



Universitas Katolik Parahyangan
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik
Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional

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SK BAN –PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

**The Role of TWICE in Supporting South Korea's
Public Diplomacy in Japan**

Skripsi

Oleh

Olivia Priscilla

2016330257

Bandung

2020



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Sukawarsini Djelantik Ph.D.

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ABSTRAK

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Judul Skripsi : Peran TWICE dalam Mendukung Diplomasi Publik Korea Selatan
di Jepang

K-Pop telah menjadi fenomena dunia yang sudah mencapai hampir ke setiap benua di dunia. Memikat penonton dengan musiknya yang menarik, koreografi yang sempurna, dan video musik yang memikat secara visual. *K-Pop* terutama sudah mengambil tempat di Jepang, melalui girl grup, TWICE. Mempunyai anggota dari Korea Selatan, Jepang, dan Taiwan, grup ini mampu menembus bekas penjajah Korea Selatan, yaitu Jepang. Dengan konflik masa lalu yang belum terselesaikan, hubungan pemerintah yang tegang, dan persepsi negatif di masyarakat, Korea bertujuan untuk memajukan hubungan dan citra negaranya. *K-Pop* yang merupakan kategori dari *Hallyu* menjadi pelopor diplomasi publik Korea Selatan kepada publik asing dengan harapan membangun opini positif di publik Jepang mengenai Korea. Karena adanya kehilangan *Hallyu* dari media Jepang, ada berkurangnya antusiasme untuk *Hallyu* di negara itu, hingga TWICE muncul. TWICE mampu menyalakan kembali minat untuk *Hallyu* di Jepang. Skripsi ini ingin menjawab pertanyaan: "Bagaimana kontribusi TWICE untuk mendukung diplomasi publik Korea Selatan ke Jepang?" dengan menganalisis apakah kegiatan TWICE di Jepang mendukung diplomasi publik Korea melalui Diplomasi Budaya dan teori Diplomasi Multi-track. Penelitian menemukan bahwa TWICE mendukung diplomasi publik Korea Selatan melalui penggunaan budaya. TWICE memperkenalkan, mengembangkan apresiasi, dan melibatkan masyarakat Jepang dalam budaya Korea. Menggunakan musik, makanan, mode, dan tren untuk mengembangkan citra Korea di Jepang. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode dan data kualitatif yang terbatas pada debut TWICE tahun 2015 hingga awal 2020 saat TWICE merilis lagu Jepang terbarunya sebagai batasan waktu penelitian.

Kata kunci: K-Pop, Hallyu, TWICE, dan Diplomasi Publik

ABSTRACT

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Diplomacy in Japan

K-Pop has become a world phenomenon that has reached almost every continent in the world. Captivating audiences with its catchy music, impeccable choreographies, and visually enticing music video. *K-Pop* has especially taken its place in Japan, particularly in the form of the girl group, *TWICE*. Consisting of members from South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, the group was able to penetrate South Korea's former colonizer, Japan. With unresolved past conflicts, tensed government relations, and negative perceptions of each other in the society, Korea aim to further its relations and country's image. *K-Pop* which is a derivative of *Hallyu* became South Korea's public diplomacy frontrunner to the foreign public with hopes of building positive opinion in Japanese public about Korea. Since the missing gap of *Hallyu* acts from Japan's media, there has not been an enthusiasm for *Hallyu* in the country, that is until *TWICE* appear. *TWICE* was able to break the vacuum and reignite the interest for *Hallyu* in Japan. This thesis inquires to answer the question: "How does *TWICE* contribute to support South Korea's public diplomacy to Japan?" by analyzing whether the group's activities in Japan are supporting Korea's public diplomacy through Cultural Diplomacy and Multi-track Diplomacy theory. The research found that *TWICE* supports South Korea's public diplomacy through the use of culture. *TWICE* introduces, develop appreciation, and engage the Japanese public in Korean culture. Using music, food, fashion, and trends to further Korea's image in Japan. The research is conducted using qualitative methods and data that are limited to *TWICE*'s debut in 2015 until the first half of 2020 when *TWICE* releases its latest Japanese single as the limitation of time to the research.

Keyword: K-Pop, Hallyu, TWICE, and Public Diplomacy

PREFACE

All glory and praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, because of His grace and guidance from the beginning, middle, and ending process, this thesis can be completed. Thesis titled “The Role of TWICE in Supporting South Korea’s Public Diplomacy in Japan” has been written for the completion of undergraduate degree in International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung, Indonesia.

This research was done for the purpose of understanding the role of a non-state actor in supporting the country’s public diplomacy. Seeking to understand TWICE as an icon of *Hallyu* in becoming a medium to further bolster South Korea’s diplomatic efforts in Japan.

The author realized that this thesis is heavily flawed and still far from perfection henceforth requires further research to complement the understanding of the research problem. Thus, the author welcomes any constructive criticism to improve this research. Thank you.

