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The Inbetweeners: The Korean Animation Industry Negotiates the Global and the National

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THE INBETWEENERS

THE KOREAN ANIMATION INDUSTRY NEGOTIATES

THE GLOBAL AND THE NATIONAL

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the (South) Korean animation industry in between the global and the national. Since the 1990s, the Korean animation industry has tried to shift from being a subordinated 'in-betweener' (i.e. subcontracting for the USA and Japan) to becoming an autonomous agent (i.e. producing its own animations). What exactly initiated this change? Can it be perhaps understood as the response to the globalisation process? Or, can it be, in fact, Korea's constantly contested nationalism under the guise of capital force of globalisation? How does this change our understanding of globalisation as process? More importantly, how do animators experience globalisation in their daily lives and work conditions?

To answer these questions, the thesis focuses on (1) how the local creative industry recognises and realises the dynamics between the global and national; (2) how the local creative producers experience negotiating local and global values in their daily lives and work. As Korea is a globally challenged nation with constantly contested national identity, the Korean animation industry is a potent site for examining ambivalent identity formation through these 'in-between' negotiation processes.

People's everyday experiences and 'emotional' struggles in-between the two major forces of nationalism and globalisation have been relatively neglected in research so far. This focus leads me to suggest the idea of 'in-between' not just as subcontracting but as a concept. In contrast to celebration of hybridity as ambivalence and/or resistance to both globalisation and nationalism, 'in-betweeness' captures the subjective experience generated from hybridity and realised through social and emotional tension in lived experiences and work. Being in-between is understood as a negotiation, transition and dis/juncture of different experiences of globalisation, along which Korean animators experience conflicts, dilemmas and confusion and hesitations about which

direction to head in. It results in the creation of an ambivalent and often agonized in-between identity.

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Introduction

This thesis is about people working in South Korea's animation industry (hereafter, Korea), the world's third largest after the USA and Japan. Starting out initially as subcontractors for the likes of Walt Disney Co., the Korean animation industry now produces its own feature-length films, receiving kudos and government support, and winning numerous global awards. However, the majority of animators continue to work as subcontractors, facing wage and time pressures brought about by globalisation rather than the fame and financial rewards that accompany success in reaching out to global audiences.

Through a study of the Korean animation industry, this research seeks to address a number of issues concerning the complexity of globalisation, and the tensions between global and local values. The specific focus is on *people's experiences*. In doing so, ethnographic investigation becomes the key methodology of the thesis. The study also draws on the concept of 'in-between' (discussed in detail later in this chapter) to analyse people's experiences of globalisation in a more theoretically constructive way.

What does globalisation mean to Korea and specifically to Korean animators? How do Korean animators understand, observe, experience and feel the impact of globalisation in their everyday life? I argue that the answers are closely related to the socio-historical contexts in which they live and work. My primary concern, therefore, is to understand the significance of their experiential values in order to analyse the complexity of globalisation, particularly in the field of the creative industries. Besides looking at publicly available data and existing research and reports on the industry, I

interviewed forty-two people working in Korea's animation industry and (internet) questionnaires have been answered by twenty-eight people who claim to be animation fans and regular audiences.

There is not much research on the Korean animation industry, animators or how their creativity is shaped by globalisation. Furthermore, there are no studies that have examined creative workers' experiential and emotional values within the framework of globalisation, both in Western and Korean literature. This study will, hopefully, help fill the academic void.

This Introduction chapter outlines the aims of the thesis and the necessary theoretical frameworks. By providing a summary of subsequent chapters together with an extensive discussion of the uses of 'in-between', I also aim to seek sufficient answers for the main research questions raised earlier.

HOW THE RESEARCH BEGAN

To begin, I will briefly explain how this study began and developed. I will also explain why I emphasise the importance of people's experiences in this specific thesis.

For a long time Korea was seen as a place where Europeans could make their cartoons in a cheap way. When slowly the makers found an even cheaper place in China, Korea started to develop its own *anime*. Korean films [should] earn more attention than they get now. They have their own style.

(Philip Moins, Director of *Anima 2005*, Kyoto News, 5th February 2005 '*Japanese anime still hot, but South Korea in focus at Belgian festival*')

After years serving as subcontractors for foreign companies, Korea's animation industry recently enjoyed recognition at international animation festivals. The feature-length *My Beautiful Girl Mary* (Sung-Gang Lee, 2001) won the Grand Prix at the Annecy International Animated Film Festival in 2002. Two years later, *Oseam* (Baek-yeop Sung, 2003) did the same. At the Tokyo Animation Award Film Festival in 2004, *Africa a.F.r.I.c.A* (Taeho Han, 2003) won the short film Grand Prix. In 2005, Sejong Park's *Birthday Boy* (2004) was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Short Subject (Animated). Encouraged by these achievements, the government and businesses have pumped money into the industry. The country boasts a newly equipped animation museum; an animation city and town; an increasing number of animation courses; and considerable active support from central and regional government agencies.

The tempting conclusion is that Korea's animation industry has successfully transformed itself and established world status. However, any such ideas I had were overturned in March 2005. At a symposium that month I presented a paper that expressed optimism and belief in Korean animation (20th May 2005, London Screen Studies Symposium 'Hallyuwood: Korean Screen Culture Goes Global'). I was devastated to receive this feedback from a Korean critic: 'Your expectation is ever so high and what you will see in the real world outside academia is very different and far tougher. You will soon see what I mean.' His comments confounded my hypothesis of the time, and new questions started swirling in my mind. Did I view the industry through rose-tinted lenses? Did the gleaming facade of success hide problems facing the animation industry? Can Korea catch up with Japan? What were the industry's prospects in an age of globalisation and competition from the emerging economies of China?

Full of such questions, I left for Korea to continue fieldwork between June and October 2005. It did not take long to encounter the harsh realities of the industry. It

happened with the heartfelt plea of a producer at *Anifactory*[1] on the first day of my visit: 'I do hope your research will let others know how difficult and hard our lives are. The future of the Korean animation industry is at stake. Our work is going away to China and to other cheap places. It is very difficult to maintain how we are now.' It was a reality check. The industry, contrary to my impressions from extravagant media coverage, was in transitional disorder, neither ready to let go of its subcontracting work, nor confident enough to produce original independent creative works in sufficient quantities. Korean animators, in short, were caught 'in-between' situations and this had problematic repercussions for their everyday life and work.

The principal culprit for this contrast between the glossy media image and harsh economic reality seemed to be globalisation – a process in which Korean animators were early participants as they performed tasks for American and Japanese studios. This complicity has driven its animators into in-between situations, along paths of negotiation. In this thesis I refer to animators who go through this in-between negotiation process as 'in-betweeners' and see in-between as a way of experiencing globalisation. This study is, thus, a story of the 'in-betweeners' who are struggling to survive globalisation and unbalanced global and local interests as they strive to break away from their traditional roles of supporting subcontractors to become independent, creative agents. This meaning of 'in-betweener' is a play on the original meaning. To an animator, 'in-between' denotes the numerous stages of small movement that connect one frame to another. The animators who do this work are called 'in-betweeners.' This

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[1]   'Anifactory' is a pseudonym for a Japanese OEM (Original Equipment Manufacturer, meaning what they produce is sold under another company's name) animation company where I carried out participant observation research between June and October 2005.

process makes the characters' movement look as smooth and natural as possible, though this animation practice requires unimaginable amounts of labour.

AIMS OF THE THESIS

My main aim in this thesis is to convey Korean animators' unheard and often ignored voices through an academic approach. These voices are important because it is by listening to them that we can see how global and local interests negotiate with each other while undergoing the globalisation process. I would like to reveal the consequences of such interaction; and understand how this complex interplay influences the everyday lives of the industry's creative workers. Hence, this thesis aims to open up a new perspective for understanding globalisation in the context of the Korean animation industry. The study shows a tangled web that the global, national, local and creative industries make up, and how the Korean animators are caught in this web. By examining their case, I aim to explore the main thesis that while Korean animators experience globalisation, they step onto an in-between path where diverse forms of negotiation take place.

Why did I choose the Korean animation industry? What is the significance of studying Korea's animation industry and hearing the animators' experiences?

First, I would like to contend that the Korean animators' subjective accounts provide a basis for conceptualising and developing the idea of the 'in-between' as a necessary concept for a full understanding of globalisation not only as an economic or socio-historical process but also as a category of experience. It is because, as this research will eventually reveal, in-between is not only a way of experiencing globalisation but presents what we might overlook easily, that is the disjuncture between the interests of the different economic players in globalisation, i.e. between the owners

of capital who are supposed to be the "successful" operators and the ordinary employees. The economic benefits from globalisation which some players enjoy can become painful experiences for non-beneficiaries. I strive to show this contrasting globalisation scenery through the case of the Korean animation industry.

Second, the value of this research lies in choosing the particular creative industry sector – the animation industry – where little academic research has taken place. The Korean animation industry is a marginalised segment within a marginalised sector of the entertainment industry. Hence, this thesis is even more distinctive. Finally, this research extends animation studies not only beyond its existing focus on the West and Japan but also beyond its textual emphasis to encompass underlying structures of production and work experiences. I will briefly outline how animation has been studied academically.

ANIMATION STUDIES AND THE KOREAN ANIMATION INDUSTRY

In the field of American animation, Disney, in particular, has been studied by various academics with different approaches. Sometimes, the company is the embodiment of America's cultural domination over Third World countries (Dorfman & Mattelart, 1991 [1979]). Studies have also focused on Disney to understand the culture of America in the modern world (Wells, 2002) as well as to use it as an industrial model (Wasko, 2001).

The most notable academic discourse developed on animation must be the cultural imperialism model with Disney at the centre. Han emphasises that Disney has functioned as a 'virtual diplomat' because of its preferred subject matter, which deals mainly with mythology, fantasy, fairy tales, and folklore. Many children who grow up with Disney's animation and its colourful books have positive images of America (Han, 1998: 245). This resonates with the cultural imperialism thesis as outlined by Dorfman

and Mattelart in their *How to Read Donald Duck*. Because of America's economic power, the so-called peripheral countries such as those of South America feel cultural domination through the media. Such concerns put the focus on American animation, and especially on Disney.

However, the American animation industry's stranglehold on the world market began to unravel with the advent of Japanese animation, or 'anime'. A good example is the animation character *Pikachu* from the 1990s hit *Pokemon*. *Pokemon* became a media phenomenon of the 1990s, and also generated much cultural interest in Japan (Tobin, 1992). Following the success of *Pokemon*, or maybe earlier, Japanese animation received much attention from the world, both as a potential competitor to American animation and as a tool to emanate 'cool' and 'exotic' cultural influence from Japan (McGray, 2002). The advent of anime led academics to take a more serious look at animation, a media genre that was relatively neglected. One scholar states that 'anime clearly appears to be a cultural phenomenon worthy of being taken seriously, both sociologically and aesthetically' (Napier, 2001: 4).

Despite such insightful recognition of the value of animation, in popular culture, most academic writing concentrates heavily on the two major players, the USA and Japan, with little mention of others. It is time for an academic awakening and an opening of eyes to study the unexplored and marginalised 'national' animation industries. In the case of Korea, many questions are raised such as where does the Korean animation position itself? Surprisingly, Korea is 'the third largest animation producing country' (Lent, 2000) and yet has always been in a marginalised position in the world market. Why have academics paid so little attention to Korean animation, which generates ₩325.8 (₤1.8 million) billion of revenue and employs over 20,000 people (including freelancers)? (KOCCA, 2005a)

Figure 1. 1 Imports and exports of Korean animation 2000-2004
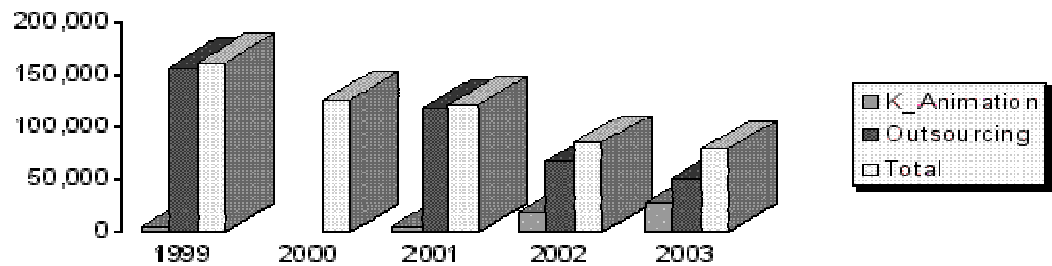
Source: Based on Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI),

Cultural Industry Policies in Korea for the Past 10 years: Evaluation and Prospect

(2005)

(*K_Animation is Korean made original creative animation)

Figure 1. 2Profits from animation exports
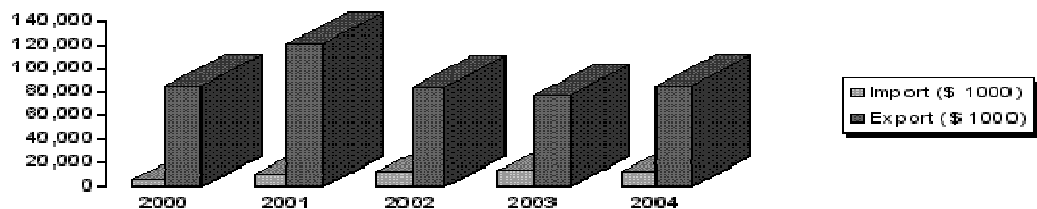
Source: Based on Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI),

Cultural Industry Policies in Korea for the Past 10 years: Evaluation and Prospect

(2005)

As Figures 1.1 and 1.2 shows, Korea's animation output is based on subcontracting.

Although creative Korean animation is growing gradually, according to the industry's

White Paper (KOCCA, 2004: 18), outsourcing work still takes up more than 89.4

percent (£ 3,700 million) of export income.

Korean animators, since the 1960s, have been major subcontractors for foreign companies, particularly from the USA and Japan. While both the American and the Japanese animation industries have basked in the world spotlight for decades, Korea was only known as a 'sweat-shop' (Tracy, 1999) or as a 'back-office' (Tschang and Goldstein, 2004) and even as a 'surrogate mother' (Ahn, 2001) for foreign production. The American TV animation series *The Simpsons* and a recent collaboration in Miyazaki Hayao's *Spirited Away* (2001, Japan), which won the Golden Bear Award at the 2002 Berlin International Film Festival, are examples of such sweatshop surrogacy where much of the work was done by Koreans who received almost zero recognition.

This study reveals Korean animators' reasons for becoming global subcontractors, which simultaneously exposes the problematic in-between situations they faced for decades. By examining the Korean animation industry, this study also helps to 'de-Westernise' the complexity of globalisation as well as shed light on previous attempts and achievements on the part of the Japanese animation industry. This research delivers the Korean animators' *lived-through* in-between experiences of today's globalisation process, which accomplishes the second objective of this thesis: to offer new possibilities to understand the intricate interplay between the global and the local.

Indeed, such interplay deals with the animators' in-between experiences and as stated above, this study addresses the explanatory value of in-between as an essential concept to understand the negotiation process between the global and the local. The current debates in globalisation studies mostly omit empirical research on the situation today. There are numerous discourses on globalisation: from relatively abstract studies that introduce the myth of globalisation (Ferguson, 1992), through time-space compression together with post-modernism (Harvey, 1989), to studies with more tangible proof based on trade figures and statistics to explain politico-economic flow (Waters, 1995), to historical examples which Friedman describes as 'big structures and

huge processes' (1994). These discourses will be reviewed in detail in the next chapter. However, studies on the experience of globalisation using people's own words are rare. In this thesis, thus, I attempt to provide an ethnographic analysis of the bulk of Korean animator's experiences by using a renovated notion of 'in-between' in order to reduce the shortfall in existing globalisation studies concerned with a more unified application of this notion.

I will now lay out the theoretical frameworks guiding my thesis and challenge their limitations by introducing the idea of the 'in-between'.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The literature on both globalisation and nationalism has provided the main framework of this research. Discourses and debates about these two phenomena constitute a first framework as they are helpful in understanding and contextualising the Korean psyche. In fact, both globalisation and nationalism are the main pillars of the thesis as various in-between states appear in the dynamics of their opposing forces; particularly, between global and local values.

A second framework draws on studies of hybridity: a notion that arises directly from the first framework. Hybridity is a representation of possible compositions between the global and the local. These debates are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

A third theoretical framework is provided by the creative industries and the policies pertaining to them. The creative industries, in this sense, become a sphere where hybridity can extensively and conveniently occur through constant contacts between the global and the local as discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Overall, these frameworks enable the exploration of Korea's animation industry further developed in the data analysis chapters. More importantly, these frameworks appear to open up a rarely explored analytical path – that is, experiences generated within the complexity of the globalisation process but located 'in-between', a term I shall now define and discuss.

ANALYTIC TOOL OF THE THESIS: IN-BETWEEN

Definition and Functions

In this research, I strive to capture as vividly and candidly as possible the experiences of animators whose daily life and work is shaped by global and local forces. I propose using the term *in-between* as a main concept for the close examination of the Korean animation industry – hence the use of the term in the title of each chapter.

The word 'in-between' captures the subjective experiences of animators both as individuals and as a professional group of people, and consequently this term conveys a dynamic negotiation process between the global and the local in which numerous physical, emotional and social struggles are involved. As we will see in the later part of the thesis, the representations of negotiation processes appear in various cultural practices of the Korean society, such as social status, education, marriage, and so on. Thus, the way I conceive of 'in-between' throughout this research project is as a negotiation process, a transitional stage, and as a juncture between people with different experiences of globalisation. 'In-between' concept's significance will be revealed throughout the thesis by unveiling the Korean animators' own experiences in their own words.

This section will present my reasons for using in-between as an analytical tool. I favour the term 'in-between' because it expresses both the very sense of being caught and the sense of momentary frustration. 'In-between' also immediately captures and suggests the sense of various 'between' situations which appear as problematic obstacles for the development of the animation industry in Korea..

In-between and In-betweeners in the Globalisation Process

Taking off from the industrial usage of the term, here I expand the meaning of in-between conceptually and apply it to the case of the Korean animation industry and once again clearly synthesise my use of 'in-between' in this thesis. The followings are my primary arguments for the use of in-between. In-between plays a critical role as: a) in the case of the Korean animation industry, numerous conflicting transitional stages occur between two social and cultural key features, which are 'being subcontracted labourers' and 'becoming creative and autonomous agents'; b) in the larger scale, the unavoidable and necessary negotiations between the local and global animation spheres – often neglected and forgotten - are reflected in other fields or industries in their globalisation process.

Negotiations happen in many parts of the world and are experienced differently on the basis of different histories, cultures and social contexts. What this research tells us is that globalisation is a problematic process that involves conflict and dilemmas in various forms that have to be negotiated when the local encounters the global. One additional point I want to add here is that in-betweeners, as Young puts it, may 'fantasize crossing borders' and be driven by 'desiring for the cultural other' while 'forsaking their own cultures' (1995: 3). However, the very moment of being in-between, of becoming ambivalent beings, and of living on the rim of two distinctive differences,

comes to the in-betweeners as struggles and difficulties. In-between experiences rudely awake in-betweeners from their fantasy and let them face the cruel reality. The resulting panic comes in material and economic forms. This impact drives in-betweeners out of control and demands emotional sacrifices. Hence, in-betweeners realise they must start negotiating: either they forget their dreams, and accept other cultural imperatives while undergoing self-denial; or they turn back to their own culture; or they combine the two in a process of hybridisation.

In-between may take up a small segment of the entire globalisation process, indeed it might be a thin line of a rim and thus, in-betweeners may easily be assumed to play insignificant roles in globalisation. However, we see tangled webs of cultural dynamics between the global and the local through the activities the in-between unveils and also through the in-betweeners' lives. Therefore, what must be recognised is that in-between is a necessary, inevitable and irreducible path of negotiation and transformation, and this path surfaces differently in various cultural representations in many parts of society and nations. Without these numerous small in-betweens and in-betweeners, it would not be possible to have full understandings of the dynamics between the global and the local. Hence, it is my main objective and aim to demonstrate the critical significance of in-between as a way of experiencing globalisation through the case of the Korean animation industry and its animators' daily lives and work.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part One (Chapters 2–5) mainly deals with the theoretical foundations, which were introduced in this chapter. This will be the groundwork for Part Two. Part Two (Chapters 6–10) consists of data chapters analysing the findings from the fieldwork and case studies, validating the necessity of studying Korean animation and observing the changes of its cultural location from an in-betweener to a creative agent.

Particularly, in Part Two, I analyse and demonstrate different types of in-between states of the Korean animation industry and illustrate the consequential experiences that the Korean animators undergo: between global and local in economic terms and consequential emotions (Chapters 6 and 7); between the values of traditional ideology and global newness (Chapter 8); between subcontracting animators and creative animators by looking at their working conditions (Chapter 9); between different purposes of becoming global through the means of Koreanness (Chapter 10).

Part One: Literature Review and Methods

Chapter 2 reviews theories and discourses on globalisation and nationalism. The chapter explores to what extent the existing discourses on these two phenomena provide the necessary understanding of Korean historical and social backgrounds. The chapter begins by reviewing the writings of two key academics, Giddens and Scholte, on globalisation. Giddens and Scholte were chosen to be specifically highlighted as their insights are particularly helpful in understanding the core argument of this thesis, which is focused on exploring the experiential values of and identity struggles occurring amongst a particular group of animators during the contemporary globalisation process

in Korea. In order to establish a firm theoretical platform from which to understand these Korean animators' in-between experiences, the chapter then moves on to discussing the division of labour and issues of inequality. Acknowledging the fact that individuals' experiences of globalisation should be understood as part of a fuller global-local nexus (Robins, 1997: 28), the particularities of Korea's socio-historical development are fully examined in order to contextualise Korea's specific globalisation process. For a more constructive discussion, I have separately examined Korea's globalisation process before and after 1992 as it was in this year that the Korean government declared, *segyehwa* – the Korean way of globalisation and ushered in a sea change in Korea in terms of how people think about and relate to the process of globalisation as a whole. Having explored Korea's socio-historical background, I continue on to investigate the division of labour, inequality issues and national identities experienced by Korean animators within the context of globalisation.

Chapter 3 reviews theories of hybridity. Hybridity has been thought of as one possible concept to comprehend the negotiation processes between the global and the local. This chapter provides an overview of the theories of hybridity and identifies their limitations. As my main focus in this thesis is on the Korean animators' daily experiences and emotional values in the globalisation process rather than the films and television programmes themselves, I differentiate my use of in-between from the one that is understood in post-colonial studies. Having provided the cultural basis as well as the theoretical ground to examine the Korean animators' experiences of globalisation in Chapters 2 and 3, the next chapter examines a practical sphere where the complexity of globalisation can be explored.

Chapter 4 examines how the concept of creativity has changed and become important in the current global era, resulting in government support for the creative industries. In addition, this chapter demonstrates that whilst the economic potential of

the creative industry is over-emphasised, the current debates and studies have not investigated how such changes of the industry affect the creative workers' lives. I find this to be a weakness in the creative industry debates. Hence, this thesis, by examining Korean animators and their experiences within the contexts of the global creative industries, aims to fill the void in existing literature.

As mentioned earlier, for a more productive approach to examine the Korean animators' subjective accounts, that is, their lived-through experience of globalisation, an ethnographic investigation has been carried out. Chapter 5 as a methodology chapter introduces the detailed procedure used in interviews conducted with forty-three people in the Korean animation industry during four months of fieldwork in the country and during continuous additional contact over the period of a year.

Part Two: Korean Animation Industry and Animators

Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate an in-between state of the Korean animators: the tension between the global and the national. Chapter 6, ***Inevitable Negotiation: In-between the Global and the National,*** explicitly examines the aspects of globalisation and seeks an explanation for today's Korean animators' financial struggles and fears of unemployment by looking at the past political and economic situations. I will argue that the OEM (original equipment manufacturing) industry is proof of the Korean animators' encounter with globalisation, and it was initiated by the then helplessly indigent condition of national economic and political instability. Findings in the chapter will show that the Korean animators' everyday life experiences and emotions directly reflect the unbalanced interest of the global and the local.

Chapter 7, ***Encountering the National: Double Consciousness and Expectations***, specifically focuses on animators' struggles with the national. This chapter takes issues

with Korean audiences' consumption of foreign animation and their severe criticism of Korean animation. Together, these qualities imply Koreans' double-consciousness. This chapter also gives an insight into Koreans' strong national pride and aspirations, which to a certain degree are a cause of the Korean OEM animators' ethical struggles and dilemmas. In the light of the theoretical framework of Chapter 2, these two chapters conclude that the tension between the global and the local, together with nationalistic expectations, create enormous pressure on animators not only in terms of financial concerns, but also in terms of ethical and moral concerns. This conclusion foreshadows the primary issues and ideas that Chapter 8 examines: the sense of social alienation which Korean animators experience through the diverse conflicts and tensions within the Korean society.

Chapter 8, ***Lost in the Path between Different Values***, investigates an in-between situation where conflicts occur between two different value systems: traditional Confucian values and their consequences, and the new appreciation of animation and responses by animators, members of the public and of the government. I argue that the global values of animation create tensions with the Confucian values embedded in local cultural practices. This chapter illustrates animators' own experiential conflicts, including their sense of being isolated from their own society in the forms of education, careers, family values, gender and marriage. These again emphasise indicate how differently the Korean animators experience the process and consequences of globalisation.

Another in-between position is revealed in Chapter 9, ***In-between Being Labourers and Being Artists***, by carefully examining animators' professional lives and the subtle, almost invisible conflicts that arise from balancing commercial values and creativity, and resultant working conditions. This chapter provides and develops the critical link with arguments of the previous chapters in two ways. Firstly, with Chapter

6's specific issues on globalisation' impact on the local animators' lives and work, this chapter even more closely investigates the physical, emotional, social and cultural prices that animators pay. Secondly, recalling debates reviewed in Chapter 4 on demarcating between commercial and creative values, this chapter offers an answer in the case of Korean animators. Due to the globalisation process, the dividing line between commercial and creative values has become blurry as they share emotional pain and struggles that arise from the same socio-historical context (see Chapter 6). This leads the Korean animators to more flexible position-taking between the commercial OEM work and independent creative animation work, which previously was considered to be distinctively different and separated, and functioned as a matter of pride. The chapter concludes that the possible juxtaposition of creativity and commerce under globalisation is a form of in-between experience.

Chapter 10, ***In-between as a Disjuncture between Different Players in Globalisation***, as the final data chapter, discusses the diverse attempts of the Korean government to transform the current animation industry into something stronger and more creative for economic returns. This chapter further develops the discussions in Chapter 4 and highlights the impact of government intervention on the creative industry and the lack of concerns about livelihood and welfare, which I pointed out as a major weakness. For a close analysis, the chapter compares and contrasts the voice of both government and animators. This chapter, in particular, demonstrates the in-between concept by separating the different aims and experiences of globalisation of key stakeholders such as the owners and other economic players, "successful" operators, and those who struggle through the process of globalisation.

This chapter also outlines the negotiation process involving the role of 'Koreanness' in animation. Often, Koreanness is understood as inherited or traditional images of Korea represented in visual styles (e.g. characters, drawing patterns, clothes,

etc.) and story lines (e.g. folk tales, legends, traditional children's story, etc.). Koreanness provides the identity that helps animators relate to a local audience while at the same time provides Korean animation with distinguishing features in the global market. This chapter concludes that pursuing creativity through Koreanness is a collaborative effort of in-betweeners whose severe experience of globalisation requires a form of negotiation.

Chapter 2

Globalisation

In Chapter 1, I addressed the principal questions that this thesis seeks to address: how do Korean animators experience and respond to the globalisation process and how are their in-between experiences represented. In order to approach these questions more closely, understanding globalisation theory becomes essential.

'Globalisation' is on everybody's lips (Bauman, 1998:1). The term globalisation is indeed a popular word in this century. It is, '*the* concept, the key idea by which we understand the transition of human society into the third millennium' (Waters, 1995: 1, his emphasis). It is talked about not only within academic circles but also by people in their everyday lives. In writing on globalisation prior to the late 90s, globalisation was mainly understood as involving the mobility of capital. Nowadays, however, it is used to describe increasing flows of not only capital but also of services, people, information and many other entities between nations. As it is used in such diverse ways, its meanings and understandings, too, differ enormously and as of yet there is no consensus regarding its exact definition. This reemphasises the fact that the term globalisation is, therefore, 'now more than a buzzword and becoming 'globaloney', 'global babble' and 'glob-blah-blah' and that 'ideas of globalization[2] tend to remain as elusive as they are pervasive' (Scholte, 2002: 5). Hence, this chapter begins by examining different definitions of globalisation which seek to delineate the shared characteristics of

[2]   This thesis uses both the spellings 'globalisation' and 'globalization'; although I, the present author, use 'globalisation', for some quotations the spelling 'globalization' can also be found, as this is what is in the original text.

globalisation. This research, however, is not solely about globalisation and its problematic definitions. Rather, I intend to draw on these theories in order to examine: how some of the characteristics of globalisation affect ordinary people's everyday lives; what causes individuals' different experiences of globalisation; and the nature of the consequences of those differences and in what forms they are reflected. Hence, in order to narrow down the focus, from amongst numerous identified characteristics and seemingly ever-multiplying definitions of globalisation, this chapter specifically focuses in depth on two main academics' views on globalisation: Anthony Giddens, and Jan Aart Scholte. Globalisation for Giddens is closely related to 'modernity' (1990; 1991; 2002), and Scholte sees it as a 'spread of supraterritory' (2002; 2003; 2005). Connecting local and global has become part of day to day life and these connections are highlighted by these two academics, especially in terms of 'experiences' and 'identity' issues.

After reviewing these two academics' concepts of globalisation, in the following part of the current chapter, I focus on globalisation's 'uneven process' (Mittelman, 1995: 292) and attendant issues related to inequality. Here, I discuss issues related to inequality in two subdivided parts: 1) experiences of inequality caused by global (mainly capital) forces which are reflected within the international division of labour; 2) and experiences of inequality which have been re-emphasised and magnified by nations' differing socio-historical contexts. This thesis also seeks to highlight and place emphasis upon the experiential values of individuals (e.g. individual nations and people) caught up in the globalisation process. For this particular part of the chapter, Korean people's own understandings of 'Korean globalisation' will be examined, which will allow us to fully appreciate the degree to which globalisation is multifaceted in that it is pictured differently in the representations of people in different states. In this section,

Korea's national mindset (e.g. Confucianism), history (a significant contributing factor to the strong sense of Korean nationalism) and contemporary Korean animators' in-between experiences of globalisation will together be taken into an account. Acknowledging globalisation as an uneven process that involves complex issues concerning inequality, the final section will show how world animation production operates and how it positions Korean animators as outsourcing in-betweeners through promoting and relying on conflicting ideas of art and work.

Whilst engaging with such a theoretical position which is based on the lived experiences of Korean animators, overall, I aim to address the following key issues: 1) examining the link between the global (i.e. capital holders and transnational companies) and the local (i.e. Korean animators) – do they always necessarily have conflicting interests or is there a degree of reciprocity in their relationship 2) Who or what has driven the forces of globalisation into Korea? Is it Korean people who are leading and driving the globalisation process as the central subjects? 3) How do we position Korean animators within that context; are they in the major league or marginalised and living in the shadows of globalisation? Do Korean animators' in-between experiences in any way prove to be a challenge to the current debates surrounding globalisation? Acknowledging current discourses and debates surrounding understandings of globalisation and attempting to answer the above questions, this chapter provides a new way of understanding 'another' kind of globalisation experience drawing on the notion of "in-between".

2.1 GIDDENS AND SCHOLTE'S VIEWS ON GLOBALISATION

The word, globalisation, as mentioned previously, has historically been taken to refer mainly to cross-border economic flow and yet, its current usage is not only limited to economic activities. It can be understood to be in reference to phenomena as varied as economic, social, political and cultural flows. Some see it as an all-encompassing phenomenon (Fourie, 2007: 357) that people can easily refer to and relate their own patterns of daily life to. Globalisation indeed has become a concept that refers to the 'consciousness of the global whole' (Robertson, 1992:8) and a term that indicates 'complex forms of interaction and interdependency' (Thompson, 1995:149).

2.1.1 GIDDENS' GLOBALISATION

Amongst many authors, I find Giddens' conceptualisation of globalisation most helpful along with Scholte's new insights on globalisation. Before looking into Giddens' views on globalisation, here I clarify the reasons for choosing Giddens for this particular thesis. He clearly points out that globalisation is one of the fundamental consequences of modernity (1990: 175) and what drives modernity (i.e. capitalism, industrialism, surveillance, military order), and hence his thinking is helpful to provide a theoretical platform to explore the current Korean animation industry in relation to Korea's specific socio-historical background. Additionally and most importantly, Giddens emphasises that the dynamic mechanism between global and local affects individuals' daily lives and experiences, which this thesis strives to prove by drawing on a case study of Korean animators' encounters with global multinational animation companies.

Hence, here I spend a considerable amount of time discussing his arguments pertaining to globalisation and examining the characteristics he identifies to understand globalisation as a dialectical process between local and global. In his famous *Runaway World* (2002), he dedicates one whole chapter to the phenomenon of globalisation. He starts the chapter by pointing out that globalisation is something not yet clearly understood but the impact of which is nonetheless widely felt: 'we live in a world of transformation, affecting almost every aspect of what we do. […] we are being propelled into a global order that no one fully understands, but which is making its effects felt upon all of us' (2002: 6-7). Globalisation impacts on and appears in ordinary people's lives. In contemporary society, whilst individuals continue to live localised lives, it is inevitable that they will also become 'truly global' (Giddens, 1991: 187) in the sense of being engaged and contextualised alongside global others. Globalisation, by emphasising connectivity even between people who are physically distant from each other, lets us know that we live in 'one world' (Giddens, 2002: 7). This one world we live in, according to Giddens, is not a static world but rather a world of dynamic process and flow. It is globalisation that makes the world dynamic, as it is a dialectical process between global and local (1990: 64; 1991: 22). As a direct result of this, social relations have become intensified.

> Globalisation can … be defined as the intensification of worldwide social
> relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are
> shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1990: 64).

We live in a single socially intensified world and within that world, we experience globalisation through what Giddens describes as three sources of modernity (i.e. time-space distanciation, disembedding, and reflexivity) (1990: 63). Technological

development, rapid transportation (e.g. flight, express train) and channels of communications (e.g. telephone calls, internet access, news on satellite TV) make the world seem compressed and small enough to be called a 'global village' (McLuhan, 1964). We feel the universe shrunk not in a real, but in a 'phenomenological' form (Waters, 1995: 15). Real geographical distance has not changed and yet, the consequences of modern society have made people feel it has changed. In traditional societies, people could interact directly with others in close geographical proximity and hence, it was difficult to imagine time-space separation. Now, in the modern era, with higher levels of time-space distanciation, Giddens argues that local and global events have become 'stretched' (1990: 64). This "stretched-ness" is possible through 'abstract' and 'symbolic' systems based on 'trust' between members of society/world (Giddens, 1990; 2002), and, as a result of these systems, especially that of mass media, a wide range of information can spread and be shared. This abstract form of interaction is explained using the concept of 'disembedding'. By disembedding, Giddens means 'the lifting out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans time-space' (1990: 21); such disembedding has made the world a more mobile platform for communication, culture and commerce so that we can experience a person in the same room as more distant than a person on the telephone who lives far away, for example (Giddens, 1991: 189).

We experience globalisation through these sources of modernity. Globalisation is, therefore, a stretched process and alters the very textures of our lives (2002: 10-11). As stretched and increasingly mobile as this world has become, local lives and events are more and more affected by global forces in a number of ways. Our daily local lives are inseparable from global issues. Giddens states (2002: 12),

Globalisation isn't only about what is 'out there', remote and far away from the

individual. It is an 'in here' phenomenon too, influencing intimate and personal aspects of our lives.

Globalisation, therefore, is not a simple one-way process; it is rather a complex set of processes (ibid.) that can penetrate even into delicate parts of individuals' daily lives. Globalisation, however, does not affect individuals equally or evenly. Its consequences are not wholly benign, either (Giddens, 2002: 15). Globalisation can be a cause of inequality and in this sense, it possesses different names. Americanisation has become a pronominal reference to inequalities present in the process of globalisation. Strong nations, like America and some European countries, use their access to huge capital sources and political power against weaker nations for their own benefit. US multinational companies wield the sceptre in the world economy and the US is also a centre of world military order. Furthermore, its cultural goods (e.g. movies, instant food/coffee chains, etc.) are in the spotlight as the central actor in the world media system. The US is indeed, 'the sole superpower, with a dominant economic, cultural and military position in the global order' (ibid.). One superpower seems to rule over other nations' culture and make them disappear. In the process, it widens world inequalities. Pointing this out, Giddens makes the cynical statement: 'Rather than a global village [⋯] this is more like global pillage' (ibid. 16). He further acknowledges however that although today's globalisation is partly westernisation, globalisation is becoming increasingly decentred (ibid.). Pointing to the phenomenon of 'reversal colonisation' – wherein non-Western countries influence developments in the West – to Giddens, such dynamic interaction between nations creates the possibility of a form of true globalisation (ibid.). Facing the cruelty of globalisation and wanting to survive within the laws of the global jungle, individual (especially, weaker) nations reflexively seek out

a way to strengthen themselves.

This partly illustrates how globalisation motivates the revival of local cultural identities (Giddens, 2002: 13). As a response to globalising tendencies knowledge of local cultural identities is developed and cultural values are re-examined. It can be argued that such revivals of local cultural identities should calm fears surrounding cultural homogeneity which is often cited as a predicament of globalisation. In this sense, it becomes quite clear that global and local are reciprocal rather than inherently oppositional to each other.

Taking Giddens' theories of globalisation into account in the development of this thesis, I can briefly synthesise my argument as follows: 1) global capital encourages the Korean animation industry to be more actively involved in the international production of animation (as a result of the international division of labour); 2) modern technology (e.g. e-mail, Internet, flight freight) enables this collaboration process between highly capitalised multinational companies and the Korean animation industry to take place more efficiently and productively; 3) hence, the two－global (i.e. gigantic global animation companies) and local (i.e. Korean animators)－are inevitably inseparable in influencing how each operates in global competition; 4) finally, despite the unavoidable interaction and collaboration between global and local, inequality becomes an inevitable consequence of this globalisation process.

2.1.2 SCHOLTE'S VIEWS ON GLOBALISATION

If Giddens' account on globalisation has helped us see the significant impact of globalisation on local people's daily lives and experiences of modern society, Scholte's view of globalisation - as the spread of transplanetary connections (e.g. supraterritory)

between people (2005: 59) – lets us think about globalisation as substantially transcending 'territorial geography' (ibid.: 61). Thus the concept of supraterritory can be adopted in order to explain the complicated relationship between globalisation and the construction of identity (ibid: 146). Further to this, I will review his interpretation of global inequality that is also at the core of this thesis.

Globalisation activities (i.e. political economic activity between nations and, nowadays, the mobility of people and flow of capital and culture) have been happening for centuries. They are not new phenomena at all. Rather than discussing globalisation in terms of how old it is or indeed whether it exists or not, Keohane and Nye (2003: 77) argue we should be thinking about the question in terms of how 'thin' and 'thick' globalisation is in its level of intensity. Recently globalisation has extended its scale and has numerous forms which Scholte categorises as internationalisation, liberalisation, universalisation and westernisation, amongst others. Thus the current globalisation process goes beyond fixed boundaries and time, and its intensity is thicker than in previous centuries. For this reason, Scholte argues that contemporary globalisation consists of a spread of suppraterritory (2005) and that this is the most important defining aspect of the current form of globalisation.

In his *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, he briefly and yet incisively explains how mistakenly globalisation is being defined within the literature by pointing to four commonly used concepts which are commonly relied on without clarification or adding new meaning (15-17; 54-59). They are: globalisation as internationalization; globalisation as liberalization; globalisation as universalisation; and globalisation as westernization (2005: 54-59). These concepts are, according to Scholte, partly overlapping and cross-related. Succinctly synthesizing his criticism of these four, he argues they are 'redundant' and provide 'no distinct analytical value-added' (54). Scholte continues to criticise these definitions as needing 'minimum intellectual and

political adjustment', and 'no new insight (2005: 55). Scholte believes instead that the concept of supraterritory brings us a helpful new insight in the quest to understand globalisation.

The idea of "supraterritory" points to the concept of globality in relation to spatiality. In a brief way, he argues that the compression of time, which is one of the most commonly recognised characteristics of globalisation, is no longer limited to a fixed territorial geography, rather it is beyond territorial space: 'In cases of supraterritoriality, place is not territorially fixed, territorial distance is covered in no time, and territorial boundaries present no particular impediment. The difference from territorial time-space compression is qualitative and entails a deeper structural change of geography' (2002: 19). By this, he argues that 'globalisation refers to a far-reaching change in the nature of social space' (2003: 85). Globality becomes an important factor in Scholte's conceptualisation of globalisation as he believes that 'globality can touch pretty well all aspects of social life' (2005: 67). Amongst several manifestations of globality (i.e. communications, travel, production, markets, money, finance, organizations, military, ecology, health, law, consciousness, 67-75), I want to pay a particular attention to two of them, communications and production. This is because this thesis is directly related to one of the global communication channels (i.e. animation), and its production requires global collaboration (i.e. outsourcing). Scholte believes that communications have a significant role in manifesting globality (ibid. 67-68). It is certainly true that in the world today people's ideas are being collected, exchanged, and shared rapidly through global communication channels. These exchanges are made possible as a result of highly advanced technologies and hence, geographical territoriality does not confine the flow of communication. Through satellite and cables supraterritoriality becomes possible and the best example of this is the internet (ibid.).

A new kind of social geography, namely cyberspace (ibid. 68), is now possible and the global/local relationship is consequently more intense than ever. Global and local are bound tightly through the medium of international communications and this facilitates the collaborative nature of the production process between the two. Globality is clearly manifested in the production process through so-called 'global sourcing' (ibid. 68). Certain products' constitutive components are produced in several different regions or nations and then assembled elsewhere entirely. Sometimes, this is to save time and cost and sometimes to access better quality labour and skills. Scholte remarks,

> A global production process has supraterritorial qualities inasmuch as it occurs simultaneously and with tight coordination across a transworld space (ibid. 69).

The international division of labour and, more specifically speaking global animation production, can then be examined in terms of the supraterritorial quality of globalisation.

Scholte's conceptualisation of supraterritory is not solely about the forces of political-economy as they relate to globalisation, however. Rather he argues that supraterritory finds psychological and cultural force at the core of globalisation (2005: 146), which in this sense is appropriate as an analytical tool for this thesis; as the in-between concept takes emotional and experiential values as analytical paths. Scholte particularly emphasises the role of identity in social life, which many other academics underplay in discussing globalisation.

> People engage with one another in society not only to obtain resources and to exercise power, but also to discover who they are, where they belong, and what they might become. Understanding and affirming the self [⋯] is a prime motivation for, and major preoccupation of, social interaction. [⋯] In short, identity matters (a great deal) (ibid. 146-7).

The concept of supraterritory penetrates usefully into the micro sectors of the globalisation process. Construction of one's identities, emotions and experiences and the social background which influence these are significant elements in studying globalisation. In this sense, Scholte's idea of supraterritory is useful. His focus on self and identity then also links to forces of nationalism (ibid. 147; 224-239). By nationalism, he does not mean 'unbridled patriotism, but a circumstance where people construct their being, belonging and becoming first and foremost in terms of national affiliation' (ibid.: 147; 225). National identities are formed with a strong sense of 'self' when external 'others' are firmly established. Scholte explains (147),

> National 'selves' have been constructed in terms of contrasts with external 'others'; the content of the national 'us' has invariably been defined in relation to the foreign 'them'. […] Indeed, national identities have characteristically been established through the exclusion of 'outsiders' in the rest of the world.

He continues that globalisation 'reflects and reinforces a broad shift in the reigning framework of identity from nationalism towards greater pluralism and hybridity' (ibid.). More plural and hybrid identities are possible as supraterritorial space, hypercapitalist production, and polycentric governance are merged together. One of the examples he gives is global diasporas, such as those which have been formed by Chinese and Palestinian populations. Whilst people are scattered around the world, their identities may become plural and hybridised due to newly encountered foreign cultures. However, diasporas try to maintain connections with their origins. Strengthened national identities and hybridised identities coexist together and, to a certain extent, they become impetus to and stimulate global activities even more. The dynamics of global and local becomes

intensified in this sense.

To briefly summarise, Scholte's supraterritory is a useful tool for this thesis. Firstly, it specifically focuses on transplanetary connectivity that is transworld simultaneity and transworld instantaneity[3] (ibid. 61). Hence, the production process in which Korean animators are working as part of the global factory, which exists beyond geographical territory while using the tools of cyber space (i.e. the internet, e-mail, etc.) is a phenomenon to be explored drawing on the concept of supraterritory. Secondly, as I will reemphasise in the section below, Koreans' national identities have been contested throughout history (See 2.2.2) and a strong sense of nationalism has resulted. Moreover, contemporary conditions in Korea are a socio-psychologically complex field to be studied. Indeed, as this thesis will reveal, old Confucian values and new Western assumptions are mingled and as a result numerous conflicts erupt in modern Korean society; hence, Korean animators' experiences of globalisation have broadened their own identities from those anchored primarily in a sense of nationalism and nationalistic pride to those which are plural and more hybrid. Throughout the thesis, I will strive to explore such often downplayed or ignored conditions and conflicting experiences using the concept of in-between drawing on and incorporating the insights and theoretical tools provided by Scholte's views on globalisation.

2.2 GLOBALISATION AND INEQUALITY

Globalisation is not an evenly distributed process; however, it does not necessarily generate inequality in direct forms. Socially structured stratification has always existed

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[3] Scholte explains *transworld simultaneity* as the ability to extend anywhere across the planet at the same time and *transworld instantaneity* as the ability to move anywhere on the planet instantaneously (2005: 61).

in long history in one form or another. What globalisation has done is to give people a chance to see and experience the already existing lines of social stratification on a wider scale and within intensified social hierarchies. Scholte critiques previous research done on inequalities, which he feels are heavily dependent on examining income disparities only and which adopt neoliberalist policies (2005: 318). Income disparity is indeed a useful mechanism to see issues of inequality in close range. However, social inequalities that are accentuated by globalisation processes are not confined to income differentials only. Such a liberal view highlights only one aspect of contemporary globalisation and furthermore one that does not consider geographical change (ibid.). Social inequality is, in fact, constituted by a far more complex range of social factors. Examining globalisation through the spectrum of inequality creates several new ways of looking at it. To further contextualise this point, in the next section, I will be discussing a particular form of inequality generated in the production process as a result of the international division of labour and looking at how different socio-historical contexts bring out socio-psychological inequality issues specifically in relation to the case of the Korean animators.

2.2.1 INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

Coupled with the inevitable mass production of goods as markets grow in quantity and global reach, the labour force also expands its market from local to global. To meet the basic aim of the division of labour, that is an increase in productivity and efficiency in the production process, capital travels to search competitively (i.e. low) priced labour sources. As a result, trade and investment capital flows without much control between individual nation states (Hines, 2000: 4) and this results in a 'penetration of capitalism into every corner of the world (Holton, 1998: 3). In this respect, it is clear that capital is relatively freer than the human labour force; the power of transnational capital can show

its potential to benefit certain nations whilst the human labour force appears geographically fixed. In this respect, Scholte says,

> Contemporary globalization has tipped the political balance substantially against workers. Global mobility of capital has not been matched with commensurate global mobility of labour, thereby considerably boosting the bargaining position of employers towards employees. Capital can move about the planet in search of profit-maximizing labour arrangements, while workers (especially less skilled workers) are far more bound to territorial place and much more constrained to accept the terms that this location offers' (Scholte, 2005: 300).

While some might argue that the experiences of migrant (mobile) workers, who are also called 'flexible workers' (Scholte, ibid.: 301), speak against this argument in relation to the issue of labour mobility (for example, the huge numbers of women who leave the Philippines each year to work as maids abroad, Lan, 2006), nevertheless, their mobility is relatively less free than that of capital. Furthermore, the 'flexible' worker lacks a job for life, but instead moves and retrains to meet altered market demands (Scholte, ibid.). They are often working in casual, part-time, temporary jobs with limited benefits or union protections (ibid.). Globalisation, as Scholte argues, affects 'job security' (ibid. 299) and working conditions (ibid. 301). Despite all this, what is clear to us now is that the labour market is a sphere wherein global and local forces encounter each other closely. To be more concrete, it is where global money stimulates the local human labour force to step into the wider global market. At this point adapting, appropriating, combining and hybridising global changes and trends in locally customised and traditional ways tends to happen. This is a way to establish a dynamic relationship and activate communications between the global and the local whilst meeting the two ends' differing aims and purposes. From this perspective, localism (which initiates the longing

for lost identity and locality) and localisation (which strives to let local people absorb global ideas by presenting them in familiar local ways) become inevitable products of the globalisation process (Featherstone, 1996: 47).

Moreover, it is also inevitable that various conflicts occur as a result of the conditions of economic inequality which are created during this blending process of global and local and that the particular forms these conflicts take on results from the culture/shared ideas and aspirations of the local people. This is relatively visible in the labour market itself but is often forgotten in the shadow of gigantic multinational companies' extravagant stories. Indeed, globalisation has clearly affected the global labour market with rapid transportation networks, technological development and new communication devices. Although globalisation has brought up questions of cultural homogeneity, it has also clearly facilitated the world becoming a more dynamic space wherein (transnational) capital and (culturally embedded local) labour can relatively freely and easily collaborate through the international division of labour. The more dynamic the international labour market becomes, the more complex and difficult are the cultural conflicts which occur within it. And, this situation becomes even more dynamic and complicated due to the different socio-historical backgrounds of individual (nations), which I will discuss in the following section which examines the case of Korea in particular. Through looking at how the international division of labour plays out, it is possible to observe and examine the uneven processes of globalisation and the conditions of inequality that globalisation has accentuated. In other words, the sphere of the international division of labour becomes an in-between place where it is possible to see a representation of the uneven experiences of globalisation.

Quite often workers participating in the international division of labour are those, particularly in less developed countries, who experience the pros and cons of globalisation by their skin and through the air of their daily lives. How does it affect

them? Firstly, within the context of the international division of labour, they can get a job and develop their skills, become more efficient, and increase productivity through specialisation and participation in the repetitive production cycle. However, such repetitive working patterns can lead workers to be over-specialised in one particular skill which can lessen their motivation (Mittelman, 1995: 277). This is a common result of the division of labour regardless of its market scale. However, it is possible to assume that when the scale becomes international, the impact would be even greater. Market dominance and control over local workers in simple manufacturing sectors is easily established and influenced by the forces of international capital. Whilst capital holders' manoeuvrings force local markets to be more competitive, once the decision is made to leave a geographically defined manufacturing field to find another competitively priced and more productive location of manufacturing, the workers in the initial location are left powerless. Unless the local market is able to absorb the existing workers (i.e. workers become more mobile and flexible in terms of switching to other domestic/international work), it is only a matter of time before they lose their jobs and unemployment rates go up. Therefore, embracing globalisation and the accelerated rate of the international division of labour that accompanies it is not always the best way to create global happiness. Globalisation leaves the weak in a shadowy and marginalised place wherein their labour is used and exploited. Additionally, as well as having their labour exploited by the holders of transnational capital, local workers themselves suffer from cultural alienation and emotional conflicts whilst working. In this sense, the Korean animation industry as it is positioned within the global animation market and the Korean animators' daily lives and inferior working conditions (e.g. long working hours, no social benefits or union protection, low wages) are perfect examples of this dilemma (See Chapter 9 for an extended analysis of how this example plays out).

2.2.2 DIFFERING SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

This section investigates how differing socio-historical backgrounds influence individuals' different experiences of globalisation. Complex social factors that involve not only income differentials but also aspects of emotional and psychological well-being are just some of the components which constitute conditions of social inequality. Globalisation, in this sense, should also be understood as being informed by the 'new dynamics of re-localisation', which is referenced through (Robins, 1997: 28) use of the term "global-local nexus". Now, due to differing social contexts, the local (re)shapes the impact of the global according to their own specific context. It is, however, not enough to emphasise that how Korean animators experience and handle the impact of global forces should be studied in a global-local nexus. I would argue that Korean animators' in-between experiences, including value negotiation, conflicts, and emotional struggles, occur as a consequence of such re-localisation. To understand this, here I briefly examine Korea's history and traditional culture; at the same time I will also briefly explain how these socio-historical factors cause Korean animators' in-between states.

(1) Noticeable Historical Factors and Events in Korea as regard to Korean Nationalism

This particular section suggests several important historical factors and events in modern day Korea which are key to understanding why globalisation can be experienced in forms of inequality. I believe, and will prove in this thesis with carefully collected and examined data, that these particular socio-historical factors have had great impact on how Korean animators experience feeling emotional inequality while participating in global animation production. The three specific characteristics from

Korean history and events I would like to examine are: 1) the belief that Korea is an ethnically pure nation; 2) the Japanese colonial period 1910-1945; and 3) the Korean War in 1950. Firstly, it is important to recognise that many Koreans believe that Korea is an ethnically pure and one-blooded nation. It is commonly agreed by many scholars (see Kim Y.M. 2002; Tak 2004; Kwon 2000; Kim D.H. 1985; Hong 1973) that this belief makes people be inward and family-oriented, and has made Korea a nation with a strong sense of nationalism even in this global era. Tak regards nationalism as a "ladder" and as a critical moment in the development of Korean nationalism:

> Nationalism is a ladder, which has its base and foundation on modernity and its top towards nation-building. [⋯] In the case of Korean nationalism, it has five rungs and as they were made, it required so much blood and sweat. In other words, it is not a ladder that Korea borrows from others. Instead, in order to make one step, numerous people suffered and made sacrifices (2004: 108).

In the above quote, Korean nationalism is already differentiated from that of the West and many other nations. This is because people in Korea believe that they are ethnically pure and that their national identity is continuously contested. This is explained by Gi-Wook Shin- Director at Shorenstein Asia Pacific Research Center,

> Koreans have developed a sense of nation based on shared blood and ancestry. The Korean nation was "racialized" through a belief in a common prehistoric origin, producing an intense sense of collective oneness. Ethnicity is generally regarded as a cultural phenomenon based on a common language and history, and race understood as a collectivity defined by innate and immutable phenotypic and genotypic characteristics. But historically, Koreans have not differentiated between the two. Instead, race served as a marker that strengthened ethnic identity,

which in turn was instrumental in defining the nation. Koreans thus believe that they all belong to a "unitary nation" (danil minjok), one that is ethnically homogeneous and racially distinctive. (*The Korea Herald*, August 2, 2006)

Korean people's vision of a single-blooded national identity plays a significant role in informing Korean nationalism which has in turn bolstered Korea's successful modern processes of industrialisation and democratisation (Han, 2008: 106). Thus, Korea's current modern society can be understood as a direct consequence of such a strong sense of nationalism. Shin's view below clearly synthesizes the significance of Korean nationalism for Korea's modernity. It is lengthy but worth paying attention to.

> Ethnic national identity has been a crucial source of pride and inspiration for people during the turbulent years of Korea's transition to modernity that involved colonialism, territorial division, war, and authoritarian politics. It has also enhanced collective consciousness and internal solidarity against external threats and has served Korea's modernization project as an effective resource. At the same time, such a blood-based ethnic national identity became a totalitarian force in politics, culture, and society. It came to override other competing identities and led to the poverty of modern thought, including liberalism, conservatism, and radicalism. It has hindered cultural and social diversity and tolerance in Korean society. Ethnic nationalism will remain an important organizing principle of Korean society. We cannot ignore ethnic national identity or treat it as a mere myth or fantasy. (*The Korea Herald*, August 2, 2006)

Belief in ethnic purity has thus become a firm platform to grow Korea's nationalism and achieve Korean modernity.

As Shin points out above, Korea's nationalism has also become stronger through historically turbulent years. The period of Japanese occupation is one of these. Japan invaded and colonized the Korean peninsula for thirty-five years from 1910 to 1945. During the Japanese occupation period, Koreans had lost their autonomy and control of their country to Japan. Hence, the pain caused by losing a nation was soothed by an 'empty' emotional belief, namely nationalism (Schmid, 2002: 145). The Japanese forced Koreans to change their names to reflect Japanese style, and learn and use the Japanese language so that eventually, Korean people would be assimilated into the Japanese culture and nation. Cultural assimilation was the predominant aim of Japan during this colonial period (Yuji, 2002). Therefore the Japanese colonial period left a huge psychological wound on post-colonial Koreans. The colonial memory caused by the Japanese occupation period has greatly impacted and influenced the political relationship between Korea and Japan; and it continues to do so through, for example, the recent territorial dispute over Dokdo and the political complications surrounding the on-going debates related to the Japanese use of "comfort women". Having been colonised by Japan for thirty−five years, these colonial experiences are embedded in Koreans' collective memory. Even though some of these shared experiences may have been 'fictionalised' (Kozakai, 2000) and 'distorted' (Park, 2002), it is indisputable that Koreans share historical and cultural memories that are based on different social circumstances from any other country.

Next, Korean territory has been divided by two political ideologies since the Korean War in 1950 and the 38th parallel remains firmly in place as a border between the two until the present day; communism (North) vs. democracy (South). Under the period of US administration, the Southern half of the peninsula could restart the process of building a democratic nation whilst the north was heavily affected by the communist

regime of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the establishment of democratic freedoms, the South Korean economy enjoyed various benefits including private ownership of property and a close relationship with the US which led South Korea to be rather Americanised in various political, economic, and cultural aspects (Han, 2008: 105). Whilst the Japanese colonial education system (i.e. its cultural assimilation strategy) forced Koreans to struggle with "negative self-identity" issues, such Americanised surroundings brought a different kind of cultural chaos and Koreans began to search for their national identity from the 1960s onwards in various ways (Han, ibid: 105-106). Sometimes searching for their national identity took the form of student demonstrations against the US. Koreans become more antagonistic to Americans as a result of particular events, an example of which is some American soldiers' act of brutality which caused the death of two teenage girls on June 13th 2002 in Yang Ju, Korea.

