentiated themselves from Hollywood films and during this process the films had to incorporate into the subject matter both high art and each nation’s own character (Neale, 1981:14-15). Within the economic infrastructure of art film,

the name of the auteuristic directors becomes a type of brand in itself, and a means to measure the meaning, enjoyment and expectation of a certain film when there is otherwise no genre, category nor other brand name to label and sell the film (Neale, 1981:36).

From a historical context, art film has undergone a mutual growth along with international film festivals with regards to auteurism within discourse, problems of personal expression when censorship exists, and in marketing (Jeon, 2001:280). Art films rely on the general value of culture and art, which may be derived from consciousness of the international film festival possessing both artistic judgment and commercial value including distribution. During the 1930s and early 40s, German and Italian Fascist governments suppressed Art film with their extreme ideological character but, since the end of the Second World War, a new international economic order has combined with international film festivals to provide space for marketing, and art films have acquired a joint national and international nature. The question of balance between these two elements becomes apparent during the international distribution process. As art films certify national character and cultural code, like a particular language they become very distinguishable in foreign countries (Jeon, 2001:284). In addition, film festivals are regarded as an alternative space for distributing and organising non-Hollywood films (O'Regan 2002:113).

European film festivals were born after the Second World War to reconfirm the common human ideal which was lost during the war, and to provide an alternative space and network in reaction to the accelerating dominance of Hollywood films (Neale, 1981). The festivals supported national film and art film in order to stand against American domination. They are an important commercial space where national films can meet international buyers (Craft, 2002:39) and so can be seen as an alternative space to publicise and circulate the cultural products of anti-Hollywood film-making. Arts festivals become almost like the Olympic Games for the show-business economy under the banner of cultural diversity (Elsaesser, 1989:61).

If film festivals are thought of as a symbolic, institutional window for alternative space against the international distribution and influence of Hollywood, the elements that make up the festival, namely the united principle of national film, art film and auteuristic director, show a country's unique culture and artistic value. Higson (2002:54) emphasises the practical and economic roles of national film, and sees it as a history of commercial interests at stake-

maximising the film industry's commercial profit to achieve a secure market return while strengthening a nation's unique culture.

When national film is defined as films made to secure a market against the Hollywood mainstream, it is both national and international in its character: even at times when Hollywood products dominate in the national market and are leading in the international market, national film remains both national and international (Elsaesser, 1987:167).

Art films discovered and distributed through film festivals become labelled by the name of their auteuristic directors when they come to represent a particular nation's film. Thus, film festivals are places which not only facilitate international distribution of art films, but also through awards and geography can confirm their worth and location (Neale, 1981:35). When the name of the director is associated with the artistry, it becomes synonymous with the label of national film (Elsaesser, 1993; Sieglöhr, 2000).

When the name of the auteuristic director is placed in the centre of film circulation, it attains value as a symbol or representative of the national film, and the director gains support from their own government wishing to publicise the name of the country. Films made with the support of each government and which take part in the film festivals, regardless of the directors' intention, are considered as approved and supported by each country (Elsaesser, 1989:302).

Since the 1980s, film festivals have started to invite Asian countries such as China, Taiwan, Japan and Iran to show their films in order to broaden the market and this has had the effect of changing the traditional concept and character of an art film (Jeon, 2001:283).

On the one hand, East Asian films have climbed up the ladder of recognition enough to be considered part of "global film" and the approach and circulation of East Asian films from the West (Europe and the US) have sustained their director-focused its character (Lee, 2006:19)

The film festivals of Western Europe such as Venice and Cannes have tried to distinguish themselves from the ceremony-based Academy Awards of the US by dealing with films which have a very different and artistic character, as well as producing many brands of auteuristic directors to broaden the market (Jeon, 2001:284). International film festivals

which are located in a privileged position in Europe have been fighting against global Hollywood domination by securing a route for distribution with the label of Art film, National film and author film and finally by discovering/distributing certain films and directors and turning them into classics (Lee, 2006:19).

6.3. Art Film Support Policy for the Promotion of Diversification in France and Korea

It can be said that an ideal film culture or a balanced national film industry could be expressed in the form of a cinema that shows all three types of films - films made for commercial success, films which place equal importance on commercial success and artistic quality, and the so-called art films which have only considered the artistic quality. However, in reality, to compose and maintain such a balanced form is very difficult and especially so in free-market countries economy prioritise the free market's value judgments.

On the same note, it is rare to find one film which can achieve success in both the commercial and the artistic arena. The commercial success rate for a film focusing on its artistic quality which is made under disadvantages of production, distribution and screening is relatively low. In turn, past failures to achieve commercial success makes it more difficult to raise funding for art film production. This is one of the fundamental justifications and reasons for policy-backed government support for the production of art films which embody a country's unique cultural identity. Establishing an ideal film culture can almost be thought of as a nation's responsibility to sustain its people's right to enjoy their own culture. Many European countries, led by France, have in place regulatory measures including direct and indirect financial support and tax benefits to support production of art films, and good quality films made with no eye on commercial success can achieve international as well as domestic popularity.

6.3.1. French Art Film Support Policy

6.3.1.1. Historical Approach

The Change of Institutional Environment: Choice of Policy

Since the invention of film in the first 10 years of the 20th century, French film companies such as Pathé were most active in providing films to the American market. The First World War resulted in a drastic loss of French production, giving an opportunity for American films

to enter the market (Filbbert, 2001:57). By 1917, the USA had acquired the standing in the world film market that France had had in 1913 (Tacchella, 1995:9-10).

Sound films replaced silent films in the late 1920s¹⁵ bringing technical, economic, and institutional changes. If silent films were the first global product that could be seen by everyone, the birth of sound films brought with it a language barrier along with easy recognition of “nationality of origin” and films became local products (Ghertman and Hadida, 1999:15).

National film industries were formed as sound films were recorded in the national or local language (Filbbert, 2001:29). The invention of a reliable system of film sound recording in the 1920s contributed to the speeding up of vertical integration, and placed the US in a very important position in the international film trade. Sound recording requires more concentrated capital investment. It is possible to reduce the number of producers and increase the number of investments made in sound films, contributing to expansion of the film market. Development of sound gave American companies two new trade advantages. The first was that, compared to war-ravaged Europe which lacked capital, the US had the advantage of being able to invest which facilitated the transition to sound films and strengthened film’s marketability. The second was that the American market was large enough on its own to allow the transition to sound and the expansion in the overseas market to be financed from domestic profit alone (Filbbert, 2001:60). The large scale of its own domestic market made possible the imperialism of Hollywood films. To counter this, many countries including France chose a domestic market protection policy to protect their cultural identity. European countries formed a united European market, and concentrated on protection against the import pressure from the US (Filbbert, 2001:29). There was a brief appearance of a body called “Film Europe”¹⁶ with Germany at the centre which had the objective of connecting European film markets, to counter “Film America” but this achieved little success thanks to financial difficulties and policy disagreement between the countries concerned.

Since the 1920s, European producers including the French fought against American

¹⁵ The first sound film “Jazz Singer” (Darré, 1929:23-24).

¹⁶ The conflict between Film Europe and Film America continued in the early 1990’s during GATTs (General Agreement on Tariff and Trades) between EC and America in the sharpened conflict about cultural exception (Lee, 2005:525).

domination. Protectionist policy used a number of indirect methods including: quotas; tax; licensing; financial restrictions; limits on insufficient intellectual property; and financial support for domestic producers¹⁷. Governments chose policies to sustain a film industry faced with making difficult deals and facing the growing competitive environment of globalisation (Filbbert, 2001:5-6).

France led the world film market until the First World War, but the conflict handed that lead to the US. By the mid-1930s, domestic film had less than 25 percent of the French market, a market which in any case all but vanished under German occupation in the 1940s (Armes, 1985:280). The French government established the CNC to unite all production systems, and promoted a quota system, financial support and tax exemption as well as setting forth a plan for education in art and culture to promote films. This system was continued by *l'avance sur recettes* (pre-financial support system) for creative endeavours established by the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Malraux, in 1959 (Guback, 1969:24).

The 1950s were not a good time in French film history. There were attempts to shake up the French film industry by innovating in production and re-judging Hollywood films from an art film's point of view (Buscombe, 1981:23). In particular, *Cahiers du Cinema* critics tried not to reject but simply to re-judge American films, seeking a balance between Hollywood populism and personal expression, and criticised the literary French film as an art form of private expression. This auteurism-focused policy had originated as a way of protecting the country's own creativity against Hollywood films but this critical outlook had a large influence on the European art films. Indeed, the French line of Humanism has been strongly criticised since the 1960s with the developing of structuralism and, even today, the word "auteurism" is used not only in journalism but also in the film world as a classifying word with positive connotations = a way of equating the director's name with the film's quality (Buscombe, 1981:27).

After the Second World War, the French government began to provide its film industry with abundant subsidies to increase the number of films produced in France which significantly increased the number of domestic films released. After 1953, the French government began to automatically to subsidise films produced by experienced directors, but not debut directors. To meet the "experienced" criterion, the director simply had to have already produced a film

¹⁷ Domestic production support also belongs to the own country's industry protectionist policy.

regardless of length. There have also been selective subsidies since 1959 for film proposals that have passed a “quality test” which verifies that the film is “cultural” and/or has notable French content. Interestingly, beneficiaries for these subsidies expanded to distributors in 1960 and to actor-directors in 1963. However, due to the ineffectiveness of these subsidies, they are now limited to films that are shot mostly in the French language. Throughout its history, the French subsidy system has faced various problems. The automatic application of subsidies has largely been misused by domestic and foreign film studios as well as individuals. Furthermore, these subsidies are pro-rated according to past box office achievements, so that most go to well-established directors who have already produced successful films. The amounts of selective subsidies, on the other hand, are usually decided by the Centre National du Cinéma et de l’Image Animée (CNC), an administrative arm of the French Ministry of Culture, which is responsible for the production and promotion of cinematic and audio-visual arts in France. One prominent criticism of this practice is that only a few big-budget films benefit from these selective subsidies (Cocq, 2000; Messerlin and Cocq, 2004).

Since 1980, the globalisation of neo-liberalism has been getting stronger, and more pressure is exerted against the traditional stance of French national intervention. Hollywood film domination of the French market has been increasing. The French government concentrates on the economic value of the audio-visual industry including the film industry, and has become more and more active in implementing policies to promote the industry. Support for globalisation is being heard inside the French government, and policies supporting internationalisation of films are promoted in what may be seen as a sign that the French government understands cinema’s economic power and would like to encourage transnational films (Danan, 1994:216). Understanding the film industry’s economic power, French film policy has both kept the industry stable and promoted balanced cultural diversity. The French are under constant attack from the Americans about including commercial films and not just art films in their film policy, but it is difficult to differentiate between the two within the French film support policy system (Ahn, 2008:402).

French Institutionalisation of the Art Film

Since the beginning of the century, the movement of art films has significantly influenced film and film market development. During the early days when film was developing to

become a sustainable sector, the reference to performing arts played an important guiding role. The bourgeoisie, previously reserved about “spectacle”, were attracted into becoming film goers. In other words, in order to move film on from being an “innovative product” originating from an invention, the character of performing arts was introduced to attract bourgeois viewers. Social and cultural legitimacy gave film distinct characteristics which allowed it to stabilise and put down roots (Creton, 1997:21).

Film combines the cultural and the industrial (Creton, 1997:50). However, in France following the old tradition, a commercial work which is after profit, is regarded as popular *en masse* and is therefore doubly rated low. Symbolic and economic value measures are different and cannot coexist (Creton, 1997:56).

During the early age of film, movies were thought of by the cultural elite as lowbrow popular entertainment and not recognised as a distinct sector of the arts. In February 1908, a few members of L'Académie Française (the French Academy) and actors from Comédie Française (the Comedy France) helped the entrepreneur Pierre Lafitte to establish la Société du film d'art with the objective of producing films suitable for cultured audiences who were used to the classics (Jeancolas, 1995:19-20). Film used scenarios based on literature and actors trained in the theatre tradition of France to produce something close to factory film production using a star system very similar to Hollywood's (Kim and Yoon, 2007:6). The expression of Film d'art refers to a new method attempting to change films, and played a role in increasing the audience to a certain level, and to imbuing the film with certain characteristics (Kim and Yoon, 2007:4).

Between the Hollywood onslaught that began with sound films, and the defensive stance by the French fronted by national film, new concepts such as Nouvelle vague and Art house appeared. Between 1958 and 1962 97 films were produced in France, with Nouvelle vague works causing a big sensation as they had low production costs, a relatively short turnover time, overturned the existing production method¹⁸ and suggested a new concept of film (Baecque, 1999:9). Nouvelle Vague represented a fundamental challenge to the previous generation. The term refers to films made during the 1940s/50s and providing studio, star, and quality. In fact, though the social policy context was different, Nouvelle Vague as a system of film production and actualisation had been around since the 1930s, but it took the

¹⁸ At the time studio and star system were regarded as the best solution for improving the quality of film.

Ministry of Cultural Affairs to overcome the union system inherited from the 1930s (Depetris, 2008:30). France needed to support and develop quality film that differentiated itself from Hollywood films, i.e. art film, and from the 1950s the French government supported Nouvelle Vague films as progressive and innovative from both an aesthetic and an ideological point of view while also reflecting society and reality in a transparent manner. Auteurism progressed thanks to the congruence between differentiated production and political support for creativity (Liskawetz, 1996:12).

Institutionalisation and industrialisation developed together. In a market economy, the institutionalisation carried out by certain entrepreneurs causing industrialisation is one of the most important contributions to institutionalisation. Specialist institutional arrangement and justification is accompanied by industrial and commercial strength in a sector that had once been mere entertainment. The development of art film was a strategy by which film makers made a new market and reached a new audience. The recognition earned by this sector is based on economic success which enabled the separation of production from distribution and the development of cinemas. After being fully influenced by the tradition of performance art in its artistic, technical and audience-related industry, film finally took its position as the 7th art while being an economic activity sector (Creton, 1997:21).

Role of Government

There is no consensus on whether government manages basic direction through its support system or its cultural policy, but in the case of the West there have been, broadly speaking, two ways of promoting a diverse film culture (art films, independent films, other non-commercial films). The first is to recognise film as a cultural heritage (as in France) and to be active in its systematic support through the preservation, investigation and research of films, and the second is, (as in the United States) to use non-commercial film screening to revitalise film culture (Korea Film Council, 2003:60).

An approach to a certain artistic recognition makes an important contribution to the development of the market and the institution. Films in the beginning had little artistic impact, but gradually acquired the status they have today. The distinct status awarded by a film-loving tradition in France can be seen as an exception to this rule (Creton, 1997:20). While, in most countries, films were seen first and foremost as entertainment, in France films took

the central position as almost religious and holy entities (Creton, 1997:21). In France, along with the history of film, the perception of film changed from industrial to artistic objects and finally to a cultural (heritage) object (see Table 7).

Change in Perception of Films
Industrial object
Art object
Cultural object (heritage)

Table 7. Change in Perception of Films

The impetus of such change is due to (1) works and attempts by film-lovers or “cinephiles¹⁹” and (2) the French nation’s institutional role, both political and administrative.

First, symbolic cinephiles including Louis Delluc, André Bazin, Jean-Luc Godard etc. who were active around the 1950s French film magazine *Cahiers du Cinéma* and *nouvelle vague* critics including François Roland Truffaut helped films achieve recognition as an equal and new art form. Jacques Rancière explained *Nouvelle Vague* and the critique of the cinephile, and the heritage of the Cinematheque as a landmark event. *Nouvelle Vague* created a new art by connecting films which used to be derided as populist, Western, comedy or musical objects to the tangible memory of cinema with the help from Cinematheque (Rancière, 1995:52). Through cinephiles’ efforts, auteur-made films became art objects and were no longer seen merely as industrial output. *Nouvelle Vague* brought this important change (Liskawetz, 1996:8). *Auteurism*²⁰, was used as a concept for production support for quality cinema in the 1950s France. This became the cultural cultivation to make films the 7th art²¹

¹⁹ Cinephile does not refer only to people who frequent cinemas in a practical purist sense, but refer to people with a special sense with regards to film text and film’s own particular period (KOFIC, 2003:59).

²⁰ Since the 2nd World War, in the impoverished French cinema, there was a movement by young artists to rebel against Hollywood-like film world, and *auteurism* was used as a label for ‘director-like director’. It started to be used widely after an article in the 31st edition of *Cahiers du Cinéma* that it is one characteristic of French films.

²¹ Film, which was one of the result products of the industry quickly, took its place as art form. In 1910 Italian critic Ricciotto Canudo mentioned it for the first time as the 7th art (*le septieme art*). 2 years prior to this in France in 1908 a banker called Paul Lafitte established a company called *Art Film* and produced a film called “*The Assassination of the Duc de Guise*” in the same year. This was the beginning of the *Film D’Art* period (1908-1914). *Film D’Art* was a record of the whole theatre stage performance and the French started to make famous stage actors star in plays-turned-into-films. It was a meeting between film and literature (Adoum,

as a predecessor for the national film policy (Liskawetz, 1996:9).

Next comes the role played by the country which gave status to films in a progression from mere films to art films and then to recognition as cultural heritage. In the case of France, Nouvelle Vague and the film specialist magazine “Cahiers du Cinéma” supported auteurism, which was officially re-constructed as a policy. Traditionally, systematic support came about from the union of the political and the administrative principles. Political attempts could be attributed to André Malraux and Jack Lang, who turned film support policies into issues of the state, and administrative attempts were the establishment of systematic institutions such as the CNC. Through these attempts France transformed films from industrial to artistic and cultural objects (Liskawetz, 1996:10).

6.3.1.2. Support System for the Film Industry

The French public support system operated on the principle of maintaining diversity and had two targets: (1) fostering new talent so that new directors could direct films²², and (2) providing support for many different film companies to produce a diverse range of films. In other words, the aims are discovering new talents and supporting fair competition between production companies for directors and film companies to maintain diversity to prevent artistic and economic centralisation. France expected this kind of support to maintain production of diverse films, and if the environment cannot sustain such production, the number of films produced would fall, which in turn would result in reduced competitiveness against foreign films. In order for a country like France with its 70 million inhabitants to have its cultural industry grow, it is necessary for a diverse range of films with new ideas to be produced and for this the country must provide support. Left alone to the market mechanism, centralisation of films with the aim of commercial success would lead to fewer films being produced and scope to lead change and growth would decrease (Korea Film Council, 2001:31).

2005:16). By making famous writers work in films they created the quality of tradition of French films. However, the quality of tradition which aimed for winning at the Cannes Film Festival turned directors into technicians who must turn scripts into films faithfully. Afterwards auteurism rises to re-define the position of a director and films and films which used to be a spectacle at a hall in the beginning eventually becomes an art genre, the principle agent at a regular movie theatre.

²² Around 170 works of film are being produced per year based around 2004 and of the 170, 40 or 50 pieces are filmed by a new first-time director and around 20 pieces are the second piece filmed by a young director.

In terms of film industry competitiveness, French film policies can be broadly classified into the following two kinds: (1) support which strengthens the basis of the industry by procuring quantitative production of French films²³, and (2) support which boosts the creativity of the film art by supporting the improvement of the films' quality²⁴ (Choi, 1996:76).

The support system is broadly of the following four kinds: (1) direct government intervention in particular areas (production and screening) of the film industry and support for organisations exerting a certain influence on the film industry; (2) duties and taxes on such distribution channels as TV and video to counterbalance the lack of screening profit due to the world film market mechanism which prevents films made outside the US being structurally categorised; (3) taxation through *incitation fiscale*; and (4) support through credit guarantees for the film industry. Seen from the competitiveness of the film industry, these support measures can be roughly divided into the quantity boost and quality improvement of the film industry (Choi, 1996:76).

The public support system is divided into support managed directly by the CNC and indirect support through various systems set up by the government. TV broadcasting companies must invest a certain proportion of their sales into film production (the production quota) and the TV broadcasting companies meet some 40 percent of French cinema's film production costs is met by (Korea Film Council, 2001:15).

²³ L'avance sur recettes (advance on receipts) is an automatic support system for production, distribution and screening within the film world. In the case of production, French film or French co-produced film under the international agreement which qualified for the support would get automatic support proportional to the tickets sales within France. For films shown after 1974, the support amount was decided upon by the tax collected (11 percent of the ticket profit). If the total box-office profit was less than 30 million Francs, 120 percent of the additional tax, for box office profit 30 million~40 million, 95 percent, and for more than 40 million, 60 percent of the taxed amount was given out as support. In 1989, to support large-scale production films, this was fixed to become 120 percent of the tax. A calculation method that favours large scale production strengthens the support's accumulative character. From 1977, automatic support expanded to include distributors who took part in the production, and in 1986 even came to include producers who distribute their works on TV. Automatic support for the screening met audience expectations by supporting the modernisation of the viewing screen, cinema, safety and projection facilities, and building more new cinemas (Choi, 1996:76).

²⁴ Automatic support only goes to more established film makers because it is based on the existence of prior works. This results in more opportunities to strengthen the already strong position of successful movie makers while reducing opportunities for new directors. In effect, automatic support might promote production of films of similar kinds. In order to help alleviate the situation, selected support is made through the decision of a committee by advance on profit, and the nouvelle vague films in 1959 benefited from this system. The decision to provide support is made by the Ministry of Culture following a pre-selection by a special committee jury, and support can be given prior to or after production. The pre-selection is made to choose quality French films or foreign films which might have difficult sales, or distributor of foreign films, independent distributors chosen every year, distributors of films from countries not well-known in France. The selected support on screening is made to choose cinemas which show art/experimental films (Choi, 1996:77).

French film production has four separate support mechanisms: (1) Automatic support (Soutien automatique) and selective support (Soutien selectif) through the CNC support fund; (2) systematic support financed by broadcasting companies' investment obligations; (3) indirect support guaranteed by government (IFCIC²⁵), and (4) investment by audio-visual investment companies through SOFICAs²⁶ (sociétés de financement de cinéma and audiovisuelle) (Korea Film Council, 2001:30).

The reason for the existence of four different kinds of support system is to achieve overall balance. The automatic support from the CNC's support fund provides support according to the film's previous box office record, which will not benefit a production company with no previous record, and it is for them that CNC also has selective support in place. The selective support system has a failure risk as the production cost is provided before the film production. This failing is offset by the automatic support system (Korea Film Council, 2001:30). Moreover, the duty for film production imposed on broadcasting companies offsets the likelihood that broadcasting companies will be biased towards producing programmes suitable for their own viewers, or investing in media of a strong commercial character. By setting the production quota high enough, the system leads to investing in high-risk but diverse projects. Public and private broadcasting companies differ in how they meet the production quota. Private broadcasting companies, being sensitive to viewer ratings due to

²⁵ IFCIC was established in June 1983 to promote film production or cultural projects. Originally the government had pooled the French banks into two, in order to encourage investment in film production in June 1968. In 1981 these two pools became one to become 'Financial Union for Cinema and Audiovisual industries' (Union pour le Financement de Cinema et de l'Audiovisuel: UFCA) before becoming IFCIC in 1983. Simply put, the concept resembles a state credit company in charge of a pool of money from the Ministry of Culture's budget and the CNC supporting cultural projects as a short or long term guarantor. At the time of establishment the 25 million Francs came from the state (20 %), state credit company (20%), small and medium business facilities credit company (20%), and the rest was shared by the 13 finance companies. A credit guarantee is requested by the company's own bank and judged by IFCIC, who then act as a short term guarantor (per project) or as a long-term guarantor (per technology-related investment). However, there is a limit to how much money can be borrowed from the bank – no more than 50 percent for project (short-term) or no more than 50~70 percent for long-term investment. Up to 80% of losses sustained by banks is guaranteed by the IFCIC's pool, and the total amount of guarantee should not exceed 5 times the asset. The interest rate is base rate +2% (1983). Other special guarantor companies include SODETE (Societe pour le developpement), Cofiloisirs (Compagnie pour le financement des loisirs), and Coficin (Consortium general de financement et de controle cinematographique). These companies may act as guarantors within IFCIC or outside, and the CEO's of the companies may actually take part in the IFCIC committee.

²⁶ SOFICA is an investment body similar to Korea's investment association. The investors invest in SOFICA and SOFICA invests in films and audio-visual works. The difference from the investment association of Korea is that the investors can get tax exemption on the money invested. The three places which made the most active investment in SOFICA in the 2000's are: Studio Images, Cofimages, and Sofinergie which make up 73% of the total investment. SOFICA invested in total 58 French films, and the total amount of investment made is 256.1 million Francs (around US\$46 million).

the advertising revenue, gravitate to making large scale commercial films and therefore invest a lot into a small number of films. Public broadcasting companies are encouraged by government towards diversity rather than concentrated investment and so invest in more than twice the number of films private companies back. SOFICA normally invests in commercial films but, by regulation, must invest one third of its investment capital into films not produced by large companies and of a culturally experimental character. The co-existence of such a diverse mechanism with different function and characteristics ensures a balanced support overall (Korea Film Council, 2001:31).

Two methods of Film Support System Provided by CNC

France gives support in a systematic manner by redistributing financial gain from film/audio-visual markets. The systematic support policy provided by the CNC bases its support finance on the profit made from the film/audio-visual market and boasts the largest fund in Europe. This means that, even with a relatively small direct government fund, through various systems and legal devices, public support finance can be secured (Korea Film Council and Ambassade de France en Corée, 2001:8).

The film industry support capital managed by the CNC is called “support account” (Compte de Soutien). It comprises support for the film industry provided by the national finance account (Compte de Soutien Financier de l’Etat aux Industries Cinématographiques: SFEIC) and support for the broadcasting program industry by the national finance account (Compte de soutien financier de l’Etat à l’Industrie des programmes audiovisuels: COSIP) (Korea Film Council and Ambassade de France en Corée, 2001:8).