Bandung, 10 August 2020

Olivia Priscilla

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*“Fear not, for I am with you; do not be dismayed, for I am your God
I will strengthen you and help you; I will uphold you with my righteous right hand”
Isaiah 41:10*

First and foremost, I would like to thank my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ because without Him I would not be who I am today. He strengthened me, protected me, guided me through the high and low points of my life and I wouldn't be where I am today without Him who saves me. On the mountain, I will bow my life to the One who sent me there; on the valley I will lift my eyes to the One who sees me there; when I'm standing on the mountain I didn't get there on my own, when I'm walking through the valley I know I am not alone, for He is my God.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In the 21st century, power does not only come in the form of military, economy, or territorial advantages, but now there are so much more. The world has arrived at the age of new media and the rise of the internet. With the involvement of the internet, the world has birthed a new section of media such as social networking service (SNS) that became a powerful tool in society. Through social media or SNS, humans can now connect with each other anytime; anywhere. One of the many outlets is through music. In this day and age, music can unite, but can also divide the world. Many information can be spread through music. An artist's political views can divide the fans, but also fans of different backgrounds can find common ground through their affection towards the same artist.

The world cannot hide or suppress the power of new media that keeps progressing with the advancement of the internet. South Korea and Japan are no exception to the new media influence. Being the fast networking country that they are, both South Korea and Japan have to keep up with the growing influence of internet media.

Geographically close to each other, South Korea and Japan have a long standing of interloping history. Starting in World War II, Japan expanded their territory to the east side of the globe and colonized many of the developing Asian countries that are known today. One of its many past colonies is South Korea or the Republic of Korea (ROK) that we know as of today. On the account that Japan lost the war, the devastating state of South Korea was left for the

United States to take over. The damages Japan had done during its colonization period still lingers in the heart of South Korean society.

Beginning in 1905, Imperial Japan and the Korean Empire have started signing treaties that slowly but surely decrease the Korean Empire's sovereignty and transferred into a protectorate of Imperial Japan. Until 1910, when Japan finally annexed Korea in the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty that allows Japan to take over the Korean Empire.¹ The day Emperor Gojong signed the treaty on August 29, 1910, was the day Koreans titled "National Humiliation Day".² This day started the official colonial beginning of Imperial Japan over Korea. During that 35 years under Imperial Japan, Korea suffers tremendously from emotional and physical pain. From being forced to fight in the army, to the kidnapping of comfort women, the citizens of Korea had to go through many horrible things. The memory lives on even after the annexation was officially nullified in 1965. Many protests were led in the 21st century demanding an apology from Japan's government about the deeds done during the colonial era. Although Japan had issued multiple apologies over the years, the South Korean society still has not deemed the apologies as genuine and worthy to be accepted. This was prompted by the Japanese government contradicting and denying many horrible crimes that were clearly done in the past. The one remaining and ongoing issue being debated is the issue of "Comfort Women". Around the end of 2015, Japanese and South Korean foreign ministers have met to come up with an agreement that can finally put the issue behind.³ It was settled by an apology and compensation from the Japanese government. However, the agreement receives dissatisfaction from the remaining

¹ Caprio, Mark (2009). *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. University of Washington Press. pp. 82–83.

² Kim, Tong. "National Humiliation Day". *The Korea Times*. August 27, 2010
http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2010/08/167_72135.html

³ Yi, Whan-Woo. "Korea, Japan reach deal over sex slavery". *The Korea Times*. December 28, 2015.
<http://m.koreatimes.co.kr/pages/article.asp?newsIdx=194189>

victims of comfort women because of how shallow the agreement seems to be. The victims said they were not looking for money compensation but rather a legal responsibility.⁴ Many citizens joined the movement and brought more attention to the issue until 2019. The issue of Comfort Women is one of the many reasons Japan and South Korea have a tense relationship even after the two countries went separate ways post World War II. South Korea has also developed an anti-japanese sentiment that can be seen in some parts of Korea's society. The older generations keep up this negative sentiment towards Japan for what happened during the colonial era, which can still be felt today. However, this anti-japanese sentiment may only last until the older generation. We can find today's younger generation opening up and embracing the Japanese culture into their lives.

Although the two countries have a complicated history that can never be forgotten, both have very much advanced in the economy sector respectively that builds their nation to have a high standing in the world today. The relationship between the two countries may be on shaky grounds with the past still becoming a conflict between the two, but it does not stop them from interacting with one another. These interactions can be seen through the younger generations embracing each other's cultures within their lives, interactions and cultural exchanges cannot be avoided. South Korea is a prime example of how a country uses their cultures as their main public diplomacy.

Hallyu, or also known as the Korean Wave, became the prominent outlet of South Korea's diplomacy to the rest of the world. Driven by Korean dramas (K-drama) and Korean pop music (K-Pop), South Korean Culture has spread since the 90s.⁵ Captivating the world with its eccentric and addictive music while also serving a variety of drama plots, South Korea has taken

⁴ Kim, Se-jeong. "Victims unsatisfied with agreement". *The Korea Times*. December 28, 2015
<http://m.koreatimes.co.kr/pages/article.asp?newsIdx=194193>

⁵ Ravina, Mark (2009). "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Korean Wave". *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*.

the attention of various types of people; young and old, male and female. Some may argue about what may be considered *Hallyu*, but for the citizens of South Korea, it may be known as anything that gained success or recognition overseas. That includes music, dramas, movies, clothes, skincare, makeup, and even the food itself. Although it started with K-Dramas as the main focus of *Hallyu*, it has now shifted to K-Pop as the frontman of *Hallyu* because of the huge fandoms K-Pop artists have everywhere. Now, *Hallyu* does not stop with television entertainment but the whole Korean culture itself has gained popularity all around the world.

