

## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE POWER OF INFORMATION:  
THE INTERNET AND THE RISE OF SOFT POWER

Yookyoung Shin, Doctor of Philosophy, 2009

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This dissertation explores how the Internet changes the concept of political power. It focuses on information as a source of political power, and the relationship between information and power. As a conceptual analysis of the impact of the Internet on political power shift, it argues that the Internet transforms the concept of power from hard to soft. This dissertation argues: (i) the Internet changes power sources from material, such as military or economic, to non-material, such as information or policies; (ii) the Internet promotes the rise of soft power in international relations.

This dissertation aims to improve theoretical as well as empirical understanding of information as a source of political power, and to conceptualize political power from hard to soft. According to Nye, soft power is defined as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion.” This study begins with an analysis of the concept of power in politics, and continues to analyze the impact of the Internet

on the conceptualization of political power. This dissertation examines the Internet as a new form of communication media with particular emphasis on the political use of the Internet. Then, it explores digital divide, and discusses some implications of the changed concept of power for two Koreas and the U.S.

Key words: information, power, the internet, communication media, digital divide, two Koreas and the U.S.

THE POWER OF INFORMATION:  
THE INTERNET AND THE RISE OF SOFT POWER

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
2009

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## Dedication

To my mother, and  
To my sons, Justin and Andrew

## Acknowledgements

It took seven years to finish my doctoral study. I did three productive works at the graduate school: Justin, Andrew, and this dissertation.

First of all, I am grateful to my advisor, Professor Miranda Schreurs for her advice, support, and caring. I feel fortunate to have wonderful dissertation committee members, and offer many, many thanks to Professor George Quester, Professor Marcus Franda, Professor James Glass, and Professor Seung-kyung Kim, for their time, suggestion, and encouragement.

I thank to Professor Joseph Nye whom I have never met. I have intellectual debt to him. I give my sincere thanks to Professor Seong Ki Mun and Professor Hoyoung Chung who served at Georgetown University, for their help and guidance. I am also grateful to my teachers, Professor Soojin Kim at Ewha Womans University, Professor Youngsun Ha and Professor Wookhee Shin at Seoul National University.

Special thanks go to my family, my mother, father, sister, and brother, for their sacrifice, unconditional support, and endless love. Without family, I could not have done this dissertation. I give heartfelt appreciation to Jae, an amazing husband and a great daddy. From the first step of my study to the last moment, he has been with me. Jae, let's play golf together. Justin and Andrew, my two sons, I love you. Now, mommy is all yours. Thank you, God.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

“Is it better to be loved more than feared, or feared more than loved?” In *the Prince*, Niccolo Machiavelli wrote that “one ought to be both feared and loved, but as it is difficult for the two to coincide, it is much safer to be feared than loved.”<sup>1</sup> Joseph Nye asks a similar question, and answers that successful states need not only hard and soft power, but they must also wield “smart power,” which he defines as the strategic combination of hard and soft power.<sup>2</sup>

This dissertation is on the power of information. In a broad sense, it explores the impact of the Internet on global politics. How does the Internet change global politics? How does the Internet change political power in international relations? How does information, made available through the Internet beyond borders, impact politics both on the level of actors and issue areas? What does the Internet change, and what does it not change in international relations?

More specifically, this dissertation argues that the information provided by the Internet brings three expansions in global politics: first, the concept of political

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<sup>1</sup> Niccolo Machiavelli 1950. *The Prince and the Discourses*, Translated by Luigi Ricci, Revised by E.R.P. Vincent, Introduction by Max Lerner, New York, N.Y.: Random House p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr. 2004. *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics*, New York, N.Y.: Public Affairs. p. 32.

power from hard to soft; second, actors from national to transnational; third, issue areas from offline to online. The Internet has broadened the spectrum of power from hard to soft, and the spectrum of actors from national to transnational, and the spectrum of issue areas from offline to online.

It is interesting that each of these three expansions is interactive: soft power interacts with hard power; transnational actors interact with national actors; cyber politics interacts with real politics. The Internet does not stay as virtual reality inside the computer. It actively works beyond cyberspace and influences the real world we live in.

This dissertation proposes that information is power. In other words, information can turn into political, socio-economic or cultural power. This is an attempt to show how information via the Internet can be the source of political power, and why it matters in global politics. From individual to social or to national, the people or the nations or the organizations which has the information have a power. The Internet is a new media that can produce both hard and soft power. This dissertation argues that the Internet changed the major locus of power from hard to soft.