These contemporary historical events are arguably embedded in and affect Korean people's mindset. In this research, it is clear that these socio-historical events influence individual animator's emotions and work ethic. Korean animators in the OEM industry work mainly on Japanese and American-owned animations. As the later chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) will reveal, during the course of production they cannot help having mixed feelings about their work. The OEM animators (in many cases, in-betweeners) work in very poor working conditions with low wages and long hours. Most of the time, they accept the work for Japanese or American productions as a part of their job particularly as many of them got into the field because they loved Japanese and American comics. However, on particular dates, such as Korean Independence Day, rather than seeing their working conditions as resulting from world economic logic, Korean animators tend to feel a sense of repugnance towards those foreign companies for whom they work. (See the interviews in later chapters for evidence of this fact.) Although most of my interviewees are too young to have experienced Japanese

colonialism personally, images of that time have been indirectly imprinted on their minds. Furthermore, today's on-going political conflicts with Japan and the USA (e.g. Dokdo, comfort women and American soldiers' acts of occasional brutality) repeatedly remind the animators of this history. These examples partly reflect the ways in which collective memory and contested and thereby strengthened national identities influence people's experiences of globalisation. Due to their particular place in history, Korean animators experience the effects of inequality with strong emotional context and consequently position themselves as globalisation's in-betweeners. Despite the difficulties of the past, their history and the reminders of colonial memory which remain also motivate the in-betweeners to be determined and strong-willed in order to create their own uniquely styled and defined *Korean* animation (See Chapter 10). This style of animation then sees animators developing content which is *uniquely Korean*. In addition to this, they believe that making their own creative animation is a way to compete against others and survive in the global marketplace.

(2) Confucianism in Korea

As is widely recognised Confucianism has played a critical role in Korean history and has had a great impact on the culture of the society. It comes as no surprise then that the principles of Confucianism, which have been embedded in the Korean mindset for centuries, affect Korean's attitudes toward globalisation. Respecting parents and ancestors, acting generously towards children, and emphasising the significance of blood relations are important Confucian ideas. Today Confucianism in Korea is regarded as an 'ideology and value system' (Young, 1994: 37). One of the main Confucian principals is filial piety and having been influenced by this ideology for a long time Korea has become a family-oriented nation. This family-oriented attitude led

the nation to grow more internally-focused and encouraged the Korean population to unite as one to stimulate the strong rapid growth of the Korean economy. Korea's rapid economic growth is partly due to its Confucian mindset which led Western thinkers to invent the term 'Confucian capitalism' (Choi, 2007: 123). A strict work ethic and a devotion to learning and educating children are distinctive characteristics of Confucianism. Positive Confucian values are even praised as a "catalyst" for the modern Korean education system and in the development of the Korean economy (Lee, 2001). This analysis is supported by Yu (1998) who suggests that the success of Korea's economy is due to the fact its people are accustomed to a strong central power system; a lifestyle the Confucian attitude has contributed to shaping. However, Yu also argues that such an internal focus can function in a negative way in that it has led to people being overly passive. Yu believes that, because of a combination of factors, including the 500 year long Confucian (Chosun) dynasty, Japan's several decade long colonial period and the Korean war with its resultant martial administration by two powerful external nations (the former Soviet Union and the USA), Korea became accustomed to a central power structure rather than a decentralized system (Yu, 1998: 5). The characteristics which result from such an inward-looking system are apt to be found most often in Korean's education system and organisational culture (Lee, 2000; 2001). For example, Lee argues that relationships between superiors and subordinates are determined by status based on rank, age and gender. He continues on to point out that age is an important determinant of social or administrative position in Korean society (ibid.). Indeed, such positive as well as potentially detrimental Confucian values have become rooted within the Korean perception of daily life. Nonetheless, as a result of its active participation in global and economic activities, Western values and cultures also flow into Korean society. As a consequence of its recent embracing of foreign cultures,

determining characteristics of Korean organisational culture and higher education are becoming much more complex (Lee, 2001) and this causes individuals to experience globalisation through the lens of various ideological confusions and dilemmas.

How then does this situation affect Korean animators' experiences of globalisation? As will be revealed in the later chapters, the in-between dilemmas and conflicts between Confucian values and Western assumptions affect Korean animators with particular difficulty in the beginning of their careers. As Chapter 9 shows, Korean animators struggle with the question of whether to identify themselves as labourers or as artists. Having a well-respected degree and higher social status are regarded as giving one pride of place in Korean family and animators experience the resulting familial pressures in the same way as do those in other professions. Indeed, for long time Korean parents have had negative views of animation and careers as "animators" and felt their children who are working in this field were a disgrace to them. Hence, animators in the Korean animation industry feel doubly isolated as they receive this kind of treatment both inside and outside the country/family. Nonetheless, their Confucian belief system provides them with inspiration to find new, creative, Korean-style animation materials. The merit gained from a Confucian life style can be used as a selling point in the global animation market which results in an increase in their global competitiveness. In conclusion, what can be clearly seen is that Korean animators' in-between experiences seem inevitable in the era of globalisation. Perhaps, Korean animators' status as in-betweeners could also be regarded as paradigmatic of Korea's globalisation process itself. This problematic state of Korean animators, I argue, is one of the many defining features of Korea's unique paradigm of globalisation. For this reason, the following section investigates globalisation in reference to Korea's social context.

2.3 GLOBALISATION IN THE KOREAN CONTEXT

Globalisation, as discussed above, should not be understood as a "unidimensional (economic) phenomenon" (Kim S, 2000: 15) but rather, as a complicated process which is influenced by numerous different factors. I have already mentioned (in section 2.2.2) that people of individual nations construct different narratives and understandings of globalisation due to differing social, cultural and historical backgrounds. Korean animators' understandings of globalisation differ and their personal emotional reactions to the experience of inequality have been created within the context of their particular and unique experiences. Having discussed Korea's socio-historical background, in the following section, I choose to ground my review of Korea's unique experiences of globalisation in relation to the nation's nationalism and traditional mindset (i.e. Confucianism). As the most constructive approach to this review, I divide my study of Korea's experience of globalisation into separate sections which examine before and after the 1990s when Korea's *segyehwa* (hereafter, non-italic) started receiving national and global attention. In so doing, this review chapter will provide a fundamental platform from which to understand Korean animators' labour issues, their emotional conflicts and in-between experiences of globalisation which my data will demonstrate and analyse in the later chapters.

2.3.1 KOREA'S UNIQUE EXPERIENCES OF GLOBALISATION

1) Embracing Globalisation: Korea's Industrial Development 1960-1992

Since the introduction of what might be broadly understood as globalisation in the fifteenth century, globalising tendencies have brought many changes to the world, as already discussed drawing on Giddens and Scholte's arguments. Korea has also been affected by forces related to globalisation from the nineteenth century onward and the mid-twentieth century was when the full impact of Korea's drive towards globalisation was clearly witnessed with its rapid economy development (Yi, 2002: 10). More specifically, it is argued that Korea's serious bid to embrace globalisation began in the late 1980s (ibid: 11); especially with Seoul Olympics in 1988 which motivated the Korean people to open their border even wider to others (ibid.). Globalisation has changed Korean people's daily lives and thoughts. It is argued that globalisation has changed the overall social framework of Korean society with images which originate in the West being made widely available to people in their daily lives (ibid. 12). These changes were all made possible as the country achieved such rapid growth in its national wealth during this period.

As discussed above in section 2.2.2, Korea had experienced the Korean War in 1950. Due to the war, Korea did not have any infrastructure or the ability to draw on its natural resources, which made the nation one of the poorest countries in the world. Indeed many scholars compare Korea's then poor economic situation with that of Ghana (Mishkin, 2006; Krueger, 2007). However, to everybody's surprise, Korea has become one of the leaders in the "Asian Miracle" with annual growth rates of nearly 8% from

1960 to 1997 (Mishkin, 2006: 85). How did this happen? How could Korea attain such rapid economic development? There is an argument that the answer can be found in Korea's drive towards industrialisation which is also seen as proof of Korea's embracing of globalisation (Lewis and Sesay, 2002: 12). There is another argument that as a result of such rapid economic development, many Koreans also feel that they have achieved modernisation (Ungson et.al. 1997: 4). Through the twin processes of industrialisation and modernisation Korea has thus prepared to tap into the globalisation process. Further to this, it is argued that Korea's competitiveness in the world market was the result of 'neither invention nor innovation, but, cheap, well-trained, disciplined and abundant labour' (Mimiko, 2002: 64). For this reason, Korea's national economic policy has strived to keep wages low and labour productive (ibid.). Therefore, Korea's drive towards the export of manufacturing products got stronger and became a central force for growth of the national wealth. Korea's industrial development process was achieved through carefully prepared economic plans.

In 1962, on January the thirteenth, the Korean government declared its very first five-year economic plan and since then, the Korean government has continuously up-dated its projected economic plans up to the seventh five-year plan for 1992-1996. Since this research is not primarily focused on political economic development but understanding the changing nature of Koreans attitudes and perspectives on this is important background to the research, in the following section I will briefly discuss only the most necessary characteristics of the each phase associated with the different 5 year plans. From 1962 to 1971, there were two five-year economic plans which are viewed as an 'Outward-Looking Development Strategy' (Ungson et.al. 1997: 48). The primary goal at this stage was to promote export-oriented industrialisation. This strategy focused on,

The outward-looking strategy served to expand labour intensive manufactured

exports, which increased employment opportunities, significantly improving the

economic conditions of millions of Koreans at the lower end of the income

scale (ibid.)

Parallel to such politically-driven strategies, many scholars recognised that Korea's

economic achievement was possible partly because of a partnership between the

government and the business sector, called *chaebols*[4] (Ungson et.al. 1997; Kim S, 2000;

Gills and Gills, 2000; Mishkin, 2006). A number of top business leaders (e.g. Hyundai,

Samsung, and Daewoo) were favoured by Park Chung Hee (the president at the time)

and had their business ventures supported by government guaranteed loans and

subsidies (Ungson et.al. 1997: 49). With firm governmental support, throughout the

1960s and 1970s, Korean enterprises were able to expand and grow the scale on which

they operated. Park Chung Hee also stressed the importance of 'nation building' (ibid.)

by pressuring labourers to accept longer working hours, create higher rates of savings,

and so on. This takeoff phase created the foundation for Korea's modernisation. The

second phase of contemporary economic development in Korea is understood as the

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[4]   This term refers to a form of Korean business conglomerate. There are a number

of globally recognised *chaebols;* Hyundai, Samsung and LG as prime examples. These

global multinational companies are often family-owned and controlled. These

companies keep close government relations. For more details, see Chapter Four

'Restructuring the *Chaebols'* (p. 63-81) in *Korean enterprise: the quest for globalization*

(eds.) Ungson et al. 1997.

'Sectoral Policy' (1972-1981) wherein the main focus was on developing the heavy industrial sector in particular (Ungson et.al. 1997: 50-51). In 1973, large numbers of industrial complexes were built in cities like Gumi and Ulsan industrial complexes were built which consequently became platforms for Korea to launch its quest to become one of the world's top competitors in automobile manufacturing, shipbuilding and steel. This is when the so-called "Miracle on the Han River" started. In 1979, due to the second oil shock (1978-1979) the world slid into economic recession while the Korean nation experienced political uncertainty due to the assassination of Park Chung Hee. The next phase (1982-1992) is understood as 'Economic Stabilization and Market Liberalization' (ibid.: 51). In this third phase, the same export-oriented strategy was pursued and concurrently the government, led by Chun Doo Hwan (who was elected president after Park Chung Hee), emphasised domestic price stability and balanced economic growth (Ungson, ibid. 52). To achieve price stability, monetary and fiscal policies were used to control inflation; to attain balanced economic growth, the Monopoly Regulation and Fair Trade Act was introduced in 1982 (ibid.). This phase is particularly important as the equitable distribution of wealth was demanded by the public who had previously been asked to make sacrifices for the sake of the country (ibid.). Korean people's changing thoughts and attitudes (e.g. asking for policies which promoted and encouraged individuals' wellbeing and benefits) are worth highlighting as they themselves are also the result of the impacts of globalisation. Student demonstrations and severe labour disputes also occurred at this time to express the needs of the people – higher wages, better working conditions and higher standards of living.

Throughout these four distinct phases of industrial development, Korea developed a firm base from which to march out to compete with global others. Korean people's

traditional assumptions and conventional working habits were also changed, but Koreans' rather inward and insular characteristics still remained and was severely criticised not only by foreigners but also by Korean themselves (Mimiko, 2002). Therefore, in order to foster an attitude amongst Koreans which would encourage them to become 'cosmopolitan and open-minded citizens of the global community' (Mimiko, 2002: 63), a new way of embracing globalisation began in 1992 with the advent of segyehwa.

2) Korea's Unique Globalisation: Segyehwa 1992 −

Korea's particular process of globalisation, which began in 1992, is often understood and named as segyehwa, which is used without translation or requiring further explanation, particularly by Korean people in Korea itself. Korea's fourteenth President Kim Young Sam popularised the concept of segyehwa and his government between 1993 and 1998 set segyehwa as its underlying political goal. It has much to do with 'increasing Korean presence in the world' (Ungson et.al. 1997: 3) and a desire 'not to copy foreign models but raise Korean standards in all these areas to the levels of the world's advanced economies' (ibid.). In short, President Kim Young Sam proclaimed that globalisation is the path that Korea should take in order to build a first-class country in the 21st century (Kim S, 2000: 1). Indeed, Korea's drive towards globalisation was initiated by the state (Shin, 2003: 10) and perhaps for this reason and related to the numerous national campaigns promoting and calling for segyehwa, it was often criticised internally as 'flunkeyism' (Kim Y. M, 2002: 56-9). As Korea has a long Confucian habit, which has made it rather internally-oriented, opening up to foreign culture and trade, is an essential step to enter the era of globalisation. As an example, segyehwa has enhanced the importance given to the use of English with English being

taught through the entire education system and people being encouraged to use English (in their daily lives, if possible). Many, including President Kim Young Sam's government, believe that English is a globally used language, which inevitably is needed in Korea to survive in an increasingly hyper-competitive global world. More recently this political goal was embraced by President Kim Dae Jung. Whilst globalisation generally is understood as economic liberalisation, segyehwa should be understood as "Korea's unique concept" or the "Korean way of globalisation" (Shin, 2003: 10; Kim S, 2000: 3). This is because segyehwa does not limit its meaning to the sphere of globalisation but also speaks to notions of nationalism. In the understanding of the Korean people and nation to pursue the goal of globalisation is to promote their national interest first. In other words, Koreans' nationalism is the basic tenet underlying Korea's drive towards globalisation. Shin states that 'the state's effort to appreciate global forces for the national interests is not new' (2003: 8) and argues that it is a "nationalist appropriation of globalisation" (ibid.). As evidence of this, Shin's research results show that whilst Korean people 'would support making English their second official language, they would not support making it their official language (replacing Korean) (2003: 18).

Due to their long colonial history, the Korean War and a more than fifty year long armistice (and consequent political complications with Japan and the USA), Koreans react sensitively to issues of national identity as examined in the above section. According to Mimiko (2002: 63), Korea's history can be described as a 'catalogue of violation', as within 400 years the nation was invaded 936 times. This history, Mimiko feels, explains Korea's siege mentality and ideology of insularity (ibid.). As a consequence, then, Korea has become a "tradition-bound society" (Young, 1994: 37) and some ideas, which are generally accepted in many countries around the world,

might not be acceptable within Korean society. Koreans' national identity is being

contested through political terms and therefore, contemporary Koreans (especially the

young) struggle to negotiate between their Confucian mindsets and imported foreign

cultures. This is surely not only Korea's story. This is happening in many other

countries, too. The interesting point here is, as Shin notes (2003: 6), how we understand

and explain the coexistence of such seemingly contradictory ideas – globalisation and

nationalism. Is Korea's current situation paradoxical? This question also underlies many

of the conflicts that Korean animators experience in their in-between status as

demonstrated in the later chapters. Shin (2003: 18) clearly argues that 'Korea's strong

nationalist character is not a paradox but rather a major feature of the "paradigm" of

Korean globalization." (As this thesis later reveals, the in-between experiences of the

Korean animators are also both inevitable consequences and can be regarded as one of

the paradigmatic features of Korea's globalisation process.) In order to support such a

conclusion, Shin presents two ideas which he feels are key to understanding the Korean

approach to globalisation: 1) *nationalist appropriation of globalisation,* which I have

briefly mentioned with the example of the use of English above; 2) *intensification of*

ethnic/national identity (2003). Shin further states that these features cannot be fully

comprehended without taking into account Korea's historical background and past

experiences, which clearly supports my own argument that individual nations create

different contexts and narratives for their own globalisation experiences. Furthermore,

these ideas will help us to understand the feelings of alienation and inequality which

Korean animators have (i.e. which form part of their in-between experiences) whilst

participating in global animation productions.

Turning initially to the first of Shin's two factors, many East Asian nations, like

Korea, Japan and China, have striven to appropriate 'global forces' (i.e. Western

technology and science) for 'their own national use' (Shin, 2003: 8). However, as many have already argued, globalisation is a "double-edged sword" (Kim S, 2000: 13; Shin, 2003: 8) that can benefit as well as fatally harm participating nations. Globalisation's (potentially) destructive force, however, does not prevent many nations from tapping into the globalisation process. This is because prior to thinking of the potential harms of globalisation, individual nations and their attendant state structures *want to* (fore)see the potential benefits of globalisation. Further to the purpose of pursuing their greater national goals, rather than fearing the destructive power of globalisation, many nations strive to invite and appropriate global forces.

Moreover, some would argue that there is an interpretation to be made that such nationalist appropriation is a 'collective response to threats (real or perceived) or opportunities associated with globalization' (Shin, 2003: 9). Korea is a country whose people believe strongly in blood-ties and the idea of a single united ethnic identity of "Korean." When foreign forces are perceived as containing threats or danger, there is a tendency that 'collectivistic notions of nation and society are likely to emerge' and 'produce an intensely felt sense of oneness' (ibid.). There are several examples that illustrate just such a tendency within Korean society: the IMF crisis in 1997 and its accompanying economic bail-out is perhaps the very best example. During the IMF crisis, people seemed to have lost confidence as well as national pride (Kwon, 2000: 78-9). Receiving monetary funds from the IMF to revive Korea's economy was regarded as a disgrace to the nation (ibid.). The perceived national humiliation of Korea thus became a strong motive for re-invigorating Korea's nationalism.

During this time and in order to tap into the global market and survive the financial crisis, the Korean people decided that collecting and selling gold to pay back their debt to the IMF was a national priority. Indeed, this collective national act brought about a

powerful result (i.e. the successful re-payment of the national debt), which established the invisible power of nationalism in providing the groundwork for a new national economic beginning in the form of Korean globalisation. This example, once again, illustrates how globalisation and nationalism in contemporary Korea are inseparable and grow together.

This leads us to Shin's second reason for the coexistence of nationalism and globalisation in Korea, which is the intensification of ethnic/national identity. His argument is clear and simple; that the more external global forces come into power within the nation, the greater likelihood these will function as a siren call to the local people to seek to reinforce their own local/national culture (2003: 9). In other words, globalisation is perceived as a potential threat to the local people which forces them to reinforce and rearticulate the significance of local culture. Shin argues that 'chains of memory, myth, and symbol connect nations to their ethnic heritage; national identity satisfies the people's need for cultural fulfilment, rootedness, security, and fraternity (ibid.)' which, in turn, heals the part of the national psyche that globalisation inevitably destroys and harms in the course of its progress.

Perhaps, national identity becomes more significant in holding the nation and its people together whilst they experience the state of disorder that the arrival of global foreign forces brings. Many other scholars share this belief as well. Kozakai (2000: 64) argues that nations are created 'artificially', but are nonetheless powerful forces in the formation of national identity. He stresses that the basis for forming and holding onto notions of national identity is not actually located in the individual subject itself but rather can be found 'outside of the subject' (2000: 64). What he means is that, due to the existence of an 'outside' threatening force, it becomes possible to believe in the existence of an 'inside', as one blood-tied group moves to protect themselves. Even if

there are changes happening and differences within the group are occurring, these developments remain unnoticed, and group members continue to see themselves as identical. Differences (within the group) are ignored and everything becomes perceived as homogenous (ibid.: 64-70), while, conversely differences with other nations are magnified. Thinking of this in relation to the sphere of cultural production, whilst foreign culture and cultural products are encroaching into a nation, the intensification of national identity and re-articulation of the nation's own cultural values could become a source of new forms and manifestations of creativity; a power to compete against others. The resulting dynamic could prevent or curtail the apparent inevitability of certain scenarios presented by theories which emphasise globalisation's homogenising tendencies. As long as national identity is valued and people unify around retaining shared cultural values, views wherein globalisation is understood exclusively as an uneven process which benefits only certain groups/nations would disappear and within individual nations, such as Korea, innumerable efforts to distinguish their own nation from others and their consequent struggles would continue.

To briefly summarise, within Korea, there are two seemingly paradoxical concepts, nationalism and globalisation; however, they are not truly paradoxical but instead should be understood as part of a unique paradigm comprising Korea's particular globalisation process. Additionally, this unique paradigm of Korean globalisation offers scholars a chance to examine why many Koreans feel the inequality of globalisation a great deal, particularly through emotional and conflict-ridden in-between experiences.

2.3.2 KOREAN ANIMATORS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION

So far I have reviewed and examined some key theories of globalisation in order to define its distinctive characteristics in reference to the international division of labour

and issues surrounding inequality, as exemplified by the Korean case. This section examines more specifically how animation production in a world-wide context operates and investigates where to situate the Korean animation industry within that context.

The animation industry requires intensive *human* labour. In order to animate objects as if they are alive, numerous drawings (i.e. in-betweens) are necessary. For these drawings, many animators and artists are required. (See Chapter 6 for an explanation of the in-between work system.) Therefore, animation is a highly *competitive* business, particularly as regards to labour costs. Major animation companies always search for a production market with low labour costs. The key players in the world animation industry are the so-called developed countries: United States; Japan; and European countries, like France and Germany. In particular, American and Japanese animation companies play leading roles in the world of animation production. It is therefore not surprising that many scholars have also noticed the significant role of American and Japanese animation houses. For example, Paul Wells (2002) argues that animation is one of the most significant indigenous art forms that the United States has produced and that until the present day Disney in particular is not only one of the many animation production companies operating in the country but has in fact become synonymous with the field of American animation per se (1). Similarly, Susan A. Napier (2001) argues that it is largely through the field of animation that Japan has become a leading figure in the global cultural economy (5). These two statements indicate the significant role that animation has played in the culture and economy of these two nations. Additionally, these two nations have access to large amounts of capital which accompany and parallel their national economic power. Likewise, the national mindset in these countries sees producing animation not only as a means of supplying a form of entertainment but also as contributing to the creative process of a highly regarded genuine art form and thus to the nation's cultural economy

as a whole. However, in contrast to this attitude, there are countries that see animation only as a basic means to make a living. Thus, the workforces of Korea, the Philippines, China, Vietnam and India have mainly been sources of low-cost labour for world animation production, which originates creatively elsewhere. These countries have been providing satisfactory manpower at relatively low wages, under conditions within which they compete not against the countries which are the major producers of animation products, but rather against each other, to get subcontracting orders. This situation, obviously, offers increased options for the major productions to choose and to switch their labour suppliers more readily.

Looking more concretely at the animation production process; according to Tsang and Goldstein's (2004: 3) report, in order to produce a typical American animation, 12,000 to 16,000 drawings are needed; for a Japanese animation the requirements are 4000 drawings for every 22 minute episode. Additionally, while 2D animation is primarily based on drawings done by hand, 3D animation relies on computer effects. Tsang and Goldstein (ibid) report that for 2D animations, about 70% to 80% of the total budget is spent on labour and labour accounts for 60% of the total costs of a typical 3D animation. These figures once again clearly illustrate that animation is a labour intensive business. However, in so-called developed countries labour costs are relatively high. Therefore, it is common practice for the labour intensive stage of the production process to be done in countries with low wage costs. In addition to putting pressure on labour costs, increased consumption and demand for animated products call for high supply rates of those products. Today, all around the world, animated entertainments, including video games, movies, advertisements and many other media contents, are widely enjoyed. As a result of the globalisation of the media, the circulation of these products is rapid and audiences want rapid turnovers in what they see. Therefore, the major animation studios need access to a great number of artists and animators in order

to produce work within the short given timeframes. Hence, the studios have had to expand their search for sources of labour from local to global.

Animation production does not need to be fixed in one location. It is worth highlighting, then, that modern technology helps animation be produced supraterritorily, which Giddens and Scholte both identify as one of the main characteristics of globalisation. Companies so-called offshore back-offices can be established somewhere where low labour costs and productivity are available. These offshore back-offices do not need big business infrastructure. For this reason, in-between shots and post-production tasks that are simple and repetitive, but labour intensive, are often outsourced abroad. This fact clearly demonstrates that the animation industry provides a perfect example of the international division of labour which this century's speedy globalisation process has fostered. It is clear that the subcontracting position of the Korean animation industry, as an in-betweener, indicates that Korean animators have already tapped into globalisation and the international division of labour as related to the mass production of animation. As for transnational capital and the flow of "hot money" (i.e. foreign currency coming into Korea), there is no reason for the Korean government to resist foreign animation houses search for a cheap labour force in Korea (See Figure 1.1 and 1.2). As far as the Korean government is concerned, the subcontracted animation business has increased national growth and contributed to job creation. Using fast air freight, e-mail, networked computer systems, and other elements, Korean animators' participation in world-wide animation production has become easier and more accessible. Additionally, this illustrates how such global participation is aiding national interests and thus provides an example of why and how nationalists' may have appropriated globalisation. We should, however, remember that globalisation is an uneven process containing many inherent inequalities and that Korean animators have experienced both edges of its many double-edged swords.

As discussed in section 2.3, Korean economic development in the 1960s was export-oriented, particularly favouring heavy and chemical industry, and I have already pointed out that their competitiveness had much to do with the enforcement of low wages and long working hours. Although not widely culturally valued (due to Confucian values that emphasised the importance of education; See Chapter 8) either by the then Korean government or the Korean people, the Korean animation industry should also be considered an important contributor to Korea's early globalisation process. This is because the Korean animation industry, to a certain extent, can be regarded as having exported their labour through OEM. In 1969, the first animation OEM company was founded in Korea and from the 1970s on the number of OEM companies started to increase. Initially they mostly did subcontracting work for American and Japanese animation studios (Hwang, 1998: 182). It is therefore correct to argue that Korean animators in the 1970s, 80s and up until recent days have received benefits, especially financial benefits, from working for foreign animation productions. Additionally, to a certain extent, this meant an increase in employment. However, in the bigger picture, American and Japanese animation production companies, with their huge capital capacity and growing assets, are the main entities which benefit from the globalisation of animation, while Korea and Korean companies end up positioned as both dependent and weak. As a result of the fact that Korean animators' in-between work is, to a certain extent, easy to do, it can be learned and taken over easily by others. It is therefore not surprising that Korean animators are easily threatened by fluctuations in their wages and a concordant fear of unemployment. The big American and Japanese animation companies are capital holders who can freely travel around the world to look for lower wages and an expendable labour force. Korean animators are stuck in a highly competitive labour market and must fight against such free flow of capital. Moreover, the in-between work Korean animation houses specialise in requires repetitive

performance which leads the in-betweeners to become overspecialised in that particular work and (as later chapters will demonstrate) they do not aim for more highly skilled work. This means that whilst wages are flexible, the kind of work they do is not, which also increases the risk of unemployment. It could be possible to conclude from all this that for Korean animators their in-between position within globalisation is an inevitable necessity despite the inequality they experience.

The Korean animators' (or in other cases, cultural producers) participation in globalisation processes then raises a question: what differentiates them from factory workers in the general manufacturing sector? From the outside, and taking into account these working conditions, animation does not seem to be an art form which individual animators pursued as careers in order to be seen as "artists", but only as a kind of commercial-oriented enterprise wherein the work prioritised by the major holders of capital in the globalisation process is that which gets done. In contemporary society, theorising the existence of a binary division between commerce and art is not necessary (although Chapter 4 is a theoretical discussion on this matter in this thesis) because the boundary between the two is rather blurred and unclear and it is a difficult and subjective matter to discuss. Instead perhaps it can be argued that globalisation and participating in the global production of animation offers an opportunity for Korean animators to work out for themselves where their standing point is; commercial, artistic, or both? Whichever stance individual animators decide to take, there are various conflicts and negotiations which become necessary during the process which will be examined with the concept of in-between in later chapters.

Further to this point, as discussed above, the re-localisation process also seems to have occurred amongst Korean animators. Korea's specific socio-historical elements affect their thoughts and their work with global multinational companies. In terms of local nationalism that has grown firmly out of Korea's history, Korean animators want

to create more independent and creative Korean animations. Quite often criticised as a copy cat of Japanese animation (See Chapter 7, Figure 7.2), Korean animators' efforts to create their own distinctly Korean animation can be understood as, to a certain degree, reflecting their nationalistic feelings. Hatred towards the US and Japan is also quietly expressed through personal drawings (See Figure 6.4 and 6.5). Globalisation has indeed made Korean animators highly skilled at in-between work, and as a result of this and their long OEM experiences, possibilities have been opened up for their work to be more hybridised in creative terms. Thus, perhaps as a way of responding to and reshaping the impact of global forces on their work, Korean animators aim to become more creative and to develop the fullness of the expression of Koreanness as reflected in their animation work.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The world we live in is more globalised than ever before and yet this very phenomenon of globalisation is experienced in fundamentally different ways by different groups of people around the world. Bauman writes (1998: 1), "For some, 'globalisation' is what we are bound to do if we wish to be happy; for others 'globalisation' is the cause of our unhappiness." Globalisation treats every single nation and individual differently and for some it is a complex process that is cruelly unequal and causes unhappiness. Research on globalisation that examines global production tends to focus on its macro processes (i.e. world policy, economic changes, etc.). However, in the course of evaluating such macro process, socio-historic and psychological aspects should not be underplayed or forgotten but rather highlighted and emphasised. In this vein it is vitally important to examine the social and cultural contexts within which individuals situate themselves because these become the primary foundations for different experiences of globalisation. The question of how experiences of globalisation are reflected and presented is the main

focus of this thesis, and for this, I use the concept of in-between (which will be discussed in depth in the following chapter) throughout the thesis. However, in order to explore experiential accounts of globalisation processes, this chapter has delivered a theoretical framework which has referenced the views of Giddens (i.e. modernity) and Scholte (i.e. supraterritory), the international division of labour and inequality, alongside Korea's specific socio-historical situation. In doing so it has argued that current OEM animation production by Korean animation studios reveals struggles, conflicts and dilemmas caused by 1) globalisation's uneven process whereby large-scale capital holders (i.e. the USA, Japan) reap most of the benefits on offer; and 2) the clash between Confucian values and Western cultural assumptions. As a result of the struggles and difficulties outlined here, Korean animators' identities develop in a hybridised fashion which is reflected in their animation works. In some ways globalisation affects everybody with the same brush and yet, the specific historical and sociological contexts within which people experience the effects of this brush result in differing consequences of it. This chapter delivers a socio-historical platform from which Korean animators' in-between experiences of globalisation can be fully explored.

Chapter 3

Rethinking the Concept of In-between beyond Hybridity

This chapter provides an overview of hybridity. For the purpose of this research, hybridity is one possible concept to ascertain the negotiation processes between the global and the local. The chapter begins by looking at the different definitions of hybridity to outline its characteristics. Then, the chapter moves on to examine the work of two scholars, Homi K. Bhabha and Stuart Hall, in order to discuss what they mean by 'hybridity'. Within this framework, it is argued that hybridity can possess political meaning, particularly in post-colonial culture. It seems necessary to further examine hybridity in the frames of globalisation if one is to study how Korean animation professionals carry out their tasks. That is the main focus of this research: the animators' experiences of globalisation. Furthermore, this chapter aims to distinguish my use of the concept of in-between from the one understood in the post-colonial studies, together with hybridity. Thereby, I discuss both hybridity and globalisation in the later section of the chapter. Acknowledging certain limitations and weaknesses of hybridity as a suitable conceptual frame for the exploration of the Korean animators' experiences, this chapter opens up a space to invoke the notion of in-between.

3.1 HYBRIDITY PATTERNS

'Making Difference into Sameness and Sameness into Difference'[5]

> The idea of cultural hybridization is one of those deceptively simple-
> seeming notions which turns out, on examination, to have lots of tricky
> connotations and theoretical implications. (Tomlinson, 1999:141)

It seems to be evident from the quote above that hybridity and cultural hybridisation in particular are as tricky as the terms imply. In fact, both terms have broader meanings that provide diverse understandings and myriad ways of articulating phenomena currently happening in the world. Originally taken from a biological activity of grafting two different species onto each other to create a new species, the concept of hybridity has evolved to incorporate the idea that 'globalized culture is hybrid culture' (Tomlinson, 1999: 141). It appears to be widely agreed that hybridity is not new but has been happening throughout the centuries in one way or another (García Canclini, 2000: 41). Hence, some scholars argue that in order to understand hybridity, history must not be overlooked (Kraidy, 2006: vii; Neverveen Pieterse, 2001, 2004). Robert Young in particular pays close attention to this and in his analysis of the term he remarks that hybridity is 'an historical stemma' between what he calls the 'forgotten past' and the cultural concepts of the present (1995: 27).

Hybridity can indeed be found in numerous fields and it is understood differently in

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[5] This is taken from Robert Young's book, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (1995: 26). The full phrase is, 'Hybridity makes difference into sameness, and sameness into difference, but in a way that makes the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different' (26).

different cultural, historical and political contexts. Young explains hybridity, in a similar vein: 'There is no single, or correct, concept of hybridity: it changes as it repeats, but it also repeats as it changes' (1995: 27). Indeed, this could be seen as a hybridising theory itself. For the purpose of this thesis, I briefly introduce different patterns of hybridity and then elaborate using alternative terms. These different processes provide important characteristics of hybridity, which are 'contestatory, political and dialogical' (Young, 1995: 22, drawing on Bakhtin's account of hybridisation). As a start, we look into a number of hybridity patterns coming from different traditions - linguistic, racial, and cultural.

For Bakhtin, linguistic hybridity is linguistic mixture. This type of blending could be 'organic/unconscious,' which Werbner (1997: 5) explains as 'a feature of the historical evolution of all languages'. However, linguistic hybridity may also be 'conscious/intentional,' which is 'the process of the authorial unmasking of another's speech, through a language that is 'double-accented' and 'double-styled'' (Young, 1995: 20). *Creolization* is the term used to indicate this double-edged phenomenon. According to Young, linguistic hybridity is the very evidence of cultural contact found from history (1995: 5). He argues that the importance of creolization goes further as to relate to the 'power relation of dominance of colonizer over colonized' (5). This becomes a significant point in tandem with the second hybridity pattern that Young suggests – sex (ibid.). With that respect, Young quotes Hyam (1990: 211) to argue that 'sexuality was the spearhead of racial contact' (ibid.).

Historical events like imperialism, colonialism and the resultant exile and migration of people have caused diverse forms of human contacts and led to natural or/and intentional racial mixing (Young, 1995: 6-11). Contact between divergent societies continues today in the form of cosmopolitanism or transnationalism that is mostly voluntary (Hannerz, 1992; Werbner, 1997: 11-2; Friedman 1999: 233-4, 237-8) and also

in forms of diaspora (Hall, 1990, 1992; Kalra, Kaur & Hutnyk, 2005: 70-73). In one way or another, the movement and intermingling of people has led to a racial mixing as a biological response. Eventually, hybridity has also expanded to cover broader and wider cultural meanings as reflected by the term, mestizaje. This term does not only indicate mixed race but more importantly mestizaje has come to stand for a cultural mixture that is conceived of as a significant and positive part of a national ideology. Kraidy (2006: 51-55) explains this as the political strategies taken by some countries: 'melting pot' as a 'nation-building strategy' in the USA and 'official ideology' in Latin America (51), for instance. Another example given is Mexico, known as 'a pioneering example of a hybrid cosmic race' (Vasconcelos, 1925/1997, cited in Kraidy, 2006: 52).

Notions constructed around cultural hybridisation are imperative to situate elements or patterns of hybridity in power relations. For example, hybridity is regarded by some scholars as a powerful and political possibility for the world. Bakhtin's view on intentional hybridity fits this pattern. This view, according to Young, 'enables a contestatory activity, a politicised setting of cultural differences against each other dialogically' (1995: 22). The academic arena where such a view is actively discussed is post-colonial studies (Papastergiadis, 1997: 273). This field of study looks into the complexity of traces left from decolonialism or imperialism, such as the economic and political situation of people (Young, 2001: 58). Thus, power relations and political notions come to the fore in this particular field of study and the value of hybridity is sometimes celebrated as 'transgressive power' (Werbner, 1997: 1). How is such 'subversion of authority through hybridity' (Young, 1995: 22) understood? In the next section, I will review hybridity as cultural politics and power in post-colonial studies, in particular. This, hopefully, could let us assess if hybridity is applicable in the case of the Korean animation industry. In the same vein, this thesis will discuss whether hybridity is useful to deploy as a way of understanding the animators' experiences, which appear

to be paradoxically located between globally imposed values and local values.

3.2 VIEWS ON HYBRIDITY

Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall

As mentioned earlier, the positive effects of hybridity are often actively discussed in post-colonial studies. Hybridity is, according to García Canclini, 'a field of energy and sociocultural innovation' (2000: 49) and furthermore, hybridity's 'productivity and innovative power of many intercultural mixings' have been demonstrated by history of hybridisation (ibid.: 43). Furthermore, this 'hybridity talk' is recognised as 'wild creativity and transnational, interracial, and intercultural' (Hutnyk, 1997: 119). The most noticeable scholars in this respect are Homi K. Bhabha with his highly praised and/or criticised work, *The Location of Culture*, and Stuart Hall who raises multi-cultural questions (e.g. racial problems and identity issue) effectively. I will not attempt to discuss in depth their complicated analysis of identity, racial or colonial texts. Instead, what I will focus on is the rather rebellious position of hybridity against essentialism and its potential 'power' that can engage in the contestation of dominant power. First, let us look into Bhabha's ideas. Although lengthy, it is necessary to look into his thought on hybridity, which he explains as:

> the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and
>
> fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination
>
> through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that
>
> secure the 'pure and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the
>
> revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of

discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and
displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the
mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but re-implicates its
identification in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the
discriminated back upon the eye of power. For the colonial hybrid is the
articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted on
the site of desire, making its objects at once disciplinary and disseminatory
– or, in my mixed metaphor, a negative transparency (1995: 112).

Bhabha's account tells us an ironic condition of colonial power: the power used to
repress the weak somehow created a reversed situation empowering the colonised. The
powerless colonised that becomes ambivalent presents hybridity with 'replication'
(Bhabha, ibid.: 115) as a threatening weapon against the ruling authority 'with the ruse
of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery' (115). The way in which the authoritative
subjects identify and find themselves in higher positions is by recognising the other –
not only in lower but also rivalry positions, to a certain extent – which reminds us of
Hegel's master/slave dialectics in *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807 [1977]). Under the
seemingly genial mask of civilisation, the colonisers make space for the colonised to
step into their own cultural and social practices and impose an idea that the colonised
can become like their masters. The colonial mimicry initiates, however as Bhabha's
famous phrase indicates, 'a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite'
(1995: 86). There, Bhabha continues,

Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an
ambivalence; in order to be effective mimicry must continuously produce
its slippage, its excess, its difference. (86)

Though 'the subject of difference' is not quite the same, by 'normalising' what is supposed to be exclusive to the authority, 'the effect of mimicry', according to Bhabha, 'on the authority of colonial discourse is profound and disturbing' (86). Through replication, repetition of mimicry, and the desire to become like the ruling power, hybridity occurs in the colonial discourse. What Bhabha has achieved in effect is, as Young summarises (1995), to transform Bakhtin's intentional hybrid into 'an active moment of challenge and resistance against a dominant cultural power' (23). In addition, Bhabha's account deals with rather meta-conceptual matters of hybridity in relation to identity issues: 'Juxtapositions of space, and the combination of 'time lag' out of which is constructed a sense of being that constantly oscillates between the axioms of foreign and familiar' (Papastergiadis, 1997: 277). This after all emphasises Bhabha's point that 'identity is never fixed once and for all, never coheres into an absolute form' (Papastergiadis, ibid.).

Having discussed Bhabha's account on the overall empowerment of hybridity in a theoretical frame, I turn to Stuart Hall's work on hybridity which more specifically focuses on race and identity issues particularly in Britain. Stuart Hall himself is a colonial person, who migrated to Britain in the 1950s. After having moved and been educated in British institute, his long fantasised colonial culture in fact led him to fantasise of his home country in return and led him to study of identity and race, which he oftentimes names as 'the floating signifier' (Hall, 1996, 2007). Hereby, I call his ideas on hybridity as 'experienced and witnessed' understandings of hybridity.

Britain, whose empire once encompassed many colonies, now flourishes with multi-racial communities within its own domestic territory. While it has benefited from the multiple cultures of multi-racial communities, racial issues quite often arise. As seen previously, movements whether of people or of cultural products and commodities

activate the processes of hybridisation. These ideas are shaped by Hall's analysis of the black diaspora and the experiences in Britain of those who are supposedly marginalised. Hall suggests in *New Ethnicities* (1988 [1995]) that the black experiences in Britain is, firstly, contestatory in the sense of resisting against white culture and then, such contestation moves to hybridization that aggregates ethnic and cultural differences (1988 [1995]: 223-227). He explains that these processes are 'two phases of the same movement, which constantly overlap and interweave' (ibid.: 223). This echoes Bakhtin's organic and intentional hybridization which, I have reviewed in section 3.1, involves a double-voiced form. Then, Hall's argument on the Black cultural politics and experiences in contemporary Britain helps us understand hybridity effectively by looking at the current situation of Britain's black experiences.

Now, I will sum up my thoughts on hybridity as a powerful cultural production process. If the colonisers position their culture as essential or superior, then hybridity becomes intrusive with its continual attempts to get closer to the central power through mimicry. Having recognised the possible subversive power of hybridity in post-colonial texts, we need to go one step closer to the main target of this thesis, 'globalisation', and examine if the positive effects of hybridity found in post-colonial studies can equally be applied under conditions of. Before that, it might be useful to look into some of the criticisms of hybridity.

3.3 HYBRIDITY AND GLOBALISATION

Problems of Hybridity

From the above accounts, we can see that in the colonial or post-colonial political structure, hybridity can subvert the dominant structure and the authorities. Hybridity can also have broader meanings to explain various conditions of the contemporary world,

especially with respect to globalisation. Due to the fast globalisation process of today (powered by high technology, transport, capital exchange, and so forth), hybridisation occurs rapidly. Tomlinson says this is,

> … because the increasing traffic between cultures that the globalization process brings suggests that the dissolution of the link between culture and place is accompanied by an intermingling of these dis-embedded cultural practices, producing new complex hybrid forms of culture. (1999: 141)

Globalisation and hybridisation are not new processes appearing in the world for the first time. As Hall remarks in one of his public lecture, globalisation is not a new phenomenon: what we are experiencing is only another era of globalisation and in fact, we are the product of the previous globalisation (2007).[6] Kraidy (2005: viii) says that hybridity is 'the cultural logic of globalization'. Nederveen-Pieterse sees 'globalization as hybridisation' (2004: 59, 77 and 81) and argues that globalization as a process of hybridization gives rise to a global melange (ibid.). Nederveen-Pieterse's belief is that hybridisation has considerable engagement with 'historical depth' (i.e. importance of historical events) which is something that theorists of the anti-hybridity backlash - discussed further below - miss (2001: 220, 224). This scholar also thinks that hybridization can be supplementary to problematic issues raised in globalisation theories (2004: 61-69). Supported by these scholars, we know that hybridisation and globalisation represent a continuum. Acknowledging hybridity, like Nederveen-Pieterse does, may transcend the existing limits of our knowledge on globalisation as a process. Further to this, hybridization and globalization seem to develop in parallel or even as the same thing. So much hybridisation and globalisation seem to collaborate and benefit

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6   From *Stuart Hall in Conversation* at Royal Festival Hall, 21 February 2007

each other that what this alternatively raises is an ironic question of 'so what'?[7]

Hybridisation has become no longer a something particular or distinctive in the

globalised world but another 'norm'. This is what concerns Werbner, too: 'What if

cultural mixings and crossovers become routine in the context of globalising trends?

Does that obviate the hybrid's transgressive power?' (1997:1). Similarly, Kraidy clearly

points out the paradoxical standing position of hybridity. While being recognised as a

powerful concept (as seen earlier), on the other hand hybridity is regarded as having

'foggy conceptual boundaries and extreme semantic openness' (2005: 66). To explain

this, Kraidy quotes the following phrase which emphasises the paradoxical

characteristics of hybridity: 'Hybridity can be appropriated by anyone to mean

practically anything.'[8] This is because hybridity is now 'normalised' and 'ordinary' in

the process of globalisation where experiencing different cultures and exchanging and

mixing them easily occur. This now leads us to counter-accounts against the usefulness

of hybridity: the 'anti-hybridity backlash' (Hutnyk, 1997: 122-3; Friedman, 1999: 248-

252).

Criticisms of Hybridity

Apart from how wide its meanings can be, the principal advantage of hybridity

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[7] Neverdeen-Pieterse's article *Hybridity, So What?: The Anti-hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition* still supports hybridity as helpful supplementary factor for globalisation process, however he also shows his concern that hybridity is 'becoming a routine … increasingly meaningless, a universal soup' (2001: 236).

[8] Kraidy originally cites Guillermo Gómez-Peña (1996) *The new world border: Prophecies, poems, and loqueras for the end of the century* (p.12-13).

is that of being anti-essentialist. This perspective is now at stake. Some scholars view

hybridity as another big meta-theoretical body of work that turns into an essentialist

view. John Hutnyk, a critic of hybridity, calls 'hybridity-talk' as 'a rhetorical cul-de-sec'

(1997: 122). Hutnyk regards hybridity as dependent on 'a bogus notion of the prior and

the pure pre-hybrid cultures' (ibid.: 119), which eventually 'comes to nullify critical

thinking of itself' (118). Moreover, Hutnyk's idea is supported by Spivak's criticism of

hybridity. As cited by Hutnyk, Spivak explains that hybridity is 'troublesome since it

assumes there would be something that was not hybrid, or if you were to say that

hybridity is everywhere, irreducible, then a lot of the old problems apply' (122).[9] This

all goes back to the beginning of this chapter: 'Hybridity is a tricky term.' For Hutnyk,

thus, Hall's celebration of hybridity and its useful application onto race/identity/black

politics seem 'less revolutionary'. He goes on to criticise that 'hybridity and difference

sell; the market remains intact' (122). Hutnyk's main regret is about the lack of

connection between hybridity and political positions. In particular, he sharply points out

the absence of Marxist discussion in hybridity discourses:

> Why talk hybridity now rather than a more explicitly radical language?
>
> Another way to state this more bluntly is to ask why some 'post-colonial'
>
> discursive efforts seem to do very well at avoiding any discussion of
>
> Marxism, or indeed can even be considered an elaborate displacement, a
>
> way of keeping Marx out of the academy at a time when a materialist
>
> method has never been more relevant. (122)

In such circumstances where hybridity is being criticised, it is necessary to seek

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[9]   Hutnyk indicates in his writing that this statement is originally from *Keele*

Seminar in 1995 (Hutnyk, 1997: 122).

out some new approaches. Jonathan Friedman respects the experiential value of hybridity rather than its theoretical discourses:

> Hybridity is in the eyes of the beholder, or more precisely in the practice of the beholder. Experienced hybridity is one thing. To impose it on others as an objective phenomenon is another. (1999: 250)

Further to this, the last paragraph of Freidman's article is strong and impressive regarding experience-based approaches towards reality:

> While intellectuals may celebrate border-crossing, the lumpenproletariat real border-crossers live in constant fear of the border and express a very different view of the matter. Without real borders, no border-crossing, without differentiation, no hybridization, and the fact of difference is not an autonomous cultural fact but the product of the practice of building walls, fences and boundaries. (1999: 254)

From the criticisms of Hutnyk and Friedman against hybridity, it becomes clear to me that what lacks in the current discourses of hybridity is an engagement with *real* experiences. This engagement with real experiences is not exclusive of certain privileged class of people and it also encompasses those whose everyday lives are influenced by and equally influenced the hybridisation process. Hence, what we need is to invoke a re-definition of hybridity, to seek potent ways in which hybrids are represented. Finally, what is needed is a re-definition to examine in a more articulate way the conditions through which hybridisation come out. Hence, what I aim to demonstrate throughout this thesis is going to be substantiated with the concept of 'in-

between', which arguably represents the real experiences of people on the rim who battle for their survival everyday. In order to provide constructive ideas and insights, I present three different ways of looking at in-between in my thesis.

3.4 THEORISING THE CONCEPT OF IN-BETWEEN BEYOND HYBRIDITY

In-between as a negotiation process

I regard in-between as a negotiation process arising from globalisation; and as a transitional stage to the next concept of in-between. By 'in-between as a negotiation process', I mean in-betweeners' process of choosing and evaluating between different global and local values that are inevitably necessary to participate in the field of animation, and its consequences particularly appear in financial aspects and social status of the animators' lives (see Chapters 6 and 8 for specific examples). Globalisation points up international differences and similarities: through it the culture of economically or politically strong countries overlaps that of weaker countries. Globalisation gives rise to much disharmony, unhappiness, struggle and conflict. But, ironically, such dissonance makes the negotiation process possible. Due to the differences between global and local values, the moment of realisation of in-between states becomes noticeable and sensed even if this means that the results of negotiation processes are represented in painful and agonising life experiences of individuals and their work.

In-between as a transitional stage

Through struggles, conflicts, and dilemmas experienced in the negotiation process, in-between appears as a transitional stage where continuous transformations happen one after another in many parts of a society and a nation. Furthermore, this transitional stage is closely related to economic aspects of culture. Today the culture industry, amid rapid globalisation and its relatively free flow of capital, plays a significant role in the world economy. I refer to people of an in-between state as 'in-betweeners' throughout the thesis. Such in-betweeners, and the people who observe them (in most cases the government, or external powers such as transnational companies), are acutely concerned with the economic values of culture and of the products of the culture industry. But the transitional stages through which these two different groups of people walk come from different start points. For in-betweeners, transformations and finding economic value are not matters of choice but the matters of life and death, and survival. Similar but different attitudes of their observers are that they deliberately take the transformation process (i.e. in-between) in order to strengthen the cultural economy by making a profit, while forgoing personal benefits. For instance, the central government invests in and promotes animation for economic reasons and yet the animators' struggles do not end but continue in various forms (see Chapters 9 and 10 for more details and specific examples). However different the original initiation and intention to step onto the path might have been, what is important to realise here is that the process of in-between as a transitional stage in fact begins prior to the negotiation process. Although the actual transitional process co-evolves with, and through, the negotiation process by various means of struggle, the realisation of the need for transition and transformation comes at the moment of encountering different values of the other which one does not have. Indeed, the government, and non-in-betweeners, may benefit from seeking to maintain,

change or even challenge the current global structure. For in-betweeners, however, all transitional stages are a struggle. For example, after the negotiation and evaluation process, the in-betweeners need to shift their current position to the one they have chosen to take. This sometimes causes physical and emotional costs which Chapter 9 explicitly demonstrates with the animators' own experiences. This leads us to the final point, which is that in-between is a concept that explains the different experiences of globalisation.

In between as the dis/juncture between people with different experiences of globalisation

I use the concept of in-between as a way of separating the individual experiences of globalisation that are essential to explore the Korean animation industry in the globalisation process. As the later chapters will demonstrate, there are significant differences appearing between those who expect a successful economic return and those who are trying to survive the battle-like globalisation process in their daily lives and work. For example, the governments, the production investors and the major animation studio owners (i.e. those who expect profits) embrace Korea's current in-between position as an advantageous way of tapping into global competition and use it as a base to turn themselves into the "successful" players of globalisation. On the contrary, the animators who live and work in the field of actual animation production may experience it rather differently – as agonizing, with struggles and difficulties; this will be demonstrated in the later chapters of this thesis with empirical data.

Hence, my way of using the concept of in-between in this thesis is to put the two different parties together and simultaneously observe their different understandings of globalisation in terms of experiential and emotional values.

Having clarified the use of in-between as a concept of experiencing globalisation, this chapter together with Chapter 2 provides a conceptual framework for examining the Korean animators' experiences of globalisation. The following chapter will now move to think about a practical sphere where the complexity of globalisation can be explored. That is, the field of the creative industries.

Chapter 4

Creativity and Creative Industry in the Global World

This chapter provides a further theoretical framework for the thesis by examining how the concept of creativity has evolved within the globalisation process, resulting in the creative industries as a firmly established sector with government support. The chapter prefigures the arguments of Chapters 9 and 10. It particularly focuses on the dispute between the values of creativity and commerce, which is the main issue addressed in Chapter 9. Furthermore, the economic impact of the creative industries, which this chapter demonstrates, is closely connected to the government support examined in Chapter 10 in more detail. This chapter reveals the parameters of the creative industries within the context of globalisation – their over-emphasis on economic potential and tendency to overlook creative workers' everyday experiences. This, I argue, is one of the causes for the in-between experiences of Korean animators today. Thus, by exploring the everyday life of Korean animators in the global creative industry, this thesis aims to extend and contribute to writing on the creative industries in the context of globalisation.

4.1 CONCEPTS OF CREATIVITY

What is Creativity?

What is creativity? What is being creative? In the *Longman Dictionary*, to 'create' means: 'to make something exist that did not exist before, to invent something' (1995:

Third Edition). The word, 'creative' means: 'producing or using new and effective ideas, results'. Although it is possible to recognise the implications of this definition, the term remains ambiguous. It is true that the word creativity has been regarded as 'commonsensical'. This ambiguous and mystical word, nevertheless, has been a major issue in the arts, psychology, and philosophy, or for people who are involved in such activities. Developed from such disciplines, creativity is now widely used in varied ways. 'Creativity', it seems, has become fashionable. It has been applied to everything, from gardening and cooking and even to policy-making (Gibson and Klocker, 2004). Quoting Raymond Williams (1983), Negus describes creativity as follows: ''creative' has become something of a 'cant word' used to label all manner of audio-visual practices, from hairdressing to the production of advertising slogans and screenwriting' (1999: 24). How did creativity become a 'cant word' and what does that mean? Why and how has the word 'creativity' taken on such significance?

In the global world, especially inside a capitalist mode, where numerous similar products are circulated, it is inevitable that one should strive to be creative to attract more consumers and to survive in the long run (Törnqvist, 2004: 234; Florida, 2004: 5). In other words, in order to survive and compete in the seemingly homogeneous and consumer-oriented global world, creativity plays a key role in generating cultural diversity (Bank et al., 2000: 456) as well as economic value. In Gibson and Klocker's paper, the wide use of creativity in economic terms is described as 'panacea' (2004: 431). Hence, creativity is indeed a significant product of capitalism as a global order, then. From this perspective, I particularly want to examine the significance of cultural and artistic creativity in relation to economic and industrial values.

The Significance of Cultural Creativity

This chapter is structured around two key ideas or arguments. The first idea concerns the creativity of the creators. I will argue that creativity is not only a personal ability to innovate but an interactive involvement between creators and those who appreciate their work − consumers, receivers, audiences, and so on. It is because creative products must be recognised as 'creative' (that is, something new and different) by those who appreciate them. By such reasoning, creativity is in the eye of the beholder. Keith Negus and Michael Pickering, for example, explain creativity in terms of communication and cultural value where it 'entails a will to communicate outwards from self to others, from particular to general, from local to universal' (2004: ix).

Second, considering the current global situation where creative products (films, television programs, commercials) are circulated as products in the patterns of consumerism (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 4), creativity becomes a kind of breakthrough for global competition to produce differences and uniqueness. Thus, the key to market success lies in creativity. This raises the questions: Does contemporary creative industry generate creativity or does creativity generate the creative industries? Is this a market-driven creativity or a creativity-driven market? This will inevitably raise the long-contested debate of commerce versus creativity (the arts vs. capitalism). In particular, the in-between states I will explore in more detail in later chapters (Chapters 9 and 10 in particular) are involved in such frictions.

4.2 CREATIVITY AS AN INTERACTIVE PROCESS

4.2.1 CREATIVITY: NEWNESS, DIFFERENCE, FAMILIARITY

Concepts and definitions of creativity have already been addressed in numerous studies. However, despite numerous studies, many scholars agree that the concept and the use of 'creativity' bring about uncertainty and ambiguity (Borofsky, 2001: 62; Negus and Pickering, 2004: vi; Negus, 1995: 328, 1999: 25; Young, 1985: 77). Many theorists think that we will be able to sense something creative or someone being creative when we encounter and experience them, and most of time, we assume creativity as being self-evident (Negus and Pickering, 2004: vi). James Fernandez, nevertheless, expresses the uncertainty of the term, 'creativity': 'We can talk endlessly about creativity but we can never recognise it with absolute certainty' (2001: 18). Thus, it is possible to say that creativity provides a 'mystical discourse' (Negus, 1995: 328). Despite this, scholars continue to challenge the definition of 'creativity' in various ways. Ned Hermann, for example, explains that creativity is:

> to cause something to come into being, as something unique. It is the
> process that created the product in the first place. The product or process
> didn't exist before it was created. It is original, unique and usually novel.
> (1999: 1)

Arthur Koestler explains that language can be a 'thought crystallizer' and words can be 'tools for formulating and communicating thoughts' but at the same time it can bind and confine our ability to break the rules and codes. Creativity for Koestler thus 'starts where language ends' (1964: 173-177).

Observing the collected definitions of creativity, it is possible to find the common features of creativity: newness and value (Rothenberg and Hausman, 1976; Negus and Pickering, 2004). However, the newness does not necessarily mean 'from nothing to being', it can also be, as Eleni Sefertzi's explanation, 'the recombination of known elements into something new, providing valuable solutions to a problem' (2000: 2).

In a similar line of argument to Sefertzi, Jonathan Friedman recognises creativity as 'novelty'. He states:

> In anthropology much of what may appear as novelty is in fact a question of transformation, of variation, in other words, of new combinations and constructions of previously present elements and relations (2001: 46).

Borofsky discusses how the validity of creativity is dependent upon 'where it is judged'. Accordingly, creativity 'constitutes a historically negotiated judgment' and it is 'culturally defined and culturally framed' (2001: 68). I will return to this idea in Chapter 9 when discussing the subcontracting animators' struggle over being regarded as less creative than independent animators. The situation they are in and how their daily lives and working conditions are shaped by globalisation are not widely understood or acknowledged. The subcontracting animators' potential for creativity is over-shadowed and not recognised because of this.