Through this success, the South Korean government acknowledges *Hallyu* and supports their creative sector in order to develop the wave even further. Through funding and subsidies, the South Korean government developed their soft power to become one of the most powerful popular cultures in the world. Nowadays, anything released by the *Hallyu* wave, starting from the clothes their celebrities wear, the skincare they use, to even the fabric softener they use will get sold out in hours with just a mention from their top celebrities. From this we can see how powerful of an impact a *hallyu* artist may bring to a country. The *Hallyu* wave's influence has reached and can be felt everywhere in the world, especially all around Asia. Japan is no exception to the lure. As one of the closest countries to South Korea, Japan has been infiltrated by the strong wave of *hallyu*. The wave is so strong that many South Korean artists have topped Japan's Oricon chart, beating some of Japan's own music artists.

Since the *Hallyu* wave has gained such a powerful reputation, it is on track to be recognized as on par with the pop culture from the west.⁶ The *Hallyu* wave is very powerful to the point that it brought in a large sum to South Korea's economic sector. It was recognized by the government as their diplomacy and soft power of the nation. During his speech on June 27,

⁶ Kuwahara, edited by Yasue (2014). *The Korean Wave: Korean Popular Culture in Global Context*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

2019 about the relationship between South Korea and Japan, South Korean President, Moon Jae In, titled several of their music groups, primarily BTS and TWICE, as the third wave *hallyu* icon to Japan. Both groups have made tremendous achievements on the domestic and international stage, which further strengthened the standing of *hallyu* in the world.

In relation to Japan and South Korea, girl group, TWICE, is the frontrunner of music. This multinational group has been performing for four years after their official debut on October 20, 2015. Ever since then, TWICE have periodically released catchy songs that captivate the audience every time. Started from a competition survival show called Sixteen, trainee members of the company JYP Entertainment were showcased on the television where audience can have some say in who gets to debut with the group, while also under the discretion of JYP Entertainment's founder and CEO, Park Jin Young. The audience actively participates in the survival show to get their favorites to stay and be a part of the upcoming debut group. After the release of their first EP, TWICE songs have been charting and selling out with their catchy melodies and the members' charms. TWICE'S debut music video had also become one of the most-viewed K-pop debut music videos.⁷ Things have turned into a major scale ever since TWICE single "Cheer Up" went viral in 2016 that got them their first win in a music program award. TWICE continues to thrive through sold out concerts and number one singles in the chart launching JYPE to the top among the "big three" music companies in South Korea.⁸

While also being a frontrunner in the South Korean and Japanese music industry, TWICE have cemented their power and influence in both countries, thus becoming a powerhouse of music in South Korea and in Japan. With three out of nine members in the group being Japanese,

⁷ "TWICE's music video hits 50 million". *Yonhap News*. Yonhap News Agency. April 4, 2016. <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20160404003800315>

⁸ Herman, Tamar. "TWICE's Label JYP Entertainment Rises To No. 1 Market Capitalization Among K-Pop Agencies". *Forbes*. August 30, 2018. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/tamarherman/2018/08/30/twice-got7s-label-jyp-entertainment-rises-to-no-1-market-capitalization-among-k-pop-agencies/>

it was fairly easy for the group to integrate into Japan. Officially debuting in Japan on June 28, 2017, TWICE released the Japanese language version of their hit songs with some new songs included. With a strong fandom in Japan and South Korea, TWICE rule the music chart every time they release a new song. Their high achievements were solidified by being the first Korean artist in six years to attend the *Kohaku Uta Gassen*, which is the top rated year-end music show in Japan held by NHK.⁹ This is a major accomplishment because Japan has not invited any Korean artist since *TVXQ*, *Kara*, and *Girls' Generation* six years prior. TWICE have overcome the barrier separating them and are poignant to the two countries.

1.2 Problem Identification

Long standing unresolved issues from the past can definitely hinder a good relationship between nations. South Korea and Japan exhibit unresolved historical issues ever since Imperial Japan had fallen after World War II and have not come close to solving them or an agreement. It was no question that South Korea and Japan have some resentment from the past that still carries over into today's generation because of how horrendous it was, but it has also transferred in some negative sentiments and perspective of the country. The history of Japan's colonization resulted in some negative sentiments between the citizens of South Korea and Japan. During the 35 years, between 1910 and 1945, under Imperial Japan's colonial rule, Korea had to suffer tremendously from being stripped of their culture and subjected to degradation by the Japanese. Not only Korea had to go against the Japanese ruling, there was a dividend among the citizens themselves. Annexed by Imperial Japan was not something the Koreans are proud of, even anger and hatred feelings are prominent among citizens, therefore the population of Koreans that

⁹ Smith, Alyssa. "Twice and Daichi Miura among 10 debuts at this year's 'Kohaku'". *The Japan Times*. November 16, 2017. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2017/11/16/music/twice-daichi-miura-among-10-debuts-years-kohaku/#.XaXrD-czbVo>

“supported” or work for the Imperial Japan are branded as “collaborators” or *chinilpa* (친일파) as a derogatory term.¹⁰ This clash among the Korean society itself is also one of the reasons why the country grew a deeper negative sentiment towards Japan.