The money comes from a special additional tax of 11 percent on cinema tickets (Tax Spécial Additionnel: TSA²⁷) and the tax paid by the broadcasting companies, and recently the tax on the broadcasting companies’ sales has been relatively high. Profits from the broadcasting companies come from the sales tax applied to advertising sales, pay-channel subscription and service fee, and TV license fee for normal channels. At the beginning of each year, parliament decides on the tax percentage to be applied to broadcasting sales and, since 1987, it has been

²⁷ Special addition tariff on the cinema ticket collects 11 percent of the ticket price as special addition tax. This tax was introduced on 23rd September 1948 and is maintained to this day. Before the end of the second world war on 10th April 1945 Film Industry Organisation (COIC), the predecessor of CNC, increased the admissions price for the cinema collecting 7% of the price towards the production support fund but this was scrapped in March 1946 due to the protests of the cinema owners (Prédal, 1996:42).

around 5.5 percent of sales. However, in the case of pay-channels, tax is only levied on channels with over 100,000 viewer members, and also included in the tax are profits from video releases, tax on pornographic audio-visual material and redemption of pre-loan (Korea Film Council and Ambassade de France en Corée, 2001:9).

In reality, in the rest of Europe apart from France, most of the public support money (80-99 percent) would go towards production but in France, as an exception, all areas are supported fairly and only 74 percent of the overall support budget goes to production. Of the production support, around 71 percent is reinvested by automatic support. Put simply, CNC provides very balanced diverse support through production, distribution and theatre box office automatic support and selected support, and finally support for the technical sector of the industry (Korea Film Council and Ambassade de France en Corée, 2001:9).

(1) Automatic Support and Selective Support

CNC operates two kinds of support system: automatic²⁸ and selective²⁹. The financial support is characterised by two different principles. Automatic support is provided automatically to all film-related companies (production, distribution companies and film

²⁸ Automatic support is the most basic support programme of French film and started in 1948. (23rd September 1948 Temporary Film industry support laws) According to this law a special film industry temporary fund was set up made up from special addition tax on the admissions ticket and fee on film screening. That this fund in turn has to be used for supporting production and screening is the theoretical reasoning behind the automatic support. Although the origin of the automatic support fund has since changed (fee taxed on film screening according to the length of the film has disappeared since 1972 and since 1987 tax imposed on TV broadcasting companies have been added towards the fund) the principle and the method were the same in 1984 and 2007. In 1984, support was calculated according to the box office profit both domestic and international. By 2007, for a given feature film meeting the necessary conditions, the details of its box office profit, TV broadcast and predicted video sales were calculated and entered into the CNC account under the corresponding production company, and the money available could be used by the company in preparation and production of its next film. All production companies use this automatic support system. It is considered as the backbone for protecting French films against the American films' invasion and the main agent for facilitating production. In the 1960s the automatic support accounted for around 20~25 percent of the total production costs (Farchy, 2004:87). Since then the proportion has been decreasing steadily and for the last three years has stayed at around 6%. It is not without its problems but still lies at the base of the French film production support policy.

²⁹ All support outside automatic support is termed selective support. It is only provided to a small selection which has passed some set process. Films which have automatic support can additionally qualify for selective support but automatic support has a higher volume. Selective support is made through subsidies or loans (to be paid back). It started in 1954 following the Film Industry Development Fund Law set on 6th August 1953 replacing the 1948 Film Industry Temporary Special Fund by the Film Industry Development Fund established on 1st Jan 1954. Through a selection process good feature films and short films were awarded. However the award for feature films took away from the automatic support, so selective support was mainly for short films. Short film production was also included in automatic support since 1948 but a small selection even qualified for separate award money. As such, selective support was introduced for discovering new directors (Song, 2007:303).

theatres). Depending on the box office record of the corresponding film, the amount of support is decided. About 2/3 of CNC's total support is automatic support, and the remaining 1/3 is provided through selective support through a selection process (Korea Film Council, 2001:14).

(2) Cultural Support and Economic Support

The second big principle of support is the cultural support which accompanies economic support. Automatic support which goes towards all companies belongs to economic support. In other words, it refers to all support which is provided for the development of the French film industry. Cultural support, can encompass support for clearly defined concept such as *avance sur recettes* (advance on receipt - production support refunded at sale) that support special films, advance support for distribution or for film theatres. Film education carried out at school for children and specialist education can also belong to cultural support. Finally, support for film festivals, cinematheque, film archive, or policy designed to protect old films fall under the category of cultural support (Korea Film Council, 2001:14-15).

Institution for Art/ Experimental Films

André Malraux was appointed as the first Minister of Culture in January 1959 and set discovery of new directors and supporting art films (or independent films) as the top two priorities for film industry support. On 16th June 1959, film industry public support legislation (later backed up by legislation dated 30th December 1959) established the *avance sur recettes*. The objective can be summarised as to promote bold creation and discovery of new talent, countering excessive influence from the market and to guarantee diversity of genre (CNC, 2006).

As automatic support is fully dependent on the box office record of the previous film, directors with a bad box office record or new directors who have no previous record find it hard to find a production company. *Avance*, on the other hand, provides no-interest financing with no regard to previous records, and only the predicted profit on a produced film or scenario as its security (Song, 2007:306). Depending on completed art films, selected distribution support is also available. Although rare, there exist cases called '*avance sur recettes après la réalisation*' - (advance on receipt after the completion) - for films which have started shooting without any public support but cannot meet the costs towards the completion

phase of its production process - a system providing advance support for these. In this case, the selection committee decides on support after watching the completed film instead of reading the scenario. Every year from 5 to 10 films get a relatively small amount of special support this way. Apart from this, distribution support exists for completed films and this system can be categorised into automatic support and selected support. Every Monday the special committee gathers to watch films sent by distribution companies. This support aims at the division of commercial risk possessed by the film, and the committee decides on the number of advertisement/promotional print copies to be made. In other words, it is a way to support films with bad box-office prediction (Korea Film Council, 2001:33). In particular, the fact that the advance system which provides support before completion (based on scenario alone) is much more common than the advance which provides support for completed films shows the revolutionary nature of the French support system. Thanks to the advance system, a new director with no previous reputation could direct a film, if backed up by a good scenario. In reality, the proportion taken up by advance support in overall production cost of films reached 14 percent in 1999, 13 percent in 2000, 15 percent in 2001, 13 percent in 2002, 17 percent in 2003, 12 percent in 2004, and 12 percent in 2005. In the past 5 years an average of €352,620 was provided as advance (Song, 2007:306).

Advance support is limited to films produced in French only (*oeuvre cinématographique d'expression originale française*). In the last 10 years, 506 out of 532 films which got advance support were films with French lead finance, and this shows how advance focuses on supporting films of French lead finance (Song, 2007:307).

The advance system for pre-production can be applied for not only by the production company but also by the scenario writers or directors, but the advance system for completed films can only support production companies. The support committee in charge of advance is made up of three departments. The first is in charge of support for the first production, the second of films made by a director with experience of having directed at least one previous feature film, and the third department is in charge of advance after completion. The judging process of this committee decides the advance to be offered, and an agreement is drawn up detailing conditions of loan disbursement and repayment (Song, 2007:308). Worthy of mention within the support for individual films are the support systems which exist to guarantee cultural diversity of films distributed within France and to promote distribution of films from the third world. Since 1983 there has been support for distribution from countries

whose films are not often seen, (Aide aux cinématographies peu diffusees) and also advance support for debut films Aide aux premiers film d'avances sur recettes). In the case of the former, around 1.35 million Francs (€206,000 euros) were given to around 15 selected films per year. Since its establishment, some 200 films were given this support. In the case of support for debut films (Aide aux premiers film d'avances sur recettes), a basic sum of €15,500 is given, either before or after production, to the distribution company where the director is producing a movie for the first time. The exact amount of payment is decided by the evaluation committee with respect to the release costs, and is limited to publicity costs of a film with release costs less than 230,000 euros or up to 50 percent of the progress costs. Support cannot be given at the same time to the same film for programming mentioned earlier. Short films also qualify as strong candidates for multiple support mechanisms including production process support, automatic and selective support for distribution until they meet their audience in the film theatre.

Independent Distribution Support

Direct methods of independent distribution/theatre support can be broadly divided into soutien automatique (automatic support) applicable to all companies, and soutien selectif (selective support) which provides support for those chosen through a selection process. Automatic support for independent distribution is limited to films made in or co-produced by France, and the money must be re-invested in films which will be newly released. The amount of automatic support cannot exceed the cost of the publicity process. Independent distribution selective support can be applied to films from any country of origin which would be distributed in France and is sub-divided into support for the distribution company and for each film made. Support for the independent distribution company can be given for a whole year's programming based on one year's distribution plan and the record of distributed works in the previous year. It can be also given to a distribution company with notable distribution activity but a weak financial arrangement. Programme support consists of prepayment of the distribution costs which can be refunded and print development costs (1/3 of the costs per film), and the company itself can select the method of support. The selection is made from among companies which distributed more than four films in the previous year, and one company can apply for support in both categories. The amount of support cannot exceed 50 percent of the amount invested by the company itself, and the print development cost support cannot be more than the total support of programme costs. The selected programme must be

screened in fewer than twelve cinemas in Paris (25 percent of which must be independent film theatres) with less than €460,000 towards distribution costs.

Even companies which have received programme support, if they are in a difficult financial situation, can apply for support for management structure. In this case, too, there must have been more than four distributed works in one year. Apart from new distribution companies, companies which specialise in retrospectives and classic films can get support based on screening more than three new prints. At the same time, retrospectives and classic film programmes can be considered for support under films in the category of 'retrospectives' and 'patrimoine'. There is also separate selective support available for those which did not get program support, by providing print development costs and pre-paying publicity costs in return for later refund (Korea Film Council, 2003:64-83).

Theatre publicity support is similar to production support. Automatic support goes to all theatres but venues with a reputation for showing only strongly artistic and commercially weak films get special financial support by pre-selection. Every year CNC labels these theatres 'Art et Essai' (art and experimental films) and provides finance for running costs. This system began in 1950 and, among the 4,500 movie theatres in France, the ones labelled 'Art et Essai' amount to 800. In large cities, in Paris in particular, there exist even more specialised film theatres with the label 'Recherche' (esoteric), and these theatres receive even more support than normal 'art et essai' venues. Under the 'Recherche' label, there are around 20 sub-labels and the film theatres with these sub-labels are considered to act as distribution companies themselves, rather than mere theatres, and get additional support. These film theatres are mostly concentrated in Paris and they screen films from less known countries or very avant-garde films (Korea Film Council, 2001:34).

Art House Support

One of the most representative systems by which French cultural policy realises its ideal of a diversity of culture is the exclusive art film theatre support system. The position taken by exclusive art houses in the French film market is considerably different from that of Korea. Exclusive art house was established as a label in 1955 so that it has nearly 60 years of history. It began with five cinemas but, with the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1959, started to gain government support and in 2008, there are around 1000 films and over 2000

screens all around France. The percentage taken up by the art film cinemas in the whole (in 2005) is around 48.7 percent, with 39 percent for number of screens and 36.1 percent for number of audience seats but this is a large number compared to Korea³⁰.

The actual number of screenings of art films reaches around 50 percent of the overall screening of films. In the last ten years, the number of art cinema screenings reached 54.7 percent of the overall number. Of the number of art films screened, French art films amounted to 49.7 percent, with 14 percent for American art films and 35.71 percent for art films from Europe and elsewhere. The diversity of country of origin shown compensates to a certain extent for the commercial screening. Of course, it is hard to judge only on the number of films alone and many various conditions may exist but it remains true that high diversity exists in the French art cinema industry.

Among French movie theatres, the cinemas selected for support from the CNC and which show artistic and advanced films in an active manner are called “art/experimental cinema”. The first art/experimental cinema was the Theatre du Vieux Colombier established in France in 1924 by Jean Tedesco. In 1955, AFCAE was established with five cinema members by the critics and the theatre owners themselves who had the aim of supporting auteurist films. AFCAE gained official recognition in 1959 by the then Minister of Culture, Andre Malraux. By 2001, there were over 1200 member cinemas in operation all working towards discovering new talent, supporting auteurist films and creating a geographically diverse film environment. AFCAE sees the aim as “to protect art cinema as an intrinsic expression of art, and to keep freedom from market domination.” In addition, AFCAE lists the tasks for art/experimental cinema as (1) to preserve and to make worthy the diversity and the plurality of the films of the past, present and future, (2) to seek a dynamic relationship between film creators and a critical audience, (3) showing of the most in-depth distributed programmes and (4) a social and educational role. The selection criteria for art/experimental film theatres depends on the ratio of the showing of the works selected satisfying the conditions above to the total number of showings. The number of showings of recommended films, the strategy of animation programming, the social environment and the cinematic background all contribute as additional points in the scoring system. Maintenance of the theatres, the diversity of the screened art/experimental films, the actual number of screenings and the

³⁰ In Korea the cinemas supported as exclusive art cinemas went from 2 in 2002 to 10 in 2003, 16 in 2007 to 24 in 2008 (KOFIC, 2007:454).

period minus the period of restoration works done on the theatre (in units of 1 week) may attract negative scoring.

Art and experimental cinemas can be roughly divided into the following by the specialty of the shown films: Esoteric and discovery “Recherche et decouverte”, young audience “Jeune public” and cultural heritage and classics “Patrimoine et repertoire”.

According to the September 2002 CNC report, 873 film theatres were selected to be art/experimental cinemas and received support. Of these, 40 percent are meant to be located in cities with population over 50,000, and especially in the main campus region. Moreover, the report highlights the relationship between large cities and the art/experimental cinemas from the fact that in two regions - Ile de France which is the capital region and Rhone d’Alpes which encompasses Lyon, the second economic capital - possess over 27 percent of art/experimental cinemas. Of course, exceptions exist, as in Nord-pas-de Calais where with over 4 million inhabitants there are only 20 art/experimental cinemas, whereas in the mostly farming/fishing Bretagne region there were 73 art/experimental theatres in operation.

In 2001, the total number of French cinemagoers increased by 12.2 percent compared to the previous year; of those, audiences in the agricultural/fishing regions are much higher than in the cities, showing the fruitful result of policies to support the cinema environment.

Paris, which has the greatest number of experimental/art cinemas, was said to possess 94 film theatres and 373 screens in 2001. Compared to the previous year, there was an increase of 8 percent so the audience was 3.1 million, 16.8 percent percent of the national audience and justifying the title, “film capital”. All 20 districts of Paris possess art/experimental cinemas. There are 6 multiplexes which have more than 10 screens in the city centre, but all cinemas in the 5th arrondissement (5th district, known as the most representative film district) are art/experimental cinemas, so stand out from the rest.

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theatres and 373 screens in 2001. Compared to the previous year, there was an increase of 8 percent so the number of audience was 3.1 million, resulting at 16.8 percent of the national audience warranting the title “film capital”. All 20 districts of Paris possess art/experimental cinemas. There are 6 multiplexes which have more than 10 screens in the city centre, but 100 percent of cinemas in the 5th arrondissement (5th district, known as most representative film district) are art/experimental cinemas, so stands out from the rest.

In 2002, nearly 40 percent of cinemas in Paris were classified as art/experimental cinemas and, of those, 60 percent were located in the old university districts of 5th and 6th district.

With financial support from the city, there is an ‘art/experimental cinema week’ every season which discounts admission by €3 per person, and there are plans to give tax reductions which would be absorbed by Paris city finance. It is indeed worthy of note that Paris continues to be loved by a large audience as the film capital even after the appearance of multiplex cinemas, as the policy employed dictates that Paris shows classic films, author retrospective, documentary, films from the third world, French independent and short-films in a differentiated programme in various corresponding theatres..

6.3.2. Korea Art Film Support Policy

Film policy forms a very close connection to the concept of film, or how films are perceived. Perceptions can be largely divided into four kinds: film as an art form, film as an industry, film as an ideological device and film as a window for sharing experience and communicating with the public. One can categorise the Korean film policy according to concepts already discussed, i.e. support policy for art films, industry support and regulation policy, censorship policy and support policy for production of selected films, and theatre and film heritage preservation; the policies have been implemented historically (Cho, 2005:45).

Of the several categories aforementioned, several voices raised the issue of general industry support and specific support policy for Korean films as the most important and effective way of promoting the Korean film industry:

“A long-term vision as well as policy driven support and fostering (of art films) is necessary. This means that the support should not just be directed towards making art films, but things which could provide the base for such films should be provided in a continued sustained manner.”

“Rather than supporting individual films, there should be a support for infrastructure of such film making activities.”

It was also argued that support systems should focus on inspiring the filmmakers’ creativity and help them to be free from economic risks. There are also many instances of countries with communist, totalitarian, or socialist governments using film as a way to manipulate the masses or as a propaganda mechanism, or countries which have been strengthening their censorship against immorality or violence in films. If the government regards film as an art form, they would aim to have a policy to guarantee the freedom of expression and to respect rights. If the government concentrates on the industry aspect of the films, they would regard it as a commercial product and implement policy which emphasises export and marketing as well as development of audio-visual technology in hardware form and training of labour (Kim, 2005:24). The direction of Korean film promotion policy has been heavily weighted by direct support which boosts the production drive and provides finance for production and distribution costs which could not be met, as well as emphasising some indirect support including modernisation of basic systems for production and extended support.

6.3.2.1. Historical Approach

The Change of Institutional Environment: Choice of Policy

From the 1890s during the end of the *Chosun* dynasty in Korea, the first moving films were imported through magic lantern slide shows, along with electricity and trains which were products of modern scientific technology (Yoo, 2004:13). Production of films started in the 1920s and film was regarded as an industry from its introduction (Yoon, 2002:2). However, during the Japanese occupation, production and acceptance of films was under strong control of the political powers (Hong, 2013:269).

Since movies were introduced in *Chosun*, and during the process of their rise to the level of industry, they have encountered not only artistic, industrial character of films but also the historically distinct character of being a Japanese colony. Because the starting point of Korean films lay during the Japanese political/economical/industrial ruling period (Hoshino, 2012:i) *Chosun*’s film industry, box-office and policy were all strongly subordinated to the Japanese mainland (Cho, 2005:47). The first Korean film probably faced difficulty with production costs under the Japanese colonial rule, and it was only some 20 years after its

introduction in 1919 that '*Uilijeog Guto* -Fight for Justice' was screened. The first full-length feature film, '*Wolha-ui Maengseo* - The Vow Made below the Moon' made in 1923, was screened at the same time (Yoon, 2002:10).

The security laws proclaimed at the end of the *Taehan Chekuk* (Korean Empire) in July 1907, can be seen as the first film policy – in fact a policy of regulation by the Japanese empire. When the Japanese empire mobilised for the Second World War, Japan exercised colonial control of *Chosun* films through a decree on *Chosun* Film, and *Chosun* Film Corporation (Kim, 2004:10).

During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), strict censorship hindered the growth of the Korean film industry. Korean-speaking films were banned completely in 1942 (Kim, 2007), and all film producers were forcibly merged into a single production house to make Japanese propaganda films.

Censorship began in 1921, and only propaganda and educational films could be made (Park, 2008:21-22). As it was impossible to sustain systematic production of films, the basis of industrialisation could not be laid. Liberated from Japanese colonial rule, in 1955 Korea laid the foundations of industrialisation and an effective film production system (Yoon, 2002:2; Yang, 2004:24).

The establishment of the Korean government in 1948 made necessary the creation of many different social institutions, and film was included. Many Hollywood movies had been distributed in the country when Korea was liberated in 1945, while only a handful of Korean movies were produced annually. In this way, the domestic audience became more familiar with Hollywood-style films. This contributed to the growing sophistication of the Korean audience after decades of exposure to Japanese films (Shin, 2008:43).

During the Korean War (1950–1953), Korea's entire industrial infrastructure had been destroyed, and many Korean film directors worked for or under the US Army which later provided them with modern film technology and equipment (Paquet, 2007; Song, 2012). The transfer of advanced US filmmaking equipment and technology to Korean filmmakers and production companies allowed Korea to become one of the most dynamic movie industries in Asia (Kim, 1998:130-135).

Responsibility for film policies moved in 1955 from the Ministry of Public Affairs to the Culture and Education Ministry (Lee, 2005:158) and policies to protect and cultivate the film industry and film culture were established. Tax exemption for Korean films was joined by restrictions on the import of foreign films (Lee, 2005:164), and a policy to reward excellent Korean films was established in 1957 (Korean motion picture promotion corporation, 1976:243).

The cultural policy of the 1960s was to establish the basis for a cultural administration system, (Korea Arts and Culture Promotion Agency, 1985:18-20) institutionalising cultural policy (Park, 2005:193). Under the modernisation policy of the Park, Junghee government, film laws were decreed in 1962 and protection, support and regulation policies were put in place. The 1962 laws protected and nurtured the Korean film industry and so, until they were replaced by the 1995 Film Promotion laws, formed the basis of the Korean modern film administration (Yang, 2010:38).

Under the broad aim of economic development and industrialisation, Korean film export was made a priority to enhance national prestige and earn foreign capital. In this way, Korean film was given an industrial character. If industrialisation and export policies were forced results from an industrial point of view, censorship resulted directly from the nationalism and anti-communism which formed the ruling ideology of the day. In summary, to the Park government Korean films were both the condition and target of realisation of its authoritarian modernisation and target for control on a national level (Lee, 2006:5).

The Korean Motion Picture Promotion Corporation (KMPPC), predecessor of the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) was established in 1973 (Yang, 2010:63), Policies for promotion of Korean films went through materialisation for the first time, and it is important to note that this provided the basic model for the film policies which followed (Park, 2005:239).

One of the projects most zealously pursued by the KMPPC was the production of films of national policy. The KMPPC actually became a production company and planned the production of national policy films according to “the guide for producing good films” (Lee, 2005:228). The project of national policy film production, broadly speaking complied with the nationalist discourse by producing films which supported the *Yushin* (restoration) government’s ruling ideology. They went beyond controlling the content of the films through

the guide for producing good films, and wanted to directly produce films suited for the *Yushin* system. This was to lead industrialisation of the film industry through masterpiece national policy films. Masterpiece films had much higher production costs than average, were usually large scale, and used special effects technology. KMPPC wanted masterpiece films to set the example of Korean films, and wanted to produce superior films which could suggest the direction for film production. In short, they wanted the government to lead the up-scaling and industrialisation of Korean films (Park, 2005:229-230). However, it proved impossible to find the driving power within the industry itself, despite its effort to extend the limits of the Korean film industry through policy making.

Film policy during the Park government regarded film as an industry for making profits. Industrialisation policy and zeal for production of masterpiece films were two representative examples of this. Even though the policy regarded the film industry as a capitalist industry, market intervention and ideology were applied in a direction against market logic (Park, 2005:266-267).

These policies revitalised production of the so-called ‘good and healthy films’ with themes of cultural ideology and political agenda set by the government (Park, 2005:48) which regarded and used films as industry and propaganda (Lee, 2004:76-77). The film policy was set up as a film industry protection tool and restricted import of foreign films (Yang, 2010:60-79). In 1966, for the first time a screen quota system legally forced domestic films to be screened (Yang, 2010:57).

In the 1980s (from 1980 to 1988) there was gradual change from protection to open policies. The biggest point from the Korean film policies of this time could be attributed to the opening of the Korean film market following the Korea-US agreement (through 2 stages) and the corresponding strengthening of the quota system. Through the 1st Korea-US agreement in 1985, direct distribution screening started with UIP in 1988, and through the 2nd Korea-US agreement all markets opened except for the screen quota system protecting the Korean films (Yang, 2010:63). This 1980s open policy brought about freedom of film production (Yang, 2010:50).

From the 1981 policy, they re-defined the concept of a ‘superior film’ as a film with artistic merit which can be watched and enjoyed by many, and to impress and touch the audience, as

well as being a unique creation which can provide social guidance and is educational in nature. This is a change from the past where 'superior/good film' meant nationalist and national security (anti-communist) films, in that there was more emphasis on artistic merit and popularity. However, the 1982 policy went back to emphasising anti-communist pro-national security to contribute to the national defence stance, showing ideological control from a political perspective (Park, 2005:260). Until the mid-1980s, Korean film policy continued to be characterised by strong regulation and subordination under political control (Lee, 2004:76).

The 5th film law revision (31st December 1984) changed film business from being permission-based to registration-based. It opened up the possibility of the production of independent films which did not require to be registered as film production business (Ahn, 2005:273). Finally, the Korean film industry entered a free competition system of production (Ahn, 2005:279). In this new system, new producers and new directors appeared and Korean films exhibited increased creativity and rationality. This new generation became the main protectors and developers of Korean films (Ahn, 2005:281). The policy of the subsequent Noh, Taewoo government (1988~1993) of rewarding good films and providing pre-production support was the most basic and central film support policy to date (Ahn, 2005:301).

Since the early 1990s, the Korean film industry has performed strongly in the domestic market with an average 54 percent market share over the last decade and annual record peaks between 60 percent and 65 percent (Messerlin and Parc 2014).

The film industry policy during the 1990s was an extension of the Kim, Youngsam government's economic policy based on the new liberalism. If previous governments had used film as a means to rule through a policy of control, economic policy now dictated film policy under an umbrella of nurturing cultural industry. It is characterised by deregulation (acquiescence in the participation of conglomerates) and industrial support policy (Ryu, 2005:7). In 1995, through the film and audio-visual promotion laws, direct support took the form of tax exemption. This brought financial capital such as venture capital companies to invest in the film industry, resulting in diversification of capital, and specialist project film companies appeared changing production structures through production practice. In the late 1990s, the new Kim, Daejung government came into being at the time of a foreign exchange

crisis. They applied neo-liberalism in the form of privatisation, deregulation, clarification and liberalisation across the whole of Korean society. Cultural policy is dependent in neo-liberalism on the cultural industrialisation theory. During the inauguration speech in February 1998, cultural industries were declared as the 21st century industry, and through nurturing of the cultural industry it was hoped to increase the cultural output (Ryu, 2005:11-12). The Cultural Industry Vision 21 (2000) made clear that cultural industries would become an important means to increase national competitiveness. All the corresponding examples of industrial policy, i.e. administration control, industrialisation rationalisation, tax reduction, finance through policy are employed in the nurturing of the cultural industries (Kim, 2009:187-188). Moreover, through the basic laws for cultural industries promotion, the film industry was designated as a small-to-medium business qualifying for support for the SMBs and rules were set up for the investment association to promote the stabilisation of film production capital. In March 2000, a mid-to-long term plan for the development of the film promotion policy was written called “Korean Film Promotion Comprehensive Plan” (Ryu, 2005:17). In this plan, there was a target number of 100 major commercial films, 1,000 independent films to be produced but what was missing was the plan how to distribute them. This drew criticisms that this was production-focused industrial support (Ryu, 2005:31), and that the policies were too biased to be industry-focused (Lee, 2002; Kim, 2009:125). In 2001 KOFIC was established.