Salman Rushdie writes in his *Imaginary Homeland* that the way newness comes into the world is a mixture of 'a bit of this and a bit of that' (1991: 394) and if it is not recognised as the old or viewed to be different then it is appreciated as original or new. In this respect, I regard creativity as something unfamiliar and unrecognisable from the previous object or thoughts but not so dissimilar that it cannot be recognised, realised

and attached to our senses of familiarity. Creativity is, as Negus remarks, the 'continual production of familiarity' (1999: 24).

I should emphasise here the importance of context and the attachment to our senses of 'familiarity' in relation to convention in the next section, as it may provide an appropriate answer to the ambiguity and uncertainty of creativity. For this reason, I subscribe to Negus's statement on creativity as follows:

> Creativity is a changing social activity that is realized, understood and appreciated within specific conditions, and as such is a potentially fluid, historically changing, geographically variable, dynamic practice that cannot be 'defined' or tied down in any simple way (Negus, 1999: 178).

4.2.2 CREATIVITY WITHIN AND AGAINST CONVENTION

It can be said that in modern consumer-oriented society, unless creative works are recognised by consumers, artists may face problems not only artistically but also financially. This is similar to the situation in other industries, since works of the creative industries are products of 'an industrialized culture' (Fiske, 2000: 283). However, if there are any unique elements in the creative industries, according to John Fiske, it is that 'there are no consumers but circulators of meanings', as meanings are produced, reproduced and circulated in culture (ibid.: 283). Fiske's consideration extends and broadens the meaning of creativity and creators. It is a general understanding that everybody has the potential to be creative. Yet, in certain industries where creators and consumers are in polarised positions, the creators have been particularly recognised to be creative (see the section 'Who is creative?' in Wisker's paper [2004: 5-7]). This may

have changed in the creative industries where technology has rapidly developed, opening up more opportunities for ordinary people to participate, to be creators, and to create meanings and texts. In fact, according to Mark Blythe, producing images or sounds (which are a vital element of the creative industries, such as photography and films) is no longer the exclusive privilege of producers. It is the wide distribution and availability of digital software that enables ordinary consumers to become creative (2001: 147). This reinforces Fiske's argument that even consumers can be producers themselves. However, this may make audiences expect high quality work from the cultural producers, who are supposed to have better and more creativity and expertise. When such expectation is not satisfied, the cultural producers receive harsh criticism from the general audiences (see Chapter 7 of this thesis).

In *The Cultural Industries*, David Hesmondhalgh uses 'text' similarly to Fiske's circulations of 'meanings'. In terms of creativity, he borrows and extends two terms from Paul Willis (1990): 'symbolic creativity' and 'symbolic creators', or those who make texts (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 4-5). He defines 'texts': 'Texts would not exist without [symbolic creators], however much they rely on industrial systems for the reproduction, distribution, marketing and remuneration of their work' (ibid.: 5). He stresses that the cultural industries' function is to organise and circulate creativities and texts and, within that, industry creators struggle to make their own living. He discusses the struggle that artists and creators undergo between creativity and commercial success in the cultural industry. He explains that a struggle is generated because of a particular preference for certain kinds of texts to others, and consequent pressure to produce works (or, texts) to meet such demands (ibid.: 6). This shows the ambiguously intertwined relationship between creativity, commerce and popularity in the creative industries. It certainly is a dilemma for artists/creators. 'Authentic creativity is at the premium', he

states (ibid.: 6). However, in commodity culture, especially in the creative industries: 'Bemoaning the loss of the authentic is a fruitless exercise in romantic nostalgia' (Fiske, 2000: 283).

Creativity also requires a certain amount of popularity to be realised and recognised. When cultural products do not relate to the meanings and expectations of consumers, creators will fail to position themselves in the market place and thus will not be popular, as Fiske points out (1989: 2). In the process of searching for consumers, creators tend to follow extant forms and conventions in order to satisfy audiences' taste for certain types of work. This generates patterns of cultural production and context and is one of the ways creativity evolves.

On this point, Negus and Pickering (2004) remark that creativity does not function autonomously, instead it works within the frame of 'convention'. They explain that convention has the power of 'enabling' (68), by quoting Susan McClary whose ideas stress the cultural enabling of 'communication', 'co-existence', and 'self-awareness' within a particular context. They then note that creativity is dependent upon social and cultural contexts (as discussed above). They argue that conventions enable 'cultural forms and practices to be recognised and differentiated from each other' and 'communication to occur and to be understood' (2004: 68). For them, 'codes' (either cultural or industrial) become the key components to communication and they are often projected onto 'genres'. Within a certain genre, audiences/consumers can have a set of expectations about what they are going to encounter. If they find something unfamiliar within it without too much dramatic change, it will get noticed gradually (ibid.: 70). This argument is critical to my own argument and I return to their ideas throughout the thesis. Both Negus and Pickering's study and my own are based in certain genres and conventions that consumers prefer. Korean animation works have certain similarities to

Japanese and American animations in character drawings in particular. However, they are not simple imitations. Cultural, social and historical issues are all interconnected. This will be discussed throughout the thesis and particularly in Chapter 10.

As Negus and Pickering note, instead of textbook-like learning, within the existing contexts and conventions artists naturally sometimes learn from other artists. They rightly point out that a similar process also occurs not only in the music industry but also in many other popular cultural industries, such as painting, drama, dance, and the production of 'artwork for comics and magazines' (2004: 71). Here, it is possible to recognise that the patterns of creators' work can also be determined partly by the expectations of consumers. This implies audiences are one of the main motives for creators' creativity, confirming that creativity is not autonomous but dependent upon social and cultural contexts. However, genres and audiences' preferences have been targeted as obstacles preventing the development of creativity. 'Genres causing mannerism' is described as 'institutional inertia, aesthetic stasis and lack of desire for change' (Negus and Pickering, 2004: 74), and also explained with terms like 'formatting' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 21), 'exclusivity' (Frith, 1996: 89), and 'one-idea-men' (Koestler, 1964: 381). What the above descriptions indicate is that while genre on the one hand lets the creators predict what audiences prefer and hints to them what to produce for market success, on the other hand, genre can limit creativity. Allen J. Scott explains that 'the codes and styles of cultural performance become so highly conventionalized that further structural change is negligible' (2000: 38).

Negus and Pickering reject such criticism in emphasising the value of familiarity, belonging and slow change. They argue that sudden changes and shockingly different newness disrupts audience expectations (2004: 74-75). They value familiarity in the following way:

If there is such a value in art that seeks to shock and disrupt, we should also acknowledge the value of the experiences acquired from the known, the expected and the familiar. It is from known and familiar creative conventions that art contributes to the ways in which we construct our sense of self and place in the world (ibid.: 75).

Further, Negus and Pickering acknowledge that genres and conventions are 'not fixed for all time in their formal characteristics but change and develop' and stress that the moment of creativity occurs when the creators or artists 'wrestle with existing cultural materials in order to realise what they do not allow' (2004: 78). Thus, they draw the conclusion that creators should develop and generate their creativity 'within and against aesthetic genres and social canons' (ibid.: 78).

Reviewing these arguments, I emphasise two points. First, creativity is not always about 'from nothing to being' or total newness but instead recombination of old ideas in new forms. Second, with the circulation of meanings and preferences (that is, generating certain genres and formats) creators and consumers help each other in the creative process of the creative industries. Thus, creativity is generated in the interactivity between the two agents (the creators and the audiences). It is to this moment of realisation in relation to creativity and commerce, creative industries and the creative nation that I now turn.

4.3 CREATIVITY AND MARKET: SHIFTING VALUES

4.3.1 CREATIVELY DRIVEN: ARTISTIC INSTINCT AND COMMERCE

In this section, I discuss the complicated relationship between commerce and creativity to provide a foundation for analysis of the relationship between the subcontracted OEM animators--who can be regarded as driven by commerce--and the independent animators--who are regarded as more creative and less commercially driven. This will be detailed in Chapter 9. The tension between the two groups of animators is a living example of the tension between commerce and creativity today. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated later, the Korean animators' negotiations in-between commerce and creativity blurs the boundary between the two. 'What drives creativity?' Is it the pure satisfaction of creating something? Or are there other elements? The debate between commerce and creativity is a major topic at the moment in the business and industry field as well as academia.

The relationship between creativity and commerce has been uniquely problematic. Mainly, this is because creative products are not simply machine-generated but require the human ability to create and imagine, and are thus 'perceived to be cultural' (Gibson, 2003: 202). Richard Florida encapsulates this point:

> Creativity has come to be the most highly prized commodity in our
> economy − and yet it is not a "commodity." Creativity comes from people.
> And while people can be hired and fired, their creativity capacity cannot be
> bought and sold, or turned on and off at will (2004: 5)

Hence, creative products are usually treated as different from other commodities. According to Richard E. Caves, who has examined the organisation of the creative industries, the creative industries have been omitted from numerous industrial studies. He lists a number of economic features of creative activities to illuminate why it is hard to take creativity as a commodity or to treat the creative industries as other industries (2000: 2-10). First, Caves explains that the demand for creative products is uncertain. How much value a newly produced creative product possesses is the judgement of the consumers. Here, he introduces the term 'nobody knows property' (ibid.: 3), to suggest no one can guarantee visible success until the result is revealed. For example, the success of television drama depends on the viewing figures. Similar examples can be found in many other creative industries, such as the popular music industry. In *Producing Pop*, Negus (1992) shows how commercial success becomes the main reason for the struggle between the artist and other staff in the collaborative production of popular music, as 'what is commercially successful is always known in retrospect' (p.152). Since different groups have different tastes, companies in cultural industries seek to find the right texts for the right audiences and Hesmondhalgh describes this as 'risky business' (2002: 6). As Caves suggests, consumer satisfaction will be a 'subjective reaction' (ibid.: 3-5).

Second, one assumption of economists about workers is that they would not care much about the products, only their wages. However, as Caves argues, creators are 'art for art's sake property' producers and show affection towards their works and express their pride (2000: 4). As a consequence of this particular affection towards their work, Caves adds that 'artists turn out more creative product than if they valued only the incomes they receive, and on average earn lower pecuniary incomes than their general ability, skill, and education would otherwise warrant' (ibid.: 4).

In modern consumer culture, creativity tends to become a commodity. Hence, the encounter between creativity and commerce is a challenge to the 'art for art's sake' outlook. From this perspective, the above economic properties encapsulated by Caves raise the issue that even though creative products are subject to uncertain levels of demand, the creative industries continue to promote them to meet consumers' tastes. The creators, regardless of their will to maintain an art for art's sake approach, may also seek 'what could be sold' to maximise the sales and income potential. Following Caves' explanation above, the creators/artists could produce work that is more creative when they have more affection for their work. If there is such a correlation between creativity and commerce, then economic logic may affect creativity negatively. However, is this always the case? Is commerce a hindrance to creativity and the creative process? Florida names creative people as the 'Creative Class' and differentiates them from other classes of people:

> The key difference between the Creative Class and other classes lies in what they are primarily paid to do. Those in the Working Class and the Service Class are primarily paid to execute according to plan, while those in the Creative Class are primarily paid to create and have considerably more autonomy and flexibility than the other two classes to do so (2004: 8)

But is this really the case? Are creative people mainly interested in creativity and not in monetary rewards? To answer the question, Negus and Pickering (2004) show us three contrasting aspects of the relationship between commerce and creativity (also Negus 2002:115-131). First, there is polar opposition, which is our starting point of looking at this issue. There is an interesting word, 'humdrum' which refers to those who

try to maximize their income and is contrasted to 'the artistic' who in any circumstances try to maximise their creativity (Towse, 2002 cited in Miller, 2004: 59). These notions clearly show the polarisation of the two - commerce versus creativity (or, art versus popular culture). For this, Negus and Pickering explain the generally assumed view that the profit-chasing market would not leave the essence of creativity intact but that it 'corrupts and leads to compromise, fake, or fabricated cultural forms which adhere to the most vulgar of market-oriented formats and formulae' (2004: 46). On this line of argument, the creative industry is viewed as an oxymoron (ibid.). A similar view or the polarisation of creativity versus commerce has also been recognised by Hesmondhalgh, who criticises the overtly exaggerated polarised view that regards those who reject material reward as the creative and the best artists. He continues to remark that 'all creators have to find an audience, and in the modern world, no one can do this without the help of technological mediation and the support of large organizations' (2002: 71). Hesmondhalgh then talks in favour of the creative managers who encourage the creators toward 'the direction of genre formatting'. This may become a worrying factor as the creators may lock their creativity into one particular genre. However, Hesmondhalgh seems to support genre as a 'productive constraint within a certain boundary [that] still allows creativity to be generated between audiences and producers' (ibid.: 71). From such a perspective, we can turn to the second perspective, which argues that commerce generates creativity.

Negus and Pickering suggest that commerce can also 'inspire creativity' (2004: 47), since the money and the financial rewards can be a material reward to waken creative inspiration. In the modern world, where income is the best initiative for most industries, this makes reasonable sense. For example, the television production market tries to be creative and to provide new and attractive programmes in order to increase

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viewing figures, which directly relates to commercial profits.

Commerce may also motivate and generate creativity. Similarly, Florida points out that the current economy is 'a fundamentally creative economy' (2004: 46). What this tells us is the indivisibility of commerce and creativity. The intertwined relationship between commerce and creativity is the final aspect examined by Negus and Pickering. They explain that in the modern economy system, it is not necessary to separate the two as autonomous subjects, but to realise that 'contemporary cultural production entails fusions, blurrings and genre crossings', which brings about such fused facets of the two (2004: 47). For this, Justin O'Connor the director of Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, shares a similar view. He argues:

> Those involved in contemporary cultural production increasingly move
> between [commerce and art] systems ⋯ The key point is that we cannot
> start from the notion that these are two separate sectors divided by 'cultural
> value' versus 'commercial value'. We need to remember that ⋯ the
> commercial sector provides wealth and employment, but it is also a prime
> site of cultural consumption for the vast majority of the population (in
> Johansson and Sernhede, 2002).

The conflict between commerce and creativity seems to continue. The cause of that conflict emerges from the tendency to seek 'authentic creativity' (Nixon, 2003: 76). However, is authenticity or novelty of creativity really important now? What dissects creativity from commerciality really matters? Should it really be our focal point? What we should notice is not the conflict between commerce and creativity but rather the growing and changing value placed on creativity and its role in various aspects of

society. To attempt to separate commerce and creativity seems unnecessary as they are interactive and, indeed, their interactivity becomes yet another creative activity or part of the creative process. More than pursuing authenticity from creativity or the creative process of personal work, its value has shifted to grow as a part of the creative industries. The values and concepts of creativity treated in the industry are broader than the artists' personal aesthetic values and they are regarded as a source to grow a stronger nation in the modern world. As Florida states, 'creativity is now the *decisive* source of competitive advantage' (2004: 5). It is to this aspect that I now turn.

4.3.2 CREATIVITY AS ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SOURCE

Culture and creativity are vital to our national life. We have long seen the value which creative people bring to our lives, through the employment of their skill and the exercise of their imagination. Their activities enrich us all, bringing us pleasure and broadening our horizons. But there is another reason for creativity, and a reason for cherishing it: the whole creative sector is a growing part of the economy (Chris Smith, *Creative Industries Mapping Document: DCMS* 1998).

Unlike centuries ago, when the field of aesthetics and philosophy studied aesthetic meanings and concepts of creativity, in the modern world these have become commercial and industrial concepts. Many countries have established national projects to become 'creative', such as the *Creative Britain* project in 1998, and *Creative America* in 2000. What significance do the 'creative industries' have for nations? How has the

concept of creativity now developed so significantly that it has become a national project? My findings address these questions later in the thesis. The data chapters (particularly Chapters 6, 8, and 10) will demonstrate how effectively the potential for successful creative industry has shifted Korean animators' and people's appreciation of the cultural values of animation and what the consequences of such changes are. They also show how the Korean government emphasises the importance of creative industry and supports the Korean animation industry, as well as the problems caused by such a sudden emphasis on the animation industry. To understand the case of the Korean animation industry, it is first necessary to review other nations' experiences.

As material consumption increases with improved standards of living, the consumption of cultural products, such as films, theatres and gallery exhibitions, (accumulating signs, texts and images in Lash's and Urry's explanation, 1994) has also increased. This has made the creative industry more significant, forming a new economic sector (Lash and Urry, 1994; O'Connor in Johansson and Sernhede, 2002).

According to a project report - *Creative Industries in the Modern City* (Belova, E et. Al, 2002), which focuses on encouraging enterprise and creativity in St. Petersburg -- 'creative industries' is 'the term used to describe entrepreneurial activity in which economic value is linked to cultural content' (6). In *The Creative Industries in the East Midlands* (2003) by COMEDIA, 'creative industries' are defined by the UK government as:

> Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.

The UK government considers the following industries as components of the 'creative industries': advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio (COMEDIA, 2003). The above definitions and categories of creative industries indicate there is a certain relationship between individual creativity and entrepreneurship, and cultural content and economic value. The statement, 'Creativity is America's Greatest Renewable Energy Source', shows the importance placed on the economic value of creativity (see web database). 'Energy source' indicates the substantial national income that creative industries earn for America. The organisation for *Creative America* reports that in 1999, the creative industries made $960 billion and, including the 'core copyright industries', $479.4 billion in revenue was generated in 2003.

A similar impression can also be found in the case of the *Creative Britain* project. The *Creative Industries Mapping Documents* was published by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (see web database), which provides the figures of the growth in the creative economy sector between 1998 and 2001. According to their report, the sector took 7.9 percent of the UK's GDP in 2000 and between 1997 and 2000, an average annual growth of 9 percent was achieved while the entire economy growth reached only 2.8 percent. These figures reveal the significant role played by the creative industries in the nation in terms of national income and the consequent cultural position in the global world. Likewise, a study on creative industries was conducted in Hong Kong and showed that the creative industries contributed over $46 billion to the local economy in 2001, securing 3.8 percent of the GDP. According to the report, the growth of the creative industries encouraged increasing job placement and, despite the economic downturn, the creative economy sector employed 11 percent of the population

between 1996 and 2002 (see web database). According to the *2001 Establishment and Enterprise Census* reported by Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto (2003), the creative industries in Japan contained 176,000 establishments and 1.878 million employees, which was 2.8 percent and 3.2 percent of the total for all industries. Also according to the *1999 Survey on Service Industries*, '￥35.35 trillion in revenue was made, comprising 17.5 percent of the total for all service industries'. He continues by quoting the noticeable growth figure of the creative industries, growing by 88.5 percent since 1989. This was almost 20 percent more than the service industries. Looking at these cases, it is possible to understand why the creative industries have been referred to as an 'endless energy source'. From this economic perspective, the meaning of creativity can be understood in different ways from those discussed in Section 4.2. Creativity becomes a cultural element that enables a nation to have power not only in culture but also in the economy. Gina Wisker, in her conference paper *Nurturing and Harnessing Creativity: Lessons from the Humanities for Innovation and Enterprise*, gives three important reasons why creativity is vital to our future society in terms of personal, business and, in particular, economy. She remarks:

> Economically it is invaluable as the source of new ideas and forms, solution
> to problems. Creative outputs contribute to national and personal financial
> security. The arts and humanities − the home base of creativity −
> themselves generate a great deal of jobs and gross national product (2004).

Chris Smith seems to share Wisker's positive attitude towards the economic value of the creative industries, and he also appears to show his strong belief about the power of creativity and its impact on the nation. In *Creative Britain*, Smith suggests

that creativity and the creative industries not only influence the national economy but also highlight the interrelationship between community and individuals, developing from a 'Me' generation to an 'Us' generation (1998: 16). One of Smith's central arguments is that without culture and creative activities there can be 'no society and no sense of shared identity or worth' (ibid.: 16). The creative industries become a medium to bridge people and the nation. Smith remarks that the encouragement of creative industries does not focus on what they call high culture or authentic art but through various forms of culture, including popular culture. He rejects the idea that culture is something different from entertainment. For that reason, one of the examples Smith offers is Tony Blair sharing his glass of wine with Noel Gallagher (a singer from the 'Britpop' band, *Oasis*) and also appreciating a theatrical performance, *'King Lear'* by Richard Eyre (ibid.: 3-7). Popular culture and its products can be accessible and 'ordinary consumer goods' unlike art/high culture, which is relatively exclusive (Abbing, 2002: 43). Hence, this accessible culture will help people communicate, unify and share their cultural commonness. Also, Smith clears up some of the worrying assumptions concerning whether governmental involvement in the creative industries may disturb creativity by 'bureaucratizing their creative freedom':

> I would argue, with passion, that it does not. Government cannot itself forge the creative impulse. What it can do is try to nurture it, encourage it, aid its expression, help it achieve maximum impact, and assist society at large in the understanding and appreciation of what is created. These are all things that a government not only can do but must do (ibid.: 1).

In fact, since the *Creative Britain* project was launched, so-called 'creative quarters' have been established in Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool, Sheffield and

Belfast (Banks et al., 2000; Oakley, 2004). As these creative quarters encourage the local creative sectors, what the government seems to provide is an economic base. Education and support in organizing events for artists will nurture their creative activities and consequently, it will create more work and thus reduce unemployment. In this regard, Wisker (2004) discusses 'how creativity is nurtured and harnessed'.

Despite such a seeming panacea-like role of creativity in the national economy with encouraging help from the government, doubts have been raised about its political influences. In *Cultural Economy* (du Gay and Pryke, 2002), Angela McRobbie writes about the structure of the UK's creative industries, which she describes in terms of 'Hollywoodization' and national policy (p. 109). By Hollywoodization, McRobbie means the tendency of people's participation in the media and popular culture that work extremely long hours with low [or no] payment. Here, she borrows Beck's idea – 'Brazilianization' – on the increase of part-time occupation (ibid.: 105). She points out the problem of income insecurity generated by such a structure:

> Cultural practices are seen primarily and immediately in terms of commercial opportunities; this eliminates the space, time and rationale for an independent or alternative sector. But this prominence doesn't eliminate the irregular and insecure livings being made in these creative fields; instead it intensifies them (98).

According to McRobbie, such national policies to improve the creative industries are simply to decrease the unemployment situation in numeric figures. Because of this, she speaks about 'made-up jobs' (McRobbie, 2002: 111). She adds that due to the newly changed regulation on unemployment benefit, participants in the creative industries

whose jobs are not stable cannot stay unemployed but must look for in-between-jobs. However, because of their 'labour of love' and 'passion' for their own creative work, they seem to enjoy the creative activities and remain in the industry even when no payment is available at times (ibid.: 109-111).

One other criticism is of the over-emphasis on the economic value of the creative industries. It is important to recognise the shift of the meanings and importance of creativity in the national economy, but many argue cultural value and economic value should also be evenly matched. Kate Oakely argues that the current UK game industry cannot be supported by tax breaks like the film industry as it is regarded as less of a 'need' for the nation − games do not have the same cultural case (2004: 74). The widely acknowledged idea that the economic value of a product in the creative industries is dependent upon its 'cultural value' (quoted from Banks et al., 2000) lies in an indefinable position (ibid.: 75).

A further problem is what is being said and discussed is not fully documented or proven by empirical research, and hence the core of research on creative industries has become to find out 'how [the industry] actually works' (Banks et al., 2000: 453; Oakley, 2004: 71). Oakley suggests that rather than statistics gathered on creative industries, long term research on 'how the creative industries might help foster a sense of social inclusion' (ibid.: 71) needs to be carried out. Similar problems are also found from Korean creative industry, which I now turn to.

4.3.3 CREATIVE INDUSTRY IN KOREA

I have already mentioned that culture today has great economic power, more than any time previously in history, as we have seen in the preceding sections. Creative industry is where invisible and intangible element of culture, that is creativity, becomes

tangible and consumable products. When speaking of the creative industry and its

economic potential, the Korean government's cultural activities and its policies cannot

be ignored. In fact, Korea is one of the Northeast Asian countries which herself has seen

successful results and significant financial returns from the production of cultural

products in recent decades; for instance, through a particular cultural phenomenon

Hallyu, which I will discuss specifically later. The Korean government's support for

developing creative industry in Korea may have a shorter history than that of America

or Britain but it is continuously and rapidly growing. As we will see later, its influential

successes can be directly experienced in many other Asian countries. How then did the

development and success of the Korean creative industry begin? What was the main

impetus and source of power behind its continuous growth? Having such fast growth, is

the future of the Korean creative industry bright? Or are there any problems to be

considered in the current Korean creative industry? To begin to answer these questions,

let us find out how it all began. As we have seen was the case with the successful

examples of the USA and Britain, the very first impetus behind the Korean creative

industry's growth was economic.

   The Korean government has supported its cultural sector for a long time, but it was

February 1999 when the specific definition of creative industry was enacted into law (i.e.

Munhwasaneopjinheunggibonbeop clause 2.1). By law, it is now specifically called the

'Cultural Content Industry' and this indicates an industry which operates services for the

planning, producing, circulating and consuming of cultural content, such as films, music,

and games (Hwang, 2004: 9). The meaning of 'Cultural Content Industry' is identical to

that of 'creative industry' in any other country (ibid.: 11). Hence, it is not necessary to

discuss its differentials. Any items which possess artistic, popular or entertainment-

oriented characteristics and can create economic value are categorised as creative

contents in the creative industry. As can be seen, this definition focuses on the economic side of the creative industry in particular. In other words, creativity, which was supposed to relate to only invisible and intangible human talent, is now materialised in monetary form.

The influential power of creative industry does not stop at making money from producing creative content. Many creative contents are easily translatable and acceptable in many foreign countries as they can transcend linguistic and cultural boundaries. For example, music can be disseminated and appreciated worldwide; films and animations can also be consumed regardless of one's particular cultural background; and most of all, the game industry is the best example of creative content which can be consumed worldwide without any difficulties. In terms of the ease and rapidity of cultural spread, having individuals with similar cultural backgrounds be dominant in a locale, which is often is explained using the concept of 'cultural proximity' (Straubhaar, 1991), will accelerate the speed of foreign consumption.

Even though film and music do not necessarily require that audiences share a common language, if a similar culture is shared, understanding of plot and musical sensibility can be increased. For this reason, Korean dramas and films have experienced more positive responses from neighbouring countries like Japan, China and Taiwan.

Extending this idea, creative contents can also be associated with national brand images. A good example of Korea's recent success at national branding is, as briefly mentioned previously, *Hallyu*. *Hallyu* literally means the Korean Wave. It is a term, first coined in the year 2001, which is used to explain the cultural flow from Korea to other Asian countries.

> *Hallyu* fever is a cultural phenomenon that has disseminated gayo (Korean pop songs), drama, fashion, tour, films and other elements of Korean popular culture

to the residents and youth of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Vietnam since the late 1990s, and includes resultant enjoyment and consumption (Chohan et al., 2004: 2).

Hallyu fever sped recognition of the value of Korean popular culture from overseas (ibid.: 43).

Korean drama and films were so appealing to Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese viewers in particular that the rate at which Korea has been exporting media products to those countries has seen steady annual increases over the last decade. Consequently, income generated by these exports also has been enormous. Furthermore, some viewers from abroad develop the desire to visit certain Korean sets, filming locations, and/or to meet the actors in real life, as a result of which tourism rates have also risen dramatically.

Table 4. 1 Effects of Hallyu Tourism Marketing

Category	Total Number of Tourists	Number of *Hallyu* related Tourists	Percent of tourists attributable to *Hallyu* phenomenon	Total Amount of Tourists' Consumption
Japan	244	49	21	6230
China	63	37	59	5716
Taiwan	31	16	52	1987
Total	338	102	30	14,000

Source: Korea Tourism Organization (2004), *Analysis on Effects of Hallyu Tourism Marketing (Hallyugwangwangmaketing pageupyogwa bunseok)*

A commonly cited example of the *Hallyu* phenomenon is the twenty episode-long Korean television drama, *Winter Sonata* (produced by Hyung-Min Lee, aired on Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) 2, January 14 ~ March 19 2002). This particular drama was extremely popular and attracted numerous middle-aged female fans in Japan who then longed to visit the film sets and locations. As a result, this fan boom has increased the number of tourists visiting locations in and around where *Winter Sonata* was filmed in Korea. In fact, since 2004 when *Hallyu* was first widely recognised, the number of tourists to Korea has increased by 35% (KOCCA). The effect of *Hallyu* has also expanded its territory to include the film industry. Films like *Shiri* (Je-Kyu Kang, 1999), *JSA* (Chan-Wook Park, 2000) and others have also enjoyed the cultural spot-light not only from Korean audiences but also (global) world audiences. Through the development of its creative industry, Korea has built strong national brand images which can also influence consumer spending and exert a positive influence on export patterns and the perceived desirability of Korean made goods in foreign markets. In this way, it is possible to say that the creative industries can be the foundation for national power to grow, too. People who did not previously know about Korea can now learn about the country by experiencing its creative products themselves.

As well as the above, one of the main reasons for the rapid growth of Korea's creative industry is the firm infrastructure provided by the widespread proliferation of the internet. Korea's IT (i.e. Information Technology) industry is amongst the most developed in the world and building on this strong base, the game industry and UCC (i.e. User Created Content, which means that internet users themselves create media contents to upload to share with other users) are growing fast. Korea has attained a rate of approximately 70% broadband connectivity to the home (Cunningham, 2003: 3). Thanks to this high rate of connectivity, online game players actively play real-time

games with numerous people within and outside Korea. *Lineage* (released in 1998, by NCsoft) which was developed and originated in Korea, is a good example of one such game. This game and many others have reached such levels of popularity that online computer games are no longer considered "games" per se, but rather as a kind of sport that various nationalities can compete against each other in. This particular sector has even created new occupations, like 'professional online gamers', whose matches can be viewed on dedicated game channels on cable TV.

Another form of creative content which has made a positive contribution to the image of Korea worldwide is animation and the development of character-based goods. As Chapter 6 will reveal, the Korean animation industry has functioned as a sweatshop for the mass production of animations originating in the USA and Japan for a long time. However, due to rapid globalisation and the increasing flow of capital, a lot of this work has recently moved to China, Vietnam and India, where the new spots for lower labour costs are. As a result, Korean animators had to find a way to survive and hence have developed their own animation works. However, so far there have not been many commercially successful Korean animations, whilst there have been a number of artistically recognised ones which have won numerous awards and recognition through-out the industry. Despite this general trend, there is one animated TV show that should be recognised for its commercial success. That is *Pororo the Little Penguin*. This was created by a Korean animation company, Iconix Entertainment, and began production in 2002 and first appeared on TV in 2003.

> Korea is home to Pororo, an animated penguin whose only dream is to be able to fly. In 2004, when the cartoon "Pororo the Little Penguin" hit television screens in France through TF1, the country's most popular network, the aspiring penguin was welcomed with a record-high 47 percent viewing rate. The cartoon then

successfully made its way to the U.K., Italy, South America, China and finally Japan last year. In that time the little penguin has pulled in some ₩80 billion (US$1=₩942) in revenue. Now other companies have begun commercializing on the character, such as Club Med which has organized Pororo children's camps in holiday destinations like Bali, Phuket and Bintan. (*Digital Chosunilbo*, August, 21, 2007,

http://english.chosun.com/w21data/html/news/200708/200708210019.html)

Dolls and toys based on the *Pororo* character are easily found in stores and it is loved worldwide, as evidenced by the quote above. As well as this successful animated character, the global character industry also pays significant attention to Korean made *Pucca*. It is reported that *Pucca* is admired in 170 countries, and that 2,500 different types of goods based on this character have been produced since its first appearance in 2001 (*Weekly Donga*, November 21 2008,

http://global.puccaclub.com/en/html/pr/news_read.html?board_seq=120). This growth may have slowed down a little in recent years, but its popularity continues so that it can now be found in collaborations famous fashion brands:

> VOOZ Co., Ltd., the creators of the Korean designed character "Pucca" finished a very busy year end, and had an equally busy new year because of the increasing licensing contracts made through partnerships with well-known brands in both Korea and throughout the world despite the worsening economic conditions. VOOZ Co., Ltd received royalties of KRW 1 billion from the sales of 39 types of PUCCA character products including T-shirts, bags and sneakers in Benetton's 1,796 shops worldwide from the end of June to December 2008. Based on the successful result, the license contract term was extended until the end of this year.

The PUCCA mobile phone produced using a licensing contract with Samsung was launched in Portugal at the end of 2008. The first batch of 8,500 units was completely sold out and additional production is under progress to meet demands. VOOZ earned KRW 72 million from sales of the first production batch. (*Hankook Economic Daily*, January 6, 2009)

With these successful examples of Korean produced creative content being used in many kinds of products worldwide, I believe that the economic benefits accrued through these types of licensing agreements is one of the main reasons for the continuous support of the Korean government. Despite these particular success stories, and in a way similar to many European countries' creative industry, Korea also faces certain difficulties and problems. Some of the problems here are also impediments to the Korean animation industry's development and contribute to the causes of animators' in-between status.

The first problem is once again closely related to Korea's Confucian ideology, which I believe contributes to many Koreans' lack of understanding about creative industry and its activities (Hwang, 2004: 12). Confucian ideology considers education and hierarchy as being of primary importance (See the discussion section in Chapter 2 and interview data in the main chapters for proof of this assertion.). Thus, to a certain extent, creative content can only ever be seen as items for light entertainment and fun which do not have any meaningful significance. Korean people's attitudes towards creative industry – for example, television dramas, films, music, and especially animations and comics - were not positive at all (See Chapter 6, for detailed example for this). Popular mass culture products in general have traditionally been regarded as low grade and cheap whilst education (in terms of both teaching and learning) was strongly emphasised. This kind of hostility has been the first hindrance to the development of

creative industry in Korea. However, the second problem I have identified is rather consequential and provides us with hints of a certain amount of hope and positivity.

The second problem has its roots in the different understandings and attitudes about appreciating creative contents held by different generations (Hwang, ibid.). As a whole, it can be said that strong negative views about creative industry have gradually been changing as Koreans have witnessed Western countries' successes which are tied to their cultural policies (e.g. Britain's creative cities). Particularly, as Korean people saw how foreign cultural products were successfully making great sums of money, positive views about creative industry have increased.

For instance, Chapter 8 of this thesis shows how many of my interviewees' believe that *The Lion King* (1994) was the first animation which enabled Korean animators to see animation's potential. In fact, the first moment at which the value of creative industry was realised was when *Jurassic Park* was imported and shown in 1993 in Korea (Hwang, 2004: 12). This report (ibid.) also indicates that from that moment, the Korean government started addressing itself to developing creative industry. In looking at financial data, we see that government funding for creative industry has grown enormously in Korea in recent years; it started with 50 billion won in 1999 and, in 2006, it grew to about 190 billion won. Support for this kind of financial investment is largely found amongst the younger generation. The young not only enjoy the creative content, but also take them seriously and hope to pursue their careers within creative and cultural industries. On the other hand, however, a large portion of the previous generation (e.g. people currently in their 50s and 60s) still has a low opinion of creative industry. Therefore, it is quite common to find conflict between parents with such (dismissive) viewpoints and children who see benefits to be won and enjoyment to be had and wish to engage in creative industry. Examples of this kind of conflict are provided in the data chapters in the form of disagreements between animators and their parents and families.

The third problem I would like to touch on, and one which will be closely related to Korean animators' stories in the data chapters, relates to issues of un/employment and welfare concerns of the creative workers. As creative industry expands its scale and scope, increasing numbers of (especially young) people participate in the industry. According to government statistics regarding the number of workers currently employed in creative industry in Korea there are: thirty thousand workers each in the game, film and broadcasting sectors; seventy thousand in music; ten thousand in cartoon/comics; and three thousand people in the animation industry (KOCCA, 2007: 42). Increasing numbers of universities and university departments specifically oriented towards training people for work in creative industry have also been developed. Every year, numerous students graduate from particular (creative industry related) departments and there are not enough working places for them in creative industry sector. This adds the seriousness to employment rates and welfare of the creative workers.

As in the case of the British creative industry, and recalling Angela McRobbie's argument (2002), many creative workers who think of themselves as artists believe their low wages and poor working conditions to be something they must pass through in order to become successful professionals later in life. Likewise, a lot of newly graduated creative workers volunteer to become, what I would call, 'creative labourers'. When graduates work under these conditions their status as artists diminishes or disappears entirely and for their sweat and hard work low wages and a poor welfare system are born. Official government figures might be showing a supposedly positive sign in the increase in national employment, but nonetheless, the often hidden truth within the creative sector is that more and more participants join it, more and more people are also exposed to vicious entrepreneurs who exploit artists' talents and sweat to meet their business aims. Therefore, I would argue that the statistical increase in the employment rate can only be a temporary figure and certainly does not reflect the level of welfare

employees in creative sectors experience in the work place.

The last problem is that there is a tendency to excessively emphasise "Koreanness." The Korean government understands that a successful creative industry can build and disseminate positive national brand images worldwide. However, in its push to create a distinctive cultural/national identity as "Korean" (and to link this identity to the specific products of particular cultural industries) there can sometimes develop a lopsided requirement to introduce an element of Koreanness to all cultural products. This drive, in turn, imposes a heavy burden on people in creative industry and results in originality and creative talent being restricted. Furthermore, sometimes the actual outcome can look artificially self-conscious and artificial (for examples of this, see Chapter 10).

These problems are what I strive to address by collecting empirical data which speaks to the real life experience of workers in the Korean creative industry. As was noted by other scholars in the previous section, there is not much source data which examines these rather hidden problems which exist behind the seemingly positive statistical figures. My thesis, which draws on raw interview data − the life stories and working experiences as told directly by Korean animators − will provide necessary proofs of these problems and bring to light the current working conditions within the Korean creative industry.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have reviewed relevant literature and studies on creativity and the creative industries, and discussed how the values of creativity have evolved in accordance with the dynamics of the globalisation process. These will, as mentioned before, provide a ground to be explored in Chapters 9 and 10.

Ultimately, these reviewed arguments and debates concerning the economic value of creativity are important to understand the situation of the Korean animation industry, whose industrial sector has recently been recognised as worth investing in. This literature review helps expand my argument that the Korean animation industry is experiencing a transformation from being composed of in-betweeners to creative agents. I argue that the central goal of the Korean animation industry and of the Korean government is to encourage Korean animators to be more creative so that more creative Korean animations can be produced. Thus, the creativity of their work is enhanced by providing education related to creativity, offering a variety of events to familiarise audiences and consumers with animation, and obtain sponsors for young animators. These elements will be thoroughly studied and examined in Part Two (Chapters 6-10) of this thesis. Chapters 6 and 7 will deal with the economic aspects of the Korean animators' lives, for example low incomes and financial hardship, and their low social status, due to Korea's Confucian heritage. In contrast, Chapters 8, 9, and 10 demonstrate the shift towards supporting the cultural and potential economic values of animation from the Korean government and Korean people.

Korea as a nation expects the Korean animation industry to develop and to locate itself within Korean popular culture. Also, it is significant to look into animators' creative experiences within the rapidly promoted transformation process. This raises the

central question of the entire thesis, which concerns how Korean animators are going through stages of 'in-between' in Korea's social and historical context (see Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9). One point which I strongly emphasise in the analysis in later chapters is that while the potential economic returns stressed by the Korean government seem to be pursuable, only certain numbers of animators can enjoy financial successes and comfortable lives. The majority find the whole situation painful and experience financial hardship and emotional insecurity. The concept of in-between provides a tool to analyse the differences in experiencing globalisation and observe the emotional values underneath the economic, political and cultural aspects of globalisation.

Oakley (2004: 75-6) points out that few empirical studies have been conducted on creative cities/industries. Thus, I hope my empirical research on the Korean animation industry and the lived-through experiences of its animators, with the help of the concept of in-between, will be useful in developing this area of study.

Chapter 5

Writing In-betweeners' Experiences of Globalisation

This chapter looks at the process of how the fieldwork was carried out and accounts for the choice of media ethnography as a methodological approach in the study of the Korean animators' experiences of globalisation as in-betweeners. This chapter demonstrates each stage of the fieldwork and 'the actual evolution of research ideas' which according to William Foote Whyte, 'does not take place in accord with the formal statements we read on research methods' (1993: 280).

It will discuss how ethnography has been used in academic research as a methodological approach, and will explain why ethnography was chosen as a methodology for this particular research. It will then demonstrate the research process, describing in detail how a relationship with the animators was established during the fieldwork period. Finally, methodological problems and limitations encountered during the fieldwork will also be considered.

5.1 BEING WITH IN-BETWEENERS: ETHNOGRAPHY AND EVERYDAY LIFE

Ethnography, in its early days, was been a study conducted by a traveller about an alien human society while being in foreign lands, learning foreign languages and living and experiencing new culture and the traditions of others. It has been practiced particularly by anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski, Clifford Geertz, and James Clifford. As ethnography has developed and widened its applications, it has become a useful means to study modern-day 'community' and 'particular professions of people' in organisational studies (for example, Whyte, 1993; Fine 1996), in migration and labour

studies (for example, Lan, 2006) and extensively in media and cultural studies (for example, Ang, 1985; Morley, 1986; Gillespie, 1995; Kim, Y., 2005). Why has ethnography become a widely used research practice in social sciences? I suggest that ethnography can deliver peoples' embedded cultural habits, knowledge, experiences and emotions from their everyday life. Ethnography is appropriate for the analysis of everyday life. In a similar vein, Hammersley explains, '[A]s a set of methods, ethnography is not far removed from the sort of approach that we all use in everyday life to make sense of our surroundings' (1991: 2). This significant relationship between ethnography, people's everyday life and experiences is the central methodological argument of the chapter.

Ethnography is a writing that describes and interprets social life. Furthermore, it is an ethnographer's aim to deliver 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) that provides readers 'contexts' within which people's behaviours are signified and thus the readers are enabled to understand complex social relations and culture, rather than a 'thin description' of a simple phenomena. 'Being there' (Geertz, 1988: 16) to observe, examine and analyse certain phenomena is, I would argue, to 'read out' a culture from society. Through a researcher's eyes and his/her obtained thick descriptions, readers become aware of the social knowledge and cultural habits of others. Furthermore, various methods used in ethnography, such as participant observation or unstructured interviews, provide an 'in-depth understanding of cultural perspectives' (Hammersley, 1991: 9). Having understood the link between ethnography and everyday life and knowing that media is part of people's everyday life, the advent of a new methodology – 'media ethnography' – that is popularly adopted in audience research becomes self-explanatory.

In media studies, media ethnography has been popularly used for audience research, examining how ordinary people consume the media, how they interpret the media texts, or how the media shapes the audiences' everyday life, for example. Why, then, do we not examine the people who produce media or what the everyday life of media producers is like? Keith Negus has examined the British music industry and production scope by conducting ethnographic research (Negus, 1992). Similarly, Simone Dahlmann and Ursula Huws have examined the complexity of the global labour issue with a case study on British publishing houses and Indian subcontracted editors (2007). My research examines a group of media or cultural producers, and also animators. However, the main difference is that these people are often regarded and titled as subcontracted 'workers' rather than 'producers' despite the fact that they do indeed produce media products. Hence, I argue that the professional status of Korean animators is dual, ambivalent and complex – one reason for naming them as 'in-betweeners' in this thesis. Throughout the thesis, I argue that such an in-between status for the Korean animators and their subsequent struggles (physical, emotional and economic difficulties) are brought about by globalisation. In order to examine their experiences of globalisation, ethnography has been chosen as the main methodology.

An ethnographic approach was necessary to achieve the aim of this research: exploring how Korean animators experience globalisation as in-betweeners. As a theoretical tool, I introduced the concept of in-between for this research and regard in-between as a way to represent experiences of globalisation. Having emphasised the significance of experiential values in understanding globalisation, choosing ethnography to support the idea of in-between was, I feel, inevitable. By physically being with the animators at their work places daily, I managed to observe their surroundings, which enabled me to translate their culture into a piece of research work. By communicating with them through conversations and through their own drawings (see the portraits of

animators in later chapters), I interpret not only the verbal descriptions of their lived

experiences but also their emotions, for which other methodological approaches would

have been less successful. Having explained the choice of ethnography as a

methodological approach, the next section will show how the research evolved from the

conceptual stage.

5.2 BEING AN ACTIVE HUNTSMAN

(1) Approaching Subjects

This phrase, 'being an active huntsman,' is borrowed from Bronislaw Malinowski as a

way of describing my efforts to obtain the appropriate research subjects for study. In

Argonauts of the Western Pacific, he states that ethnographers' attitudes to study a

community should be like an 'active huntsman' (Malinowski, 1922: 8). Before

departing for my ethnographical fieldwork in South Korea, it was necessary to find an

appropriate way of approaching the subjects that I intended to research. First, I wanted

to make brief contacts with some aspiring animators in the UK. Given the geographical

distance between the UK (where I was) and Korea (the site of the fieldwork), I thought

a first approach might be to find Korean animation hopefuls studying in the UK. Hence,

on 6 December 2004 I went to an art college in the outskirts of London where a number

of Korean students were studying an animation course. I met four students who were

passionate to talk about how they decided to come to the UK to study animation, and

who talked with me about the current Korean situation in animation. A brief meeting in

that college developed into a firm relationship that went beyond the usual one between a

researcher and research subjects. Three became my 'eyes and ears' and data collectors

in the field of animation which itself was not yet a familiar sector to me. Despite my

efforts to retain a male student (amongst those four) in my interviewee list by contacting him via e-mails afterwards, this resulted in nothing. In the first encounter and interview I already noticed something of a communication problem. The reasons were presumably connected with our similar age group and opposite sex, and the fact that he was still doing his bachelor's degree: feelings of rivalry, and the traditionally Korean male attitude to females. I contacted the three regularly. They had industry connections in Korea and I was advised to contact the professional animators recommended by them.

Second, between 23 March and 7 April 2005, I distributed an open questionnaire which consisted of sixteen questions to twenty-eight Korean subjects aged twenty to thirty-five via e-mail. They were selected in an informal way. It started from a couple of people that I knew and they circulated the questionnaires to people they knew. Taking advantage of the Internet, this snowball sampling method was carried out with no difficulties. It was effective in terms of time saving, considering the distance between Korea and the UK. Appropriately, given that this study deals with globalisation, this 'snowball sampling' by e-mail seems to demonstrate the benefit of globalisation for researchers. This survey was to gauge how Korean consumers of animation think: first about animation, and second – and more specifically – about Japanese, American and Korean animation. The survey eventually provided a brief but overall picture of how animation was appreciated in Korea.

Third, in order to hear more detailed and objective opinions about the Korean animation industry, I arranged meetings with an animation journalist (Camden Town, London, on the 30 April 2005) and an animation critic (Senate House, London, 20 May 2005), who were both well experienced in dealing with various parts of the industry . They advised that I should 'go into the actual field' and witness first-hand what actually was happening inside the industry. Such an approach would allow me to see the difference between the 'reality' that animators experience and the materials I had

collected from media reports and statistics. Their critical views opened up my eyes slightly wider than before and from that meeting I built more networks with other animation people in Korea.

Having kept in close contact with all of my research subjects, they encouraged me to attend an international animation film festival with them. I agreed to do so as:

1) I could see how animation was appreciated internationally;

2) It was a good opportunity to witness how those aspiring animators engage and network with other animators; and

3) Since many Korean professional animators and policy-related people would be attending the festival, it would provide the opportunity to make additional contacts and carry out interviews before leaving for Korea.

Hence, from 5 to 13 June 2005 I attended Annecy International Animation Film Festival in France. There I met with several important figures in the Korean animation industry and conducted interviews. Again, that brief encounter led to further meetings in Korea. Those people recommended more people, making my contacts and networking with people in the animation industry much easier.

After the festival, I departed for Korea to conduct interviews. My fieldwork in Korea started on 24 June and lasted until 15 October. It should be noted, however, that some of the personal one-to-one interviews were actually conducted in Britain after returning from Korea. I conducted one-to-one interviews in depth with forty people in the animation industry − from the lowest position of animation, in-betweeners, to the CEOs and policy makers of the animation field. The ratio of female/male respondents is provided in Table 5.1. Also during that period, I conducted observational research in a Japanese OEM animation company where I stayed with the in-betweeners and worked

closely with the director and producer. As that company offered me the chance to work in their management team, I could also observe how the business operated on that level.

(2) Who are the Animators?

Gender: Examining the statistics provided by the *KOCCA White Paper on Animation Industry* (2004: 62), one discovers that 48.7 percent of animators are female and the remaining 51.3 percent are male. KOCCA (The Korea Culture & Content Agency) is a governmental organisation that supports creative and cultural industry in Korea. According to their introduction, KOCCA is 'committed to fostering the growth of the culture content business in Korea. KOCCA plays an important role of raising the profile of the Korean culture content industry that is rich in cultural heritage and creative people' (see web database). This ratio of participation by female animators in the animation industry may raise interesting questions about the structure and characteristics of the animation industry. The case of *Anifactory* -- a pseudonym for a Japanese OEM animation company--indicates that the number of female animators is far greater than the number of male animators in the ratio of 2:1.

Table 5. 1 Ratio of Male and Female Animators at *Anifactory*

	Male	Female
Director	1	-
Producer	-	1
Original Drawing /Layout	3	2
Colouring	-	7
In-between	4	6
Total	8	16

Considering the social changes in present-day Korea, where many women tend to have their own careers, this ratio is perhaps not surprising. However, while conducting

the research and observing animators, I learnt that some parts of the animation process, such as 'colouring' and 'in-between' in particular, are mostly occupied by female animators. Also, the fact that directors, producers and original drawings are still male-dominated positions should not be dismissed. My interview findings demonstrate that while male animators tend to aspire to be directors in the future, female animators are more likely to be comfortable in the position of in-betweeners and colourists. The reasons for this are: first, in-between and colouring is easier than original drawings; and second, even after marriage women can do this work at home alongside childcare and housework (Producer's assistant KDH, personal interview 15 July 2005).

However, perhaps the most interesting feature of the animation industry structure for female employees is if they did want to try, they could reach the top position in rather fair competition. The data I gathered reveals that there are a number of female CEOs in the Korean animation industry. Also, it was suggested that 'to find a good production company in Korea, find the one with female CEO' (Veteran producer of twenty years PKS, personal interview 15 July 2005).[10] As some of my interviewees stated, the animation industry is a place where good drawing skills count towards individual success (Animation art director PSH, personal interview 28 September 2005) and there are numerous opportunities for women to lead a successful career (Animation director SKS, personal interview 21 July 2005).

Age: Examining the statistics provided by KOCCA's White Paper (2005), 40.3 percent of workers in the animation industry were between thirty and thirty-four, and

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[10]   In fact, many big animation companies in Korea are run by female CEOs: twenty out of ninety-nine (N. Shin & C. W. Han, *Encyclopaedia of Animation,* 2002: 268-281).

29.9 percent were aged twenty-five to twenty-nine. The majority of my sample was in these two age categories. Directors and producers were in the over thirty-five-year-old category while many young animators between twenty and thirty-four were colourists or in-betweeners. As shown in the data analysis chapters (especially Chapters 6 and 7), animators' income, living standards and social status are unstable. It is difficult for them to remain working inside animation despite their passionate dream to be artists and creators. For this reason, many animators leave the field before reaching high level positions and look for alternate ways to make a living (Ex-animator CEA, a personal interview 17 July 2005).

Education: Twelve out of twenty-two of the animators I interviewed (54 percent), went to college or university. Considering the age of those animators who attended university and comparing them with the ones with a high school qualification, one finds the evidence that there is a change in appreciating the value of animation. As explored in Chapter 6 in more detail, the values of animation are changing in Korean society; more university and college degree courses in animation are being established every year and young animators aspire to obtain a higher education qualification.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 provide detailed profiles of the interviewees (face to face in-depth interviews) and of the respondents (via electronic questionnaires) that I studied for this research.

Table 5. 2 Interviewees (*Names are aliases for confidentiality apart from Mr. Shin, D.H)

	*Name	Sex	Age	Occupation/Position	Education	Period of Working	Date of Interview
1	Hong	F	29	Student	University (1st B.A in Chinese Literature; 2nd B.A degree in animation)	-	6/12/2004 5-13/6/2005 28/09/2005
2	JHS	F	29	Student	University (1st B.A degree in Design; 2nd B.A degree in animation)	-	6/12/2004 5-13/6/2005
3	PSE	F	22	Student	University (B.A degree in animation)	-	6/12/2004
4	EggMary	M	28	Student	University (1st B.A in ; 2nd B.A degree in animation)	-	6/12/2004
5*	AHS	M	29	MA student, Animation course teacher, 3D animator	Post-graduate (1st B.A in Electronics; M.A degree in animation)	3 years	5/9/2005 19/9/2005 17/2/2006*
6*	PJS	M	27	Independent animation director	University (1st B.A degree in)	6 years	21/7/2005 1/9/2006*
7	LHJ	F	23	In-betweener	High school	3 years	19/7/2005
8	PK	F	26	In-betweener	University (1st B.A degree in fashion design)	5 years	25/7/2005
9	KM	F	37	In-betweener/ art supervisor	High School	14 years	8/7/2005
10	PCS	F	29	In-betweener	High School	5 years	28/9/2005
11	WHM	F	20	In-betweener	High School (Withdrawal from university)	1 month	7/7/2005
12	CJH	F	20	In-betweener	Vocational High School	3 months	18/7//2005
13	S.M	M	26	In-betweener	University (Temporarily withdrawn/ major in animation)	3 months	28/9/2005
14	M.H	F	20	Computer colourist	Vocational High School (majored in animation)	1 year	23/8/2005
15	YYK	M	39	Animation director	University (1st B.A degree in Art Education)	15 years	24/8/2005
16	SKS	M	45	Animation director	University (1st B.A degree in Electronics)	20 years	21/7/2005
17	PSH	M	35	Animation art director	High School	16 years	28/9/200
18	KHK	M	35	Animation art director	High School	16 years	28/9/2005
19	PNY	M	50	CEO/ Animation director	High School	30 years	4/7/2005 7/7/2005 8/7/2005 23/7/2005
20	LCM	M	52	CEO/animation director	High School	30 years	29/6/2005
21	NS	M	68	CEO/ Animation Director	High School	35 years	1/7/2005
22	JYH	M	34	CEO/ Animation director	University	10 years	6/6/2005 19/7/2005

23	PKS	F	45	Producer	Vocational High School	20 years	15/7/2005
24	KDH	M	24	Assistant	Vocational High School	2 years	15/7/2005
25	Shin, D.H	M	80	Retired director	University (1st B.A degree in Architecture)	40 years	6/10/2005
26	YJY	M	-	Civil servant in cultural department	University	-	24/6/2005
27	KSJ	M	-	Civil servant in cultural department	University	-	24/6/2005
28	LML	F	33	Foreign cable TV animation distributor	Post-graduate (1st B.A degree in Law, M.A degree in Journalism)	10 years	1/7/2005
29	HS	M	33	TV producer	University (1st B.A degree in Anthropology)	3 years	29/6/2005
30	NHI	M	-	TV producer	University	5 years	29/6/2005
31	PKH	M	33	Indie animation producer	University (1st B.A degree in Politics)	10 years	1/7/2005
32	LJH	M	39	Indie animation director	University (1st B.A degree in Journalism)	16 years	4/8/2005
33	Han S. T	M	39	Animation curator	University (1st B.A degree in French Literature)	10 years	6/6/2005 31/8/2005 22/8/2006
34	YHR	M	-	Professor	Post-graduate (Majored in French Literature)	-	6//2005
35	LJM	M	-	Professor	Post-Graduate (Majored in Animation)	-	1/7/2005
36	HHR	F	30	Animation journalist	Post-Graduate (M.A degree in Film studies)	5 years	30/4/2005
37	NHW	M	-	Critics/ Animation student	Post-Graduate (1st B.A degree in Sociology, M.A degree in Art/Animation)	10 years	20/5/2005
38	KBY	M	-	Film Institute manager	University	15 years	30/11/2005
39	SH	M	25	Ex-runner of an online animation club	University (B.A degree in Engineering)	-	14/7/2005
40	KJY	F	33	Local animation course teacher	University (1st B.A degree in Home Economics, 2nd B.A degree in Animation)	2 years	1/9/2005
41	CEA	F	25	Ex-Animator Game Designer	University (B.A degree in animation)	2 years	1/5/2005 17/6/2005
42*	PCW	M	22	In-betweener	(Currently attending) University 2nd year B.A	8 months	28/8/2006
43*	MDY	F	33	Sound producer for animation	University	8 years	28/8/2006

(Note: Interviews and discussions with 5*, 6* 42* and 43* in 2006 were conducted via <u>Online messenger and e mails</u> as follow-up and additional interviews.)

Table 5. 3 Questionnaire: Respondents – Koreans (* Names are respondents' e-mail IDs for confidentiality reasons.)

	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation
1	Songmlo	28	F	Web designer
2	Vanila_milk	27	F	Company worker
3	Jaenoh	22	F	University student
4	Sunkiss	23	F	University student
5	Movinghana	28	F	Company worker
6	Kua	32	F	Company worker
7	Jackan2000	30	M	Business
8	Eosbach	31	F	Company worker
9	Leesohyun	27	F	Sales assistant
10	Jeff	27	M	Computer programmer
11	Ok-Hee	28	F	University student
12	Cats	27	F	Web designer
13	Imsena	25	F	University student
14	Amber	26	F	Company worker
15	Vagabondz	28	F	University student
16	Yeon-Hee	25	F	Part-time worker
17	Oops79	25	F	Post-graduate student
18	Hojin	32	M	Company worker
19	Huijing	29	F	Company worker
20	Soo-Hyun	21	F	University student
21	Monde	26	F	Company worker
22	Ho-Soon	27	F	Part-time worker
23	Rg9087	34	F	Business buyer
24	ChoiCoco	31	F	Part-time lecturer
25	Eun-Mee	26	F	Designer
26	LML	34	F	Distributor
27	Su	31	F	Company worker
28	KS	32	F	Business

5.2.1 BEING WITH ANIMATORS: GETTING THE HANG OF ANIMATORS' LIVES AT *ANIFACTORY*

(1) Selection procedure of the observation field - *Anifactory*

The OEM animation industry is divided into two different style groups: Japanese and American. At the end of June 2005, I visited an American-style OEM company to conduct an interview with an animation director. After interviewing him, I asked if I could have a look around in the company. He replied, 'there are not many people working at this particular season. So you wouldn't find much to look around' (Field notes, 29 June 2005). In the American OEM production, there is a six-month cycle of high-demand season and off-season. Hence, the time I conducted my fieldwork was not the right time to investigate an American OEM company. Secondly, the Japanese style of drawing is preferred and the one most frequently criticised for its bad influence on children as well as for affecting animators' creativity. Hence, I chose to find a Japanese OEM company: *Anifactory*. In addition to this, I explain reasons for choosing *Anifactory* below.