Korea, under Japan’s colonial rule, had to go through Japanization where they were stripped of the Korean culture and forced to fully immerse themselves in Japanese culture. Forced to assimilate into Japanese culture, language, and value system while getting rid of their mother language. The two nations have a long history that cannot be forgotten or easily forgiven, and so this feeling transfers into their current affairs. Back in 2017, when the agreement to resolve the issue of comfort women boomed, another rise in anti-Japanese sentiment within the citizens of South Korea while also criticizes the backend deal created by the leader of Japan to compensate the comfort women without the actual presence of the victims.¹¹

Although South Korea and Japan diplomatic ties have been normalized with the 1965 Treaty of Basic Relations, the two neighbors still have not come to a solution to their conflicts. The 1965 Treaty itself got criticized for being not beneficial for South Korean citizens. On top of that, governmental ties are not as smooth as it looks. Despite being economic partners, many trade disputes and imbalances have happened between Korea and Japan. With South Korea wanting to appeal more to Japan’s advanced technology industry that is needed for huge Korean tech company. Moreover, the threats from North Korea kept Japan and South Korea to stay

¹⁰ Jeong, Yeon Tae. Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea. Vol. 42, No. 3 Autumn, 2002. [https://www.ekoreajournal.net/issue/view_pop.htm?Idx=3215#\[1\]](https://www.ekoreajournal.net/issue/view_pop.htm?Idx=3215#[1])

¹¹ “Comfort Women Compensation Fund dissolved as tempers between South Korea and Japan”. Straits Times. July 5, 2019. <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/south-korea-dissolves-japan-compensation-fund-as-tempers-flare>

cooperated for security.¹² All have cause tensions in the political ties between the two countries, which needs better bilateral relations in order to succeed.

This horrible past causes the two states to have underlying conflicts that are unresolved. The citizens of South Korea cannot forgive what the Japanese did in the past. Devastated after the war, South Korea had to get their nation up and running as soon as possible. Although South Korea is not strong in military and hard power, they have one of the most powerful soft power, the *hallyu* wave. Through industrialization, South Korea was able to build their country fast and efficiently. Majority of the damages have been covered, leaving sentiments and stolen Korean cultures yet to be returned from the Japanese side.¹³ On the other hand, Japan also developed negative perspective towards South Korea who are seen as lower and less advanced than them. South Korea have somewhat of a bad image of a poor country that was colonized by Japan and is lower than the Japanese. In a BBC World Service Poll in 2014, Japan is the third least positive country towards South Korea.¹⁴ And those negative views increased the following years. Especially among older generation who lives through the era, still strongly holds those images, which further the tensions between South Korea and Japan bilateral relations.

However, we can see a different sentiment within the younger generations, which seems to be embracing each other's cultures. In a street interview about how South Korean citizens feel about Japan done by YouTube channel Asian Boss, there was a significant difference in

¹² Tselichtchev, Ivan. "Why can't Japan and South Korea get past their battle scars?". *South China Morning Post*. April 15, 2018. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2141313/why-cant-japan-and-south-korea-get-past-their-battle-scars>

¹³ Jiji. "Stolen cultural asset returned to South Korea from Japan after 20 years". *The Japan Times*. japantimes.co.jp. September 13, 2017. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/09/13/national/stolen-cultural-asset-returned-south-korea-japan-20-years/#.XWeJXpMzbR0>

¹⁴ "BBC World Service Poll: Views of China and India Slide While UK's Ratings Climb: Global Poll". *GlobalScan.com*. 2014.

https://globescan.com/images/images/pressreleases/bbc2013_country_ratings/2013_country_rating_poll_bbc_globescan.pdf

sentiment between the older and the younger interviewee.¹⁵ Vice versa, with a street interview done by the same YouTube channel asking Japanese citizens how they feel about South Korea, younger Japanese interviewees respond more positively towards South Korea and their contents. Through the exchange of arts like music and tv shows, young generations of South Korea and Japan can be seen enjoying the other country's culture, much to the older generation's discontentment. K-Pop has been one of the most powerful outputs of *Hallyu* and the Japanese society has been enjoying its delight for quite some time, even to the point of some of Japanese nationality idols pursuing a career in K-Pop themselves.

Even though the two states have unresolved historical conflict, they can work together through the contribution of non-state actors. One of those non-state actors would be a girl group, TWICE. Through TWICE, South Korean individuals and Japanese individuals can work together. This can be heavily seen in the younger generation of both countries, who enjoy and embrace the culture of the opposite nation. Although this behavior is heavily criticized by the older generation, it does not stop the spread of the soft power. TWICE fans community of both countries are brought together through their interest in the artist. Although the two countries may still have unresolved historical issues that still become a source of conflict and Japan still having negative perception of South Korea, TWICE, as non-state actors of South Korea's public diplomacy, can contribute to improve South Korea's image and relations in Japan and bring the future generations closer with each other.