2001 also saw strong discussion about the problem of screen domination, and there was a small-scale audience protest called the “*wanarago*” movement³¹ to save ‘small films.’

In 2000, the Roh, Muhyun government (2003-2008) set out to improve the diversity of Korean films and introduced more publicly oriented policies that had five main points: (1) Revitalisation of Korean film production and distribution to focus on diversity, (2) Training of film labour, (3) strengthening public aspect of audio-visual technology and securing international competitive edge, (4) audio-visual project support for increasing cultural capability, and (5) internationalisation of Korean film. KOFIC was charged with producing art and independent films that would command 10 percent of screen space and to develop cinematheque exclusive theatres, together with encouraging production and distribution of

³¹ The name “*Wanarago*” of the movement comes from taking the first syllable each of the four films which got critical acclaim but were under danger of being taken down in the early days of its showing – “*Wani wa Junha* (Wani and Junha)”, “*Raiban* (Ray-Ban)”, “*Nabi* (Butterfly)”, and “*Koyangirul Putakhae* (Please take care of my cat)”. Thanks to the protest, these four films could be shown a little longer at the cinema.

documentaries and short films and media education (Kim, 2009:144-145). However, it was impossible to escape completely from the neo-economy's economic paradigm, e.g. in the 2007 Korea-US FTA agreement (Kim, 2009:189).

The Institutionalisation of Korean Art Films

In the 1910~1920s, the intellectual class's perception of film was more artistic than educational. However, when film first entered *Chosun*, films were interpreted by the *Chosun* literary class as a low-class popular art form (Hoshino, 2012:35). Rather than art, it was judged a source of amusement and moving pictures represented a mere attraction. In the late 1910s, some literary works were made into films and the artistic taste for film was expressed in production of literary films, but still the perception as a spectacle and frugal culture persisted (Hoshino, 2012:36). Traditional art was recorded by a new media called film, satisfying both literary character and media character (moving pictures) (Hoshino, 2012:45). The genre flow of *Chosun* films was a problem from its conception, as there was no environment within the industry which could satisfy the condition for making a new genre and producing new films (Hoshino, 2012:47). The *Chosun* public preferred national and traditional literary material, but also liked American films for their entertainment value (Hoshino, 2012:49). In 1926, the film industry of *Chosun* starts to show some identity as Na, Unkyu's *Arirang* is exported to Japan (Hoshino, 2012:58). However, from the 1910s to early 1920s the film industry of *Chosun* emphasised the characteristics of film as medium rather than as an independent genre. For example, a traditional performance in Japan was filmed and introduced in *Chosun* as "film" though in reality it was not film but another genre transformed into an audio-visual medium (Hoshino, 2012:90). The first screening of a sound film imported into *Chosun* was in *Umi-kwan* in July 1914 (Lee, 2009:119). In the West, sound films became common in the late 1920s but the first sound film made in *Chosun* was *Chunhyangjun*- the Love Story of *Chun-hyang*. This was screened in *Tansungsa* (film theatre) in 1935, but the *Chosun* audience had already encountered sound films from the US. When *Chosun* Cinema showed sound films from Paramount, and made a profit at the box office, in 1932 *Umi-kwan* and *Tansungsa* also screened sound films (Kim, 2009:17-18). The appearance of sound films put pressure on the Korean film world in two different ways: first was the material covered and second was the artistic merit. Material such as the suppression of the *Chosun* people and discrimination by the Japanese or the gap between rich and poor could not be used as there was very strict censorship by the Japanese. Instead, the material

had to be sought in classical literature. Unlike silent films, sound films also had to take care of the actors' vocalisation and the content of the script, therefore sound film forms a close relationship with literature and also other genres of art/theatre (Lee, 2009:128).

In France there was a movement called "Film d'art" to increase the artistic character of film culture by using literature or a stage play as the story or theme. In the late 1920s the invention of the sound film brought a close connection to literature and plays. In Korea a close connection was also formed to other genres, but until the early 1930s Korean films were not judged as an artistic genre. Korean films at the beginning started with films brought in from overseas companies for product commercials and developed into something shown between theatre plays (a combination play). Therefore, the audience regarded films as a device for advertising or a prop used for theatre plays. Although a few works appeared made from some literary classics they were still thought of as entertainment (Lee, 2009:132). In the 1930s, Korean films which had mainly relied on plays and photos started to approach literature in order to be recognised for artistry. Compared to the Korean literature which had modernism as its base and was active in its exchange with the film sector, films were passive in their part in the exchange, and Korean modernist films only appeared after the 1950s (Lee, 2009:134).

The 1960s was a golden age of modern cinema as well as the climax of the auteurism art films, and searches were made for new films. However, in Korea, following the 1962 domestic film protection law, not only was there a decrease in the import of foreign films but it was a time when the concept of the film art itself became confusing. Lee, Youngil (2004) in "a full history of Korean film" talks about "problem works in the 1960s" i.e. films of high artistic quality but where the story possesses some sort of problem. He says he would categorise these films separately as "problem pieces" and not as art films. He gives the reason that (1) in Korea there is not a clearly established artistic concept for each film genre (2) the term literary film is misused in the government 'superior film award policy' leading to a confusion that literary films are seen as art films (Lee, 2012:29-30).

In the mid-1960s, the desire for 'good films' or 'superior films' and its realistic necessity was emphasised within the Korean context. This might be seen as the result of producers fighting to have foreign film import rights but, in principle, it was due to a mixture of the following: the new desire for Korean film production by the ambitious independent producers and new directors, educational and critique activity of Korean critics who have experienced the flow

of world film and international festivals, magazines such as “Art Film” and weekly “Korea” which were published from the mid-1960s, and seminars, discussion groups and good film viewing organised by university film clubs, the “let’s watch good films” movement etc (Lee, 2012:21).

In world film history, the heyday of cinephilia was from the early 1950s to the late 1960s and there was an economic boom after the Second World War and an insight into modern cinema and film as an art form was born. A historical and cultural difference exists from the formation period of cinephilia where there was a detour and delay of a time and space nature between Europe and the USA (Elsaesser, 2005:27-44), but the period can also be thought of as a time in Korean film history where the Korean film world experienced a sudden and fast change, fomenting a new global/regional film culture (Lee, 2012:51). Byun (1983:26-27) argues that the golden days of imported foreign films were during the 10 year period after the Korean War from 1953 until 1962 just before the film law was decreed. During this time there was an influx of American, French and Italian films which had been banned during Japanese colonial times, and Koreans experienced the diverse flow of world cinema from the 1930s-40s at the same time as the films from the contemporary period. It was also during these times that the distinction (Boudieu, 1979) of taste i.e. Korean films vs foreign films took place in the Korean film culture (Lee, 2012:51). Thus, the Korean audience started to divide between those who saw films as entertainment and those who saw it as art films (Lee, 2012:52). In the latter part of 1960s industrialisation and its ills and negative effects of revised film laws such as strengthened censorship led to worries of severance from realism and disappearance of authors but, following the 2nd revision of the film laws in 1966, Korean film industry underwent a big change from the production planning side. This was because, prior to the screen quota system, cinemas which used to show only foreign films started to show more than four Korean films per year, and enthusiastic producers started to plan Korean film production for these cinemas (Lee, 2012:106). Although through a strengthened review process and superior film system the film industry showed signs of regression, through the gap in the system new films were sought which were suitable for the Korean reality. The main agent who played the important role of realising the concept of authorship in the late 1960s was the producer (Lee, 2012:107).

Since the industrialisation policy led to the increase in production costs, among the major production companies the concept of planning and promotion of films started to take root.

After the first revision of the film laws, the minor film producers who could not have an official operation due to failing to meet the registration conditions could now mandate production. In the mid-1960s big name producers such as Hoh, Hyunchan, or Choi, Hyunmi who produced good films made innovative contribution to the flow of Korean films. They urged the quality improvement of Korean films giving examples of Western producers, despite the fact that the Korean film industry possessed a different cultural tradition and context – i.e. different box office market, technology condition, censorship, etc. (Lee, 2012:109).

The formal self-awareness pursued by the new producers insisted that authorship be considered as a component of the institutional mould of art film. Neale (1981) has considered the role played by the art film in Europe, first against American film domination and, second, in cultivating its own film industry and culture, giving examples of films from France, Germany and Italy. As a strategy of differentiation from Hollywood, national films or films of a particular culture or tradition were regarded as highbrow art. He emphasises that the art film should be interpreted as the whole process of production, distribution and screening.

When considering art film as an institution in Korea in the 1960s it helps to consider what Matthew Bernstein (2006) has said about “producers as auteurs”, i.e. with regards to certain films, the producer can be the auteur. This was because producers provided a strong personal vision which led the concept, scenario, directing, and editing (Lee, 2012:110). However, measures to merge film companies in September 1967 restricted the activities of independent production and minor production companies, forbidding autonomous film production. This resulted in restriction of creative activities as many individual productions which used to produce superior films for large production companies had to stop. Without the accompanying protection or nurturing of film art or film artists, the Korean government policy of over-concentrating on nurturing the business side of the industry suppressed artistic ambition. At any rate, independent production or director-centred minor productions, like their counterparts in Europe in the 1960s, put directors at the front in order to let them plan and realise their creation in a more flexible environment (Lee, 2012:111). Producers played the role of corporation facilitator that helped scenario writers, directors and stars realise their creation. Thus, feature films by producer-writers were born out of a desire to unite corporate planning and aesthetic newness under artistic will (Lee, 2012:116). In 1965, “Film Art” magazine which led Korean film art discussion and practice began its publication (Lee,

2012:140), and particular films were designated as art films. After the 6th revision of the film law in 1988, non-Hollywood films started being imported (Kim, 2007:13). As a sentiment against Hollywood domination and the commercialism within, non-Hollywood films were actively introduced and this had a connection to the direct film import introduced by the institution change following the 6th revision of the law. Art films tried to distinguish themselves as a different product to Hollywood films, and for this usually European film was introduced (Kim, 2007:i). The end of military authoritarianism and its legacy of globalisation through neo-liberalism (represented by Hollywood) – in front of both of these conditions Korean cultural action was to put a strong resistance against the American cultural market domination. However, resistance to American commercialism and establishment of the modern cultural market produced a ranking system of art and non-art, and European tradition was followed to distinguish one from the other (Kim, 2007:81).

After the 1990s, Korean film goes through rapid development both industrially and culturally. They are successful in creating success for “Korean” film by absorbing influences from both Hollywood blockbusters and European art films (centred around France). This happened almost at the same time as the transfer of the production structure changed from a cottage industry to involve the large conglomerate companies (e.g. *Daewoo* and *Samsung*, when business capital entered the film industry) and film as art became film as industry within the Korean environment. Lee, Sangil (2005:64-65) interprets this phenomenon as the justification of the film industry as an art following a highly educated workforce entering the film world. According to him, Korean films which had been seen as mere entertainment earned legitimacy as an art genre exercising a strong cultural capital. Cultural structuralisation of Korean films is a combined result of industry development after the 1980s and the quantitative expansion and film research which arose as an important object for critique following post-structuralist theory. Structuralisation of film studies also had an effect (Kim, 2012:1). Korean films started to possess industrial, artistic and cultural worth and at the same time diverse films such as independent films, author films, and art films started to demonstrate inner value (Kim, 2012:2). In the mid-1990s, cinemas appeared which had screens for showing art films and in 2002, KOFIC started to fund exclusive art cinemas through public support (Kim, 2007:13).

After the 2000s, diverse films became legitimate as a genre. KOFIC’s financial and production assistance meant that these films became a national target for support in a

systematic way, and the condition to obtain social value and meaning could be construed to be quite micro-social in nature. Since the 2000s there was much progress in revitalising the showing of 'small films' due to the Korean government's support for independent, experimental, full-length documentary films (Kim, 2012:2). However, the intervention policy which categorised each individual film with its genre-dependent character and endemism into a dichotomous opposing relation, could also be interpreted as a mechanism to control the film art (Kim, 2012:3).

On the other hand, the cultural heritage administration of Korea revised the cultural heritage protection laws in July 2005 to add movable cultural assets to the already existing buildings and facilities (immobile cultural assets). According to this, in 2006 all films made in the modern era were given priority for registration purposes. Through the turbulent times most films made in the modern era have not been preserved, but it was necessary to raise awareness of a need to preserve even for films yet to be made. Registration of films as cultural assets has as much meaning as recognising the social role played by film, i.e. it is a symbolic move as important as actual physical preservation. There are 38 films for registration (in 2007) in the Korean film archive, dating from 50 years of Korean films made until 1957. There are 11 films made during the Japanese occupation, 27 made after independence, and the criteria the films had to satisfy were: (1) high artistic merit, (2) exerted a large social/cultural influence on the public, and (3) reflected a side of society at the time. As well as these, it must have value as data (Kim, H. and Kim, I., 2007:5, 9).

Since the introduction of films into Korea, films have become public entertainment, but films shot by directors such as Kim Kiyong, Yu Hyunmok, Lee Manhee, Shin Sangok and Im Kwontaek have shown that films are not merely devices of entertainment, but possess an artistic value. In 2007, the Korean cultural heritage administration designated seven Korean classic films - "*Mimong* (Sweet Dream) (1936)", "*Jayu Mansei* (Hurray for Freedom) (1946)", "*Kumsawa Yeohsunseng* (The prosecutor and the woman teacher) (1948)", "*Maeumui Kohyang* (A Home in Heart (1949)", "*Piagol* (1955)", "*Jayu Buin* (Madame Freedom) (1956)", "*Shijipkanun Nal* (The Wedding Day (1956)" as cultural assets (Yoon, 1 July 2007). The fact that these seven films have been registered as cultural assets can be understood as the inclusion of the history of films in the national history, and as a process of institutionalisation of Korean films (Kim, 2008:277).

The Role of the Government

In 1960 under military authoritarianism, the literary value of film was recognised through its connection to culture, and this was implemented via support through policy for literary films which used literature as their origin. From 1965, through awards to good films, the filmmaker of a literary film also enjoyed a reserved quota imposed against foreign films. However, the discourse of literary film has little to do with the art film boom which followed the opening up of the market for import of foreign films. This was because the origin of the literary films which starts with the assumption that films based on literary works are superior lies in a different place to the one occupied by art films that tried to find its own artistic territory within the genre of film (Kim, 2007:21).

Since the 1960s the discourse on art cinema became revitalised. According to the KOFIC report “Art house Support Policy Research” (Korea Film Council, July 2004), after the opening up of the import market, *Hoam Art Hall*, *Hyundai Art Hall*, *Myungbo Cinema* all wanted to distinguish themselves from the rest and all started showing non-Hollywood films produced before 1988 as “superior foreign films”. Around 1988, films that won foreign film festivals started to be introduced as “art films” instead of “superior foreign films” (Korean Motion Picture Promotion Corporation, 1988). It seems that “art film” was first used as a marketing ploy in these cinemas as a strategy to differentiate “art film” as both a high-brow and a European culture as well as elevating the audience as consumers with high taste (Kim, 2007:ii).

Since the systematic intervention of the KOFIC, during the support project for exclusive art cinema, it was necessary to introduce an institutional recognition process for art film, and this brought about the need to define the area and territory of art films. The existence of the support system equated to the conflict between the power which the art film recognition jury committee possessed to bestow and recognise the film, and the attempt for the producers, importers and the distributors themselves to have their films recognised as such (Kim, 2007:82).

In Korea films were a novel but low-brow art form which was a modern scientific technological import. Afterwards they were objects to be controlled as they became ideological products, and in the 1950s along with the economic boom they became an

economic product for international export. In the mid-1990s they finally began to be acknowledged as artistic and cultural objects.

Even until the early 1980s films meant no more than light entertainment to most people, and much more so for Korean films than for imported foreign films (Lee, 2004:64). During the 1990s the arrival of film studies as a university subject and the increase in film-specialist magazines meant that the young generation found film legitimate and worth pursuing. Film also became an important way of distinguishing cultural taste. This means that films were extensively recognised and had entered the cultural sector (Cho, 1993:374). Around the mid-1980s, Korean films won many awards in important overseas film festivals, transferring symbolic credit to Korean films and the Korean film world, again contributing to the granting of artistic meaning to the films. Film festivals can be seen as ceremonies which strengthen the symbolic capital of the films (Harbord, 2002, ch3). The reputation of the overseas film festival has its origin in the symbolic capital the host country has accrued through its tradition of cultural production including filmmaking.

The export policy of the Park, Junghee government was emphasised as one of the main reasons for establishing the Korean film promotion corporation, and export became an important economic aim. Developing the overseas market for Korean films became a priority (Korean Motion Picture Promotion Corporation, July 1993:60). The overseas promotion project by the film promotion corporation was closely connected with the export drive policy of the Park, Junghee government to maximise tangible results. Films were treated as export products that could contribute to raising the national status through promoting the *Yushin* idealism and nationalist ideals, rather than being valued as cultural products (Kim, 2005:43) (see Table 8).

Change of Perception of Films	
Popular entertainment	
Art film with a nationalist character	Economic object for export
Cultural object (heritage)	Industrial object

Table 8. Perception Change of Films in Korea

The impetus which caused film in Korea to change from popular entertainment into an art form can be attributed to (1) a highly educated labour force with cultural asset entering the film world and (2) systematic intervention by KOFIC, by budget and production support helping to distribute and nurture art film by including it as a target for national support.

Other points include: the rapid rise of culture as a new profitable sector for industry and finance capital; the development of capitalism and economic growth resulting in increased consumer spending; increase in consumer demand for non-material, social service sector (Jung, 1994:36-38); changes in the labour force whereby managers, directors and specialist workers all increased in number (Cho, 1994:29); and, finally, the perception of film as art and the film director as auteur (Lee, 2004:111-112). Although since the introduction of film in Korea it has been a popular entertainment and then an artistic and cultural object, the common perception in Korea today is still that films are popular culture, or an industrial object.

6.3.2.2. Support System for the Film Industry

Support for the art film aims to improve film quality and provide an environment to strengthen the international competitiveness through support for films which seek quality, imbue a sense of authorship, and plant creative will. It also hopes to develop diverse film genres, prevent the decrease of film goers, and produce films which can compete in distinguished art festivals of the world (Kim, 2002:121).

The interview highlighted the need to shift the emphasis from a purely commercially driven film production to art film production by promoting creativity by relieving the burden of failure from the shoulders of the filmmakers:

“Even with the desire to make good films, there has to exist a way of spreading the loss in case of a large risk. One cannot keep on producing films with continuing loss (of many hundreds of thousands of dollars). If there exist people who want to continue producing high quality films which do not necessarily generate profit, there has to be a way of supporting them. Even at present such film producers exist, so if we can lower the risk for them more such people will emerge.”

“It is likely that the films that are made by art film producers will be art films, so maybe the

government can fund them once they reach a certain level so they can produce films without the worries of commercial success or audience numbers. For example, every year, around 1.5 million dollars each could be given to two producers chosen 'objectively', then at least two filmmakers could produce films which are free from financial pressure. Every year there might be one or two good films made and its synergy effect will be great."

It was argued that the support system should focus on inspiring filmmakers' creativity and help to them to be free from economic risks. However, the system to do with production of art films consists only of production and development support for fiction films, with no financial support for distribution and screening. Only indirect financial support exists for these sectors through exclusive cinema use and tax exemption.

Feature-length Film Pre-production Support and Development Project

Production support for feature films targets around 15 pieces of full-length feature films and animation, and can automatically support up to half a million USD or 50 percent of the total production costs. In order to provide a landscape where diverse quality films can be produced and a balanced film culture is supported, the support is divided into art film category and low-budget film category (Lee, 2002:113).

The feature film production support project which was carried out in 2000 supported feature films and animation selected for the level of completion of the scenarios, the fidelity of the production cost bills, and the possibility of export. Due to controversy surrounding its business practice, it went into administration (Lee, 2005:83). In 2001, support for feature films was divided into art films and low-budget films. Support for the art film is via selection which chooses a project that can boost the international status of Korean film and is aimed at full-length films costing more than 800,000 USD for production. Up to 400,000 USD can be supported within the 30 percent of the total production cost (Lee, 2005:83).

The low-budget film sector is limited to experimental and unique works, full-length films for film release which seek diversification, with pure production costs less than 800,000 USD. A maximum of 200,000 USD or less than 50 percent of the total production cost can be given as support. The first KOFIC had targeted the main commercial films under the umbrella of 'feature films' and this changed to secure diversity by including non-mainstream films as a target for support (Lee, 2005:84).

Independent Film Support Project

The biggest change brought about by the establishment of KOFIC is the expansion of support for non-mainstream small films alongside the support centred on commercial films. In 1998, KOFIC supported small scale short film production, but this was reborn as support for independent films. The concept of independent films which had not been in use during the time of Korea Film Promotion Corporation became the target of support policy as the establishment of KOFIC resulted in expansion of the base (Cho, 29 March 2002).

“There has to be a system which allows films to be distributed and be shown to audiences in a non-commercial territory. Of course, support for education and production is important but there will continue to be films made without production support, therefore, the direction for the support should be in improving the distribution channel or the venues (which show the art films). Films which cannot be distributed in a commercial system should be able to be shown in exclusive art film cinemas. In Korea, such venues do not exist at the moment. Even venues such as ‘Hypertech Nada’ or ‘Cinecube’ can only operate with commercial profit, so Cinecube would show commercial films. Even with very famous filmmakers’ films on offer, the showings rarely last over a week, and the cinema would have to replace them with commercial films.”

“Art films should be given a longer minimum showing period of over 10 weeks or so, even just in one venue. In case of France some films are shown over a 7 or 8 year period. Children can go and watch films watched by their parents’ generation. If independent author films have to compete in the same distribution channel and must see success within a week, they will have no chance regardless of their quality. An immediate improvement to the structure is necessary.”

Problems in distribution of art films highlight the problems in showing and cinemas. The necessity to support independent art film cinemas with government policy is argued.

In 1999, the first year of KOFIC’s establishment, altogether 40 pieces were chosen for small-scale short film production support, and this project was carried out in 2000 as a support project for independent films. KOFIC carried out a programme to fund a maximum of 50 percent of the production cost, or 20,000 USD (20 million won) for established or new film makers who wanted to produce independent films (Lee, 2005:84).

Support for Art Houses

As one of KOFIC's strongest projects, this is support policy for screening theatres. Leaving the arena of support focused on film production, the first KOFIC carried out financial support for improving the facilities of the film theatres and procuring exclusive art film cinemas (Lee, 2005:88).

"In large cities, or cities with population above a certain number, spaces where art films can be shown should be secured. This is something that the government must and can do."

"The Ministry of Culture could operate non-commercial venues, on the understanding that they do not have to be profit making. It is important to provide a channel for showing good quality films"

Financial support for distribution and screening, compared to the support for production, was almost non-existent, with only indirect support by tax exemption existing for exclusive art film cinemas. The support regulation is specified in the film promotion law Section 26, and has been carried out since the mid-1990s. Exclusive art film cinema refers to cinemas which screen art films on more than 3/5 of the total number of screening days, and the art films must be defined and labelled as such by the art film recognition special jury committee. The manager of the art film cinema would benefit from the additional fee imposed on each ticket as the 'culture and art promotion fee', and also by fulfilling the duty of filling the required screening days for the art film.

The accreditation of art film is carried out by looking at the quality of the film, its creative and artistic contribution, its contribution to other art forms apart from the cinema, and finally the cultural/artistic recognition on the domestic and international scene and record. The grading system is divided into 4 grades and only those films with an average score of B or higher are classified as art films. However, pre-selection can root out films which are deemed guilty of imitation, plagiarism or for any similar reasons by more than 2/3 of the jury members (Kim, 2002:119).

The finance support loan is from the film promotion account, and the loan administration is entrusted to and carried out by a commercial bank. If the target for the loan is the film theatre manager, the loan was given for restoration of facilities in a normal film theatre, the building

of exclusive film theatre and restoration, the cost of automating ticketing system secured against the real rights. In 2000, in the Seoul metropolitan area, around 16 places got 9.84 million USD, and in 2001, from a 12 million USD budget, 15 cinemas including the Cheju Academy Cinema and Pusan Cinema got 5.62 million USD, and in 2002 the budget of 8.5 million USD was loaned out to around 10 cinemas including the Korea Cinema.

In 2002, the loan project for exclusive art film cinemas became specialised. With the appearance of multiplex cinemas, wide release became generalised. Wide release meant that commercial films with mighty marketing power could monopolise the screens, and the non-mainstream films which could not find the screening opportunity. This was the reason for support for the exclusive art cinemas, in order to provide the minimum opportunity for screening for the non-mainstream films.

“Production and distribution are related to each other in an organic manner. If distribution is improved and many audiences come to see the film, there will be an increase of film production, and with an audience base there will be investments made. The reason for repeating the importance of distribution is because it is directly linked to production. In other words, an audience base needs to be procured but with the present system this is extremely limited. Film territory has to be expanded for diverse films to be produced.”

In order to overcome the standardisation of Korean film culture, and to improve art film, it was also suggested that an effort has to be made to show art films outside the exclusive venues. The window where art films can be shown needs to be expanded outside its traditional niche area.

With interest of 1 percent per annum, loans were paid out secured against the real rights and exclusive cinemas had to screen Korean films for more than half of the showing days and foreign films for more than 1/5 of the showing days. On 10th May 2002, Cinematheque Seoul Art Cinema which got around 180,000 USD support opened. Korean Cinematheque association is in charge of the administration and KOFIC supports the management costs, venue rental fee and building an archive, and management fee for library copyright acquirement, giving much support for the diversification of the film culture environment. With the establishment of the 2nd KOFIC, the project to support exclusive art film cinema gained much impetus through the establishment of a consortium called the Artplus Network.

(Lee, 2005:88).