Less Publicised

Anifactory is one of the oldest Japanese animation OEM companies in Korea and has the reputation of being one of the best, most trustworthy production companies in the OEM industry. However, it is only known within a circle of animators and Japanese business partners. Unlike others that run a website to publicise their company, *Anifactory* has none,

and is quiet and less publicised. I found their address only from a telephone directory, published by the Animators' Association. The CEO and director of this company, PNY commented:

> The best blacksmith never leaves his shop or wanders around to find work outside. *People* want the blacksmith and bring irons to him with trust and faith that he can make the best hammer, or the best knife in the town. I do have a confident belief that my company delivers the best and finest quality of animation. (PNY, male, 30 years in the industry, Personal interview, 4 July 2005 at PNY's office)

Considering the size of *Anifactory*, where sixteen staff work in a spacious individual department with a floor space of 381 ㎡, their business seems to be well managed. Although they have a relatively small number of animators, the systematic working process heightens the efficiency of their work. The CEO (PNY) supervises not only the detail of animators' drawings, but also advises on individual animators' working posture and attitude. With his encouraging, yet strict, guidelines, the animators seem to try hard to be punctual for deadlines as well as to produce work of a high quality. In this way, *Anifactory* attracts Japanese business partners and, thus, finds no reason to publicise their company.

Location and Travel Distance

One of the reasons *Anifactory* was chosen was for its location. As I decided to conduct participant observation and additional interviews with animators elsewhere, the distance of my journey was critical. *Anifactory* is in my city (Incheon), and all the interview locations were within easy travelling distance from my house. Hence, I was able to observe at *Anifactory* in the morning, and conduct interviews with individual animators elsewhere later that day. Also, they are conveniently located to deliver their work to the airport. OEM animation work requires a punctual delivery time agreed with other OEM companies for intermediaries to collect individual companies' work and fly to Japan.

Table 5. 4 About *Anifactory*

	Anifactory
History	twenty years
The area of Company	381 ㎡, rent the third floor of a building (*For more information, see **Appendix 1**)
Conditions of Location	ten minutes distance to city centre [city hall, shopping mall, cinema, concert hall] five minutes walk from a rail station, thirty minutes by car, 40 minutes by coach to the airport
Number of Employers	twenty four (for detail, see **Table 5.1)**

(2) Observation, Suspicion and Lack of Trust

One of the difficulties I confronted during my fieldwork was the challenge of communicating with professional animators when I had no prior experience in the animation industry. As Jacques J Maquet states, fieldwork is the 'study of another society, for which one has to cross a cultural barrier' (1964: 50) and the researcher functions as the 'carrier of an outside culture' (ibid.). For them, my presence was nothing more than an annoyance at the beginning. Being a total outsider, I had to cross the barrier of their community culture. I could feel this especially in the Japanese OEM company *Anifactory* where I did observational research. Communication with the director and the producer was much easier than with animators in lower positions. People in higher positions were eager to tell me about the situation of the industry, and regarded me as a sort of 'spokesperson' who could write about it. (I provided my interviewees brief information that I was conducting a Ph.D. project on the Korean animation industry.) On the other hand, the animators suspected that I might be an intruder reporting on their working attitudes or divulging their secrets to the bosses. This attitude remained for quite a while. Because of this distrust, I could not help but feel excluded at first, even though I literally was in the same cubicle.

The first response I had from one of the animators in the in-betweeners' cubicle was 'Stop disturbing us! We've got to work. Come back later!' in a very cold manner. Despite the fact that their producer introduced me and explained my position there, my presence as an intruder to them did not change at all. Instead, it formed antagonistic and suspicious attitudes towards me.

Table 5. 5 Details of the Participant Observation Research

	At *Anifactory*
No. of days observing	44 days (excluding Saturdays and Sundays)
No. of hours observing	Approximately 200 hours (4-6 hours a day)
No. of interviews	14
Observation period	July–October 2005

(3) Food, Comics, and Smoking

One of the strategies I had to think of was how to break down the wall between the animators and myself. Having been treated in such a cold way by some animators, I was very cautious of how to approach them. First, I had my own desk, which was not occupied by any of the animators and situated right inside the in-betweeners' cubicle. I was sitting there almost every day (apart from days when I had to be away to conduct interviews elsewhere) to make them aware of my 'presence' inside their group. This strategy, however, took a while to work properly as they could simply ignore me. Hence, the second strategic thought that came into my mind, in order to be 'in touch with the animators', was 'food sharing'. Malinowski notes that in order to successfully carry out fieldwork, researchers should learn 'how to behave and acquire "the feeling" for native good and bad manners' and he mentions that 'the capacity of enjoying their company and sharing some of their games and amusements' is also important since then the researchers would be 'indeed in touch with the natives' (1922: 8). Despite the barriers caused by different community

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culture, 'food' was something that could be consumed without much trouble. The animators did not often go out or eat properly but always stayed long in their cubicle to finish their work. So, in the first week I bought two bags full of bread to offer them. Also, as it was a hot summer season when I conducted my research in Korea, I sometimes bought specially wrapped ice creams to deliver to them hoping that they would accept me so that I could build up trust. I also tried to have meals with them. They often called local takeaways as they were too busy to go out to have proper meals. I joined them to share meals together and that was when the animators started to become more open in talking to me.

From food sharing to talking, trust grew gradually each day. I sat in the corner where everybody else was working and they started to view me as one of 'them'. Sometimes they offered me their comics and graphic novels to read, cups of coffee, and food. The comics are significant to a certain extent since they are the animators' 'core entertainment' and 'pleasure' and the animators were willing to share those with me. While reading their comics, I could get closer to each animator. More talks were generated in that manner and beyond the interview level; I could observe and learn far more about them from such general talk and chats.

One thing I had to endure, however, was smoking. Almost every animator I met in that particular company smoked. They had a smoking shelter with a couple of couches provided on the rooftop of the building. It was an 'exclusive' area only for the animators. Neither the producer nor the director would go there. Smoking in that particular sense indicated 'territory' (see Chapter 9). Nevertheless, I was asked to join them in that special exclusive territory. As a non-smoker myself, being surrounded by smokers was unbearable. However, I followed them up to the rooftop. It was because that space was where they freely discussed their experiences in working for the animation production. Sometimes they

discussed certain animations, their lives, and even spoke ill of their bosses. Smoking for them was a release for their tiredness and stress.

In Gary A. Fine's ethnographical study on *Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work*, he explains the following:

> One way that workers attempt to gain the allegiance of a researcher is to provide organizational perquisites: pleasant little bribes. This is an extension of the 'gift' of information that informants give. To accept a gift to remain in the giver's thrall until one reciprocates. Cooks do this with goods that technically are not theirs to give but belong to their bosses: food. (1996: 237)

Staying with the animators, sharing food, reading their comics together, and being invited for smoking demonstrated that I built up enough trust with them that they were ready to offer me as Fine states above, those 'gifts' to communicate with me. Subsequently, I had become an insider or, at least, no longer a total outsider.

(4) Community of Bizarre People

Fine explains with the phrase 'Fine's Law of Shared Madness' that regardless of the characteristics of groups or community, people tend to suggest that 'they must be "crazy" to engage in their activity' and he continues, '"Fine's Law of Shared Madness" playfully proposes that in any adult research setting, informants explain that their activity is "irrational"' (1996: 235). In the case of the animators' community at *Anifactory* and also

for other animators, 'Fine's Law of Shared Madness' proves correct. What I constantly

heard from the animators at *Anifactory* was that animators were 'strange', 'crazy' and

'bizarre' in terms of their ways of thinking and behaving.

> We are *peculiar*! There are some *bizarre* people, too. We're, like, full blooded,
>
> and we're stubborn as a mule. It's what we call '*DdolKki (끼 (氣))*' [insanity].
>
> (Animator LHJ, female, 23 years old, 3 years in the industry)

> Animators' worldviews are very unique and different from others. That's how
>
> we [animators] communicate with and understand each other, and yes, I do feel
>
> that I am different from others [outside the industry].
>
> (Animator CJH, female, 20 years old, 3 months in the industry)

> Some people have said I'm an alien from a different planet. [Laugh] They
>
> sometimes think I'm bizarre and say, 'Get back to your planet! Go!' Then, I
>
> reply, 'Alright. I'll go back to my planet.'
>
> (Animator PK, 26 years old, five years in the industry)

> We [animators] do have a special temperament – *Kki (끼 (氣))* – that you don't
>
> find in normal people. One of my juniors has such a strong and strange
>
> temperament that she sees weird stuff other people can't. In a joking way, we
>
> tell her she ought to be a witch. We are that bizarre.
>
> (Animation art supervisor KM, female, 37 years old, 13 years in the industry)

Surely their utterance of 'bizarreness' comes from their differences of 'being artistic' as well as 'being exhausted' from constant and endless overnight work. However, as with many other vocations, the animators are crazy in terms of being passionate and adoring what they do regardless of the low payment and unstable income (see Chapter 9).

5.2.2 TALKING WITH ANIMATORS: TALK AND INTERACTION

Drawings as Communication Tool – Animators' Self-Portraits

'Participation (doing)', 'observation (seeing)', 'interrogation (talking)' as Murray Wax (1972: 12) explains (quoted in Stocking, 1983:101) are the different modes for the 'activity of the fieldwork'. Talking with and observing animators meets part of the traditional ethnography method. Moreover, studying talk or conversation is significant as it 'elucidates social structure as an everyday, practical accomplishment' which delightfully results in 'talk-in-interaction' (Boden and Zimmerman, 1991: 4, 8-9). However, sometimes visual media may also provide valid data for interpreting and 'conveying of subjects' inner experience' (Rapport and Overing, 2000: 387). Though 'pictorial media' in 'visual anthropology' normally refers to photographs, film and video (ibid.: 387), I thought that drawing a self-portrait could work as another valid method to study subjects whose most skilful talent is drawing. Some animators, for example, like the director PNY, loved talking about various and different issues around animation. Nevertheless, it was interesting to

notice − though this generalisation should be treated with caution − that many animators I encountered did not like talking. Without strong prompts, they hardly spoke. Hence, I wanted to utilise their special skills to compensate for any verbal communication errors due to their 'quiet' disposition. For them, drawing was the main tool to express their feelings and emotions. I asked a number of animators to first draw their own self-portraits and, second, what their thoughts were about the current situation of the Korean animation industry. Some of their drawings were full of creativity and their ideas were far surpassed my imagination.

5.3 METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

In this particular section, I reflect upon my 'role to play' as a researcher who is also a 'social animal' and that one's 'own personality' must also be considered seriously to function successfully' (Whyte, 1993: 279) in carrying out fieldwork. My standpoint (who I am, where I come from) was already a 'problem' before conducting the research and communicating with interviewees. This problem surely generated research struggles, confusion, and did not provide a 'logical-intellectual basis' (ibid.: 279). However, how my 'social animal' position influenced and affected the subjects (animators) was significant in producing and reflecting the complexity of determining causes of their responses and overall contribution to my study (Althusser, 1965: 101). In other words, examining my position and struggles during fieldwork was critical for the overall study and its outcome. Hence, I now turn to my own reflexive moments of the research.

5.3.1 PERSONAL BACKGROUND

When a photograph of a house is taken, the resulting image depends not only on the building, but also on the angle, that is to say, on the position of the camera. Someone familiar with the house and its surroundings can, just by looking at the picture, determine the exact spot where the camera was set up; even a person who has never seen the building will note whether the photographer was on the left or the right side, at street level or above. There is no picture without a perspective, that is to say, not taken from a definite point. ⋯ ⋯ It is the fact that the anthropologist perceives the social phenomena he studies not from nowhere but from a certain point of view, which is his existential situation.

Objectivity in Anthropology, (Maquet, 1964: 51).

First Problem: I was born into a middle-class family devoted to classical art and music. My paternal grandmother was a fashion designer; my grandfather possessed a distinctive voice recognised in the local community, and ran a chemical factory. My great-uncle is an established choral conductor, and was previously the Dean of a university music department. His wife is now his manager and studied singing as her degree. My father is a choral conductor and teaches religious music in a college, and my mother is an organist who has run her own music institute and taught the piano and organ for more than twenty-five years. Other members of my family are involved in fine art, classical music or theology.

Having grown up in a family that produces and performs so-called high culture, and I myself being trained as a classical pianist taking A-Level music, I was surrounded by classical musicians and artists. Although as a youngster I watched a considerable amount of animated films and comics and imitated their drawings, its production side and the animators were remote from me. Later on at university, as I majored in documentary directing, I learnt how to use the filmic medium and produce films. However, the distance from animation remained.

Second Problem: Up to the age of fifteen, I was educated in Korea where animation was not valued. It was merely regarded as a medium for children, who were told not to watch them too much since they distracted one's focus from study. However, since A-Levels I have been educated in the UK where the appreciation and evaluation of animation is relatively 'better' and 'higher'. Hence, my understanding of animation has already developed on two different levels and this was where I found myself in the problematic position of insider/outsider for this research.

5.3.2 MYSELF AS AN IN-BETWEENER

Having explained my background, one of the emergent problems I confronted for this particular research was how and where to locate my position. Being Korean, I was a definite insider and was also an active animation consumer. However, at the same time, I was an outsider who had been living and studying abroad for a considerable time with a rather stable middle-class background. I write here about part of my own culture from a

'physically distanced' position as an outsider. My question is: 'Am I an in-betweener?'

This particular research topic deals with cultural production and its producers, whose in-between status is generated by external and internal causes from their country's position. As a researcher, whose (rather) objective attitudes were necessary for the study, possessing two subjectivities-in-one simultaneously (outsider/insider) and myself being an in-betweener, was a problematic issue.

On the other hand, however, this problematic issue became an advantage to see both subjectivities in a comprehensive manner. First, as a Korean, I would understand the social-historical situation that Korea has experienced from the past to the present (and I admit the tendency to be biased and partial). At the same time, I was educated in a foreign country and, above all, as a researcher I was aware that my position should be impartial (within the existing partiality as explained).

Also, despite the fact that I was from a firm middle-class family participating in high-culture production, and knowing nothing about animation since there was a common ground of 'being creative', understanding the creative and artistic process of the animators from my side was not problematic. However, my personal and social position might have influenced or affected how my informants responded verbally and physically. Hence, what I deliver and present throughout my thesis could also be a consequence of my own position, and a representation of informants who might have been influenced by me.

Admitting these epistemological problems which have often been discussed under the issue of 'objectivity', I try to write and deliver the findings from the fieldwork in the manner of an ethnographer whose 'perspective' and 'point of view' (Maquet, 1964: 51) remain but tries hard to shorten the supposedly 'enormous distance' between 'the brute material of information and the final authoritative presentation of the results' (Malinowski,

1922: 3-4). What Max Weber calls 'value-free' (quoted in Popper, 1996: 68), to be objective is still very important and critical in social science research. However, it is impossible to separate or abolish 'subjectivity' and become totally value-free to achieve complete objectivity. As Karl Popper explains, 'the objective and 'value-free' scientist is not the ideal scientist. Without passion we can achieve nothing − certainly not in pure science. The phrase "the love of truth" is no mere metaphor.' (ibid.: 74) At least (personal and rather subjective) passion would be the very common driving force for researchers to pursue their studies. Hereby, I demanded to keep my own position and rather be 'imprisoned' with whatever 'value' I had for this research and continued to seek and examine the community and culture for its validity. As to my insistence on being a carrier of the work, here I quote Malinowski:

> It is I who will describe them or create them ⋯. This island, though not 'discovered' by me, is for the first time experienced artistically and mastered intellectually. (Cited in Stocking, 1983: 101)

5.3.3 OBSERVERS OBSERVED AND INTERACTION

> I am overt about my presence, publicly taking notes, believing that the novelty of my role will wear off quickly as I am around every day. Daily research breeds familiarity, and openness is both more ethical and leads to more precise

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data, since memory tricks are minimized. Yet, this strategy leads to a justifiable

desire to turn the tables. (Fine, 1996: 236)

The title of this section is borrowed from George W. Stocking's edited book, *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork.* This is a useful description of my fieldwork where relational activities between research objects (i.e. interviewees) and me were not a one-way observation process but a two-way interactive process of observing and being observed. My presence as a researcher to the interviewees was obvious: first, I was with them as an intruder and stranger to their ordinary life; second, my recording device – a tiny MP3, unlike the lumbering tape recorders of old – was right in front of them, which may have been a constant reminder of why I was there; third, when interviewees asked not to be recorded on the MP3, I used a notepad and a pen to jot down what they said (though thoroughly detailed field notes were taken afterwards). In one way or another, I did and do know that my presence would have affected their acts and speech regardless of the efforts I made not to give any personal information or indication of my research.

Moreover, interviewees talk to each other and share their 'guesswork' (Popper, 1996: 47) in order to develop their 'knowledge' about 'me', an outsider to their community. I carried out my observation research at one company and approached other animators elsewhere individually, apart from those certain number of animators who I approached through the cyber Internet club. However, the animators' community and animation industry are relatively small in Korea. So, somehow the story about a female student circulated. For instance, one day the animation journalist I met in London and one of the animators I interviewed in Korea shared a conversation in an online chat room. At one point,

the topic of a female research student came up and both of them realised they were talking about the same person. I received this information through my respondent in the first interview, which happened after e-mail contact and several phone-calls. Even in recent contact (27 March 2006), the respondent informed me that they now openly talk about me and were even concerned how life was treating me in London. Not that many of the interviewees knew exactly what I was doing with animators in various places, but I became an 'object' to be 'observed', if not with face-to-face observation, at least through curious gossips. Hence, to some extent, I am sure that my interviewees (especially above the level of producer whose network is far wider within the field than lower level animators) were prepared to 'behave themselves'. The following observations concern elements of 'me' objectified to be observed by my 'researching objects' and how the interaction with them took place.

Class and Education: Regardless of my 'occupation' (a post-graduate student), 'where I came from' was the main curiosity for interviewees. Animators in low position (in-betweeners, colourists, assistants or animation students) were curious about my life in London and London as a foreign city. Since they were in my age group (twenty to thirty), they seemed to imagine themselves going abroad, either for their studies, travelling or working. In the very beginning, however, I could not help feeling some heartlessness from them. The similar age but different personal and educational background was probably the main reason behind this. This is where I was careful not to hurt their feelings in any way. At one point, a female animator pointed at my MP3 player (which was then fairly new and high-tech) and asked the price of it. Regretfully, I was honest about the price and I later

learnt that her salary that month was about the same as the cost of the MP3 player. However, the reaction from animators in higher positions (directors, producers, CEOs) contrasted with the young animators. Unlike the young animators, they had already established their positions and had a considerable stable income. What they were most interested in was my capability of 'doing' something for them with my educational background, if I was to become involved in their business. A comment I received on numerous occasions from them was how good my English was. For many animation productions, whether in the OEM business or independent productions, recruiting people with foreign language skills is important. I actually used this point as a way of 'payment' or to express 'gratitude' for interviews with them; translating an English document into Korean or interpreting for foreign guests, for example.

Gender and Age: Gender also became an influence on the animators' reaction. For single and male interviewees, I tried to avoid meeting them alone or in the evening. If I had to meet them in the evenings for interviews, I then asked for their permission for me to be accompanied by one of my female friends. It was to prevent any unnecessary personal involvement that could possibly happen between young single men and women. For this particular matter, rational behaviour with firmly objective research attitudes was necessary. However, it could not be avoided that some conversational attitudes became more 'friendly'. In addition to that, either because of my gender (female) or my age (relatively younger than most of the male respondents), most of the time they insisted on paying for all expenses incurred during the course of the interview. In Korean culture, men are accustomed to paying on behalf of women, especially those who are younger, unmarried and single (including paying for meals and drink, and transport if not driving, for example). Most of

time they 'insist' on paying for everything to impress women. Even when they are only with men, there tends to be one or two men who insist on paying for everybody. I would suggest this kind of behaviour is to confirm one's paternalistic position as well as social supremacy over others.

On the contrary, female animators in my age group (twenty to thirty) were generally friendly but I experienced a different kind of 'friendliness'. More 'sharing' activities took place. After the interviews and staying in the same place for a certain period of time, we engaged in 'girls talk': diet, fashion, relationship, hair, etc. I believe that by sharing these topics rather than losing 'objectivity' in research, I could achieve more 'intimate' and 'deeper' results from them. Class issues, educational background or occupation level did not matter in the same gender circle where many similarities could be shared in any case.

Chapter 6

Inevitable Negotiation: In-between the Global and the National

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter and the following chapter, I will explore the first in-between state of the Korean animators with examples of their own lived experiences in the industry, which I propose to position in the in-between of the global and the national. This chapter focuses on the global division of labour in the context of the Korean national economy. I seek to analyse today's Korean animators' struggles and difficulties in their everyday lives, particularly, those of the OEM animators who get direct influences from the global others (i.e. foreign producers). OEM stands for 'original equipment manufacturer'. OEM countries receive orders from foreign (e.g. multinational or transnational) companies to make certain parts of the products or models. And, these OEM producing countries tend to be less developed or developing countries where relatively cheap labour can be used for the production process. In this sense, as we will see in the rest of the chapter, the employing companies can make profits from it with surplus margins.

What I aim to demonstrate in this chapter is two-fold: 1) that the first in-between state is a negotiation generated and driven mainly by the push and pull factors of globalisation and that it delivers the Korean animators' globalisation experience in the form of economic and political struggles; 2) that while experiencing this in-between state, the animators' artistic and creative merits are ignored, and they are regarded as simple labourers, which consequently lead to their emotional instability. For analytic purposes, the chapter will be

divided into two parts: the Korean animation industry in the present and the past. It will begin by introducing the present state of the Korean animation industry, where financial insecurity and fears of unemployment have become problematic issues. Then, the chapter moves to examining the reasons behind the OEM involvement in the past, and demonstrates that the weak economic situation of Korea was the very push factor that led the animators to participate in the global division of labour.

6.2 KOREAN ANIMATION OEM INDUSTRY: PAST AND PRESENT

6.2.1 HOW IT IS NOW: THE PRESENT: OEM ANIMATORS' DAILY LIVES AND WORK

Figure 6. 1 A Portrait of An Animator

'By tomorrow! I must finish this by tomorrow!'
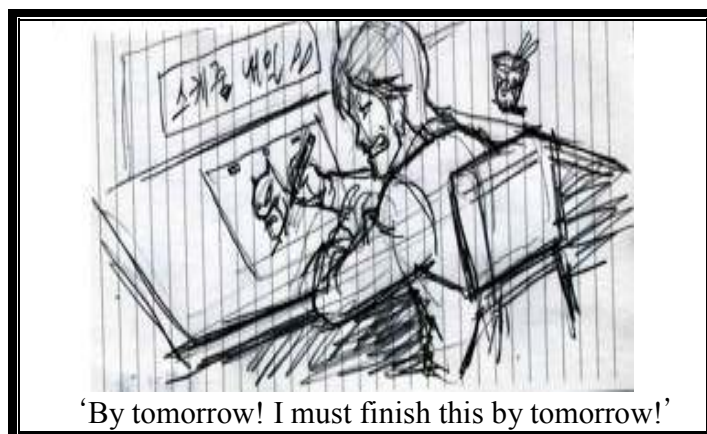
This is a portrait of me working hard to meet the deadline. I can't go home till I finish everything. Hence, I eat and sleep in the office all the time. This is my life. (Animation art director KHK, male, working for 16 years, 28 September 2005)

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Globalisation is indeed a way the global and the local meet and interact with each other. The influences of global forces directly affect the local in various ways. In the case of the Korean OEM animation industry decisions about animators' workloads, time-management, and schedules are all dependent on the plans of their foreign employers. This situation clearly illustrates the impact of the international division of labour and how it fosters the fragmentation and division of labour within local workplaces as well. This is shown in the following example.

Mornings in *Anifactory*: the air in the company feels stuffy because of the animators' over-night breath. Girls with swollen eyes yawn and stretch and boys sleep with their faces over the light-box desks. After a short while, around the corner, automatic pencil sharpeners spin loudly and the volume of popular Korean music from the radio is turned up. It is the cue to the start of the day as the deadline (i.e. delivery time to the airport) draws near. No interviews can be conducted until they finish drawing a certain amount of pages given to each one of them. They say only superficial greetings to me and there are no other words or actions. Their hands move faster and the chief animator's voice gets desperately louder. 'You should all finish by 3 p.m.!' This is what happens in the in-betweeners' cubicle. Meanwhile, in the producer's office, a phone never stops ringing and the facsimile machine runs continuously. The producer's apologies in a foreign language (Japanese) sound unfamiliar to my ears and yet are understandable from her soft and gentle voice tone. With twenty years experience as an animation producer, PKS, is the wife of the director and CEO of *Anifactory*, PNY, who will soon be introduced in the later part of this chapter. She expresses her frustration with dealing with foreign partners and the company's animators:

I have to do this all the time. We are shackled by tight schedules and

bombarded by deadlines. Our animators are stressed by the overloaded work

and surrounded by end-of-the-day fatigue. The whole work should be sent out

to the airport for flight time and yet it is very hard to keep that punctual. So, I

constantly have to say sorry to people in foreign offices and urge our animators

to finish work quickly. What a tiring job this is!

(Producer PKS, female, twenty years in the industry)

As the tension between employers and employees increases, status hierarchies become

clearer. This fact clearly illustrates how capital/financial power is the tool to distance the

global (employers) from the local (employees). It is perhaps not surprising then that such

distanciation also occurs between the local workers (i.e. between producers and in-

betweeners/animators themselves). Producers feel compelled to raise their voices to order

low-level animators to work faster, while in-betweeners themselves are then overloaded

with work and threatened with wage penalties. For example, if the so-called 'retake' (which

means redoing the job) is necessary,

    After 3 p.m. when an assistant KDH (male, 2 years in the industry) snaps up a bag of

collected work from the animators and dashes off to the airport in a hurry, the entire

company becomes more peaceful and quiet. Some animators go back home to take shower

and others stay to do more work, or practise their lines. Animators need to acquire skills to

draw 'lines' − clear, straight, and various kinds - for animation work. Animators' wages are

directly related to their skill levels in drawing particular qualities of lines. For this reason,

trainees do, as they refer to as, 'practising lines' in their spare time. While taking a rest, the

animators explain how difficult their lives and work are. An animation art supervisor KM, who has worked for thirteen years, explains, and an animator LHJ tells of her earnings:

> We often work overnight. So much work to be done in a short period of time. Japanese animation OEM work is supposed to be completed over two nights and three days. When the work arrives off a flight, we distribute work according to individual animator's skill level and work speed (pages per hour). After that, whatever happens, we have to finish them on time. Once the work is completed, it's taken to the airport with other OEM companies' works and carried by a Japanese delivery person.
>
> (Animation art supervisor KM, female, age 37, 13 years in the industry)

> I worked overnight for over twenty-eight days last month, and can you guess how much I earned from it? ₩380,000 (£190) only! I was broke, a total beggar! How sad is this life, huh?
>
> (Animator LHJ, female, age 23, 3 years in the industry)

Figure 6. 2 & Figure 6. 3 Portraits of Animators

2. Killed? Suicide? By whom? Why?

3. 'I can't do any more⋯. Could you draw my bit, plea⋯se?'
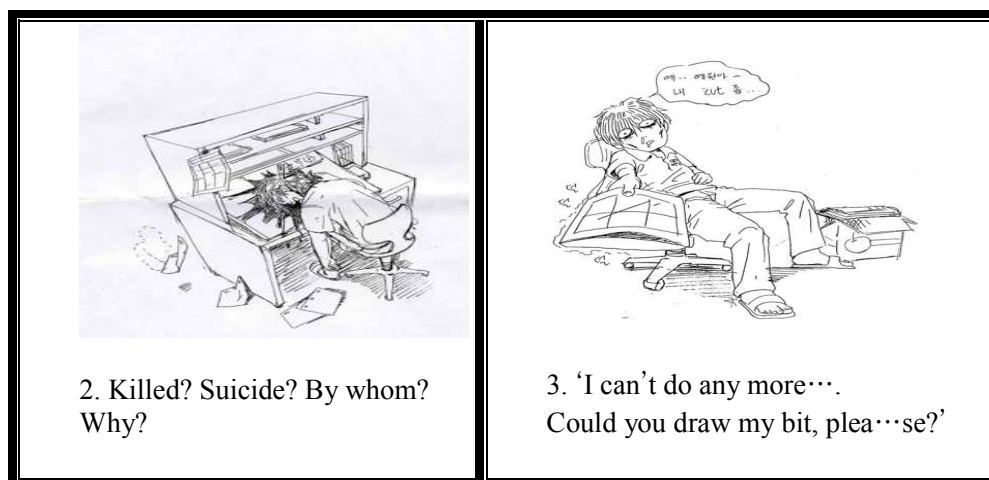
Source: Animator S.M

Korean animators' labour costs are relatively low (here, I specifically refer to the lowest ranked animators) and they are paid by the number of pages they draw. Although top animators and directors make a big sum of money, low ranked animators, i.e. in-betweeners, colourists or those who have just started working, earn very little for their labour and work. It is because there is no basic salary given but only a 'pay-as-you-draw' system. (More detailed working conditions of the Korean animators will be explored in Chapter 7.) Hence, animators' industrial experiences and skills directly affect their income. The following are the payment ratio, based on the collective interview data from fieldwork period (July−October 2005):

a) for Japanese OEM work, in-betweeners earn ₩ 1,000 (£ 0.50) per page
and digital colour artists ₩ 800 (£ 0.40) per page;

b) for American OEM work, in-betweeners earn ₩ 800 (£ 0.40) per page and
for digital colour artists, a similar rate to or less than Japanese OEM colour
artists (American OEM work is paid less than Japanese as it requires simpler
drawing skills.)

I have already mentioned that wage rates and drawing skills are closely related to each
other. Having discussed in-betweeners' wages above in a general way, here, let us look into
the wage and employment structure of *Anifactory* per se (See Chapter 5 for other detailed
information and structural elements; e.g. location, size of the company, history, gender ratio,
education, ages and animators' informal cultures.).

Inside *Anifactory*, there are total twenty four employees (See Chapter 5. Table 5.1 for a
detailed breakdown.). Apart from the producer PKS who deals directly with foreign
customers (either on the phone, by e-mail, or via fax), other animators' positions are
decided according to their level of drawing skills and years of working experience.
Animators who have just started animation work are allocated to the in-betweeners' cubicle.
As in-betweeners need to deliver many pages of drawings daily, in-between work is
believed to be a starting point for animation rookies. In *Antifactory* there are about ten in-
betweeners (four males and six females). Next to the in-betweeners' cubicle, there is the
computer colouring department where seven female members work. As with the in-
betweeners, colourists are paid low wages as not much skill is required for these positions.
It is interesting to point out however, that while these two departments (in-betweeners and

colourists) are located in the company's hall using partitions to divide their working space into cubicles, the original drawing department[11] is located in a separate office, next to the directors' room. Inside the original drawing department, there are a total of five staff members (three male and two female). During the period of my fieldwork, however, only one man and one woman were present, both of whom were also relatively new to the field, which indicates that the other three more senior members of staff were able to have more private time outside the company. This again illustrates how wages and status are dependent on animators' dexterity and drawing skills (i.e. fast drawing means higher wages and more free time). Original drawing animators must have better drawing skills and longer work experience than in-betweeners, which means their wages are far higher than those of in-betweeners as well. Their wages are, however, not fixed and therefore they can vary dependent on their previous working experiences. In *Anifactory*, I was not given access to information about their exact wage rates. It is also worth noting where the producer's office was located. The producers' office was situated next to the colourists and the in-betweeners. Staff at *Antifactory* themselves would argue that the floor plan of the company office is laid in such a way as to promote the best conditions for work efficiency and productivity. Nevertheless, the impression I received from the entire floor layout of the company was different. To me it seemed as though the layout itself silently but clearly

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[11] Original drawing animators draw animation characters' main motions. For example, if a drawing of a person lifting a ball is required, an original drawing animator will draw two motion sequences: the first motion is that of a ball being held at a person's waistline, and the second motion is that of a ball being held above the head. In-betweeners draw the numerous motions between those two main motions.

spoke to the strict status hierarchy and created a kind of panoptic structure the animators were disciplined within. While this stark fragmentation between the local animators and their superiors exists, animators' unhappiness in the face of the continued dominance of foreign animation houses increases, which re-emphasises globalisation's uneven process once again.

Globalisation is indeed not a balanced or fair process from which everybody can enjoy equal benefits. Instead, globalisation generates diverse forms of inequality. Economic measurements (e.g. the wage rate shown above) are one of the ways in which the global inequality can be explicitly recognised. Likewise, such a low wage rate and long hours of work instantly lead the animators to suspect unfair and unbalanced managerial power of the global others. In addition, for animators, there is another element from which they recognise discrimination. They feel that, sometimes, only difficult and complicated drawings are deliberately sent, and they question if the foreign animators are lazy, do not want to handle the difficult drawings by themselves and simply exploit the Korean animators.

> I really hate those animators in the foreign main office! They are so lazy and want to use us for cheap labour for these difficult parts! I can tell by looking at the animation cuts given to us! Only difficult parts are sent to us! Last time I had to draw a group of American soccer players (in a scene) with all the heavy and special gear on their bodies and they required detailed drawings of several pages each! It almost killed me!
>
> (Animator PK, female, age 26, 5 years in the industry)

On days like 1 March (Korean Independent Movement Day) or 15 August

(Korean Independence Day), working on Japanese OEM animation is a

frustrating torment to us. Not that I am a patriot or anything, but so much hard

work is given and I get overwhelmed by it sometimes.

(Animation art supervisor KM, female, age 37, 13 years in the industry)

Here, we see two interesting attitudes from the local animators. The first comment from PK,

in particular, indicates severe labour exploitation. As stated, the local in-betweener

animators get paid only by the number of pages they draw. Drawing 'a group of American

soccer players with all the heavy and special gears' in one scene requires detailed and

sophisticated skill and takes a considerably long time. Imagine if PK has to draw this

particular scene (one page) overnight, how much would she be paid for her overnight

labour? It will still be only 50 pence, because she produced one page of drawing. This

clearly shows that their labour is exploited. Such exploitation raises health and safety issues

(Also see Chapter 9). According to 2005 Korea Occupational Safety and Health

Administration (KOSHA) statistics, work related illness accounted for 4,968 cases

(http://osha.europa.eu/fop/korea/en/statistics/copy_of_stat2004). One of the most difficult

aspects of animators' job is that they do not have regularly meal breaks and often sit for

long periods of time, which can cause indigestion problems. I happened to repeatedly

witness PK and another female animator who is extremely thin drink numerous cans of

fizzy soft-drinks which they claimed worked as a digestive aid. Although they both needed

to see a doctor, quite often they found it impossible to make time to do so. Time is indeed

money. Bearing in mind their working pattern, the time necessary to draw a page became

money in their hands. Furthermore, as there is no proper insurance coverage provided by

the company (which I will discuss further later), rather than calling in sick or taking time off work, they would rather drink a can of soda. Secondly, KM's comment implies that the animators' national identity (as Korean) is being contested while working for foreign companies (Japanese, in this case).

In employment relationships, it is common to witness certain disharmony between the workers and the managerial authority. Nonetheless, these complaints above show the specific culturally motivated experiential values of the OEM animators: individual animator's anger becomes national indignation or feelings of hatred. Indeed, because of Korea's past political history (e.g. Japan being Korea's coloniser; the trusteeship under the USA after the Korean War), some animators feel that Korean OEM animation is 'the puppet of the USA and Japan' and they long to break this shackle and have more freedom in creativity. The following illustrations are expressions full of overtones of frustration.

Figure 6. 4 &Figure 6. 5 Korean Animation Industry

| 4. Puppet of the USA and Japan? | 5. Be free and be creative!!! |

Figure 6.4 We (Koreans animators) seem to be a puppet of the USA and Japan by doing

their OEM work. I feel unhappy about it.

(Animator Hong, female, age 29, graduated recently from university)

Figure 6.5 This bird is us, the Korean animation industry. I hope that one day we will be

free and more creative just like a bird flying high in the sky.

(In-betweener S.M, male, age 26, 3 months in the industry)

It is interesting to notice that there are no indications of a strong sense of nationalism inside the company as a whole. There was no statement from the company from the company's director's which drew on nationalistic doctrines and no nationalist symbolism present in any of their materials, either. In fact, the director of *Anifactory*, PNY, had worked in Japan for a long time and his personal connections to that country had been the foundations on which the Japanese OEM *Anifactory* was opened. His wife, the producer PKS, can also speak fluent Japanese due to their experience of living and working in Japan. For them, the Japanese animation houses are seen as grateful customers that offer them work and consequently there is no other hatred or resentment involved in their relationships, which is quite a contrast to the feelings of the individual in-between animators. Perhaps, such different interests and thoughts towards the Japanese animation houses contribute to the solid line dividing the producers and in-between animators.

Although the animators do know they are being exploited, most of the time they keep such complaints to themselves and remain silent. Hence, they show no explicitly

recognisable signs of resistance, either. Their position is weak and powerless. However powerless they may appear though, in-between animators do resist their superiors and global others through the formation of and participation in their informal culture. Smoking and eating food separately from their superiors are examples of this. Most animators I interviewed smoked, regardless of their gender or age, and they reported that smoking is a way to de-stress and bring peace into their minds. However, after having observed animators' daily patterns, I would argue that their eating and smoking habits are forms of (silent) resistance towards the producers and directors. Indeed, the room they smoke or chat in is supposed to be 'forbidden' for superiors to enter; and the superiors themselves do not want to go in there, either. As the later chapter discusses in more depth, smoking and eating by themselves in a segregated setting is a way for low-level animators to draw their own social boundaries, effectively segregating themselves from their superiors. They detach themselves from the existing hierarchy. In this newly stratified system, in-betweeners have the power to reject their superiors. What is interesting, nevertheless, is that producers and directors do not understand these acts by the in-between animators' as a form of resistance. Animators' attempts at resistance do not therefore have the power necessary to invert the existing power hierarchy regardless of their efforts. Whatever they do, they are still exploited and unfairly treated.

In order to empower such low level animators and protect their rights, in 1999 the Korea Animator Trade Union (KATU) was founded. KATU's main goals are to protect animators' rights and wellbeing mainly in the face of exploitation from local producers. I would argue that the fact that KATU exists at all indicates another form of fragmentation between producers and (in-between and other low level) animators. In fact, there are documented cases which demonstrate that some OEM animation companies encourage

animators to register their working status as being that of actins as freelancers on legal

contract. Indeed all the animators I interviewed were classed as freelancers. Why is this

then? Having an employee classed as a 'freelancer' is a gateway for producers to avoid the

burden of having to pay employees' four social insurance requirements (i.e. annuity

insurance, medical insurance, industrial accident compensation insurance, and

unemployment insurance). Why then do animators so apparently readily agree to register

themselves as freelancers knowing all these disadvantages? This line of inquiry leads us

back to thoughts about the apparently contradictory relationship between art and work, or

'artists' and 'labourers'. For many animators, animation is not only a way to make money;

it is a sublime and artistic channel through which to pursue their creativity. Although such

considerations and attitudes toward their occupation changes over time (See Chapter 9), in

the beginning of their careers, animators strongly position themselves as 'artists', not as

'labourers'. Producers therefore ask animators to register as 'freelancers'. However, in fact,

as soon as they sign on as 'freelancers', animators' rights cannot be easily protected but

they are rather put at risk of being used and exploited. In a similar vein, animators' pride as

artists prevents them from joining the union. Joining the trade union is seen as a sign of

animators' silent agreement that they are no longer creative artists but simply skilled

labourers. When I asked PNY if the company was registered with either KATU or the

Korean Animation Producers Association (KAPA), he initially responded with a short 'No'.

He continued on to say that he simply did not want to get involved in any political mess.

Perhaps it is a political mess to the superiors, but it is a matter of living conditions for the

low level animators. Here, I would argue that perhaps globalisation has encouraged the

local to meet and experience the global, but that the local has not necessarily found that

experience beneficial. On the contrary, the strong global others like Hollywood and Japanese animation production companies seem to enjoy the most benefit from globalisation itself. Globalisation with free capital flow helps the powerfully positioned global others not only by exploiting the helpless local, but also allows the global others to look for cheaper labour costs outside of Korea. Once the global others leave for new economically efficient places, it immediately creates fears of unemployment and financial insecurity amongst the local Korean animators. This can be understood in Marx's concept of 'industrial reserve army' (Marx, 1990: 781-94). The fear of losing one's occupation increases the employers' authoritative power and put the employees in subordinate position. While witnessing and experiencing such 'violent' and 'abusive' acts of the global others, local animators worry.

> It is worrying as so much work is going to China or the Philippines because they are cheaper. Korea has been the number one choice for the OEM animation industry for the past twenty years but the current situation is very unstable. We don't get as much work as before.
>
> (Producer PKS, female, twenty years in the industry)

> Sometimes, I get upset by looking at difficult cuts that we have to draw (for low payment). Nothing I can do, though. We are *physically so far away* from those foreign countries doing the ordering. Not a word of complaint can be made at all! If we did complain, what would happen? They would simply say, 'We could send the work somewhere else!' It is scary and threatening. Especially when the Chinese animation market grows bigger and bigger and

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more work is being sent to them, we have to do our best to *please* the foreign

companies to keep our work. No point bellyaching. After all, it'll be no-one's

loss but ours.

(Animation art supervisor KM, female, thirteen years in the industry)

Like any other industry, mainly for economic purposes, transnational animation companies

are always looking for more economical sites. Harvey argues that the nature of the modern

democracy of capitalism under globalisation operates under time-space compression. By

this, he means the rapidity of exchange of finances, telecommunications, transportation,

and more that are phenomenon of globalisation, or to Harvey's view signs of

'postmodernity': 'processes that . . . revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time'

(1989: 240)

As a result, transnational industry tends to look for 'the economically most favoured

locations' (Coser, 1991: xi) for the best productivity when it comes down to the global

division of labour. However, KM's comment, 'physically so far away' tells us that the time-

space compression that globalisation claims to be all about does not seem to have

compressed the distance between the weak and the strong – the local Korean animators and

global/transnational production employers. 'Far away', Bauman explains, 'is a space which

one enters only occasionally or not at all, in which things happen which one cannot

anticipate or comprehend, and one would not know how to react to once they occurred. It

is a space containing things one knows little about, from which one does not expect much

and regarding which one does not feel obliged to care. To find oneself in a 'far-away' space

is an unnerving experience; venturing 'far away' means being beyond one's ken, out of

place and out of one's element, inviting trouble and fearing harm' (1998:13). For the Korean animators' this physical distanciation, as Bauman puts it, 'invites trouble' and 'fearing harm'.

Furthermore, the relationship between the global managerial authority and the local labourers creates a sort of global hierarchy system, particularly within the creative production market. Within such a structure where capital becomes the strong global others' weapon to threaten the locals, the loss will be on the weak local animators. Hence, local animators choose not to complain. In this sense, the silent local animators' production system is only seen as 'the offshore low-wage assembly' (Bernard, 1994: 221 quoted in O'Brien and Williams 2004: 175) in the eyes of transnational productions. The global managerial authority has the main power and controls the local animators. In OEM animation production as happens at *Anifactory,* animators' creativity is no longer an important element to be considered. Instead, quick drawing skills and robust technique are the main qualifications which are valued and requested. In fact, many OEM animation companies advertise job vacancies with the following line: 'Our company has continuous work from foreign countries'. This kind of ad further indicates that the global (i.e. foreign) animation companies have authoritative control and position the local animators in subordinate roles, taking advantage of the fact that they need work and hence wages to be coming in regularly. Indeed, animators themselves also seem to assent to take similar attitudes about their work. Rather cynically, KM, with a decade long working experience, says,

What is a good company? One in which work comes in (from foreign companies)

regularly without stopping. Then, regardless of the amount of the wage they pay, we can still work without worrying about losing the job.

Knowing that they are being exploited, suffering from its consequences, and being threatened by their foreign employers, the Korean animators have continued working for the past forty years or more. Was it like the present situation when they first started the OEM work? How did they step into the outsourcing/subcontracted work of the OEM industry in the first place?

6.2.2 HOW IT ALL STARTED: THE PAST

On the basis of capital flow and division of labour, the Korean animation OEM industry is one of the products generated by the globalisation process. And, this is something that the Korean animators' experience of globalisation is reflected in; hence, I argue that the concept of in-between as a way to negotiate and experience globalisation is substantiated through the OEM industry and through the animators' work and daily lives. For Korean animators, there were several push factors that drove them into the OEM industry as well as pull factors. And, these factors developed from the political and economic situation of the past. To examine these factors together, this section (6.2.2) will help us see the Korean animators' in-between state, between the global and the national.

Push Factor 1. Unstable Political Economy and No Room for Culture

To trace the birth of the animation OEM industry in Korea, this story should start far back from the post-war period where nothing was left and the entire nation was suffering from famine and starvation. The Korean War occurred only five years after Japan's thirty-six-year occupation, which ended in 1945. Hence, neither national economy nor politics were strong. This period created a new word, *borigogae* (*bori*: barley; *gogae*: hill/stage). It indicates the spring famine before the barley harvest when there is not enough rice/food to eat. The creation of this word reinforces the degree of poverty that the Koreans endured. Dong-Myeon Shin indicates that 'the economic agenda in Korea' in the 1950s 'was simply survival and respite from the ravages of the war' (2003: 47). He continues to explain that in the 1950s under Syngman Rhee's regime, US aid helped Korea's economic and political development, which is explained as 'dependent development' (ibid: 48).

In 1953, Korean GNP per capita ($US) was about $67 and nearly 47% of the population were involved in agricultural production. By 1962, GNP per capita grew to $87 and whilst the percentage of population working in agriculture decreased, the manufacturing and industrial and service sector increased (Source from ECOS [Economic Statistic System], The Bank of Korea [GNP 1953~2000]). From that period onward, the entire nation was desperately engaged in economic development. After the April Revolution in 1960 – a student protest against Rhee's politically corrupted regime - Park Chung Hee brought about a successful military coup on 16 May 1961. His government began to reign with a motto to achieve 'economic prosperity', 'state-business relations' and above all, 'national modernity'

(Shin, 2003: 52-75). Park's political emphasis is interesting to note and I quote an excerpt of his statement (Shin, 2003: 52):

> I want to emphasise, and re-emphasise, that the key factor of the May 16 Military Revolution was to effect an industrial revolution in Korea. Since the primary objective of the revolution was to achieve a national renaissance, the revolution envisaged political, social and cultural reforms as well. My chief concern, however, was economic revolution. One must eat and breathe before concerning himself with politics, social affairs and culture. Without a hope for an economic future, reforms in other fields could not be expected to yield fruit. At the risk of repetitiveness, I must again emphasise that without economic reconstruction, there would be no such things as triumph over Communism or attaining independence. (in 1961, Park's *The Country, the Revolution and I*, 1970: 173)

With an emphasis on economic growth, the revolutionary *Saemaeul Movement* (New Village Movement) of Park's government initiated the entire nation to engage and cooperate for better living conditions and good quality of living. He even composed lyrics for a song, which enforced the importance of collaboration to build a new nation. Every morning, the song was played through megaphones in each town. Then, people came out and did various activities - cleaning streets and watering flowers in communal areas, building new roads and changing roofs of houses. These are the lyrics of the song:

Figure 6. 6 New Village Movement Song[12]

새마을 노래 *(박정희 작사 / 작곡)*   *New Village Movement Song (Park, Cheung Hee)*

새벽종이 울렸네 새아침이 밝았네   *Bells toll at dawn, a bright new day begins*
너도 나도 일어나   *You and I arise*
새마을을 가꾸세   *For our future we must strive*
살기 좋은 내마을 우리힘으로 만드세   *Let's build a new town on our own*

초가집도 없애고 마을길도 넓히고   *No more thatched cottages, no narrow winding streets,*
푸른동산 만들어   *wide roads and green fields*
알뜰살뜰 다듬세   *For us in the future we must meet*
살기 좋은 내마을 우리힘으로 만드세   *Let's build a new town*

서로서로 도와서 땀흘려서 일하고   *Let's help each other with toil and sweat it's true*
소득증대 힘써서   *Let's increase our income; Make our town richer by the*
                                    day
부자마을 만드세   *We'll build a town that's richer both for me and you*
살기 좋은 내마을 우리힘으로 만드세   *Let's build a new town on our own*

우리 모두 굳세게 싸우면서 일하고   *Fiercely fighting and working hard in everyday*
일하면서 싸워서   *single way*
새 조국을 만드세.   *Let's build a new country that we can call our own!*
살기 좋은 내마을 우리힘으로 만드세   *Let's build a new town on our own.*

Many Koreans were motivated by such a strong political economy regime and worked hard for national economic development. Many people suffered from famine and poverty due to the poor economic conditions of the nation, and they desired to have a better quality of living. Hence, for the entire Korean nation, economic growth was a top priority. As a result

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[12]   Unpublished, translated by Jocelyn Dean.

of hard work, in 1977, GNP per capita grew to more than $1,000 (Source from ECOS [Economic Statistic System], The Bank of Korea [GNP 1953~2000]). *The miracle on Han River* was a popular term to praise Korea's great effort in growing their national economy in a short period of time. (The Han River flows through the centre of Korean capital city, Seoul, like River Thames.)

To Korean people who were in such a desperate economic situation, it was a natural result that cultural production possessed less significance. For the government, their priority had to lie in the industrial sector, which could accelerate the nation's modernity. The lyrics of *New Village Movement Song* − *no more thatched cottages* for modern style life, *wider roads* for industrial development, and *green fields* -- explain such desires for better quality of life. For the Korean nation, in this regard, producing cultural goods was left to a small number of people.

An individual's disposable income determines their consumption on certain (luxurious) products that are more than just basic survival goods, which brings about a certain formula based on Engel's law, 'the richer the country, the higher expenditure on cultural products' (Power & Scott, 2004: 4). At the time, Korea's economic situation was not robust enough to have high expenditure on cultural activities (both of production and consumption) in terms of the nation's economy as well as its politics. How did such political economic circumstances affect the animators in the 1960s?

Push Factor 2. Animation as Moneymaking Mechanism

Now, the story of the past will be told by the animators themselves based on their experiences and memories. At this stage I would specify that, in this thesis, the starting point of the story is the April Revolution (briefly mentioned above), the same day the very first Korean animated advertisement by Dong-Heon Shin saw the light of the world. It was an animated advertisement for a brand of Korean sprits, *Jinro Soju*. It was sensational and received people's attention as the first animation in Korea. In fact, before Shin's entry to animation, there was another person before him, who made an animated advertisement for toothpaste in 1957. However, Shin is known as the producer of the first properly made animation (Kim S.W, 1998: 66-69). Eighty-year-old Shin now works as a music critic and continuously attends various animation festivals in Korea as a renowned figure of the Korean animation history. His memories of the 1960s are significant in understanding the situation then.

Wearing a beret sidewise and drinking a pint of cold lager, retired Shin recalls the day of the first screening of his work in relation to the political revolution, 19 April (the April Revolution), and gives the following account in his unique North Korean accent. Born in North Korea and during the Korean War, he came to South and settled down. It is common to find people in his generation have distinctive North Korean accent:

> I remember it so vividly because it was the very day of the premiere of my first
> animated work in one of the movie theatres in Seoul. I was so excited and
> nervous to see my work in the cinema. While waiting for the show to start,

suddenly I heard the sound of *rifle shots* outside. It was *19 April*!

(*Italics*, his emphasis) (Retired animation director, Dong-Heon Shin, male, age

80)

The sound of rifle shots, as illustrated above, clearly captures the very insecure political

moment of the 1960s. After the April Revolution, there was another military takeover, that

of 16 May in 1961 and after that, there was a lot of emphasis on modernising the entire

country in industrial terms. Two significant things arose, which discouraged media

production, including animation. Firstly, the government imposed strict regulations to

reduce the numbers of film productions and introduced strict censorship process (Heo,

2002: 31). Secondly, there was a growing tendency to treat filmmaking only as a means of

money making, and not a form of culture. Shin's experiences of the 1960s reveal these

outlooks. Shin created the very first feature-length animation *Hong Gildong*, followed by

another work *Hopiwa Chadolbawi* [*Hopi and Chadolbawi*], both in 1967. An advanced

technique, 'presco recording', (i.e. pre-recording voices/sounds before filming) was used

for his animations, which indicated that animators' creativity was not at all lack then but

flourishing. However, Shin's career as a feature animation director ended there. In a cross

voice, he says,

I really don't want to talk about this, but⋯ [pause], my animation film was

sponsored by a cinema production company and they were very violent and

rough. I had to quit.

(Personal interview, 6 October 2005 in Seoul.)

Shin told a similar story during an interview with a magazine, *CANNI* (November, 1999, cited in Heo 2002: 35). Clearly, media work (animation, in this case) had no cultural value. People were hungry and to fill their stomachs, physical power became one answer to that problem. Film institute manager KBY holds the similar views;

> In those early days, the majority of cinema production companies were closely related with gangsters, you know. The *fist* was their main tool to earn income and that often happened in cultural production. (*Italics* his emphasis)
> (Film institute manager KBY, male, 15 years in the industry, personal interview, 30 November 2005 in London)

It should be noted that there is a significant relationship between cultural production, economics and wealth of the nation. Throsby states that there is a strong tendency to treat culture and economy as the same thing in less developed countries (2001: 126). However, in the case of Korea, economic wealth was particularly accentuated while cultural appreciation of animation was rare. Moreover, Korea's economy was heavily inclined towards manufacturing industrial production, and eventually, such biased views among people stifled cultural creativity in the Korean animation industry.

Animation curator, HST, who has been studying the history of Korean animation and organising various events for Korean animators, also finds that poverty and insecure economic state of the 1960s and 1970s were the main reasons behind the lack of creative animation:

The problem was that production companies regarded Shin's work only as a *moneymaking* mechanism, *not as art*. It is not an overstatement to say that the poor national economic situation caused the stifling of creative work, which is very regretful. (*Italics* his emphasis)

Because of the lack of emphasis on art, culture or leisure, animators and would be animators could not find work. But in spite of the lack of creative exposure, - at least until December 1972 - two cinematic animation works were continuously produced per year (Heo, 2002: 29-58). Between 1972 and 1976, however, not a single animation was produced due to the entry of colour television into Korean society (ibid.).

Push Factor 3. Low Domestic Demands: Television, Income and Children

The advent of colour television in Korean society was significant as it led Koreans to experience foreign media. Television was regarded as something magical allowing people had to get together and watch it in relatively rich households. Up until the early 1970s, television was not just a medium to see audio-visual images but a symbol of wealth. Every member of Korean society dreamt of purchasing television sets and displayed them as if they were luxurious treasures. Only a few households could afford to have television sets at their homes but as the national economy grew (as indicated before) more people could buy them.

This became another reason that suppressed the Korean animation industry then. The emergence of colour televisions, in particular, has been recognised by many animation critics as the reason for the depression of the animation industry (Heo 2002: 34-36). This is

because the number of households with colour televisions increased rapidly and people did not want to pay money for cinema movies, but watched animation on television screens in their living rooms instead. Before the entry of colour televisions, cinematic animation films with glittery colours were only available in movie theatres. However, such films - and the movie theatres that screened them - lost their value to television sets.

The television licensing fee also played a part. The television licence fee in Korea was ₩100 (5 pence) in 1963 until 1980 (*History of Korean TV licence fee*, KBS, http://www.kbs.co.kr/susin/korf/korf_04.html). When the colour televisions were introduced in 1981 this increased to ₩2,500 (₤ 1.25) per year, and it has been this rate for over twenty-four years (Hankyure, 6th October 2005). Considering that cinema entry fee was ₩300 (15 pence) in 1971, ₩390 (19.5 pence) in 1975 for Korean movies and ₩650 (32.5 pence) for foreign movies, the low-cost television licence fee was regarded as more attractive and welcomed by every household with children. (*Studies on 1970s movie theatre and culture*, KOFIC, 2004) (See below for more detailed data and information.)

Table 6. 1 Cinema Entrance Fee between 1964~2000 (Unit: Korean ₩)

Year	Korean Films	Foreign Films	Year	Korean Films	Foreign Films	Note
1964	55	70	1983	2500	3000	Including the donation of culture and art development From 1973
1965	65	70	1984	2500	3500	"
1966	80	100	1985	2500	3000	"
1967	100	120	1986	2500	3500	"
1968	130	150	1987	3000	3500	"
1969	150	200	1988	3500	4000	"
1970	200	250	1989	3500	4000	"
1971	200	250	1990	4000	4000	"
1972	200	300	1991	4500	4500	"
1973	300	500	1992	5000	5000	"
1974	350	500	1993	5000	5000	"
1975	500	600	1994	5000	5000	"
1976	500	700	1995	6000	6000	"
1977	700	900	1996	6000	6000	"
1978	700	1200	1997	6000	6000	"
1979	1200	1500	1998	6000	6000	"
1980	1500	2000	1999	6000	6000	"
1981	2000	2500	2000	6000	6000	"
1982	2500	3000				"

Source: Report of Seoul Development Institute (2005), based on KPI. 1995

Table 6. 2 Licence Fee between 1963~2000

Year	Fee	Year	Fee
1963	100	1981	2,500
1964	100	1982	2,500
1965	150	1983	2,500
1966	200	1984	2,500
1967	200	1985	2,500
1968	200	1986	2,500
1969	200	1987	2,500
1970	300	1988	2,500
1971	300	1989	2,500
1972	300	1990	2,500
1973	300	1991	2,500
1974	300	1992	2,500
1975	500	1993	2,500
1976	500	1994	2,500
1977	500	1995	2,500
1978	500	1996	2,500
1979	500	1997	2,500
1980	800	1998	2,500
		1999	2,500
		2000	2,500

Source: Report of Seoul Development Institute (2005), based on KPI. 1995

More demand for television animation series decreased interest in cinematic animation films. Therefore, Korean animators were not at all motivated and were forced to find sponsors to produce cinematic animation films. As a response to such a situation, did the animators move to television production instead of feature length animation? This did not exactly happen, either.