¹⁵ Asian Boss. "How Do Koreans Feel About Japan?". Online video clip. *YouTube*. YouTube, April 10, 2018. Web. August 29, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PLOi-PsY9ZE&t=684s>

1.2.1 Limitation of Problem

This thesis will focus on the two countries, South Korea and Japan, particularly on the bilateral relations built between the two nations and how South Korea's public diplomacy has influenced the states' relations. The author chooses South Korea's public diplomacy because of its versatility and modernity of diplomatic efforts conducted by the state. Although South Korea's public diplomacy, *hallyu*, aims towards the whole world this thesis will limit the direction to only between South Korea and Japan because of the historical conflicts still lingering and also because Japan is one of South Korea's closest allies. The main analytical focus of this thesis will be on South Korea's public diplomacy through *Hallyu's* K-Pop girl group, *TWICE*. *TWICE* is chosen as the main focus because of their multinationals members and their undisputed popularity in both South Korea and Japan. Since the girl group is most active in South Korea and Japan, the author limits within those two countries. Moreover, the time limitation of this thesis started from October 20th 2015, when *TWICE* first debuted, until June 18th 2020, which is *TWICE's* latest Japanese single released. The actions of *TWICE* and the *Hallyu* wave that prompted the reaction of South Korean citizens and Japanese citizens towards the artist considering that the two countries have a negative past still lingering in the society.

1.2.2 Research Question

This thesis wishes to answer the question: How does *TWICE* contribute to support South Korea's public diplomacy to Japan?

1.3 Research Objective

The objective of this thesis is to raise an understanding that non-state actors can contribute to positively improve the bilateral relationship between South Korea and Japan. Further explaining South Korea's public diplomacy focused towards Japan. The author also wishes the thesis would be able to contribute to the existing academic debate of the role of non-state actors in the international relations department. This thesis can hopefully show that the International Relations studies have broadened their focus into soft power, rather than focusing solely on hard power, considering that International Relations has become an interdisciplinary study.

1.4 Literature Review

The first literature used in regards to the historical relationship between South Korea and Japan is the book called *Japan and Korea in the 1990s: From Antagonism to Adjustment* written by Brian Bridges. The book narrates the affiliations between Japan and the two Koreas; South Korea and North Korea. However, for the purpose of this thesis, it would be focused on the Japan and South Korea sub-chapter in the book. According to the book, Japan and South Korea's relationship has not been great since the past considering the historical implication of Japan's colonial rule in Korea. Concentrating on one of the chapters in the book subtitled "Culture, Korean Residents and Reconciliation", Bridges stated that in light of cultural exchange between Japan and South Korea, there was hostility from South Korea's side in response to Japanese culture. Ever since their independence from Japan, the South Korean government tried to expunge any elements of Japanese arts, music, literature, and even architecture from the country for decades. South Korea also had banned Japanese films from being played unless it was

through Japan's Cultural Center.¹⁶ The writer of the book believes that it would take a while for the two states to ever come to an agreement. It was also mentioned by the writer about the anti-Japanese themes that rose within the Korean artworks. One of the Korean artworks used as an example is a tv series that depicts the attempted assassination of Japanese Emperor. Through this series, it can be seen that Koreans deliver their hidden anti-Japanese feelings through their dramas' plotlines.¹⁷ However, there were not many efforts from Japan's side to embrace South Korean culture. This is supported by the limitation of traditional Korean culture in Japan until the mid-1980s when Korean arts were more accepted and increased in Japan.¹⁸ In this book, it can be concluded that the negative feelings resulting from the colonial period lingers in the art cultures and popular cultures of South Korea.

The second article is from the book titled *Diplomasi Publik: Meretas Jalan bagi Harmoni dalam Hubungan Antarneegara* written by Iva Rachmawati. In the chapter "Opini Publik and Soft Power", the writer of the book stated that public opinion of domestic and international can affect the foreign policy of a country. This soft power can definitely contribute to the interstate relations in reality.¹⁹ The writer of the book also uses the definition of Joseph Nye's Soft Power as the understanding of the concept. Traditionally, only hard power existed in politics, but with the rise of other actors, soft power became more popular. The writer also uses Robert Dahl's definition of power in order to deepen the understanding of power. According to Dahl, power is the ability to persuade or push someone to do something without the capability of them saying

¹⁶ Bridges, Brian. *Japan and Korea in the 1990s: From Antagonism to Adjustment*. (Aldershot, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1993), p.138

¹⁷ Ibid., p.139

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Rachmawati, Iva. *Diplomasi Publik: Meretas Jalan bagi Harmoni dalam Hubungan Antarneegara*. (Yogyakarta, Calpulis, 2016), p.35

no.²⁰ Going back to what Nye stated, power is categorized as hard power and soft power. While hard power means military power, soft power is the ability to influence others to agree without any force. The writer of the book further emphasizes that if the high culture and pop culture of a country can attract the public of another country, it can shape international norms according to that culture's society.²¹ Soft power can be very powerful if practiced properly and be much cheaper than mobilizing the country's hard power. The book further the understanding by using several countries and their public diplomacy to convey a better grasp of the idea. One of the countries analyzed is South Korea.