Artplus Network for Genre Diversity of Films

At the beginning in the box-office competition played out by the multiplex cinemas, the ultra-low budget independent films could find audiences through cinemathèque and film festivals. However, there was no screening space for non-mainstream or art films. In late 2002, KOFIC started Artplus Cinema Network which had as its aim expanding the distribution channel through the organisation of art cinema network (Ryu, 2005:62-63).

“When Multiplex cinemas were first built, it was hoped that maybe there would be spaces for diverse films, author films, but this failed to happen. A cinema which possesses 16 screens would show “Friend” (a blockbuster Korean film) on 15 of them, and not show any art films or author films. Market principle applies. Therefore, the government needs to give tax credit to the cinemas. In the case of France, cinemas get a lot of tax relief from the government so they rarely make losses.”

It was also argued that a more proactive role should be played by government in supporting the venues.

Based on the 2010 data, there are 26 cinemas and 29 film theatres within this network in the whole country. Their activities involve supporting the exclusive art-cinemas, as well as joint distribution, hosting the Nextplus Summer Film Festival etc. and finding and supporting alternative distribution channels. In 2010 in Seoul alone, CGV riverside Indie-film cinema, Sodaemun Art Hall, CGV Sangam Indie Film Cinema, Taehan Cinema, Hypertech Nada, Cinecube Kwanghwamun, Hollywood Classic, CGV Taehakro, Sponge House Kwanghwamun, KT&G Sangsang Madang, Cinecode Sonjae, Art House Momo, Film Forum etc. belong to the Art Plus Cinema network. The specified Art cinemas here must have a screening of art films for 219 days (73 days for Korean films). KOFIC defines the standard of art film as: (1) a domestic auteur film with high literary value, (2) a creative and experimental work that exhibits a new character in its material, theme and method of expression, (3) a film which has not been previously shown in Korea about an individual, organisation, society or country, which can contribute to continued cultural exchange, freedom of exchange of thoughts, expansion of cultural diversity, or (4) work which is worth re-screening from an artistic and socio-cultural point of view. Also, unrelated to this standard, KOFIC also

acknowledges films with diversity values as art films (KOFIC supported (production or distribution) films, animation, documentary, experimental films and short films, i.e. films with less than 1 percent market share). In Korea, diversity film theatres include Art Film exclusive cinemas that belong to the Art Plus cinema network as well as Indie Space (exclusive Indie-film theatre), Seoul Art Cinema, Anicinema (Animation-exclusive cinema), and KOFA (Korean classic film exclusive cinematheque) (Lee, et al., 2010, 217-218).

As KOFIC entered its second phase, the focus of its work became securing diversity of film culture through structural improvement of the distribution network. Through Artplus Network, opportunity for commercially unviable, alienated independent films to find an audience was procured. Artplus Network was one of the important projects to reflect the position of the 2nd KOFIC with regards to the neo-liberalist policy which excluded minorities.

“There have been very few improvements in the diversity of genre (of Korean films). Cinemas should be showing them (Art and independent films) regardless of the audience size , and continue to do so, so that the audience can develop an interest in these films, one cannot cultivate the taste without watching them, only through the provision of diverse films, one hopes to achieve a diverse consumption.”

“It is necessary to think about the rights of the minority audience, i.e. films should be made even for an audience of a thousand or ten thousand, but this is not feasible from a commercial point of view. However, the revitalisation of art films really needs to be discussed from the rights of the minority audience who want to watch such films.”

In effect, the existence of such problems stems from the fact that films which strive to satisfy cultural diversity have failed to overcome the wall of industry and commercialism, and in order to solve this, support and fostering for infrastructure of Korean film industry, for example, in production environment, labour and education of audience are necessary.

The argument about the art film exclusive cinema came about from 2001’s “Waranago” incident, and this was due to the feeling that development of the Korean film industry was responsible for excluding small films with little commercial viability (Lee, 2005:94).

Expansion of Minor Film Support

Through the establishment of the industrial system and stabilisation of the vulnerable capital

system, the KOFIC limited the production support to independent films and digital films. For commercial films, they decided to limit the support to a secured loan against the real rights, investment association finance, development support, and scenario contests. 2003 pre-production support was limited to art films with production costs less than 1.2 million USD (1.2 billion won, in rough conversion), and provided 300,000 USD in cash, 100,000 USD in kind per film for four films. In 2004, this was changed to 400,000 USD cash which was given as support for films that had less than 1.5 million USD as its production costs (Lee, 2005:92).

Extending support to cover minor films was one of the biggest changes implemented by the 2nd KOFIC, a change to support independent and digital feature films. This was to reflect the changing perception of digital films, as well as the dire straits facing independent filmmakers who had to rely on digital production in times of increasing production costs. In 2003, the policy was changed to include for production support which had only been given for distribution and enabling a maximum 30,000 USD production support for films which were at least 60 minutes long (Lee, 2005:92).

6.3.3. Comparison of the Two Countries' Policies

When talking about the policies it may be argued that perhaps it is more than a mere coincidence that not only the instruments but the sequence in which they are used are the same in France and Korea - support through subsidies.

We come to look at the role subsidies for film industry have played in the two countries. From the late 1940s French film industry shifted from quotas to subsidies, in order to protect itself against the US demand to open the French film market and also bring domestic film goers back from going to see Hollywood movies.

Subsidies have the advantage over the quota system of being much more powerful and flexible, a positive rather than a restrictive instrument to promote domestic film production against foreign invasion.

While the French subsidy was almost a paradigm shift in the way French film policy was designed and implemented, by contrast in Korea there was little subsidy in policy making until the 1990s, when the current subsidy regime was introduced to 'protect' and 'compensate' for losses incurred by the film industry (Parc, 2014).

In France, the organisation called CNC, which represents the film industry but is an administrative arm of the Ministry of Culture, oversaw the transition to a subsidy-based policy. The money to fund the subsidy was to be raised by a tax on the ticket (seat tax) so that the funding allocation was direct and exclusive within the film industry. Having CNC in control meant people in the film industry could get their voices heard in the decision making process.

Another advantage of such a subsidy regime is that it is a collective supportive system which is not divisive like a screen quota or import quota which only favoured either the movie theatre or the importers. Everybody along the film production chain gets a slice of the collective pie, which leads everyone to work together. The success created by the French film subsidy policy saw the seat tax renewed after the initial four years in 1953 and it was permanently written into the French legal system in 1959 (Vézyrouglou and Péton:31-32, Parc, 2014a; Parc, 2014b).

Today the French seat tax has extended to various other media - in 1986 taxes on TV channels were introduced, in 2003 on videos, in 2007 on video-on-demand, and in 2013 on internet subscriptions. This enables the continued success of the French film subsidy policy and, in 2014, the level of subsidies was more than three times the 1970s figure (in constant euros). In 2011, the value added to French film industry by subsidies is calculated at between 32 and 78 percent (Messerlin, 2014).

Subsidy policy has little history in Korea until very recently. The Korean government only began to see the film industry as an economic driver in the mid-1990s. Even during the period of 1998 to 2007, a good time for Korean films, the value added to Korean film industry by subsidies remained at less than 3 percent.

After twelve years of uninterrupted success, the Korean film industry faced a noticeable decline in 2007, which was generally interpreted as a result of the negative impact from the screen quota cut implemented in 2006. However, this decline was not directly related to a decrease in the supply of Korean films triggered by the screen quota cut, but to the quality of Korean films that resulted from reduced private investment in a time of radical changes in the film industry, such as Korea-US FTA negotiations and the predicted screen quota cut (Parc, 2016:9-10). Nevertheless, the dominant perception in the film industry during the

negotiations was that the quota cut would cause its decline - hence the growing domestic calls for a new instrument to support the Korean film industry.

As a response to the prevalent reaction then that perhaps screen quota cut had led to the decline of the industry, the Korean government increased the amount of subsidies, and raised the money from a seat tax, as in France. Moreover, the scheme was overseen by an institution modelled after the French CNC, called the KOFIC. Again, like France some 60 years ago, the subsidy scheme was initially given 4 years to show success. Although both countries have seen a good level of success from this scheme, Korea's current level of subsidies is very low compared to France.

Comparing the Effects of Subsidies between France and Korea

Korea has been closely following the French in its implementation of subsidies, albeit some half century later. This gap in time frame means that direct comparison between the two countries in the effects of such schemes might be redundant and of little use.

France has had a long history of cinema, and subsidies for films have been in place long enough for the effect and impact to be measurable. After continued success, it can even be said that its effect is oversaturated and the stagnant French film industry cannot be saved just by putting in more money.

The turning point for the Korean film industry came when the ruling powers finally realised its economic possibility as summed up in a famous sentence by Kim, Youngsam in 1993. Jurassic Park was released in Korea, and the president said, 'This movie is worth the sales of 1.5 million *Hyundai Sonata* sedans' (Song 2102). And thus the film industry was reclassified from a service industry to a manufacturing sector. This enabled filmmakers to ask for bank loans while potential for film subsidies widened through access to public budgets, and a variety of tax exemptions could be applied (Forbes, 1994; Kim, 2000, 2007).

Perhaps a marked difference between the subsidy policy the two countries have employed could be that, while most of France's large subsidies have gone directly to film makers Korea has been drip-feeding it to the distribution channels and infrastructure (Messerlin and Parc, 2014; Parc, 2014). While the aforementioned difference in the vastly different level of subsidies has put Korea at a lower beneficiary level, critics may argue that direct subsidies by

the French might have contributed to the oversaturation and stagnation of the French film industry whereas Korea managed to revitalise the industry by indirect subsidy (Messerlin and Parc, 2014; Pager, 2011; Parc, 2014b).

There is a strong argument that success in the Korean film industry actually preceded any government support or gesture and that now the government is just basking in the glory of the Korean film industry. The substantial increase in indirect film subsidies in the mid-2000s actually followed and was induced by the runaway success of Korean blockbusters like “*Shiri*”, “*JSA*” and “*Winter Sonata*” (Parc and Moon, 2013). This indeed supports the long-established theory which is a broader interpretation of “Hunger promotes creativity” - that often genius or creative work stems not from affluence but that sometimes dire situations make better masters, even on a national level. Put in another way, it paves the way for a school of thought that no government intervention would be better than a forged purposeful policymaking to create, promote and sell. When authority figures try to create or buy cool, it is simply not cool any more.

However, in the real world, we cannot deregulate completely even when it comes to film subsidies. The best-case scenario would be for there to be enough support for flourishing of creative activity not dominated or controlled by any one power, such as national government, commercial drive, or even direct or indirect foreign influence. Lofty ideals such as promotion of cultural content and diversity can also stifle creativity. What is important is that film making should be able to flourish in a spontaneous environment where filmmakers and movie audiences can create something new and there is little limiting factor.

In Korea, the current subsidy scheme consists of government subsidies, public subsidies and tax exemption. Traditionally, subsidies have been heralded as a way to improve the cultural content of the Korean film industry but recently they have concentrated on the economic benefits.

The Korean government subsidies have found a good use by being a source of indirect support for the film industry, but the level is very low - 4 percent of the total French subsidies (Messerlin, 2014a; Parc, 2014b). An indirect way of funding has the advantage of leaving the industry rather fluid to do what it wants to do, so an increase in indirect government subsidies could be a good policy for the Korean film industry. Public subsidies funded from seat tax

currently run at 3 percent per admission ticket. This is now to be continued until 2021. Seat tax is currently not charged in theatres which show animation, short films and artistic films for more than 60 percent of the year. Again, either due to the size of the market or otherwise, this amounts to only 8 percent of the total French subsidies.

A further study that should be interesting to perform is into the effect of the rise of internet TV subscriptions and the co-production of films and programmes by international companies such as those Netflix does with various domestic production companies, both in Korea and in France.

Already, many films reach a larger audience worldwide than ever before, and although the subscription companies buy already made products to put in their catalogue, they are also now increasingly producing their own content. Due to the global nature of their audience, there are now increasing numbers of locally made productions, funded by global subscriptions, which then reach the global audience. These huge power-wielding transnational companies are a new creature on the block, so a new study of the changing environment is not only warranted but crucial.

6.4. Internationalisation of Art Film in France and Korea

In the area of the protection within the movie industry, a rapid paradigm shift into the era of international competition is occurring at present which includes free market competition, signing of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), and abolition of screen quota systems following globalisation. The availability of information is becoming more generalised which has led to the standardisation of world consumer demand, and in order to reach a sizeable economy the film industry has had to target the world market in its business planning. In this way, the industry evolves from a national to a global level.

One can attribute the relaxing of the trade barriers leading to the strengthening of the intellectual copyright protection as a possible reason which, in turn, led to the ease of sales of home-made films abroad. In addition, competition between companies started to occur at a global level, and in the case of the film industry in particular, American companies which are competitive within the U.S. are dominating the global market (Lee, 2006:92-93).

The concept of internationalisation is defined as “The process of managing strategy, resources, structure and organisation in line with the international environment” (Welch and

Loustarinen, 1988; Calof and Beamish, 1995). The internationalisation of the movie industry in particular is also often defined as increases in film exports outside the country where they were produced (Lorenzon, 2007:351).

The motivations for internationalisation of a firm are of two kinds: (1) business-led proactive motivation; and (2) reactive motivation which is reaction to changes in the external environment (Heo, 2004).

In turn, proactive motivation can be sub-categorised into trying to obtain more profit in the international market i.e. profit led motivation, product- and technology-led motivation where the firm's unique product or technology is used, taking advantage of exclusive information on the international market, so-called information-led motivation, and finally passion-led motivation by an individual for international business activities, sometimes with tax benefits, to achieve economies of scale.

Reactive motivation consists of motivation in order to protect market share from a rival company, processing of excess stock from over-production, looking to sell abroad following a decrease in domestic sales or domestic market saturation (Heo, 2004).

The driver prompting film companies to promote internationalisation is similar to that of other generally known companies. The biggest share of proactive motivation that the movie companies possess would be the direct factors of wanting additional profit in international markets and increasing their competitive edge. First, in relation to the market, the companies are looking to use economies of scale to increase competitiveness, and expansion³² or diversification of market, in order to advance into the international market.

Any country in possession of a sizeable film industry started to compete with Hollywood films, and even at present, there are few countries which can truly compete against the size and might of Hollywood. Danan (1996:72-73) considers the 1920s as the beginning of the internationalisation of the French film industry, and the European film industry coming together in order to fight against the economic hegemony of Hollywood films. The reason for this could be traced back to the fact that, while Hollywood pursued strategic

³² Economies of scale are achieved in international sales – the more countries a film is exported to the larger the profit - due to the fact that only the cost of copying, which is very little compared to production of the first edition, is necessary.

internationalisation from the outset, the internationalisation of French films had its roots in protection against American films. In order to acquire and expand its active territory, the French film industry pursued co-production with other countries in Europe and beyond.

As Lorenzen (2007) notes, the majority of international audio-visual productions are designed to take full advantage of fiscal incentives schemes, as opposed to the few that are driven purely by artistic reasons. Even co-production is perceived mainly as a tool to garner a bigger budget (De la Garza, 2016; Caldwell, 2008). Therefore, modern global audio-visual industries are greatly affected by all types of “runaway productions” to foreign locations with tax incentives (Lorenzen, 2007; Yoon and Malecki, 2009).

For enterprises in creative industries, internationalisation is not always associated with export. As mentioned above, project-based activity in creative industries forged a comfortable environment for internationalisation within the production process. Internationalisation in creative industries, excluding export, can be broken down to four types: (1) foreign direct investment in the local industry, (2) outsourcing to foreign countries, (3) international co-production, and (4) international company. In addition, because creative industries are project-based, international co-production and outsourcing of cultural product makes sense economically and creatively.

In Europe there is a strong belief that audio-visual products, particularly films, play an important role in shaping European identities (European Commission, 2013). Therefore, the state aid to support cultural activities had existed before there was any evidence that creative industries could become an economic powerhouse that bring substantial economic benefits to the local economy (Mitkus, 2011; Mitkus and Nedzinskaite-Mitke, 2015). Furthermore, for decades it was a matter of prestige to sustain a national audio-visual industry with state aid, even if its production could not bring revenue that would cover expenses or achieve artistically distinguished production. Therefore, although there are strong cultural and economic reasons to stimulate the growth of creative industries with direct and indirect state aid, that also means that competition in the market may be distorted.

6.4.1. Internationalisation of Art Film in France

As the French film industry is vulnerable to monopolisation of major companies from various mergers and complexification of giant cinema chains and distribution companies as well as

success of French blockbusters made with Hollywood money, and its most treasured value of 'diversite culturelle' is under threat, the French government is maintaining its strong stance of intervention in the French film industry. Despite the criticism that a strong interventionist cultural policy might weaken the competitiveness of films, the French tradition of national intervention is kept alive in the belief that French films reflect French national identity and films are seen to possess something beyond a commercial value, and this is what has continued to protect the French film industry and culture against continued American pressure for deregulation and abolition of such protective measures.

At the start of the 1910s, when internationalisation of films was in its infancy, the French film industry was the largest in the world, and held an important position in the production and distribution of films until the First World War. Two French companies had a pivotal role in the French industry: Pathé and Gaumont, and Pathé, in particular, was the first film company to have a vertical structure of production, distribution and screening of films and was the largest film company in the world up to the First World War, holding 22 overseas branches including in the U.S. (George, 2003:156). Until the First World War, the French film tried hard to export films but after the war American films came into the disintegrated film market (Nowell-Smith, 1996).

75 percent of the French film market was dominated by American films after the First World War. To fight against this, French national cinema system was established after the Second World War (Dana, 1996:72).

In 1925, American films dominated the European film market which formed 65 percent of the global market (95 percent of British, 77 percent of French, 66 percent of Italian market respectively) (Lee, et al., 1992:72) and in 1926 75 percent of all films shown in the world were American (Jowett and Linton, 1987:170). In order to compete against Hollywood domination in the global market, the French collaborated with the Italians to create a joint film market, and co-produced with German film producers, forming a united European industry. High budget films, the so-called Super-productions, were made through co-production in order to compete against the American film hegemony (Dana, 1996:73).

Strategies for Overseas Market

Traditionally, French film has occupied a niche market within the international film market,

relying on the two unique characters of both cultural specificity and auteur films. However, the 21st century brought a huge change to both the French and the global film markets. France decided on transnational and high-budget international productions as a national strategy, replacing the existing French films which tended to be only successful within the domestic market, for example, French comedy films which reflected the French national psyche, an exception to this being “Taxi” (Gerard Pires, 1998) which was dubbed in English and marketed with a reduced French identity and as an American style action film.

As an example of the success of the strategic internationalisation of French film production, the 2002-2005 statistics from Unifrance tell us that French films were more successful abroad than within France. In 2005 alone, 73 million people worldwide watched French films, with a sale of 473 million USD (James 2006). International casting and staff, international co-productions and productions in English all contributed to this success (Vanderschelden, 2007:40). Two examples of successful films in America were directed or produced by Luc Besson - “Bandidas and Arthur and the Minimoys.” The stars of Bandidas, Salma Hayek and Penelope Cruz, both possess audience pulling power both in America and across Europe. This is the new Hollywood-style commercial approach taken by the French film industry, which departed from its days of the New Wave (Unifrance, 2009).

In 2011, the statistics from Unifrance tell us that the number of French language films which saw big success in the international market declined. Compared to the previous year in 2010, the audience who saw French films in French language dropped from 58 percent to 37 percent. There was a notable lack of hits such as “Oceans”, “Les Aventures d’Adele Blanc-Sec” or “Le Concert” and the only successful 2011 film which more than 2 million people went to see was “Rien a declarer” (Gonzalese, 12 January 2012).

Luc Besson, who is one of the few French names in recent years to reach global level, has produced more than 30 films since 2001. He is also the director of “The Fifth Element (1997)”, and the “Taxi” series which saw a huge success both domestically and globally.

From this, one is able to deduce that producing French style blockbusters to compete against Hollywood blockbusters can bring a certain level of success. Other names such as Claude Berri, Christophe Gans, Pitof, Jan Kounen, and Mathieu Kassovitz, might not always satisfy critics who value aesthetics above all, but it is undeniable that they contributed towards

protecting the French film markets. In other words, it is crucial to note that they managed to achieve the freedom of creativity within an institutional system where artistic and commercial values clash. In order for French films to continue to be competitive in the global market, especially against Hollywood films, relying on cultural exception alone is not enough. Striking a balance between global and national appeal as well as maintaining the culturally exceptional art-house character is required for the future direction of the French film industry.

6.4.2. Internationalisation of Art Film in Korea

The Korean film industry can be roughly divided into 5 different periods. First is the pre-1960s infancy period, where cinemas were established around stations and markets and were run on a small scale. Second is the prime era during the 1960s. Large cinemas and network of cinemas took control and led the film industry as there was yet no presence of producers or formal distribution network, and melodramas and films with art and literary themes were popular. Most households did not own a television so the majority of the audience - the so-called '*ajumma budae* (housewives' legion)' - led the Korean film market.

The third period was from the 1970s into the mid-1980s and a slump in the Korean film industry. Televisions were rapidly spreading and the appearance of many recreational and entertainment facilities meant many people stopped going to the cinema. During this period the profit from film sales was very low and capital was hard to recover so there was simply not enough money for production costs to be met leading to a vicious cycle.

The fourth period from the second half of the 1980s until the end of 1990s was when industrialisation happened for the Korean films. In 1984 the liberalisation of film production enabled more and more films to be produced, and in 1988 direct distribution companies from the US brought many Hollywood films into Korea. In comparison the Korean film industry stayed relatively dormant. The fifth period came after 1999 and this was a time for rejuvenation for Korean films. Since 1999 "*Shiri*", there were repeated successes with "*Joint Security Area (JSA)* (2000)", "*Chingu (Friends)* (2001)" etc. and a positive cycle was established (Koh, J., 2002:24).

The internationalisation strategy is seen to change according to the era briefly discussed above. The 1960s can be thought as the heyday of Korean films but was a failure in terms of industrialisation. Until the 5th amendment to the film laws in 1984, looking at the previous

four attempts at reform, very little effort was made to industrialise or commercialise movies. In terms of the framework of the industry, production companies were after the profit from the quota system when they produced domestic films. In the 1980s following the 5th and 6th amendments to the film laws and the 1988 market liberalisation heralded a change in the Korean film industry in terms of capital and workforce, the appearance of multiplex cinemas and blockbuster style Korean films as well as changes in distribution environment. It was an era of both industrialisation and internationalisation of Korean films (Hwang, D., et al., 2001:16).

As Korean films entered the era of industrialisation the change in the structure of the industry happened across all areas - production, distribution and screening, and the influence of Hollywood films was very large at this stage. First in the area of production, Korean style blockbusters were produced in order to compete against the Hollywood films dominating the domestic market. It was found that, apart from films like 'Shiri' made in the style of Hollywood commercial films, most Korean films could not effectively enter the overseas market. In other areas of the industry, by imitating the Hollywood style when making changes in its structure, the diversity of the culture was compromised. The attempt to increase its competitiveness backfired with the vertical integration of production, distribution and screening, a practice that is forbidden even in Hollywood.

Internationalisation of Korean films consists of export through international film festivals or trade fairs, production companies entrusting export to trading companies or intermediaries, and finally co-production via agreement between countries. Co-production can be further categorised into co-financing, pre-sale and sharing of the production process (Kim, H., et al., 2001). In the area of distribution, a large distribution company may establish a company abroad and take charge of direct distribution, or they may partner with a major company for distribution abroad.

Internationalisation through Film Festivals

Since the first international film festival during the 1932 Biennale Art exhibition in Italy, film festivals have widened from a cultural event with the character of a competition into various other functions including trade fair, promotion of co-production, interchange for filmmakers, academic forum etc. and have become central to the development of both film art and the

film industry.

Including the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF since the new Romanisation, but formerly known as PIFF - from *Pusan* - which is closer to the original pronunciation) in South Korea, there are about 200 film festivals annually around the world (Jeon, P., 2001:268). A film festival is not only a place where films will be judged but also an interchange where films as product can be showcased. In other words, the artistic and commercial merits of a film can be judged and introduced to the world and the same time as its makers at such events. In Europe there are representative film festivals held in Cannes, Berlin, Venice; in the USA the Sundance Festival is held in Utah; and in Korea there is a festival which showcases Korean films into the wide world such as BIFF. Festivals such as these introduce a wide range of films from art films to well-made³³ commercial films and through these events Korean films can be introduced and connected to an international market.

Since 1995, Korean films have been steadily entering the world market. As shown in Table 9 below, in 1998 export sales increased sharply in comparison to the previous year, and they have since been on an upward trend which has a close relationship with the growth of the Korean film industry. In 1990, “*Shiri*” managed to attract a record number of over 5 million movie goers, and since then the Korean film industry has been producing similar hits in production cost scale and box office records, proving that the size of the industry was large enough that it could fully consume domestic films. Kim, Eunmi (2000) shows in her studies that the production cost and the domestic box office result are correlated to export market performance.

When choosing a film, having won international awards or been nominated for an award play a main role. In the case of Korean films, it was found that over 52 percent of films which enter the Asian market have either won or been nominated. Over 70 percent of Korean films in transaction in the European market had won or been nominated for an award. This shows the strong preference for award-winning or award-nominated films by the countries buying Korean films (Kang, D., 2005:65).

³³ Well-made: a custom genre of film where stars (actors) are utilised but the director’s unique character and interesting issues are presented, with good audience reaction.

Table 9. International Festival Award or Nomination Rate of the Korean films in the foreign market

Country	Award Rate	Country	Award Rate
Japan	63%	Portugal	78%
China	36%	Spain	86%
Taiwan	61%	Belgium	71%
Hong Kong	57%	Holland	80%
Singapore	49%	Luxembourg	83%
Thailand	56%	Sweden	60%
Malaysia	39%	Norway	50%
Indonesia	58%	Greece	61%
U.S.A.	63%	Czech Republic	50%
Mexico	50%	Slovakia	67%
Brazil	00%	Poland	100%
France	79%	Turkey	75%
Germany	77%	Israel	71%
United Kingdom	69%	South Africa	75%
Italy	88%	Australia	53%
Switzerland	100%	New Zealand	50%

Source: Korean Film Yearbook 2002 (re-cited from Kang, D., 2005)

As shown above, most countries that import Korean films see film festivals and awards or nominations as an important factor when considering whether to import films. In other words, the relatively low brand awareness of Korean films can be raised through the sort of channel international film festivals can offer.