While cinematic animation production went through a creatively stagnant period, the majority of television animations were imported from Japan. It was because the low television licence fee caused the television stations that were profit-oriented companies to look for ways to lower their costs for programming. Hence, for television animations, a massive amount of cheap and yet popular Japanese and American animation programmes were imported into Korea and shown on terrestrial channels. (This continues to the present situation in Korea.) Due to unavailability of animation production cost in the 1970s and 1980s, here I could only provide data based on interviewees' comments and ratio of imported foreign animation on terrestrial TV, which is claimed to be almost same or less different from the situation in the past: 'Importing a thirty minutes long television animation from Japan or America costs you ₩3,000,000 (￡1,500). Producing a thirty minutes long television animation in Korea costs you ₩80,000,000 (￡44,800). You do the maths!' (CEO and animation director PNY, male, 30 years in the industry)

Table 6. 3 Three Major Territorial Channels' Foreign Animation Televising Time and Ratio

	Total	USA	Japan	Canada	Germany
Time	207:45:33	79:29:39	115:48:57	11:03:29	1:23:28
Rate	100.00%	38.3%	55.7%	5.3%	0.7%

Source: KOCCA White Paper on Animation Industry 2005a: 150

Overall, media and technological globalisation via television sets worked in both good and bad ways: 1) it took up the space Korean animators had occupied in the domestic market; which then 2) created a new space for them to participate in the global division of labour (i.e. the OEM industry).

From the 1960s to 1980s, there was neither domestic production available nor government support. However, what led the entire Korean animation industry into a deeper depression was the cultural repression policy that almost killed animation and cartoons under the pretext of liquidating harmful media to protect children's morality. In fact, Korean citizens' perceptions of animation have been negative for a long time (as will also be discussed in the next chapter). There was a recorded episode that displayed animations and cartoons as a harmful medium especially to children. In 1972, headlines of the national newspapers (see the newspaper articles below) shocked the public by revealing that a thirteen-year-old boy committed suicide believing that he would revive from death like a cartoon story he was reading then (http://www.ddanzi.com/ddanziilbo/31/31_a43.html).

Figure 6. 7 1972 Newspaper Headlines

'*Devilish Cartoon*'   '*Cartoon led a child to death*'

Due to this terrifying case, cartoons and animations were seen as harmful to children and the government and educational organizations regulated cartoon and animation industries. As a result, many television animations were terminated. It was a dark age for the Korean animation industry and victimised animators were almost regarded as criminals.

Until the late 20th century, in public places of Korea, many books were burnt. Especially in every early May (5th May is Children's Day in Korea) many cartoon books were stigmatized as deleterious books and burnt at the stake. (*Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, 4th November 2005)

In such depressing circumstances, there were no investors or sponsors for cinematic animation productions, and that eventually drove many Korean animators to look for other

jobs to support themselves. With the gravitation of animators towards the global division of labour, the OEM animation work started flourishing.

6.3 INVITATION FROM THE JANUS-FACED GLOBAL OTHERS

6.3.1 NATURE OF ANIMATION PRODUCTION: PULL FACTORS

Pull Factor 1. Labour Intensive Animation Production: In-between

I would argue that in Korean animation OEM, the culture of subcontracting was started by two different economic needs and by the global market mechanism. As we learnt from the Korean animators' comments above, producing an animation requires considerable financial investment and takes a long working process. This is because it is labour-intensive, especially for 2D animations where expert hand drawings are essential. In short, all the processes and stages are directly related to labour costs (KCTPI, 2002: 28). Also, when animation is produced for television series, the broadcasting schedule is a pressurising factor on producers, as they need to complete each episode over a certain period of time. Hence, the faster the work is completed, the more orders they will get, and the more orders they receive, the more income they will make. Based on this basic and logical formula, and taking advantage of globalisation, the global division of labour also emerged in animation production.

Animation production already forms a division of labour within itself due to the long working process, which requires specialisation in each stage. Animators' positions are as

follows: producer, director, layout, animation, action and model check, assistant animation, in-between check, background painting, digital camera & scan, camera work, digital paint, rendering check, composite, recording on Digi Beta, materials, administration, retakes (Shin & Han, 2002: 256). If a film deals with an epic or fantasy story, it may require many people in reality. However, in animation production, in order to make one motion as aesthetically natural and smooth as possible, an enormous amount of human labour is needed. And, this becomes the in-betweeners' task. Drawing page by page has to be done by individual artists; the amount of work that each individual receives and has to finish becomes accordingly larger. Hence, the most labour intensive working process is in-between work, since it normally requires detailed hand drawings and numerous pages for each motion. This was basically a reason the global others (i.e. transnational companies) for cheap labourers elsewhere outside domestic territories. More details will be demonstrated in the next section with the case of the USA and Japan.

Figure 6. 8 In-between Drawing
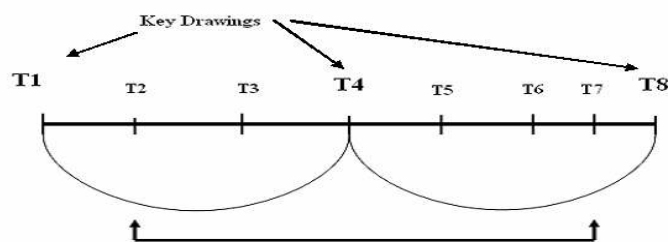
Source: *Animation production‒Encyclopaedia of Animation*, Shin & Han, 2002: 107

As illustrated above, when the main animator draws key drawings, then assistant animators (or otherwise called, in-betweeners) do the in-between breakdown so that the motion from T1 to T4 looks smooth and natural to the viewers eyes.

Pull Factor 2. Global Scale of Animation Production and Labour Costs

From as early as the 1960s and 1970s in the USA and Japan, labour costs in their local production sites were relatively high in comparison to that in Korea. The following shows wage comparison in manufacturing workers of the three countries. In the 1970s and 80s, Korean government particularly emphasised the manufacturing sector as growing industry. Hence, here I compare the hourly wage of the manufacturing workers to show the wage differences clearly from other two developed countries.

Table 6. 4 Hourly Direct Pay for Production Workers in Manufacturing (Unit: U.S $)

Country Year	1979	1980	1981
USA	7.21	7.84	8.61
Japan	4.71	4.84	5.31
Korea	0.90	0.86	0.91

Source: U.S. Department of Labour, Bureau of Labour Statistics, November 2005

Reading the data above, we see that Korean manufacturing workers have been receiving one-eighth of the salary of US workers and one-sixth of the Japanese workers. Employing Korean workers is clearly more beneficial for the global employers. With this in mind, now I will provide some data on the size of these two countries' animation markets today. In doing so, the role of OEM and the Korean animators' involvement in outsourcing can be highlighted even more.

Lowering costs and maximizing productivity are indispensable for many industries when their economy of scale gets bigger. Likewise, animation industries in the USA and Japan need to maximize industrial productivity and efficiency (Han, 1995: 242). Their current economies of scale are as huge as any other multi-national companies. For instance, Japanese animation's domestic markets are prosperous and flourishing. Their domestic demand for animation and their consumption are enormous. According to a study on Japanese animation production, 'more than 250 animation programmes per week appear on television; an average of 1,700 (short or feature length) animation films per year and about 2,200 animated television programmes per year' (Ahn, 2001) are produced. Moreover, the numbers of exported TV programmes per year are 1,675 and in terms of time, approximately 42,600 hours are exported outside Japan. According to the fiscal survey in Japan in 2001 and 2004, amongst those exported TV programmes, Japanese animation takes up about 60 percent (Han, 1995: 243; KOCCA 2005a: 69). Moreover, the US animation industry, according to *Screen Digest,* produces 40 percent of the global children's media content (KOCCA 2005a: 80).

Table 6. 5 Scale of Animation Industry

(Unit: US $ million)

Year	Scale of Animation Industry (USA)
2001	8,300
2002	11,800
2003	13,500
2004	14,600

Source: KOCCA - Guidebook on American cultural contents industry 2004

These data suggest the huge volume of animation that they produce. The number of pages of in-betweens to be drawn, for instance, must be double or more than the original number of drawings and cuts. Having discussed the labour-intensity of animation and high local wages, local production companies in Japan and the USA have to find a solution outside their local/national boundaries. Hence, they look to Korea. In short, Korea was selected as one of the sites for their 'global pick and mix' activities. The next section, in the animators' own voices, explores their memories of encountering and working for the global others from the USA and Japan.

6.3.2 THE LOCAL MEETS THE JANUS-FACED GLOBAL

Peaceful Times: Benefits from the OEM industry

I asked the CEO of an American animation OEM company, LCM, about the industry itself and how he experienced it. Smoking his cigarette, LCM started talking about his old days in the OEM industry:

> It is only nominally called an *OEM business* -- as if there was something
>
> immense going on. [in a cynical voice] It's only a *bottari* (i.e. a big bundle)!
>
> We call it a *bottari*! A peddler from the main foreign animation company
>
> carries a huge *bottari* and comes into town and says, "Finish all by tomorrow
>
> evening," then, all the work *must* be completed by the requested time. During
>
> the 1960s and 1970s, when the first so-called supervisors from the major
>
> animation companies of the USA and Japan came to Korea, they brought with

them either *James Bonds' 007* suitcases or huge bundles which Korean

animators call *bottari*. In their bundles, there were all the storyboards,

continuity papers and instruction lists to guide the Korean animators how to

draw characters and lines.

(CEO, animation director LCM, male, thirty years in the industry)

Although nowadays many Koreans do understand English, still the majority of the

population regards English as a fearfully strange and yet sublime language, which amongst

themselves is described as 'worship of the powerful' (*sadaejuui*). Hence, LCM's emphasis

on 'nominally called an OEM business' indicates such aspect of Koreans – as if it is

something special, as expressed in English! In Korean, there is a word, *bottari jangsakkun*,

which simply means hawkers who carries a big bundle [bottari] and sell all kinds of

products. It is often regarded as less significant and vagabond profession with negative

cognition. Hence, it is possible to see LCM's ideas towards foreign partners coming with a

big bag of drawing orders: negative and hostile.

LCM's comment suggests that however far the creators' office might be, the contents

inside the bundles clearly demonstrated their intention to control foreign labour. A professor

of animation told me that at the start of the OEM business, the instruction papers tended to

be full of details not to make any details different from the original ideas or motions: 'I

heard that some even brought *erasers and pencils* in that *bottari*!'(Animation professor,

LJM, male, *my emphasis*, personal interview, 1 July 2005 in his office, Seoul)

Exaggerated as it might sound, e*rasers and pencils* clearly indicate that the foreign

employers, the global others, had given no space or room for Korean animators to

contribute in terms of creativity. This has led some of those animators who went on to

create original work to become stigmatised as imitators or copycats of foreign animations. And, eventually this became the main reason for Korean audiences' criticisms. I will discuss this in Chapter 6 with some examples.

It is correct to state that those given opportunities from the OEM business had no space for creativity. What is significant about the OEM work coming into the Korean animation industry is that it offers 'opportunities to work' that the Korean animators desperately need to make their living and also to display their artistic skills. In other words, the foreign employers appeared and provided the animators with artistic and economic lives, which could not be provided domestically. In this regard, a less developed economy (i.e. the Korean animation industry here) benefits from globalisation. On the other hand, it is an uneven act of the more powerful nations exploiting the economically weak national and local labour. The OEM animators' tight schedules, immense workloads, and most importantly how they *feel* about such situations show that they are exploited by the bigger economic forces under globalisation. However, as mentioned, it cannot be denied that their basic survival desires were indeed fulfilled through such labour exploitation. In short, the Korean animators' involvement in the global division of animation production is not entirely up to them, but due to economic pressure and the desire to have better financial quality of life. This proves that the economic conditions and the instinctive human desire for a better life have generated another layer of the global division of labour the cultural production.

With relatively low labour costs, Korean animators have attracted more foreign (transnational) companies into Korea. The critical elements are the timeline and punctuality in accomplishing production. Willis (1990) explains that 'the ideal model for the worker is the good time kept, the disciplined and empty head' (p.19). The Korean OEM animators, in

this regard, have been the ideal model for workers as they work days and nights to keep the deadlines. Above all, the Korean animators desperately need to keep their jobs. First, they need a stable income. Second, however uncreative the work might be, they still fulfil part of the animators' artistic desires and utilise their skills. And third, they regard the OEM work as a steppingstone for their future creative work and as a training period. Many of the interviewees gave the same response that in the beginning, they regarded OEM working period as a training period and 'passing through' (McRobbie, 2004) point for their future creative careers. However, as it provided comparably more stable incomes than creative production works they admitted that going from OEM to creative works (like independent production) was extremely difficult. Such conflict and difficulties will be discussed in chapter 8.

LCM, the CEO of one of the biggest OEM companies for the USA animation in Korea comments:

> We had to do OEM work. There was no choice. We had to live. It was such a hard time. We had to keep deadlines and send them back by the demanded dates! For twenty years, I never had a vacation. Never! I don't have any memory of having a break even during national holidays and weekends. I only went home five days a month, and that was only if I was lucky. Otherwise, I stayed working non-stop in my office. The average working day was fifteen to sixteen hours, and the maximum twenty hours.

To maintain loyalty with their foreign business partners, the amount of subcontracted animation work increased in Korea between the 1970s and 1990s. Particularly in this

period, the OEM work from the USA and Japan started seducing the Korean animators who previously had not had chances to draw or paint for outsourcing businesses. Many of my informants all said that as long as the animators in the OEM industry kept drawing continuously, they could earn considerable amounts of money. The number of pages they drew became the amount of money they could make. In fact, some of the animators (main animators and directors in particular) who participated in the OEM made an enormous fortune.

> In the 1970s and 1980s, the animators who were doing OEM works could buy
> an apartment with a few months' wages. Well, I wanted to make big money,
> too. That's why I started animation.
>
> (Animation director YYK, male, fifteen years in the industry)

> People would've called you either stupid or nuts if you were an OEM animator
> in 70s and didn't have a house. They made fortune, then!
>
> (Animation curator, HST)

Many animators, who starved before due to the poor performance of the domestic market, started thronging to the OEM industry with the hope of making money and maintaining their quality of life.

I have so far demonstrated that the creation of the subcontracting work in the Korean animation OEM industry emerged from the point where two different economic needs met and required each other. Firstly, the transnational companies needed to minimise their production costs as economies of scale expanded. Secondly, the labour providers (i.e.

Korean animators) inevitably needed to participate in the global division of labour due to their need to making a living. They paid for their opportunities by giving up their creativity, but this guaranteed work placement and stable income, as well as chances to utilise their artistic skills.

Transnational companies, however, do not guarantee long-term employment or continuous economic stability. After all, they are profit chasers. Once their business is done in one place, they move to other more economically profitable locations. Again, the OEM animation industry is meeting a new challenge. In the next section, I will discuss more concrete and focused worries and concerns of the Korean animators in terms of the 'work shift' of globalisation.

Wartime: Out into the Global Competition

Transnational animation production companies from the USA and Japan will move to sites of cheaper labour. Where their next stop will be has been a major concern amongst people in the Korean animation industry for a long time. The one obvious place is China, which currently enjoys a 'festive chaos of globalisation' (Meng, 2002). To a question about China's animation market and changes in the volume of work they get from foreign countries, animator KM and producer PKS answer:

> Chinese animators are not yet able to do original drawings, as that requires
>
> certain creativity and higher skill levels. But they can do colourings as well as
>
> in-betweens. If I were an employer in an American or a Japanese animation
>
> company, I would also hire Chinese people. They are cheap and I can make

more profits from employing Chinese animators! Their population is enormous. I heard that there are hundreds of in-betweeners in each animation company. With that many people for drawings, they could finish thousands of pages in one day! In Korea, we could finish a maximum of 700 or 800 pages per day while Chinese could finish 7,000 or 8,000 pages per day! We are far behind them in numbers!

(Animation art supervisor KM, female, thirteen years in the industry)

The Korean animation industry is going down the hill. It's really hard to survive. So much work is going to China or other places now. All we can do is keep up the good quality and punctuality for the foreign companies. So, amongst OEM companies we split the work if there is too much for one company to take it all. We (the Korean OEM animation companies) should not fight or compete with each other but help by collaborating! China and other countries should be the concerns. Because it is easy for Japan to give more work to China in order to keep their busy and tight domestic broadcasting schedules. In order to survive, we should help each other!

(Producer PKS, female, twenty years in the industry)

Therefore, animators' stability is now threatened by globalisation. So much attention is now paid to China that this is evident in official events in Korea, too.

One of the famous animation film festivals in Korea is Seoul International Cartoon and Animation Festival (SICAF), and it was held during the period of my fieldwork. One of the sessions dealt with the Chinese animation market and industry. At a panel session, Sarah

Kim explained the scale of Chinese animation industry:

> It is estimated that China will enter a golden period in the next three to five
>
> years as the animation industry is set to reap some US$60 billion. It is
>
> forecasted that the cartoon and comic industry in China achieved RMB60
>
> (US$ 7.2 B) in revenue in 2005, but most of this revenue is via American and
>
> Japanese companies. ⋯ Much of the animation OEM business has shifted to
>
> countries such as the Philippines and Malaysia over the past few years.

It is obvious that America and Japan have now moved animation labour to China. The

Chinese market grew so fast in terms of profits, but they [the Chinese] were also worried

that the revenues they made had been/would be taken back to America and Japan. In short,

it meant they were aware of being exploited, too. Secondly, and similarly to Korea's

situation, the Chinese were concerned about losing the OEM industry to other countries. In

my field notes, I noted that Chinese panellists said that they wanted to learn how Koreans

developed the Korean animation market and industry, and as soon as that was related, one

of the Korean audiences stood up and shouted: 'You seem to be following in our footsteps.

The Korean animation industry is falling apart! It is dying, you know that?' These kinds of

worries are widely shared by the people in the animation industry inside and outside Korea.

The concerns of the Korean animation industry itself seem to have extended beyond its

boundary. One of the victims of the globalisation movement of labour is brokers who work

as intermediaries between Korean OEM companies and foreign producers. While I was at

Anifactory, the following incident happened. After a contract decision meeting, a female

broker walked with me to a rail station. A 'broker' in OEM industry is the one who brings

the contracts from foreign countries and looks for appropriate local production possibilities. Sometimes brokers happen to be Koreans who are living abroad. She expressed her curiosity about my appearance in the animation company and then, asked me why I was doing research on the animation industry in Korea:

'Korean OEM animation is now a fading industry. The major American productions are now turning their eyes to China, the Philippines, and other places. What do you think you will get from this field? I don't think there is anything left here'.

Globalisation in this particular field of Korean animation first took the local audience by media development (i.e. television), then produced a space for the global division of labour to exploit Korean animators' labour, yet offered economic stability to the animators. Now, according to the above comments, it is about time for the global forces to depart for a new labour force. Furthermore, it proves that the powerful global others' capital mobility is far greater than the local labourers' power, as Bauman states: 'capital can always move away to more peaceful sites if the engagement with 'otherness' requires a costly application of force or tiresome negotiations. No need to engage, if avoidance will do' (Bauman, 1998: 11).

6.4 CONCLUSION

Having examined the origin of OEM through the Korean animators' experiences and memories, it is now possible to say that the first in-between state is a negotiation process generated and driven mainly by the push and pull factors of globalisation.

The local animators have enjoyed financial and technological benefits which the global others generously offer. However, the result is that with more financial input from the global companies, the local animators' status becomes more like simple labour providers rather than creative artists. Moreover, the global others "freely" exercise authoritative power over the local animators. What it implies is that under globalisation and democratic forms of capitalism, the power of capital oppress the local even more severely and the degree of labour exploitation becomes even harsher. And, this harshness and the global others' tyranny is noticeable through the in-between state that the local animators experience. In short, this chapter has demonstrated that in-between as a concept has now become a firm ground to explore how globalisation is exercised, experienced and felt on the basis of different economic and political situations of the nation.

Another significant point is that because of the agonising and fearful in-between state under the violent global power, the Korean animators have come to look dispassionately at the realities. Consequently, this inevitable in-between experience drives them to consider how to survive in this cutthroat situation of today's globalisation process. The next chapter will give particular salience to the value of the national by examining the audiences' criticism of animators' lack of creativity. And, together with this chapter, the following chapter will clearly demonstrate the in-between as inevitable negotiation that the local animators must experience.

Chapter 7

Encountering the National: Double Consciousness and Expectation

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how the 'global others' exercise their power by being able to move freely to sites with cheaper labour costs. Such power exploits the local animators' labour by being able to make them unemployed, and the local animators struggle in such situations through their financial hardship. I also argued that one of the pushing factors driving the animators into the OEM and thus to the in-between state was the lower rate of demand for domestic Korean goods and the import of Japanese and American animation products at a lower price. Having understood that such circumstances happen as a result of the globalisation process, it is predictable that the consumption of foreign animations has conveniently become part of the everyday habit of domestic audiences, regardless of the national Korean animation industry.

This chapter draws on discussions about 'Korean nationalism' (see Chapter 2; section 2.3.2 in particular) in order to present another driving factor that reveals the Korean animators' vulnerable in-between state. This chapter presents another in-between state: the acknowledged and yet unspoken tension between domestic audiences and Korean animators. The invisible tension is caused by the audiences' biased perception, which has gradually grown from consuming foreign media products, and also by certain expectations

stemming from their contested national identity issues.

To substantiate this, I will analyse how audiences indirectly or directly reflect and express the sense of contested national identity in regard to animation products and how they challenge the animators' agency in the cultural production process. In particular, by drawing on the concept of 'double-consciousness', the emotional tensions occurring within the audiences' consciousness will be unveiled. The analysis demonstrates that this consciousness seems to surface between the audiences' expectations of original domestic animation and their actual consumption of animation products, which is ground in individual pleasure and constant encounters with the global media. I will discuss two different contexts where such tensions are exposed: the market and the cyberspace. Then, the chapter discusses the case of *Robot Taekwon V,* a specific example from the Korean animation industry, which has brought out an active discussion in a recent Internet debate. This particular case, I argue, demonstrates how Korean animation is perceived differently by Korean audiences, contributing to placing the Korean animators in an in-between dimension. Overall, this chapter proves why the Korean animators' experience of globalisation is rather emotionally painful and a struggle, and can be explained as an in-between state, in this case, specifically inflicted on them by the audiences whose national identity is threatened and contested.

7.2 AUDIENCE CRITICISM

> I once ran a cyber discussion room where various people could join and talk about their favourite animations. Well, yes, the majority of people were maniacal fans of Japanese anime. We liked the Japanese imaginative storylines and flamboyant drawings, but we all hoped Korean animations would one day become big! We even said that the only reason for us (Korean) being behind Japan for animations was because we were divided into two political lands (i.e. North/South Korea) and we were weak! It sounds ridiculous to talk about serious politics in this way but the country's unification would make the animation industry better! Why? We will have better animators with more creative heads and more labour!
>
> (Interviewee SH, male, 26 years old)

This account interestingly coincides with Fredric Jameson's view on Korea, 'if the two Koreas were unified you'd be more powerful in all kinds of ways than any European nation-state' (1996: 348). Jameson sees Korea being 'repressed from the political consciousness' (ibid.: 348) of the USA, which also can be found through the consumptions and productions of animation OEM industry in Korea.

Under globalisation, experiencing the foreign media flow is inevitable. No one can be criticised for consuming those media products. It could be argued that the consumption of foreign media in Korea is totally based on the individuals' free will, which is located within

the free capital flow of the world market. However, in the media market, production and consumption could not be said to be separate things. They are closely related to each other and one decides the others' direction and vice versa (Willis, 1990: 17-21). For this reason, it is essential to look into consumption patterns and consumers' thoughts about domestic Korean animation production. What I found from interviews and questionnaires is that however free Korean audiences' wills might be, a certain conflict appears in their consciousness between the global and the local (national). This can be inferred from SH's own words, for instance: '*We liked Japanese imaginative storylines and flamboyant drawings, but we all hoped Korean animations would one day become big!*'

How are such conflicts formed? How differently do the consumers, as individuals and as citizens of a nation, respond to their own actions? Is their double consciousness another strong force besides globlisation itself in shaping Korean animation? Does that force isolate and puzzle the Korean animation industry and animators who are on the rim of in-between*?*

7.2.1 DOMESTIC AUDIENCES' DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS

Unbalanced and biased media consumption and publicity become impediments to the production of the Korean animations. They [the public] only go and see animations if they are either Disney or as good as Disney.
(Independent Animation producer LJH, male, 16 years in the industry)

As for culture, we (Koreans) have a strong tendency to be servile to "anything Japanese." I notice that many people who are not at all interested in animation

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had to go and watch Miyazaki Hayao's recent animation film *Howl's Moving Castle*. They had to do so as they thought it was one of the 'must-dos' to become 'cultural intellectuals'.

(ChoiCoco, female, 31 years old)

High production costs, low television licence fees and the management of television stations generate enormous imports of foreign animations, especially from Japan and the USA. However, the real push factor and strong initiative behind imports is audience preferences. As quoted above, is LJH's comment reasonable when it is implied that audiences are unbalanced and biased in media consumption? Or does LJH not simply admit the democratic market mechanism of freedom of choice? As ChoiCoco states, even in a type of antagonistic position, to become 'cultural intellectuals' watching selected animations (or other media genres) is a necessary act in today's cultural consumption pattern, regardless of whether the audience is really interested in the film or not.

Consumers' purchasing habits and preferences could explain to some extent what I would argue as the Korean consumers' 'double consciousness' I borrow W.E.B. Du Bois's term of 'double consciousness' not as to explain 'colour line' (i.e. race or colonialism) which he saw as the 'twentieth century's problem' in his *The Souls of Black Folk* (Du Bois, 1999). For Du Bois, 'double consciousness' is a way to look at oneself through others:

'After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-

consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.' (Du Bois, 1999: 10-11)

However, I want to use the term 'double consciousness' to explain Korean audiences' invisible 'demarcation' of cultural consumption and production. Korean audiences' global experiences make them look at their own domestic work rather critically and they prefer foreign products while criticising the domestic animation works as section 7.2.2 will show.

As previous studies on colonialism or post-colonialism suggest, the colonised wish to become like the colonisers, and yet there are certain tension and resistances remaining (Bhabha, 1994: 89; Young, 1995: 150-8). Admiration towards the colonisers and resentment towards the colonised themselves coexist in a colonial culture. Even at present, I argue that similar patterns can be found in the cultural market where consumption and production freely occur. I suggest that this happens because of the special socio-historical dimensions in which the Korean animation industry is located. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Korea's political relationship with the USA and Japan has caused antagonistic attitudes towards those two countries. In many aspects of the Korean society, although not always physically traceable, America's unfair political and economic acts appear to be reflected. Moreover, the colonial history takes up a big part when it comes to hostile attitudes towards Japan. Anything Japanese, from everyday goods even to their habits - how they talk or how they walk - can be reasons to dislike them and it seems to be justifiable from a Korean perspective.

In the 1970s and 1980s, when anti-Japanese and anti-American movements were strongly promoted, not only by the government but also by individuals, the act of buying foreign goods was heavily discouraged and even prohibited. However, since the 1990s there has been a sea of change in people's perceptions as well as in the diplomatic attitudes of the Korean government. Nobuyoshi Kanai (2000) conducted research on changes of Koreans' perception and reception of Japanese culture. The percentage of respondents whose impression of Japan was 'Good and Very good' has changed from 22.6 percent (in 1984), 13.6 percent (in 1988), and 5.4 percent (in 1990) to 47.7 percent (in 2000). Respondents' impression towards Japan as 'Bad and Very bad' has also changed from 38.9 percent (1984), 50.6 percent (1988), 66 percent (in 1990) to a noticeably low 13.4 percent (in 2000). Nobuyoshi's research suggests that anti-Japanese feelings have decreased and changed. My query is about the possibility of separation between political national issues and the consumption/production of foreign popular media, especially in animation. This seems to be the case as the consuming patterns and attitudes of animation audiences effect the ways that animations are created and produced, simply by the logic of supply and demand. My respondents, when asked via questionnaires about consumption, reacted in almost similar ways:

> Anti-Japanese sentiment and cultural exchange are totally separate and
> different things. I really don't care, do you?
>
> (Eun-mee, female, 26 years old)

> Some manic fans of Japanese anime are stigmatised as Japanophiles in rather
> traitor-equivalent ways. Just because some people are fond of Japanese culture

they cannot be called traitors or betrayers. But, I guess there are some people who really *hate* Japan and don't do anything that have something to do with Japan!

(Soo-Hyun, female, 21 years old)

Japanese culture and anti-Japanese feelings are two distinct cases to me. Of course, on the one hand I do get angry and say, 'What a lunatic nation Japan is!' but on the other hand, I do watch Japanese animation and listen to their popular songs. Once this issue (of maintaining two different positions) was eating at me! It is really hard not to choose entertaining Japanese animations. It is hard!

(Ho-soon, female, 27 years old)

The majority of my respondents reacted in so-called *cool* and progressive ways. Their responses could have a three-fold characterization: 1) as Nobuyoshi's research indicates, people's responses to Japanese culture seem more positive and optimistic, regarding culture and political/national issues separately as my respondent's reactions tend to demonstrate; 2) as consumers, my respondents follow their pleasure more than serious ideological national issues which resonates with Ang's case study of Dallas (1985: 11); 3) however, most importantly, my respondents did show awareness of the political issues concerning their consumption patterns in various ways. Following on from one of my respondents' answers, I wonder whether culture and cultural production and consumption can be understood as two separate things.

7.2.2 DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS EXPOSED

I would propose that two places to see such multifaceted audience attitudes are, on the one hand, the physically visible place of the 'market and, on the other hand, the invisible cyber place of the 'Internet'.

Firstly, the market, as Willis argues, is 'the source of a permanent and contradictory revolution in everyday culture' and consumption happening in the market 'help[s] to release a profane explosion of everyday symbolic life and activity' (Willis, 1990: 26.). In this dynamic place of the market, it has been said that consumers 'bring experiences, feelings . . . to their encounter with commerce' (Willis, ibid.: 21). Secondly, the cyber place of the Internet is a sphere where one can play with 'free identity' (Wilbur, 2000: 47) if preferred, and more fluid thoughts and critiques can be expressed. It has been claimed that 'on the Internet, no one knows you're a dog' (Barwell and Bowles, 2000: 705); this is not an exaggerated example because the Internet has been conceived of as an invisible cyberspace. This cyberspace is an open virtual place but with potential to be real; this is how the word 'virtual reality' was coined (Featherstone, 2000: 612-614). Therefore, I argue that cyberspace becomes another new arena where invisible national identity and subsequent activities related to national identity could be enforced. For example, the current president, Roh Moo-Hyun was supported by netizens in his election in 2002 (Chang, 2005: 925). This indicates the power of 'netizens' (i.e. citizens of Internet) (ibid.). Unlike cyber citizenship, which is often thought to have no national boundary, to be free from location and to form 'moral clusters' (Barwell and Bowles, 2000: 709), Korean netizens appear to be

more nationalistic. This is observable especially when Japanese and American issues appear to stimulate a certain '(colonial) rivalry sense' (Edensor, 2002: 80).

Actual consumption patterns in the commercial market and consumers' nationalistic criticisms in cyberspace are contradictory. The next two sections will look, firstly, into the demand for foreign animation and related products in the Korean market. Secondly, national identity and audience expectations with respect to media products are discussed in the context of cyberspace.

Figure 7. 1 National Conflicts in the Cyberspace
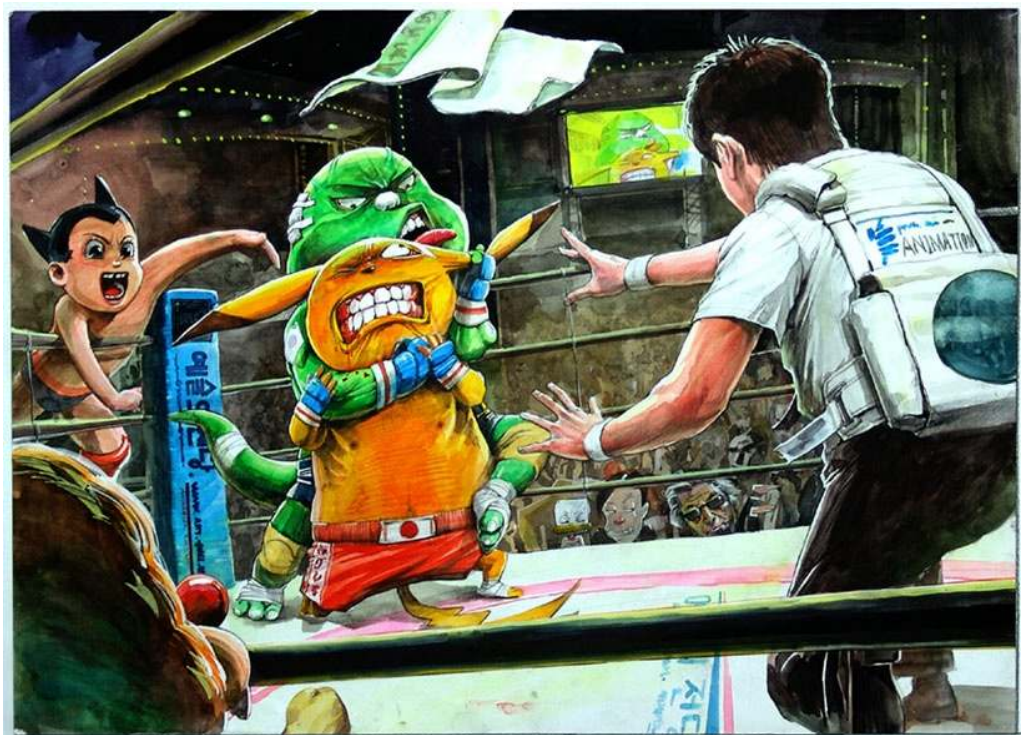
Source: Anonymous painter on the Internet

This picture [Figure 7.1] appeared in one of the Korean internet newspapers, *GoNews,* on 20 January 2006. The animation characters are boxing. The green creature is a famous Korean animation character, *Dooly*

(1983) and he is attacking *Pikachu*, the Japanese famous character from *Pokemon* (1996). Behind, another famous character known as *Atom* from *Astro Boy* (1952) throws a white towel to surrender. The audience appears to be composed of Dooly's fellow characters,who seem to be enjoying Dooly's victory, as well as a white haired gentleman portraying Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi, according to the report. It says that this drawing expresses Korean netizens' hopes for Korean animation's development (see web database).

(1) MARKET, CONSUMPTION AND CRITICISMS

The most popular American animation brand is Disney. Long before 1992 when Disney established its own *Disney Korea* in Korea, Korean children consumed a great amount of Disney animation. After Disney's establishment in Korea, videotapes and character products still sold well. Parents in Korea are much concerned about their children's education, to the point that this noble concern has been described as 'super-education' (Kim, Y., 2005: 31). Hence, it seems that for Korean parents animations are not regarded as helpful for education. But there are also contradictory points of view regarding this issue. For example, according to recent research on the reasons for possessing animation videos in the age group 30-40 in households with children), about 62.1 percent are purchased primarily for education for children and youth, 26.4 percent are for family use (Disney's main merit), and only 11.5 percent are for Disney's devotees' pleasure. This was found that

especially people in the age group of 30-40 have animation videos for educational purposes for their children (KOCCA, 2005a). It has also been established that from parents' point of view, animation should be 'more than mere entertainment' (Seiter, 1995: 157) and consequently, animation should be more educational. Seiter (ibid.) explains these dissimilar views as 'different systems of evaluation' adopting Bourdieu's notion of 'taste classification'. In this regard, Disney seems to have passed the educational standard set by Korean parents. In fact, Disney's animations are preferred by parents more than by their children. Fairy-like characters and princes and princesses stories attract children's attention. But without their parents' purchases, Disney and other American animations would not be available to children. Seiter explains, 'As children were divorced from the commercial world as producers, parents were increasingly approached with a widening range of consumer goods for children's leisure' (ibid.: 52) Even the access children have to particular animation cable channels can only be made possible by parents.

Korean parents use Disney's channels for children's English language learning. English as a foreign language has been regarded as a 'plus' to one's success in Korea. According to a recent news report, each household seems to spend more than 10 percent of income for children's English education. It also mentions that there are "gireogi appa" which literally means "wild geese papa" who spend 60 to 70 percent of their annual salary to support their children studying abroad. And, this is how importantly English has been regarded in Korean society (*Hangugilbo*, 19 January 2007). There is a sense that Koreans are inclined favourably towards Disney, even adoring their animation, as if Disney was the best 'thing' in the world, because of its potential use in the attainment of a foreign language such as English.

Figures also demonstrate that *Disney Korea* attained sales of more than 2.5 billion (Korean) *won* (1.4 million British pounds) in 1993, 5 billion *won* (2.8 million British pounds) in 1994 and 8 billion *won* (4.4 million British pounds) in 1995 (Han, 1998). According to the same report, there are increasing numbers of companies that wish to sell Disney characters and they are willing to pay 3-10 percent commission fee of their sales profits to Disney. This is because there is a guaranteed market to sell and make profits in Korea. The reason for Disney's success in Korea and for the generally positive reception of American cartoons is that they depict helpful and friendly images of the US in the 1950s. These representations have been engraved as a 'utopia', and the Koreans regard America as a 'supporter of modernization and liberator from Japanese colonization' (Kim & Lee, 2001: 187). In this respect, Disney is a particularly preferred brand of animation that Korean parents and children would choose for education-related reasons. In contrast, Japanese animation is a fun-oriented medium for various kinds of audiences.

From the survey and interviews I conducted, it was possible to deduce that while Disney and some other American animation has specific audience groups such as parents and children, Japanese anime tends to draw a wide range of audiences including the fanatics. The survey result shows that 70 percent of the respondents gave titles of Japanese anime as their favourite childhood animations whilst 20 percent chose Korean animation and 10 percent chose Disney animation as their favourites. From this, the general assumption that Japanese anime is more preferred to American ones by the general Korean audience becomes clearer. My respondents also gave specific reasons for their preferences, which were also identified by Napier who finds Japanese anime possessing 'dazzling ranges of topics' (Napier, 2001: 19). For example, Japanese anime deals with diverse genres, from SF fantasy (e.g. *Akira*, *Spirited Away* and *Naucicca*) to the story of neighbour

girls (e.g. *Totoro*, *Fruit Baskets*). Compared specifically with Disney's family-targeted animation, Japanese anime has a greater variety for diverse audiences. Secondly, in the case of the Japanese anime, expressions are not limited and are delivered with realistic elements within an extremely imaginary medium: 'Japan is the first nation on earth where comics have become a full fledged medium of expression' (Frederick Schodt quoted in Susan J. Napier's *Anime* [2002: 20]).For example, while American animations are prohibited from showing certain scenes of gun fights or weapon use, Japanese anime in some ways can be described as "honestly" horrifying because fights, scenes of vicious killing or violence are shown if they are essential for story development. Due to such overtly honest expressions of violence, Japanese anime sometimes gets criticised by children's media organisations and educational bodies (Schodt, 1996: 53-9). However, it is quite impossible for the audiences not to choose animations that seem to satisfy their desire for something 'realistically unreal' (my own term). Therefore, this idea about the unreal depicted realistically explains the reason for the heavy consumption of the Japanese anime even before the ban on Japanese popular culture was passed in 1998.

Thirdly, copying and making illegal pirate tapes seem to be another reason of why Koreans feel entertained by Japanese anime. As consumers, Korean audiences had their own logically defended reasons for consuming foreign animations. Their reasons were simple and clear. They watch and consume foreign animations simply because the Korean animations are not interesting or thrilling.

> I think that Japanese anime functions as a right model, textbook and instruction
> of how to make animation! Disney seems almost perfect like live action films.
> Well, for *our* Korean animation, I think in the old days, they were better than

now. Nowadays, they are not as good as they look. What a farce!

(Ho-soon, female, 27 years old)

Disney? Don't you need to go to a cinema to see it? Anime? Wow! A lot!! *Ours*

(Korean animations)? Is there any, in fact?

(Yeon-hee, female, 25 years old)

I find anime sensuous in visual images and even elegant in characters. Disney's

animations are a good combination of realistic description and detailed

background drawings. As for *our* (Korean) animations, they feel…… somewhat

chontee [meaning, corn-fed] and boorish!

(Ok-hee, female, 28 years old)

Overall, as the above comments imply, foreign animations are regarded as more progressive,

modern and attractive whilst Korean animations are seen to possess what the Koreans often

describe as '*chontee*'. Foreign animations are cool, progressive even though consumers

could be critical of the global culture. Their choices are distinctly oriented by pleasure and

enjoyable elements of the cultural goods. However, the double consciousness of consumers

of Korean animation remains noticeable. What should also be highlighted is that many

respondents did not necessarily know particular animations in which the OEM works were

involved, apart from a few well-publicised works such as, *The Simpsons* and *Spirited Away*.

A great amount of Japanese and American animations are drawn by OEM animators every

day, every week and every month, and they are shown all over the world. However, those animations end up being regarded as Japanese or American culture, and the efforts and the labour behind them are not recognised by viewers. Instead, the Korean OEM animators are blamed as 'empty-brained robots that are less creative and greedy for money' (Indie animation producer PKH, personal interview, 1 July 2005). Without knowledge of how the Korean animation OEM started and flourished, Korean animators face severe criticism.

> If they continue to do OEM business, animators will lose chances to develop their own creativity and to me, OEM itself seems to repress creativity! After all, Korea will be famous for subcontracting and animators will be super-good in subcontracting works only! ⋯ ⋯ they really need to have creativity!
>
> (Sunkiss, female, 23 years old)

> Well, their drawing skill will be better everyday but what about their brains? Would they want a title of being an animation factory, rather than the republic of creative animation?
>
> (Yeon-Hee, female, 25 years old)

> OEM⋯ it does not ask you to think. Hence, there is no pain for creation. It's an easy business. But, later on you will realise there is no brand image either. Do you remember those Korean shoes factories that were doing OEM for Nike? When Nike changed OEM partners in other places, those factories all had to close down. They all died! Completely! When you do OEM that is all you can do. Nothing else!

The majority of responses about the current Korean animation industry had similar worrying and critical voices about the lack of creativity. Another concern that emerges is that Japanese drawing styles constantly appear in Korean creative animations. For instance, *Wonderful Days* (2003) was one of the most spectacular 3D animations fully created by Korean animators and producers with great financial investment. However, it was not well received by Korean audiences. One of my interviewees who was an animation major student expressed his opinion as follows:

> I was very much excited to see a new, creative and original Korean 3D animation. But I was so disappointed by looking at its characters. They were so much in the Japanese style. They wanted it to be somewhat distinctive and different from the Japanese animations, so they put Korean traditional patterns and drew the main character wearing a traditional mask on his face. But, it did not work. To me, it looked as if a Japanese anime character was wearing a Korean costume for no reason! I guess the long history of the OEM somehow came out in their drawings.
>
> (EggMary, male, 28 years old)

In fact, when I interviewed one of the animation directors, who was involved in the production of *Wonderful Days*, his response was also similar to EggMary's comments (quoted above):

Even amongst us, we thought it looked like a Japanese animation. I actually

used Japanese animations as main references. Maybe because of that it looked

Japanese. To be extremely harsh on ourselves, the work wasn't exactly

Japanese or Korean. Regardless of the references, it is anyway done by *us*

(Korean animators) and so it is somehow different and somehow similar. There

were many (Japanese) works before, and on the contrary, we (Koreans) had not

enough preparation to create a new work. I guess that this animation is a result

that has come out in a period of transition. (Personal interview, 24 August,

2005)

'Not enough preparation to create a new work' indicates a long history of the OEM

business, which did not allow the Korean animators to have chances to develop their own

creative animations. Animation curator HST, however, finds another critical reason for

imitation and lack of creativity, which is, again, an economic pressure:

We did not imitate others in the very beginning. In the 1970s, purely because

of economic hardship, we had to take the OEM work. There wasn't a proper

animation industry model in the first place in Korea to follow. That has

ultimately caused the absence of creativity in the Korean animation history.

Without money, what can you do? Create what? With less money or none, we

wanted to and had to make something anyway and that's how the imitation

started. That was the start of the vicious spiral!

(Animation curator HST)

HST explained that 'a right animation industry model' should have the following pattern: Financial investment/sponsors → production → distribution→ profit → re-investment into the next production projects/animation. The Korean animation audiences/consumers do not seem to understand the reason that HST points out but instead pour harsh criticisms.

Overall, I would argue that the double consciousness of Korean audiences appears to be two-fold. Firstly, their act of consuming foreign animations is justifiable and yet the Korean animators' act of taking OEM works due to pure economic reasons is not. In other words, consumers seem to take on roles as consumers of global cultural production and simultaneously as patriotic citizens of the nation. Such acts can only be understood in the context of less tolerant but heavily self-centred acts of modern cultural consumption. Arguably, this happens because the Korean animators' production is not considered culture but criticised severely. Secondly, audiences claim to be severely critical towards their own nation's cultural products while defending this production at the same time.

In the next section, I will demonstrate issues of national sensitivity in consumption and production of popular cultural products, which will show a different story based on the audiences' interview responses. Data collected and analysed in the following section are taken from the public internet debate and personal blogs and newspapers. This textual analysis is significant in understanding how cyberspace uncovers another side of the Korean consumer's double consciousness.

I will begin with recent controversies surrounding the movie *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005) that appeared in cyberspace and in the mainstream news. Although the following section begins with non-animation media issues, these will function significantly in terms of understanding how audiences' national identity issues are represented through

cyberspace. This becomes a platform to offer necessary knowledge to explore section 7.3 below.

(2) CYBERSPACE, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ANTICIPATION

Chinese actress Zhang Ziyi reportedly beat out Hong Kong actress Maggie Cheung and her fellow *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* co-star Michelle Yeoh for the lead role in the Stephen Spielburg directed *Memoir of a Geisha*. That's nice; Hong Kong, Malaysian and Chinese actresses were the top contenders to play a Japanese character. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, *what's the difference, right? Sure it is an American novel and it will be directed for an American audience that really doesn't give a damn about the fine differences between Asian nations.* (*Italics* my emphasis, 25 July 2005, *Voluntary in China*)

By not portraying the geisha accurately, the film only adds to the Orientalist view of Asian women as exotic fantasy creatures. ... ⋯ Instead we are presented with a toned-down, *westernised geisha* − Sayuri even has blue eyes. ⋯ ⋯ We are left with a kind of *McGeisha* tweaked for western tastes. In Memoirs Marshall has assembled an image of oriental women that satisfies the mass market; ultimately, this kind of bland cinematic globalisation can only create more misconceptions. (*Italics* my emphasis) (13 December 2005,

Andrew Lee, Financial Times - *Japan through Hollywood's distorting lens)*

Above are two comments about the movie *Memoirs of a Geisha*. The first one is a written comment on a private (and yet open to public access) blog of an American and the second is a newspaper article printed in Britain. These comments indicate some interesting and also worrying aspects about the globalisation of cultural production. *'Fine differences between Asian nations', 'westernised geisha'* and *'McGeisha'* tell us that this specific film is made for the entertainment of the West. This film posits the West as the main audience by containing elements to satisfy and please the eyes of the Western viewers. Therefore, this leads to a stratification of audiences with non-western audiences inheriting peripheral positions in the process of filmmaking. However, the stratification of audiences does not work quite in that way, either. It might be sensible to say that this global collaboration is directed at and will be consumed by American audiences. However, this film does not only address American audiences. The fact was neglected or forgotten that the film was produced by global collaborators and would be consumed globally by many others in the rest of the world. Moreover, in treating such sensitive cultural issues inaccurately, films or any other media products are no longer for simple enjoyment. They become national issues. The following are responses of Chinese audiences after the screening of *Memoirs of Geisha* in China (29th November 2005) reported by a newspaper (1 December 2005, *Global no-cut news*).

I could not stand to see a naked Japanese actor press his body against the body

of Zhang Ziyi!

Another one expressed her anger,

She (Zhang Ziyi) sold her own nation and her soul. Geisha Zhang Ziyi should

kill herself!

She is worse than an animal. We should not watch their movies!

If it was a Korean actress, she wouldn't ever be in such a movie as she could

not lift up her face to the nation. But, Zhang Ziyi of China would not feel any

shame about this and that is our Chinese nation's terrible tragedy. (*Italics,* my

own emphasis)

'*If it was a Korean actress*' shows how strongly the national identity issue of the Koreans

has appeared to the neighbouring countries. In fact, it is reported that a Korean actress

turned down one of the roles in *Memoirs of a Geisha* as 'a matter of pride' (13 December

2005 *Financial Times*). An ironic point is that the actress who refused to play the geisha

Sayuri's role plays in the American television series *Lost*, and the domestic media

publicises her as a successful Hollywood Korean star. Moreover, a national newspaper

proudly reports that she now gets paid $10 million (US) per episode and in total $300

million (US). (3 April 2006, *Herald Media*) Here are some more examples to show recent

national identity issues in relation to popular media.

In 2002, a Korean actor was supposed to be cast in a new *James Bond* movie, *Another Day*. His role was to play a North Korean general, as in that particular movie James Bond had to fight against the evil force of North Korea. Such a casting might have been an essential decision from the position of the American production team. However, for the Korean nation it was another form of insulting the entire nation whose politically divided land still remained as an unforgettable tragedy and shame. Hence, the actor decided not to take the role and he became a hero of the nation. In order to support his hero-like patriotic decision, some of the Korean audiences performed 'consumer terrorism' with 'consumer power' (Willis, 1990: 142) by not watching that particular *James Bond* movie (*HaniReport*, 3 January 2003). According to Korean Box Office reports on 11 January 2003, after this particular 007 film was released (31 December 2002), it had 170,420 audiences and seventeen screens available in capital city (Seoul). This figure is significantly low comparing to other 007 films in the past; for instance, *The World is not Enough* (1999) had 375,500 audiences in Seoul (K-Box, January 2003, See web database).

Another example is a Korean actress in 2003 that made a nude photo album, and its main concept was 'comfort women'. Comfort women were captured by Japanese soldiers for sexual pleasure during their colonial occupation in World War II. Living comfort women still fight against the Japanese government for compensation and it remains an unresolved political problem between the two nations. The way she dressed or rather under-dressed to depict women's images of comfort angered the entire nation as this reminded them of the pain of being under the Japanese occupation during which many Korean women were raped and became sexual toys for Japanese soldiers. Even before that nude album was released, its original tape had to be burnt in public and the actress had to

kneel down before those old women who once suffered being 'comfort' women. Now it is

very hard to see her on screen or elsewhere in the media (2 December 2004, *Women 21*).

Although these particular cases do not directly deal with animation, they lay out a broader

context for us to consider the seriousness of Korean cultural production and consumption

in terms of nationalism and national identity. For cultural production and consumption,

another form of rivalry and resistance emerge. Edensor sees similar cases from an example

of sports:

> Such metaphorical contests are particularly dramatic when they [sports
>
> players] involve teams or individuals representing previously colonised nations
>
> in contest with opponents from the previously colonising powers. The
>
> cricketing competitions between India or the West Indies and England have
>
> particular resonances as symbolic re-enactments of colonial struggles (2002:
>
> 80).

7.3 AUDIENCE EXPECTATIONS EXPOSED IN ANIMATION

Now, I will link this pattern of cultural consumption to Korean animation. Unlike other

media genres, animations use non-human characters in the form of drawings. Hence, it is

possible to think that animation presents less cultural shock to audiences. In this sense,

animation has certain elements that can be described as 'culturally odourless' (Iwabuchi,

2002: 27) and 'stateless' (Napier, 2001: 24). Character names and dialogue are all changed

according to the locations where the animation works will be shown. Hence, this particular

genre could be thought of as a genre that culturally masks/disguises its own originality. In the globalisation era where everything circulates around the globe, emphasising cultural originality seems absurd and, even though many voices of cultural imperialism are raised through the animation genre, consumers themselves do not seem to care much. Then, are animations purely 'entertainment' (Ang, 1985: 11) with less serious meanings? Who would put emphasis on drawings of non-human or human-like figures in relation to national identity, politics or history?

As seen above, the majority of respondents seem to separate political issues from cultural issues as long as they are not crossing the line of national sensitivity. I also have argued that the physical place of the market and the virtual space of the Internet can create some differences in terms of consumer reactions, and added that cyberspace could be a new arena for nationalism to grow. Here, I extend my argument stating that animation can also bring about strong national identity issues and sensitivities. In the previous (filmic) examples, actors and actresses were the targets of nationalism issues. However, in animations, animation characters replace human actors.

If we take the mid 1970s Korean animation industry as an example, in 1976, the very first Korean mechanic robot animation, *Robot Taekwon V*, was produced by the Korean animation director, Cheongkee Kim. As the title indicates, it is a story about a robot that can perform Taewkondo. As Taekwondo is the Korean martial art that functions as one of Korea's national sports, *Robot Taekwon V* was regarded as a Korean product. It was extremely popular amongst many children as they imagined themselves as *Robot Taekwon V* fighting *Mazinga Z* (a robot character in a Japanese mechanic robot animation). The word *Taekwon* was good enough to motivate children to like the character and watch the animation with excitement. Most male children tend to imagine themselves as strong men

and think they can be unbeatable. In fact, many children start learning martial arts at an early age in Korea. One of the most popular is the national martial art, Taekwondo. Hence, applying such a martial arts idea into a mechanic robot animation worked well for children in the 1970s and 1980s. The word *Taekwon* ʻinculcated a patriotic desireʼ (Edensor, 2002: 83) in Korean audiences. To a question, ʻWhat do you think is the very Korean animation you have watched before? Is there one?ʼ one of the respondents (leesohyun) mentioned that ʻ*Taekwon V*! Even from the title, you could feel that it is Korean, couldnʼt you?ʼ

Figure 7. 2 *Mazinga Z* (Japan) vs. *Robot Taekwon V* (Korea)

Left: *Mazinga Z* (Japan), right: *Robot Taekwon V* (Korea)

This first robot animation *Robot Taekwon V* attracted about 180,000 people into Seoul cinema theatres. Not only was martial arts the main interest of the young kids, but the fact that *Robot Taekwon V* was compared to the Japanese animation *Mazinga Z* (25 episodes), which was imported and shown on MBC channel in 1975, made this film successful. Many children did not even know that *Mazinga Z* was from Japan, but regardless of this, these two robot characters were always constructed as rivals. Later on, *Taekwon V* was accused of being an imitation of *Mazinga Z* (see Figure 7.2) and this became a great disappointment

to Korean viewers. However, leaving the imitation issue behind, *Taekwon V* is still remembered and loved, and currently there is a process of making a new feature film about it. The word *Taekwon* and the fact that it was Korean's first robot animation, made it significant to Korean viewers. In a recent Internet debate, netizens discussed who would win a fight if *Taekwon V* and *Mazinga Z* fought. From the early 1970s, the issue between two mechanic animation characters always existed amongst children's talk. This cyber debate was found by one of the internet newspaper sources. In this cartoon-like debate, total 610 people participated and the result came out as overall *Mazinga Z* won by 53.3 percent (325/610 people) and 46.7 percent of people (285/610) said *Taekwon V* won (16 January 2002, *Goodday*, See web database). Here are some of their reasons for *Taekwon V*'s *solid* victory:

It is interesting to imagine the fight between *Mazinga Z* and *Taekwon V*. Firstly, Japan cannot avoid fighting with Korea. We will destroy them with *Taekwon V* as they do not realise what they had done in the past was wrong. If we go with *Taekwon V*, they would not be waiting calmly but fight back with *Mazinga Z*! It will be a breath-taking fight! But, with our *Taekwon V* and his Taekwon kick, *Mazinga Z* will be knocked down right away! -- ID: jealousy76 883 −

Taekwon V wins, of course! Why? It's simple! Can *Mazinga Z* do Judo? Can it do boxing? No, no!!! *Taekwon V* can do *Taekwondo*! -- ID: *chunsa2k* --

The followings are the reasons for *Mazinga Z* to win.

As Japanese are good at dirty fighting and as *Mazinga Z* is not capable of

fighting against *Taekwon V*, they will call on all sorts of robots. Hence, it will

be a team-to-team fight between Korean robots and Japanese robots. Our

robots will all lose as Japanese ones are all new! Our robots are only twenty

of them, but Japan has hundreds of them. So, it's not even a contest in

numbers! -- ID: *cartoon family* --

I remember arguing with friends when I was young because of this issue! Let

me recall who won the fight between *Mazinga Z* and *Taekwon V*. *Mazinga Z*

is made in Japan and *Taekwon V* is made in Korea. I guess Japanese

technology for making robots must be better than Korean, right? -- ID:

mongo123 --

There are humorous and even ridiculous ideas found from this cyber debate about who

would win from the fight. However, it was quite clear that netizens did not take these two

robot animation characters simply as animated characters but as national representatives.

Some of the debaters point out that such a cyber debate would bring out another

national conflict between the two countries (ID: *hanguy*). Even with these animation

characters, the Korean audiences added national issues to them. They said it was natural

that Korea would win because *Taekwon V* was made by Koreans and because this robot

excelled in the Korean martial arts. Furthermore, some of the participants referred to the

colonial past and Japanese atrocities during that period, and suggested that the Japanese should get punished by *Taekwon V* at least in the imaginary space of animation. This cyber debate might sound ridiculous, and even some of the debaters acknowledged this. Nevertheless, what should not be neglected is that this debate reveals Korean netizens' repressed desire to resolve real political problems between Korea and Japan through the cultural production of a fictional robot animation. In other words, the political penetrates even cultural consumption patterns in some aspects. This proves that the closely interwoven relationship between cultural consumption and production and political consciousness does exist despite the cool responses we saw previously (i.e. the separation between media consumption and production and nationalism). As a result, the Korean audiences' hidden and repressed desires for Korean animation to be better and more creative place more pressure onto the OEM industry. Overall, the audiences' double consciousness increases the pressure that the Korean animators experience from the global economy, and once again may drive them to an isolated and yet confusing position in-between.

7.4 CONCLUSION

A nation with a colonial history continuously experiences a threat from the powerful others but it seems that there is also a desire to become like the powerful others. What this chapter has demonstrated is that even in the so-called, "global era," national identity is continuously contested. The globalisation process has shifted and extended its domain into the market place and cyberspace. Simultaneously, these two places have become the arena where the audiences' double-consciousness is reflected.