The next is an article journal titled "The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Contemporary Crises and Conflict Reconciliation" by Dana Pantea and Alina Stoica. This journal talks about the role cultural diplomacy can bring in conflicting or crisis countries.²² In the case of this paper, it would be the conflicting countries of South Korea and Japan. Although the journal uses Middle East countries as an example, the understanding concept can be applied in this research. In the journal, the writers stated that cultural diplomacy can be a viable solution in averting conflicts and contributing to a chance of peace in a globalizing world.²³ The exchange of culture and the dialogue following diplomacy can replace the old ways from military and economic exchanges. Through culture, one can strengthen the confidence of the citizens while also strengthening the cooperation between the two nations. As this goes on, a decrease of the conflict may happen. Many elements can be considered cultural, such as language, ethnicity and religion, and others. The journal firmly emphasizes that the increase of culture's position in the international relations

²⁰ Dahl, Robert A. "Concept of Power". 1957. http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/articles/Dahl_Power_1957.pdf

²¹ Rachmawati, Iva. *Diplomasi Publik: Meretas Jalan bagi Harmoni dalam Hubungan Antarneegara*. (Yogyakarta, Calpulis, 2016), p.36-37

²² Pantea, Dana. Stoica, Alina. "The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Contemporary Crises and Conflict Reconciliation". *Studia UBB. Europaea*, LIX, 1, 2014, p. 219-230

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 220

realm can help us understand one another. Through culture, the understanding of other's values, aspects in life, commonality, and differences can be achieved.²⁴ In a negotiation, people need to be on the same level of understanding in order to reach an agreement and even a solution to a conflict.

The last article was published in a journal by Benjamin A. Morgan, titled "Popular Music as Vehicle for Cultural Change Intervention: Takun J's Cultural Diplomacy in Post-Conflict Liberia". The journal analyzes the impact of a song in influencing the behaviour and attitudes of people towards a certain issue.²⁵ In this case, cultural diplomacy is used by non-state actors in order to bring light to a certain issue, it is not strictly done by states.²⁶ Some issues can be hard or painful to approach, the issue the paper uses is the case of child rape in Liberia.²⁷ Just as the South Koreans have painful and negative feelings towards Japan through their anti-Japanese sentiment. The journal further defines cultural diplomacy as a hybrid of art, education, and the pursuit to plant certain moral views within the target audience.²⁸ The singer and rapper of the "Song for Hawa" Takun J became the agent of cultural diplomacy that delivers the moral message. It can be seen that non-state actors can bring diplomacy through things other than military and economic pressure. As the outcome of the campaign is successful, the audience are more aware of the implication and message from the song and solution to the issue is being developed. However, the author of the journal explains that there is no possible way to

²⁴ Ibid., p. 222

²⁵ Morgan, Benjamin A. "Popular Music as Vehicle for Cultural Change Intervention: Takun J's Cultural Diplomacy in Post-Conflict Liberia". *Studia UBB. Europaea*, LX, 3, 2015, p. 233-244

²⁶ Ibid., p. 234

²⁷ Ibid., p. 235

²⁸ Ibid.

scientifically prove that the campaign song has changed the attitude and behavior of the target audience.²⁹

There are several research gaps within each of the articles mentioned above. With the first literature; *Japan and Korea in the 1990s: From Antagonism to Adjustment* by Brian Bridges; the research only goes up to the 1990s and early 2000s. Although many points presented in this book will also be mentioned in this thesis, the time setting will be completely different. This thesis will focus more on the relationship between South Korea and Japan during the 2010s until present. The time difference infer a different response and feeling from the past. The thesis will see how much of those sentiments still lingers in society.

The second article; *Diplomasi Publik: Meretas Jalan bagi Harmoni dalam Hubungan Antarnegara* by Iva Rachmawati; have less of a research gap with what this thesis will produce. However, there was no mention of the popular music, K-Pop, as one of the main tools of public diplomacy. The South Korea sub-chapter of the book focuses more on Korean Dramas and the incorporation of their traditional culture in the plot and drama setting. This thesis plans on focusing more on the popular music, K-Pop, with further specific on the multinational girl group, TWICE. This sub-chapter also only explains South Korea's public diplomacy as a general rather than their specific efforts and diplomacy with another country.

The third article is the journal article, "The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Contemporary Crises and Conflict Reconciliation" by Dana Pantea and Alina Stoica. This article became the foundation of what the thesis wishes to analyze. South Korea and Japan have been in conflict for a very long time. Therefore elements such as their cultures being introduced to each other might

²⁹ Morgan, p. 242

lessen the crisis and conflicts between the two countries. The specific public diplomacy this thesis wishes to focus on is cultural diplomacy.

The fourth and last article titled “Popular Music as Vehicle for Cultural Change Intervention: Takun J’s Cultural Diplomacy in Post-Conflict Liberia.” This article focuses their research in Liberia, therefore having a huge gap with the popular music and their usage in South Korea where this thesis will take place. However, the usage of popular music as a medium for cultural changes and diplomacy in post-conflict states is similar to what this thesis aims to achieve.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

International relations is the study of interaction between nation-states that goes across their boundaries. This interaction may concern anything the countries so desire, passing the border of politics itself. From economics to governance, intercultural to terrorism, media to environment, and many more evolves with the study of international relations.³⁰ This interdisciplinary study can be found within any aspect of life. Also because of its interdisciplinary nature, it birthed the recognition of several new emerging actors other than the state itself. Non-state and state actors are responsible for conducting the interactions and relations between nation states.