The opportunity to contribute to a leap in the film industry within a country can be provided by that country regularly hosting a particular film festival possessing international repute.

Through a famous international film festival, one can attract both domestic and foreign interest and the trend of the art side of the film industry can be learned as well as naturally

promoting commercial production and consumption. More importantly government trade restrictions on the audio-visual industry can be bypassed and domestic policy supporting the film industry can be made explicit in an indirect manner (Oh, S., 2003:285).

In this aspect, the success of the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF) is crucial to the development of the Korean film industry. According to Oh Sejung, the achievements of BIFF can be listed as follows: (1) increasing domestic potential movie viewers (i.e. increase of the size of the film market), (2) increasing competitiveness of the Korean film industry by making Korea a leading power among Asian film-making nations³⁴, (3) the participation in the festival of people from around the world results in pioneering in the overseas market as well as making sure that the structure of the Korean film industry can adjust to global trends.

Looking at the awards won by Korean films in overseas film festivals, we can mark 2002 as a milestone for the Korean film industry not only by the number of films winning international awards – no fewer than 10 – but also the awards for the best director won by Im Kwontaek for “*Chiwaseon*” at Cannes, and Lee, Changdong for “*Oasis*” at Venice. Then, many Korean films have been recognised internationally: “*Bagjwi (Thirst)*” (Jury Prize at 2009 Cannes Festival), “*Si (Poetry)*” (Best Screenplay Award at 2010 Cannes Festival), “*Paranmanjang (Night Fishing)*” (Golden Bear for Best Short Film at 2011 Berlin Festival), “*Pieta*” (Golden Lion at 2012 Venice Festival), “*Naebujadeul (Inside Men)*” (Best Actor at 2016 Asian Film Award).

Coinciding with the growth of the Korean film industry, during the five years since the start of PIFF (from 1996 to 2000, average 5 year export figures: \$3,184,653) the export figures have increased 10-fold compared to the 5 years prior to that (from 1991 to 1995, average 5 year export figures: \$334,429) (Chugye Yesul University, 2004:75).

The former executive director of BIFF, Kim, Dongho, remembers that BIFF played a vital role in bringing Korean films overseas. “After the establishment of BIFF, representatives from Cannes Film Festival came to *Pusan*, watched the Korean films and started to take them back with them, and since 1998 four to five films, and in 2009 ten films were introduced.

³⁴ Since 2000 when PIFF has been in the film festival circuit, despite the downturn in the number of Korean films made, there have been an exponential increase in the number of Korean films invited to the overseas film festivals as well as the number of awards. This can be seen as the increase in both domestic and international competitiveness of the Korean films.

After the ‘Remembering Kim Kiyoung’ retrospective section during 2nd BIFF, the next year Berlin Film Festival introduced the programme ‘Kim Kiyoung director’s retrospective’. BIFF acts as a window for around 20 to 30 Korean Film Retrospective programs in small and large film festivals around the world every year” (Cho, I., 9 September 2010).

Thus, the role of BIFF in providing an opportunity for Korean films to lead in Asia and to raise awareness is crucial, and it is clear that it has also contributed to making the Korean film industry competitive and promoting its value in the international market. Aside from BIFF, there are several other international film festivals such as the Jeonju International Film Festival or Buchon International Film Festival (for the genre of fantasy films), however, these have not incorporated trade markets and their influence in the internationalisation of the Korean film industry could be thought to be less in comparison.

Internationalisation through Overseas Distributors

Although there is a steep increase in the practice of using international film festival as a channel to enter the overseas film market, in comparison to the number of films produced in South Korea, the number that actually enters the overseas market is not large. This is because most films at the box office are commercial, and these films are chosen by overseas distributors rather than through film festivals (Kang, D. Y., 2005:31). These films are sold abroad either by selling their rights to an overseas distribution company, or by direct distribution. The latter refers to cases where the Korean company would still be in possession of the rights but would pay a commission to an overseas distribution company to directly distribute the films, though this is extremely uncommon for Korean films, and most sell 100 percent of their rights to the foreign company (Park, N., et al., 2008:251). Most Korean films are exported in this way to Japan and other North East Asian countries and less commonly to Europe or North America.

According to studies by Kang, D. Y. (2005), “The Eraser in My Head” by the director Lee, Jaehan recorded a 3.2 million U.S. dollar sales figure in Japan, which is equivalent to the average production cost of a Korean film (in 2003), and this meant that, from the production stage, the Japanese market could be considered which in turn meant it would have a big influence on investment in Korea films. If one can recover most of the production cost from export alone, the existence of such markets is an important factor. Korean films also export to

Taiwan, Hong Kong and Thailand but the level of consumers in these places does not reach that of Japan, and China has yet quite far to go, therefore only Japan acts as a commercial market for the moment.

Park, Namkyu et al. (2008) have studied the export strategy based on the example of the Korean film production company “Showbox”. Showbox which opened the film “D-War” on 14th of September 2007 across 2,777 screens in the US has managed to achieve 10.98 million dollars sales making it the highest box-office grossing Korean film in the US (Min, D. and Song, Y., 2009:275). Park, Namkyu et al. draw from this that Korean films have reached that stage beyond being just a case of export, and that the profit from an overseas market can now dictate the film making itself. The system is no longer limited to relying on domestic market sales. So far, the films which have gone through the direct distribution channel overseas include “*Goemul (Host)*” by Showbox and “*Taepung (Typhoon)*” and “*Wangui Namja (The King and the Clown)*” by CJ Entertainment.

Aside from selling the showing rights, remake rights are often sold by export. A lot of Korean films sell their remake rights to the USA. According to “The study of Korean film export to European and American regions” since the sale of rights of “*Jopog Manula (My wife is a gangster)*” and “Tell me something” in 2001 to the US, in 2002 eight and in 2003 23 Korean films sold their rights to the US. The reason for this increase can be attributed to the fact that, apart from the box office rights, the rights to DVD sales, and remake sales have contributed to the overall result (Park, H., et al., 2003:123).

The potential big risk for a production or distribution company can be assuaged if the remake rights to an already proven successful film can be bought and used to cater to the specification and taste of the destination country. Examples of Korean films which have been remade in the US include “*Yeobgijeogin Geunyeo (My Sassy Girl)*”, “*Jungdog (Possession)*” and “*Geoul sog-eulo (Mirror)*”. “*Chugyeogja (The Chaser)*” has also sold its remake rights to Warner Brothers in the US for 1 million dollars (The Korean Producers Union International Committee, 2008).

Internationalisation through Co-production

Hwang, Dongmi and Park, Jiyin (2002) have found that, since the end of the 1990s, co-production between countries has started to materialise in earnest as Korean films started to

be distributed in Asia and abroad. Before the mid-90s, Korean films had earned the opportunity for exposure through winning or nomination for awards in international films, but since then export markets are being considered from the planning stages. The increase in the average production cost of Korean films has led to the need for expansion of markets, and by becoming a country of co-production, the film can be placed in an advantageous position both in terms of the system and the culture.

In the beginning and until the mid-2000s, co-produced films did not reach the expected profit but it was an important time in terms of experience and made further co-production possible. From mid- till the end of 2000, co-produced films paved the way for commercially successful work by increasing awareness in international markets and analysing economic viability and marketability. Producers, directors and actors would share their talent through co-production as well as co-investment in order to expand the market and hedge risk.

Johnson (1992) refers to international co-production as a shared effort allowing a joint approach to an audio-visual project, and this term is applied to any case where more than one country takes part in one or more of the diverse processes of production: the resource, script, pre-production, production, post-production and distribution of a film. In other words, in terms of resource, story, technology, and infrastructure any international cooperation would be enough for that work to be categorised as a co-produced work.

This concept is sub-categorised by the way in which the work is shared. Kim, Hyejoon et al. (2001) divide the concept into the sub-concepts of co-financing and co-production. Co-financing refers to sharing the resource and is one of the most common methods used. Due to its relation to the production cost, it is essentially synonymous with investment or pre-purchase. For blockbusters, box-office sales or profitability are important factors for investment at the planning stages and, in the case of art films, the raising of the image of a country or even the distribution company act as an important catalyst for investment.

The Independent Screen Producers Association of America categorises international co-production into pre-sales and co-venture. Pre-sales refers to selling the showing and/or distribution rights prior to production without any sharing of control over editing or production and therefore has the character of a sale rather than co-investment. Co-production is agreed based on an official treaty between two respective countries sharing the production

and the editing work, whereas co-venture is used to describe a similar process between two production companies working together to produce a work suitable for both markets without any such official blessing from their countries (Yoon, J., et al., 2007:46-47).

Park, Oongjin (2006) asserts that it is necessary to share the production know-how and diverse distribution network of the US or Japan through co-production in order to strengthen the Korean animation industry in the short term because it is difficult to advance into the world market alone. Apart from the economic advantage that could be had from entering an overseas market, one can also benefit from technology transfer and specialist training.

For the purpose of tax benefits, a Co-Production Treaty exists between two countries who want to share a fair system of tax. A work produced through such a treaty benefits from easy and free access of the workforce and filming equipment between the two countries and is treated as a domestic film in both countries, and South Korea and France have both agreed on such a treaty in October 2006. This means that a film co-produced by South Korea and France has the benefit of being a French domestic film, and would reap the distribution and showing opportunities provided by the French government for its own films. As France belongs to the European Union, this in turn makes the film eligible throughout all the EU member states (Nation Briefings, 27 October 2006).

Since the beginning of 2000, there have been several examples of art films being internationally co-produced: “*Bom Yeoleum Gaeul Gyeoul Geuligo Bom* (Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter and Spring)”(2003), “*Yejaneun namjaui milae da* (Woman is the Future of Man)”(2004) are both films directed by Korean directors which have been co-produced in Korea and Europe, and “Cry Woman” (2002) and “*Imsoyo* (Unknown Pleasures)” are films directed by Chinese directors co-produced in Korea, Asian and European countries. The director’s brand can be seen as the main pivot on which art films are co-produced, i.e. a project initiated by a world-famous art film director attracts co-production partners and European co-producers who secure capital through the European support framework and through important international film festivals. This mechanism enables the film to be known throughout the world market.

Sales play quite a large role in the co-production of art films. By being aware of the world art film market and its distribution mechanism, they can predict up to a certain extent the

commercial viability of a work, and through investment or minimum guarantee³⁵ it will contribute to the production cost. Kim Kiduk is a Korean art film director who could belong to this category (The Korean Producers Union International Committee, 2008:38-40).

Global commercial film projects operate from the basic principle of aiming for commercial success in both Korea and its partner country; however there exists almost no examples of such a strategy being a success. Therefore, a localised strategy of identifying the primary and secondary target market and localising it according to each emerges where the planning and the investment is done according to the environment and the sentiment of the target market. In terms of production, by investing directly in the film, the cultural limit can be overcome and the approachability and effectiveness of the target market can be increased, also increasing the profit made from a global market. Examples of such films which Korean companies have invested in and distributed include: “August Rush” (2008), “*Samgugji: Yongui Buhwal* (Three Kingdoms: Resurrection of the Dragon)” (2008), and “*Jukbyuk* (Red Cliff)” (2008) (The Korean Producers Union International Committee, 2008:64-68).

The localisation strategy of films is market-driven; neither the country of origin nor the origin of the production capital play a large role in the production environment of Korean films. Rather it is a way by which commercial capital is used when it is different from the convention which is providing a direction for change in the production of Korean films.

Strategies for Overseas Market

The role of the Korean Film Council in international exchange matters can be roughly divided into three kinds: First, participation in international film festivals, second, awards for films nominated for the international film festivals, and lastly support for co-production. Co-production aims to diversify the route by which capital is raised and also pioneer different ways in which Korean films can enter and be distributed in the market abroad.

However, support from the Korean government has not played a major role. From 1950 until the 1970s, an average of 200 Korean films were produced each year but there was almost no development into overseas markets and, due to the limits placed by the military government, films could not be exported freely. From the 1990s Korea started to export its films but the export price was limited to 10,000 dollars per piece (based on the currency exchange in 1995)

³⁵ A minimum price guarantee for the sales

which meant that it was impossible to recover the production cost (1.7 million dollars per film in 1998, comprising 1.2 million for pure production cost and half a million for the P&A cost).

After the Korean film “*Shiri*”, the brand image of Korean film improved sharply and contracts at a higher price were signed; in 1998, the contract price was 100,000 dollars per piece, and this increased to 180,000 dollars in 2003. Support from the Korean Film Council played a role in this as well as the rise in competitiveness.

The policy suggestions made by the Ministry of Culture for Korean films entering the overseas market include securing a stable overseas distribution channel and pioneering new markets to diversify from relying on the Japanese market alone.

The major support projects are: installing and running a comprehensive Korean film corner in overseas industry fairs and international film festivals; diversification of export markets by running Korean Film Week in different countries; and hosting small-scale film festivals and policy research seminars etc. to support the film world academically (from the website of Ministry of Culture <http://www.mct.go.kr>). Through such support the Ministry of Culture has managed to lead international interest to Korean films and lay the foundation for its ventures abroad (Kang, D., 2005:43).

Korean films have continued to grow in the domestic market but have not yet got the competitiveness they need in foreign markets. The share of Korean films in the world film market is 1.5 percent and, according to the yearly Trade Specification Index, is decreasing (Choi, B., et al., 2005:157). Moreover since 2006 the export figures have been falling rapidly. In 2006 export figures decreased to 24,514,728 dollars, a 68 percent decrease compared to the previous year's 75,994,580 dollars (Korean Film Yearbook, 2006). This is due to the decrease in the export to Asian markets, including Japan. Exports to Asian markets decreased 74.3 percent in 2006 compared to the previous year from 66,143,686 dollars down to 17,029,759 dollars, and a 51.8 decrease followed the following year to 8,206,974 dollars. Moreover, exports to other regions have also decreased steadily in 2006-2007 (Film Industry Statistics, 2007).

In such situations where Korean films are less able to compete and have unstable performance, the box office performance within Korea acts as a catalyst and a motivation. As

an example, the film 'Shiri' which could be said to be the starting point of the *Hallyu* (Korean wave) hit record box office sales in Korea and on the back of this phenomenon went on to achieve commercial success in Hong Kong and Japan (Park, H., et al., 2006:7). The problem lies with the reduction/abolition of the Screen Quota system. This has led to decreased domestic box office performance by Korean films, which in turn means difficulty in increasing exports of Korean films along with lack of a long-term strategy.

One can also say that the internationalisation of Korean films is led by a handful of blockbuster films and well made films, but recently independent films such as "*Yongseobadji mohal ja* (The Unforgiven)", "*Najsul* (Daytime Drinking)", and "*Ttongpali* (Breathless)" are leading the way by entering the foreign market, so specialised support for such genres is necessary.

Korean films enter the overseas market through various channels, but priority has to go to increasing the domestic market size. Im, Sangsoo (2009:121) points to decreases in supply, cuts in production costs and the number of films made, monopoly of distribution and screening, screen quota reduction and decrease of cinema discount offered by mobile telecommunication companies for the decrease in the size of the domestic market. He suggests rejuvenating the market by policy making to increase the loss coverage, as well as bringing into effect the completion guarantee system, legal compliance with the number of screening days set for Korean films, and protection of intellectual property.

Korean films are slowly gaining international recognition, and at this time when brand awareness exists the size of its domestic market plays a pivotal role in determining the quality and competitiveness of Korean films. Increasing the size of the Korean domestic film market can provide motivation for the production of films and this can lead to international competitiveness of the product.

As the overseas markets to which Korean films can be exported are not yet diverse, an important strategy would be to base the acquisition of competitiveness on cultural similarity.

6.4.3. Comparison of Two Countries' Internationalisation

Whereas the French film industry had export in mind from the beginning of its industrialisation, and internationalisation was used as a tool against American economic hegemony, the Korean film industry saw the role of export as a means of securing

government export support capital rather than as an actual secondary market, at least in the initial stages of its internationalisation.

In comparison to the American policy of capitalist expansion where Hollywood places priority on maximising profit and minimising investment risks by exploring overseas markets and international co-production agreement between individual companies, the French film industry and also the European film industry employ co-production as a protectionist policy. The French film industry's strategy of territorial expansion through multiple co-productions with other European countries did not enjoy great success, at least in the beginning, and it was difficult to let each country's cultural contribution shine through the film-making.

The Korean film industry's internationalisation strategy has two aspects. First is a cultural and nationalistic strategy where film is perceived as a cultural and art form, and priority is placed on doing well in international film festivals and getting good critical reviews by making creative and independent art films which possess unique cultural and geographical values, with relative small production costs (Jung, C., 1999:83). Second is to emulate Hollywood film production by making high-cost blockbuster type films with action and special effects and standardised spectacles,; in other words, putting a Korean narrative on the mega blockbuster films which are faithful followers of standard economies of scale, in order to achieve market expansion.

Internationalisation through the International Co-production

Co-production evolved as a way to share the financial burden of film production costs, particularly after the Second World War, when many European countries were in financial distress as they focused on reconstruction. This approach began with efforts between France and Italy following the signing of their bilateral co-production agreement in October 1949. This was seen as a good way to increase the number of films produced during a time when competition with Hollywood films had increased in Europe. In order to protect their film industries, European countries throughout the 1950s and 1960s began to define "national films" as an economic necessity in the name of international cooperation, and even highlighted the idea of a "European cinema" (Bergfelder, 2005:315-331). However, many Hollywood studios began to establish their own subsidiaries on the continent, which were then recognised as European companies. As such, the Hollywood studios were able to benefit

from the subsidies that were designed to provide support for “European” co-production efforts (Parc, 2018).

Many countries subsidised their film industries to protect and promote them, which led to an increase in the amount of subsidies provided. Furthermore, as many countries have come to recognise the economic effects of the film industry and the importance of internationalisation, they have established subsidy regimes for international co-production and/or tax reliefs for production expenditure to attract international film producers and promote their film industries through internationalisation. This approach has been believed to be an effective way to support the local film industry and national economy, as well as the broader goal of global cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2016).

In particular, as trade barriers or restrictions such as import quotas and screen quotas have appeared to discriminate against foreign films vis-à-vis local films, co-production has evolved from the domestic to the international scene. This regime is designed to grant “national treatment” to coproduced films among the different signatories and so is an effective way to avoid such discrimination (Parc and Messerlin, 2018).

6.5. Implications

Interviews highlighted the problems of lack of films which could satisfy the thirst for cultural diversity. The Korean film industry might encounter difficulty in enlarging its base due to the lack of audience development. As a possible solution, vitalisation of art film was suggested. Support for art filmmakers should focus on encouraging creativity and freeing them as much as possible from economic risks.

The problems within the film distribution system also point towards barriers to art films and diversity of the film industry. It is important to note that, in the present system of commercial film driven distribution, there is no room for the coexistence of art films. As a possible solution to this, tax cuts for art house cinemas, minimum film showing period regardless of box office figures, application of screen quota to exclusive art cinemas, and expansion of art film showing in non-traditional, non-exclusive venues were all suggested.

Many different suggestions for support for art films were made through the interview, but one thing to keep in mind is that improvement of the overall film industry will require the education of labour and audience and improvement of the production environment as well as

improving the art films themselves.

In conclusion, the starting point for the art film industry vitalisation must place them where they are not judged by a commercial standard. They need to be shielded from the capitalist principle, and thus it was natural to suggest public support for them. Specific support for talented and author driven film makers, and support for venues which bring art films to a wider audience, should be made not on their own but in harmony with other general support for the film industry and also be made from a long-term point of view.

6.6. Conclusions

No consensus exists in national support systems for a diverse film culture (art film, independent film, non-commercial “other” film) or the basic direction of cultural policy. In the case of France, the principle of the support system has been to maintain diversity, and the official support system has had two aims: (1) to nurture new talent so that support is there for new directors to be able to direct films,; and (2) to support many film companies so that they could produce a diverse range of films. In other words, to prevent artistic and economic centralisation by discovering new talent and supporting fair competition between production companies in order to maintain diversity of the film directors and film companies.

Korean art film support has as its aim increasing authorship and creativity by improving film quality as well as supporting films which try to pursue high quality, developing diverse genres of cinema and halting the fall in the film population, and leading development and revitalisation to produce works capable of competing in the famous festivals around the world. However, there is only feature film production and development support in the system of production of art cinema, and almost no direct support for distribution and screening, with only indirect tax merit support for exclusive art cinema theatres.

France’s cultural policy has emphasised the public aspect of culture and has included culture as an important part of the national project. Even films with a very strong industrial character are, first and foremost, part of culture, and so the French government has been active in its intervention policy. It can be seen to be different from the point of view taken by the Korean government whose policy of seeking economic results from cultural industries is concentrated in the film market.

The ideals sought by the French cultural policy based on its formation history can be seen as

an extension of cultural diversity, democratisation of culture and protection of French values. In 1993, during the Uruguay Round Talks, France asserted the concept of cultural exception, claiming that the Americans were changing spiritual creation into commercial products. This showed the French stance and cultural perception against neo-liberalist economic theory. The issue of cultural exception shows the strong French awareness about the public aspect (Hong, et al., 2006:44-45) and is based on a longstanding tradition of the nation's active intervention in cultural issues. Therefore, the ideal of cultural diversity is manifested through the French film policy of support systems for production, distribution and screening. The ideology of protection and expansion of French values is an especially important issue for French international relations and is also closely connected to the cultural diversity mentioned previously. Many countries deem the protection of their own cultural values as the most important aim of cultural policy, but France goes one step further from the passive attitude of protection of cultural identity and wants to actively promote and strengthen French international power and status. Film policy of protecting and promoting the French values is run parallel to its foreign policy and consists of many projects and industrial support systems. However, even France cannot completely escape from the expansion of cultural policy into industrial policy. It was during the 1980s that the French Ministry of Culture started to become aware of the importance of culture as industry, and cultural creation started to be included as a component of economic development, or as a solution to an economic crisis. Support for companies was included as cultural policy. In the process, there was a reassessment of conflicting values of tradition vs modernity, culture vs industry, and culture vs entertainment, and French cultural policy started to pay more attention to the industrial aspect (Creton, 1997:122). Films with a strong industrial character were at the forefront of such change. Although over time French film policy has changed to emphasise its industrial logic, its real strength lies in the fact that there is a diverse aim of stabilisation and promotion of the film industry, and that the system continues to ensure that the thick frame of the film culture is not separated.

Korean films have been actively protected and supported by its government under the banner of protection of cultural values and diversity. Government intervention was sustained from a "national culture's value system" rather than from the industry system, but after the 1990s under the new current of neo-liberalism the direction of the policy changed to focusing on competitiveness (Kang, 2007:28).

French and Korean policy environments both share the similarities of being exposed to the big paradigm shifts of globalisation and regionalisation. In the case of France, during the time of policy making the pressure to open up the film market came from the USA and, as the French government needed the support of the US, it stood in a disadvantaged position during talks with the US. Despite this disadvantage, through revised talks with the USA supported by people in the French film world, the French government managed to pass through the quota system. The French policy environment at this time resembles that of Korea in the late 1990s. With the foreign exchange crisis, when support from the US became important, the Korean government was also at a disadvantaged point in talks with the US, and despite the strong protest of people's solidarity for culture and their demand for a quota system, this only delayed the agreement. Furthermore, in the case of Korea, it concluded with a unilateral government decision on screen quota reduction.

Looking at the basic national ideology with regards to cultural policy, both countries choose a community-oriented approach which regards government intervention in the cultural arena favourably. However, since the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1959, France chose the idea of cultural democracy to represent culture as a right, and they have adopted an audio-visual quota policy from the standpoint of identity. Korea, on the other hand, has chosen to regard culture as a means to economic prosperity or a device of power under the community-oriented approach during the military government. Even during the growth and stabilisation period which followed, in the case of France, the basic ideal of cultural policy has stayed to become "to take part in society through culture and treating solidarity as an important concept from a global point of view". In contrast, there was a heightened interest in the identity of Korean culture that emphasised economic growth achieved through culture, but since then the government's culture policy has since regressed to treat it as a device for economic growth.

In Korea, government led all the resource distribution during the economic development phase. It set up everything from an economic development plan, export boost plan, policy fostering heavy/chemical industry, industry rationalisation policy, science and technology policy, conglomerate policy, small and medium business policy, to trade policy, and through these exercised a huge influence over the direction of the country's economy. Through this absolute role played by government the economy's autonomy weakened and even the market control mechanism could not operate voluntarily. The only thing which can be seen to operate

during these times is the international competition mechanism seen and judged through exports. Where the results of both French and Korean policy diverge clearly, this could be attributed to the vision taken by the government in its cultural policy making, and interaction within the government, and the cohesiveness of the filmmakers themselves. Korean government must not limit the vision of culture to a mechanism for the promotion of government policy or promotion of industry but extend it to the fundamental issue of 'rights' (Lee, J., 2007:171-173).

Rather than looking at and simply comparing the change of policy per time period, we have focused on the character the policy possesses throughout its change. Consequently, the changing results of policy were compared based on the cultural diversity reflected in the policy making itself.

CHAPTER 7

Cultural Identity of National Films in France and Korea

7.1. Introduction

Globalisation and the increasing cultural openness have inevitably pressurised the cultural identity of the less dominant nations. Critical voices highlight that the construct of national identity revolves around mercantilism, nationalism and chauvinism, proposing instead an emphasis on cultural diversity, promoting that traditional cultures across contexts can actively enhance cultural exchange at international level (Cowen, 2002). As the world becomes increasingly interdependent and interconnected through developments in information and communications technology, the notion of cultural identity departs from old dichotomies, such as national or international (Jäckel, 2007). As illustrated by the historical comparison of film policies in France and Korea (Skocpol and Somers, 1980), national identities are still an important aspect of cultural production, but at the same time, they institutionalise the historical developments and conditions that derive from the new global context in which film industry operates (Jäckel, 2007; Schwartz, 2007).