Everything changes except the fact that everything changes. Indeed, the world always has been in a state of change, and our views of it also change when existing theories do not explain the change. The Internet is a new media that is essential in almost every aspect of social, economic, and political life. In international relations, there is a general agreement that the Internet has been changing the dynamic of global politics, however, there is no agreement as to what extent and how the Internet has been changing it. To address this gap, this dissertation proposes a study on the impact of the Internet on political power and the rise of soft power.

While most of international relations studies have focused on the rise and fall of economic or military power, this dissertation is interested in exploring the less studied, the other face of power, what is called “soft power.” This dissertation examines how the Internet is changing the dynamics of global politics by evaluating a classic notion of the traditional concept of power, and by offering a new concept of political power.

### ***Research Questions***

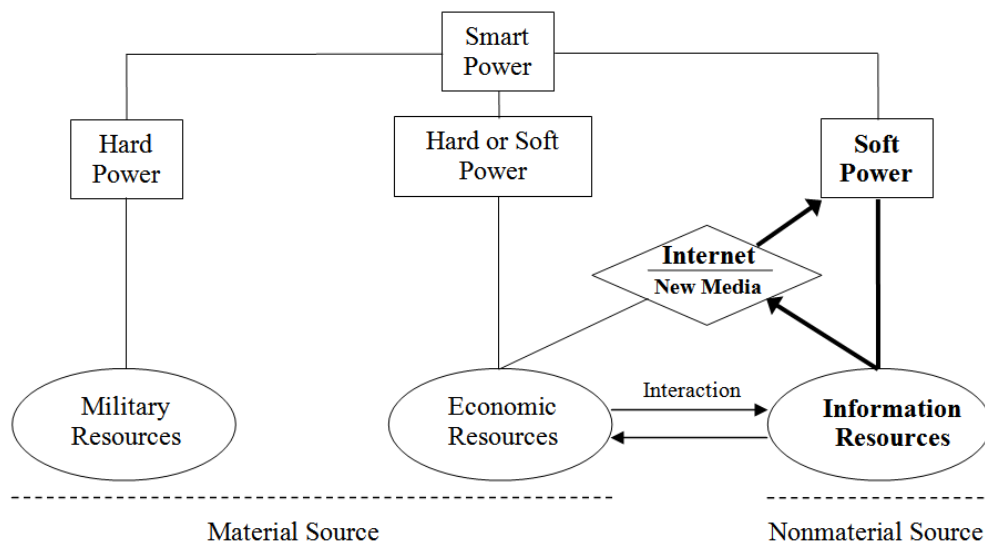
What is the impact of the Internet as a new media on global politics? How does the Internet change the concept of political power? How does information impact

politics both in the level of actors, and the level of issue areas? What is the relationship between hard and soft power? How does information turn into a source of political power?

This dissertation argues that the impact of the Internet brought three major changes in global politics: first, the concept of political power from hard to soft; second, actors from national to transnational; third, issue areas from offline to online. The Internet changes power sources from material resources such as military or economic to non-material informational resources. Therefore, the Internet promotes the rise of soft power in international relations. This dissertation argues that the impact of the Internet expands the concept of political power from hard to soft, and analyzes how soft power interacts with hard power.

These arguments are seen as important but a systematic study is not completed yet. Nye argues that economic power is not a form of soft power, while this dissertation argues that economic power can be converted into both soft power and hard power. Economic power can be soft or hard depending on which approach is used. For example, when economic power is used to buy weapons, it reflects a hard power approach, but when used to provide humanitarian relief or assistance, it is using a soft power approach.

The objective of this dissertation is mainly conceptual. This dissertation tries to make both theoretical and empirical connections between the concept of soft power and the reality of global politics. This dissertation aims to analyze the changing scope of political power. Three objectives are presented as follows; i) to improve theoretical understanding of information as a source of political power in international relations; ii) to demonstrate the expansion of the concept of political power from hard to soft; iii) to show the change of actors from national to transnational, and the change of the issue areas from offline to online.



**Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework for Power**

The framework of this dissertation considers the Internet as a new political communication media, and that it makes information a source of political power, thus, changing the concept of political power. Figure 1.1 shows the conceptual framework for power.

More specifically, this dissertation focuses on (i) the Internet as a new media, while it acknowledges traditional media such as television, radio, and newspaper as still powerful and reliable; (ii) the political impact of the Internet among various social, economic, and cultural ones; (iii) soft power, while it acknowledges hard power still matters.

### ***Literature Review***

This dissertation is based on international relations literatures, and political communication literatures exploring media and politics. In the study of the Internet and politics, some believe the Internet changes everything while others believe the Internet changes almost nothing. There is validity to both sides. New identities and communities are formed in cyberspace, and more information is available, but governments continue to use military resources and economic influence to control others. This dissertation assumes both sides are valid, but tries

to understand and analyze how the main locus of the power resources has changed from material to immaterial.