In order to further understand international relations, there are several International Relations theories that can be used. Being one of the earliest theories, Liberalism is a part of the first big debate in international relations studies. John Locke was an English philosopher and also the father of Liberalism. Locke and several other thinkers of the enlightenment period

³⁰ “What is IR?”. Department of International Relations, San Francisco State University.
<https://internationalrelations.sfsu.edu/what-ir>

developed the Liberalism theory influenced after what happened during the Thirty Years' War.³¹ Locke believes that humans are good, social, cooperative and tolerant in their natural state. In the face of the pursuit of happiness, human beings will be able to cooperate with one another because of their natural instinct.³² Locke's beliefs of human beings translated in the theory of Liberalism that we should strive for mutual benefits and international cooperation.³³ Liberalism also pushes international organizations and non-governmental actors to shape the state and its policies. This school of thought encourages more co-operations in order to lessen violence and conflict among states.³⁴

The increasing international cooperation pushes states to engage in a more cooperative system among each other. Through the use of foreign policy, states determine how they would act towards other states. Foreign policy includes methods, agreements, understandings, and the strategy of measures taken in order to achieve the state's goals in conducting inter-states relations. Foreign policy is intended for the purpose of guiding government's decisions and actions in regards to relations with particular foreign countries.³⁵ Conducting relations with other states would result in each state agreeing to a certain foreign policy the government will implement towards each other. A foreign policy may vary depending on the desired goal and the measures taken to achieve that goal. It may be through hard power or soft power. The particular policy discussed in this paper is soft power foreign policy, which takes the more non-traditional

³¹ "The Enlightenment and Liberalism". *Uregina.ca*. Last edited September 22, 2002.

<http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/en318f02.htm>

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Shiraev, Eric B. *International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2014.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Jackson, Robert. Sorensen, Georg. *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches* Fifth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. p.252

route. Taking Joseph Nye's definition of soft power, it is the power to coerce or influence someone to do or to think something without using force or pressure.³⁶

With the world becoming more interdependent under an anarchy system, there are certain ways the states conduct interactions with each other, which is through diplomacy. Diplomacy became the expected behavior coming from each state. International norms are the rules and order of the international community, which should be followed by the world leaders and officials. These norms also became an important factor in foreign policy conduct of states, though states prefer to be their own definition of diplomatic. Diplomacy is the way in which state representatives are negotiating with other states and it is the main instrument of creating and influencing foreign policies.³⁷ Diplomacy encompasses influencing decision making, negotiations, and other non-violent ways in the international stage.³⁸ States conduct official relations and create new relations through diplomacy in order to secure their national interests.³⁹ However, diplomacy may come in different forms of practices; governmental or also called Track I diplomacy and non-governmental or also called Track II diplomacy. Track II diplomacy is the practice of non-governmental, informal contacts and activities between private citizens and/or groups of individuals.⁴⁰ However, diplomacy keeps developing and changing every single time. The latest one being multi track diplomacy, where it combines previous tracks and conducts efforts through multiple paths. With the world becoming more integrated and globalized, diplomacy and relations between nations have changed. Shifting from the more formal and rigid traditional diplomacy to become more modern and versatile. Taking advantage

³⁶ Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power." *Foreign Policy*, no. 80, 1990, pp. 153–171. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1148580.

³⁷ Ronald Peter Barston, *Modern diplomacy*, Pearson Education, 2006.

³⁸ "diplomacy | Nature, Purpose, History, & Practice". *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>

³⁹ Djelantik, Sukawarsini. *Diplomasi: Antara Teori dan Praktik*. (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2012), 4

⁴⁰ Diamond, Louise. McDonald, John. *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Guide and Analysis*. Iowa Peace Institute. 1991.

of pathways outside of the traditional governmental official routes. Using non-violent, non-governmental channels defines multi-track diplomacy.⁴¹

Multi-track diplomacy looks at the interconnectedness of individuals, groups, communities, and activities, which are called non-state actors, that serves the purpose of working towards a better future. Unlike Track I diplomacy which uses official government channels, multi-track diplomacy uses non-state actors as their main medium. Non-state actors from Track II diplomacy may even assist government actors to manage and resolve conflicts using alternative methods.⁴² Both tracks work hand-in-hand to achieve goals through diplomacy. In addition, this modernized version of diplomacy evolved into nine tracks with each working towards achieving the same goal but through different pathways. Track one comes from the government and official diplomat from the state. Track two comes from non-governmental entities, such as NGOs and professionals. The rest of the tracks derive from non-state actors. Track three comes from the private business sector while track four comes from private citizens. Track five; research and education, track six is activism, track seven is religion, track eight is through funding, and lastly track nine is through mass media. Multi track diplomacy also utilizes the media as a medium to further its efforts. Using the media to convey its efforts and purpose to the targeted audience. The media being used have also evolved from the traditional ways. With Industrial Revolution 4.0, new mediums have opened up. New media channels such as social media and the internet became a super medium for multi-track diplomacy. Examples of this new media include YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, etc. to transport new information and new cultures all around the globe.