Essentially, the historical comparison between France and Korea exposes alternative models in which cultural policies in film production reflect on or lead to the construction of national identities (Skocpol and Somers, 1980). The purpose of this chapter is to illuminate to what extent cultural policies in France and Korea divert from institutional pressures that derive from the global domination of Hollywood (Kim, 2007; Moreau and Peltier, 2004; Schwartz, 2007). The basis of our argument is that national film as instrumental tool in shaping national identities of France and Korea responds to Americanisation of cinema that takes place worldwide (Schwartz, 2007).

By reviewing policy documents about national film in France and Korea, we argue that on the one hand, French film bases its unique cultural identity on cultural diversity, both within France directly subsidising independent production, and between France and other countries by stimulating collaborations that transcend national boundaries. Korean film, on the other hand, develops a unique identity as policy-makers provide quotas to support domestic productions, which resemble the conventions of Hollywood films in themes and style (Kim,

S., 2007). This chapter seeks to approach the nomenclature and constituency of national films from an institutional angle, based on the reality of Hollywood films which represent a universal model of the global film industry with a 70-80 percent share, and the biggest variable in the national film arena including countries such as France and Korea.

In response to social, economic and technological transformations, recent film studies revisit the notion of 'national cinema' identity in the light of debates about hybridisation, nationalism, transnationalism, postcolonialism, globalisation and multiculturalism (Danan, 2000, 1996; Elsaesser, 2006; Hjort and Mackenzie, 2000; Jäckel, 2007; Kim, S., 2007; Schwartz, 2007; Scott, 2000). Principally, identity of national films changes as the notions of ethnicity and national identity evolve alongside the effects of economic and cultural globalisation (Danan, 2000). While films are typically framed as cultural products of a specific nation because of language, it is interesting to critically reflect on this national framing, since film productions have become transnational, multinational and international (Jäckel, 2007).

Fundamentally, identity reflects on discourses that incorporate the notions of originality as bounded to national context (Danan, 2000). Interestingly, while films as tangible cultural products are framed as national products, the construct of identity is intangible and symbolic, as well as constantly reconstructing based on discourses (Cowen, 2002). In the light of globalisation and increased interconnectedness between producers worldwide, the notion of film identity has become perplexed for a number of reasons (Scott, 2000).

Firstly, film identity derives from interactions between industry, art, politics and the economy. Secondly, film identity is constructed based on dominant models, such as the Hollywood or French cinema, which influence film production in other countries. This is because films as a cultural product and media form can easily transcend national boundaries, and dominant models, therefore, create trends and characteristics which are assimilated by filmmakers in other countries. Thirdly, there is a difficulty in categorising national films, since content or style are not easily distinguished, while business organisations of film production become increasingly interconnected.

Typically, national films are relatively defined and positioned in relation to the global domination of Hollywood. This dichotomy has been maintained over the second part of the

twentieth century, as language, the use of special effects and the relatively more mainstream themes distinguished Hollywood cinema from European or Asia cinema. However, since 2000, France which is considered as the largest competitor of Hollywood, definitively not in numbers and scale of business, has produced movies which use digital effects, or are even produced in the English language, such as *The Fifth Element* (Austin, 2004; Ezra, 2004; Martin, 1995). Business organisation is thus a clear element that distinguishes national productions, however, there is an increasing interconnection between the national contexts, as co-production between the two countries take place, as well as French actors increasingly appear in Hollywood films (Grantham, 1998; Martin, 1995).

Culture is often defined as the totality of a finite and closed life, considered to give meaning in individual lives, place limits on one's social activities, and consists of a variety of characteristics and beliefs which are passed over the passage of generations (Martiniello, 1997:112). But culture is not static. A country's culture will ordinarily be passed down and change through an interaction with other cultures. These characteristics of culture are changing on a national and global scale particularly from the late 20th century, due to a high rate of progress in globalisation of capital and the development of media. The culture of an ethnicity or nation is being influenced by globalisation with its ever-increasing mutual exchange and reliance thanks to the free movement of capital, products and technologies across borders through multinational companies and capital. In particular, the development of new media decreases the spatial and temporal distances across the globe, influencing the differences and differentiation of the cultures of individual nations. Through this, a transnational global culture has emerged, heavily influencing the individual national cultures.

This chapter investigates the relationship between national film and cultural identity. In other words, it lies on a foundation of the question, "What effect can national policy have on the formation and expansion of cultural identity in national films?" Essentially, it provides a comprehensive review and formulation of strategies on the cultural identity of national films, through a thorough definition of concepts and approaches regarding cultural identity. Specifically, this study reviews how the changes in the media environment transforms the awareness of issues surrounding cultural identity in France and Korea, and reviews the policy initiatives being taken in France in order to protect its own culture.

This chapter is organised as follows: in the next section the notions of globalisation and

cultural identity are reviewed from a theoretical perspective. Then the cultural identities are scrutinised in the context of national film in order to identify the influence of globalisation and Hollywood dominance in cinema production. In addition, cultural policies of film production are reviewed before comparing the two contexts in order to extract insights about the connection between cultural identity and film policies in France and Korea.

7.2. Globalisation and Cultural Identity

Hollywood has been able to maintain its hegemony for three quarters of a century because its economic power has been built on an advanced form of economic organisation leading to global capitalism - where cultural production is completely subordinated to profit (Jameson, 1991:48).

The French resistance to Hollywood's hegemony has been as relentless as Hollywood's task of maintaining its hegemonic role. As early as in the 1930s, this resistance became institutionalised, as the State undertook to intervene in cinema affairs and transform film to an important cultural institution for the nation.

France and Korea national film history shows well that causes the confrontation between the economic logic of neoliberal free market and the interventionist cultural identity. Then that initially intervention state in the area cultural was justified by the unique fear of acculturation related to the domination of American cultural productions which measures more recent seem to rather promote cultural industrialisation and be more motivated by economic interest.

Market Logic and Cultural Diversity

Globalisation were identified the development of trade and the growing openness of national economies, the development of foreign direct investment, financial globalisation and the increase in international movements of financial capital, the internationalisation of businesses both in terms of markets, production, design products or strategies, extension competition to international and finally, the affirmation of the competition from emerging countries (Beaud, 1999a; Kebedjian, 1999; Laroche, 2003).

In connection with the rise of the neo-liberal ideology in the 1980s, trade liberalisation and the integration of national economies are part of the process of globalisation (Laroche, 2003). On behalf of this liberalism that many players, especially in the United States, challenge the

legitimacy of the intervention of the State (Miccotage, 2004; Théoret, 2008a).

Wamier (1999:60) argues that there is not a fair distribution of cultural goods globally: “this is the extreme inequality between countries, and between social groups within the same country, in front of industrialised global flows of culture.” In this context, it seems justified to fear for the diversity of cultures, where the importance of the intervention policy to allow each country to produce its own culture and make it last. Therefore, political concerns related to the industrialisation of culture and cultural hegemony are amplified by the process of globalisation.

Ravet (2002) added that the role of the state may be in governance, where the state becomes a mediator with framing functions. The global configuration requires states to be in competition and enter into the logic of the market (Michalet, 2004). In other words, globalisation requires states to see their role in the logic of the free market inherent the new agreements.

The concept of cultural diversity represents one alternative to the concept of cultural exception, this last being judged too restrictive (Walker, 2004) and protective (Won, 2005; Wicht, 2004). Note that cultural exception and exception exemptions have ways to allow France to exclude the cultural property of international agreements of free exchange. These notions tended to reduce culture to a commercial dimension, and not to meet all requirements of cultural policies. Thus, the concept of cultural diversity is a reorientation strategy that serves wider objectives and is hard to question (Won, 2005).

Zhang (2004:313) clarified the concept of cultural diversity as, first, assertiveness of specific cultural identity and not a census of cultures under production economic considerations, or simply to claim a right to be different, but an attempt of make cultures visible, defending against all attempts at standardisation.

Cultural diversity is sometimes a global representation of multiple cultures by the dissemination of cultural products and sometimes the balance of different cultures within the same nation. In other words, it is sometimes a “synonym of diversity of the supply of creative goods and services, while other times it includes a much larger social and anthropological reality” (Dansereau - Lavoie, 2008:259).

Diversity increases according to the number of different products or categories. In the case of film, diversity increases proportionally to the total number of films offered, the number of countries films are made in, or even the number of languages in which the films are shown.

The process of globalisation alters the role of the state and states must promote private initiative by reduction of taxes on industrial and commercial profits and by elimination of grants promote competition, reducing legislative, regulatory and bureaucratic procedures. This respect for free market rules must be privileged in all sectors of the economy, and not only the cultural sector, to ensure the welfare of all and the power of the State (Beek, 2003:123).

The Relationship between Films and Cultural Identity

Discussions surrounding the relationship between film and cultural identity started in the early 1910s, coinciding with the start of the global film industry, and attempts to protect film with the justification of culture are as old as the history of film itself. The problem of market domination through film exports arose after the First World War with the dominance of Hollywood films throughout most of the European market, and the resulting criticism regarding the cultural invasion of Europe through film, and led to the protectionist measures being taken.

After the First World War (1914-1918), when the European film industry suffered heavy damage, and France and Italy lost their positions in the world market as the leaders in producing and exporting films, the major American film companies actively moved into the European market and gained a dominant position in most European countries. According to statistics from this period, American films gained over 80 percent of the film market in the UK and Italy, and over 70 percent in France, with Germany being an exception at around 25-45 percent (Nowell-Smith, 1998:3). During this period, the issue of the colonisation of Europe through Hollywood films and concerns over the increasing cultural influence of American films surfaced in European countries. During the modernisation of society, the Nazi German intellectuals pointed out that American films were one of the key drivers of Americanisation, that American films were at the forefront of the export of Americanism, that they were an avenue for transferring American values, way of life and the American dream, and that they served as a spearhead for cultural imperialism (Kaes, 1993:70). American films

were considered to be encountering a completely different economic and cultural entity (Grazia, 1998:20), and were considered a symbol of the economic and cultural invasion.

With Germany and France playing a central role, European countries began to cooperate in the mid-1920s under the banner of FilmEurope, seeking ways of countering FilmAmerica. This was an attempt for the European countries to present some type of a united front, and the primary goals were to cooperate in the production and distribution and to connect its domestic markets in wider units, i.e. 'to organise a broader foundation for the production of European films (Thompson, 1999:59). Film Europe was a product of Europeanism that stemmed from European consciousness, which is connected to the European cultural identity, which incorporates a pan-European vision. In the late 1920s, Film Europe related primarily to the production and distribution of films (Thompson, 1999). Promotion of co-production amongst European countries represented the former, and the latter was an attempt at rationalising the distribution on a pan-European scale, involving mutual agreements amongst European distributors to combine Europe into a domestic-like single market in order to 'ensure a collective market dominance in the longer term' (Higson and Maltby, 1999:3).

Alongside the screen quotas, this loosely-made film cartel amongst the film producers served to reduce the American films' European entry during the period of 1926-1929. Germany, one of the leaders of this cooperation, was able to decrease the market share of American films from 45 percent in the mid-1920s to approximately 30 percent by 1930s, which were the levels previously found in the early 1920s. During the same period, they were able to increase the market share of their domestic films to just over 50 percent. France was able to pull down the market share of American films which hit a high of 80 percent during mid-1920s to 50 percent by 1930s, and managed to increase the market share of domestic films to 30 percent. United Kingdom also managed to bring down the market share of American films which had passed 80 percent by 1927 to around 70 percent, and steadily increased the market share of domestic films to 24% by 1932 (Thompson, 1999:64). Although the FilmEurope movement of the 1920s were short lived, this cooperation in film on a European cultural basis was the ideal model to realise the essence of both national cinema and European cinema (Higson and Maltby, 1999:18). In this way, it was possible to pursue the goals without a conflict between nationalism and internationalism, permitting a pan-European cooperation while respecting the ethnic autonomy and the cultural independence of the European countries.

Germany stopped leading the FilmEurope movement once Nazism set in, but it retained a keen interest in dominating the European market through the international trade in films (Grazia, 1998). This is because the fascist regime not only placed a high importance on the value of films as both propaganda and entertainment and considered it a central cultural device, but also wished to show off Nazi Germany as a 'Kulturnation' (culture nation) (Grazia, 1998:23). The united front in film across Germany and Italy formed an economic and cultural alliance, and during the period of 10 or so years from the mid-1930s to the end of the Second World War, attempted to stop the European invasion of American films and protect their European market. However, this German-Italian united front did not perform particularly well against the American films, because it was not able to compete with American when the scale of film production and screening in the two countries barely reached one third of that in America (Grazia, 1998:24).

During the Second World War, a closed and exclusive economic and cultural blockade formed across Europe around the Nazi Germany, and Germany pursued a policy of trying to drive out American films by supporting national cinema in the occupied territories. In France, the Nazi regime confiscated the Jewish distributors, re-organised the French film industry, and under the pro-Nazi Vichy regime it supported French films and drove out American films with the COIC playing a central role. Although this artificial form of FilmEurope pursued by Nazi Germany could have a superficial appearance of supporting the national films of European countries and strengthened European films against America, there was a fundamental problem. What Germany pursued is not a pan-Europeanism based on mutual respect and equality, but a 'pan-national cinema' led by a particular country, and the 'development of fascist nationalism and economic protectionism' was a clearly distorted form of European economy and culture.

The FilmEurope of Nazi Germany and Italy was not able to avoid the conflict between nationalism and internationalism, and as a consequence, the German attempt at emphasising the European cultural conscious and unifying the film market through militaristic domination based on ethnic and political traits was instead an artificial method and caused an identity crisis (Grazia, 1998:22).

In the early 1990s, 'film and culture' was once again brought up in a European context during the American films' overwhelming domination in Europe and amidst discussions regarding

audio-visual field during the WTO GATT negotiations that took place in Maastricht in 1993. The American films sharply dominated the European market in mid 1980s and onwards, and with the blockbusters and large-scale entertainment films at the forefront, Hollywood films showed a market share exceeding 70 percent in most European countries by 1990s. In particular, the market share exceeded 80 percent in the UK, Germany and Italy, whereas in contrast the market share of the domestic films in 1993-1994 was merely 15 percent on average. The American profits from the European market for films, television and video media increased from \$330m in 1001 to \$3.5bn in 1992, representing a ten-fold increase (Finney, 1996:6).

During the GATT negotiations at WTO in 1993, European countries including France strongly opposed the free trade in the audio-visual field put forward by the US. There was a clash between the American position which called for an open market in the audio-visual industry and opposed governmental support and quota systems, and the French position which supported protectionism based on the cultural basis of film. France proposed a ‘cultural exception’ in the visual media category, which began in 1985 with the Uruguay round which started to treat services – including cultural products – as a target for free trade, and the French ‘cultural logic’ began to be expressed strongly from early 1993.

This French position was borne out of the viewpoint that treated films as part of culture and a ‘product of the mind and soul’³⁶, and during the Gdansk GATT conference which took place on 21 September 1993 where heated arguments took place between the US and European countries, President Mitterand emphasised the link between visual arts including films and cultural identity (Jeanclas, 1998:58-59).

After the audio-visual industry argument in 1993, there was a controversy in Western Europe regarding ‘films and cultural identity’ which was put forward as the logical basis against America, and there was a need to re-define the ‘European cultural identity’ upon the

³⁶ The “creations of the soul” are neither mere products nor a pure business. It is a matter of duty to protect pluralism in cultural works and the public’s right of choice. What is at risk is all of our national cultural identity. These are the rights of the people towards the traditional cultures they belong to. That is the freedom for us to create and choose traditional images.

The societies which have given up the method of showing themselves – in other words, the method of showing one’s self to himself, is an enslaved society (Jeanclas, :58-59). Cultural identity receives a narrow set of protective measures in relation to a few cultural creative processes, under the name of ‘cultural exception’ (Cohen, 2000:74).

inauguration of the European Union (Vincendeau, 1998:447). There was a lack of discussion regarding how the 'European cultural identity' relates to the specificity of each national culture, and the conceptual problems were pointed out. In the 1990s, due to an increase in co-production not only amongst European countries but also between Europe and America, it was increasingly difficult to associate a particular country's national culture to visual media, and the state of the relationship between film and cultural identity became unclear. The European 'cultural identity' as put forward by France after 1993 was not defined clearly, and there was no attempt to ascertain or discuss what the 'identity of European films' ought to be (Mattelart, 1998:483). Moreover, there was limited justification for the 'cultural exception', due to its closed nature and the scope for hindering the element of exchange and communication in culture (Bisson, 2003)

Jean-Claude Batz (2001) points out the weaknesses behind the justifications for the 'cultural exception' as follows: (1) unionism in film industry, (2) French nationalism, (3) passive protectionism, (4) elitist reactionism, and (5) television. In the context of the exception in the cultural arena agreed at the Uruguay rounds, Lionel Jospin proposed the concept of cultural diversity during multilateral investment agreements³⁷ put forward to the WTO by America in 1998. According to the French cultural minister Catherine Trautmann in 1999 (1999:2), cultural diversity³⁸ is an expression of the universal desire to protect not only French culture but also that of all the countries in the world, and the cultural exception was a method to reach the goal of cultural diversity. In other words, the French government cultural strategy turned to a new symbolic battle to formulate and lead a new principle which can be acknowledged as a universal response to mankind's wish (Bomiface, 1998).

³⁷ The foreign direct investment, which quadrupled between 1982 and 1994, reached KRW 350bn by 1996 and there were almost 1600 bilateral trade agreements in the world. (Cohen, 2000:76) It was in these circumstances that the 'multilateral trade agreements' were put forward as the new model. But this agreement, which took NAFTA as the model, ultimately sought to abolish the discriminatory regulations of individual countries and prohibit laws amounting to discrimination.

In other words, by seeking to place strict limits on what a government can and cannot do in order to control its own internal economy, it sought to limit the ability of the governments to use investment policies for social, cultural, economic and environmental purposes. (Tony Clarke, "MAI-Day: The Corporate Rule Treaty – The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) Seeks to Consolidate Global Corporate Rule," June 1996 / "The citizens' movement against MAI/WTO" organisation website).

³⁸ The participant nations in the multilateral talks believed that they must protect their own public interest, and began to fight for 'exceptions' or 'deferrals' in areas such as culture, public health, the environment and social rights. The best example of these was the French proposal for the 'cultural exception'.

7.3. Cultural Identity of National Films in France and Korea

Within many countries, the issue of cultural identity has been considered as a cultural policy objective (Council of Europe, 199:45-46; Bradley, 1998:351-367; Burgi-Golub, 2000:211-223). Issues of multiculturalism, cultural diversity and cultural globalisation are all closely bound up with the issue of cultural identity (Jong, 1998:357-387; Held et al., 1999:328- 375; Tomlinson, 1999; Bauer, 2000:77- 95).

From a theoretical perspective, globalisation affords the opportunity not only to competitive commodities and services but also to intangible values and social norms to cross borders. But realistically, globalisation cannot be free from the hierarchy of power, and the film segment is no exception. In particular, the film industry is an area where the American influence, symbolised by Hollywood, is being undoubtedly exercised (De Zoysa and Newman, 2002; Footer and Graber, 2000; Gorden and Meunier, 2001; Jameson, 2000).

Creton (2005) has previously assessed that in many countries, the power of American films is not assessed as a foreign film but film itself, and that non-American films takes a secondary role catering to exotic foreign tastes, amounting to non- existence unless otherwise known or only to a select few. The power of American films, even labelled cultural imperialism, amounts to monopoly in many countries' film markets around the world³⁹. One of the most argued issue regarding globalisation and the international trade structure is the protection of cultural products. Whereas the protectionists, including France, see films as a cultural product, resist homogeneity and cultural imperialism and strive to promote and support its own film industry, free trade proponents such as the US consider that such protectionist measures in reality are founded on considerations of economic profit, despite claims of designed for cultural diversity, and as such needs to be considered goods or services and subject to GATT or GATS. Since films are the area where these polar opposites in the positions are well revealed, cultural protectionism in relation to films becomes a complex matter. This is particularly because the US enjoys a uniquely dominant position in the global market (Filipek, 1992:355- 357, Economist, September 12, 1998).

The strategies to respond to globalisation can be divided into two – industrial strategy, which

³⁹ Regarding the reasons why America was able to secure its monopolistic position in the global film market, Hahn (2006:519n22) explains: "European wars in the 20th century, the emigrants' preference of the US, the industrial might of the US arising out of absorbing the world's best talent, the size and resources of the US market, the longevity of the US film industry and the mutual cooperation with the US government.."

seek to develop the film market, and cultural strategy, which seek to maintain the national film identity. To the non-US countries, the film industry is a system with a duality of distribution and screening under individual commercial motives, and production under active government support (Moran, 1996:7).

The discussions surrounding protection of cultural products is related to the identity and legacy of a country, and countries bear the responsibility and sovereignty in protecting its own cultural identity. These demands are considered equal to other areas where exceptions to conventional laws are acknowledged, such as national security, public health, public morality, the environment and protection of national treasures (GATT Art. XX). Rather than acting as a barrier for the entry of foreign cultural products into the domestic market, the aim of the cultural protectionism is to ensure that the viability of the domestic cultural industry is not lost. Moreover, the protection of the cultural legacies is an effort that is over and above the mere focus of a particular national interest, to the greater international aspect of the goal towards culturally diverse world.

Policies designed to protect a country's own films against American films is not only arising out of an economic consideration, but can also be seen as efforts to maintain their own cultural identity. Hahn (2006) explains the reasons for the US dominance as 'European wars in the 20th century, the emigrants' preference of the US, the industrial might of the US arising out of absorbing the world's best talent, the size and resources of the US market, the longevity of the US film industry and the mutual cooperation with the US government'. Cultural protectionist measures include subsidies, regulations, barriers to market entry, restrictions in licensing, tax policies, protection of intellectual property, regulations on overseas investment and ownership, import quotas and restrictions on co-production (Footer and Graber, 2000:122-126). The protectionist measures designed to protect their own cultural identity and to support the domestic film industry can be broadly divided into financial support, and market protection measures such as screen quotas. And the responses differ on the relative emphasis and combinations across on one hand actively copying and selectively resisting Hollywood, and on the other actively protecting one's own cultural identity. The development strategies are based on national characteristics according to the directions taken in political, cultural and economic terms.

7.3.1. Government Policy and Cultural Identity of National Film in France

France was unique in Europe as the only country which was able to protect its domestic market share against US domination. The reasons why France was able to successfully resist against the Hollywood films can be attributed to a long history of its film industry, public support systems, and strong regulations designed to promote the film industry (Sojcher, 2003:23). Its protectionist measures can be described as a two-pronged approach, consisting of support on one hand and regulation on the other.

In case of Europe which was subject to the most direct and fundamental effect of the American films, as well as the German embargo on foreign films which was in effect from 1916 to 1920, from mid-1920 and onwards France implemented import quotas, and UK and Portugal implemented screen quotas. After the Second World War, European countries began to take new protectionist measure such as import tariffs and restrictions on the activities of the foreign film companies. But of the many protectionist measures, the more active policy tended to be the non-tariff measures such as import and screen quotas which were in effect in various European countries from before the Second World War. The non-tariff trade barriers adopted by these countries consisted of not only the import and screen quotas, but also restrictions on the foreign broadcasting programs, taxes on cinemas, video cassettes and the film/TV production companies, licenses for dubbing, and restrictions on the movement of the duplicates and equipment. These protectionist measures were also aimed at supporting and encouraging the production of films or TV programmes in Europe. There were a range of production subsidies, and the EC also put forward a few new policies (Wasco, 2005).

France implemented screen quotas from 1927 in order to protect its own film industry, and from the early 1928s it implemented ‘film trade peg system’ (import quotas) whereby only seven films were allowed to be imported for every French film distributed. These domestic protectionist measures resulted in an increase in the number of French films being shown domestically, although the extent of this was relatively small. Upon liberation from Nazi Germany in 1944, the French economy stood on the lines of a jump-start. The Felix Gouin administration appointed Leon Blum (1872-1950)⁴⁰, who led the Front Populaire from 1936,

⁴⁰ Leon Blum, a writer who also led the Front Populaire in France in 1936 and also a socialist politician, translated into French the book entitled ‘The managerial revolution’ by J Burnham (1905-1987), a friend of Blum, a founding member of the American Socialist party and a Trotskyist. This book is considered a seminal work which foresaw the separation between shareholding and management, and the age of CEOs which we find

to the position of the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the US, and put him in charge of negotiating the American loans under the Marshall Plan. On 28 May 1946, the Blum-Byrnes Agreement was signed with the then US Secretary of State James Byrnes, covering the French war debts and the 20-year loan. As part of this agreement, America demanded the opening of the French film market, and agreed upon the compulsory French film screening period of 28 days every three months. The screen quota involved screening French films for 28 days every three quarter, and represented around 30 percent of the total screening time, representing less than 50 percent of the market share in the French film industry. As a result, the French communist party, the communist party union (CGT), the Higher Film School (IDHEC), producers, directors, famous actors and the scenario writers took to the streets and strongly opposed the agreement, eventually leading to re-negotiations and agreement of an increase on 4 January 1948 to 5 weeks (35 days). This measure was subsequently maintained for over 10 years and became the guideline in the film trade between the US and France (Guback, 1969:18).

In relation to the Blum-Byrnes Agreement and opening up fully to American films, the French government took two steps; (1) Establishment of the Centre National Cinematographique (CNC), a film industry policy organisation (support and regulation) designed to provide film production subsidies and promoting art films, and (2) Enactment of certain protectionist laws.

Firstly, the CNC⁴¹ was established in 1946 to oversee the public support initiatives for the film industry. Receiving support from the French government budget and financial support from related media, the CNC are engaged in the whole spectrum of infrastructure building and other initiatives, including preservation of film cultural legacies (initiatives in film archives and cinematique), film production, distribution screening, support in improving cinemas, and education support. Through a number of legal bases such as the Aid Law (Loi d'aides) in 1948, Development Fund (Fonds de Developement) in 1953 Support Fund (Fonds de soutien) in 1959 and the system of advance payments (Avance sur recettes), CNC also

today. Burnham was also considered one of the heaviest political and sociological influences of George Orwell, author of 1984.

