

FILMS AND CULTURAL HEGEMONY: AMERICAN HEGEMONY “OUTSIDE” AND “INSIDE” THE “007” MOVIE SERIES

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This article examines empirically how American cultural hegemony operates through the medium of film—in this case, via the James Bond “007” movie series. It is evident that American values are diffused worldwide via the motion picture industry. The 007 series is a masterpiece that successfully adjusted to the Hollywood system where American capital and structure prevails. The films are controlled by U.S. funding and reflect American perspectives vividly. Between the lines in the scripts, filmgoers are urged to link the United States with positive—hence legitimate—values and accept American’s dominant position. The authors of this study argue that the “007” movie series satisfies certain conditions to diffuse and reproduce American hegemony. Moreover, since the series reflects different aspects of the international environment, it is an appropriate case to speculate about hegemony in films.

Key words: cultural hegemony, U.S. hegemony, Social Network Analysis

American Hegemony and the “007” Movie Series

The operation of American hegemony is evident not only in the politico-economic and military realms, but also in the cultural sphere. Nye’s discussion of “soft power,” for example, reconfirms

that maintaining American hegemony in the cultural realm is essential in general to U.S. leadership of international politics. However, cultural hegemony is not easily recognized. Culture is typically disseminated with relatively less resistance and opposition than other forms of hegemony. Compared to its importance, study on American hegemony in the cultural sector is rare. When we consider that interest regarding culture in international politics has existed for quite some time, the relative lack of empirical studies seems odd.

The purpose of this article is to analyze empirically how American hegemony operates in the cultural sphere. Specifically, this article examines how American cultural hegemony is maintained via the cultural medium of film, and in what way American values are disseminated through films. It is evident that American hegemony obviously operates worldwide via motion pictures. Especially in Asia, Hollywood blockbusters function even more critically in delineating American perspectives because Asian filmgoers use film as their socialization tool to better understand the United States. Thus the reliance of Asian audiences on American films is more significant.

Unfortunately, systematic research that recognizes and analyzes films as political is uncommon, the reason being that proper methodology to deal with film has not been settled in international political analysis.¹

This article examines the operation of American hegemony within the "007" movie series (also referred to as "James Bond films"). James Bond films are controlled from "without" by American funding and reflect American perspectives vividly "within" their narratives. Over a forty-five year period, the series achieved tremendous worldwide box-office records and still continues to produce successful products. The 007 series is a masterpiece that successively adjusted to the Hollywood system

1. A Korean socialist has speculated on the social influence of films. She explains the popularity of American films in Korea within the frame of cultural imperialism. She interviewed Koreans to analyze how typical representation of the United States is recognized by Korean audiences. Interviewees interpreted cinematic reality as inapplicable to their own lives. See Soo Yeon Lee, "Korean Filmgoer's Reading of American Film: Critical Approach on Cultural Imperialism Theory" (in Korean), *Mass Media and Society*, vol. 10 (1995), pp. 53-85.

where American capital and structure prevails. Moreover, since the series reflects different aspects of international environment, it is an appropriate case to speculate about hegemony in films.²

Scholars have shown interest in the 007 series.³ In particular, geopolitical research has dealt with the 007 films.⁴ For instance, Black contends that 007 films show that international society inevitably needed the United States as Britain disappeared from the political-military scene.⁵ He believes that 007 films happened to emphasize American influence due to capital and filmgoers' interest. On the other hand, the 007 novels, written by Ian Lancaster Fleming, extended British Empire through the novels' plots. Dodds examined geopolitical factors of the film *Die Another Day* (2002) and showed how filmgoers recognized the international order between nations.⁶ He asserted that

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2. Many may select the *Rambo* or *Rocky* series as demonstrating American hegemony. However, those series are too restrictive for in-depth discussion of hegemony in films. First, the number of films is too limited and inappropriate to examine American hegemony in the context of international politics. Those films mainly focus on individual heroes overcoming personal challenges. Compared to *Rambo* or *Rocky*, the Bond series has abundant examples of an evident pattern. Moreover, Bond films well represent contextual sensitivity of world politics for which American hegemony has been clearly represented throughout the cold war and even its aftermath.
 3. The "007" movie series was examined in sociology and communication studies in terms of media analysis. Generally, the James Bond series is dealt with in English literature, where researchers emphasize the "Britishness" of the series. In July 2003, the memorial symposium on The Cultural Politics of Ian Fleming and 007 was held by scholars of English literature in honor of the 40th anniversary of the 007 movies. Many scholars presented their studies regarding 007 literature. For papers presented at the symposium, see Edward Comentale, et al., *Ian Fleming & James Bond: The Cultural Politics of 007* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2005). Generally, these studies are called "James Bond Studies."
 4. These studies were published in the following journals: *Intelligence and National Security*, *Geopolitics*, and *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*.
 5. Jeremy Black, "The Geopolitics of James Bond," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 19, No. 2 (2004), pp. 290-303.
 6. Klaus Dodds, "Popular Geopolitics and Audience Positions: James Bond and the Internet Movie Database (IMDb)," *Transactions of the Institute of*

some viewers recognized the contents very realistically and felt threatened by the North Korean villain in the film.

The authors of this article argue that the 007 movie series satisfies certain conditions to diffuse and reproduce American hegemony. The series generally utilized the backdrop of the cold war as its setting, thereby premising American control in the West. The films also classified international society in dichotomous terms—"good and evil." The criteria that the United States actually aims to project in the field of international politics have been reflected in these films and have penetrated audiences.

In the post-cold war era, the 007 series shows an intimate correlation with American hegemony. When the villainous Soviet Union vanished, the series confronted disorder in selecting villains. In the film productions during the cold-war era, suspenseful conflict between West and East evolved with plenty of military gadgets like nuclear weapons, satellites, and submarines on display. But from the seventeenth picture, *GoldenEye* (1995), the series presented somewhat of a different pattern in representing its villains. The villains were no longer agents from "SPECTRE" or the KGB, but individual terrorists. Moreover, these new villains' methods of conquest have been replaced with media, resources, or high technologies.⁷ One obvious point in the post-cold war pictures is that the most advanced scientific technologies always represent American predominance and superiority.