International politics is understood through three competing paradigms of international relations theory: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. As the dominant theoretical tradition throughout the Cold War, realism approaches international relations as a struggle for power among nations. Realism sees states as major actors in international politics. It offers simple and powerful explanations for international phenomena such as power, conflict, war, and obstacles to cooperation. The general prospectus of realism on international relations is quite pessimistic.

Hans J. Morgenthau, as a classic realist, focused on the nature of states. He believed that states, like humans, have a natural desire to dominate others. The ability to dominate others has traditionally been related to the possession of certain material capabilities, largely military or economic resources. This traditional concept of power is known as hard power. By contrast, Kenneth Waltz, as a neo realist, focused on the nature of the system. He focused on the influence of the international system beyond human nature. For him, the system is anarchic.



Overall, liberalism has a more optimistic view on international relations than realism. Contrary to realists, Robert Keohane, from the school of neoliberal institutionalism, approaches international politics with an emphasis on the role of institutions and information. Liberal theorists believe that the spread of democracy, global economic ties, and international organizations will promote peace in international relations. Liberals generally see states as central actors but some liberals provided new ideas about major actors, such as multi-national corporations and non-governmental organizations.

Whereas realism and liberalism tend to focus on material factors, constructivist approaches emphasize the impact of ideas. In addition, realism and liberalism do not fully explain big changes in international politics of the post-Cold War era. Constructivism views international politics as shaped by ideas, values, culture, and social identities. Instead of taking the state as given in the system, constructivists regard the interests and identities of states as a continuously evolving process through shared beliefs, interests, and norms. Alexander Wendt argued that state identities and interests are “socially constructed by knowledgeable practice” and presented the issue of how identity and interests are

formed.<sup>3</sup> Constructivism is inevitably attentive to the sources of change, and this dissertation stands within the constructivists' theoretical framework, and shares the constructivist perspective.

Change in communication technology and information flow beyond national boundaries result in significant political transformation. If we accept that information is a source of power, then understanding how it is used, distributed, and interpreted is an essential aspect of understanding politics.<sup>4</sup>

There are tendencies for realists to argue in favor of hard power and liberals to emphasize the importance of soft power. Hard power is generally related to the realist perspective of international relations theory that mainly argues power comes from military and economic resources. The realist perspective of power began with Morgenthau who placed the concept of power at the center of international relations studies.<sup>5</sup> As Morgenthau offered, traditional realist theories of international relations rely on a power as a material resource, such as

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<sup>3</sup> Wendt, 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization*. Vol. 46. No. 2 pp. 391-425.

<sup>4</sup> J.P. Singh 2002. "Introduction: Information Technologies and the Changing Scope of Global Power and Governance." in James N. Rosenau and J.P. Singh, ed., *Information Technologies and Global Politics: The Changing Scope of Power and Governance*. Albany: State University of New York Press. pp. 1-38.

<sup>5</sup> For traditional power concept, see Chapter 9 in Hans J. Morgenthau, 1966. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf

population, military forces, economic size and natural resources.<sup>6</sup> Traditional approaches to the study of power have emphasized its more coercive and dominating aspects than attractive aspects.

From the liberal perspective, Joseph Nye has contributed to develop the soft power concept, which countered the perception that military power was almost everything. He presents that economic and military power is linked to hard power while soft power is found in the realm of attraction usually coming from culture, education, information technology, or mass media. In summary, Nye's concept is the power of "attraction," as opposed to the power of "coercion". This dissertation primarily focuses on the sources of soft power; however, it does not deny the role of hard power sources.

According to Jeffrey Hart, there are three different ways of observing power: (i) power as a resource, (ii) power as a relationship, (iii) power as a structure.<sup>7</sup>

Toffler argues that the form of power shifts from one major kind to another—from violence to wealth to knowledge.<sup>8</sup> The point here is that the nature of power

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<sup>6</sup> Morgenthau, 1966.

<sup>7</sup> Jeffrey Hart 1976. "Three Approaches to the Measurement of Power in International Relations." *International Organizations*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp.281-305.

<sup>8</sup> Alvin Toffler 1990. *Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Violence at the Edge of the 21st century*. New York: Bantam Books.

is currently undergoing a shift. Table 1.1 shows leading states and major power resources from 1500s to 1900s.