⁴¹ Djelantik, Sukawarsini. *Diplomasi: Antara Teori dan Praktik*. (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2012), 188

⁴² Montville, Joseph V. 2015. "A New Dimension for Statecraft." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Spring, 38-53. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1782258018?accountid=31495>

Furthermore, public diplomacy is an action supported by the government in order to influence foreign public.⁴³ Coined by Edward Guillon back in 1965, defined public diplomacy as “the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another... and the process of intercultural communications.”⁴⁴ From then on, there have been several occasions the term was used and have evolved from time to time. Earlier in the definition, it was understood as a tool of propaganda. However they are not the same. Ever since the Cold War, diplomats and policy makers are debating the correlations between the two. Public diplomacy can be seen as positive impacts but can also be understood as negative impacts.⁴⁵ Overall, public diplomacy is an effort made by the government in order to build a good or positive reputation in the international community.

Mark Leonard, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Sweming classified public diplomacy into several pillars, one of the pillars is relationship building.⁴⁶ Leonard uses communication as the main theory for setting the agenda, framing, and priming. However, this was only directed as a one way communication rather than receiving responses. In a relationship building process, there needs to be exchanges between the sides involved. Using dialog as a way to exchange information and communication, which can be facilitated through social media and the internet that has significantly advanced because of globalization. The dialogues between citizens from different countries would advance the exchanges between the countries while also having some

⁴³ “public diplomacy | Definition, Types, Examples, & Propaganda”. Encyclopedia *Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-diplomacy>

⁴⁴ Cull, Nicholas. “Public Diplomacy’ Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase”. *USCPublicDiplomacy*. University of Southern California. April 18, 2006. <https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase>

⁴⁵ Rachmawati, Iva. *Diplomasi Publik: Meretas Jalan bagi Harmoni dalam Hubungan Antarneegara*. (Yogyakarta, Calpulis, 2016), 5

⁴⁶ Leonard, Mark. Stead, Catherine. Sweming, Conrad. *Public Diplomacy*. The Foreign Policy Centre: London.

cultures exchanged between them. This cultural exchange always happens if there were any interaction between citizens of different states.

According to Mark Leonard, public diplomacy is used by a country to build relations with another country through the use of understanding the culture of another country in order to develop a positive image or correcting wrong perspectives of the country. Leonard further stated that there are four stages that can be reached through public diplomacy. The first stage being introducing and spreading information about the country to the foreign public. The second stage involves the increase of appreciation when the foreign public is already familiar with the country's information. The third stage is when the foreign public is being engaged and involved in the activity of the country, such as through tourism, promotion of the country's product, or cultural exchange activities. The last stage being where the foreign public have made relations and attachment towards the country to therefore be able to influence the opinion and change the perspective of the foreign public to then further the country's agenda.⁴⁷

1.6 Research Methodologies and Data Collection Techniques

1.6.1 Research Methodologies

Considering this research thesis studies the contribution and phenomenon of girl group TWICE as a case study, the spectrum of analysis came from the observations and responses from the public. Therefore, using qualitative as an approach because of the observative and subjective nature of the research. The qualitative method generally explores the meaning and insights of certain situations from the people. The observations and interpretations of people's perceptions

⁴⁷ Leonard, Mark. "Public Diplomacy". *The Foreign Policy Centre*. <https://fpc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2006/09/35.pdf>

on certain incidents or phenomena.⁴⁸ The responses and experiences of South Koreans and Japanese about TWICE and how the girl group contributes in helping the progress of South Korea's public diplomacy and diplomatic relations in Japan.

1.6.2 Data Collection Technique

Qualitative data collected through official documents research pertaining to the case study being presented in the thesis. Official documents such as issued by the government and statistics of the girl group's contributions and achievements. More data also gathered through secondary data collection such as articles, journals, books, documents, and archives that are credible and relevant to the research. The thesis also collected several sources from social media responses and street video interviews done by television shows and YouTube channels. The respondents of those street video interviews comes from various age demographics in Japan who are aware of South Korea and TWICE.

1.7 Systematics of Discussion

The first chapter comprises background, problem identification, objective, purpose and significance of the thesis, literature review, theoretical framework, research methodologies and data collection technique, and the structure of the thesis itself.

Chapter II discusses South Korea's public diplomacy efforts in the form of *Hallyu* Wave and how they have become a phenomenon and able to become a pop culture powerhouse in the world. Starting with an in-depth explanation of Korean popular culture, *Hallyu* wave, and how

⁴⁸ Mohajan, Haradhan. "Qualitative Research Methodology in Social Sciences and Related Subjects". Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People, Vol-7, Issue 01, 2018, pp. 23-48. *Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA)*. https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/85654/1/MPRA_paper_85654.pdf

TWICE fits as a study case. This chapter will also specify Hallyu's existence in Japan as South Korea's public diplomacy efforts.

Chapter III will analyze TWICE's contribution to South Korea's public diplomacy in Japan, whether they gave negative or positive contributions to South Korea's public diplomacy and how the group supported the expansion of *Hallyu* in Japan.

Chapter IV will close the thesis research in a conclusion.