The American perspective on international politics became more distinct in the 007 series after the release of *Die Another Day* (2002). This particular film vividly reestablished the image of a "hostile country"—North Korea—marking a definite return to the old days of conflict between good and evil. The release of this movie stimulated political interest in "James Bond Studies." The advent of North Korea as villain seemed to show that 007 films reflected the geopolitics of the real world. This is the reason why

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7. Of course the products of this period also apply the dichotomous rule of good and evil. The background of villains is frequently connected to Russia and Germany, among others. However, compared with previous villains, their completeness and elaborateness seem inferior and these weaknesses are complemented with high-tech special effects and gadgets.

plenty of geopolitical studies on the series emerged after 2003. It cannot be coincidence that various Hollywood films used North Korea as villain after the release of *Die Another Day*.

This article examines theoretically the relationship between American hegemony and films. The correlation between the two is discussed in two categories: "outside" and "inside" the series. Diffusion power and the overall influence of the 007 series show the operation of cultural hegemony, we maintain, and this mechanism stands "outside." Embodiment of American values is dealt with within or "inside" the contexts of the films themselves. How American values are delivered to foreign audiences is additionally analyzed with a focus on content analysis of the films' Korean subtitles. The authors contend that American hegemony is evident in its cultural products, necessitating further studies.

Films and Hegemony: U.S. Will and Ability Regarding Cultural Hegemony

Soft Power

Since the end of the cold war, debate on U.S. "soft power" has flourished. Unlike earlier times, the significance of U.S. soft power is now considered to be crucial for the United States as it seeks to maintain global hegemony. American soft power is delivered via culture, ideology, and institutions. While hard power aims to *force* others to have preference in accordance with the United States, soft power is a more attractive way of exercising power in which "*one country gets other countries to want what it wants.*"⁸ Soft power also can be called cooptive power. Nye proposed that this cooptive power of the United States would make American influence more solid and continuous.

Some International Relations (IR) theorists offer ideas that are closely connected to Nye's. For instance, Russett insists that American hegemony is the result of "control of outcome."⁹ Iken-

8. Joseph Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, vol. 80 (1990), p. 166.

9. Bruce Russett, "The Mysterious Case of Vanishing Hegemony; Or, Is Mark Twain Really Dead?" *International Organization*, vol. 39, No. 2 (1985), pp. 207-12.

berry and Kupchan suggest that “socialization” is a means of American hegemony.¹⁰ Their assertion is consistent with Gramsci’s concept of hegemony—persuading the public and demanding voluntary consent. American hegemony theorists argue that at present it relies upon new intangible power, not traditional sources, and carries out control from those sources.

Another common point of this position is that they all indicate that “culture” is an essential source of soft power—although some may refuse to consider culture in terms of soft power. Soft power can be classified into various factors other than culture. However, when we consider the concept of soft power stated above, culture (especially American culture) has definite power that intrigues others to want and envy it. Nye also pointed out that American culture is evident in various products and communication, and satisfies a universal preference. This mechanism becomes especially powerful when universal preference evolves to the universal legitimacy of American influence, notwithstanding its political and economic tensions. From this point of view, Russett’s mention of “cultural hegemony” and Gramsci’s argument look very similar.

Gramsci’s cultural hegemony refers to “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is ‘historically’ caused by the prestige which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.”¹¹ Cultural hegemony also means intellectual-ethnic leadership.¹² The concept of cultural

10. John, G. Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, “Socialization and Hegemonic Power,” *International Organization*, vol. 44, No. 3 (1990), pp. 283-90.

11. Gramsci originally explained class conflict with the term “cultural hegemony.” Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 12, cited in T. J. Jackson Lears, “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 90, No. 3 (1985), p. 568. For a representative work concerning Gramsci’s hegemony, see Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci’s Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1980).

12. Nam Sook Hyun, “Cultural Hegemony and the Condition of Consent” (in Korean), *Journal of Philosophical Thought in Korea*, vol. 18, No. 2 (2007), p. 159.

hegemony can only be understood within a variety of historical and intellectual contexts.

The “filmic hegemony,” which is the main point of this study, is one aspect of cultural hegemony. Cultural hegemony itself is too broad to apply to one particular genre. Therefore this study uses the term “filmic hegemony.” The concept refers to the spontaneous consent given by the public to dominant films (products and providers). Here, the consent implies preference and legitimization of contents. In filmic hegemony, the hegemonic nation has the ability and the will to apply its leadership.

In fact, the relationship between film and political power has been considered an important issue. The relationship was originally dealt with in film theory and communication studies. In film theory, research on the political role of films found that films representing a ruling ideology rapidly progressed after May 1968. The declaration of *Cahiers du Cinema*¹³ that “all films are political” showed that films no longer existed beyond politics; they existed as political struggle.¹⁴ Film theorists sought to show how mainstream films contributed to maintaining the status quo and what could be the counter-cinema that would confront mainstream ideology. Critical theorists, using Althusser’s theory of ideology, sought to define cinema’s ideological effect and function. This is when “poetics of representation” replaced “politics of representation.”¹⁵

In communication studies, films have been examined in terms of political power since the 1970s. Third World countries brought up “information inequality” for discussion in UNESCO and demanded creation of a “New World Information and Communication Order” (NWIO). As their argument gained support, various studies including “cultural imperialism” and “media imperialism” were introduced.¹⁶ Representation of ruling ideology, its influence

13. *Cahiers du Cinema*, a cinema journal, was founded in 1947 by well-known film critic and theorist Andre Bazin. It is regarded as one of the most influential journals in film.

14. Barbara Klinger, “Cinema/Ideology/Criticism: Revisited,” in Barry Keith, ed., *Film Genre Reader* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. 4.

15. Jae Chul Moon, “Political Modernism and Film Theory: The Case of Screen in 1970s” (in Korean) (M.A. thesis, Chung-Ang University, 1995).

16. *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*, written by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, is a classic publication concerning

on audiences, and politicization of film became great concerns.

Compared to these fields, film remains somewhat on the periphery of politics. Ryan and Kellner pointed out that political gravity in cinema is enormous and hence cannot be neglected.¹⁷ Furthermore, film is part of a comprehensive cultural representation that influences people's psychological orientation and social institutions. Films tell others what the world is and what the world has to be.