**Table 1.1 Leading States and Major Power Resources, 1500s~1900s**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Leading State</b>	<b>Major Resources</b>
16 <sup>th</sup> century	Spain	Gold bullion, colonial trade, mercenary armies, dynastic ties
17 <sup>th</sup> century	Netherlands	Trade, capital markets, navy
18 <sup>th</sup> century	France	Population, rural industry, public administration, army
19 <sup>th</sup> century	Britain	Industry, political cohesion, finance and credit, navy, liberal norms, island location (easy to defend)
20 <sup>th</sup> century	United States	Economic scale, scientific and technical leadership, universalistic culture, military forces and alliances, liberal international regimes, hub of transnational communications

Source: Nye, 1990. p.34

Nye’s analysis has served as a basis for many scholars attempting to analyze the relationship between communication technology and its effects on politics. According to Nye, “power is the ability to achieve one’s purposes or goals,”<sup>9</sup> and there are three ways to do this: coercion (sticks), inducement (carrots), and attraction (soft power).<sup>10</sup> Nye argues that a country’s soft power can come from

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<sup>9</sup> Nye 1990. p.25.

<sup>10</sup> Nye 2004. pp. i-xiii.

three resources: its culture, its political values, and its foreign policies.<sup>11</sup> He further argues that it is a mistake to rely on hard or soft power alone, and suggests that the ability to combine them effectively is termed “smart power.”<sup>12</sup> In the following chapter, Nye’s soft power will be examined further.

J.P. Singh has offered an important way of analyzing the changing scope of power into three types: instrumental, structural, and meta-power.<sup>13</sup> According to Singh, instrumental power focuses on the capability of power holders to produce a particular outcome, and structural power is about the ability to change and create institutions and rules.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the conceptualization of the impact of the Internet on power employs some notions of the changing instrumental power. In international relations theory, we can find the formulations of structural power in the works by Waltz, and Cox.<sup>15</sup>

Meta-power is the strongest type of transformative power, and refers to interactive networking that “reconfigures, constitute, or reconstitute identities, interests, and

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<sup>11</sup> Nye 2004. pp.1-32

<sup>12</sup> Nye 2004. p.32

<sup>13</sup> Singh 2002. pp. 1-38.

<sup>14</sup> Singh 2002. pp. 1-38.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Waltz 1979. *Theories of International Politics*. New York: McGraw Hill; Robert W. Cox 1987. *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

institutions.”<sup>16</sup> From the perspective of meta-power, the nature of power as well as actors and issues also change. This type of power is related to soft power, and conceptually benefits from constructivism proposed by Wendt<sup>17</sup>.

The literatures devoted to global communication is extensive. But few studies consider the impact of media on political power because much of the literature has been written by scholars of journalism. Political communications theorists contributed to research on the media’s role in politics in general. Thus, insufficient emphasis is often awarded to political factors such as power. From the communication medium theory, the impact of the Internet on power is not fully analyzed to a significant degree, particularly at the international level, thus, its systemic study is not completed yet.

Medium theory was first presented by Harold Innis, popularized by Marshall McLuhan.<sup>18</sup> According to medium theory, each mode of communication has unique properties, and it affects the production and distribution of the communicated information. Based on communication medium theories, the

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<sup>16</sup> Singh 2002. p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Alexander Wendt 1992. “Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization*. Vol. 46. No. 2 pp. 391-425.

<sup>18</sup> Harold Innis 1950. *Empire and Communications*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Marshall McLuhan 1964. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

distribution of political power in the world order can be analyzed, and the effects brought by changing modes of communication on the way of social evolution can be presented.<sup>19</sup>

Contending literatures have emerged to explain how new communication media affects power. Each perspective offers some insight; however, it does not adequately provide a complete understanding of the changes. Focusing on the technology alone looks at only a single aspect in a complex, and constantly changing reality.

The majority of works devoted to the study of the Internet and the implementation of new media and communication technologies have often focused on the utopian effects of the Internet. Many scholars hope that the development of communications technologies and expanded information processing can empower individuals and groups regardless of geographic location, and promote cooperation in international politics. But that is far from what is happening in reality. While the Internet has the ability to encourage cooperation and understanding, and promote peace, it also can be a tool to make conflict, terror,

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<sup>19</sup> Ronald J. Deibert 1997. *Parchment, Printing, and Hypermedia: Communication in World Order Transformation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

and war. There has to be significant analysis of the Internet influence on political power; however, it may be too early to assess the long term impact of the Internet as new communication media.

When scholars assess the potential of the Internet to change global politics, it is dangerous to uncritically accept the assumptions of technological determinism focused on the Internet's ability to affect world change. Since information communication media such as the Internet is embedded in our social, economic, political, and cultural systems, it inevitably reflects them. Therefore, in order to generate a new and better understanding of the effect of the Internet on political power, it is necessary to undertake a comprehensive study that considers various characteristics of the Internet impact.

