Exploring the Difference of Cultural Order Maintenance in Film Policy Between Taiwan and South Korea Through the Arm's Length Principle

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Abstract
This study compares differences of film policy of creative cultural industries between Taiwan and South Korea from the perspective of culture order. Taiwan has a history of developing art movie and using movies as a cultural operation for social and political purpose. South Korea had a similar history; in contrast, South Korea adopts the Arm's Length Principle and successful defines film as a leading CCI to develop Hallyu (Korean Wave). By exploring multi-definitions of CCI and the lack of Taiwanese shared sign system in local film, this study examines why Taiwanese government fails to increase local film market share and finds that film institutions of Taiwanese government may learn the Arm's Length Principle (ALP) and the process of nation branding from South Korea to improve their film market share.

Keywords: collective consumer identity, norms for media performance, film policy, Taiwan film, cultural economics

The Arm's Length Principle and Meanings Explored by Film Citizens through Distinguishing Solidarity vs. Control and Taste vs. Authenticity.

When defining culture, Throsby (2001) has warned that culture can be deployed as instrument of brutality, oppression or culture of corruption that may exist in an organization with shared values and group identification which can be construed as manifestations of culture. He explains another dark side of culture is to make no value judgement as to good or bad cultures, and simply to analyses all cultural phenomena at face value as they present themselves (Throsby, 2001, p.6). As Miller defined cultural policy is connected to two registers: the aesthetic and anthropological. The output of the former is defined by aesthetic criteria framed by the interests and practices of cultural criticism and history; "culture is taken as a marker of differences and similarities in taste and status within social groups," Miller describes (p.1, 2002). In this way, the aesthetic articulates differences (with high or low cultural capital) within populations and the anthropological articulates how individuals are grouped by language, religion, custom, time and space (Miller, 2002).

The Ministry of Culture in Taiwan promotes the "Cultural Content Policy Admission" as an intermediary organization linking the government and the private sector. It will implement the arm's length principle, focus on revitalizing cultural content industries such as film and television audio, ACG, and publishing, and play a research and development investigation, talent cultivation, theme development, and operation of the country. The Ministry of Culture in Taiwan plans to construct cultural and financial systems through multi-funding co-ordination and mediation, cultural and technological applications and other functions to promote the production industry ecosystem, and then actively expand the channel for cultural international communication (UDN, 2018).

Former Korean President Kim Dae-jung, in 1999, enacted the Basic Law for the Revitalization of Cultural Industries in 1999 to promote the cultural industry in Korea after the Asian financial turmoil, and chooses the "Arm's Length Principle" to promote culture to establish a cultural industry support business by means of the establishment of a quasi-government organization or a non-profit organization which enhances the "independence", "self-discipline" and "professionalism" of the intermediaries such as KOFI and KOCCA. Analysis of Korean report, statistics on the trend of the box office and the issue are created in order to foster Korean domestic industry. Taiwan has been late about 20 years to start design this concept of the arm's length applied in film industries and media economics.

The arm's length principle is the idea that arts councils should operate with relative autonomy from central government and political influence over council activities should be minimum; however, scholars have been discussing whether the government and the arts council are in distance or with intimacy (Quinn, 1997). Quinn finds that rather than allowing autonomy, the government has become increasingly proximate to this arts council and it shows that intimacy rather than distance characterizes the government's dealings with the Arts Council; Quinn further argues that the arms'

length principle is not, nor ever has been, a true representation of the government/arts council relationship as it has developed in the British context.

Mass media as a latent purpose of securing the continuity and integration of a social order by promoting cooperation and a consensus of social and cultural values but also explains that shared culture and solidaristic experience tend to be mutually reinforcing (McQuail, 1992). Order is defined in this article by sharing of common meanings and definitions of experience as well as much divergence of identity and actual experience. McQuail has identified difference between *social* and the *cultural* domains. Aspects of order can be examined by mutuality, cooperation, voluntarism, balance and the cultural side of order can be explained by taste (hierarchical quality) and authenticity (See Figure, Chen, 2013).