In this sense, films enable us to extend the traditional interpretation of ideology. Dealing with ideology, films ease social tension and obstruct social gatherings that may threaten the status quo—an unequal social system. The dominant ideology controls one's thinking and behavior and helps maintain the status quo. Thus, cultural representation, which determines one's boundary of action, is used to accomplish the goal of social control.¹⁸ This process shows that films and politics intersect with each other, regardless of one's awareness. Covert influence comes from this natural encounter. The similarity of "power" and "image" comes from this covertness and intentional desire. Unnoticeably, the two control each other. Transmitted light and cinematic structures force audiences to a definite direction without recognizing any figure or content of "visual perception." From this, the similarity between the two can be found.¹⁹

American Hegemony in Film

When considering films and power, the United States has the ability and the will to be a hegemon. Ability and will are the crucial criteria when determining which nation is hegemonic. The United States has the most prominent position satisfying these

cultural imperialism. In the book, they explain how Disney comics transmit the American ruling ideology. The authors argue that imperialistic perspectives based on violence and greed reside in the innocent, pure appearance of the Walt Disney world.

17. Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner, *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film* (Terra Haute, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1990).

18. *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.

19. Jong Sung Park, *Politics and Film* (in Korean) (Seoul: Ingan-sarang, 1999), pp. 15-16.

criteria. First, in terms of ability, the Hollywood system of the United States became a standard for the global motion picture industry. The United States has the most solid and comprehensive global film network.²⁰ It has the most abundant resources needed for production, such as prominent producers, directors, actors, staff, and studios. However, a more noticeable advantage of the United States is that it nearly monopolizes global film distribution, with a market share of over 50 percent.

Second, in terms of will, the United States has had great interest in exporting films to overseas market ever since the early 20th century. This can be easily shown from the activities of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA),²¹ the Department of State, and the Pentagon. MPAA was established after World War I and gained great leverage over exploiting overseas markets. Its influence is still substantial, especially in diffusion. To major movie studios of Hollywood, revenues from overseas markets are significant. And since no counter-industrial system exists, these studios put great effort into maintaining their supremacy. The members of MPAA accomplish their goal with considerable mobility. They individually visit bureaucrats or industrial officials of other countries and promote exploitation directly.²²

More officially, the will of the United States can be found in regulations or support of the State Department (Office of War Information) and the Pentagon (Film Liaison Unit). In 1942, the Office of War Information (OWI) was established in the State Department and export of American films was managed and regulated through that office. OWI thought that films were a significant medium that could promote public relations and a positive image of the United States. This idea was adopted by the Film Liaison Unit (FLU) of the Pentagon. Under management of

20. Nye, "Soft Power," p. 169.

21. The biggest organization, MPAA, originally the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), was formed to advance the business interests of movie studios. Its members include the "big six" major Hollywood studios: The Walt Disney Company, Sony Pictures, Paramount Pictures Viacom, 20th Century Fox, Universal Studios, and Warner Bros.

22. Dorothy B. Jones, "Hollywood's International Relations," *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television*, vol. 11, No. 4 (1957), p. 369.

FLU, American films represent the United States military and American society in general. In the realm of communication, especially in terms of foreign affairs, military and military-industrial complex have enormous influence.²³ The film industry is no exception. Therefore, doubts about the too-cozy relationship between Hollywood and the Pentagon have frequently surfaced.

The filmic hegemony of the United States operates “out” and “in” the movie, that is, not only outside the movie, industrial infrastructure, and system, but also within the context of the movie. The representation of American hegemony outside and inside the movie creates synergy in the operation of filmic hegemony. Film has relative autonomy in selecting its theme, hence Hollywood movies have great potential to represent different dimensions (political, economic, and military) of American hegemony. On the other hand, films may restore or conceal the relative decay of American hegemony in some resources. As stated above, soft power maintains its power even when hard power decays, and therefore can be stronger in its penetration of societies.

Some may argue that not every Hollywood film reflects American hegemony. In reality, many Hollywood movies seek simply to entertain. This argument can be understood via two different features of Hollywood products: illusionism and dominant ideology. Numerous Hollywood films have their external shape wrapped up with enjoyment and entertainment. Yet, those external features may conceal the inner basis of dominant ideology.²⁴ Hollywood enables the encouragement of an “ideology of consensus” via this mechanism and stabilizes its hegemony.

Although many simply consider the movie a medium of entertainment, the reality, intention, or politics of film is taken into account when critical events occur. For example, the day after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the *Chosun Ilbo* featured a story titled “‘Terror Movies,’ Comparing 9/11 Terror with Different Hollywood Blockbusters.”²⁵ Also, after

23. Herbert Schiller, *Mass Communication and American Empire* (New York: International Art and Science Press, 1969); Chin Chuan Lee, *Media Imperialism Reconsidered: The Homogenizing of Television Culture* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980).

24. Ji Suk Kim, “Two Faces of Hollywood Films: Dominant Ideology and Illusionism” (in Korean), *Film Studies*, vol. 8 (1991), pp. 62-63.

25. Sun-ee Park and Su-eung Uh, “‘Terror Movies,’ Comparing Terror with

release of the twentieth James Bond film, *Die Another Day*, in 2002, many Koreans showed great anger over the depiction of North Korea in the movie. They connected President George W. Bush's theme of "axis of evil" with the plot of the film. These examples lead us to contemplate the correlation between films and politics. In general, film is cognized as pop culture and entertainment; yet at the same time, it diffuses and reproduces certain perspectives in a strategic way. Thus, films have to be considered as political matter; to be more specific, they have to be linked with American hegemony due to the global structure of the film industry.

American Hegemony "Outside" the "007" Movie Series

How is American hegemony embodied in the production and diffusion processes of the James Bond series? To answer this question, the following section examines the diffusion power of the 007 series and then analyzes the multinational character of the industry behind the series.

Diffusion Power of the "007" Movie Series

Films, whose format of contents (scenes and lines) is preserved even when exported, are a one-sided medium in comparison with other communication media. Radio and television programs are frequently reorganized when exported, only maintaining their rough outline. By contrast, films are exported in their original form and therefore have the strong potential to deliver their message as intended.²⁶ Moreover, most nations have adopted the Hollywood system as their national motion picture system,

Different Hollywood Blockbusters," *Chosun Ilbo* (Seoul), September 12, 2001. This article lists Hollywood movies including *Independence Day* (1996), *Godzilla* (1998), *True Lies* (1994), *Art of War* (2000) and tries to find a connection between them and the real world of international politics. Se Kyung Yoo and Mira Kim, "Comparative Analysis of News Report on 9.11 Terror in Daily Papers of the U.S., Korea and China" (in Korean), *Gazette of Korea Association for Communication and Information Studies*, vol. 18 (2002), p. 183.