### ***Methodological Issues***

This dissertation is concerned with the relationship between information and power. I argue that information interacts with power: power enables actors to acquire information, and information helps actors to define objectives, and ultimately to get what they want. Information is a flexible resource of power beyond time and space unlike any other power resource. This dissertation analyzes the impact of the Internet on the conceptualization of power, and argues



that the Internet expands the concept of political power from hard to soft. It is a conceptual analysis of the role of information as a source of political power in international relations.

This dissertation acknowledges that soft power doesn't quantify neatly unlike hard power. Quantifying hard power, such as population, territory, raw material, or military forces is much easier than quantifying soft power, such as culture, ideology, information, communication technology. While hard power can be easily defined or measured, soft power is relatively difficult to define or measure — one way to quantify the source of soft power can be the use of public opinion polls changing over time. In the real world, it is sometimes difficult to clearly distinguish soft power from hard power, and whether a part of an economic relationship is a source of hard power or soft power. This is because hard power and soft power are not mutually exclusive.

It is important to acknowledge that the approach of this dissertation is mainly conceptual, which raises two significant methodological challenges. First, there has been little agreement on the methodological process of analyzing political power, mostly due to the difficulties of power itself as a unit of analysis. Second, methodological problems in analyzing power have been particularly difficult

because there has been a lack of clarity over what areas of politics need to be examined.

Therefore, there are two limitations in this dissertation. First, the definition of soft power appears less concrete, less measurable, and less predictable. Second, the boundary of each power resource is not clear because they are interactive. Despite these limitations, this dissertation is important for the study of conceptualization of power in international relations. I hope to make a contribution to the existing literature as well as to future studies.

### *Chapter plan*

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the research design, which includes research questions, hypothesis, and literature review. The purpose and importance of the study, and methodological issues, in addition to the chapter plan will also be presented in this chapter.

The theoretical foundation of this dissertation will be provided in Chapter 2. This chapter examines the conceptualization of power and Nye's soft power. It will explore the source of political power and its change from three different approaches: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. Chapter 2 focuses on the

change in the main locus of political power from hard to soft, and on the rise of the soft power in international relations. In this chapter, the relationship between soft power and hard power will also be examined.

Chapter 3 will present the examination of the Internet as a new media, and what is really new about the Internet. This section will address two confronting perspectives toward the nature of the Internet. Some scholars describe the Internet as borderless or decentralized with low cost, while others argues that this misrepresents the real and serious limits still inherent to the Internet.

Chapter 4 will take a close look at the Internet as a new form of communication media with particular emphasis on the political use of the Internet. This chapter will show the Internet as a political media from national, regional, and global levels of analysis. Cyber politics in 2002 South Korean presidential election, soft power in East Asia, and transnational online activism will be explored.

Chapter 5 will focus on the perceived gap between those who have access to the Internet and those who do not.<sup>20</sup> How should the Internet change to close this gap? What does the Internet need to change? From a global perspective,

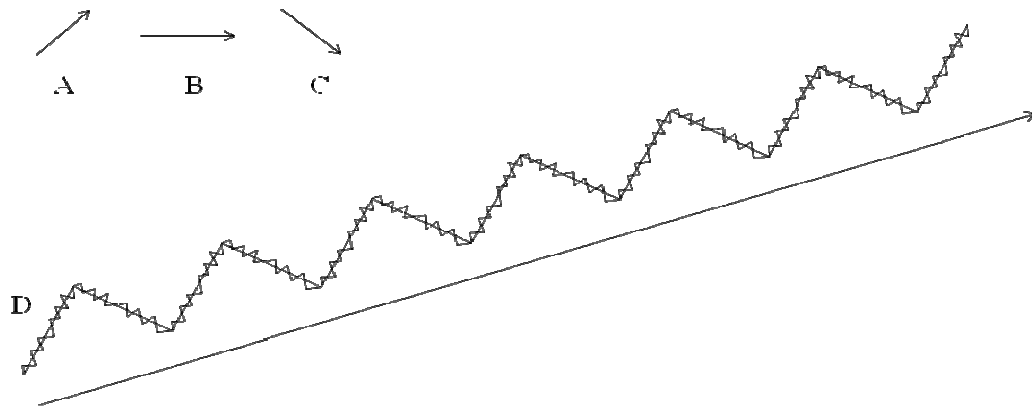
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<sup>20</sup> “There are only two kinds of people in the world, my old grandmother used to say, the haves and the have nots.” Sancho Panza in *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra p.456

information inequality between the haves and have-nots continues to exist and equal opportunity to information is still needed.