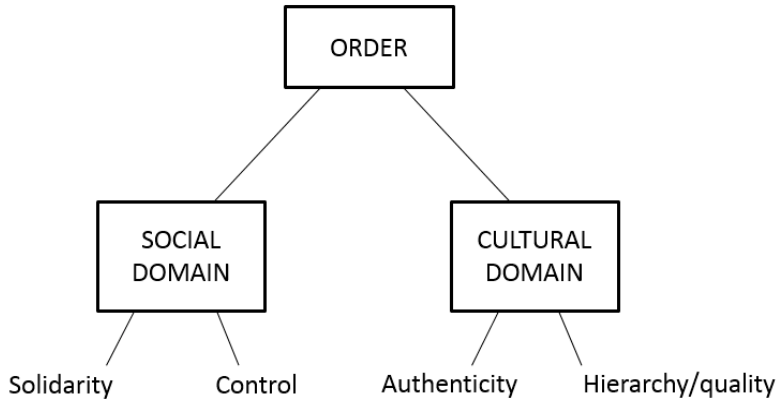

Figure 1 Order and its main component principles
Figure 1 remade by the author is from *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest* by Denis McQuail, 1992.

Taiwan's local film market has been ignored by government for a long time. In contrast, South Korea leads Taiwan not only because this nation copys strategies of Hollywood film industry to run business but also because they develop national movies. This paper observes how Taiwan and Korea target their movie content with their nationals as film citizens, consumers or art movie supporters. South Korea successfully develops nation branding but Taiwan fails.This paper argues that the major difference of cultural order maintainence bewteen South Korea and Taiwan is the market they target is quite different. The former develops their market first on their local market; in contrast, Taiwan's officals and businessmen target their market not in Taiwan. Two signigicant observations about arm's length principle are listed as follows: first, Taiwan fails to build film industry chains as South Korea copys how Hollywood designs their system by institutions such as KOFI or KOCCA ; second, South Korea develops their film market based on the strength of their local markets and are proud of their culture to show how their nationals verify and reflect history as they are willing to describe their process of modernization. The effects which the transformation of the Korean film financing has influenced film production through the change in government policy before and after the opening of the film market in

1988 based on the media economy (Lim, 2007). Lim explains that after the success of "Shwiri" in 1999, Korean films have displayed remarkable advancement and the primary cause for such remarkable improvement in the Korean film industry was the change in production values. Especially, different ethnic groups in Taiwan have gaps of culture capital. It is harder to use arm's length principle to maintain the cultural order in Taiwan's film policy when Taiwanese ethnic groups have different memoreis and some hostile historical perspectives.

I. Comparison of Cultural Order Maintenance in Film Policy in Taiwan and Korea

> *"Culture gives man the ability to reflect upon himself. It is through culture that man expresses himself, becomes aware of himself, recognized his incompleteness, seeks untiringly for new meanings and creates works through which he transcends his limitations." (The Mexico' 190)*
>
> cited by
> Miller (2002, p.2)

The process of Taiwanese identity is complicated. Mainlanders, Hoklo people, Haka people, and Taiwanese aborigines use different languages when China, Japan, and the United States have strong historical connections with Taiwanese (See Figure 2). With more Southeast Asians work and marry with locals, Taiwan's identity experiences a complicated background. Mainlanders have different collective memories about Japan during the second world war with those of many local people. However, this ethnic group dominate as the ruling party and also dominate the ideology to define film culture. According to 18th-century Enlightenment, the process of enlightenment is supposed to liberate man from nature and to lead to human freedom and flourishing. Freedom and equality are supposed to be related economic prosperity but when facing problems of order, individuals are facing the issues of solidarity and control which is also can be operated in a symbolic culture designed as a higher ruling class which is legitimate to dominate resources and value guidance through ideological control; in contrast, the citizens can use the concept of authenticity through daily life to examine truth by facts. As film citizens to develop national cinema, through the behavior of consumer, government policy, and civil society, they may keep the local film market prosperous to produce the cultural symbols they wish to represent themselves and spread their ideas about the world.