26. In those countries not using English as their first language, the only thing added to the product is subtitles.

Table 1. "007" Novel Series

No.	Title	Year	No.	Title	Year
1	<i>Casino Royale</i>	1953	8	<i>Thunderball</i>	1960
2	<i>Live and Let Die</i>	1954	9	<i>The Spy Who Loved Me</i>	1961
3	<i>Moonraker</i>	1955	10	<i>For Your Eyes Only</i> (Collection of 5 short stories)	1962
4	<i>Diamonds Are Forever</i>	1956	11	<i>On Her Majesty's Secret Service</i>	1963
5	<i>From Russia with Love</i>	1957	12	<i>You Only Live Twice</i>	1964
6	<i>Dr. No</i>	1958	13	<i>The Man with the Golden Gun</i>	1965
7	<i>Goldfinger</i>	1959	14	<i>Octopussy & Living Daylights</i> (Incomplete draft, Collection of 4 stories)	1966

Table 2. "007" Movie Series

No.	Title	Year	No.	Title	Year
1	<i>Dr. No</i>	1962	12	<i>For Your Eyes Only</i>	1981
2	<i>From Russia with Love</i>	1963	13	<i>Octopussy</i>	1983
3	<i>Goldfinger</i>	1964	14	<i>A View to a Kill</i>	1985
4	<i>Thunderball</i>	1965	15	<i>The Living Daylights</i>	1987
5	<i>You Only Live Twice</i>	1967	16	<i>License to Kill</i>	1989
6	<i>On Her Majesty's Secret Service</i>	1969	17	<i>GoldenEye</i>	1995
7	<i>Diamonds Are Forever</i>	1971	18	<i>Tomorrow Never Dies</i>	1997
8	<i>Live and Let Die</i>	1973	19	<i>The World Is Not Enough</i>	1999
9	<i>The Man with the Golden Gun</i>	1974	20	<i>Die Another Day</i>	2002
10	<i>The Spy Who Loved Me</i>	1977	21	<i>Casino Royale</i>	2006
11	<i>Moonraker</i>	1979			

indicating that the diffusion of content is even easier.

Many people think of the James Bond series as strictly films. However, the character of James Bond was first introduced through the popular novel series written by British writer Ian Lancaster Fleming. Due to the popularity of the novels, movies were produced (see *Tables 1* and *2*). Despite differences between the novels and the films, both series share general plots and sequences. That is why it is both meaningful and useful to compare the influence of film in terms of worldwide diffusion.

After the first novel, *Casino Royale*, was published in Britain in 1953, the first edition of the book was published in the United States in 1954. Over the next ten years, this book would gain tremendous popularity.²⁷ Novels, however, have drawbacks when it comes to diffusion. To those countries which do not share the same language, quite a long time is needed for diffusion. All of the 007 novels share this typical weakness concerning exportation. It took an average of ten years to export them to other countries—and sometimes even longer to countries where English is not used as a first language.²⁸

This was not the case for the movie series. The first production of *Dr. No* was released in Britain in 1962 and within only eight months, it was released in fifteen other countries.²⁹ By 1963, it was diffused worldwide. The rapidity with which 007 films are exported has increased even more since then. The most recent James Bond film *Casino Royale* was released on November 14, 2006 and within two months it was delivered to seventy-eight different countries.

007 movies scored high marks not only in terms of diffusion but also in actual consumption. Box-office data shows this aspect well.³⁰ As shown in *Table 3*, the movies made after 1995 earned revenues of over \$150 million and the non-USA box-office scored far better results.³¹ In short, 007 movies successfully occupied

27. "All about James Bond," <http://homsamo.com/~road24>, accessed November 26, 2007.

28. Except for Sweden (1955), France was the first among non-English speaking countries publishing the book and it came eleven years (1964) after the first edition appeared in Britain. *Casino Royale* was published in Sweden, France, Brazil, Netherlands, Denmark, the Republic of South Africa, Canada, Russia, Estonia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Germany in that order.

29. According to Imdb (Internet Movie Database), after release in Britain (1962), it was released, in order, in West Germany, France, Netherlands, Italia, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Malta, Sweden, the United States, Hong Kong, Spain, Brazil, and Japan (June 1963).

30. Reconstructed table using data from Imdb (www.imdb.com) and All about James Bond (<http://homsamo.com/~road24>).

31. The box-office success of the 007 movies seems more evident when compared with general box-office revenues of U.S. films. For details, see Janet Wasko, *How Hollywood Works* (in Korean) (Seoul: Communications Book, 2007), p. 257. Overall, theater revenues of U.S. films from worldwide ticket sales in 2000 reached \$6.8 billion: in North America,

Table 3. All-Time Box-Office Revenues of "007" Movies

Title	Box-Office (USA)	Box-Office (Non-USA)	Box-Office (Worldwide)
<i>Dr. No</i> , 1962	– (\$16,067,035)	–	–
<i>From Russia with Love</i> , 1963	– (\$24,796,765)	–	–
<i>Goldfinger</i> , 1964	– (\$51,081,062)	–	–
<i>Thunderball</i> , 1965	– (\$63,595,658)	–	–
<i>You Only Live Twice</i> , 1967	– (\$43,084,787)	–	–
<i>On Her Majesty's Secret Service</i> , 1969	– (\$22,774,493)	–	–
<i>Diamonds Are Forever</i> , 1971	– (\$43,819,547)	–	–
<i>Live and Let Die</i> , 1973	– (\$35,377,836)	–	–
<i>The Man with the Golden Gun</i> , 1974	– (\$20,972,000)	–	–
<i>The Spy Who Loved Me</i> , 1977	– (\$46,838,673)	–	–
<i>Moonraker</i> , 1979	– (\$70,308,099)	228 (\$140,000,000)	323 (\$202,700,000)
<i>For Your Eyes Only</i> , 1981	– (\$54,812,802)	245 (\$132,600,000)	–
<i>Octopussy</i> , 1983	– (\$67,893,619)	298 (\$115,800,000)	–
<i>A View to a Kill</i> , 1985	– (\$50,327,960)	353 (\$102,100,000)	–
<i>The Living Daylights</i> , 1987	– (\$51,185,897)	226 (\$140,000,000)	–
<i>License to Kill</i> , 1989	– (\$34,667,015)	–	–
<i>GoldenEye</i> , 1995	334 (\$106,635,996)	79 (\$224,900,000)	126 (\$351,500,000)
<i>Tomorrow Never Dies</i> , 1997	247 (\$125,332,007)	100 (\$221,300,000)	135 (\$346,600,000)
<i>The World Is Not Enough</i> , 1999	238 (\$126,930,660)	98 (\$225,100,000)	124 (\$352,000,000)
<i>Die Another Day</i> , 2002	144 (\$160,201,106)	61 (\$271,000,000)	80 (\$424,700,000)
<i>Casino Royale</i> , 2006	132 (\$167,007,184)	25 (\$420,000,000)	39 (\$587,607,184)

Source: Imdb (www.imdb.com), and All About James Bond (<http://homsamo.com/~road24>).