Chapter 6 provides what the Internet does not or cannot change, North Korea, and implications for the two Koreas and U.S. policy. Soft power is related to Kim, Dae-Jung's "Sunshine policy," which means active engagement of North Korea. It is based on Aesop's fable of the wind and the sun, where sunshine induces positive development better than winds. This chapter will show why soft power matters, and how it works for the two Koreas and the U.S. Lastly, conclusion will offer summaries and some concluding thoughts of the dissertation.

This dissertation has a view on history evolution as shown in Figure 1.2. How does human history evolve? Human history evolves with ups and downs. There is a time it rises (A) or falls (C), however, it does not stay the same (B). Overall, history has an upper right direction, and inside of it, there are never-ending ups and downs like (D). The great scientific breakthroughs, such as the information revolution and industrial revolution, point upwards, while great economic depressions point downwards. Eventually, human history evolves for a better world.



**Figure 1.2 History Evolution – How does history evolve?**

## Chapter 2. Power

This chapter aims to explore the nature of power and the sources of power to gain a better understanding of political power and its concept. The concept of power is essential to understand politics, since political systems can be explained through the underlying distribution of power.

Before exploring Nye's soft power theory, it is necessary to ask the most important question in power analysis. What is power? "Power in international politics is like weather. Everyone talks about it, but few understand it...Power, like love, is easier to experience than to define or measure."<sup>21</sup> As a general definition in political science, Robert Dahl has defined basic concept of power, "A has power over B to the extent that A can get B to do what B otherwise would not do."<sup>22</sup>

Politics, whether national or international, involves power. From different perspectives, with varying degrees, international theorists have questioned what power is, and argued what the sources of power are and how they are changing

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<sup>21</sup> In Joseph S. Nye, Jr. 1990. *Bound to lead: the changing nature of American Power*, New York: Basic Books, p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Robert A. Dahl. 1957. "The Concept of Power" *Behavioral Science* Vol.2. No. 3 pp.201-215.

from military resources to economic resources to information resources. Regarding power, a basic distinction can be made between resource power—the possession of certain resources, and behavioral power—the ability to obtain outcomes you want.

This chapter examines the conceptualization of power from classical political theory to international relations theory, and Joseph Nye’s soft power. It explores the source of political power and its change. It focuses on the change in the main locus of political power from hard to soft, and on the rise of the soft power in international relations.

### ***Conceptualization of Power***

Niccoló Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes are two great political thinkers in classical realist political theory. Regarding the nature and the concept of power, this chapter explores Hobbesian power first in detail for a better understanding of the three major approaches in international relations theory.

In *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes says all of mankind has a general inclination for a perpetual and restless desire of power that ceases only in death.<sup>23</sup> Hobbes’s

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<sup>23</sup> Thomas Hobbes (1651)1962. *Leviathan: or the matter, forme and power of a commonwealth*

understanding of power is zero-sum in the state of nature, and non zero-sum in the civil state. One's gain of power means another's loss in the state of nature; however, one's gain is not necessarily another's loss in the civil state. Hobbes's view of power shows how the nature of power matters in achieving cooperation.

Hobbes's most general definition of power is "one's present means to obtain future apparent good."<sup>24</sup> An interesting feature of this definition is that power is described as a relation between present means and future apparent good. "The power of a man, to take it universally, is his present means to obtain some future apparent good, and is either original or instrumental. Reputation of power is power; because it draweth with it the adherence of those that need protection. So is reputation of love of a man's country, called popularity, for the same reason. Also, what quality soever maketh a man beloved or feared of many, or the reputation of such quality, is power; because it is a means to have the assistance and service of many. Good success is power; because it maketh reputation of wisdom or good fortune, which makes men either fear him or rely on him."

(Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 72.)

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*ecclesiasticall and civil*, Edited by Michael Oakeshott with Introduction by Richard S. Peters, New York, N.Y.: Touchstone

<sup>24</sup> Hobbes, 1962. P. 72



After providing a general definition of human power, Hobbes makes a simple distinction between the natural resources of power and the instrumental means of power that man may command. “Natural power is the eminence of the faculties of body, or mind; as extraordinary strength, form, prudence, arts, eloquence, liberality, nobility. Instrumental are those powers which, acquired by these, or by fortune, are means and instruments to acquire more; as riches, reputation, friends, and the secret working of God, which men call good luck. For the nature of power is, in this point, like to fame, increasing as it proceeds; or like the motion of heavy bodies, which, the further they go, make still the more haste.” (Hobbes, *Leviathan* p.72)

In his power resources, the non-material resources, such as prudence, art, reputation, liberty, and eloquence, are included with the material resources, such as body, wealth and strength. The ‘present means’ of man—his faculties of body or mind, his riches or reputation—do not by themselves constitute power as Hobbes describes it.