⁴¹ As the film industry was re-incorporated into the audio-visual industry (which also includes broadcasting), CNC also shifted its focus from the traditional film industry support initiatives to those that deal with both films and broadcasts. The French film policy is being implemented within the framework spanning TV, video and audio visual media.

strove to expand the market for French films both domestically and internationally. In an agreement between CNC and the US MPEAA (Motion Picture Export Association of America) in June 1960, France replaced the screen quota system with a limit on the number of US films screened, and the import limit steadily increased through the expansion of the multiplexes and increasing cooperation between the French and American distributors as well as co-management of international networks. As such, the import quotas for overseas films eventually ceased to have effect. Although the screen quota adopted in 1953 specified a compulsory screening of domestic films for 112-140 days per year, in 1967 it became an 'EU screen quota' which allowed European films to be showed in place of French films. As a result, the screen quota system also diminished away (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994).

French films have their cultural roots with the producer films, and receive the support from the French government which considers films as a method of promoting the French language and culture (Warnier, 1999:76). Apart from the national film promotion initiatives organised by CNC, thanks to the individual investment participation program SOFICA (48 films supported in 1997) which provides tax breaks (25 percent of total profit), films produced or co-produced in France receive a significant amount of support.

Looking solely at the film industry, France has a more active protection policy than merely the screen quotas in Korea, through a variety of supportive initiatives towards its domestic film industry. The purpose of the protectionist film policy maintained in France is the protection of its own, and in the wider context, European films against the American films. The only way that France was able to accomplish its protectionist policy in the international trade negotiations was to form an alliance with the other countries which shared its predicament. The reason for the success of the French demand for the cultural exception was the participation and support of other countries in a similar situation, more so than the justification for its position. Furthermore, France argued for an enhanced cultural diversity as part of the 'cultural exception', and the CNC has been providing support to French films as well as to the film producers in less developed countries under the umbrella of the Fonds sud cinema (FSC) (meaning Southern Cinema Fund). The purpose of the FSC is to support the film producers in countries where there is insufficient film capital, thereby giving an opportunity for that country's cultural identity to be preserved or publicised. In the case of co-production support, these initiatives can be considered to be in line with the pursuit of cultural diversity in that it provides an opportunity for a cultural exchange between France

and other countries through films.

In 1999, as the French cultural diversity concept is further spread through international institutions and gains widespread support, and these efforts become clearer through the French government initiatives, the French foreign ministry starts to play an increasingly important role in the cultural realms, which leads to the establishment of the office overseeing international cooperation and development, DGCID⁴². This new establishment was in response to the new reality of globalisation. DGCID also includes four subordinate secretariats, two of which - 'Secretariat for cultural cooperation and the French language' and 'Secretariat for overseas-facing audio-visual industry' are responsible for the two cultural fields considered most important by France – the French language and film. In meeting the new reality of globalisation, it is apparent that France chose a strategy of 'cultural substance', 'cultural network' and 'international alliance and cooperation' in response to the US-centric globalisation⁴³. From this viewpoint, France reaffirmed its position that cultural assets and services, including audio and visual media, are a reflection of a country and region's identity, and that countries and their governments have the prerogative⁴⁴ to secure the necessary methods and tools in order to freely set its cultural policy and execute its cultural policy⁴⁵.

The French Film Industry Distribution and Support Policies

Since the GATT agreement in 1947, the US has been in tense confrontation against France, pushing for the liberalisation in the audio-visual sector including films (Pauwels and Loisen,

⁴² As the only Foreign Ministry department in the world dedicated to cultural diplomacy, it is possible to gauge the importance placed on cultural diplomacy by the French government. Globalisation forced change. Refer to the French Foreign Ministry website at <http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/mae/missions/fr/structure/cooperation.html>.

⁴³ "Marked by intense competition on all fronts, globalisation requires the definition of new regulations in international relations ... this is a historic opportunity for French to conduct diplomacy through the DGCID and the network of embassies and French cultural institutions abroad, as well as a double tool of the network of cultural influence and solidarity" – Huberg Vedrine (Paris, 7 June 2001).

⁴⁴ Allocution de Lionel Jospin, lors de l'ouverture des journées du réseau de coopération et d'action culturelle du ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris, 23 juillet 2001).

France can be said to have provided the tools and methods of negotiations to many countries who were threatened by the huge force of American 'cultural imperialism' in the process of globalisation and struggling to keep their autonomy. Allocution de Lionel Jospin, lors de l'ouverture des journées du réseau de coopération et d'action culturelle du ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris, 23 juillet 2001).

⁴⁵ Implementation plan for the 'Diversity of language and culture' as selected in the OIF Summit (International body of French-speaking countries), held in Moncton in September 1999. Refer to the OIF official website, <http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/francophonie/memoire/moncton.html>.

2003:293), but allowed screen quotas in films at the 1947 GATT. This is the product of the struggle between the European protectionism and the opposing American film industry and the Department of State in the early 1900s (Kim, J., 2004:144; Song, D. and Lee, H., 2006:262; Footer and Graber, 2000:116).

The issue of the major film companies' monopoly in the French film industry became a problem in 1970s, and in the 1981 presidential race, candidate Mitterrand strongly criticised this trend, making the case for legal reforms while arguing that creativity can only arise out of an assured environment of pluralism (Choi, J., 1998:33). However, upon reaching power, even the Socialist administration condoned the vertical and horizontal consolidation amongst major film companies such as Gaumont, Pathe and UGC, under the reasoning that France needs an effective breakwater against the wave of Hollywood films. And as these large film companies forge alliances with major Hollywood distributors and head to multinational capitalisation, this trend is gaining justification in the midst of the discussions regarding the need for French film industry to be more actively globalised.

France experiences difficulties in deciding whether to tighten or loosen film regulatory policy, as it is the country with the best protected national film industry even amongst EU members thanks to broadcasting quotas under a new EU framework (Kim, M., 2003). Looking at the progress of film industry development, Korean protective policies have been broadly similar to the path taken by the French policies, despite the fact that a temporal difference is observed.

The reason for the success of the French demand for cultural exception was the participation and support of other countries which are in a similar situation, a factor that proved more important than the justification for its position. Furthermore, France manifested an enhanced cultural variety as part of the 'cultural exception', while the CNC provides support to French films as well as to the film producers in less developed countries under the umbrella of the Fonds sud cinema (FSC). The purpose of the FSC is to support the film producers in countries where there is insufficient film capital, giving an opportunity to these countries to preserve and disseminate their cultural identity. In the case of co-production support, these initiatives can be considered to be in line with the pursuit of cultural diversity, providing an opportunity for a cultural exchange between France and the countries which receive the FSC.

France has actively pursued a multi-faceted approach in its policy in order to promote

national films. It has successfully incorporated the cultural policy principle of ‘cultural diversity’ into the European Union policy, and was able to gain international agreement through UNESCO. Against the backdrop of free trade and globalisation, the principle of cultural diversity was critical in justifying the protection and development of the French film industry against the American film industry. This principle underpins French cultural policy rather than being used as mere justification. Institutions, such as the CNC and the SFC have been instrumental in implementing policies that support cultural diversity, while fundamentally preserving French culture through cinema.

7.3.2. Government Policy and Cultural Identity of National Film in Korea

From the liberation from Japanese rule until now, the issue of Korean cultural identity has been considered an important issue as a central aspect of cultural policy. This is a result of a number of factors such as an interruption in Korean history due to Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), the Korean War and the division of Korea (1945-present), rapid modernisation and the apparently indiscriminate influx of Western culture. But the Korean cultural policy has experienced numerous changes from the liberation to present, not only in terms of the policy ideology, but also in the areas of support. Yet Korean film was not being a major art.

Cultural policy until the late 1970s was focused on founding the Korean cultural identity, based on the traditional culture. In particular, the Park, Jung Hee government sought to establish the Korean cultural identity in order to utilise it as a psychological driver for economic development (Yim, 2002).

In order to identify what causes the issue of cultural identity to be so central to cultural policy, it is necessary to mention first the characteristics of Korean traditional culture. One of Korea’s most striking characteristics has been its long and continuous existence as a unified country. In spite of numerous invasions and occupations, the Koreans have remained remarkably homogeneous, and have been termed “*Hanminjok*” (meaning Korean nation). Furthermore, despite Korea being divided, the national consciousness constructed by “*Hanminjok*” has remained. As Eckert et al. (1990:407) point out, this characteristic has become an essential basis for modern Korean nationalism, developing as it did in reaction to foreign imperialism and occupation during the late 19th and 20th centuries. Cultural nationalism is the background of Korean cultural identity policy, and thus, multiculturalism on the basis of various ethnic groups should not be considered as a determinant of Korean cultural policy.

It is important to appreciate the increasing globalisation, due in many respects to the development of information technology and the cultural industries. As a result, the issue of cultural identity has been reasserted since the 1990s within South Korea. As Tomlinson (1999:12-22) points out, culture is widely regarded as a key dimension to globalisation. In many countries, cultural globalisation is even transforming the context in which, and the means by which, national cultures are produced and reproduced (Held et al., 1999, 328-375). However, it might be said that the practical impact of cultural globalisation on national cultures and identities differs according to the nations in question. Inevitably, a cultural policy approach to contemporary cultural globalisation varies from country to country.

With the pressure for homogenisation brought to bear by the globally orientated production and distribution of popular culture, it has been suggested that a distinctive cultural identity is likely to promote a sense of competitiveness within cultural industries in a global society. Indeed, these recognitions have all contributed to intensifying the need to strengthen cultural identity. As a result, from the middle of the 1990s, the establishment of cultural identity has been considered as an important policy issue in response to cultural globalisation in Korea.

The Korean government's pursuit of support policies in the film industry sector can be considered an attempt at a more active role in resolving the issue of cultural identity. In other words, by improving the international competitiveness of Korean films, these policies seek to lower the market share of foreign films in the domestic market, and expand the market for Korean films overseas. These film industry policies are changing from one based on restrictions/regulations to one of openness and support. Since the liberation, the film industry has been stirring up the issue of cultural identity, which was a key challenge of the Korean cultural policy, and the film policy has also been used as the institutional device in order to resolve these issues regarding cultural identity.

Since 1998, the biggest justification for the Korean government policy relating to the film industry was the economic value of the film industry. In tandem with the economic crisis in the form of the IMF crisis, the cultural industry policy ideology has shifted to economic development, and the support programs have mostly been restricted to those designed to stimulate the film industry. Screen quotas are remedial measures for market failure, preventing monopolisation and ensuring fair competition. From an industry perspective, screen quotas are an economic initiative in an attempt to remedy the market failure and shift

to a fair market, rather than one seeking to protect the domestic film market.

Broadly speaking, trade barriers designed to protect the film industry can be divided into tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers. Firstly, tariff barriers are designed to protect domestic films by imposing tariffs on imported films and increasing its price. But with the multilateral trade agreements which have been progressively decreasing or abolishing tariffs since the end of the Second World War under the leadership of the US, tariffs became increasingly ineffectual. In other words, the GATT was signed with the primary goal of decreasing tariffs and abolishing barriers to trade. Under the GATT system, the relative importance of tariff-based policies decreases, whereas the various non-tariff policies become more important. Non-tariff policies utilise all available means other than the imposition of import tariffs. Accordingly, in the context of the film industry, these non-tariff policies can be divided into (1) barriers to import, and (2) barriers to distribution and screening. The non-tariff barriers to import include quantitative restrictions such as import quotas⁴⁶, imposition of a ceiling on total imported value⁴⁷, and stringent import and certification processes⁴⁸, whereas the non-tariff barriers to distribution and screening include setting policies that put the foreign companies at a disadvantage in distributing and screening in Korea.

In practice, the non-tariff barriers to distribution and screening are used more actively than the non-tariff barriers to import. The most important non-tariff barrier in screening is screen quotas. The dictionary definition of screen quota is an allocation of the number of screens, but the meaning in practice involves compelling cinemas to screen a particular film according to a prescribed standard. Therefore, screen quotas in practice mean regulations which compel cinemas to show the domestic films for a particular period or longer (Kim, 2004:142). Whereas import quotas are protectionist policies designed to limit the number of foreign

⁴⁶ Import quotas are a government-set limit on the volume or value of the total imports of a particular commodity or service during a particular period, and in the context of films, it is a quota on the import of films. Even with import quotas, the government can grant importers or distributors with the rights to import films by adopting policies of import licenses or import recommendations.

⁴⁷ The 'limit on the maximum price of imported film' involves setting a maximum import price that can be paid for a foreign film, and preventing the import of any film that costs more. This measure is typically used in developing countries which face foreign currency shortages in order to prevent high prices being paid for films. Moreover, it is possible to prevent import of foreign films by also limiting the annual total price paid for foreign films.

⁴⁸ The import process typically involves a complex set of reviews and checks during customs clearance, including deciding the taxable price, declaration of origin, the HS classification, issues regarding false declarations and other considerations. In the case of foreign films, it is possible to delay the import process or cause the cost to increase.

films being imported and seek to increase the distribution of domestic films, screen quotas are protectionist policies designed to ensure a certain number of screening days for domestic films and preventing the free screening of overseas films.

Accordingly, import quotas and screen quotas seek to prevent the decline in the domestic film industry and protect it by limiting the competition of foreign films in the domestic market. There is also the policy of the 'permission system', which is a process that only permits businesses from undertaking certain commercial activities upon receiving permission from the relevant authorities. In other words, the 'cinema business permission system' describes a policy where businesses wishing to engage in film related activities must first seek permission from the government and register themselves. In order to develop its domestic film industry, the government is able to make it more difficult for foreign companies to import, distribute and screen films in the domestic market by refusing to provide licenses to foreign film companies or discriminating against them in the approval criteria compared to domestic companies. Apart from these film related licenses, import licenses or 'import recommendation' systems are also non-tariff barriers to prevent foreign companies entering the domestic market. Import permission systems impose a requirement to obtain government licenses for import of certain goods. There are two types of import permissions – those by volume and those by value. Separately, there can be restrictions requiring declarations of the imported items before being approved. In a similar vein, the 'import recommendation' system requires that a reviewing authority firstly undertakes a review of the film and then recommends its import, before it is allowed to be imported. There are also Admission Taxes, where a tax is levied on the cinemas during the course of screening the films.

By imposing a higher tax on foreign films compared to domestic films, it is possible to protect domestic films because it leads to a higher price and accordingly a lower demand for the foreign films. In addition to levying a higher Admission Taxes on foreign films, it is possible to further protect the domestic film market by exempting domestic films from the same. It is also possible to restrict the import of films or increase the costs of doing so, by forcing the foreign film companies to lodge a certain amount of funds as deposit or to make a contribution towards the 'film development fund'. There are also 'restrictions on prints'. Prints are the copied films which are used for screening the film at the cinema. In order to screen the film at more cinemas, more copies of the prints are required, and if only a limited number of prints are available, the numbers of screens where the film can be shown are

correspondingly reduced. As such, limiting the number of prints is a form of distribution restriction by restricting the distribution and screening of foreign films. Finally, there is a system of ‘review and censorship’. By making it complicated for foreign films to undergo the review process, or by suspending or heightening the rating of the film, it is possible to discriminate the foreign films against the domestic films. These review and censorship systems are also included in the protective policies designed to protect domestic films.

The Korean Film Industry Distribution and Support Policies

The Korean film industry protective policies can be divided into three periods – the period 1945-1984, where these protective policies were commenced and actively implemented, the period 1985-1997 where protections around import and distribution of foreign films were relaxed and actively attempted to open up the market, and the period 1998-2006 where the protections around screening were relaxed. The imported film industry consists of import, distribution and screening, and in this chapter we focus on the protective policies relating to the distribution and screening.

From the liberation from Japanese rule in 1945 to the 1950s, the Korean film market was wide open with no protective policies of any description. At the time, the US Army Headquarters and MPEAA actively cooperated in order to facilitate the overseas distribution of American films, and also established a central film distribution company in Korea and monopolised the film market by importing an unlimited number of American films. Bearing in mind that the average number of Korean films being produced was around 10 films per year, the number of American films imported into Korea was approximately 100. Just after the inauguration of Seung Man Lee administration in 1949, 90 percent of all cinema screens in Korea were showing foreign films (Kim, 2008:7). In these circumstances, the Korean film industry proposed that the Korean government implement policies to promote Korean film production, and the government embarked on formulating the film policies designed to protect and develop the Korean film industry.

After the liberation in 1945, the US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) enacted Article 115 of the USAMGIK Act which prescribed regulations relating to the production, distribution and screening of films, and Section 3 of the Article required permission from the USAMGIK Ministry of Public Information in order for films to be

produced, distributed and screened. Meanwhile, in relation to the screening aspect, 1954 saw measures imposing a higher Admission Taxes being levied on foreign films in order to protect domestic films. In 1959, the 'outline of the film screening approval regulations' was announced, specifying the proportion of foreign films that could be distributed and imposing a maximum price payable per overseas film, only allowing the screening of films which cost less than the limit. But the period where the protective policies for the Korean film industry were most actively established was with the enactment of the Motion Pictures Act in 1962. Through this Act, the government attempted to protect and develop the film industry at the same time as laying down strict regulations. In particular, the Act tightened the criteria for registering production companies, abolished the registration system for importers and exporters of films, and only permitted the registered film producers to import and export films.

The reviewing criteria for granting permission to screen were very stringent and wide-ranging, and when films did not satisfy the criteria, the law allowed the refusal of permission to screen the film or for it to be shown with the non-complying sections cut out⁴⁹. In the 1966 second amendment, it incorporated a more active film industry protective policy that ranged the entire process from import, distribution to screening, where it prohibited foreign persons and companies from engaging in film production in Korea, imposed an import quota, and also imposed a screen quota that compels the screening of domestic films (Jwa and Lee, 2006:97).

The third amendment in August 1970 saw the establishment of the 'Film Promotion Association' in order to develop the film industry, whereby it received funds from foreign film importers and supported the domestic production of films. These film industry protective policies were strengthened in October 1972 with the inauguration of the Revitalising Reform system which imposed further regulations on the film industry. By February 1973, with the 4th amendment of the Motion Pictures Act, the previous registration system for the film production, import and export companies became a permit system, and regulations surrounding the censorship became even more stringent. In order to support these new measures, the amendment also gave new rights to suspend the operating licenses of cinemas.

With the entry into the 1980s, the Korean film industry protective policies undergo radical

⁴⁹ Article 5 of the Enforcement decree for the Motion Pictures Act (24 July 1962).

change. Existing restrictions on importing and distributing foreign films were abolished or relaxed, and instead the regulations on screening became stronger. In other words, this can be said to be an opening of the Korean film market with the Korea-US agreements, and a corresponding strengthening in the screen quota systems. The background to this change in policy was the Jeon administration at the time which pursued an economic development policy centred on opening up the market instead of the previous policies designed to protect domestic industries.

As a result of the first Korea-US talks in 1985, the Motion Pictures Act underwent a 5th revision⁵⁰. Meanwhile, the restrictions on import and distribution of foreign films were abolished with the signing of the First Korea-US Film Agreement in September 1985, meaning foreign film companies being able to engage in Korean business, the import quotas and the maximum limit for the import price of foreign films were abolished, and the mandatory contribution of KRW 100m per film towards the Korean film promotion fund was also abolished. The results of these negotiations were incorporated in whole into the 6th amendment of the Motion Pictures Act in December 1986.

In December 1988, the second Korea-US Film Agreement talks commenced, and the Korean film market was further opened up. The agreements in this session included abolishing the requirement that foreign films require a recommendation for customs clearance in order for the import review copy of the film to pass through customs, abolishing the restrictions on the maximum number of prints of imported films, decreasing the number of films that are requested for review by the Korea Public Performance Ethics Committee as well as speeding up the review process, and simplifying the review process of the foreign films by KPPEC. In particular, the 6th revision of the Motion Pictures Act saw the establishment of a Korean local branch of a major Hollywood film company, UPI, in March 1988, who started to distribute films directly into the Korean market by September in the same year. With the signing of the first and second Korea-US Film Agreement in the 1980s, the Korean film market was fully opened up save for the final regulation, the screen quota.

The 1990s saw a coexistence of both de-regulatory initiatives and industrial support policies

⁵⁰ In 1980s, the protective barriers surrounding the Korean film market were largely abolished during the period of increased trade-related friction with the US during the Jeon and Roh administrations. In order to resolve its increasing trade deficit, the US strongly pressured trade partner nations to open up its markets. Since Korea was at a trade surplus against the US, the US had strongly demanded opening up several markets.

in relation to the film policy, since opening up the Korean film market brought about a necessity to support the Korean film industry. The de-regulatory initiatives primarily took the form of implicitly permitting the participation of large Korean conglomerates in the film industry, and also included ideological de-regulation such as abolishment of restrictions in the number of film prints and relaxing the censorship standards, and industrial de-regulation such as reduction of the special consumption tax payable on film industry screening equipment.

In particular, the abolishment of restrictions on the number of film prints was the product of Korea-US Film Agreement negotiations during the early Roh administration period, but began to be actively implemented from 1994 after a waiting period. This saw the shift of the film distribution model to simultaneous opening across the whole country, allowing Hollywood films to be opened in a number of cinemas at the same time and maximise the profit within a short period of time, as well as providing improved profits in the secondary market. This relaxation of the restrictions on film prints saw new partnerships being forged between cinemas and direct distribution companies or major Korean companies who ventured into the film industry, stimulating the basis of a reorganisation in the cinema industry (Kim, 2005:306-307).

In order to respond to the opening of the Korean film market, the Promotion of the Motion Picture Industry Act (PMPIA) was enacted on 30 December 1995, abolishing the previous system of requiring payment of premiums into the Korea film development fund upon the registration or granting of licenses to film production or import companies, or when a film import company imported foreign films.

In August 1997, prior to the Asian economic crisis, Sean Murphy - the US Trade Representative for Asia-Pacific – requested the abolishment of the screen quota. In October 1997, the Korean government amended the PMPIA, deleting the proposed clause reducing the number of days for the screen quota. Also, the presidential candidate DJ Kim pledged to maintain the current screen quota until the market share of Korean films reached 40 percent

⁵¹ 1999 saw a second amendment of the PMPIA, reforming the previously government-run Film Promotion Association to a civilian-run Film Promotion Committee, and a reform of the

⁵¹ With the first amendment on 10 April 1997, the screen quotas of 2/5 of the screening days were written into law. From 1997, the number of eligible days for exemption increased to include peak times such as national festivals, but could not exceed. As a consequence, the minimum possible screening days requirement was maintained at 106 (Minister's discretion - 20 days, Peak days – 20 days).

Public Performance Act which reformed the Public Performance Arts Promotion Committee to the Korea Media Ratings Board.

The previous system of registering film businesses became simply a process of declaration, and abolished the registration criteria or the requirement to make a deposit. With the turn of the century, the last of the Korean film industry protective policies began to relax in early 2000s. The market share of Korean films had exceeded 50 percent by 2001, and the audience figures for Korean films exceeded 40 million. In October 2000 during the Korea-US Investment Treaty negotiations, the US demanded that the number of compulsory domestic film screening days is reduced to 73 days per year by 2007. Despite these developments, in December 2000 the National Assembly passed the motion to maintain the current screen quota system. In consequence, although there were discussions and reviews surrounding further opening up the Korean film market, the screen quotas were maintained with the passing of the motion at the National Assembly to continue with the current system⁵². In 2003, the US film industry demanded that the screen quota proportions is reduced from 40 percent to 20 percent, and in response the Korean government reduced the number of mandatory domestic film screening days from the previous 146 days to 73 days in January 2006 with effect from July of the same year, signalling a further relaxation on the regulations on screening.

Korea has managed to effectively protect the Korean film industry using a wide range of available methods, including tariffs and non-tariff barriers that covered the entire process from import and distribution to screening until 1985. The opening of the Korean film market prior to the screen quotas was gradual, in the order of import and then distribution.

From 1985, the restrictions and barriers on importing films such as import quotas and the cap on import prices were abolished, and the non-tariff barriers in distribution were gradually also abolished. By abandoning the license system in order to engage in film business, foreign persons and companies became able to move into the Korean film market, and by progressively abolishing the limits on the number of film prints from 1988 to 1994, the impact on Korean films were minimised. And the Korean government has sought to minimise the impact of abandoning the last remaining protective policy, screen quotas, by waiting until

⁵² Although the screen quotas specified screening domestic films for at least 146 days per year, both the Minister of Culture and the head of the local government each have discretion to reduce this by 20 days, so the lower limit is in reality 106 days.

2006 when the market share of domestic films had exceeded 40 percent. There remains some controversy regarding the timing of the abandonment of the screen quotas, as Korean films have been losing market share to foreign films since 2006 onwards. The Korean protective policy for the domestic film industry appears to have chosen the correct sequence of opening up the market by firstly loosening restrictions on import and distribution, and then screening.

It is also notable that the Korean government has mostly utilised non-tariff barriers such as import quotas, cap on import prices, screen quotas and the limits on film prints rather than tariffs, which can easily be lowered during the course of multilateral trade negotiations. Non-tariff barriers are slower and more difficult to be dismantled, and the Korean non-tariff protective policies were effectively able to respond to the American pressure to open up the Korean film market. In fact, non-tariff barriers are more effective than tariffs in protecting film industries. Korea adopted a wide range of non-tariff measures, and they have been effective in protecting the domestic film industry from the foreign films. Moreover, a range of supportive initiatives were pursued at the same time as these protective initiatives for the domestic film industry. Through policy initiatives for promoting and developing the Korean film industry at the same time as protecting it, the industry enjoyed a great deal of growth.

Although there is some criticism that the protective policies could contribute towards worsening the Korean film industry's competitiveness due to delaying the advancements in the film production techniques or the distribution and screening structure, it must be said that it has contributed to the development of the Korean film industry.

7.4. Comparison of the Two Countries' Policies

France has traditionally been known as a European cinema powerhouse that enjoys strong national support. France has been the forerunner of the European Union's efforts to promote the visual media industry, occupying a symbolic position in the cultural war against Hollywood. In particular, it has a strong sense of pride as the home nation of the French-speaking world. Therefore, it has set a sense of duty to ensure cultural diversity, to protect not only the French national film industry but also the Latin European culture and the culture of the French-speaking nations, including the ex-colonies. It emphasises the public role and function of films from a cultural perspective against mainstream Hollywood.