Notes: The numbers in the first row refer to all-time box-office rank. The numbers in parenthesis refer to box-office revenues. All amounts are in U.S. dollars and only include theatrical box office receipts (movie ticket sales); they do not include video rentals, television rights, and other revenues. Totals may include theatrical re-release receipts. Figures are not adjusted for inflation. The statistics written in italics are not from Imdb (small range error exists between two different sources).

overseas markets just like any other Hollywood film and attracted large overseas audiences as well.

007 films accomplished global diffusion in a short period and most of the products in the series proved to have box-office power. The facts show that these particular movies well satisfy the basic premise of cultural hegemony.

Industrial Structure of Motion Pictures and Funding of the "007" Movie Series

The United States controls and rules the global film industry, which centers around Hollywood. Additionally, the United States pays sharp attention to whether others' industries grow exclusively or not. It strengthens the industry's relationship with the government in order to safeguard the domestic film industry and its products.³² In other words, film is working as a decisive medium that facilitates general American hegemony.

This can be applied to the production of James Bond movies as well. It is true that the movie series follows the basic format of the novels; but in the motion pictures, the original author no longer holds the predominant position.³³ The main character, James Bond, was reborn as a more "Americanized" Anglo-Saxon.

\$3.8 billion; overseas, \$3.0 billion. See Karsten Grummitt, *Hollywood: America's Film Industry* (Spiralrygg, 2001).

32. In fact the United States has effectively used film genre as a means of propaganda, public relations, and control not only domestically but also externally. In the early 1960s, the Bureau of Motion Pictures was established in the Office of War Information under the Department of State. This office supported and regulated Hollywood movies by examining scripts and determining foreign distribution. In 1974, the Pentagon was funded and the Film Liaison Unit (FLU) took over the work. FLU supported films that emphasized bravery and the devotion of U.S. military in order to inspire patriotism in U.S. citizens. For external use, FLU favors those movies that project U.S. soldiers' superiority and world peace maintained by the United States. This support from the U.S. government has continued. "MBC Special: War on Silver Screen: Hollywood and the Pentagon," (Seoul), broadcast on October 27, 2002.
33. Jeremy Black, "The Geopolitics of James Bond," pp. 290-303. The original writer, Ian Fleming, tried to produce the story on his own in the 1950s—long before his copyright with EON production. He failed due to a lack of money.

Eon Production, the British corporation that produced the whole movie series, was solely established to oversee production of the 007 series. However, the producers who founded the corporation were two Americans. The actual production process was also headed by American investors. The distributor of the 007 series was one of Hollywood's major distributors, United Artists (UA).³⁴ In the motion picture industry, the role of the distributor is critical. Control of Hollywood and the worldwide film market is possible due to this distribution power, which a few major corporations of the United States seized.

Albert Broccoli is another significant variable when examining James Bond movies.³⁵ Broccoli, an American citizen, coordinated the whole production process of Bond films in accordance with his own intentions, essentially Americanizing the movies in the process. For instance, Broccoli tried to get rid of "*British mannerism*" in order to attract American moviegoers. He chose Scottish-born Sean Connery to play the lead role, James Bond, instead of the British actor David Niven,³⁶ whom Ian Fleming had in mind as Bond. These arrangements of the producer were critical in transforming a "British" Bond into an "American" Bond.³⁷

As stated, American influence over the 007 movie series has been high. The global industrial frame of the motion picture industry is built upon the Hollywood system, hence films as products have to adjust to the system to succeed and make profits. The making of a film requires an enormous amount of capital. The United States is in a position to dominate the industry and funding of films. Various dimensions of novels are altered when turned into films in order to appeal to an American audience. Obviously, 007 movies had to follow market mechanisms and the logic of the Hollywood system embodying American hegemony.³⁸

34. UA was the first independent film corporation. At first, UA mainly dealt with art films or foreign films. UA participated in the production of 007 films only as a distributor at first; but as Kirk Kerkorian of MGM took over UA, it started to take some role in producing films. See Janet Wasko, *How Hollywood Works*, p. 110.

35. It was Broccoli who incorporated UA in production as the distributor.

36. David Niven did take the role of James Bond in *Casino Royale*, released in 1967.

37. Jeremy Black, "The Geopolitics of James Bond," p. 293.

38. Herbert Schiller, *Information Inequality: The Deepening Social Crisis in*

American Hegemony "Inside" the "007" Movie Series

While film production and diffusion reveal one aspect of American hegemony, other aspects are represented inside the context itself via images and text. To speculate on this dimension, empirical analysis from the perspective of cultural hegemony is required. 007 movies are films of the spy film sub-genre. They naturally need evil "villains" for interesting narrative. Through the narratives of this sub-genre, the United States actively projects its perspectives and values.

Hegemonic Message: In Themes and Characters (Collaborators/Villains)

A film has to contain an imperialistic or hegemonic message to function as a means of American hegemony. The imperialistic message of Hollywood films is diffused via realism.³⁹ The realistic fantasy of Hollywood movies represents the United States through various themes, characters, and events. Furthermore, Hollywood products will disguise these settings as though they are a legitimate reality.⁴⁰

American influence in 007 movies can be classified into three different categories: themes, collaborators, and villains. First of all, in various works, the core values of the United States are attacked or threatened. Themes dealing with advanced technologies and weapons of the United States can be frequently found on the screen, as *Table 4* shows.

As shown in the table, high-tech military devices of the United States (missiles, rockets, satellites, nuclear submarines) are always the target of a villain's plan. Advanced technologies of the United States, including the space shuttle and microchips, are stolen. Institutions and infrastructure central to the U.S. govern-

America (New York: Routledge, 1996).

39. Lee, "Korean Filmgoer's Reading of American Film," p. 68.

40. Realism inside a film can be classified into two dimensions: realism of form and realism of theme. It is obvious that Hollywood movies have a great advantage in realism of form, which refers to screenplay, shooting, directing, acting, and editing. Therefore, what is more important here is how realism of theme is projected in the 007 movies. Schiller, *Information Inequality*.