Consider honor as a source of power. Certain achievements or abilities are transformed into power through acts of evaluation by others. This means that the value of a man’s prudence, eloquence, riches or any other natural or instrumental

resource depends on the judgment of others. Once a man possesses power resources, he can use them to force his own will on others. Hobbes gives a suggestion to use both coercive and persuasive resources.

Power is the ability to achieve desired outcomes, and the nature of power is relational. Some of its sources have a material base, while others have non-material base. General interpretations on Hobbes's power concept focused on power as being substantive—as possession of material resources. Contrary to these interpretations, Hobbes clearly gives his view on power as a natural and instrumental one. To Hobbes, power has non-material as well as material nature. To possess a bag of gold can be a power resource; however, having a good reputation also can be an important power resource.

There are three basic ways to make power work in *Leviathan*: persuasion, coercion, and obligation. Persuasion depends on the present existence of shared interests between the one who persuades and the one who is persuaded. Persuasion is where one or both sides seek to exercise power over the other through bargaining. Coercion implies the absence of shared interests. Thus, in the state of nature, coercion is the most appropriate method to the pure zero-sum concept of power where shared interests do not exist and for that reason one's

gain is another's loss. Obligation is based on prior agreement for perceived common interest, and in order to bind prior obligation, some kind of present compelling way is in need.

The study of power traditionally had emphasized the more coercive and dominating aspects of power than persuasive and attractive aspects. This chapter takes a different position from traditional perspectives, focusing on the sources of soft power while it does not deny the role of hard power sources. According to Hobbes, shared belief is not enough to bind states together in peace, since bonds of belief are too weak to bind individuals' endless ambition for power. This does not mean, however, that coercive power is more fundamental to a stable world than relations created by common beliefs.

Hobbes believes that violence alone is not sufficient to establish a ruling power. Coercive power comes into being only when the subjects conceive him to be their authorized ruler. From Hobbes's perspective, the greatest of the human power is that which is compounded of the powers of most men, united by consent. This power is not forced by coercion, but consented by mutual interests. Power is relational. Political power lies in human relations to persuade or coerce others.

In Hobbes's general definition of power, nothing requires that one's power comes at the expense of another's power. To make the transition from the state of nature to a civil state possible, Hobbes's definition of power is changed from zero-sum, "a state of war of each against all" to non zero-sum, "a state of common interests." Persuasion is a power source based on shared interests; coercion is a power source based on zero-sum interests; obligation is a power source based on prior common interest and present compelling mechanism. Power relations based on an internalized sense of obligation may operate with very little use of threat of coercion. This is why soft power that is based on persuasion or reputation is important. According to Hobbes's general definition of power, 'reputation' is clearly an important source of power.

### ***Three Approaches***

There have been three major approaches of the theoretical conceptualization of power in international relations: realism; liberalism; constructivism. This is summarized in Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1 Competing Theories in International Relations**

<b>Competing Paradigms</b>	<b>Realism</b>	<b>Liberalism</b>	<b>Constructivism</b>
<b>Main Theoretical Proposition</b>	Self-interested states compete for power or security	Spread of democracy, global economic ties, and international organizations will strengthen peace	International politics is shared by persuasive ideas, collective values, culture, and social identities
<b>Main Unit of Analysis</b>	States, which behave similarly regardless of their type of government	States, international institutions, and commercial interests	Promoters of new ideas, transnational activist networks, and nongovernmental organizations
<b>Main Instruments</b>	Economic and especially military power	Varies (international institutions, economic exchange, promotion of democracy)	Ideas and Values
<b>Theory's Intellectual Blind Spots</b>	Doesn't account for progress and change in international relations or understanding that legitimacy can be a source of military power	Fails to understand that democratic regimes survive only if they safeguard military power and security; some liberals forget that transitions to democracy are sometimes violent	Does not explain which power structures and social conditions allow for changes in values
<b>Theorist</b>	Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz	Michael Doyle, Robert Keohane	Alexander Wendt, John Ruggie

Source: Combination of Walt (1998. p.38) and Snyder (2004. p. 59)'s table

The first approach, which focuses on the nature of state like a human, provides the most simple and powerful theoretical explanation of power in international politics. In the realist paradigm of power theory, states are main units of analysis, and self-interested states compete for power and security. As a classical realist, Hans Morgenthau argues that international politics is a struggle for power, and he

defines power as “man’s control over the minds and actions of other man.”

Morgenthau’s definition of power remains a basic reference in political science.