The French film policies can broadly be divided into protective policies and supportive

policies. The quotas relating to the production and distribution form the protective policies. Although there is little debate regarding the necessity and effectiveness of quotas, direct supportive policies have been used when the effect of quotas is considered as sufficient. Since quotas are passive policies, supportive policies represent active policies designed to redistribute resources and encourage creative processes (Stephanie, 2003). Supportive policies, like other cultural content policies, are divided into automatic support and selective support. The areas of support today span the entire process, from production and distribution to export. Another characteristic of the French promotion policies is that it applies to films which possess the qualities of cultural heritage. The films which have a value worth of preservation have a high economic value, as they can be distributed through a variety of mediums over a long period of time. In addition, the independence of the producing company is considered as a precondition for an independent production, determining whether it receives support. The production quotas and production support are being carried out on this basis. This proves that cultural diversity is a practical ideology even domestically, rather than simply being a slogan used to protect French culture against the wider world⁵³.

Despite a variety of active promotion policies, the 2003 Government report points out a number of challenges that France faces which must be resolved (Schwarz, 2003). First, the French language market is a substantially smaller market compared to the English language market, so it possesses an inherent limit to the growth of the film market. Second, despite the protection and support, numerous French producers are not in a financially robust position. They need an environment where they are able to gain competitiveness independently, rather than relying on promotion policies. Third, as one of the key investors and buyers of film, the low profitability of the terrestrial broadcasters is negatively affecting the finances of the producers. Fourth, the development in telecommunications and popular media is ironically resulting in a higher concentration of the audience's cultural preferences, and therefore initiatives to enable easy access to a wide variety of cultural products are required. Fifth, there is a trend of moving the filming and post-production out of France due to the high labour costs and taxes. As director Luc Besson pointed out, the insufficient production infrastructure is partly at fault. The French central and regional governments have

⁵³According to a decree dated 9 February 2007, CNC and ACSE (Agence nationale pour la Cohesion Sociale et l'Egalite des chances) have been jointly running the fund 'Images de la diversite' in order to support the films and broadcasting works which expresses the French cultural diversity well and contributes towards improving equal opportunities.

implemented tax breaks in order to strategically attract the filming.

Compared to Korea which mostly relied on the screen quotas, France has been pursuing an actively protective policy towards its domestic film industry, utilising a wide range of support initiatives. The French protectionist film policy objective is to protect its own film, as well as that of the wider European countries, against the American films. In reality, the only way that France was able to push through its protectionist policies in the international trade negotiations was to form an alliance with other European countries which operate under similar circumstances.

Both countries owe the origin of screen quota system from almost direct pressure and involvement of the US to replace the previous import quota. In the case of France, the screen quota seems to have very limited effect and it seems to have fizzled out naturally to be replaced by a better system. In Korea, due to the fact the implementation started much later, and temporal coincidence of some sort of rise and fall, or boom of the Korean film industry, there have been some speculation that the screen quota actually has some influence over the Korean film industry. However, it is not easy to isolate the effect and cause and pinpoint the phenomenon to a particular implementation from the phenomenological data alone (Pars, 2016).

While it is not exactly clear or conclusive what effect screening quota system have played in the two countries in protecting the domestic film industry, nevertheless it continues today as some sort of supportive guidance programme for a main overarching protection policy.

Between the film industry of France in 1981 and that of Korea in 1997, we have found striking similarities. In part because of developments subsequent to the modernisation of sociocultural 1960, Korean film has experienced a steady decline in cinema attendance. In addition, during the 1990s, Korean film has lost more than 10 percent market share. This is largely the result of the opening of the market with the introduction of the direct distribution of films by Hollywood majors. The crisis has deepened with the strong influence taken by the reference market and strict financial interests.

Korea has undergone great changes. Firstly, this means in terms of budget, as was the first task of Jack Lang in 1981. One of the most important in the cultural milieu claims was that the credits of Culture represent 1 percent of the state budget. The budget did not exceed 0.62

percent in 1999, but increased by more than 1 percent in 2000. Faced with the United States demands to repeal the screen quota, we see the film professionals organise protests to fight against cultural monopoly.

Other similarities can be found between France and Korea. In addition to the crisis in the film industry due to a steady decline in attendance and the asymmetry of trade in cultural property with the United States, the policy review for the domestic film after the alternation of government, strong professional mobilisations in favour of their own cultural exception, etc. At the same time, differences between the two situations. While the French film several steps as the seventh art, without having been subject to radical questioning based on political power, Korean film is not yet part of the major arts. Thus, voluntary Korean policies often result in overestimation of the economic, away from French policies that emphasise the relationship between art and industry.

The film industry possesses a duality whereby it is related to the question of a country's cultural identity, as well as having an economic ripple effect at the same time. Each country puts together policies which resist the Hollywood invasion of its own market at the same time as pursuing the global market. As the need for government intervention in the market became apparent, Gaus (1947) argued that culture is a public good, and where the public demand for culture increases, government intervention arises to prevent the negative consequences of market failure.

The view of whether culture is a public good varies, between the US which is the best example of a country with minimal government intervention, and France which sees culture as a public good and considers government intervention as being correct. Interestingly, Korean film policy is in-between the US and France, as on the one hand, the market has largely institutionalised Hollywood, while on the other hand, applying intervention policies which are closer to the French model.

7.5. Conclusions

This chapter links the construct of national identity with cultural policies of film production and distribution within a globalised context. In contrast to Hollywood which represents global diffusion and domination of American cinema, France and Korea apply cultural policies that emphasise national identity. Theoretically, globalisation and national identity are

mutually exclusive constructs (Jäckel, 2007; Moreau and Peltier, 2007). By investigating and comparing the two contexts, it becomes apparent that the creation of cultural identity through national films takes place within the conditions of global film production and exposure.

Although the values of cultural diversity form the basis of French protective policies towards the film industry, the monopolistic trends for the major companies are deepening even in the French film industry due to the mergers and entanglement between large-scale cinema chains and distributors. Despite the fact that diversity is the most important quality in French film policy, the French policies did not aim to internationalise at the same scale as Hollywood. This is because France needs film companies which are strong enough domestically, and then to be able to respond to the American film industry.

There are also strong voices arguing that, in competitive terms, the capital needs to be focused on a smaller number of blockbusters rather than a large number of small-scale films. In fact, some of the French blockbusters are indeed finding success in the global market. Despite these trends in the film market, the French film policy strives to strike a balance between film as industry and film as culture, while maintaining a strong national interventionist position in the market. Within the French domestic market, initiatives and measures such as broadcasting quotas, exclusive art film cinemas, film education policy and production support for a wide range of films are being maintained without significant changes. In the international stage, France continues its efforts to enhance cultural diversity. It also remains an active player in the European Union cultural policymaking, pursuing a 'unity within variety' based on the multicultural foundation.

In the realms of film with its strong sense of industry, France was able to maintain and even increase its national support and restrictions in the film industry despite a strong and sustained pressure from the US to relax and abolish its restrictions, because of its pride as a past film powerhouse nation and its cultural consciousness that does not treat films and culture as products. This will help France resist against the overwhelming American domination – best represented by Hollywood - within its cultural industry, elevate the international status of French films, and eventually lead to a wide-ranging and systematic cultural and film policy in tandem with the French national interventionist tradition. As a cultural policy, the French film policy is a key driver which allows the French film industry to continue developing in a balanced manner, despite the turbulent changes in the market

environment.

Due to the infancy of the Korean film producers and the low-quality finish of the films, the post-liberation Korean film industry was dominated by foreign, particularly American films. In these circumstances, in responding to the demands of the domestic film industry as well as protecting the cultural industry, the Korean government first started to limit the import of foreign films through the [notice] of the Ministry of Education in 1958, and enacted the Motion Pictures Act in 1962. Through the revisions of the Act, the Korean government began to refine its intervention into the film industry – particularly through the first amendment of the Act in 1963 which saw the adoption of import quotas for foreign films, and the second amendment in 1966 which heralded screen quotas to take effect from 1967 (Jung-Soo Kim, 2004).

As illustrated by the cases of France and Korea, national cinema can be a vehicle of national identity construction. Old dichotomies between national and global have eroded, because national cinema inevitably institutionalised pressures that derive from dominant contexts, which in the case of cinema is Hollywood. Policy-makers in both France and Korea actively engage with the cultural field in order to construct national identity, while the dissemination of media and the global distribution of films have shaped the conditions of film consumption. National identities through film production respond more to factors that have their origins beyond national boundaries, such as the global domination of Hollywood, than revealing traditional aspects of each context.

CHAPTER 8

Discussion and Conclusion

This study explores the historical context of film policy in France and Korea from a cultural and industry perspective, scrutinising the government policies that form and support cultural awareness. The ideological background of film policy in France and Korea is specified by comparing it with the film policy in Hollywood, delving into domestic and international dynamics of cultural production (Jäckel, 2007). This is important since film industry competitiveness relies on the ways in which cultural policy at national level responds to the challenges of global competition (Cowen, 2002; Scott, 2000).

Given the characteristics of the research questions in this study, a comparative analysis was performed to identify different paths and determinants, as well as comparatively analysing and comparing growth patterns for cultural development between France and Korea. A historical perspective provides the horizontal depth to the data analysis and in this study managed to provide an in-depth empirical description of policy and institutional change toward cultural development in French and Korean contexts.

On the basis of a review of relevant literature, we developed a theoretical framework and a methodological framework to address four research questions, namely: *(1) In what ways have film policies in France and Korea responded to the global domination of Hollywood? (2) In what ways does government policy affect internationalisation of the film industry in France and Korea? (3) In what ways does government policy affect the cultural identity of national films in France and Korea? (4) What are the key differences between France and Korea in the ways by which (and the outcomes of which) government policy affects cultural identity and internationalisation?*

These questions leading to specific propositions were analysed by both a historical comparative analysis and a qualitative analysis. The findings relating to the four questions were discussed in terms of theoretical and empirical contributions, and policy implications. The limitations of this thesis and directions for further research are also stated in the last section in this chapter.

This chapter summaries the main findings and arguments derived from theoretical and empirical analyses for the research questions of this thesis.

8.1. Key arguments and Findings

The dual nature of the film industry, existing ambiguously as it does between culture and commerce (Meehan, 1986; Lampel, Lant, and Shamsie, 2000; Durand and Hadida, 2016; Durand and Jourdan, 2012), requires a diverse approach. This signifies a meaningful distinction between film and film industries: film contains a strong aspect of culture and art whereas film industry is more associated with business and economic aspects (Parc, 2019:2).

We used an integrated institutional logics framework based on the model suggested by Thornton et al. (2012) and adapted it in particular to the result from Glynn and Lansbury (2005) who investigated the artistic field, and identified a dual hybrid logic based on both aesthetics and efficiency. Film policy in France and Korea were analysed in terms of aesthetic logics which emphasise art films in order to differentiate themselves from mainstream Hollywood, and efficiency logics emphasising policies which improve film industry competitiveness and achieve non-artistic goals. The research questions were examined using both a comparative-historical approach to provide context for the analysis of changes to two defining institutional logics. We also considered how cultural policy studies, in the form of discursive strategies deployed by policy makers, were used to highlight claims to legitimacy for the policy and its objectives.

French and Korean policy environments both share the similarities of being exposed to the big paradigm shift globalisation and regionalisation. In the case of France, during the time of policy making the pressure to open up the film market existed from the USA, and as the French government needed the support from the US, it stood at a disadvantaged position during the talks with the US. Despite being at the position of disadvantage, through revised talks with the USA supported by the people in the French film world, the French government managed to pass through the quota system. The French policy environment at this time bears a resemblance to that of Korea in the late 1990s. With the foreign exchange crisis, when the support from the US became important, the Korean government was also standing at a disadvantaged point in the talks with the US, and despite the strong protest of people's solidarity for culture and their demand for a quota system, this only brought about the delay

of the agreement. Furthermore, in the case of Korea, it concluded with a unilateral government decision on screen quota reduction.

Both countries embraced a policy of cultural diversity reacting against the global domination of Hollywood. Both France and Korea aim to create a strong national identity through film policy, and for this reason they have supported directly and indirectly the production and archiving of films. However, in France film policy aims to archive both cultural and economic objectives, while in Korea it principally aims to create a competitive industry that contributes to the economy.

Although both France and Korea develop cultural policies that aim for cultural diversity, a significant difference in their film policies is observed. In France, the first public intervention derives its legitimacy from market failures. After the creation of the French Ministry of Culture, France developed several policies to help the spread of movies deemed "difficult" (creation and diffusion mechanism ahead of revenue, creating the label "arthouse", etc.). Malraux Lang and his successors, they tried to impose that "the cinema is primarily a source of emotion, history and culture, and therefore it must be earned using the state.

In Korea, the creation of the Ministry of Culture is not clearly oriented towards enhancing the cultural value of cultural products. Rather, the legitimacy of public intervention in the field of film is driven by economic benefits. Prior to the development of support mechanisms for cultural purposes, Korean film was entirely exposed to the market dynamics. The gradual spread of liberal views meant that the state did little to oppose the further concentration of the market, even encouraging any regulation was perceived as counter-productive. After just three years of independence, the functions of the Ministry of Culture extended include business of sports, youth and even the promotion of tourism. As the change of administrations granted cultural designation, this meant that the Department had to establish another principle of public action beyond the cultural logics. Thus, the administrative elites could not take the initiative to develop its own logic except in the area of film. This historical evolution of Korean film policies may seem far removed from that of France.

The insurgent logic of the social-market corresponds to instrumental cultural welfare and commercial aims embedded in policy and support in both France and Korea. Furthermore, the discourse concerning the Creative Industries is more pronounced in Korea policy texts than in

France. The responses by the case in both countries provides evidence of compliance with the insurgent logic to varying degrees. However, the determinants that influenced the extent of adoption echoed the institutional provenance and historical trajectories of cultural policy in both countries.

The key arguments relating to the four questions are as follows;

“In what ways have film policies in France and Korea responded to the global domination of Hollywood?”

The role of cultural policy in relation to film arose from the historical trajectory of film development. Film policy aims to improve the quality of their films, while promoting the national film industry. At the same time, its top priority on policy tasks is to minimise the impact of American films toward the domestic market as much as possible.

In terms of film industry competitiveness, the film policy of the French government is divided into two classes: (1) supports for securing the quantitative reproduction of French film to strengthen the film industry, (2) supports for boost the quality level to enhance creativity of art film (Farchy, 1999:174).

Korean film promotion policy has been put its weight on direct supports like enhancing motivation for film production and preparing deficient of production cost or distribution facilities as well as governmental indirect supports such as manpower training, backing for film archive activities, modernising of basic facilities required for production and expanding of general supports. There is also the contested “screen quota system” which has undergone several changes in the last 20 years or so. However, the role of South Korean film policy has been focused on stable fundraising for film production.

“In what ways does government policy affect internationalisation of the film industry in France and Korea?”

The French government has placed its emphasis on dissemination and spread of French culture through French film and its international status. This achieved by the way of support and encouraging international coproduction, financial support of the international distribution of French film, development of overseas film market and improvement in export through organisation in charge of film and enactment of laws and regulation for film related to the

European Economic Community (EEC) and active participation in the support system for European films.

In the late 1990s, the South Korean government proposed ‘Globalisation of the Ethnic Culture’ as the policy ideology by expanding the fields of cultural policy into cultural industries and, as a result, specific and substantial support was followed by the establishment of international competitiveness and cultural identity of cultural industries. There are examples of support for international film festivals, as well as hosting Korean film week events overseas and government’s export promotion as well as co-production.

“In what ways does government policy affect the cultural identity of national films in France and Korea?”

In France, the principle of the public support system is to maintain its diversity. The aim is to prevent artistic and economic concentrating by maintaining diversity of film directors and companies by supporting emerging directors, film producers and actors, while ensuring fair competition among manufacturers.

On the other hand, the Korean government aims to support art film by inspiring writer consciousness and creative will, by promoting a variety of film genres and by expanding the base of film audiences as well as nurturing the work environment for quality film making to produce internationally competitive films which could perform well in distinguished international film festivals. The current institution for making art film only supports production and development of featured film and there is no policy of financial support for distribution and screening at all. The only indirect financial support system is tax benefits for theatres exclusively for art film.

“What are the key differences between France and Korea in the ways by which (and the outcomes of which) government policy affects cultural identity and internationalisation?”

French cultural policy based itself on the historical formation process, namely, cultural diversity, cultural democracy and protection and expansion of French values (Moreau and Peltier, 2004). Although efficiency logic has been strengthened during the process of policy change in the French film industry, the aesthetic logic aims to foster a diverse and rich film

culture under the target of stabilising and promoting the film industry (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005).

Korean film has been actively supported and protected under the great proposition by government for cultural values and diversity, which deliberately contradicts Hollywood, but the efficiency logic of this policy was transformed during the 1990s focusing more on market competitiveness as an effect of neo-liberalism (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Kang, N., 2007:28). Since then, the basic principles of national film policy have been consistently operating within the agenda of fostering the industry's international competitiveness while shaping an aesthetic logic that supports the development of highly artistic Korean film, moving the market frontiers of Korean films and laying foundations for international expansion (Choi, et. al., 1995:189-195).

The Findings of the Research

Policy-makers in both France and Korea actively engage with the cultural field in order to construct national identity. National identities through film production respond more to factors that have their origins beyond national boundaries, such as the global domination of Hollywood, than revealing traditional aspects of each context.

The reasons for government support of culture are never exactly the same. Cumming and Katz (1987:350-368) argue that nations engage in the support of culture for a variety of reasons, such as to create or consolidate identity, for cultural protection in the face of external threats for social and economic reasons, for the preservation of cultural heritage, as well as in support of their belief in the intrinsic merit of the arts.

When the policies and history of the film sector in France and Korea are examined, one finds that this unlikely pair shares many parallel courses and have been similar at least up to the mid-1990s, primarily because Korea modelled its film subsidy scheme on the French scheme.

Since the late 1990s, however, one finds that the industries of the two countries have gone their separate ways. Therefore, a comparative study of the two countries in this sector should be very interesting and presents us with a valuable insight, especially when one is considering the question whether Korea should benchmark the French when it comes to implementing film policies with subsidies.

However, in France film policy aims to archive both cultural and economic objectives, while in Korea it principally aims to create a competitive industry that contributes to the economy.

France has pursued a series of initiatives such as film archives and supporting art film to provide diversity to the film industry, and this had a positive effect on the protection of a variety of films with a high artistic value. Korea, under the IMF economic crisis, the ideological focus of the film industry policy was on economic growth, and the support initiatives pursued included film export policy.

The French cultural industry support policies were pursued with the rise in prominence of the viewpoint which combines culture and the economy, and this can be seen as a protectionist policy designed to prevent the monopolisation and penetration of the American cultural industry. Subsequently, the defensive and protectionist aspect in relation to its own cultural industry is clearly shown in the 'exception culturelle' as advocated by Jacques Toubon in the early 1990s. For this reasons, the "cultural exception" was replaced by "diversity" which could include the development of the culture in other regions, societies and countries (Sapiro, 2006), and although cultural diversity started out as a tool of justification in order to protect the French cultural industry from the outside, it had an important aspect which reflected the values of democracy, and therefore served as a key ideological axis for the French cultural policy and resulted in its actual realisation in policy (Lee, W., 2009:476-478). The ideology of cultural diversity became the basis of argument for the policies designed to protect the French audio-visual industry.

In the case of Korea, the biggest justification for government policy on cultural industries after 1998 was the economic value of the film industry. During the IMF economic crisis, the ideological focus of the film industry policy was on economic growth, and the support initiatives pursued included film export policy. France has pursued a series of initiatives such as film archives and supporting experimental art cinema in order to provide diversity to the film industry, and this had a positive effect on the protection of a variety of films with a high artistic value. However, it is not easy to maintain regulation and subsidies as measures for protection and promotion in the capitalist system which operates according to competitive market mechanisms. As a cultural asset of a community, films form the material basis of a society's cultural activities, and furthermore help to form the shared consciousness of a community. Accordingly, it is necessary to view films from more than just the economic

value aspect, to include the intellectual, emotional, moral and psychological aspects. The French film industry policy is pursued in order to preserve the cultural value of the film industry and also encourage diversity. Just as diversity, complexity and artistic value are the strengths of the French films, the French film policy should aim to improve and expand the diversity and artistic value of films, in circumstances where the film archives and the art experimental cinema are finding it increasingly difficult to stay in the market.

The fundamental problem facing film as an industry is whether films must be limited to the area of the market. This is because the media of film has another side that it possesses a cultural value that cannot just be measured by economic profit alone. Cultural value is closely connected to the quality of human life, emotional satisfaction, desire for identity, all which cannot be exchanged into economic benefit. Through the story, narrative, tradition, culture, symbol, meaning which are recreated in a film, the audience can reformulate the cultural identity and in turn re/create culture in which the value system of the society the audience belongs to is internalised.

In other words, if film is standardised according to the market principle alone, or is allowed to disappear because there is not a large enough audience, this will negatively affect the side of film which plays a role in guaranteeing the quality of life and stabilisation of human emotion through the cultural diversity market. Therefore it is necessary to try to reposition film into the public and cultural domain, and not just limit it to the market domain. If there exists films which are produced and consumed within the market, it is also necessary to ensure films exist which are communicated and circulated outside the market.

France was able to maintain and even increase its national support and restrictions in the film industry despite strong pressure from the US to relax its restrictions, because of its pride as a past film powerhouse nation and the cultural consciousness that does not treat films and culture as products. This helped France to resist overwhelming American domination, and even elevate the international status of French films, and eventually lead to a comprehensive cultural and film policy in the French interventionist tradition. As a cultural policy, the French film policy is a key driver which allows the French film industry to continue developing in a balanced manner, despite the changes in the market environment.

Due to the infancy of the Korean film producers and the low-quality finish of the films, the

post-liberation Korean film industry was dominated by foreign films, particularly American. In responding to the demands of the domestic film industry, the Korean government first started to limit the import of foreign films in 1958, and enacted the Motion Pictures Act in 1962. Through revisions of the Act, the Korean government began to refine its intervention into the film industry, particularly the adoption of import quotas for foreign films in 1963, and screen quotas that took effect from 1967 (Kim, J. S., 2004).

As illustrated by the cases of France and Korea, national cinema can be a vehicle of national identity construction. Policy-makers in both countries actively engage with the cultural field in order to construct national identity, and meanwhile the global distribution of media and films have shaped the conditions of film consumption to preference for a more globalised format and content. As a result, national identities through film production reflect elements originating from beyond national boundaries, more closely resembling the globally dominant Hollywood format, rather than incorporating the "traditional" elements which represent the country's culture.

Rather than looking at and simply comparing changes in policy per time period, we have focused on the character the policy possesses throughout its change. Consequently, the changing aspect of policy was compared based on the cultural diversity reflected on the policy making itself.

We have considered the systemisation of French and Korean art film policy within the individual support system and how it has affected the film industry of each country. Despite sharing a similar political and economic system, and both having protected their own film market against the Hollywood films, the basis and direction of the film policy have been shown to be considerably different from one another through historical comparison methodology. A contribution was made in comparing the historical background and the process taken by each country to reach the present point by looking at the development of the cultural policy and the main policies.

8.2. Contributions

The contributions of this research might be discussed according to the research questions in the following three areas: (1) theoretical implications; (2) policy and managerial contributions; (3) further research.

Theoretical Implications

By using a synthesis of institutional logics and historic institutionalism and sensemaking theory, we examined how cultural policy affected claims to legitimacy, identity and practice in two national contexts, France and Korea and established why there were variations in the consequences of policy implementation in both countries. The work contributes to existing literature on cultural policy governance by illustrating in two context-specific settings the variation in implementation impact due to notions of legitimacy, identity and practice that are historically, culturally and politically contingent. It also identifies a means to create stronger links between institutional theory and cultural studies using the film sector as a test case for the analysis, particularly in relation to the multi-level analysis of legitimacy, identity and aesthetic-artistic practice.

This study has used an integrated institutional logics framework based on Thornton et al.'s (2012) proposition. We have extended the model to include both a historical institutionalist perspective and critical cultural studies as a means to investigate conflict and tension when organisations and actors address the challenge of insurgent logics. The extended framework enabled us to examine the intrinsic versus extrinsic arguments for the arts in contexts that are sensitive to a variety of determining factors and illustrate how the relative positioning of institutions, and actors can vary according to the influence of these factors on existing logics.

The research has given additional insight into the key determinants that inform cultural governance, its structures and processes. We have shown that the historical contingency of some aspects of cultural governance are critical to the balance of power between institutions and the fields they seek to influence.

Empirical Contributions

The choice of a hybrid research strategy combining a comparative-historical approach with the case study method provided a context for both the institutional-level policy text analysis and the practice-focused analysis conducted at the organisational and actor levels. Although the objective of the study was not to generate generalisable insights, the analysis indicated which determinants are of significance in implementing cultural policy and the impact that policy outcomes might have on organisations.

Further Research

The current developments in the world we live in provide us with a lot of directions for further research (Hadida, Lampel, Walls, and Joshi, 2020), especially in the study of subsidies on film industries. The finding here is that non subsidised Korean industry can become as large as a massively subsidised French industry, and can create domestic films as popular as those in a subsidised industry.

The Korean success story is largely due to the way in which it embraced internationalisation, which forced Korean companies to adopt competitive business strategies with respect to foreign companies. This has been more favourable in promoting and enhancing the quality of domestic films than protecting domestic producers from competition would have been.

This result should be refined through further research. For instance, Korean subsidies up to the mid-2000s were very limited, but they have focused on the infrastructure and facilities that could support all film producers in a rather non-discriminatory way, hence creating healthy competition among domestic film producers and a prosperous film industry. There is thus a need to analyse and document these two kinds of subsidies in order to design the most suitable policy package.

8.3. Conclusions

This research has attempted to find an explanation for the apparent differences in cultural policy implementation outcomes in two countries that have adopted ostensibly similar measures in the face of challenging economic and political pressures to justify public subsidies for culture. The use of an integrated institutional logics and comparative-historical approach to the analysis has yielded insights into the nature and relative importance of the determinants that govern the effectiveness of policy interventions on the field in question. It has also suggested a methodology for exploring in more depth the question of policy outcomes and their effectiveness by linking policy and practice analysis within an integrated framework.

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