Without considering the inevitable negotiation process and consequent in-between experiences that the local animators face, the audiences have once again oppressed the animators with their biased preferences for foreign animations and severe criticisms of their lack of creativity. Furthermore, the debate analysed in this chapter clearly demonstrates that the audiences are indirectly imposing their desire to see Korean-made animations onto issues related to the Korean animators' creativity. To a certain extent, the Korean animators understand such critical responses from the audiences as an ethical imposition that tests their own national identity. Consequently, in addition to the in-between state caused by the complicated dynamics of globalisation, the inner oppression from the domestic audiences adds more struggles and dilemmas to the animators. This chapter together with Chapter 6 has enabled us to see in-between as an inevitable negotiation process and a struggle caused by globalisation as well as a contested national identity. This conclusion prefigures the primary issues and ideas that the next chapter examines: the sense of social alienation which the Korean animators undergo with the diverse conflicts and tensions set within the Korean society.

Chapter 8

Lost in the Path between Different Values

8.1 INTRODUCTION

'How can a peasant dauber question the rules of art? You'll waste your life believing in your paltry talent.'

'Painting is an expression of knowledge.'

[A nobleman, from *Chihwaseon − Drunk on Women and Poetry*][13]

'Real painting speaks for itself. No need for words. Only daubers add poems to their work, trying to fool people with their bogus philosophy. Frauds!'

[Jang, Seung-up from *Chihwaseon − Drunk on Women and Poetry*]

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[13] *Chihwaseon* (Kwon-Taek Im, 2002) is based on a story of the nineteenth century painter Jang, Seung-up. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Chosun Dynasty was in political crisis.

In the preceding discussion, I have drawn attention to the ways in which globalisation and national identity position Korean animators in an in-between state (see Chapters 6 and 7). The inevitability of Korean animators' in-between state has been demonstrated through the 'double-consciousness' manifested in audiences' reception and criticisms of the OEM industry. This chapter conveys significant reasons behind that type of reception from audiences and how the animators' lives are shaped by them. This will suggest another negotiation of an in-between condition: the Korean animators' struggle between traditional Confucian and new global values. What this chapter then addresses is another conflicting interplay between the global and the local but specifically represented within Korean society. Due to the significant differences found in the two sets of values, their relationship imposes continuous tension onto the Korean animators' in-between subjectivity. Korean animators' struggles and dilemmas are represented through social and cultural constructs, such as social status, education, marriage and family.

I begin this chapter by explaining how the values placed on animation have evolved within contemporary Korea. First, however, I provide a complementary discussion by looking at the relationship between Korean Confucian ideology and the Korean appreciation of art. This will provide a link between the past and present situation in Korea. I will also refer to this country's traditions as a source for potential explanations, because while 'traditions are always changing' as Giddens argues, 'there is *something* about [the] notion of tradition' with 'integrity and continuity which resists the buffeting of change' (italics his emphasis, 1995: 62).

Confucianism plays a significant role in Korean history and has an impact on today's Korea. I suggest that Korean Confucianism ideology should be considered in Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, which is, '[t]he universalizing mediation which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less "sensible" and "reasonable" (Bourdieu, 1977: 79). It is in this sense of habitus that Confucianism has become grounded within the Korean perception of daily life: 'a long river running through the intellectual history of Korea, one whose fountainhead goes the farthest and whose countless streams have spread out broadly' (Keum, 2000: iii). Amongst many of the 'countless streams' of Confucianism, I will focus specifically on education and class issues in relation to art, animation and animators in Korea. I will consider art, because, firstly, animation is a branch of contemporary art and culture (Wells, 1998: 10; Leslie, 2002: 160-161) and, secondly, the ways in which Koreans perceived and treated arts in the past may highlight possible reasons for the low public opinion of animation within contemporary Korea. Most importantly, art could be a means of indicating the culture of education and class differences. For instance, in Korea, where literature and education are very important and considered as a virtue of the *yangban* (noblemen), artists have to draw not only paintings but also include poems within paintings in order to impress the *yangban*. This is a significant inheritance from Confucian practices. The quotations opening this chapter demonstrate the importance of literature and scholarly knowledge in Korea's past and the anger of an artist (Jang, Seung-up) from a lower class background towards such pretentious *yangban* culture. This will be explicitly explained more in section 8.2.1.

Considering that these elements were inherited from the Confucian tradition and have been reinforced by regular practices within contemporary Korea, it is apparent that

Koreans experience conflicts between tradition and modernity. This, in Youna Kim's words, is seen as a 'complex interplay and co-existence of tradition and modernity' (2005: 27). The following sections will deal with that perspective. Firstly, as introduced above, section 8.2 will be a complementary discussion about the status of art and artists in Confucian Korea in relation to education and social status. Secondly, in section 8.3, moving towards the central argument of this chapter in the context of contemporary Korea, old and new values of animation – in terms of culture and industry – will be explored. It is also my intention, in this chapter, to demonstrate the in-betweeness of animators with regards to both 'cultural' and 'industrial' values about animation. Here, the animators' in-between position is problematic since cultural and industrial parties do not seem to be balanced or even. Rather they seem to be disproportionately weighed down on one side, particularly the industrial side. In the past, this is due to Confucianism and nowadays this appears to happen because of the continuing influence of Confucianism as well as the unbalanced economic pressure as discussed in Chapter 6. Animators seem to be stuck in between cultural and industrial forces. All things considered, it seems that combining these forces in harmony is difficult to achieve. Therefore, this chapter is a deliberate attempt to highlight the Korean animators' in-between experience by examining Korean society itself.

8.2 STATUS OF ART AND ARTIST IN KOREA

It is still not difficult to hear the older Korean generation saying, 'Draw and paint, if you want to starve!' As a researcher from Korea, I myself have heard this on many occasions. Older generations appreciate and praise the young's artistic talents. However,

they do not encourage youth to pursue careers in arts or music. Their expressions may indicate 'a question of restrictions and possibilities' (Negus and Pickering, 2004: 28) which reflects 'what is culturally and historically particular about the uses of language' (Negus and Pickering, ibid.). What I want to explore here is the 'question of restrictions and possibilities' that Korean people experience culturally and socially because of and through their ideology – Confucianism. It is essential to look into the traditional ideology, Confucianism, in relation to the popular adage quoted above because this type of culturally engrained maxim already suggests the overall feelings of the public towards art and artists in Korea. Sketching the characteristics of old Confucian Korea and modern Korea with Confucian inheritances will provide an essential context for the following central discussion where the Korean animators' subjectivities will be exposed within an unbalanced contemporary animation culture and industry.

8.2.1 LITERATI, NOBILITY AND ARTS IN CONFUCIAN KOREA

This brief section introduces characteristics of Confucian Korea that will contribute to understanding its influences on people's perception of contemporary arts and animation. Confucianism in Korea emphasised the literati and literature in relation to the *yangban* nobility. In particular, when the *yangban* ruled over lower class people in the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910), appreciating literature was a very significant virtue belonging to them. Amongst the *yangban* class, Keum highlights the *seonbi* gentleman scholars who do not pursue secular power but are a socially powerful group that instead concentrate on studying and teaching as 'true literati' (Keum, 2000: 54). They considered literature as the

most important element in society and regarded themselves as noble due to this practice. Here is Chi-won's definition of the literati that accentuates their role according to the principles of the Confucian Chosun Dynasty (quoted in Keum, ibid.: 59):

> All unbiased opinions under the sky are called *saron* (the opinion of the literati), the best of the best in an age is called s*aryu* (the stream of the literati), and the people who speared the righteous insistence [i.e. Confucianism ideas] throughout the world are called s*arim* (the literati group).

The excerpt above explains that the literati were the mainstay of Confucian Chosun society (i.e. old Korea). Since the power of the country was held by the literati (although the *seonbi,* i.e. literati, claimed to be less avaricious with regard to social status and power), it was natural to pay less attention to, for example, art. The literati and the *yangban* class also enjoyed drawings and appreciated art. However, due to the Confucian ideology proclaiming 'adoration for literature and contempt for arts' [sungmuncheongijuui (崇文賤技主意)], the artistic works of the moment were left in the cold, and artists were only treated as mere artisans. This was quite a contrast to Western countries, where the concept of 'artist-genius' (Barker et al. 1999: 9) existed.

Numerous European and American artists, too, suffered from poverty and from what Jeremy Tanner describes as the 'interstitial position' (2003: 105) of artists. This interstice is the tension between financial and social dependency on bureaucratic patronage and autonomous capitalist production under market mechanisms. In Western countries too, artists' social status was still relatively low, particularly in Renaissance period (Barker et al. 1999: 15). Despite these similarities, Western concepts differ from the Korean ones because

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of the appreciation and approval of artists' skills as unique and 'genius.' In contrast, artists in Korea were called *hwanjaengi*. *Hwan* means a cheap, unoriginal and copied painting. *Jaengi* is used to make a mockery of someone for their low occupation. Hence, the composition of these two words means "hack." Nowadays, Korean artists accept this unpleasant title as a light joke or use it to refer to their position in a humorous and humble way.

Such continuous use of the term *hwanjaengi* till the present proves that the general attitudes towards understanding the arts world have been heavily influenced by traditional Confucian ideas: 'adoration for literature and contempt for arts'. This will be surveyed in the following section.

8.2.2 EDUCATION, SOCIAL STATUS AND ARTS IN CONTEMPORARY KOREAN SOCIETY

As I have suggested in the previous section, Confucianism highlighted Korean's adoration and veneration for literature. In this section, I want to use the examples of today's Korean education system to suggest that the emphasis on literature within traditional Confucianism continues. I am not suggesting that there has been no improvement regarding appreciating (fine) arts, because there has. My key concern, however, is with the continuity of regarding art as inferior, and how such continuity has influenced both the animation industry and the animators.

Firstly, I want to emphasise Koreans' passion for education. Education is defined as 'preparation for life' (Winch, 2000:15) and the 'prerequisites of any successful economy'

(Cooke-Priest in Clark and Raymond, 1997: vii). These phrases support the significant role of education worldwide. However, particularly in Korea, education has been regarded as a means to social success and, in fact, such attitudes were the very basis for building up Korea's national wealth (Hyde, 1988: 3). Secondly, modern Korean society is tightly bounded by school. What I mean by 'tightly bounded by school' is that by being the alumni of the same institute provides far more chances for oneself to be successful in climbing the social ladder or career promotions, which will be explained below. This was also the case in the Confucian period, as shown with examples of the school of literati above.

In contemporary Korea, 'string pulling' (Crossley, 2001: 97) through the education system, which Bourdieu refers to as 'social capital' (Bourdieu quoted in Crossley, ibid.: 97), is advantageous in various ways. Put simply, networking through one's old schools can help build up relationships in society. Eventually, networks develop into social bonds, which Winch aptly calls 'norms of trust prevalent within a society' (2000: 5). The Korean social structure also operates with such 'norms of trust'. It is often criticised as *hakbeoljuui* (i.e. elitist). According to a report by the Department of Education (2003), 61.0 percent of 2,186 participants expressed that the name value of a university was one of the most significant factors in deciding social success. Feelings of deprivation (70.6 percent and of inferiority (57.4 percent) were also expressed. In effect, this suggests that education and schooling are still significant within the Korean social structure (Hangyure, 24 November 2003). An example that shows such obsessive elitism is the case of the SKY group. SKY is not an officially used word, but it is used to represent elite from those three top-ranking universities. Korean students aim to get into the SKY group for their university education. SKY is a symbol of Korean elitism and an anagram of the first letter of the top three universities in Korea: Seoul, Korea and Yeonsei. Preferences for certain universities and

majors are correlated with future income, social status and, most importantly, with parents'
expectations. I regard this as one of the possible reasons why parents and families are less
favourable towards arts and easily opposed to their children's decision to become artists,
especially popular culture artists like animators. For the same reason, certain academic
subjects are particularly preferred by parents, namely medicine, pharmacy, electronics,
engineering, etc. Hence, in order to be in socially elite groups, which seem to secure future
social status, children and parents become obsessed about education. Seth describes the
Korean education system in his book *Education Fever* (2002) as 'examination hell (*sihŏm
chiok*)' and 'examination mania' (Seth, 2002: 140). Indeed, the university entrance exam is
generally regarded as one of the most competitive lifetime tasks for individuals who wish to
enter higher education in Korea. What about art subjects whose significance was
undervalued in Confucian Korea?

Nowadays, the status of art has been elevated. Yet this position still seems to be less
favoured by parents. As a result, art tends only to belong to a certain class of people
because of the cost of education. Most people think that to support one's children to study
art and become artists in contemporary Korea, they need to be rich and possess many assets.
Here, the term 'arts' refers mainly to fine arts: classical Western and traditional Eastern
styles of arts. Studying the arts is costly, and in order to be educated properly and satisfy
parents' expectations, children need to get into high-ranking universities, because of their
social power and possibilities for networking. Hence, it is more than necessary for parents
to provide expensive private lessons and tutorials from highly established teachers and
professionals. However, throughout my interviews, I noticed a certain gender issue
involved in this. It is not simply a matter of being in the social class that can afford an art
education; it is also that women are allowed and encouraged to take up art more than men. I

think this starts from the Confucian belief that men should be the heads of the family with a reliable income, which learning art as a profession would not always guarantee. This will be discussed in section 8.3.1.

So far I have been focusing on the ways in which arts have been evaluated in traditional and contemporary Korea, and how the link between education and social success is understood by the Korean public. I now want to turn to a deeper, more perplexing in-between status of animators which arises from the old and new values of animation in relation to Korean Confucianism and the emphasis on education that I have examined in this section.

8.3 TODAY'S ANIMATION AND ANIMATORS IN KOREA

> If Thomas Edison or Marie Curie were Koreans, Edison would've stayed an idiot and Curie would become only a housewife, being uneducated since she was a girl. Koreans *lack cultural understanding and diversity* (*Italics* my emphasis) (Independent animation producer PKH, male, 10 years in the industry)

Following PKH's exclamation, I now draw attention to Koreans' general understanding of culture and in effect, the cultural value placed on animation that directly influences animators' social status and the struggles they go through. My earlier discussion on Confucianism and its particular stress on education should also be considered here, as this has much influence on people's attitudes towards appreciating culture and cultural

production, particularly animation.

Firstly, it is necessary to find out how much attention the public pays to animation in general. The table below is the degree of interest in animation by different generations:

Table 8. 1 Percentage of Korean's Interest in Animation

Age	Very interested	Interested	Less interested
Total	19.0	48.5	32.5
Primary School Students	68.1	29.4	2.5
Secondary/High School Students	26.5	54.0	19.5
20s	9.8	55.6	35.0
30s	12.7	55.4	31.9
40s	8.3	40.5	51.2

Source: KOCCA White Paper on Animation Industry 2005a p.103

From the table above, it could be argued that the older generations are rather indifferent towards animation. It seems to be generally known that adults regard animation as a children-only medium. Particularly in Korea, such a tendency remains strong and causes further problems for animators' working environments and the industry itself. This is also probably due to the strong emphasis on education, literature and scholarly attitudes, and also to the belief that animation is excluded from the so-called noble scholarly acts. Here are some examples that reflect such views on animators' lives. I asked whether the animators talk about animation outside their work places:

> [With other animators] all we talk about is animation and comics day and
> night… but generally animation is thought to be watched only by children [in
> Korea]. Because of that, I cannot communicate with the average person.

Because of their idea that animation is only for kids, they are not interested in us and keep their distance. If I started a conversation with someone who has such fixed ideas, we would end up snarling at each other. So, I normally don't talk about animation with people outside the office.

(Animator LHJ, female, 23 years old, worked in the industry for 3 years after graduating from high school)

I feel depressed at home as my parents give me a reproving glance for watching animations or reading comics. Animation isn't only for kids! I cannot understand them. Nobody says anything to anybody reading comics in the tube in Japan. Irrespective of age or sex, animation can be enjoyed by everyone there!

(Computer colourist LMH, female, 20 years old, worked in the industry for 1 year)

Once, one of my friends pointed out that I was different from others. They couldn't communicate with me. (Laugh) I don't know what makes me different. Maybe the animation field has a different culture itself. When I say or do something, they think, 'you are still childish', or 'how on earth can you act like that at your age?' Things that can be understood with some weight and seriousness amongst animators cannot be accepted or understood in the same way by outsiders.

(Animation art supervisor KM, female, 37 years old, worked for 13 years)

All three of the respondents above share a common problem of communicating with other members of the Korean society. Phrases such as, 'animation belongs only to children', 'only for kids', and 'you are still childish' show how the general public, especially adults, view animation and animators. As a result, animators are not willing to share their experiences of and impressions about animation with others outside their occupational field. As I suggested before, such views function to alienate the animators from other social groups and confine them to their own group. This reinforces the isolated in-betweenness of the Korean animators' subjectivities.

8.3.1 SOCIALLY ISOLATED ANIMATORS AND THEIR IN-BETWEEN EXPERIENCES

Given that there is little understanding from other members of society of animation and animators and also Koreans' particular emphasis on high scholarly education, it is possible to imagine how tough it must be for animators to get into the animation industry. One of the most famous Korean OEM animators told one of my interviewees that his father beat him black and blue when he expressed his wish to become an artist. It is now quite a different story due to changes in people's ideas about animation, but people aged between 30 and 70 had a much harder time than today's youth wishing to be animators. Animation director and CEO of *Anifactory* PNY has worked in the industry for more than thirty years. He remembers his high school period where he witnessed and experienced the clear division of high and low culture and consequential social discrimination:

Some of my friends from the art class (in high school) insisted on studying fine arts and remaining classical artists. High school teachers and their parents pushed them so hard that they had to do so. My friends themselves, too, are proud and regard animators (us) as socially lower than they are! How shameful! You know what? They earn less than what we animators can earn! Animation might not be classical, socially less admired and lowly classified, but we can still make money as animation is consumed more widely and publicly than those so-called high-class arts!

PNY's comments suggest that, on the one hand, socially preferred occupations were emphasised clearly through the educational system and, on the other hand, there is strong resistance from animators who want to prove others wrong by mentioning how much income they can earn despite their socially degraded positions. The relationship between social status and income does not always have to correlate. Moreover, the collective responses, which will be discussed next, indicate that the desire to obtain a higher social status could be trumped by higher income. Money empowers even those of lower social status, and this was quite clearly shown in my interviewees' cases. However, to reach such a stage takes quite a long and complicated negotiation period. During the first stage, animators receive a lot of pressure from parents and are urged to pursue a higher social status, which quite often leads them to what I would call an 'educational detour' and 'career wandering'. This is the second stage, which is marked by a discord between parents' expectations and reality. Therefore, aspiring animators face great difficulties. During the third stage, there seems to be an acceptance of children's choices with respect to their occupation, if prospective animators prove they can earn sufficient income to ensure an

appropriate lifestyle. However, certain problems like difficulties in finding marital partners remain. What I will now show explains these three stages in detail.

(1) First Stage: Pressure from Parents and Importance of Social Status

Animation art directors KHK and PSH have both worked in the animation industry for 16 years. Since they finished high school, they have been professional animators and they have known each other for that period. They tell me about the struggles they had to go through without any hesitation. I ask them how they got into the animation industry:

> KHK: PSH probably got into the animation industry because he was bad at
>   studying. (Laugh)
>
> PSH: How did you know?
>
> KHK: Because I was bad at studying, too. (Laugh) In those old days, people
>   who weren't good at studying but good at drawing became animators.
>   (bitter smile and laugh)
>
> PSH: Kids who liked drawing didn't have enough time for studying. (Laugh)
>   All they did was draw on hundreds of pages of their notebooks. I was in
>   the final grade in high school and watched several Japanese animation
>   works. Since then, I wanted to draw and become an animator. I drew
>   some characters and took them to an animation director in a company to
>   get a position there. My mother was so strongly opposed to my decision
>   that I was going to become a trainee in an animation company instead of

going to university.

KHK: In my case, I really wasn't good at studying. Really! My mother forced me to go to university (for academic subjects) but I failed. I repeated a university entrance exams many times. I took entrance exams six times in total. But, I liked to draw. I originally wanted to study fine arts, but my mother didn't let me. She insisted I should choose a more theoretical and academic subject rather than an artistic one, which was a natural choice of parents (who expected me to be successful). Normally, to take fine arts, parents need to have a lot of money. It was another reason why my mother didn't let me study arts. Nevertheless, when I was re-taking the entrance exam once again, my mother let me take arts. But, remember that I had to compete with those who had been taking art courses for several years when I only practiced art for less than a year. Of course, I failed again. After that, I went to an institute to learn animation. My mother couldn't say a word about my decision to take animation courses. Because firstly it was much better than me being unemployed and sitting around at home, and secondly, she couldn't pay off another year of tuition fee for a tutor and art courses. Most importantly, I could bring some money back home by doing animation. (Laugh) I really didn't want to study any more for exams. I'm telling you, when I started working in the animation industry, people's education standard was unbelievably low.

PSH: They were *very* humble in terms of their education. (Laugh)

KHK: Some people even dropped out of middle school.

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PSH: In this (animation) field, religion or education aren't that important.

KHK: In animation, only drawing counts. (Laugh)

Even from their 'talk between friends', it was possible to grasp a sense that their decision-making processes were not easy regarding the heavy weight of their parents' expectations as well as social perceptions. *'She insisted on ⋯ more theoretical and academic subjects rather than an artistic one'* and *'a natural choice of parents'* already suggest that the Korean social recognition of animation is still at a low level and more attention is paid to academic and scholarly subjects. Furthermore, as indicated in the above quotations, people tend to assume that animators were bad at studying or less interested in academic achievements. In fact, even as late as 2004, most animators were high school graduates. (Compare **Figure 8.1** and **Table 8.2**)

Figure 8. 1 Animators' Education Level – 2004
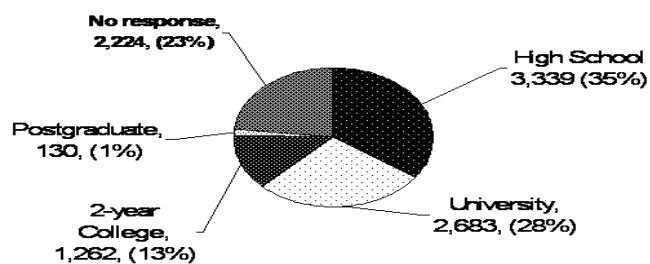
Source: KOCCA White Paper on Animation Industry **2004**, p.21. Total number of participants: 9, 338

This changed in 2005:

Table 8. 2 Animators' Education Level – 2005

Education	Number of People	Percentage (%)
Below High School	716	13.3
College	1,056	19.6
University	3,303	61.3
Post-Graduate School	311	5.8
Total	**5,385**	**100.0**

Source: KOCCA White Paper on Animation Industry **2005a**, p.62

In a society where people can be judged by their education level, the low education levels of animators could only be seen as indirect evidence to support public assumptions that animators have to choose socially less successful occupation because of their poor academic performance. There surely are various reasons. However, such views are generally shared by the public and even by animators (like KHK and PSH), whose humorous attitudes are tinged with bitterness when seeing how the Korean society emphasises education: *'PSH probably got into the animation industry as he was poor in studying. (Laugh)', 'Kids who liked drawing didn't have enough time for studying'.*

Nevertheless, since the 1990s, the number of universities with animation courses has rapidly increased, boosting the percentage of university graduates in the animation industry. However, before animation courses were introduced in universities, and while parents' educational expectations were still high and placing pressure on children, some people had to take a long detour to get into the animation field. Some of my interviewees spoke of their experiences of taking an alternative educational route and the conflicts they had with

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their parents.

(2) Second Stage: Educational Detour and Career Wandering

When I was young, it was common that people who drew got less attention,

and an artist was probably the least favoured occupation of most parents. My

father didn't like it anyway. I liked to draw, but somehow I majored in

electronics at university. It was a spur-of-the-moment decision that I quit a

company job and got into the animation industry. I did not have any income

whatsoever in the beginning since I was still a trainee animator. Hence, it was

not a surprise to see my entire family in total shock and they yelled at me;

'Why on earth did you leave your job for? Are you out of your mind?'

(Animation director SKS, male, worked 20 years)

I worked for a special-effects company for a year where, for example, we made

eyeballs of dinosaurs or did a mock-up of creatures that were necessary in

films like *Jurassic Park*, or computer graphic compositions. Having majored in

electronics for my bachelor's degree, it was not difficult for me to get that job,

and I did think that it could be a good chance to learn things before creating my

own animation. [While working at the company] I was not able to do my own

creative [animation] work there. So I left. My mother was so furious about it.

She did not understand the reason I left the job and started a master's degree in

animation. She often asks me why I am wasting my specialist knowledge and

education. **(**Animation student AHS, male, 3 years in the industry)

I was interested in drawing and arts in general. I always had thought since my

childhood that I'd like to live my life as an artist. To choose a major (for a

bachelor degree), I wanted to take (fine) arts. Drawing cartoons felt a bit

(improper in choosing a major at college.) ⋯ ⋯ Anyway, in the end, I majored

in fashion design at college in order to develop fashion sense and learn more

about human body structure, believing my mother's words that she would

support me 100 percent! After graduating from university, I couldn't find a job

for a while and as the period of being out of work got longer, my mother

became so impatient with me and nagged at me to get a job somewhere.

(Animator PK, female, 5 years in the industry)

The above accounts demonstrate that after their helpless educational wanderings, these

animators returned to make their own choices either through their own will or through

failing to satisfy parents' expectations (i.e. unemployment). What is worth noting here is

that these three respondents compromised by choosing subjects that can meet their parents'

expectations (i.e. the potential to find financially stable jobs) and that could also be a

preparation for future artistic careers. There is a strong link between their artistic skills and

those chosen academic subjects. This however is something their parents seem not to have

realised, as they only saw the issues concerning social status. As animation student AHS

commented ('*it could be a good chance to learn things*') and as animator PK suggested ('*to*

develop fashion sense and learn more about human body structure'), what they learnt

during the educational detour is, in fact, utilised in their current animation work. The issue I

recognised and that these respondents might have experienced was that expressing their desire to create and draw was neither allowed within their family structure nor within the social framework they lived in. Therefore, when their educational detour ends and animation careers begin, animators are already trained to face professional challenges while their parents and family experience shock from their children apparently forsaking a higher social status. The shock, however, is soon overcome by the amount of income earned in the third stage, which follows next.

(3) Third stage: Income over Social Status, and a Remaining Problem

Animation art director PSH's case has previously shown that his mother was opposed to his decision to become an animator and insisted he pursue higher education at university. PSH had to show his mother that his choice was right and his firm determination to prove that was based on the fact that, after all, animators could earn good money:

> To compensate her disappointment with my decision, she bought me a nice suit
> to wear at work. Everybody in the office gave me a funny look. (Laughs) I
> started as an in-betweener in 1990 and on the third month after I started
> working, I earned ₤500. I drew 2,000 pages that month day and night, and
> that was how I made that amount of money. It was a big sum in the 1990s.
> After seeing that much money, my mother stopped scolding me and started
> encouraging me.

A similar comment was made by the animator PK. Although she graduated from university, which satisfied her mother's expectations, she joined an OEM animation company later on when her mother lost patience over PK's prolonged unemployment:

I never dreamt of being here (at the in-betweeners' office in an animation OEM company) and surely, neither did my mother. But, here I can draw, make money and even give some to my mother, who is now more supportive than before and thinks that all the animation programmes on cable TV channels are done by me. (Laugh)

It is interesting here to notice some changes in parents' reactions: *'after seeing that much money, my mother stopped scolding me and started encouraging me'* (Animation director PSH) and *'…give some (money) to my mother who is now more supportive than before'* (Animator PK). After all, parents' hopes for their children's success within Korean society seem to be more closely linked with income than social status. As previously noted (see Chapter 5), Koreans have lived under the heavy weight of economic pressure and even if the entire national economic condition has improved, the passion for higher education and ambition to be socially successful cannot be detached from financial aspects. In other words, the emphasis on Confucianism continues in a form of educational devotion and yet, this seems to be in order to secure a stable income to support one's family. With parents, children's final decision to become animators may well have been settled by this stage. However, such a negotiation and settlement with parents does not mean the end of a

problematic social status they have as animators. Rather problems persist in the form of gender and marital issues.

It was quite noticeable during my research that many female animators tend to be single and they prefer to meet their partners outside their occupation group, while male animators showed the opposite tendency. In the traditional Confucian ideology of Korea, men are generally respected more while women are looked down upon. This kind of old idea in contemporary Korea, however, does not benefit men any longer, but rather imposes on them more responsibilities and burdens. Moreover, this ideology reinforces the idea that males should be bread-winners. This is despite advanced education which has made women's social status more appreciated and made them more independent from men. Nevertheless, the old Confucian ideas remain both in the minds of female and male Koreans and consequently, this influences how they find their marital partners. In the case of the animation industry, such gender-related social status grows more complicated with the nature of the occupation (i.e. animator) itself. According to KM, a female animation art supervisor, whose industrial experience extends to more than fifteen years, animators' dating or marital preferences are people from outside their field:

> There are many singletons in this field. Sometimes, some people date or marry
> their co-workers while they work together in the same company. But female
> animators normally don't like male animators as marital partners. We know
> this industry is very tough and difficult in terms of workload as well as
> finances. In contrast, male animators try to find their partners within the
> animation field. They think female animators will understand and tolerate such
> difficulties as they also experience the toughness of the industry, and do not

think others outside the animation world would ever understand their difficult situation.

KM's statement coincides with comments by veteran animation director SKS, with twenty years of experience in the animation industry,

Q: Do animators prefer animators for their (marital) partners?

A: Eight out of ten would say they would never want to marry someone in the animation field, as work is hard and they do not want to work with each other in the same place. Nevertheless, there aren't many chances for animators. If you do work overnight repeatedly, then your routine becomes work-home-work-home, again and again. People wouldn't have time to go somewhere or meet new interesting people. You don't even realise you are aging while you work non-stop. (Laugh) Though many animators wish to marry someone outside the field, quite often they find it very difficult to do so.

Q: What about your own case?

A: Well, I luckily met a girl who worked in another field.

Q: How does she understand your work?

A: She feels frustrated most of time. She is younger than I am, but she thinks I am behaving like a child. (Laugh)

Korean expectations of the social status of males become a factor to isolate animators from the norms of society and therefore their subjectivities are confined to a marginalised space, which contributes to their in-betweeness. It is worth noting, too, that it is not only outsiders who regard animators' lives as tough and socially degraded. Therefore, animators desire to escape or deny their social positions as they prefer partners from other occupation groups. Moreover, the fact that some animators eventually end up meeting people of the same profession as them further reinforces the limitations of their social status.

As a consequence of the general rejection of animation, the animators keep experiencing hardship in their working environments and life choices. The following comment from an animation director illustrates this:

> The ways in which (Korean) people consume culture show that we are still living hand to mouth. We are not yet ready to appreciate cultural goods. They are simply too luxurious and beyond our realistic capacity. Not many people go and enjoy paintings in luxurious galleries since they are not publicly popular. There's a general feeling that people's appreciation of culture is cheap in our country! (Animation director YYK, male, worked in the industry for 15 years)

In his acerbic tone, *'People's appreciation of culture is cheap!'* seemed to speak for animators' deplorable reality.

So far in this section, I have argued and identified the following points as causes for animators' unappreciated status in society:

a) Koreans' treatments of animation as cheap/low culture due to a highly biased emphasis on education;

b) as a consequence of a), a troubled entry of animators to the animation field and their difficult experiences of educational detours;

c) overall, a) & b) become a cultural frame to grasp Koreans' lack of appreciation of the animation industry.

Having recognised these problems and causes, I will now examine the industrial evaluation of the Korean animation in terms of 'cultural content to sell'. I will also consider how such an industry-oriented perspective has added new values onto animation and how changing surroundings have caused more difficulties for animators, and subsequently how this has placed them in an in-between state.

8.3.2 ANIMATION AS ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

As I have demonstrated in the previous sections, the Confucian Korean cultural value placed on animation was low and as a consequence, animators' life styles were particularly difficult. The value of animation is, as Bourdieu's accounts on the work of art suggest, 'endlessly produced and reproduced' (1993: 259). For that reason, it seems that now Korea confronts a new challenge to see animation as having high industrial value. One Korean

animation scholar offers a (rather nationalistic and yet globally ambitious) positive explanation for the changes in the evaluation of animation: 'we are a nation of superior culture with good brains but with relatively few natural resources. Animations and other films will be countermoves to globalise our national culture and, furthermore, it will solve the economic crisis the nation currently faces. After all, it will make Korea become one of the most developed countries' (Im, 1999: 133).

This scholar's rationalisation indicates a big turnabout for both the animation industry and society in general. To develop from a contemptuously low culture to a welcome high industrial culture surely is a big change. How did it all start? What are the changes and continuities? Are there any problems with the revolutionary changes? How could the seeming improvements add to the animators' difficulties? It is my intention, in this section, to demonstrate that these changes also constitute major obstacles for both the animators and the animation industry.

As a first answer to the above questions, it is interesting to note that the original spur to the animation industry came not from inside Korea but from foreign factors. It was Disney's animation *The Lion King* (1994) which had planted the seed of the idea that animation could be a globally welcomed cultural asset and bring in enormous profits. Almost every interviewee highlighted this particular American animation as the starting point, and agreed that since then, the culture within the animation industry and the notion of animation in the entire nation has undergone noticeable improvement: 'It all began with Disney's *The Lion King*!' This, I would like to call, *The Lion King* Effect. Why, is it that *The Lion King* became so significant to the Korean animation industry? This can be elucidated by considering the financial data.

The Lion King's box office record shows that it grossed $312,855,561 in the US and

$767,900,000 worldwide (see web database).Ward (1996, web-article with no page

numbers) cites Hettrick (1995) that *The Lion King* was not only breaking box office records

but also generating revenues through merchandising. She quotes the following data,

> Disney expects the home video to sell 27 million copies. That would make it
>
> the 'biggest-selling video of all time' and would generate 'nearly $450 million
>
> in revenue'

What this implies is Disney's very 'diversified expansion' of an animation work, which

Wasko (2001: 43) calls 'creative contents' (see Chapter 3) − theatrical films, home video,

television, theatrical production, audio products and music publishing, consumer products,

theme parks, etc. This could be the appropriate model that the Korean government and

cultural sector wish to take as an approach--the OSMU (one-source-multi-use) of

animation. It would be very appealing (especially to the government) that one animation

contributes so meaningfully to national wealth. The following diagram shows the ways in

which one successful animation could make profits through diversified expansion:

Figure 8. 2 Animation's OSMU
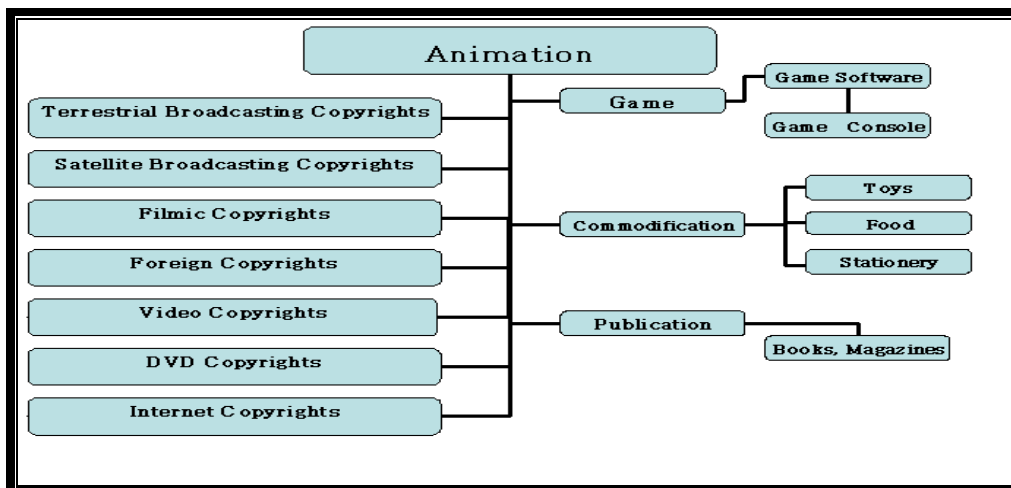
Source: Cartoon/Animation Contents Business, KOCCA, 2005b: 65

According to a report by the Korean Culture & Content Agency, the value of the

current Korean animation market is about 256.1 billion won (approx. 1.36 million British

pounds) and, including animation's potential OSMU profits, this could increase even

further. The estimated profits from the year 2002 and the prospects for the year 2007 show

the very huge impact of animation's OSMU, which Japanese and American animations

(certainly as mentioned, Disney) have made use of in order to grow their profitable

businesses in the past.

Table 8. 3 Animation's OSMU Categories of Product
(Unit: hundred million Korean Won)

	2002	2007 (prospect)
Animation	2,561	4,713
Cartoon	6,033	13,836
Character	52,771	170,719
Music (Albums/Records)	2,861	3,939
Game	34,026	66,932
Mobile Contents	2,580	9,543
Broadcasting	73,000	141,000
Film	6,327	10,377
Video/DVD	7,140	33,594
Publication	28,103	13,447
Newspaper	22,456	29,445
Advertisement	52,990	64,251
Total	290,848	561,806

Source: Cartoon/Animation Contents Business, KOCCA, 2005b: 66

Expecting the animation industry to become a source of potential profits, it was quite natural for the Korean government to support the domestic animation sector, and soon it accelerated to expand the animation industry nationwide. The first priority was to produce original creative animations with the national tag of 'Korean animation'. In other words, the shift from the OEM-based animation industry to a more creative and independent one began with such a spur from '*The Lion King Effect*'.

There also is a certain degree of expectation from animators to make a fortune from making globally popular animations like *The Lion King*. Animation production now seems to be distanced from cultural enrichment and closer to industrial money making:

Nowadays, you cannot disregard the potential profits that an animation

production could generate. In its own way, animation is a sort of National

Lottery! It could bring you a fortune!

(Animation student AHS, male, 3 years in the industry)

Briefly going back to the case of Disney's success, the above remark on 'National Lottery'

was what Disney's expansion aimed for and, indeed, it was heavily business-motivated

(Wasko, 2001: 29). However, what the Korean animators overlooked is the fact that

Disney's profit-oriented strategy was made possible through their long history and original

efforts, first of all, to create and raise the value of animation as culture and high art. Esther

Leslie discusses Disney's early animation *Music Land* (1935): 'high culture and popular

modernism smack up against each other. *Music Land* aims at a synthesis of high and low, a

redefinition of culture' (2002: 158). In this animation, the storyline revolves around

musical instruments, and, similar to Romeo and Juliet, the love between 'a Saxophone boy

who is a young prince of the King of the isle of jazz' (i.e. popular culture/mass culture) and

'a violin girl, the princess-daughter of the Queen of the Land of Symphony' (i.e. high

culture/ classical culture). They are caught up in a family fight and finds resolution in a

peaceful wedding by 'the Bridge of Harmony'. This apparently shows Disney's effort to

establish animation's value as a new art form and 'genuinely American art' (Grafly quoted

in Leslie, ibid.: 159; originally cited in *Philadelphia Enquirer*, July 1933) that harmonises

high and low culture that had been previously divided.

Leslie emphasises how much effort Disney had put into their production to meet both

high and low/popular cultural expectations by David Low's branding of Disney as

'Leonardo da Disney' (ibid.: 159). Additionally, the fact that the Disney studio ran its own art school (ibid.: 158) to improve the artistic quality of animators should be considered. The Disney studio has produced several animations that combine high and low culture since then, such as *Fantasia* (1940), which was a series of stories using eight pieces of classical music from the baroque period (Bach) to the contemporary (Stravinsky). By explaining briefly about Disney's earlier animation works and efforts here, what I stress is that, as a result of such trials and the long process of raising animation's status, Disney could successfully expand their business with commercial success.

In terms of the inseparability of the two different modes – culture and industry – animation locates itself in an ironical position. Animation becomes more problematic if there has not been firm cultural appreciation (e.g. the situation in Korean society), and today's Korean animation industry seems to lie on the very boundary of the two. Moon et al. advise that 'animation is a process to produce dreams, but an animator should not indulge in dreams and animation should always be infused with popularity to make good quality animation' (1998: 42). However inseparable popular culture and industrial aspects would be in the ever expanding global century, what seems to be problematic in Korea's case is the inordinate leaning towards financially-focused industrial facts. Especially in the social space of Korea, whose cultural base has not been consolidated yet, this kind of emphasis on only industrial values causes an ambiguous space (to be discussed further in Chapter 8). Without firm cultural appreciation of animation, the extremely attractive money-generating OSMU system is only "an illusive concept" (KOCCA, 2005a: 40) of globalisation.

A television producer in charge of buying and producing animations critically pointed

out these desires regarding animations' money-making functions as follows:

> There is a strong tendency that the government regards animation as only an *industry*. In Korea, there is a governmental department called the Cultural Contents Department. Its basic concept is *industrial*. The stress of this word falls on *contents not on culture*. For example, they say that Hollywood earns such and such amounts of money from certain movies and the value added is huge and hence movies earn as much money as, or more than millions of exported cars. (*Italics*, his emphasis)
>
> (TV producer NHI, male)

The disproportionate stress on the industrial side of animation is not welcomed either by the animators, who have already suffered enough from cultural under-valuation, as PKH reflects in this comment:

> I have a problem with the word, 'industry'. When animation is referred as an industry [in Korea], it narrowly means the animation OEM. In this regard, animators are not seen as *cultural creators* or *artists* but simply as *industrial labourers*. (*Italics* his emphasis)
>
> (Independent animation producer PKH, male, worked for 10 years)

Despite these expressions of discontent with the present state of the Korean animation industry, there seems to be an endless intervention from the government. In the hope of wealth with animation's industrial value, as a way of engaging with the new shift (from the

OEM to creative production), the Korean government has encouraged as a first step the establishment of professional animation courses in universities and high schools. This again demonstrates the Korean belief that education should be the foundation for prosperous development, and animation is no exception. Education for animation training is strongly emphasised, and the claim that each institute should nurture good quality animators is underlined, as 'animation is a golden goose industry, pollution-free with no chimneys, and an intellectual/knowledge industry for an era of infinite competition' (Im, 1999: 135). Has animation really been a golden goose for Korean animators? Maybe for the major production company owners and policy makers whose daily lives are not directly related with animation production? The responsibility to hatch the eggs of golden goose lies with the Korean animators. As my findings indicates, this has only brought them financial hardship, emotional struggle and social isolation. Apparently unaware of this, the government has invested for future development, particularly by focusing on the education system with the claim of increasing the animators' potential creativity.

Since 1990, the number of animation courses has increased every year and as of 2004, a total of 131 universities and colleges had established animation degree courses (KOCCA, 2004: 229). According to the Whitepaper of KOCCA (2005a), these courses aim to be 'genre transparent' (222), which would prevent individuals from placing a disproportionate emphasis on particular skills. In doing so, students acquire a good knowledge of animation production and may attempt to perform cross-skills. As for the Korean industry, where OEM production takes up a great portion, the lack of creativity has been recognised as a major impediment to the development of Korean animation:

What we educators see as the main problem of the Korean animation industry

is that there are no heads and feet. Feet are sellers and heads are producers of

pre-production. We hope to be the providers of those missing parts of the

animation industry.

(Professor YHR, male, teaches cultural contents marketing)

'No head and feet' stresses the Korean animation's lack of creativity which is recognised as

a problem to be solved. If solved, this would make the Korean animation industry more

competitive, as it is in other foreign countries (i.e. the USA and Japan). Thus the Korean

animation industry is aiming at, in short, 'culturally creative heads and global feet to race

with other competitors', so that Korean animations can sell abroad. With such aims, the

'genre transparent' (i.e. animators' cross-skill development) courses would compensate for

a lack of creativity.

To realise such a global ambition each course's curriculum aims to nurture: a) leading

career professionals within the animation industry; b) leading career professionals of

animation globalisation; c) professionals of creative animation; and d) intellectuals to

contribute to animation culture (KOCCA, 2005a: 225-226). The curriculum details refer to

technology and international competitiveness. Overall, this indicates that industrial values

and the aims to achieve globalisation through the means of animation are firmly located

within the education system.

As a second step to build a sound foundation for a fully creative animation industry, the

government has pushed ahead with a new scheme to establish animation high schools. At

present, there are four animation high schools in different regions. These high schools aim

to train future pillars of the Korean animation industry. This means that these high schools

provide basic knowledge that students need to develop their creativity and artistic skills at higher education level (i.e. colleges/universities). Most importantly, this foundational move offers the challenging new idea that animation can be educationally valuable, which consequently would heal a rift that has existed between the animators and the public concerning the issues of social status (Kim, Yoon and Lee, 2004: 66-67).

Moreover, the government financially supports a certain number of animation projects during their production period. Five governmental departments are involved in distributing budgets in accordance with the purposes of individual projects (KOCCA, 2005a). The categories of the project-financing schemes of each department vary from productions for international film festivals to independent creative character/icon designs, for instance. These financial supports are designed to encourage the efficient shift from the OEM industry to creative production. According to one of my respondents,

> Korea might be the only country that financially supports the animation sector
> with a vast amount of its budget. I've heard a lot of international animators'
> voices of admiration for the support in our country.
>
> (Independent animation producer PKH, male, worked for 10 years)

However, these seemingly constructive educational schemes and governmental support raise a further central question: while the scheme might well have changed the public image of animation significantly and made the animation industry a highly valued industrial sector, how do these changes benefit animators' lives and working conditions? Would the new educational policy not possibly create another problematic fissure that provokes animators to feel isolated within and puzzled by cultural and industrial values?

An immediate problem here is concerned with Koreans' renewed cultural attitude towards animation degree courses as a simple expression of interest in attaining university degrees or socially recognised educational titles. Having mentioned the social significance of education and its potential for networking, the introduction of animation to higher educational levels shows evidence of a considerable ambivalence and lingering doubts about how effective the training is.

> I don't think I learnt a lot from the course itself. Well… maybe that's why I continue to go to a private institute to train myself with hands-on experience. I guess that the university mainly gives the necessary *title* to you. The biggest aim is to form a *network* with academics and people in the industry. In short, the educational title is what the Korean society wants and values most, and the social network is an auxiliary and good-to-have item. Of course, they all have to be accompanied with your own ability. (Italics his emphasis)
>
> (Animation student AHS, male, 3 years in the industry)

That *'The biggest aim is to form a network'* seems to indicate rather stagnant and less progressive results of the introduction of animation courses and a reversal of the scheme's novel aims. Rather than being global (as the animation education originally intended), this educational proposal seems to produce another type of elitism. I would argue here that animation is nowadays decorated with a comparably higher education level, but, in reality, the school system is only used to qualify social requirements for accomplishing higher status. This, I would contend, is a side effect of a sudden and intensive emphasis on animations' industrial value.

Moreover, the scale of the Korean animation industry has not yet reached the critical size to accommodate a significant number of students enrolled in animation degree courses: 'Korean's domestic animation industry now shows a condition of an oversupply of animators. The value of the domestic market, including TV and cinema, reaches about 250 billion won. However, countless animation enterprises entered the market and at present (2002) there are about 186 animation companies. The number of institutes for animation training, too, has reached about 335 by the end of 2002. It indicates an oversupply of labour over less demand' (KOCCA, 2005b: 68). These figures show how the perceptions of animation have changed and how actively the government is being involved in encouraging the animation industry nowadays. This cultural labour market failure inevitably increases (potentially) the number of unemployed. Animation curator HST, who sometimes also gives lectures to university students, explains the employment situation in the Korean animation industry as follows:

I think only about or less than 10 percent of the animation graduates work in the animation field. Many of the animators in major productions still started their career as trainees in the field, rather than taking animation courses at universities. ··· ··· Graduates from animation courses seem to undergo quite a difficult time as they are not employed easily. Even when they get a position in the company, most tell us that they need to start from the bottom − lowly paid or non-paid trainees. People in the industry often ask them, 'what did you learn at school?'

(Animation curator HST, male)

'What did you learn at school?' clearly shows bitter and rather cynical views of the professional animators in the industry and their feelings of discomfort in dealing with the graduates, which is often explained as a 'gap' between the actual animation field (reality) and education (student lives). Animation director PNY, who is also a CEO of a Japanese animation OEM company criticises:

> I really don't know what they teach in universities. In my company, there are people who majored in animation degrees, but they cannot even do simple in-between work. They have no basic ideas of how animation is produced. They give themselves a pat on the back looking at their drawings being animated. They live in their own world, not knowing what can be publicly appealing. What a waste of four years in university!

Overall, the importance of the industrial value of animation has started entering people's awareness and received prominence. However, the tradition of using education as a tool to establish one's social status still continues. As a result, the full aim of financial achievement on a national scale has not yet been accomplished. In my view, the suddenly enforced education here does not seem to achieve its original goal to give more opportunities to those who want to be animators. Rather, the new educational scheme takes away the freedom for animation students to be more creative within an unchanged social structure. In short, an awareness of where to look to find the golden goose may have been rightly achieved, and yet the goose's nesting process, in the existing and ill-equipped social structure of Korea, seems uncertain.

8.4 CONCLUSION

As Giddens argues, the world is going through an 'evident transition' (1995: 56), and so is the Korean animation industry and its animators. Through the 'evident transition' contemporary Korean society's evaluation of animation seems to have evolved and become an important and potential economic resource. This chapter has been focused on the issue of animation values. Changing values around animation have reinforced animators' in-between status with ambiguous boundaries between (local) tradition and (global) newness, and tensions around how people evaluate one over the other within society itself. I have indicated the socio-cultural causes of the in-between subjectivities of the Korean animators, especially where the global and the local/traditional values clash with each other. I have done so specifically by investigating how traditional Confucian ideology emphasises education. This 'doctrine' has influenced an entire society. Confucianism has also impacted people's perceptions of how to judge animation both culturally and industrially. It has become apparent by analysing interviewees' comments that the entire process of being animators in Korea itself has been at stake − education, social status, gender issue, and parental expectation/opposition − which are all inherited from traditional Confucian ideology. More importantly, animators' subjectivity has been found to be at stake, too. This happens as Korean animators agonise over which direction they should take in between two essential and inseparable elements − tradition and newness. Wrongly applied emphasis on education and desires to achieve a big success in a short time has located the Korean animation industry in another space of the in-between and this is not yet resolved.

Despite the above unresolved situation, the importance of creative industry is emphasised and hence the industry has rapidly developed in Korea, which can also be assumed as an influence of globalisation. While the creative industry is being seen as a field of alternative economic wealth, creative workers who must experience rapid changes and adjust themselves accordingly are less discussed but rather overlooked. To fill this void and contribute to the knowledge of the industry, the next chapter pays close attention to the very working conditions of the animators in detail. For this, I now move to explore another in-between situation: animators' professional status between being labourers and artists.

Chapter 9

In-between Being Labourers and Being Artists

Figure 9. 1 & Figure 9. 2 Portraits of An Animator

1. The first day of being an animator.
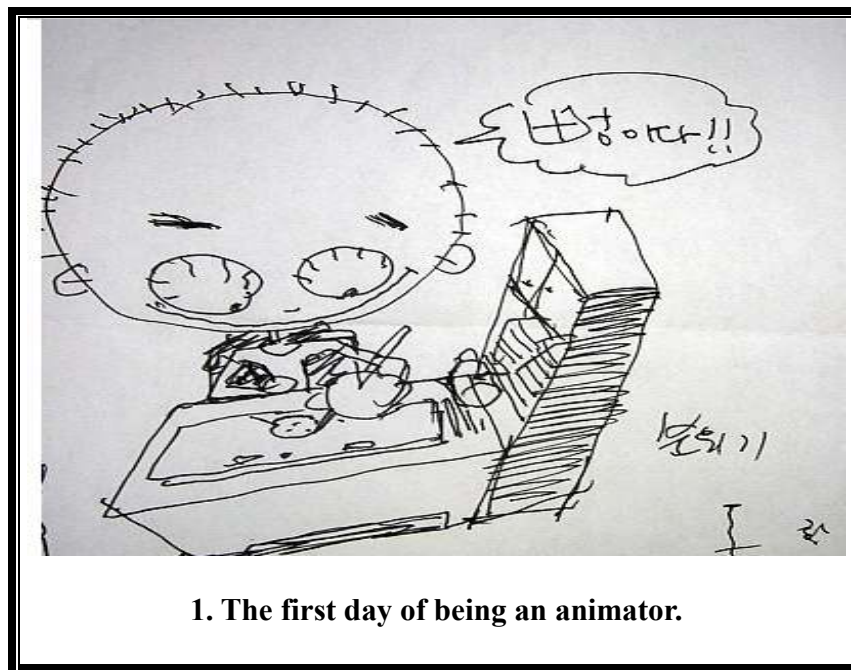
'The first day that you start working as an animator, you feel as if you have achieved a life-long goal! It feels great; drawing is fun, and you feel energetic. You would say, "I love my job and being an animator!"' (Continues in Figure 9.2)

(Animation director PNY, male, worked in the industry for 30 years, drawn 23 July 2005)

2. Endless struggle of being an animator!
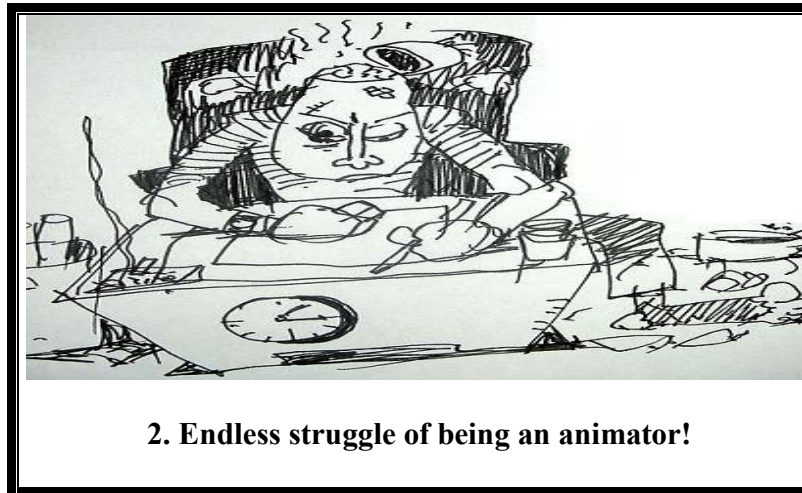
'But as the deadline draws near, your brain doesn't seem to work and steam comes out from frustration and physical tiredness. You can neither go home nor clean yourself. All you do is, draw, draw and draw!'

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of my observation period at *Anifactory*, there were two mysterious events. Firstly, while every second counted in the animators' battle-like production process, at certain times of the day, they started disappearing from their cubicles one by one. Eventually, I was the only one left wondering what was going on. Secondly, their laughter and lively voices often echoed out not from their cubicles, but from the rooftop area. I became very curious about this. One day, after an interview with a female animator, I told her about my curiosity and with a big laugh, she invited me to the secret place where the animators were disappearing to. There were a couple of old worn-out couches and the place was full of cigarette smoke. The other animators, at first, gave me an annoyed look,

as they probably thought I was an intruder. Nevertheless, later on, I could join their group and share their stories. The animators seemed more relaxed and lively in that rooftop area. This was said by one of the female animators when lighting up her cigarette:

> We come here when we need a break from our work. This is *our territory* to talk about our passion for animations, comics, and our dreams! Here we can burn off the stress that results from the heavy workload with a cigarette. This moment cannot be interrupted by anyone else.

In fact, the director and producer did not go there at all and therefore this space was the animators' own terrain. Thus, at times, they could even talk ill of their bosses, the directors and producers. The animators could also complain about their work. On one hand, it was easy to see their devotion to the profession listening to their lively conversations about animations and comics. On the other hand, I could see their desperation to escape from the heavy workload and the need to refresh their overused brains and hands.

Such passionate, yet evasive behaviour, in fact, would commonly be found at other working places, too. The position of animators is shaped by ambivalence. Firstly, these animators work in the OEM business that, implicitly, projects an image of industrial manufacture - it is a factory. This is raises the question: are they any different from manufacturing workers? Should what they produce be categorised as art, or simply as a commercial product? The animators at *Anifactory* proclaimed the rooftop as their *territory* for a peaceful moment, to step out from the work and to become pure lovers of animation. My question is then, who or what are the threats against which the animators defend their territory? I argue that animators claim autonomous territory as a defensive response to the

threats posed by globalisation, which positions them in an in-between state.

As discussed in previous chapters, since the 1990s, the animation industry has risen to increasing prominence in Korea. Paralleling such changes, about twenty-two small and large animation (or animation related) organisations have been established nation-wide, which as of 2005 have about 248 productions (KOCCA, 2005a). According to their stated objectives, most organisations aimed to achieve: 'Harmonious collaboration between animators' and to develop the domestic animation industry so that it can engage creatively with its global competitors' (ibid.). These seem to be positive ideals for the Korean animation industry. Then, does this answer my questions about what or who the threats are? The Korean animators may well be defending the Korean domestic animation market from other global competitors. Subsequently, this power may also operate as a means to restore the animators' individual self-esteem that has been undermined by the literary orientation of Confucian Korean society (see Chapter 8). Thus, the animators' battle is not simply against the volumes of work they face, but the entire animation field has become a battlefield to keep the artists' dignity. In other words, the field of Korean animation has become the 'field of power and struggles' (Bourdieu, 1993: 30, 37-40).

This chapter, therefore, explores the third in-between state: that of the animators' professional status between being labourers and artists. This will be explored through the concept of territory and examples of various prices that animators "choose" to pay to keep their professional pride and status. As seen in the previous chapters, this entire research strives to illustrate the tension between the global and the local from a new perspective: through the concept of in-between and with examples of the humans' experiential and emotional values constructed and shaped in and by globalisation. I theorise the concept of

in-between in three ways: as negotiation, transition and disjuncture between the global and the local (see Chapter 3 for the definitions and differences of these). Specifically, the current chapter will demonstrate the concept of in-between in terms of 'negotiation' and 'transition'. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first introduces the Korean animators' working experiences and various prices they have to pay in order to keep their professional status. The second discusses the 'territory' that the Korean animators safeguard by investigating two different animators' groups; the OEM (commercial) animators and independent animators. This demonstrates changes in the animators' working attitudes depending on how long they have worked in the field (i.e. negotiation and transition). This chapter, overall, presents a clear case of how globalisation has made animators undergo physically and emotionally painful experiences, negotiating away their pride and creativity in return for a stable income in the paradigm of globalisation.

9.2 ANIMATION AS A PROFESSION: INTOXICATING 3D WORK

(1) Physical Prices that Come with Pride

Every worker, regardless of their occupation, is exposed to a certain degree of danger and threat. The acceptance of this danger is described as 'fatalism' (Fine, 1996: 85) and 'tinged with pride' (ibid.), as this is what many workers live with in taking on their particular occupation. In Fine's study, cooks are his subjects and he gives examples of their 'burns' and 'cuts.' Issac V. Kerlow explains, likewise, that animators often suffer from

particular occupational health and safety problems such as 'backaches' or 'carpal tunnel

syndrome caused by excessive use of their arms (2003: 72-3).