Table 4. Main Themes of "007" Movies: Threatening the United States

Title	Theme
No 1. <i>Dr. No</i>	Obstructing U.S. missile orbit
No 3. <i>Goldfinger</i>	Blowing up U.S. Federal Reserve Bank
No 5. <i>You Only Live Twice</i>	Hijacking U.S. rocket
No 7. <i>Diamonds Are Forever</i>	Ruling over space development corporation of U.S.
No 8. <i>Live and Let Die</i>	Monopolizing North American drug market
No 10. <i>The Spy Who Loved Me</i>	Hijacking U.S. nuclear submarine, launching U.S. nuclear warhead aimed at New York
No 11. <i>Moonraker</i>	Hijacking "Moonraker" made by U.S. corporation
No 13. <i>Octopussy</i>	Destroying U.S. air force base in Western Germany
No 14. <i>A View to a Kill</i>	Causing flood in Silicon Valley, California, USA
No 18. <i>Tomorrow Never Dies</i>	Promoting tension between UK and China using U.S. decoder

ing apparatus, such as the Federal Reserve Bank, are damaged or attacked by "evildoers." Villains in these narratives believe that neutralizing the American system will enable them to rule the world. Moreover, these villains provoke conflict between the United States and other nations. It is their belief that attacking the United States is the most effective tactic to disrupt the international order. Under these circumstances, missions are given to James Bond, a British secret agent, for settlement. Bond always willingly risks his own life to secure the United States from evil. This shows that the status quo of American hegemony has to be maintained as an absolute value regardless of one's nationality. Losing it implies the end of world peace.

Second, in most contexts, American agents such as CIA operatives, soldiers, and National Security Agency officials appear as Bond's collaborators. Their role is very important in completing missions. The character of CIA agent Felix Leiter epitomizes this role, as Table 5 shows.⁴¹ The CIA monitors Bond all the time and

41. Leiter is Bond's trustworthy friend. Over the years, his role has been played by nine different actors. In *License to Kill*, Leiter gets killed by the villain, but other U.S. agents replace his role and show up in other contexts in later films. In *GoldenEye*, another CIA agent, Jack, plays the supporting role to Bond by providing cars, weapons, and information.

Table 5. The United States as Collaborator

Title	American Collaborator
No 1. <i>Dr. No</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter
No 2. <i>From Russia with Love</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter
No 3. <i>Goldfinger</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter
No 4. <i>Thunderball</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter
No 7. <i>Diamonds Are Forever</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter
No 8. <i>Live and Let Die</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter, Harold Strutter
No 11. <i>Moonraker</i>	CIA Agent Dr. Holly Goodhead (Bondgirl)
No 14. <i>A View to a Kill</i>	CIA Agent Chuck Lee, Stacey Sutton (Geologist)
No 15. <i>The Living Daylights</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter
No 16. <i>License to Kill</i>	CIA Agent Palm
No 17. <i>GoldenEye</i>	CIA Agent Jack
No 20. <i>Die Another Day</i>	NSA Agent Jinx
No 21. <i>Casino Royale</i>	CIA Agent Felix Leiter

when he is in any danger, CIA agents emerge to save his life. This is a constant in Bond films. Furthermore, Bond often gets his assignments from Leiter and Leiter encourages him much like a boss.⁴² Collaboration with the best agents and specialists of the United States is prevalent in James Bond movies. This definitely implies that “Pax Britannica” no longer exists and support from the United States is inevitable.

In addition, various military forces of the United States work at critical moments. Bond is able to complete his missions due to these facilities.⁴³ In dealing with certain difficulties or

In *Moonraker*, a female CIA agent marks the beginning of the “Bondgirl” and in *Die Another Day*, NSA agent Jinx works with Bond as a partner.

42. Repetition of these sequences leads audiences to think of Leiter as Bond’s boss.

43. The prominence of the U.S. military in the movies motivated the U.S. government to support the series. *GoldenEye* (1995) and *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997) was supported by the Film Liaison Unit (FLU) of the Pentagon. FLU officially gets applications from film producers. Those movies that positively represent the United States or the U.S. military receive FLU’s military support, such as tanks, soldiers, and other equipment. In return, FLU gets to supervise or intervene in the process of production.

problems, very sophisticated and advanced technologies are required, and it seems as though American professionals are the only ones who can solve these problems. Such scenarios typically play out in the movies, unconsciously revealing the superiority of the United States over Britain in the fields of science and technology, national defense, and intelligence.

Third, the nationality of the Bond-movie villains reveals a regular pattern in accordance with the international order. Some can argue that there is no significant difference in cognizing world order between the United States and Britain. However, as the United States obtained its dominant status after World War II, Britain had to consider the international position of the United States before deciding its own. With this in mind, it is not surprising that the position of the United States resides in representation of villains. Bond's enemy is as critical as the character of Bond himself. Generally, villains in 007 movies are agents of the KGB or members of SPECTRE.⁴⁴ In different themes, villains also embody various backgrounds (see *Table 6*).

SPECTRE is seemingly against both western and eastern countries. Britain and the Soviet Union even cooperate in confronting SPECTRE in some movies. Nonetheless, it is obvious that SPECTRE's background, revealed via the nationalities, appearances, and names of its members, gives a cue to audiences that the bad guys of SPECTRE come from the Soviet Union.⁴⁵ Even though villains do not emphasize nationalism aggressively, their background (shown in *Table 6*) implies that they are against the Western alliance.⁴⁶ Clearly, although villains may be subtly represented in films, compared to original plots, the pattern of hostile countries is hard to miss.

In the movies, American hegemony is embodied as the "good" confronting the "evil." The United States as the ultimate "good" is represented in an unspoken yet efficient manner. Criti-

44. SPECTRE stands for "The Special Executive for Counter-intelligence, Terrorism, Revenge and Extortion." It is a virtual crime organization and was first introduced in the novel *Thunderball* (1965).

45. In fact, many of the members of SPECTRE are career KGB agents or have intimate relationships with the Soviet Union or Russia.

46. Villains in 007 movies are mostly Russian, Chinese, German, and Cuban. Although they do not reveal their nationalities overtly, their names and appearances imply that they are against the West.