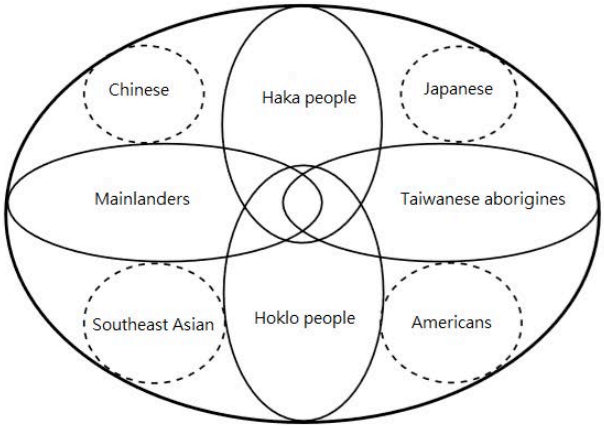

Figure 2. Construction of Taiwanese Identity
認同政治篇. 施正鋒。P.428. 2007.06。收於徐正光（編）《台灣客家研究概論》頁 448-79。台北：行政院客家委員會、台灣客家研究學會。

Both Taiwan and South Korea had been under through authoritarian military ruling. However, in 1980s the two nations have different experiences in the development of industries. In Taiwan it is the New Film wave and in Korean it is national Cinema Movement. Although these two are both against movie production of Hollywood style, their concepts are quite different. When talking about cultural order resistance in Film policy in South Korea, the National Cinema Movement in Korea around 1980s is what Taiwanese movie has been lacking. Its significance includes provided a site for new forms and contents, especially political subjects; created alternative modes of production and consumption; made the mainstream film industry and its audience rethink the social function of cinema as film as social practice (Min, et al. 2003, p.73). The five manifestos for NCM listed as following are quite different from the nature of Taiwan New Film discussed below. The five manifestos are : 1. Propaganda and instigation: National cinema is in search of a voice for people against the ideology of the ruling class. Its foremost mission is to educate *Minjoong* (popular) for its historical importance and the necessity of class struggles. 2. Creation of national culture: National cinema is a vehicle for the exploration of possible avenues for Korean self-expression and for cultural liberation from the West and the totalitarian power. 3. Democratic distribution system: National cinema resists Hollywood's dominance in the international market and the government's monopoly and control over the distributions. 4. Freedom from censorship: National cinema fights against any forms of restrictions and censorship by the ruling class. 5. Improvement of labor conditions in filmmaking: National cinema condemns the mainstream film industry for exploiting film crews and violating their rights and welfares. It also promotes the development of alternative styles and strategies of production to counter the attraction of Hollywood films and the mainstream films (Min, p.73). He explains that The NCM is an underground cinematic practice and discourse and bring its vision to the process of creating the cinema as a vehicle of cultural communication (p.83, See Figure 3).