As mentioned previously, animation requires intensive labour to be completed, and

especially for in-betweeners the number of pages they draw determines their earnings (see

Chapter 6). The faster the hand moves, the more pages of drawing can be completed.

Similarly, the more time spent drawing quickly, the more money animators can make.

Regarding such characteristics, what particularly caught my attention were the animator's

hands. Every animator in *Anifactory*, apart from the director, was wearing a sooty looking

glove on their right hand. The gloves' fingers were cut in half for freer finger movements

and the fabric was distinctively marked with black pencil graphite, possibly indicating the

animator's long hours of work.

3. The faster the hand movements, the more income can be made.

Especially for the female animators, the (right) hand's gradual deformity was one of their physical concerns regarding their work. LHJ, a twenty-three-year old who has been working as an in-betweener for three years, explains why she wears the glove:

[Showing her right hand] Look here, the skin has become hard. Many of us have ugly right hands. Compared to the left hand's fingers, the right hand ones are thicker. You know, in the beginning, I didn't wear the glove, but when you pull an all nighter, all you do is eat, draw, eat and draw; the workload is too

much for one hand to take it for long. It was so painful that at a certain point, I

couldn't move my hand at all. The skin became chapped and toughened. I

couldn't draw more or faster. Since wearing the glove, it has eased the pain and

I can draw more pages. We all wear it.

Animators have almost always chosen their occupation out of their passion for

animation (Patten, 2004: 164; KOCCA, 2005a). Choosing one's favourite activity as a

profession seems ideal and should offer feelings of satisfaction. Indeed, the majority of my

interviewees said that, whether directly or indirectly, their involvement with animation

started from an interest in reading comics and watching animations. Hence, these

animators' decisions to become professional workers in this industry could be explained as

transference from personalised 'play' to money-making 'work'. Or, perhaps through such

transference, two seemingly segregated and contrasting activities — play and work — have

become equalised. Nonetheless, such an idealised construction of the profession is soon

interrupted by globalisation's objectives to keep capital flowing and maximise corporate

profits, which consequently leads to exploitation of labour. This logic maintains labour as

'capital'. I have already demonstrated the global forces that affect the Korean animators in

terms of low wages and excessive working hours in previous chapters (see Chapter 6).

Despite this, what should be noticed is that this exploitative local effect of the globalisation

process, which the animators themselves are aware of, at a certain moment, plays a trick on

the animators: they regard the outcome of the exploitation (whatever forms this might

have) as a reward for their professional devotion. I argue that such a blurry 'mysticism'

between professional satisfaction and exploitation of labour intensifies the Korean animators' in-between state. The following circumstances are examples of this dynamic.

Firstly, this in-between state manifests as physical pain as in the case of LHJ's hand deformation A similar scenario was shared by PK, twenty-six years old, whose body size was noticeable:

One of my old colleagues suffered from curvature of the fingers and as for me, well… [showing her index finger] look, its skin is hard and dented. But more than anything else, animators' body size changes -- either getting bigger or thinner like a toothpick. I need to loose some weight. Particularly, the lower part of my body swells; because I sit for a long time. The only time I get up from my chair is when I need to go to the toilet. Later, there's no feeling around the bottom. It becomes so numb, you know? As if the chair is designed for the exact size of my swollen bottom, you feel so stuck to it.

Interestingly, such a comical expression, "bottom getting stuck into a chair" was repeated by many animators. This phenomenon indicates the animators' long hours of work and devotion to animation. PNY, animation director and the CEO of *Anifactory* who has been working in the animation industry for more than thirty years, talks about his senior animator with a quick sketch (Figure 9.4):

To become a great animator, you need to make your bottom "heavy." You know what I mean? You need to immerse the full 100 percent of yourself into

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your work, into what you are doing right then! Let me tell you a story of my

senior who is one of the best animators in Korea. He locked himself in his

office day and night and kept drawing non-stop. When he felt hungry, he

dialled a local Chinese restaurant and ordered a delivery of either *jajangmyeon*

(black noodles) or *jjamppong* (hot noodle soup), so he didn't need to step out

of his office. He slept in his sleeping bag next to his desk; again, he didn't have

to go home. Later, his bottom got bigger and bigger and almost fit the exact

size of his chair! That's how devoted he was to his career and his work,

animation.

PNY's valuing of the experience of having bent fingers with hard skin and a swollen lower

body reinforces Fine's argument about occupational fatalism that is 'tinged with pride'

(1996: 85). Animators often idealise their bodily 'investments'. The following comment by

KM, who has been working in the animation industry for fourteen years, demonstrates such

a justification:

As soon as new ones walk in, people like me [who have stayed long enough in

the industry] can sense how long they will stay by looking at their appearance.

There are those who have got the animators' stubborn and inflexible LOOK

who can devote themselves to only animations.

Figure 9. 4 A Devoted Animator's Body Figure

4. Bottom fits the exact size of the chair.
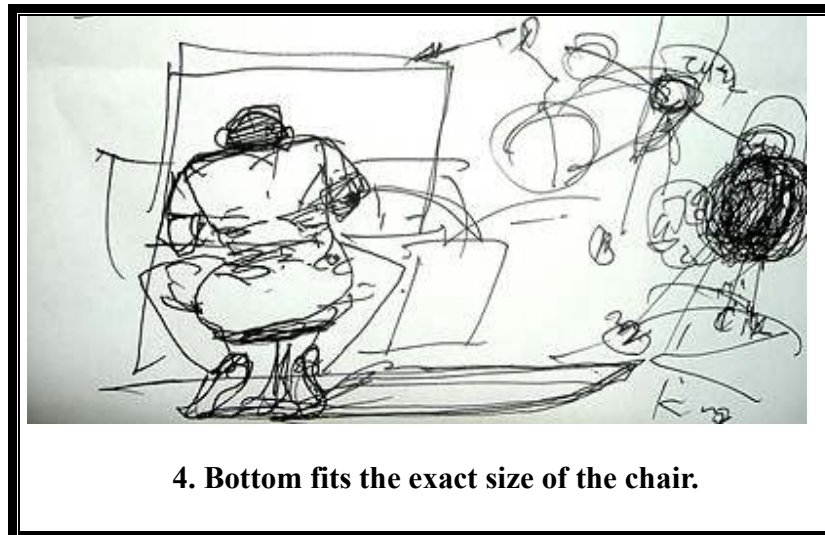
Not everybody, however, gets a bottom as big as the chair they sit in. As PK mentioned, there are some who suffer from indigestion problems and lose much weight. Because of the animator's heavy workload, their meal times are irregular. They often eat snacks and drink many cups of coffee late at night when an all nighter is needed. Most of the time, what these animators eat is instant cup noodles (in order to save money and time) or delivered food from fast food chains. Twenty-year-old CJH, a high school graduate, kept drawing while others were having their lunch break. I asked her why she was not having lunch with the others, and she replied:

A: I am behind schedule and need to finish my work as soon as possible. I will

have my cup noodles once I finish it [pointing at a small size instant cup

noodles].

Q: Wouldn't you feel hungry having just a small portion of cup noodles?

A: Well, I would but I could save money and time.

Q: But, I guess, having it too often isn't good for your health.

A: You are right. Many of us have problems with digestion and some have to

take tablets or drink *Cider* [Korean soft drink] before or after having meals.

Why do animators sacrifice so much for their work? Is it only because of the animators' dignity and proud fatalism that they tend to accept such working conditions without any resistance? Or, is it the monetary return that makes them hold onto their jobs? The animators' hardship does not end with physical costs but is rather added to with emotional costs and fears of unemployment which exert financial pressure upon them.

(2) Emotional Expenses and a Vital Question (1): To Be or not to Be Workers?

One morning at *Anifactory*, PCS, who was suffering from an ear infection, complained about the animation field. She said, "Due to the heavy workload and tight deadline, it is hard to find the time to see a doctor." She continued, stating that because their position was categorised as 'freelancers' or 'part-time workers', animators' welfare was not safeguarded. She felt compelled to tell me how desperately a welfare system was needed for animators' lives:

If there was a *basic pay* system; at least ₩200,000 (£ 100) per month, our life

wouldn't be this hard. It would, in fact, act as an incentive to increase our

productivity. The number of pages we draw would become the exact income

we earn. If there is no work, we don't have any income whatsoever. Looking

for a second job while working here? It is impossible, beyond my physical

capability.

A similar story was told by PK when I asked her what the most difficult part of being an

animator was:

The fact that we work deadly hard and don't get enough money in return might

be the toughest thing to accept. I'm twenty-six years old, not a student, have a

job, but ⋯ [a short pause] it is a freelancing job, isn't it? When there is no

work, we really can't make any money at all. The lowest [monthly income]

was ₩350,000 (£ 175).

It was hard to dismiss the sense that PK seemed to have a different understanding of

freelancers. *'It is a freelancing job, isn't it?'* seems to connote a sense of self-consolation.

That is, despite the financial hardship of her situation, by claiming to be a freelancer she

can at least justify being an OEM animator and keep her artistic honour and pride. This

suggests these animators' invisible emotional costs and struggles. Such a connotation was

again evident during an interview with twenty-three-year old animator LHJ:

'Free style', that is what we are. If there is work to do, then we do it. If there is

no work to do, then we don't work. Once you are in this industry, you can't go

for any other professions because of this *freedom*.

Looked at by an outsider, being a freelancer does not seem to free the animators from

financial and emotional struggles. However, animators themselves seem to feel "free-d"

when they utter the word 'freelancer' as a positive way of considering their working

conditions. Such an idea has transformed 'being a freelancer' into a type of self-assuring

activity, claiming that the animator's occupation is given inherent worth through this

designation. Nevertheless, the animators' freelancing position seems to have burdened

them with such serious financial insecurity that, sometimes, they have to look for second

jobs. There is a 'producing season cycle' especially in the American OEM productions.

Half of the year is the 'peak season' (*seongsugi)*, when much work comes in, and the other

half of the year is the 'off-peak season' (*bisugi)*, when almost no work comes in. Without

basic pay provided, such a situation drives animators to extreme hardship. In order to

survive, some animators drive taxis, do hard manual labour or even become removal men

(Ryu, 2002: 34). According to *Analysis on Animation Professionals* (KOCCA), an average

number of non-working weeks out of a total 46 weeks) per year varied from 9 to 22 weeks,

which varied depending on their working department, i.e. editing, colouring, in-between,

etc. (2004: 36-38).

In contrast, the Japanese OEM production companies like *Anifactory* receive working

orders throughout the year. This is the case because as shown in previous chapters (see

Chapter 6, section 6.3.1) the demand for Japanese television series is so high that the production scale has become larger and the Korean OEM industry benefits from this process. However, for some animators there is no possibility to have a second job, as PCS commented, because this goes beyond *'physical capability'*.

Even more serious are the animators' attitudes as exemplified by PK's and LHJ's comments. Although animators express their discontent about the inferior working conditions - low wages, long working hours and heavy workload − they seem to adjust to the situation passively. Thus, the emotional costs driven by financial insecurity as well as fears of unemployment force the animators to be far more silent and work even longer hours than the average full-time worker. The assertive global forces of capitalism and local concerns about social status have generated this mysterious and interesting situation. In addition to this, insufficient legislative support from the government drives these deplorable conditions ever further.

According to a report by KOCCA, animation professionals work, on average, 58.3 hours per week which is 1.3 times longer than the average full-time worker (45.9 hours). In-betweeners work 65.4 hours per week, which amounts to 1.4 times more than average (Original source: KOCCA 2004 *Analysis on Animation Professionals*). The animators' vulnerabilities are further enforced as a result of how labour legislation categorises their occupation. Animators are classified as 'special-employment workers' within the category of 'non-regular job' (Korean Federation of Trade Unions, See web database). The special-employment workers, as PK aptly pinpointed from her own experiences, are 'not protected by the labour standard, labour union law and social insurance law' (The ChungAng Herald, 16 July, 2005), and only as recently as 2006, the government finally decided to grant industrial accident insurance to special-employment workers (Korean Federation of Trade

Unions, See web database). The job title "freelancer" is indeed ephemeral in this sense as the reality the animators confront clearly reveals the restraints of their profession.

In 1997, the Korean Animators' Trade Union was established (KATU) in order to protect animators' workers' rights and improve their welfare. With the establishment of this organisation, Korean animators have realised and learnt about their rights as freelancers rather than simply accepting the harm that inevitably results from their occupation. However, despite a decade-long effort, animators' hardships still continue.

(3) Emotional Prices for Technical Adaptation (2): 2D to 3D

The most common type of work the OEM companies in Korea have received for the last several decades is 2D productions. The growth of the Korean OEM animation industry has been indebted to their employers' business success and expansion. Since the 1960s, a substantial amount of 2D animations were produced in the USA and Japan and, as explained previously, they started recruiting foreign subcontractors in Korea as part of their production. Hence, the management status of the Korean OEM production is influenced by the employers' business circumstances. As the link between the ordering countries and the OEM countries is reinforced, more similarities in their business structures and plans can be found and the OEM country's production pattern follows and changes according to the plan of the ordering countries.

Currently, one of the influential changes occurring, however, is the transition from 2D to 3D productions (Han, 2002: 3; KOCCA, 2004: 134, KOCCA, 2005a: 201). The rationale behind this transition is closely related to a market mechanism that reacts to

consumer interest and demand. Today's audiences have attained a high standard and
"upgraded" viewing taste as a result of the massive usage of 3D computer graphics in
cinema films. Animation cannot be an exception to the audiences' critical viewing taste. In
order to "upgrade" the quality of animation and simultaneously meet audience demands,
recent cinematic animations are created in 3D. Starting with the enormous success of
Disney's *Toy Story*, many companies (especially in the USA) started showing an interest in
3D production. In fact, recently, Disney has announced that they will have a considerable
reduction in 2D production whilst increasing 3D production. A headline of a newspaper in
2004, "How the Ogre Flattened Mickey," suggests that there is a transitional movement
from 2D to 3D in the global market. (Ogre indicates *Shrek*, a 3D animation character, and
Mickey refers to Disney's well-known 2D animation character. Sunday Herald, 27 June
2004) Han interprets this transitional movement as America's indirect act of pushing '3D
animations as future trend' on the world animation market (2002: 2) and this will change
'the existing paradigm of the world animation industry' (ibid.: 3). Local industry must,
therefore rapidly respond to the global market in order to survive combat-like competition.
In particular, local industries like the Korean OEM animation, which has not developed
spontaneously alone but has rather 'symbiotically grown' with the global market, have to
take rapid action to continue to survive. Hence, I argue that what Wilson and Dissanayake
discuss as 'disruption and manipulation of global discourses and technologies' (1996: 2)
has clearly exerted financial pressure upon many of the local OEM productions in Korea.

PKS, the producer of *Anifactory*, had great concerns about these production changes,
although her company mainly dealt with Japan. In this country, 2D production still remains
strong and leads its domestic market. Barnes and Kitagawa, however, point out that

Japanese animators are also going through difficulties such as unemployment and low wage within their own domestic industry (Barnes and Kitagawa, 2006). PKS expressed her concerns:

> So many companies appear and disappear within a short period of time. The Korean animators are endangered not only by the cheap labour from China and the Philippines, but also by high-technology. In comparison to the past, the amount of work we receive has remarkably decreased.

NHI, the head of the purchasing department (i.e. import/export of animation programmes) of a local television station shares a similar view:

> Requests to OEM companies for 2D animations have decreased significantly. Instead, 3D orders/requests are dominating the OEM market, because at this very moment, China, India, or other developing countries are far behind Korea in terms of technology despite their cheap labour.

It is interesting to see how technological advances are challenging the Korean animators and change the OEM production pattern from 2D to 3D. This highlights the 'symbiotic system' of the Korean OEM animation industry. I argue that this is part of the globalisation process which clearly contributes to the Korean animators' helpless in-between status as a negotiation tactic, an ideal scenario for the animation professionals might be to be equipped with the necessary tools (i.e. 3D skills) and become capable of creating original animations of their own. Surely, this is what the Korean animation

industry as a whole aims for (Han, 2002: 3). However, human resources in the pre-production stage are considerably lacking because of the long history of outsourced/subcontracted main-production work. This does not mean that Korea is not capable of producing original 3D animations. There were and are 3D animations produced for television and cinematic releases which have been created by Korean animators. However, the majority of them have failed to be successful and generated insufficient revenues (e.g. *Wonderful Days*). In examining the reasons for these failures, critics have focused not on the animating techniques or skills but a perceived lack of 'creativity'.

Developing and encouraging Korean animators' creativity has become the central aim of the entire animation industry and yet, there is a tendency to emphasize technical concerns. This has resulted in, the continuation of the compulsory transition from 2D to 3D and the conflicting in-between experiences this transition encourages. Currently, many young animators choose 3D as their speciality in the job market. Being good at computer programmes for 3D productions, in fact, offers wider choices in the animation market which nowadays extends its territory to gaming and mobile content (KOCCA, 2004: 125-129; KOCCA, 2005a: 188-208). However, a remaining concern is the number of animators who could potentially become unemployed during this technology-driven transition. There are about 20,000 animators solely for 2D production and thus, it is critical to "re-inject" the existing animators into the new 3D production, minimising the risk of high unemployment rates. Animation scholars and policy makers suggest that re-education should be provided to the existing animators. By doing so, the animators' occupational flexibility will increase and they can prepare for the impact of the global market changes (Han, 2002: 17; Jeong, 2002: 62).

Animation production in Korea is currently experiencing an awkward and ambivalent

in-between status because of the transition from 2D to 3D production. Such a chaotic

situation does not benefit those who start with and are leading their careers in 3D

production either.

Figure 9. 5 A Portrait of An Animator

5. Come on!! Cheer up!! Not far to go!!

Figure 9.5 is a portrait of an animator, by AHS, 19 September 2005 − AHS's

work is based on 3D animation mostly done on computer. He explains, "I need

to encourage my computer, the one I work with. We [he and the computer]

work such a long hours with so much workload that sometimes the computer

turn itself off all the sudden. I am afraid of losing my work whenever that

happens. So, I have to treat it nicely and well."

The case of twenty-nine-year old independent animator AHS who is currently pursuing a Masters Degree in animation production reflects the above situation. AHS, who was introduced in Chapter 8, took a detour from his previous profession and chose to study and work in the animation field. Given his age, financial support from his parents means personal dishonour. Hence, in order to support himself, he now has two jobs: teaching part-time 3D animation courses at a local institute and working as a member of a small production team. All this is achieved while simultaneously working on his degree course and his own creative 3D animation project (see Figure 9.6 and 9.7). He often falls asleep on public transport while moving from one place to another. AHS explains his busy life as an animator:

> I spent all my savings [earned from his previous profession] on learning 3D at a private institute. Every day for a year, I learnt and practised 3D animation. Later on, some of them in that institute even took me as one of the staff there. [laugh] But I didn't think I was yet good enough to get into the industry, so I started a Masters degree in animation. So, nowadays, I can only sleep two to three hours a day, or sometimes none. I am either at college working on my project, or at the institute to teach classes, or at my office with other colleagues to work on our collaborative animation and my own. That's why I often fall asleep on the tube.

As discussed above, the profession of animator, especially in Korea's struggling state of in-between (e.g. social system, technologies), is nothing to be romanticised or idealised, since this occupation involves extensive working hours, serious financial predicaments, and

physical, emotional and social costs. Above all, the situation of the Korean animation industry as a whole locates its animators in a rather unstable, insecure position, which consequently intensifies their hardship. KHK started as an in-betweener sixteen years ago and now works as an animation art director in an American OEM animation production company. He wittily gives his opinion with a bitter laugh, which precisely describes the entire situation: "3D, a new challenge? Well, not really. We have always been in '3D' production: difficult, dirty, and dangerous!"

(4) Intoxicated 3D Workers

Figures from a survey of 131 animators in 2000 reveal that 42.31 percent had earned between ₩ 5,500,000 (£ 2,300 approx.) and ₩10,000,000 (£ 5,000) per year. It is certainly dangerous to be continuously threatened by competition from China and elsewhere with a cheaper market wage. This means that the animators' average monthly income was between ₩460,000 (£ 191) and ₩830,000 (£ 416). Recalling my interviewees' accounts of low earnings, these figures certainly appear realistic: 'The fact that we work deadly hard and don't get enough money in return might be the toughest thing to accept…. … The lowest [monthly income] was ₩350,000 (£ 175).' (See the interview with PK in the previous section.) However, their passion and love for animation cannot be denied. PK once described animators as *babo*, indicating an 'idiot' and being or acting 'ignorantly', 'stupidly' and 'dully': 'We are so *babo* [stupid idiots]! We have little desire for money!" Similarly, a survey by Korean Culture & Content Agency (KOCCA,

2004) revealed that Korean animators are 'happy' and 'satisfied' with their work despite their deteriorating working conditions. However, consider the following:

In my next life, I wouldn't do animation. You could probably hear the same thing from other animators, too. We all say that if we could choose another occupation, we would not choose animation ever again. It is hard, but fun, but still hard⋯ (Animator LHJ, female, 23 years old, 3 years in the industry)

It offers so much pleasure. I wanted to be an animator and would do whatever in order to become a proper one. If it was easy, then who wouldn't be one? Anybody could become animators, then? (Animator WHM, female, 20 years old, 1 month in the industry)

Would I ever think of quitting this job? Perhaps, more than a hundred times per month, I think of quitting; especially when I feel physically too tired to bear it. Nobody forced me. I started this work only because I loved the work. Sometimes, nonetheless, I forget how determined I was in the beginning and all of a sudden, I want to give it all up and run away! But the funny thing is that this work pulls me back into it again and again, just like a drug addict. You can't leave this job behind because you have already tasted the sweetness of it. (Animation art supervisor KM, female, 13 years in the industry)

What is the *pleasure* (see WHM's comment above) and the *sweetness* (see KM's comment above)? To these 'full of passion' dream-driven animators, the finished animation

work still compensates for their sweat and effort: "I was thrilled to see my name on the credits" (PNY, personal interview, July 2005). In fact, during my research, animation art supervisor KM stopped working for two months, reasoning that her workload was too much. However, in the last month of my observation, she came back to her position: "I had enough of break," she said. In her words, animators are "intoxicated 3D workers."

These accounts which I would rather describe as 'bittersweet' reflect struggling in-between experiences. The situations faced by the Korean animators are more complicated than simply being a clash between the global and the local in terms of economic or political issues. Animators' self-consolation, occupational fatalism and pride equally become significant parts of the complex structure of globalisation. For this reason, I will now closely examine the 'inner feelings' of this particular occupational group. Conflicts and tensions do exist, revealing that the global division of labour (or participating in global production) has caused the division of the animators into two: OEM animators and independent creative animators.

9.3 ANIMATORS' POSITION OF IN-BETWEEN: NEGOTIATIONS

In the previous section, I examined animators' various forms of hardship. It was argued that these are caused by the animators' ambivalent in-between status in the context of labour legislation and technological transition. Despite their blurred social position and resultant struggles, animators are proud and legitimise their unstable status and occupational hardship as a pleasurable and liberating pain -- freelancing. This section

answers more directly questions regarding who or what are the threats that the animators defend their territory from. Findings suggest a rethink of territorial indicators. Here, I will demonstrate that the real territory the animators desperately protect is their own pride and self-esteem I will also argue that the source of the threat is not an external force but an internal one. Arguably, that force is the animators' own consciousness of their in-between status between facing reality concerns (e.g. finance) and challenging dreams.

To illustrate this situation, 'independent animators' ('indie' will be used hereafter) will now be introduced as a contrast to the OEM animators. What I will demonstrate here is a microcosm of conflicts between the global and the local; the global requires and structures the lives of the OEM animators whilst the local nationalistic mindset encourages the independent creative animators. To begin with, I will explain how 'indie' is understood in the Korean context.

1) In the Longman Contemporary Dictionary (Third Edition, 1995),

Indie /ˋindi/
1 *n* [C] a small independent and usually non-commercial record or film company
2 *adj.* produced by small independent companies; not mainstream or commercial

2) 'Indie' in film studies,

The indie sector is, clearly, a place where more scope generally exists than in

Hollywood for the pursuit of auteurist individual freedom of expression; for

filmmakers to express their own particular visions of the world through choices

of form and content. (King, 2005: 10)

3) 'Indie' in the context of the Korean animation industry,

Indie animation can be understood as 'independent', 'short', 'underground',

'auteurism', 'experimental' and more. In a word, it is 'non-mainstream

animation'. ⋯ ⋯ It is easy to misunderstand non-commercial work as indie

animation due to many complicated problems that are interwoven and cannot

simply be solved by such binary comparison. Hence, if the following - 'Korean

mainstream animation = OEM', which most of time shows American and

Japanese pleasure oriented commercial work, is the case, then alternative

animation (i.e. indie animation) is a creative original production that pursues

Korean identity and various cultural values. (KOCCA, 2004: 252)

This clearly indicates that, in Korea, "indie" is understood to be a creative original

production in contrast to the OEM animations, and most importantly, this type of

production also pursues Korean identity. I emphasise the sense of indie animators as a

group who are creative and aim to produce new, original animations, and as something

most animators aim to become at certain moments in their career. Given the above, I will

now examine these animators' in-between position and how they negotiate the resultant

tensions.

9.3.1 FIRST NEGOTIATION: CHOOSING BETWEEN POPULARITY AND CREATIVITY

As one of today's popular cultural products, animation combines both artistic/creative and commercial elements. The popularity of an animation is heavily dependent on not only its creative originality but also on procedures of popularising through marketing, advertising, cultural policies, and so forth. The twenty-year veteran animation director SKS, who now works for an American OEM company and has recently produced a creative original Korean feature animation film, comments:

> Animation must not exclude or eliminate its commercial elements as popular culture. Animation *is* a commercialised and commodified product. I do understand that the so-called indies' detest such aspects of animation, especially the OEM animation industry. Mainly it is because the OEM animators follow the "set formats" of the foreign production companies without creativity. I do think there should be an equilibrium between art and commerce. Animation should be appealing to the audiences by combining the right amount of authenticity and commerciality in the right time period so that it can be successful.

This idea is also shared by animation director PNY, who has more than 30 years of experience in the Japanese OEM industry:

To be popular things should attract money and this should be the core role of animation. There is popular art [that can be consumed by the masses] as well as classical art. However, an important point not to be forgotten is that the mind while producing popular art has to stay as classic [i.e. authentic] and the product should stay as popular and target the mass. If it's not popular then the span of its life becomes short. A piece of work becomes outstanding and noticeable when the artist keeps his/her authentic mindset within popularity. But, if it is performed the other way round [i.e. popular and material mindset first before authenticity] by those who only know the taste of money, then its original value becomes distorted.

'Set formats', in a sense, indicates an industrialised and therefore commercialised process of mass animation production; 'standardization'. To satisfy the mass audiences who seek, what Adorno explains as, 'distraction' from 'having fun' (Adorno, 1990: 310), it appears that mass production of animation is essential. Thus, the global division of labour with a 'standardized format' seems to be a rather natural way for an 'efficient and money-making enterprise' (Furniss, 1998: 20-21). Indie animators heavily criticise such a standardised factory-like production system. To the indie animators' eyes it is apparent that the OEM animators have forgotten the core of creativity and authenticity, and care more about external rewards – e.g. money, fame, and popularity. However, unlike indie animators' assumptions, as the abovementioned accounts indicate, the OEM animators also give relevance to and acknowledge the core of creativity and authenticity in animation production. Moreover, OEM animators suggest that a well-balanced combination of commerce and art is necessary. However, those who have just started as animators or who

claim to be indie animators do not seem to consider this and conceive instead of an 'all-or-nothing-affair' (Abbing, 2002: 82). Former special effects engineer and current animation MA course degree student AHS illustrates this difference:

Q: What do you think independent animators (i.e. indies) are?

A: They are that small number of people gathering together to produce an animation with a less commercially attractive subject.

Q: Do you think there is a tension between those who produce commercial animation and indies?

A: Indies don't like commercial animators.

Q: Why?

A: It's quite often said that they (commercial animators) have yielded to the mechanics of capitalism. In fact, when one works on commercial animation it is difficult to keep one's own creativity going. It is because stories or visual images have to be alternated to meet and satisfy the demand of the person who orders and pays for the production.

Q: Is that the reason?

A: I think so. Indies are always starving and poor because they are less commercially successful but keep a strong sense of pride about their work being original and creative, following their own ideas. And the other side (commercial animators) raise their voice to say, "We don't want to live miserably. After all, it is a way to make a living!"

Q: Don't you think that animation is made in anticipation of being shown to the

public? Isn't it why animators make animations?

A: That is again a very much commercialised idea. I consider animation as an
expression of an art genre. That's it.

Q: Then, which side are you? Indies or commercial?

A: (Laugh) Commercial, first, then indie. (Laugh) I will make a happy animation
when I am not starving and leading a happy and stable life.

AHS clearly expresses his own definition of independent animators and animations
as 'less commercialised' and 'original and creative', a definition in which keeps one's
honour and pride, particularly in Korean culture. What director PNY claimed to be an
indication of animation 'popularity', 'being shown to the public', does not seem to appeal
to AHS: *"That is a very much commercialised idea!"* To a certain extent, what this
indicates is that OEM animators in Korea are considered to be materialistic and money-
grabbing. Such a view is commonly shared amongst other indie animators. Indie animation
producer, PKH, who also organises a variety of events and campaigns for creative
animation, says,

As you know, the OEM is work that should follow a given instruction from
particular people or organisations who order it. It requires only good drawing
skills, not creativity. Those in-betweeners who I knew said, "It is not a
(creative) drawing process." What they do is simply following certain
principles and formulations. It's a job of dividing lines.

"It is not a (creative) drawing process" indicates and reinforces the fact that the OEM animation industry is understood to be lacking creativity and as simply functioning like an assembly line. Positioning indies as creative animators, PKH's statement above clearly shows how the OEM animators are contemptuously viewed. Hence a line is drawn to divide the Korean animators into two conflicting groups. As hostile as this division sounds, a common emotional stream between OEM animators and indies still exists. Such commonality has developed from the shared memories of history, politics and experiences of hardship as animators, perhaps. PKH continues to say,

> I do not intend to ignore what they (i.e. the OEM animators) do or their lack of
> creativity. They inevitably had to choose and followed what they could do and
> OEM animation happened to be a job that they could make a living with. It
> isn't their fault but what is apparent at the moment is that the market for the
> OEM industry is waning fast.

PKH asserts that in order to survive in the era of globalisation, the Korean animation industry should quickly change to produce more creative and original work rather than relying on "hot currency" that fulfils certain people's greedy desires in the OEM business:

> There are some animators who even own the listed companies and made a lot
> of money by selling them just like real property. If they had earned money by
> doing animation, they would have passed on the profit to the animation

industry. But, you know, it is hard for them to open their purse strings!

Despite the conflicting situation between the indie and the commercial OEM animators, there seems to be certain degrees of understanding for each other's inevitable position-taking process. Both types of animators also recognise the need to collaborate with each other to achieve a creative animation industry. However, it also seems difficult to avoid the sense of regret and hostility towards each other that result from the conflict between creativity and popularity.

What makes this even more difficult is the fact that popularity and creative originality do not necessarily correlate with each other. Sometimes creative animations appear too overtly unique and different from existing animation works with which the audiences are familiar. New, aesthetically complete expressions found in original, say 'experimental', animation work seem too abstract and incomprehensible to most ordinary people. 'Experimental' animation may attract only a specific group of people whose special knowledge of animation provides a necessary understanding for the creative work. In short, independent animators can be described as 'mavericks' of (animation) art that 'violates' conventions (Becker, 1982: 233-246).

On the other hand, animators like PNY and SKS who have been working in commercially driven animation are 'integrated professionals' as Becker suggests: 'Because they know, understand, and habitually use the conventions on which their world runs, they fit easily into all its standard activities' (1982: 229). This indicates that the necessary communication and 'realisation of the creative moment' (see Chapter 4 – By 'realisation of the creative moment, I meant that the moment of creativity is possible to occur when the creators/artists work through and against conventions and develop something new from

what already exist.) do not necessarily happen through independent animation works. Probably for these reasons and the fear of failure, the OEM animators keep their position as subcontracting labourers: 'within the bounds of what potential audiences and the state consider respectable' (Becker, ibid.). The OEM animators 'fear' of failure and loss of 'challenge' and 'ambition' are what indie animators criticise harshly more than the money and the creativity issues, while the OEM animators want to position themselves within the guaranteed popularity of others' works.

It is possible to see that the indie animators possess a certain fear that they might also lose their ambition, dreams and desire to produce creative animations. They themselves sometimes inevitably yield to the cruel reality that demands they forego their dreams for monetary comfort (see especially AHS's accounts). I will now discuss the feasible differences resulting from the Korean animators' position-taking process and how their negotiations occur.

9.3.2 SECOND NEGOTIATION: STRUGGLES IN-BETWEEN REALITY AND DREAM

It is relatively easy to judge whose reality and living experiences are harsher and more difficult than others by observing the individual's material possessions. These elements make a noticeable difference between groups of animators in Korea. I have pointed out in Chapter 5 that some of the animators participating in the foreign OEM industry could earn large salaries that were adequate to purchase large buildings and apartments. Such materialistic characteristics of the OEM work is often criticised by

newcomers or young creative animators. The animators in the OEM industry are described as 'money chasing robots' (personal interview with indie producer PKH). Sharing this criticism, determined independent animation producer LJH, who has devoted his life to producing original works, expresses his anger towards the OEM animators as follows:

> The OEM industry is the very reason why there has been no successfully made Korean animation at all till now. Animators, who accustomed themselves to working on ordered works for Japan and America, produced an original work only when there was no work flowing in from other countries. Moreover, the quality of them was so low! No wonder that audiences don't watch Korean animation these days! The audiences are all disappointed! What they do is a superficial and political show! They [i.e. the OEM animation production CEOs and main directors] earned a large amount of money by exploiting Korean animators' labour and their sweat. Then, they produce work that is decorated only with money! Such a work might be recognised outside, but within our industry, they are mauled by animators, especially independent animators!

The above remark by LJH shows his uneasiness about the current inequality appearing in-between the OEM animators and the indies. The following is my own observation of the physical differences between the OEM animation production companies and the indie production companies, based on my field notes.

(1) Materialistic Elements: Location and Spaces

a) Indie production companies

> It was a very hot summer day. The meeting with an independent animation
>
> producer, LJH, happened at his small office. This was about 10 ㎡ in an open-
>
> space with four small desks in each corner, without air conditioning. As thanks,
>
> I bought a box of vitamin drinks for him and his staff who shared the same
>
> office.
>
> (Field notes, Indie production company M)

> I experienced enormous difficulty in finding the office of indie producer YY.
>
> After his detailed directions over the phone, I eventually found the place. It
>
> was in a corner of a building on the second floor. There was no sign or
>
> business tag but a plain brown office door, which looked as if it led to a storage
>
> cupboard. Inside, there were about eight desks, with a shelf filled with
>
> animation reference books. When I visited, only the producer YY and one
>
> other animator were working. (Field notes, Indie production company C)

b) OEM animation production companies

> A big multi-storey building on one of the busiest streets in Seoul with a
>
> proudly designed company logo outside was the place I went to interview the

CEO of an American OEM animation production company. On the ground floor, their current production work for America was on display and the entrance was guarded by a security man. For the interview, I took one of the two smooth lifts to the top floor and there I had to go through a secretary's room to report my presence. (Field notes, America OEM production company A)

The location of the Japanese OEM animation production company *Anifactory* was near the international airport. The chief producer P said, "It is so we can deliver finished works quickly and efficiently to Japan." She also said that the size of the working floor is a spacious 381 ㎡. Departments shared the space by placing partitions. The chief art-director's room and the director/CEO PNY's rooms were situated further in and separated from the open-plan office area of the in-betweeners and colourists. (Field notes, Japanese OEM production company *Anifactory*)

As soon as I got off the bus, I could see a gigantic building. The American/Japanese OEM production company DW, which had regularly also produced independent creative work, took up several floors. Each department occupies different corners of each floor. The interior decor and displays were noticeably new and luxurious.
 (Field notes, American/Japanese OEM production company DW)

The most obvious difference between the OEM and the independent producers was the size of space they utilise. The OEM production companies that I visited were spacious, newly renovated and attractive, while the independent production companies had relatively small but multifunctional spaces. This again reinforces the different mindset of the two parties. Where a company is located is important in terms of attracting its potential buyers, consumers and audiences (Fine, 1996: 59). Since the OEM animation production companies deal with foreign business partners in more competitive forms and patterns, location becomes a significant means of attracting business and of enforcing their status. As the case of the OEM production company *A* shows (see above), the company's logo, being displayed on a huge sign outside, is used to publicise the company's name. Moreover, consideration of the efficiency of delivery is demonstrated in the choice of location near an airport (i.e. the case of *Anifactory*). The separation of the main directors' offices from the other animators (in lower positions) shows the structure and hierarchy of an organisation, and this to a certain extent, functions as another business strategy targeting buyers (see Appendix 1).

 Additionally, the layout of the office (e.g. the busy in-betweeners' cubicles nearby the entrance) reflects the production owner's intention to show potential business partners the animators' devotion and hard work. Most importantly, the systematically divided layout of each department shows a clear division of labour and the significance of assembled work for a collaborative production.

However, for those independent production companies which believe in the power of creativity and are less ambitious in considering the profit-making process, location also becomes a very important element. In short, the price of the location (including rent, price fluctuation of property, rented land) becomes crucial, because they tend to have relatively

low income and earnings. Hence, the sizes of their offices are relatively small and cramped. There is no distinction or separation between the offices of directors and other workers. Rather than hierarchical order, the office layout projects a liberal atmosphere and a more casual structure.

(2) Emotional Factors and Self-reflexivity

Regardless of whether they are located on the commercial side (i.e. OEM) or the more artistic and less materialistic side (i.e. indies), in terms of emotions and feelings, each group of animators have their own reasons for doing what they do. Some of these are shared whilst certain conflicts remain.

Based on my fieldwork, I suggest that the animators' positions can be categorised as follows: anger and frustration, self-reflexive attitudes, and thirst for creative production. I argue that the OEM animators' feelings of anger and frustration are caused by the sense of isolation that comes from disdain by the general public (as seen in the previous chapters). Indies, on the contrary, are generally regarded, by both OEM animators and the general public, as possessing higher artistic values and as being more "authentic However, workers in indie productions also share a certain anger and frustration. This is caused by "reality problems" such as financial difficulties. Moreover, this anger grows when indies look at the success of the OEM productions.

Since OEM has been the mainstream of the Korean animation history, the OEM animators' contribution and roles should not be ignored or denied. As I mentioned before, the OEM animation industry has partly contributed to the growth of the Korean national

income. OEM animators seem to recognise this fact which is made a source of their own pride. However, this former input from the OEM animators does not seem to be appreciated much by the public and independent animators, and instead leads to complaints and anger. Thirty-year veteran animation director LCM who now owns one of the most renowned OEM animation companies in Korea expresses his frustration and anger at not being appreciated:

> We did not have a single choice before. We simply had to do the OEM work. We ourselves have been raising our voices to suggest that the firm foundation for creative original production should have been prepared for a long time. Nobody listened to us then, but now since such an insistence becomes known to the general public more and more, they have started to criticise us. "What have you (OEM animators) done so far? Why didn't you plant the seed for the development of creativity? Was it just about your stomach? How could you be blind about the coming future?" Of course, there are more questions to be asked. Who says such a criticism? They are the so-called critics and teachers who were not around when we seriously talked about those matters earlier. They do not even know how in-between work is being done, but talk only about things that they know well and started causing problems for the OEM animators. And that caused serious conflicts between the OEM and the indie animators. Those two parties did not appreciate or admit each other's position in the animation field. These conflicts are the ones that hold back Korean animation from development.

From LCM's account above, it is possible to see how tense the conflicts between the two parties are. Once again, the issue of creativity fuels the conflicts. An interesting point is that my interviewees know, feel and experience this kind of tension (OEM vs. indie) daily while working or through self-criticism. However, it is subtly understood that it is better not to comment on the tensions as this would cause quarrels. After all, animation professionals are in the same occupational group: they are all "animators"! And it seems that Korean animators know they need to protect their own territories from foreign industrial forces and interests rather than fighting each other. Nonetheless, this thin demarcation line that animators are unwilling to express verbally does exist and occasionally surfaces, as illustrated in the following example in LCM's words:

Until last year, this animation festival [which he chaired] excluded the OEM animation productions. Not that they did so deliberately, but somehow the characteristics of the festival had a preference towards indie creative original production. I didn't think it was right. Without the OEM animations, there was a huge part missing in the Korean animation history, and it was very problematic. By introducing the OEM side into the festival, [it was hoped] it would explain how and why Korean animation could have developed so far in such and such conditions, and from there it could project an appropriate vision for the future.

Nowadays, the Korean animation industry encourages indie productions to grow as an alternative to the OEM industry. This reflects the conception of a 'Korean animation' which holds a 'Korean identity' aiming for global popularity (KOCCA, 2004: 252-262;

2005: 262-269). As a result, most animation festivals focus on introducing foreign creative original production works or domestic creative works with a two-fold purpose. Firstly, this is done in order to provide a way for 'Korean animation' to tap into the global market. Secondly, it is believed this will test if the Korean animation industry is capable of competing globally. Hence, LCM has strong arguments in the sense that activities to accelerate rapid change in the Korean animation industry reinforce the isolation of the OEM animation and animators. These activities also give rise to latent conflicts between the two parties.

Animation director YYK who has been on both the OEM and the independent production sides, shares LCM's opinion:

> What's happening between the indie animators and the OEM animators has resulted in such an ironic situation here in Korea. On the one hand, because of the OEM, our country could start doing animation work and it was possible to form the foundation of Korean animation. However, on the other hand, because of this same OEM animation industry, creativity in Korean animation has stopped and disappeared. In fact, we had no strong economy in the old days and Korea was an underdeveloped country. Hence, we couldn't do anything else but OEM. It naturally led many people into the OEM market.[14] To people whose pure passion for animation still remains, the OEM must seem to have ruined Korean animation and taken away opportunities from them through which they could have explored their creativity. They are half right and half

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[14] He once said that good monetary reward was the reason he became an animator (see Chapter 5).

wrong in my opinion. Well, there is a tendency from the OEM side, too, that

they think of the indies as insignificant, and vice versa. But as a whole, the

indies side seems stronger and to get the upper hand on the OEM.

What YYK says indicates that tense conflicts exist on both sides, and yet the indies

seem to have a more favourable asset, i.e. creativity, which is their source of pride.

Moreover, having worked in both parts of the industry, YYK seems to have a self-reflexive

attitude in understanding how the OEM and indie animators view each other. The OEM

animators are unhappy about being isolated and contemptuously blamed for the stagnation

of creativity. Nonetheless, the OEM animators seem to admit that the OEM industry has

caused stagnation of creativity in the Korean animation industry and contributed to their

state of "paralysis" (i.e. the OEM animators being accustomed to a fairly stable lifestyle

without challenging or risk-taking adventures). In other words, the OEM animators do

agree with the independent animators' criticism: "We deserved to be blamed for the lack of

creativity. The longer you work within the frame of the OEM, the more you get absorbed

into it." (Animator KM, female, in the animation industry for 14 years)

(3) Renegotiation between Reality and Dreams

While I was conducting interviews, it became apparent that the more experienced

the animators the more knowledgeable they were about the real circumstances around the

Korean animation industry. As a consequence, the animators with more years in the field

seem to have the capacity to re-negotiate their position between reality and professional aspirations. For both newly-hired animators and experienced animators the passionate desire for drawing remains. However, the degree of understanding about reality that both groups have, in relation to their dreams and professional aspirations, differs.

I will now examine two sets of interviews that demonstrate such differences. I will firstly introduce two newcomers into the OEM industry and one indie animator to illustrate how professional goals, or let us say 'dreams', are set forth and motivate the new animators' job performance. On the other hand, another set of testimonies of animators who have already spent a few years in the industry will illustrate how reality impinges on these professional "dreams."

1) Animator SM started working at *Anifactory* three months prior to the beginning of my observation research. He is twenty-six years old and was in the first year of a BA degree, but is currently taking a year off from his university, which offers one of the most famous animation courses in Korea. He explains that he entered university after his military service and that before the army service, he learnt how to draw at a local institute.

> Q: How do you find the work?
> A: I started this because I liked to do it. So, I have nothing to complain of.
> Q: Do you earn enough income?
> A: I rent a small room nearby [*Anifactory*]. It's impossible to save money at the
> moment but still I can live. It is only because I have just started. I believe
> that later when I become skilful enough I will have a better life and more
> money.

Q: Do you think you can make lots of money in animation?

A: If I considered the money and financial side, I would've just gotten a degree

in a practical subject and entered a company. I know it [animation] will not

make much money, but achieving my dream is more important.

Q: What is your ultimate goal?

A: I would like to become a director.

2) Nineteen-year-old animator CJH spends much time practicing lines and drawings even when there is no work to do. She finished her high-school education just before joining *Anifactory* and has been working for three months as an in-betweener. Her parents were so strongly opposed to her becoming an animator that they even asked her to leave the house. However, she says that her dream is to produce her own creative original animation and she would not change her mind. Maybe for this reason, she does not leave her desk at most meal times and has instant cup noodles in order to save money and time, and devotes herself fully to animating work.

Q: You said that you would like to produce your own animation work. Is there

any particular preparation you do to achieve your goal?

A: I read many comics and watch numerous animations. I do read a lot of

fantasy fictions. I do think they are necessary in order to write creative

scenarios for animation. They are very important.

Q: Are there any particular films or music you like?

A: I like animation music: OST of animation films. When I listen to them, I

could imagine each scene of that particular animation and the very feeling

that I had while watching it. It gives me a feeling of ecstasy.

Q: Do you make enough income?

A: Well, it's simple. You just need to understand people here as those who have already given up hope of making money.

Q: At the moment, the in-between work you pour your energy into is Japanese animation. What are your thoughts about it?

A: I think this period [i.e. in-betweener period] is a training session. And, although my name doesn't yet appear in the end credits of television animation, I feel happy as what I draw is being shown to many people. So far, I've done Japanese animation work, but if I ever could, I would like to work in domestic creative production.

3) MA animation student AHS (29 years old, male), who is working on his own project, carries a small notebook filled with various characters that he has created with him at all times.

Q: Any particular activity you do to become more creative?

A: I write down my ideas and try to sketch things as often as possible. I do think that basic training should be completed to have creativity.

Q: What is your drawing style like?

A: It is very hard to find my own drawing style. But I do hope that one day I can make it happen. It is possible to sense the creator in some particular drawings and animation. People can guess who made them. In order to become one that people can guess right, I need to have more intensive

training and practice.

It seems irrelevant whether these animators work at OEM companies or not. What really matters is that their words illustrate not differences but rather a common passion to achieve their goals and become creative directors of their own animations. These animation professionals practise and train as much as they can to reach this goal.

However, as the next testimonies will show such a passionate attitude can wither away after a longer period of working in the industry and as the animator faces more serious problems in reality. Now, I move on to present three cases of animators who have worked in the field for more than five years. Here, it is important to notice how their idea of working in animation has changed over time.

1) KM has been working in the OEM industry for fourteen years. Since she is one of the most experienced members in *Anifactory, s*he supervises fellow animators and teaches them how to do in-between drawings.

A: I have stayed at *Anifactory* for more than 10 years so far.

Q: Is *Anifactory* such a good production company to stay on?

A: Well, here, work comes in continuously. To me, what makes a place a good animation company to work for is three things: continuous work, payment without delay, and easy characters to draw. As long as you can continuously work with reliable payment and of course, easy characters to draw to make it more appealing, it is a good animation company regardless

of the size or scale.

Q: Do you ever want to have your own creative work?

A: At first, I thought I would. The opportunity didn't come easily. Before, I
always carried a small sketch book with me and tried to practice, believing
that one day it would be useful. When you start in-between drawings, the
next ideal step is to aim for original drawings. It takes quite a while until
you can actually make some money from in-between drawings, and if you
step up to the original drawing part, again you have to start from the
beginning, which means you would not know when you would be able to
make money from it. You need to overcome that period, but it is scary. You
need to struggle once again. You get afraid of new challenges.

In-between drawing is the very first step animators take to understand body
movements and lines. My interviewees seem to agree that it takes about five years for
them to acquire the proper skills. Once they pass this training period, they then move
onto 'original drawing' which includes character drawings and deciding characters
movements. It takes a long time to become a properly trained original drawing
animator. Hence, sometimes those trainees in 'original drawings' make less money
than those in 'in-between' drawings. For this reason, there are many people who do
not wish to move on or upgrade to 'original drawings' but to stay in 'in-between'.
Animator KM' is one of these.

2) Thirty-year-old female animator PCS has worked in the animation industry for five years. On her working desk there are many Japanese comics and she often listens to Japanese pop songs. She studied in Japan to learn Japanese, partly because she worked in a Japanese OEM animation company and was fond of Japanese animation.

Q: Do you still watch many animations?

A: No. Not any more. As I've worked in the animation field, gradually I lost interest in them. Now, animation is just work and animator is just my occupation. Unlike before when I liked animation so much or I liked animating things, this is the only thing I can do well. That's it. I treat it simply as my profession. I still read comics but fewer animations these days. I wanted to do creative original production myself, but I ended up doing this (i.e. OEM)⋯

Q: Then, is animation just a means of making money to you?

A: It is. As you get more experience here, you develop certain tricks and you tend to have 'faster hands' [i.e. becoming more skilful and proficient with your work]. Once you have the skills, even doing in-between work, you can make enough money. If others draw 10-20 pages and you can draw 50-100 pages per day, then you make your living.

Q: Do you ever want to do original drawings?

A: Not really. I once did, but I prefer in-between work.

Q: Wouldn't you earn more money from doing original drawings?

A: In the beginning, it's the same. For example, a person who was doing in-between work could earn ₩1-2,000,000 (₤500-1,000) per month [when

there is enough work and she/he has faster working hands]. When he/she

moves onto original drawing, because they again become a beginner there,

they would earn less than what they used to get.

Q: Do you want to become a director producing your own work?

A: Of course, I do want to. If I create my own work, I will be the director. But,

I still don't think I am good enough to produce my own yet.

3) Having worked in the Japanese OEM animation industry for five years, animator PK is

one of the veterans in the in-betweeners' cubicle. She has so-called 'fast hands' and can

draw up to 1,200 pages per month, as opposed to beginners who can only draw up to

twenty to thirty pages per week or a maximum of 100 pages per month.

Q: Do you want to move to original drawing?

A: I'm not even good at in-between work. It will be so difficult to step up to

original drawing. It requires even harder work than in-between. Some

strongly desire to do original drawings, but I don't think I could make it.

Look at their eyes. They always have blood-shot eyes. Sometimes they make

less money than we in-betweeners do, though what they do is more tiring.

Q: Don't they earn well?

A: Some do earn a lot. With one cut, they earn ₩20,000 (₤ 10) while in-

betweeners get ₩1,000 (₤ 0.50) per page.

Q: How long does it normally take to step up to original drawings?

A: It depends. Some have moved to original drawing from in-between, but

they all quit. They get a lot of difficult work and don't get enough money. So they frequently stop working and quit.

Q: What do you do in your spare time?

A: I listen to music or play computer games. Drawing used to be my hobby before starting this work, but now as it has become my profession, I don't draw when I rest.

Q: Is there any particular activity you do in order to develop your drawing skills and styles?

A: There are moments when I suddenly want to draw. Then, I draw something on paper and keep the paper for future reference.

Q: Do you think there has been any development in your drawings and skills?

A: Yes, I do think so. My drawing skills are far better than before. Probably because of my profession, I repeatedly draw everyday and also correcting other trainees' drawing helped me to see mine better, too. If I did not work but kept practicing drawings, then I would've had far better skills by now. But, if that were the case I could not make a living.

These two cases indicate that as a result of going through difficult times and struggling through various experiences, including the fear of losing one's job, insecure income and physical deformation, animators start renegotiating the relationship between their dreams and reality and their desires and goals change.

9.4 CONCLUSION

Animators, who are full of professional passion and dreams, at a certain point in their careers have to take a position to defend their territory and keep their pride intact. Pride, their symbolic "untouchable" possession, functions as the major driving factor for staying in their profession despite the hardship imposed by social perceptions as seen in the previous chapters and global challenges. Sensitive relationships between income (i.e. monetary issues) and animators' pride (i.e. being creative and artistic), however, has generated another in-between status for the animators. Amongst the in-betweeners, the animators are divided into two groups (i.e. OEM and indie) by a thin, often invisible but nonetheless detectable line. The results of their decision to work in the OEM or indie sector of the industry impact what will be their reality in regards to such factors as location, income, purchasing power, finances and more. These conflicts are represented in struggles between 'popularity' and 'creativity', or 'reality' and 'dreams'. In relation to the concept of 'territory', I emphasise that human and emotional values (e.g. animators' self-consolation, occupational fatalism, and pride) should be taken into account to understand the complex structure of globalisation. This will help us see further the cause of tension between the global and the local beyond political and economic factors.

I have also demonstrated that there are complicated and self-conflict stages of negotiation. The longer animators have worked, the less challenge they desire to undertake. This clearly indicates their in-between position between reality and dream once again. What is important to notice, nonetheless, is that the animators' position-taking (i.e. to work either as the OEM animators or as indies) can happen at any time through a self-negotiation process. By undergoing such a self-negotiation process, the both OEM animators and

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independent animators seem to recognise each other's inevitable struggles and conflicts. In other words, they seem to have mutual understandings for why such position-taking decisions had to be made. However, regretfully, to survive amongst endangered in-betweeners of the global as well as the domestic animation market, 'a combat-like situation as a result of animators' attitudes of not accepting each other's producing capabilities and the quality of work' (Han, 2002: 10; 24) continues. Nonetheless, within the on-going in-between experiences, to ease the competitive spirit of the two animators' groups and to reach their ultimate goal of becoming creative, both groups understand that they need to join efforts and seek new solutions. I would argue that amongst these new solutions, creativity (i.e. what the indie group pursues) and commerce (i.e. what the commercial/OEM group pursues) should be integrated rather than constituting a divide. So far, I have argued that the situation of Korean animation industry is a problematic result of globalisation and explored with the concept of in-between. Up to the current chapter, my findings have shown how painful and difficult a time the Korean animators have had as in-betweeners. However, some believe that such in-between situations can be advantageous for the entire Korean animation industry and these views are particularly held by those in government and the so-called "successful" economic players. Developing these noticeably different views on in-betweenness, the next chapter will explore the fourth and final in-between state: the disjuncture between different players of in-betweenness, those who long for successful economic returns and those in-betweeners who are simply struggling to survive financially as well as emotionally on a daily basis within a local industry structured by the forces of the global market. This tension will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 10

In-between as a Disjuncture between Different Players in Globalisation

10.1 INTRODUCTION

While the main focus of the thesis lies on "people's experiences and emotions" in the process of globalisation, not everybody in the Korean animation industry finds in-between situations painful. For some, in-between situations are advantageous due to their potential economic returns. This final data chapter introduces another function of the concept of in-between: representing the disjuncture between different players in the globalisation process; and once again demonstrates in-between as a path of negotiation and transition.

Korean government reports assert with one voice that the animation industry's current in-between position transforming from the OEM production system to producing original creative animations will, in the long term, become an advantage to develop the entire animation industry. Building on this analysis, being in-between may be a way of demonstrating resistance to globalisation and the global labour shift. However, it is also a way to tap into the globalisation process and become a successful player in the shift towards globalisation. The in-betweeners (i.e. Korean animators) also desire to turn their despairing battles- into more beneficial positions. The government and various animators' groups have therefore gotten together to market and publicise Korean animation through various high-profile events, intended to reposition the industry as a whole, despite on-going

concerns "behind the scenes." Another collaborative effort is to explore and develop

creativity through so-called 'Koreanness'. However, the ways in which Koreanness is being

understood and used in animation production varies and therefore causes certain conflicts,

which reinforce the concept of in-between as negotiation in the globalisation process.

10.2 KOREA'S CULTURAL IN-BETWEEN POSITION

The USA has kept its leading political and economic position for more than half a

century. Recently Japan has rapidly increased its economic power and has become another

leading figure for Asian countries to look up to. Meanwhile, another challenger has made

its entry to the world cultural market. China, abundant in natural and human resources,

hogs the limelight of the world; not only as a land of economic potential, but also as a

nation involved in cultural production which attracts global attention. Where can Korea

situate itself alongside these countries? Korea's national relationship with these three

countries has been historically, politically and culturally interwoven over a century or more.

America's political power in particular has often played havoc with Korea. In addition,

carryovers from the colonial past with Japan still cause diplomatic impasses even today.

These two countries have fought for political control over Korea. Such political power-play

has now moved into the realm of cultural production and media policy. For example,

cultural output from Korea to other Asian countries started to emerge in 2001, particularly

with television drama, popular songs, and films. This cultural phenomenon, is known as the

"Korean wave" (*Hallyu)* and some scholars use the phrase, 'Hallyu fever' (Chohan, H.J and

Hwang, S.M, et al. 2004: 43) to demonstrate the high demand for and popularity of Korean

media products.

Despite the outstanding impact of Korean wave products in the Asian region, pressure from the US and Japan continues to be imposed upon Korean cultural producers. Korean cultural producers and audiences have recognised this danger and strongly resist them in order to break the shackle of their imprisoned position "in-between" and become culturally independent. An example of this is the screen quota protection policy in Korea. The screen quota system was established in 1966 to protect the Korean film industry from Hollywood films. Under the system, local cinemas were obliged to show domestic films at least 72 days a year. In 2006, the Korean government decided to halve the screen quota due to continuous pressure from the US. Strong opposition was expressed by the majority of actors and members of the industry, who argued that caving to US pressure meant losing Korea's cultural sovereignty (*The Korea Times*, 26 Jan 2006). However, such protests are criticised as fruitlessly resisting globalisation (*Global Envision*, 6 July 2004). These arguments demonstrate that Korea, as a nation, is experiencing a cultural in-between state caused by tensions between its strong nationalistic mindset and the realities of the global political and economic system. I argue that internationally dominant countries' tacit pressure on media confines Korea's position to the territory of 'in-between', and that this confinement is currently being further entrenched with the appearance of powerful newcomers (i.e. China and others).