Table 6. Villains of "007" Movies

Title	Villain
<i>Dr. No</i>	Dr. Julius No (Chinese)
<i>From Russia with Love</i>	E. S. Blofeld (SPECTRE) Rosa Klebb (SPECTRE)
<i>Goldfinger</i>	Auric Goldfinger (British, Global jeweler)
<i>Thunderball</i>	Emilio Largo (SPECTRE)
<i>You Only Live Twice</i>	E. S. Blofeld (SPECTRE)
<i>On Her Majesty's Secret Service</i>	E. S. Blofeld (SPECTRE)
<i>Diamonds Are Forever</i>	E. S. Blofeld (SPECTRE)
<i>Live and Let Die</i>	Dr. Kananga (Caribbean Criminal)
<i>The Man with the Golden Gun</i>	F. Scaramanga (Gunman)
<i>The Spy Who Loved Me</i>	Karl Stromberg (Oceanographer)
<i>Moonraker</i>	Hugo Drax (former Nazi)
<i>For Your Eyes Only</i>	A. Kristatos (KGB)
<i>Octopussy</i>	Generla Orlov (Soviet General), Kamal Kahn (Afghan)
<i>A View to a Kill</i>	Max Zorin (former KGB agent)
<i>The Living Daylights</i>	General Pushkin (Soviet General), Brad Whitaker (Weapons dealer) Georgi Koskov (KGB agent)
<i>License to Kill</i>	Franz Sanchez (Drug organization boss)
<i>GoldenEye</i>	Alec Trevalyan (Russian mafia)
<i>Tomorrow Never Dies</i>	Elliot Carver (Global media billionaire)
<i>The World Is Not Enough</i>	Renard (Terrorist)
<i>Die Another Day</i>	Gustav Graves / Colonel Moon (North Korean) Zao (North Korean)
<i>Casino Royale</i>	Le Chiffre (Albanian)

Note: To see year of release, refer to *Table 1*.

cal decisions are made considering America's position and influence. The United States military and high-tech equipment are keys to settling problems. To threaten the values of the United States is synonymous with threatening world peace. Therefore, James Bond does his very best to secure American values. In addition, without American agents (from the CIA or NSA) or professionals, Bond cannot complete his missions. American

hegemony in 007 movies effectively shows how the imperialistic perspective of the United States operates via cinema.

Thus, 007 movie contexts contain various factors that embody the hegemonic status of the United States. It is especially presented in the movies' themes and characters. Repetition of these realistic embodiments leads audiences to believe in U.S. superiority in the international order.

Text Network of Korean Subtitles in the "007" Movie Series

The text network well presents those factors emphasized in the movie scripts. Of course in the case of films, visual images also cannot be overlooked. Therefore, no analysis is complete if it does not take account of the visual dimension of the films. Nonetheless, subtitles are also influential in conveying messages. To non-English speaking audiences of other countries, subtitles are the most direct and clear information delivered. Lines of the script are best understood by these audiences via subtitles. Especially for Asian audiences that do not share Western roots or ways of life, subtitles happen to function even more critically. In this sense, and for our purposes, inquiring into Korean subtitles in the 007 movies can be a valuable tool, and are therefore examined in terms of "text network."⁴⁷

UCINET, the social network analysis software, was used in our analysis.⁴⁸ The program enables one to figure out the connection and network between the words used. In content analysis, analyzing word frequency is most common. However, searching for the connection between frequently used words can prove to be even more valuable. UCINET allows one to see what kinds of words are used and how strong their connections are. In this study, Korean subtitle files (.smi) were collected from the Internet and converted into text files. By using the "MovieSmich"

47. English scripts are impossible to collect except for the recently released scripts of *Die Another Day* and *Casino Royale* on Internet sites. Korean subtitles of the entire Bond movie series are available on the Internet at www.endisk.com.

48. This program was designed by Steve Borgatti, a professor at the University of Kentucky's business school. It is the most commonly used method of analyzing "social network." The program is available on the Internet. Insert "UCINET" in any search engine.

program,⁴⁹ “.smi” files were converted into “.txt” files. With the converted text files, word frequency was tested using the Korean content analysis program “Krkwic.” In this first stage, the words were processed into a matrix.⁵⁰ A total of forty-three files (two for twenty films and three for *Casino Royale*) of twenty-one 007 movies were analyzed and the social network between eight words (“U.S.,” “world,” “safe,” “best,” “help,” “protect,” “peace,” and “strong”) was investigated. Eight words were extracted after examining word frequency in the scripts. However, the eight words chosen were not the ones of highest frequency. Names of the characters (“Bond,” and villains’ names) usually scored highest in frequency.

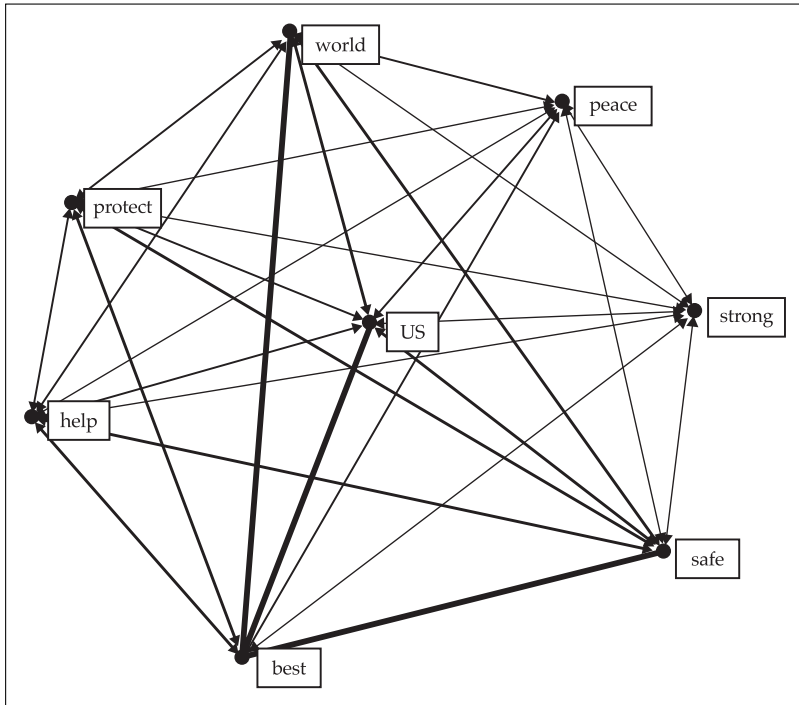
The eight words chosen are the ones that effectively verify this article’s hypothesis on the United States. In Korean, the word “best” (in Korean, “*chae*”) could have a negative meaning depending on its suffix. Thus, only words having positive connotations such as “best” (supremacy, *chae-go*), “best-technology” (*chae-chum-dan*), “best-strong” (*chae-gang*), “best-new” (*chae-sin*), and “best-big” (*chae-dae*) were taken into account. Words with negative connotations such as “best-evil” (*chae-ac*) and “best-small” (*chae-so*) were excluded.