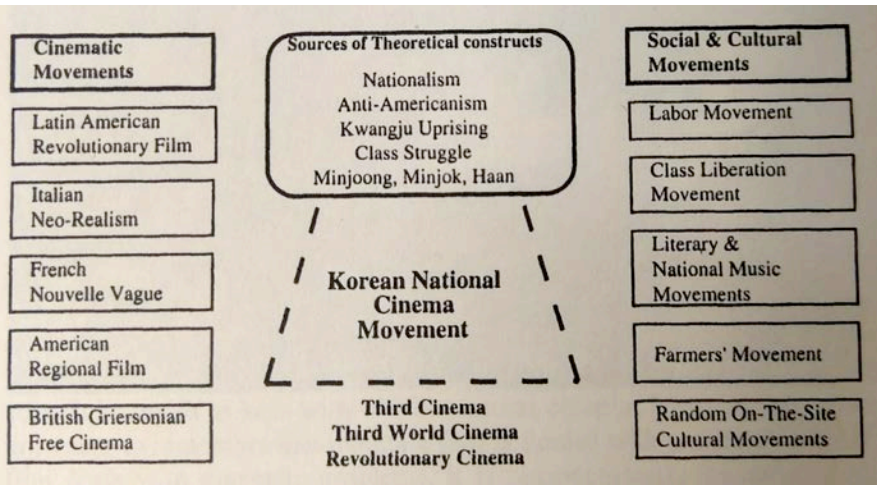

Figure 3. Formation of Korean National Cinema

In contrast, when democratic struggles and popularized mass consumer culture in Taiwan in 1980s, Taiwan developed a new style of New Film. However, this film style was supported by the mainstream film critiques but failed to get support in local market years later. Lee explains that the reflection of the New Film in Taiwan can neither be close to the actions of the society to break away from the authority, nor can it win the public support of the consumer products in the commercial market (1996). He explains that the New Film trend is not a movement with consciousness and overall aesthetics and its "situation of the background experience of the war, with the form of natural realism" can only be interpreted as a group of post-war new workers, based on the dissatisfaction with the past movies (Lee, 1996). The new movie trend gradually disappeared after 1986. Lee still agrees that the efforts of New Film to bring Taiwanese films closer to social changes are worthy of recognition and their stories touch Taiwan's social taboos which also inspired a creative perspective for later Taiwanese films. In the 1990s, Hollywood and Hong Kong dominates Taiwanese movie market and more directors of New Film went aboard for fame and funding. Lee criticized that we regard "international film" as a "text", it can be said to be a field with multiple symbolic meaning but it also succumbs to the autonomy of culture and step into the shadow of the authority of the Western authority and fail the free market mechanism.

II. What Taiwan can learn from Cultural Order Maintenance in Film Policy in South Korea

Scholar emphasizes that through cultural nationalism in the consumer society, Japan, for example, has promoted the consciousness of national self-identification consciousness and developed the state of cultural nationalism through the re-production of Japanese theory (吉野耕作). Take South Korea as an example, generally speaking, the depth, breadth, historical vividness, reflection and people feelings about the Gwangju incident in South Korean movies have made people feel the importance of justice and human rights. More discussion about social issues in film content may lead to change power direction of symbolic culture and further

influences social control and solidarity (See Figure 2 and Figure 4). In contrast, Taiwan's film content has been experiencing self-censorship, conflicts in major Taiwan political events are not much and well described in the film content, and only few major social events in Taiwan become film content in film production with high budgets.

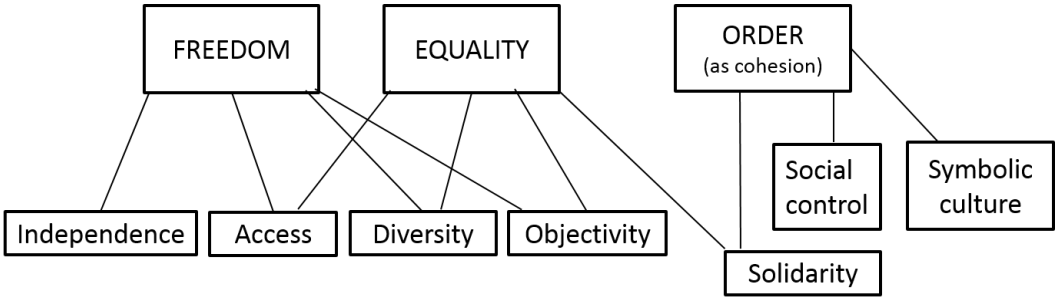

Figure 4. Summary framework of principles of media performance, remade by the author is from *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest* by Denis McQuail, 1992.

There have been several opportunities to develop popular genre movies in Taiwan. However, popular movies then did no hold high culture capital when government officials consider film as art for diplomatic purposes or tools of ideological control. Popular local movies in Taiwan then are considered rural, lower class or issues in social dark sides. Taiwan's New Film are in fact the film products of the ruling party. In contrast, cinema movement in South Korea is not the same. South Korea promotes the development of the national film and television industry by applying the principle of arm's length principle, so that political parties are harder to influence the content of film. In terms of Taiwan's political development, it seems that it is difficult for media content to ignore political interference. Taiwan's New Film in the 1980s was highly praised by movie critiques and scholars but this film style failed to get support in local market. Several directors in New Film developed the international film festival route in the 1990s and some directors co-produced film with Hong Kong film companies and shot movies in China. This made Taiwan's film content lose its cultural subjectivity; that is, the local audience's feelings are not valued by Taiwan's directors or producers. Even Taiwanese government officials plan to target profit from mainland market but ignores the fact that Taiwan market is different from market across the Taiwan Straits. Taiwan is hard to develop national cinema as South Korea but can learn from it with the coming design of the arm's length principle.

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