(1) China as a Newcomer and Others

As explained in Chapter 6, capital freely flows to the next most cost-effective place to produce with 'cheap' labour. Arguably, this has become a threat to the existing Korean

animation industry, which is heavily reliant on subcontracting work. However, the decrease in(subcontracting orders is not the only worry. China, as a nation, is enthusiastic about becoming a dominant player in the global economy, and its large labour force is therefore quick to learn and implement new techniques and skills. It is possible to see in many parts of the world that 'made in China' products are rampant. China has also quickly realised that cultural production also could bring an economic boost to the nation's wealth. In fact, not only have subcontracting work orders increased but also their original creative animation output has developed at the same time. An example is the animation series, *Blue Cat*, which started from comic books and developed into moving animation format. Dong YuMin, the Chief of the Department of Cartoons in the Chinese Children's Press Publication Group, explained in a major animation conference that this particular animation series sold 80 million DVDs and 30 million comic books and that some of these series were translated into 13 different languages and exported to 25 countries. He also pointed out that this was only the first step in Chinese animation's move towards the global animation market (Dong, 2005: 8).

With these new creative animations, the Chinese animators and animation companies are acting fast to promote their industry worldwide. Film London's China project can be an example. Chinese animation was shown in the National Film Theatre in London and an animation industry delegation from Shanghai gave lectures, which functioned as a publicity activity to promote their industry. *Shanghai animation at the NFT and King's College London,* 18-19 February 2007.[15]

Another significant point is that the large Chinese population is a great advantage for their animation production. It plays a critical role in terms of developing their animation

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[15]   10 a.m. at King's College, London 19 February 2007

market, not only by providing a rich source of labour but also in providing audiences. Population is a critical factor that affects animators' decisions in targeting certain audiences. China has sufficient numbers to consume locally produced animations within their own territory. Hence, the pressure to find audiences elsewhere in the global market is considerably less. Furthermore, by applying strict regulations and trading rules to foreign partners, they secure their financial benefits and legal rights (Wong, 2005: 38). Animation has become a national project fully supported by the central government of China. As a result, China is on its way to becoming a potential leader in world animation production.

In terms of preparing for the future, education and training of an appropriate workforce is important. This is demonstrated through the number of colleges and current training–animation courses in China. The chief of the Research Centre of Digital Entertainment Culture, Hongwen Yang recently asked: 'what is the most essential and critical element that China needs for the twenty first century?' His immediate answer for this question was to nurture the right labour and creative forces (2005: 72). The Chinese animation industry also realised the importance of systematically educating future creative workforces by providing diverse curricula and courses (Yang, ibid.). There are about 71 professional institutes for high level training (university level), and at least 200 animation related companies with 20,000 workers who can altogether produce 18,000 minutes long animation works a year. (Lee J., 2005: 19). From this estimate, the renowned professor of animation policy in Korea, Jung-Min Lee described China as 'one of the most attractive global competitors to transnational companies' (2005: 19) and forecast that potential animation audiences are 40 percent of the total population, which is about 500 million (Lee J., ibid.). In other words, as Simon Anholt argues, a country like China with 'a big domestic market' can establish 'brand mass' before competing with other countries (2003: 34).

Therefore Chinese animators can play a rather safe game because the internal audience is large enough to consume the in-house produced animations within the national territory. China has made a very confident entry into the world animation market and is certainly a threatening figure. While Korea took quite a long time to realise the value of cultural 'soft power' (Nye, 2002: 8-12) that is indirect and yet as powerful as other political means, fortunately (or unfortunately) China realised this by learning from the experience of other countries. This may imply that China aims to become a 'big brother' in cultural production despite its late start.

Thus, Korean animation is caught between America, Japan and China. Increasing numbers of new competitors will appear as the global force of transnational production expands its territories in search of ever cheaper labour forces. The situation is seen as urgent by both the Korean government and those in the animation industry, who have proposed pursuing creativity and recognition with or without Koreanness as potential solutions. It is within this panorama that continuous efforts to overcome weaknesses and go beyond the current in-between position are noticeable from both government-funded research projects and Korean industrial strategies, which I now examine.

(2) Repositioning Korean Animation's In-between Position

Recognition always requires the involvement of self and others. By recognising others, recognising oneself is possible and these notions of being recognised and of self-recognition also become important factors in the globalisation process. This seems to be reflected in several strategic research papers. Taking a hard look at research on strategy for

the Korean animation industry (Han, 2002; KIPA, 2004; Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2006), almost the same patterns of SWOT (i.e. Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis are found over time. One interesting point is that the perspectives found in these papers towards the position of the Korean animation industry confirm its in-between position, too. Firstly, Korea is placed in-between by the animation tycoons (i.e. the USA and Japan) and challengers (i.e. China, Philippines, and India), as I have discussed above. Being subcontracting workers for OEM animation productions has quite often been criticised as a 'new imperialism in the territory of animated film' and considered as a 'national disgrace' (Kim J., 2006: 69). However, the government research and strategy papers see the in-between status from a different perspective as being a strong advantage: while working as subcontracting labourers for foreign animation, animators have developed new skills and techniques. Anholt also points out that 'companies in poorer countries can often obtain a faster and more effective apprenticeship through the practice of Western brand-owners outsourcing their manufacturing facilities' (2003: 34). LCM, who is an animation veteran with more than thirty years experience, shared a similar view,

> The biggest advantage of the Korean animation industry is the ability to create
> animations in *whatever* possible styles. We Korean animators can learn fast
> and follow all new possible styles of any other nation. From this base, we can
> combine other nations' good skills and techniques to create something new, or
> something that people all over the world can share the same sympathy and
> vibes. I think that Korea is in the very best position to do so.

Projecting familiarity to the audiences by keeping certain similarities to existing animation styles and yet including new creative elements to satisfy the audiences who are tired of the old patterns is a significant way to attract audiences. Having developed the necessary skills and techniques, what the research papers see as the next step is to go beyond the current status and be creative autonomous agents in animation production. The Korean animation industry has recognised and understood its cultural position, and now being recognised by others has become another critical point. Thus, these research papers point out the importance of changing Korean people's low appreciation of animation, which Chapters 7, 8, and 9 illustrated with supporting evidence on individual animators' struggles and conflicts. The research papers suggest this should occur with acts of 'recognising others' and 'being recognised by others' in the seemingly homogenous global world. Given the conditions Korea faces as a political and cultural in-betweener, the question arises: How can Korea be recognised in the world animation industry? How can the entire animation industry be 'upgraded' and become more creative? What do the central and regional governments do to accomplish such goals? Do policies meet animators' needs and satisfy them? If not, what should be done to fill the gap between the political strategy and the animators' needs? In the following section, I will examine two main ways in which the Korean animation industry strives to be recognised: (1) through 'deliberate' publicity and marketing campaigns; (2) through finding creativity in the use of "Koreanness."

10.3 PUBLICITY AND MARKETING

The art and cultural sectors in many countries are now often regarded as "problem solvers" for social, political and economic concerns (e.g. 'enhance education', 'create jobs', 'make profits' (Yudice, 2003: 12)) and 'artists are being channelled to manage the social' (ibid.). Understanding and appreciating animation as a form of culture becomes critical in the global world where there is such an emphasis on 'culture as resources' (ibid.: 9-13). Another significant notion is 'branding national identity' (Anholt, 2003: 34). Many countries that hold on to negative histories and images of themselves from the past try to rebuild the nation's grace with positive views. In many cases, replacing old images is the critical tool in campaigns to (re)brand national identity. In the case of the Korean animation industry, branding does not focus on 'national identity' itself, but rather, on 'Korean animation' with images that can reflect 'national identity'. They sound similar but have certain differences. Nationally specific images become ways to brand Korean animation as a uniquely different set of productions: stories, fairytales, folks and props that have been known in Korea itself are now being exported to a market and these become images for branding Korean animation.

The recent miraculous development of the Korean economy, technological advances and the hosting of the World Cup in 2002 are facts of "Koreanness" that are already well known by vast audiences through information gleaned from the global media network. However, in a society where all available information appears to be "only a click away," what is not known may often appear to be more desirable. Global audiences are longing to

see something new and exotic. For the Korean creative industry, especially for the animation industry - whose existence is barely noticed because it has stayed behind the big foreign production companies for more than four decades – this could become an opportunity to provide exactly what the global audience appears to desire: the new and undiscovered.

Animation, as an emerging resource not only for national economic development but for many other purposes, should be recognised both by the local and by the global. However, as previously discussed, animation has been sidelined in Korea. However, it is important to consider how that marginalised space could be utilised. As Hetherington demonstrates alongside many other scholars (e.g. Rose, 1993; Cresswell, 1996), 'margins are places where the marginal can find a space in which they can articulate themselves and be heard' (Hetherington, 1998: 72). Korean animators can be distinctive as they 'live visibly on the margin' (ibid.), which is defined precisely by their in-betweeness. Since Korean animation finds itself in this very marginalised position of in-between, it is necessary as Hetherington argues to turn this, into something heard, visible but most importantly 'sensed' (I will discuss this later in this chapter). Therefore, what the Korean animation industry currently aims to achieve is to make their in-between experiences and situations to be externally recognisable in the sense that their in-between position is seen and understood something beneficial and advantageous. The ultimate aim is, as suggested by animation experts, 'uplifting Korean nationals' appreciation of animation' (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2006: 29). This should, therefore, occur through the process of publicising the state of in-between. It is possible to interpret that the use of so-called 'Koreanness' in animation production is to seek international recognitions by supplying what the Western audiences want to see and simultaneously to open up and market the Korean animation industry. To

examine this, firstly I will look at animation-related events and physically defined spaces: festivals, animation museums, animation centres and animation cities.

10.3.1 APPROACHES AND ATTEMPTS

(1) Animation Festivals

Festivals, 'the caravan of images' (Stringer, 2001: 134), are significant as 'they bring visitors to cities, revenue to national film industries, and national film cultures into the world cinema system' (ibid.). Stringer points out that (the Western major) film festivals have become a way whereby 'non-Western industries were "discovered" by Westerners' (ibid.: 135). Nonetheless, this act of "discovery" should also be considered to be a result of the intentions of the subjects that are claimed to be 'discovered'. East Asian film makers' self-Orientalising strategies are discussed in western criticism (Lee, J., 2005). Rey Chow calls them 'Oriental's Orientalism' (1995: 171) and Jiyeon Lee names them 'travelling films' (2005). Similarly, animation festivals demonstrate such aims and functions. Later in this chapter, I will explore a number of Korean animators' self-orientalising efforts through the use of Koreanness in animation works. Here, I will mainly focus on festivals' role in exposing national/local animation to the world with the goal of being recognised globally. As a result of the increasing numbers of film festivals there is the disappearance of an 'aura of exclusivity' (Stringer, 2001: 137) about participation in them. In comparison to the

number of today's film festivals, there are relatively fewer 'animation film festivals'[16] and therefore, entry in them still remains exclusive and possesses unique value.

In Korea, there are currently a number of animation festivals, and amongst them the main events are: the Seoul International Cartoon & Animation Festival (SICAF), Chuncheon Anitown Festival (CAF), Puchon International Student Animation Festival (PISAF) and Indie-AniFest. Festivals are the easiest, most comfortable and enjoyable events with which to attract the public's attention. Individual animation festivals are held at different times over the year with periodical intervals.[17] These events present the unknown aspects of animation to the public. These events create a place to experience animation from 'the global and local' in one space, shortening the physical distance as well as the symbolic distance between animation and the public. With screenings of various animations from various countries, Korean animators and audiences receive opportunities to experience the diversity of world animation and, importantly, to 'recognise' them as others to learn something from. They also provide conferences inviting famous animation directors, producers and CEOs to give lectures and workshops; to participate in dialogue with others in the field; and to network with up and coming producers. Sometimes such conferences function as a bridge to share information and build new business relationships.

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[16] For film festivals, there are more than five hundred events all over the world, according to Stringer (2001: 137). In contrast, there are about sixty well-known animation festivals worldwide and fifty recognised animation related events. (Shin and Han, 2002: 367-390).

[17] These animation festivals are held in different month of year and they are as follow: SICAF in August, CAF in October, PISAF in November and Indi-AniFest in October

As for the individual production companies, having their own booths in the market place provided by the festival committee, potential animation buyers and consumers can meet each other, too. Festivals offer the animators motivation for developing new creativity. One of my interviewees, who has created his own 3D animation as an independent animator for a year emphasises the important role of festivals:

> Festivals are exciting and encourage us as animators. It is one of the very few places where we display our work and can be appreciated and valued in public. Such events are very important for people like us who need creativity.
> (Independent animation director JS, male, 6 years in the industry)

Moreover, these events let the public experience animation through their physical involvement. For instance, organising costume plays (i.e. COSPLAY), audiences dress up and perform as their favourite characters. Such an invitation to the public to be involved in animation was previously confined to the animation mania fans and was regarded as an oddity. However, by promoting such events in public places, the masses can participate without much resistance. Hence, for the animators, animation festivals become very 'public platforms' (Kim, S., 2005: 80) to express their longing to be recognised and understood. It certainly is, as Kim Soyoung suggests, the 'space of negotiation and of cultural practice' (ibid.). The marginality, the oddity, and the exclusion become the norms of cultural practice as a result of this publicising act. In addition, animations' cultural space is expanded through 'public accessibility' to places, like museums, animation centres, and animation cities.

(2) Animation's Spatiality − Museums, Animation Centres, Animation Cities

As seen in previous chapters, supposedly for the sake of education and development of children's moral values, cartoons and animations were extensively denigrated in Korean society. Therefore, while cinema theatres, schools, community centres or homes were approved of as places where watching animation was justified under the guidance of parents or teachers, others were regarded as 'forbidden places'. These places are called *manhwabang*. *Manhwa* [ma:anhwa] literally means printed comics. However, this expression is generally used for both animation and comics in the Korean context. *Bang* [ba:ang] means a room in Korean. Hence, *manhwabang* is a place to read comics. Series of cartoons on the shelves with couches and the cheap entry fare make them the place ideal for youngsters to spend their leisure time. Although education authorities did not announce restrictions on these places, individual school authorities did. Many teachers followed young students after school to places of entertainment, including *manhwabang*. Manhwabang in particular were assumed to be too 'harmful' as unemployed people or gangsters killed their time there, hence this environment would 'pollute' youngsters' morality. This reasoning meant cartoons and animation did not have a publicly approved place to be appreciated in, which led them to be marginalised even more. However, Korea is currently making an effort to break the isolated space in order to turn it into a public space. The most noticeable change is the establishment of animation museums, centres and cities.

A museum is considered to be an educational place to learn and acquire something valuable. In 1997, the first Chuncheon Anitown Festival (CAF) was held in Chuncheon, a

town of literature on the east coast of Korea. As the name implies, the entire town was planned and developed for animation. Currently, the Animation Museum is run in collaboration with CAF. The public learns animation history and about the production process and world famous animators, and good quality animations or rare and old works are selected for monthly screenings. Regarding exhibition in the museums, Ramírez uses the term 'brokering identities' (1996: 21-38) and explains that 'by selecting, framing, and interpreting peripheral art in exhibitions and exhibition catalogues' the unrecognised and marginalised place can enjoy 'new venues for the distribution, acceptance, and appreciation of previously marginalized art' (ibid.: 23). In a similar vein, the so-called 'identity broker' (Ramírez, ibid.) of the Korean animation museum, HST explains that the main functions of the animation museum in Korea are:

1) To let the general public feel nostalgia for their childhood memory of animation and eventually through such sentimental emotion to inspire affection for animation.

2) To help people to recognise animation as an industry that contributes to the national economy.

3) For scholars and students, to provide an academic foundation to study animation history.

4) to offer participants in the animation industry satisfaction and pride of their profession.

He further comments on the museum's role in terms of the globalisation of Korean animation,

For outstanding cultural development, historical accumulation from the past is critical. You learn from the past in order to build your future history; the case of the USA and Europe which both learned from the past for the future can be an example. Likewise, animation should follow the same procedure and the animation museum is the very place where such historical accumulation and studies should be performed. Hence, through theoretical and practical efforts we try to narrow down the existing gap between the global animation industry and our animation. (Personal interview with HST, 22 August 2006)

HST's statement 'Narrowing down the existing gap between the global animation industry and our animation' illustrates how the point of publicising Korean animation through 'purposefully designated spaces' is to open up the isolated in-between position of the industry in order to reach quality at a globally recognised level. Similarly, the Seoul Animation Centre provides screenings of various animations and animation production courses, which again invite the public to be involved in the animation field. An animation library facility is also available that many youngsters and animation fans come to in order to read comics and watch DVDs. Considering previous prohibitions on places such as *manhwabang*, it is certainly a major change for animation to be recognised in this way.

While museums offer the public knowledge about animation through various media facilities, Puchon and Chuncheon represent themselves as animation cities with various animation characters being displayed on the street. Especially, in the streets and corners of Puchon, characters of one of the most famous Korean animation series *Dooly* (Kim, SooJeong, 1983) can be found. Animation characters become familiar to the public while

walking in the city. Hence, creating an animation city becomes an opportunity for Korean nationals to be able to experience animation far more easily.

(3) Legally Protected Space

The cultural power of Japan and America - with China and other newcomers' accessing the world animation market − has clearly enhanced the culturally in-between status of Korean animation. Especially, with the cultural opening policy that was passed in 1998, Japanese animation can now freely come into the Korean market (KOCCA, 2004: 5). Having realised the competitive nature of this situation and to overcome their current in-between state, Korean animators have striven to protect even their own 'internal' marginalised space by appealing for legal protection. After several years of trials, in July 2005 the government finally introduced a new animation quota system to protect the domestic animation industry. This new regulation obliges the major territorial television stations to broadcast newly made Korean animation for 1 percent of their total broadcasting hours and other stations (cable, satellite) to allocate 1.5 percent of their total hours of programming (KOCCA, 2005a: 12). Low as it might sound, considering the total number of broadcasting hours a year, showing newly made animation for 1 percent of the total works out to be a significant number of hours. Experts are expecting that this will lead Korea's original and creative animation producers to be more active and double their market size (ibid.). It is hoped that this deliberate effort to publicise as well as market the Korean animation through television will encourage Koreans to recognise the existence of their own local animation series and perhaps change their viewing preferences.

10.3.2 PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS

What I have discussed in the previous section is what has been and is being done in the animation industry to participate competitively in the world market, in short, to become a "successful" economic player in globalisation. These initiatives have been sponsored mainly by the government. However, animators and other members of the animation industry are not totally satisfied with such approaches. They point out that some of the solutions are impractical and unhelpful to the animators' production process and their daily lives. The following, together with the previous section, demonstrates the ways in which in-between becomes a disjuncture that separates the different players in the globalisation process.

(1) Global Display, Local Indifference

Idealistically, festivals, museums, animation centres and other facilities mentioned above aim to display Korean animation globally as well as locally. Displays put on for global markets tend to get most of the media attention. However, animators believe there should be more attention paid to publicity efforts directed towards local audiences. In this regard, animators have severely criticised and questioned what should really be done inside festivals, museums and animation centres. They regard governmental activities as grandstanding, and see them as impractical for the actual development or benefit of the animation industry. Director PNY of *Anifactory* often criticises the government and the

whole animation industry in a similar way. Since he has worked in the field for more than thirty years, he has witnessed numerous cases of such actions. He says, in an almost confessional manner, that everything seems like 'a political show' and therefore that he does not attend any official meetings, forums, or discussions organised by the government. Regarding the animation city, Chuncheon, he comments with a bitter smile:

> The government wants to do something in Chuncheon. It used to be a town
> where a lot of subcontracting animation work was done. Now by establishing
> creative venture companies with governmental organisations like the animation
> museum they try to build a new image for that city. It is good, but the problem
> is the distance. It is too far! Who can go there when it is far away?

Chuncheon animation museum is located in a city that has beautiful natural scenery and certainly attracts tourists and visitors. Nevertheless, for domestic audiences and the public, large distances become one of the reasons for not visiting the place easily. Exhibitions were also criticised for not being sufficient enough to attract local adults. One of my informants had found that he lost interest in places like the animation museums as there is almost nothing new to see on a second visit. Continuous governmental support and encouragement are needed, as my interviewees commonly point out. Similarly, open access to the animation library in the animation centre is also criticised.

> The animation centre holds certain short animation films which are not easy to
> find on the market. But, they are not well publicised to the local people and so
> those resources are not fully utilised. Sometimes, I find more materials through

internet surfing and that's far easier. (Independent animation director JS, male,

6 years in the industry)

Public spaces seem to have been purposefully adapted and yet are not adequately

publicised to the local population. As explained before, the concept of the *manhwabang* is

supposed to be negative and from JS's comment above, it is possible to infer his feelings of

dissatisfaction with not yet systematically organised animation library. The continuous

involvement of the government is critical in the recognition of the Korean animation not

only for global display but also in terms of local attention. This point may be missed

because there are also power struggles between regional governments.

(2) Power-Play and Friction between Regional Governments

Political friction happens when it comes to organising public events. Events are

conceived of as the achievement of any department and regional government but they seem

not to be about the animation industry. In other words, such public events which should

provide cultural producers with a 'public platform' (Kim, S., 2005: 80) seem to have

become a platform instead for a political power competition. Although these public events

are organised for the public, they do not function to brand the Korean animation industry

effectively. The act of 'public speaking to the public' (Anholt, 2003: 123) is for branding

the space of in-between and this act should be achieved through 'everyday dealings with

the outside world' (ibid.). Hence, it is necessary to have more practical achievements in

hand rather than 'just civil servants and paid figureheads' (ibid.) creating another desk

theory and fighting for their own benefit. Therefore public events have to occur in the real

world, stimulating the public to act and take the situation seriously. Korean regional governments are set up with certain budgets to, if necessary, organise new events, or develop existing activities. While collaborative work is ideally needed, sometimes these individual governments and departments experience conflicts and frictions over what they have or would like to have achieved. This is implicitly understood by many animators and even governmental officers themselves, but is not explicitly discussed. As a result, this topic elicits careful responses from the interviewees especially when they are from a governmental body. Those from different regional governments who I met for interviews admitted and expressed their negative views and competitiveness with each other only after being asked several times indirectly. An account from one of my interviewees, YJY who is a civil servant working for a cultural department in a regional government shows such characteristics. YJY explains that there are divided views on how to regard animation – either purely as culture or as an industrial element, which I have discussed in Chapter 7 and 8. This certainly is a vital issue, especially to various governmental sectors, since the cultural-industrial divide directly relates to departmental budgets, profits and accomplishments.

> The role of the government is to study how to link and blend both 'industrial' and 'cultural' factors of animation. Metaphorically speaking, like a cook, we need to make sure that those two different ingredients are mixed well. Then, we put them on one plate. However, it is extremely difficult. The ideal way to achieve that is firm cooperation between industry, academia and the government. It is very difficult since in reality, each of them (the above three sectors) pursue their own profits and that results in little collaboration with

each other.

Individual departments aim to pursue their own goals and visions and YJY's example

shows this aspect quite clearly: Governmental department *A* and *B* can have quite contrary

views on one work; while department *A* sees the need for industrial support and investment,

department *B* may find that more cultural support and investment are necessary for that

particular animation. As a result of such different views, more and more governmental

supports are established competitively. Additionally, due to these conflicts, the support is

not well invested. Consequently, the animators' dissatisfaction appears. The animators, who

I had initially assumed would be content with government support, instead exhibited rather

indifferent and irritated responses: 'They are fighting over their food on the plate!' [This

means fighting for one's corner in English.] Although my interviewees admit that there is

an inseparable relationship between industrial and cultural aspects of animation, they

welcome neither the government policies nor their support. The majority of my respondents

seem to agree that such government encouragement has been ongoing for almost ten years,

and yet there has been little improvement in animators' lives or working environments.

Another example might be the case of festivals. To a question about festivals' functions in

regard to the globalisation of animation, HST, the animation curator, shows his cynical

views:

I have a very negative view on this matter and it isn't easy to answer, either.

The organisation should at least be established permanently so that they could

accumulate enough data for the festival and have new ideas. However, such an

ideal structure and plans never work out in reality. It is because of the power

that the regional governmental workers and non-experts assert over the festival.

The festival should exist as a 'festival'. It should exist for cultural producers

(i.e. animators), citizens and fans that appreciate and enjoy it. From the

festivals, animators are supposed to learn and obtain new creative ideas; by

seeing at other's work they get creatively inspired; and finally citizens and fans

should be able to enjoy the festival without limits. However, at this moment,

the animation festival isn't so but rather is an industrial report that must show

visible evidence of achievement.

'An industrial report that must show visible evidence of achievement' once again

might indicate that individual governmental departments are competing against each

other. This has to do with being recognised and building departmental honour and

reputations, which reminds us of PNY's early comments regarding a 'political show'.

(3) Less Exposure of Korean Animation

The quota system, as discussed earlier in the chapter, should function to secure

legally mandated access to the domestic market so that Korean animation can be

exposed to local audiences more often. However, animators' own experiences reveal

something quite different.

One of the biggest problems we have is low [national] population, which

means a low population base from which to draw audiences. It is quite difficult

to manage and develop the cultural industries with only 45 million people. And, because of the animation boom that we had, many people have majored in animation and every year millions of graduates come into the workforce. No wonder the unemployment rate is going up. The quota system is not to save animators; it is not to offer good quality life to the animators. It is a political effort to keep the unemployment rate lower. Hence, rather than giving work to good quality animators, money goes to somebody who can produce work cheaper and faster. Then, low quality animation comes on television. Television stations are profit makers. They would prefer to spend less money for animators. (Director PNY, male, 30 years in the industry)

One of the financial benefits that animation programs can bring into television stations is commercials for toys and animation-related products. American and Japanese animations often have a list of sponsors shown before and after their programs, and this becomes the main reason why television stations prefer foreign programs (in addition to the relatively cheap cost of importing them, as discussed before). Hence, considering the high quality, sponsors and cost of domestic animation, there are fewer chances for Korean animations to be shown on terrestrial channels. As discussed in the previous section, due to the viewing quota system, individual television stations are obliged to broadcast a certain percentage of Korean animations. Not adhering strictly to this legal obligation carries a fine of a minimum of 5-10 million won (2,500-5,000 British Pounds) (Kukminilbo, 8 July, 2005). Nevertheless, the government seems powerless to enforce this legal obligation.

Television stations broadcast Korean animations, but in time slots when

children cannot watch; around three or four o'clock in the afternoon. There aren't many people who can watch animation then. Before, animation programs were shown between five and seven o'clock in the evening. Now, even primary school kids can't watch animation on television as they have after school activities. It causes low viewing rates, and consequently it reduces the number of commercial sponsors which follow the animation programs. Some television stations have said that they would pay fines rather than broadcast Korean animations as that makes more profits. They are serving their own interests, being calculating! (Independent animation producer PKH, male, worked in the field for 10 years)

PKH commented further on this matter:

Even if we make our own animations we don't have enough chances to show them to the public. That becomes another problem. Broadcasting stations refuse to purchase Korean animation as foreign animation makes more profit and brings in more advertising. There is nowhere to expose Korean animation, and then what is the use of making it? We wouldn't mind even if the time slot they allocate is one or three a.m. in the early morning. Of course, television stations say, 'who would ever watch animation at that time period?' The Central government spends tons of money on the animation industry, but somehow its outcome is invisible, nothing is tangible. Why is that? Because we do not have the chance to *expose* animation to the public!

However contradictory his two statements above might sound-- complaining about the existing broadcast at 16.00 but desiring broadcasts even at 02.00--what it tells us is his desperation to expose animation whenever possible and to as many audiences as possible. 'Exposure of animation' is what has commonly been agreed by the majority of my interviewees is seriously lacking in Korea. When I asked about the degree of helpfulness of having 'purposefully designated places' to fuel the local animation industry, their responses were often as follows:

> For animators, the current situation is worse than miserable. Festivals, museums, and others are all very important. But, instead of keeping up appearances, we need something real to fill the inside. The hollowness and emptiness of that inside is perhaps caused by the lack of creative animations. To be more creative in production, the government's continuous encouragement and investment is essential. (Sound producer MDY, female, 8 years in the industry)

> They may help animators in some ways, but not so much. Rather than festivals, museums and other events, we should produce good animation. Then, if we are recognised for these works, it might be better, and faster to lead Korean animation to the global market: globalisation of Korean animation! (Animator PCW, male, 8 months in the industry)

Animators agree that rather than publicising animation activities through various spaces and places, 'exposing Korean animation' is more important. They also agree that more government investment and encouragement for creative animation production are necessary. This clearly shows that there is a conceptual gap between the government and the cultural producers regarding the activities that would shape creative agents. Believing that creativity is key to the success of the Korean animation industry in the future, the following section demonstrates how differently the two players in the push towards globalisation (i.e. government and animators) perceive the use of "Koreanness" as a means of developing creativity. The disagreements and struggles that result from different players differing views on the topic are examined in the next sections. These also become a way to identify the fourth characteristic of the in-between concept: disjuncture between the different players in globalisation.

10.4 STRUGGLES TO BE "SENSED"

Surrounded by numerous competitors with similar strengths and weaknesses, to differentiate oneself is to become noticeable with certain "unique" characteristics. Especially in this rapidly changing world, where the process of globalisation is understood as 'unification', 'contraction', 'standardisation' and 'homogenisation', global visibility and the struggle to achieve this are increasingly competitive (Ong, 1999: 160). One of the ways in which individual countries compete to establish global visibility is by 'commodifying cultural differences' and Currie suggests that, as a result of this, 'the forces of standardisation and diversification coexist in the contemporary world' (Currie, 2004: 100).

This becomes problematic for local cultural producers, especially in developing countries or less developed countries.

The conflicts that may occur between standardisation and diversification trouble the cultural producers as they strive to find ways to survive and make themselves noticeable. For this reason, identifying what the cultural characteristics are should come first before commodifying them. However, identifying what makes Korean culture unique is difficult for those who are immersed in and form part of the culture itself. Therefore the critical question, for animators as well as other cultural producers, becomes: 'what are the cultural characteristics that make Korean culture stand out and where can they be found?'

10.4.1 WHAT MAKES KOREAN ANIMATION DIFFERENT?

As one of the government officers working for animation events commented, 'people's eyes and tastes have been conquered by the US and Japan' (YJY, personal interview, 24th June 2005). Finding unique cultural characteristics and developing something different will create a niche market in the animation field. Hae-Joang Cho's paper, *Constructing and Deconstructing "Koreanness"*, has already pointed out how desperately businessmen are seeking to define Koreanness, which is understood as the components of 'Korean culture [that] could be wrapped up and sold as value-added products' (1998: 75). A similar view was shared by LCM, who has run his own OEM company:

I have met various people in the past three decades, from European directors, academics, and sponsors to distributors and more. They are all interested in

something "Korean." They all say that there is something special about Korean animation and it can appeal to global audiences. For a century or more, Western culture has been dominating the world. And, now their eyes are shifting away from it and eagerly seeking Asian culture. This trend has already been going on for a while, to be honest. Especially business people show a strong interest as they believe it holds a successful key for the future, if not now. (CEO, animation director LCM, male, in animation industry 30 years)

Here, 'Korean animation' does not only mean animation that is made in Korea, or by Korean animators, but rather that which possesses certain characteristics and specificities to represent and appeal to a constructed notion of "Korean." Animation can be free from humans' social structure and from problems such as racism, class and gender issues by introducing, if necessary, new creatures, species or personified animals and insects, etc. For this reason, Iwabuchi points that animation can be 'culturally odourless' (2002: 27) as its characters do not have to follow 'realistic' ethnic characteristics (ibid.: 28). This minimises distance between different cultures. In other words, animation becomes the best means to reduce cultural differences, a phenomenon which Hoskins and Mirus refer to as 'cultural discount' (Hoskins and Mirus, 1988). This, then, leads animation to be one of the best transnational media products. America's Mickey Mouse and Japan's Pikachu (a main character from *Pokemon*) are examples.

It is true that Mickey Mouse and Pikachu are transnational animation products, yet they certainly have also successfully positioned themselves as specific nations' cultural products. How are they recognised as specific nations' cultural products when they are

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'animated characters' with fewer noticeable physical characteristics and dialogue is dubbed into local languages? This is because of what Iwabuchi terms 'cultural fragrance' (Iwabuchi, 2002: 27, 31), i.e. that which distinctively typifies a nation's culture. How these animation characters are fragranced is, as I will explain later on, by letting the audience get familiar with the characters created with certain drawing styles. For example, Japanese animation characters have overtly exaggerated big eyes, slim body shapes, wear tight costumes which reveal body figures, and these have become characteristics of Japanese animation (Napier she calls this 'anime style' (2001: 25). With such distinctive features, people can recognise the origins of these animations, and recognition of national identity becomes possible even in transnational products. These products have become 'brands' which are 'perceived and associated with certain qualities and characteristics' (Anholt, 2003: 109). Having established themselves as brands, these animation products 'chime' with their countries (Anholt, ibid.: 119) which results in global audience choices being limited to two well known "brands," Japanese and American. In other words, these previously odourless products have gradually become distinctively fragranced and hence recognised as national brands.

For such models, being recognised and building good reputations means they have established power to compete in the global marketplace. That is why recognition is significant for Korean animators whose goal is to become creative agents in order to succeed within global competition. Then, in its current transitional stage, what do Korean animators think Korean animation is? How do they recognise what is Korean animation?

What is Korean animation, or should I ask, what kind of animation can we

recognise as Korean? I don᾽t think many people can answer this. There is no

agreed upon definition of what can be recognised as Korean animation. A

vague longing for producing something Korean is only an empty echo. Nobody

knows the right direction where to go! [pause] While watching animations, I

can tell where they are produced by observing their styles. American animation

has its style. This is done by such and such production house or company, and

so on. Likewise with Japanese animations, as they are very distinctive in

feelings and characteristics. I can get it right with full confidence. But, Korean

animation does not have any specific colour yet. In fact, there haven᾽t been

proper circumstances for it to develop *its own colour*. (CEO, animation

director LCM, male, in animation industry 30 years)

I can᾽t say Korean animation isn᾽t good or is poor. It simply has neither its own

style nor *Korean colours* yet. To be honest, I don᾽t know what *Korean coloured*

animation is! (Animation student AHS, male, 3 years in the industry)

For Iwabuchi, cultural odour and fragrance symbolise distinctiveness of a nation᾽s

culture through media. However, from the above accounts, it is noticeable that the

animators commonly refer to ᾽colours᾽, as if this showed their professional characteristics:

Korean colours, Korean coloured animation. In the Korean language, the word *colour* –

Saek [sæk --] indicates distinctiveness. Thus, in Korean, a phrase like ᾽finding your own

colour᾽ means ᾽developing your personal best and differentiating yourself from others᾽. In

this regard, the above statements illustrate that animators do not actually know how to

achieve their personal best in order to differentiate themselves from other competitors.

More than through fragrances or colours, however, recognising a nation's animation and sensing it should be achieved through 'feelings'. An art supervisor in the in-betweeners' cubicle, KM also refers to colours as necessary for the individuality of animation products but she also talks in relation to feelings:

Perhaps, "absurdity," or "nonsense"? These are words I would use to describe how I find Korean animation. Our [Korean] animation feels as if it is in the air, afloat, not at all settled. It feels as if one were stepping on thin ice. Colour, characters, and actions are all too familiar. Each producing country has their own characteristics and colours. Japanese [colour] tones and American tones are different and distinctive. It can't be explained in simple words, you can only sense and feel it. Japanese anime, has the power to make people watch it again and again. [pause] Ours, on the contrary, is ambiguous and uncertain. Admitting it is quite depressing and so, sometimes while we [animators] are having drinks, we say 'Oh⋯let's stop talking about it!'

'It can't be explained in words, but you can only sense and feel it' shows what I have suggested earlier: national distinctiveness in animation production should be 'sensed' rather than just visually perceived. Japanese animations have a distinctive 'fragrance' (style) and so are recognised by global audiences', as a result of which this industry has built its reputation worldwide. What makes such recognition possible is Japanese animation's own distinctiveness which is 'naturally coded' (Barker, 1999: 12) through people's lives that

they have inhabited. As my interviewees' accounts show, what this means is quite contrary to what Korean animators have achieved so far: that is the deliberate insertion of Koreanness (i.e. prototypical Korean images, characteristics) into the animation works. Many of my interviewees agreed that there have been observable efforts to insert certain Korean characteristics into animation works, which KM named as those associated with ideas of 'deliberateness'. I argue that such intentional insertion of Koreanness signifies Korean animators' desperation: they are under immense pressure to create something globally attractive in order to be recognised as creative cultural producers. Hence, it is unsurprising that the space where Korean animators seek their creativity has been in Korea's national characteristics that are supposedly called and regarded as Koreanness. However, efforts to seek creativity from Koreanness erupt into conflicts and appear less natural or harmonious in the final products themselves.

10.4.2 FINDING CREATIVITY FROM KOREANNESS

Through my own observation and interviews I found that what people think of as Koreanness oftentimes overlaps with 'characteristically privileged forms of national identity' (Edensor, 2002: 141) such as tradition, heritage, and landmarks which 'physically' and 'visibly' characterise Korea as a nation. Hyangjin Lee explains Koreanness as an invention 'for others' recognition of the presence of 'us' by stressing the distinctiveness of national traits through cultural traditions' (2005: 67). In the same vein, Yudice argues that 'cultural differences' become 'a deciding factor in the distribution of recognition and

resources' in the global world (2003: 12). Here, I suggest that today's idea of introducing heritage and tradition in relation to cultural investment has a new meaning in that it becomes part of participating in global competition. The distinctive qualities of national traditions become selling points to appeal to global consumers. Many people have argued that the desire to search for one's roots and national identity illustrates the instability of the rapid flow of the global world. For this reason, media becomes 'the most important way of disseminating representations of the nation' (Edensor, 2002: 141). Representing the nation in the media may rightly enable the nation's citizens to find the missing 'jigsaw puzzle pieces' (Bauman, 2004: 47-54) of national identity. However, it cannot be denied that now the effort to find that missing piece is turning to be a "global sales strategy." Cultural producers and animators are struggling to find their creative voice within notions of Koreanness that will satisfy both global and local audiences.

(1) How 'Korean' should Koreanness be?

When asked about the use of Koreanness and cultural tradition in animation productions, animators' reactions were ambiguous and often their views were expressed in sarcastic ways. Although they seem to have positive attitudes about branding animation as "Korean," the ways in which this was expressed seems to have caused certain conflicts for them.

Do we really need to make animation so Korean? 'Korean animators should

produce something very Korean because they are Korean.' Such a view seems to be a Western imperialistic and orientalist idea. That's what they expect to see. (TV producer KHS, male)

When we produce something that is *ours*, it doesn't always have to be something Korean. I don't think that is right. Maybe, after trying many times, if animation (as a form of culture) is an idea that becomes accepted in Korea, and comes to possess certain values, then Korean animation becomes truly Korean. When people are not so Korean, I don't see the point of making animation that is so Korean. Although it is necessary to develop something that can be recognized as Korean animation, prior to this encouragement of diversity is needed. We firstly need diversity and within that diversity we should make something Korean. Insisting on unconditional production of Korean animation or animation with something Korean is an obsession and delusion. Putting Korean things deliberately into animation is silly. It has to come out naturally. (Animation director YYK, male, worked for 15 years in the industry)

Koreans wouldn't think of Korean animation as 'Korean'. If something could knock on global audiences' hearts and touches their heart with naturally expressed Koreanness, then it might be said to be 'Korean' animation. (Independent animation director JS, male, 6 years in the industry)

Having mentioned Koreanness as an invention to attract others' recognition (especially that of the global audiences), Hyangjin Lee sees this as 'conceptual artificiality' which 'does not necessarily apply to all South Koreans' (2005: 67). YYK's comment, 'When people are not so Korean' indicates that Korean citizens have already been widely exposed to "global tastes," which are often regarded within Korea as modern and culturally westernised. This could be why, for local audiences, the ways that Koreanness are represented in recent animation productions are rather awkward and 'lukewarm' (Lee H., 2005: 66). 'Putting Korean things deliberately into animation is silly'; 'touches their heart with naturally expressed Koreanness' -- in this regard, my interviewees comments and Lee's arguments correspond to each other in terms of thoughts on expressing Koreanness -- currently it is done very artificially and would be more effective were it done more "naturally". Attracting both global and local audiences has become a critical problem for Korean animators. Koreanness certainly is one of the answers to get global attention and recognition, but how 'Korean' should this be? And to what extent should the use of Koreanness be thought of and reflected through "natural" everyday experiences? Unless it is done naturally, it will be almost impossible to satisfy the local audience who recognise the artificiality of deliberate efforts to make the animation industry more Korean in a globalised environment.

Edensor argues that quotidian surroundings are important to 'absorb localities into the nation' and explains that 'mundane spatial features of everyday experience' are essential in 'constructing and sustaining national identity' (2002: 50). He also mentions that 'space is produced by inhabitants through habits, through a constant engagement with the world which relies on familiar routines' and 'the accumulation of repetitive events become

sedimented in the body to condense an unreflexive sense of being in place' (ibid.: 56).
What Edensor argues here is that what he calls 'dwellingscapes' and 'taskcape[s]', are
'space[s] to which inhabitants have an everyday practical orientation' (ibid.: 54-55). I
would argue that imbued within national identity is a strong sense of pride.

Likewise, within an animation story frame, nationally specific characteristics should
be shown through quotidian habits and routines rather than through sudden and deliberate
insertions of traditional features. For example, briefly, going back to Japanese animation,
certain scenes where Japanese people put their hands together as if they are praying before
having meals appear consistently in many comics and animation works. Similarly, Japanese
floor mats (*tatami* straw mats), traditional sliding doors and temple sites repeatedly come
up, not in unexpected ways, but within the story frame that main characters inhabit. While
the audiences focus on watching the animation and are led by the central narratives, those
repeatedly appearing props and background images gradually become familiar and
recognised as Japanese. Also, in the case of Disney's animated features, certain repeated
patterns (e.g. fairy tales, princess stories) as well as similar drawing styles and storylines
(e.g. good and evil, anthropomorphic animal helpers) target family audiences. Thus,
through repetitive presentations of Korean tradition and natural displays, Koreanness could
gradually become a tool to get recognition not only from global but also from local
audiences.

Experienced animator PCS, who once studied in Japan as she liked Japanese animation
and comics so much, comments:

Do Japanese animations seem Japanese to you? No! If you carefully look at
their drawing styles, you can see that their everyday life styles and patterns are

naturally harmonised within the story. It is how they make comic readers and

animation audiences fantasise about Japan as an exotic nation. In fact, the

reality isn't always like that, but somehow such everyday-like habits reflected

in animation do tricks. I do believe that we [Korean animators] can also add

Korean elements and unique Koreanness into animation work like the Japanese.

What about showing *kimchi* (traditional Korean pickles) or *doenjangjjige*

(soybean paste soup) on the table and adding dialogue or conversations that

comment on those dishes? Wouldn't it make the audiences get curious about

what they are? Or, at least they happen to encounter something Korean, right?

In this way, the audiences can naturally catch some Korean characteristics

within the animation.

Unlike global audiences who find Korean cultural characteristics as something new

and "exotic", to the eyes of locals and of Korean animators, animations with deliberate and

artificial Koreanness are not appealing: 'It's only a hypocritically fake show! We don't need

it.' (YYK) Consequently, naturally harmonised Koreanness is desperately sought as this can

do tricks, as PCS comments above, to attract not only the global but also the local audience.

(2) Creating Global/Local Characters

Another dispute, regarding the development of a notion of Koreanness is in regards

to animation characters. When I questioned my interviewees about Koreanness and

animation characters, the animators seemed to hesitate between choosing the so-called

'global characters' and 'Korean characters' for their animation production. The later means animated characters with particular Asian looks. This is done by adopting a stereotyped look that is, 'oriental' to Western people: small and flat nose, single eyelids, square jaw and black hair. This can also be done by using particular props or costumes that can represent Korean characteristics, such as *hanbok* (Korean traditional clothes). However, global characters seem to embrace far wider varieties of meanings. For instance, according to my respondents, global characters should share what members of global audiences would commonly feel, regardless of their location or nationality. In other words, global characters mean diversity of story, theme, and other elements that free the animation industry from national specificities that are more limiting. NHY who is in charge of importing foreign animations, mainly from the US and Japan, for a domestic television station says that both global and local characters should not be fixed by recognisable physical looks or patterns but rather by firmly structured storylines:

> I guess, for now, it is better to get rid of "Korean colour" as much as possible
>
> in animation production so that the global audiences wouldn't be able to tell
>
> where the animations are from. If the storyline and characters are appealing
>
> enough, then, that animation will be successful even without distinctive
>
> Koreanness and Korean colours. Without a firm story base, dressing the
>
> characters with Korean traditional clothes would neither be effective nor
>
> powerful.

Although some animators insist upon the necessity of creating globally appealing characters, others refute this and wonder if it is necessary to distinguish between global and

local characters. One of my informants describes the animation characters as 'bowls' to contain stories:

> Does it really matter if the bowls are global or local? The main problem is whether the bowl successfully contains a good story to reflect our lives. If the characters are doing the right job, it will be successful regardless of whether the characters are categorised as global or Korean. (Animation curator HST, male)

> Is it really necessary to distinguish between global and local characters? What we have seen and experienced as animators is all local. If what we represent through animation is global, and those animation characters are naturally integrated into the story, then we create global/local characters for global and local audiences. (Animator PCW, male, 8 months in the industry)

A question is raised by my interviewees' comments: for Korean animators, has the idea of a 'Korean character' become a synonym for global characters? In general, there is a tendency to limit the meaning of Koreanness only to visualised Korean characteristics and props, from which audiences can conveniently capture the sense of Korea in a glimpse. However, the animators' ideas about Koreanness, as clearly demonstrated in their interviews, turned out to be different. For the animators, as soon as Koreanness is sensed (regardless of the visible or invisible and tangible or intangible features of the characters) the distinction between local and global disappears. Instead new globally engaging characters are created that possess a Korean spirit and feelings and which appeal to not only

the global but also to local audiences. Nevertheless, recent Korean animations have featured characters quite different to what my interviewees told me. Contrary to these animators' hopes and visions, some recent animation works have explicitly used very stereotypically visible elements of Koreanness, some of which have been harshly criticised by the animators themselves as having a number of characters with features that tend to be overly exaggerated and unnatural. Most of my interviewees criticised the use of traditional masks in *Wonderful Days*. The main character wears the mask in order to hide his identity while sneaking into the enemy's building. When busted and running, he drops the mask on the floor and there the audience sees the details of the mask (see the illustration below). Interviewees recognised this use of the mask as awkward and deliberate and not as fresh for the local audience. This kind of trend only creates animation which targets global audiences, while being less aware of the local audience.

Figure 10. 1 Korean Traditional Mask in *Wonderful Days*

10.5 CONCLUSION

Overall, from this chapter it has become clear that in-between is a disjuncture that separates different kind of operators and players of globalisation and their different understandings and experiences of globalisation. Simultaneously, it was possible to notice that in order to become a successful participant in global competition, collaborative efforts to reposition in-between in positive ways continue through various negotiations, conflicts and dilemmas. The establishment of physical spaces (i.e. museums, animation centre, festivals) for Korean animations' exposure, together with the continual struggles over nurturing creativity (i.e. global and local characters with Koreanness) has been an example to categorise participants of globalisation with different understandings and purposes. One category of people separated by in-between is the so-called "successful" operators of globalisation. Those who have a string attached to certain power of capital, i.e. governments and major studio owners, desire to obtain as much benefit as possible from the process of globalisation. Another category of people on the other side of in-between is ordinary animators who encounter diverse difficulties with low wages. These animators strive to join the successful participants of globalisation in other category. Whilst observing the successful ones and striving to make an entry to join their category, the ordinary and poorly waged animators' agonising experiences of globalisation continue. This in effect makes the concept of in-between as a disjuncture far clearer, and proves that it becomes more difficult to re-position in-between to more positive and beneficial state. What it further implies is, going back to the main argument of the thesis that globalisation is not a fair process and individuals' experiences of globalisation appear differently on the basis of their cultural, political and economic contexts.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

This study has explored how Korean animators experience globalisation as various 'in-between' situations in their everyday life and work, as well as how they negotiate between global and local values in order to become creative agents and survive in global competition. In doing so it has brought together the study of globalisation and creative industries while contextualising the concept of in-between as a negotiation process, a transitional stage, and as a dis/juncture between people with different experiences of globalisation. Through ethnographic fieldwork I have illustrated the unfairness and the violent force of the finance globalisation happening in the Korean animation industry as one field of the creative industries.

This study contributes to globalisation studies by shining a light on neglected, marginalised and unheard in-between places where local and global values erupt in conflict; cause various physical, emotional costs and thus are carefully negotiated in people's everyday lives. In doing so it emphasises that humans' experiential and emotional values should not be underplayed against overemphasised economic and political aspects of globalisation studies. Having given such an important role to human experiences and emotions in globalisation study has pushed the central methodological argument of this study towards ethnographic approaches.

In order to understand how globalisation is experienced and how globalisation has shaped Korean animators' daily lives and work, ethnographical approaches that centre the

sense of 'being there' with the research subjects are inevitable. Ethnographic fieldwork, in this particular study, has made it possible to observe and analyse various in-between situations as part of everyday life and as part of the globalisation process.

This study has demonstrated that Korean animators are indeed experiencing globalisation as a violent and fearful force of capital power as well as an inevitable challenge to their survival in ever intensifying global competition. The research has answered the questions originally asked, namely how Korean animators experience globalisation in their daily lives. Yet it does not indicate whether the Korean animation industry and animators will turn into successful and internationally competitive participants in the global animation market, remain at the current in-between position, or lose in the global competition altogether and disappear from the marketplace. The conclusion of the study itself is ambiguous in this sense. This study is neither to suggest a certain future direction for the Korean animation nor to provide a political position. This study has focused on the present situation of the Korean animation industry, particularly on the animators' life and work patterns that are heavily influenced by the dynamics between the global force of capitalism and contested national identity together with locally appreciated traditional values. Hence, the significant contribution of this study is to illuminate the experiences of globalisation in marginalised places, like in-between situations and its direct consequences in the Korean animators' everyday life.

Having acknowledged the study's limitations and contributions, I shall briefly reiterate the highlights of some of my findings, the overall argument, and suggest possible directions for further research.

In Korea, the experience of globalisation has been distinctively structured by rapid economic development in the post-war period as well as by coercive capital force and

political threats from the USA and Japan, which, in effect, have left Korea's national identity increasingly contested. Globalisation has made the different values of the global and the local more vividly exposed and negotiable while causing various conflicts. This, I have argued, happens through in-between situations, which represent individuals or group's experiences of globalisation. In the Korean animation industry, in particular, there are many examples of the kinds of economic and emotional conflicts caused because their work (particularly, subcontracted work, OEM) has attached the animators both to the global (capital owners, i.e. transnational companies like Disney) and the local (low-ranked animation trainees, i.e. in-betweeners). This kind of attachment is not unusual in today's global village. My findings demonstrate the emotional and physical struggles experienced by the animators while negotiating between global and local values. These struggles are often neglected and hidden behind what seems to be more important, such as economic statistics or political manifestos. However, human experiential values cannot be discounted if we are to obtain a full picture of the globalisation process; hence, the animators' testimonies are useful and important to understand the close relationship between the creative industries and globalisation.

The details narrated by the animators' own voices document convincing evidence that in-between as a negotiation process is an inevitable phenomenon generated by globalisation and also demonstrate that there is not only one type of in-between but several types based upon diverse individual situations. These different types of in-between that capture the Korean animators' physically exhausting, emotionally conflicting and financially difficult situations in current Korean animation industry are explored in individual chapters (see Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10).

Individual chapters with empirical findings in this thesis explicitly direct readers to

one of the very shaded, undiscovered and often forgotten areas of study of creative industry and also of globalisation. As once argued in Chapter 4, while the significance of creative industries is gradually becoming recognised and valued as another form of 'resource' (Yudice, 2003), less attention has been paid to those who are participating as creators within the industry. Creators who have received academic attention have predominantly been members of the major industries of popular music (Negus, 1992), or fashion (McRobbie, 1998), not the ones hidden behind their glamorous displays. Unlike labourers in other industries, creative labourers in a minor field take up a dubious position, which in this thesis I have tried to explain with the notion of in-between, calling them in-betweeners. These are the creative labourers who undergo difficulties, conflicts, and dilemmas navigating between global and national forces.

In regards to Korean animators, having been anonymous providers of creative labour for countries like the US and Japan, this thesis has demonstrated that in fact they play a pivotal role. In general, the existence of creative labourers in this marginalised field could be described as nothingness or non-being. They are the least acknowledged and recognised by both sides, globally and locally. Firstly, in the global scale, numerous labourers work in the shadow of the big transnational production companies that employ and consequently gain from those who inevitably participate in order to survive. On the one hand, this might well be helpful to those creative labourers in less developed countries in terms of finance and employment; as seen in Korea's case. On the other hand, these seemingly beneficial acts of the bigger companies could be regarded as exploitation under the generously fabricated mask of free capitalism and globalisation process (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Secondly, in the local scale, those creative producers of less popular and socially under-valued fields seem to be even more socially isolated and disrespected (see Chapter 8).

Hence, the chances of the creative labourers being recognised and appreciated become less and less despite the deliberate efforts of political organisations and governments (see Chapter 10). Because of these two reasons, creative labourers (i.e. in-betweeners) could easily be unheard and forgotten.

Another fundamental reason for the neglect of in-betweeners can be found in their own complicity, which is strongly rooted in their artistic subjectivity and pride. They often move into situations where they do not realise they are being exploited. Instead, with the high pride of being members of the art world, the exploitation of their labour has been so artificially naturalised that even they themselves accept it (see Chapter 9).

Such are my findings about what is happening in the space of in-between. And, I have no doubt this could commonly be found in many other corners of the creative industries. What my use of in-between and in-betweeners has done so far is to provide the very start of a program of long-term research for others in similar situations.

There are two main elements I have concerns with for the possibility of future studies. Firstly, this research is clearly specifically focused on the particular cultural texts of Korea, in comparison to only two others, the US and Japan. It can be expanded and explored even further in political and historical depth regarding the relationship between Korean and the US and Japan. Secondly, it would be interesting to look into more details about policies and the development of a welfare system specific to the needs of creative labourers. Chapters 8 and 9 particularly discussed animators' education, social status and various physical and emotional costs that the animators are willing to pay in order to keep their dream-driven profession. As an extension to this, to investigate creative labourers in other fields of cultural production -- such as the film industry − as well as those in other countries could provide an important chance to understand more about how the creative industries function.

Perhaps, case studies of the US and Japan could be developed with a specific focus on examining, how policies of the creative industries guarantee producers and labourers in those countries better working conditions. This might provide another new aspect for this study.

APPENDIX *Anifactory*'s **Floor Plan** (* This is based on a brief sketch from the field

notes)
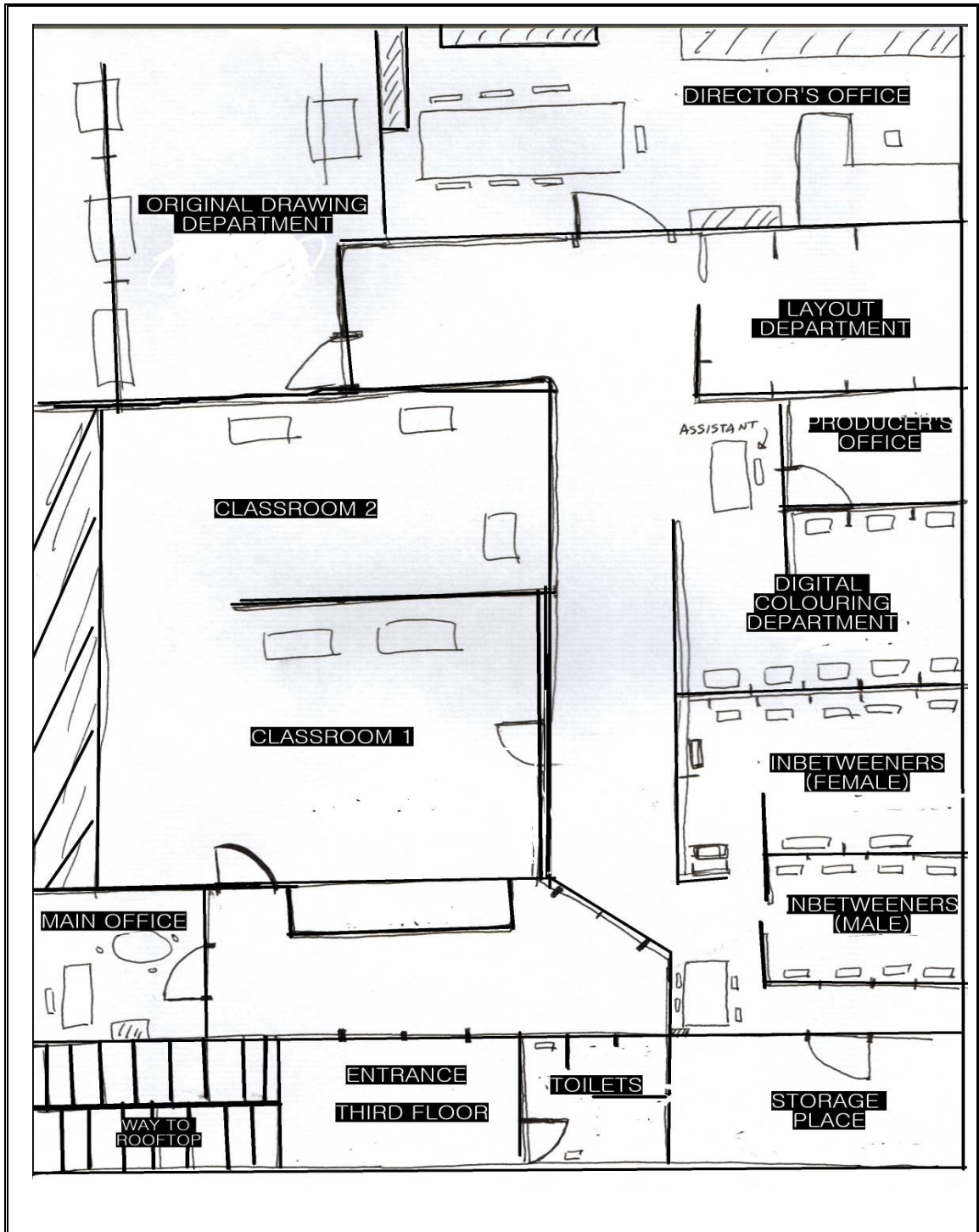
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