Figure 1 is the result of social network analysis between the eight words. The lines between the words stand for the existence of a network. The thickness of a line refers to the strength of network. As we can see, there is a connection between all eight words. The most obvious pattern is found in the network between “U.S.” and “best.” The network between the two is fairly strong, meaning that there is a significant relationship between “best” and the United States. This confirms that when the United States is mentioned in the film, it is usually mentioned with positive words such as “supremacy,” “best technology,” “most strong,” “most new,” and “the biggest.” On top of this, the word “U.S.” also

49. The “MovieSmich” program is available on the Internet.

50. The matrix was processed using “Krkwic,” a Korean context analysis program. For an introduction to usage of the program, refer to Han Woo Park and Leydesdorf Loet, “Understanding and Application of KrKwic Program for Korean Content Analysis: Case of News Articles from Daum.net” (in Korean), *Journal of Korean Data Analysis Society*, vol. 6, No. 5 (2004), pp. 1377-88.

Figure 1. Text Network of Korean Subtitles



demonstrates a strong relationship with the words “world” and “safe.” This also implies that the words “the United States” are delivered along with “world” and “safe.” Thus, one can interpret that American hegemony is represented via the words “best,” “world,” and “safe.”

The network between the words partially projects the operation of American hegemony. The individual networks of “world,” “best,” “safe,” and “help” connected to the United States also form a strong network. As can be seen in *Figure 1*, the connection between “best” and “world” is strong. When we consider the thickness of the connecting lines, the strength between the two is as strong as the network between “best” and “U.S.” The word “best” also has a significantly strong relationship with “safe.” The link between “best” and “help” is also significant, even though it is relatively weaker than its connection with

“world” and “safe.” It can be understood that “best” is strongly related to “world,” “safe,” and “help” in its usage. In the same sense, “safe”-“world” and “safe”-“help” show a strong connection. This implies that these words share similar values. In short, these words form a collective as well as an individual relationship, and these networks eventually are closely connected to the word “U.S.” Clear patterns can be found.

Representation of the United States in 007 movies is always linked to the words “world,” “safe,” and “best.” The linkages between the words suggest the high possibility that, while thinking of the films, audiences correlate the United States with positive values and cognize world order centering on the United States. In terms of subtitles, they are directly presented just like images; not enough time is given for the audience to manage them critically, hence aiding in their unconscious, uncritical reception. Moreover, as image and text form a complex synergy, they can significantly influence one’s cognition system.

Conclusion

Film no longer has cultural boundaries. Hollywood movies diffuse and penetrate American hegemony very actively and effectively. The global industrial system of the United States even strengthens its hegemony. The American government has always been aware of film’s political function, which is why the U.S. government maintains close ties with the film industry.⁵¹ This intimate relationship between the film industry and U.S. hegemony makes the connection of film and power even stronger.⁵²

Many critics react seriously and sensitively toward American military and economic power, but they are indifferent to cultural power. The reason is that in the case of culture, people

51. Support from the U.S. government, such as gaining the removal of overseas regulations on screen quotas, helps the U.S. film industry to maintain its superiority in resistant global markets.

52. Duncan Campbell, “Top Gun versus Sergeant Bilko? No Contest, Says the Pentagon,” *The Guardian*, August 29, 2001. Not only typical American hero movies like *Top Gun* (1986), *Rambo* (1985), and *Air Force One* (1997), but also films like *Transformers* (2007), received support from the U.S. government.

believe that no direct correlation exists between the two. But soft power comes from the accumulation of intangible power. The United States diffuses and reproduces its dominant perspectives and values just as it does in any other realm.

Under the circumstances, this article examined the diffusion of American hegemony via films using 007 movies as a case. Specifically, the operation of American cultural hegemony was analyzed "outside" and "inside" the series. The diffusion power and industry structure of Bond movies were considered "outside" the movies. "Inside" the movies, we dealt with how American perspectives penetrate in context.

007 films were widely diffused in a very short period. Most of the series was a box-office success. Exposure to audiences is the first step in diffusion of cultural hegemony, and the 007 series did exceptionally well in that regard.

James Bond movies are also under the control of American capital throughout the production process. The 007 series was able to succeed at the expense of accommodation to the Hollywood system. In fact, American control of the movie industrial system and its funding is critical in production. As a result, plenty of settings were arranged from novels and Americanism was projected in various ways, including the selection of actors, locations, and settings.

In the movies, American hegemony is represented through the forces of good confronting evil. Collaborators and villains in the series have regular patterns centering on their relationship with the United States. The United States as an ultimate "good" is described in an unspoken but efficient manner. The American role in the Bond series is likewise closely connected with concepts of "safe," "world," and "best." The networks between the words urge filmgoers to link the United States with positive values, hence legitimizing and gaining acceptance of the American point of view. The text in the movies and visual images make up a complex synergy and greatly enhance their influence.

Film is a medium free from coercion. Yet it has a unique feature distinct from hard power which efficiently promotes socialization. Also, it minimizes opposition or resistance in diffusion and therefore is a strong and permanent medium. Especially, the realism of cinema makes audiences think of cinematic settings as reality. Moreover, film has no restriction in selecting themes;

hence, it can represent anything and anyone on the screen. On top of this, the powerful film industry structure based on the Hollywood system helps make the operation of American filmic hegemony even more convenient.

This hegemonic mechanism is especially meaningful among Asian moviegoers. Asian countries do not share a cultural boundary with the United States or any other Western countries. Moreover, due to geographical distance, the Asian public experiences America via only limited sources. Film is one critical source that socializes the Asian public to the United States. The film markets of Asia, with Korea an exceptional case, are dominated by the United States in ways different from soap operas or comedy shows. Even more important, many Asian filmgoers prefer American films due to their high quality and a fondness for American culture. The exposure of Asian countries to the filmic hegemony of the United States therefore warrants ongoing scrutiny.

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