From the neo-realism perspective, Kenneth Waltz argues that it is the system of international politics that forces states to seek power. One of the major characteristics of the structure of the international system is the distribution of capabilities. Waltz inherits some of Morgenthau’s basic notion of power analysis, while describing that not only military power but also economic growth and technological development become matters of intense concern in international politics.<sup>25</sup> Gilpin also stresses that there are other important power factors such as public morale or the quality of political leadership, besides a state’s military or economic factors, describing the concept of power as one of the more troublesome concepts in international relations.<sup>26</sup> Generally, neorealist theorists emphasize the distribution of capabilities at the international system level.

The second approach, liberalism, argues that political power is not limited to the nature or material resources of the state itself but includes resources that emerge

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<sup>25</sup> Kenneth Waltz. 1979. *Theories of International Politics*. New York: McGraw Hill. P. 172.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Gilpin. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, p.13.

from relations between actors. Though states are still the main actors, liberalism extends the unit of analysis from state to non state actors, such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations or multinational corporations. According to this approach, states are still the main actors, but states' power is relative, not absolute. This perspective is connected with the concept of interdependence, and has been developed in the neoliberal framework of international relations theory by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye.

Neoliberalism further distinguishes itself from realism by assuming that the spread of democracy, global economic ties, and international organizations will strengthen international peace. In addition, main actors and instruments for power vary, such as international institutions, economic exchange, promotion of democracy beyond state boundaries.

The third approach is constructivism, which has an ability to account the changes of international politics after the end of the Cold War. Constructivism emphasizes the importance of ideas and values, and proposes that international politics is shared by persuasive ideas, collective values, culture, and social identities. Generally, constructivists' theories are good for analyzing of new ideas, transnational activist networks, and nongovernmental organizations.

Constructivism is understood not as a homogenous theory, but as having numerous approaches. Alexander Wendt is regarded as the best example of a constructivist approach to international relations. Wendt's theory, summarized as "anarchy is what states make of it," seeks to outline both neo-realists and neo-liberalists theories first, then criticizes that they lack the knowledge of identity and the role of norms and values as forces in accounting states' behavior within the logic of power.<sup>27</sup>

To constructivists, power is socially constructed and changes over time. Constructivist interpretation of power is the view that power is heavily influenced by other social norms and practices. What makes the power concept of constructivism distinct from realism and liberalism is that it focuses on "mutually constitutive" characteristics. Wendt's theory involves "inter-subjectivity" in the international system and the identities of states are "mutually constitutive," which means that states' behavior shapes their identity and the behaviors of other states.

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<sup>27</sup> Alexander Wendt, 1992. "Anarchy is what States Make of it" *International Organization*. Vol.42, No.2 pp. 391-425



*Nye's Power: Hard Power + Soft Power = Smart Power?*

Power has many faces. Among them, Nye analyzes power's immaterial resources with great detail. Whereas Nye does not repudiate the traditional definition of power, he critically examines classical approaches to define power, and shows that much of the previous analyses depend on material resources, such as military or economic aspects of power. While he still accepts state centered characteristics of power analysis, Nye describes how traditional hard power approach fails to explain the changes that globalization and information technologies brought.

Soft power is defined as the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion.<sup>28</sup> This chapter uses the term "soft power" based on Joseph Nye's definition, and explores Nye's soft power concept. He was the first to introduce soft power to international relations, and he broadened the perspectives of international politics which was previously dominated by hard power.

According to Nye, soft power rests in the ability of a state to shape the preferences of others: "getting others to want the same outcomes as you want."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Nye 2004. p. x.

<sup>29</sup> Nye, 2004. "Soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced." (p. x).

Nye developed the concept of “soft power” in *Bound to Lead*, published in 1990, and refined the concept in *Soft Power*, published in 2004. In his recent book, Nye analyzes how the failure of the Bush administration to give sufficient weight to the potential for soft power affected U.S. efforts to build a strong coalition in support of its goals in global politics.

Nye’s argument is balanced, clear, and convincing. He analyzes the changing context of power in international politics and explains why soft power is much more important than it was in the past.<sup>30</sup> While Nye focuses primarily on the sources of American soft power, he also addresses how other states and non-state actors have made use of soft power. Nye examines how soft power can be wielded through public diplomacy, although he acknowledges that there are limitations to its creation and use.

Nye suggests that there are three types of power that matter in global politics: military, economic, and soft.<sup>31</sup> According to his argument, military power as hard power uses threat or force, and its main method is coercion or deterrence. As another type of hard power, economic power uses payments or sanctions, and its

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<sup>30</sup> Shin, Yookyong 2007. In the book review, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*. Vol.35. No.2.

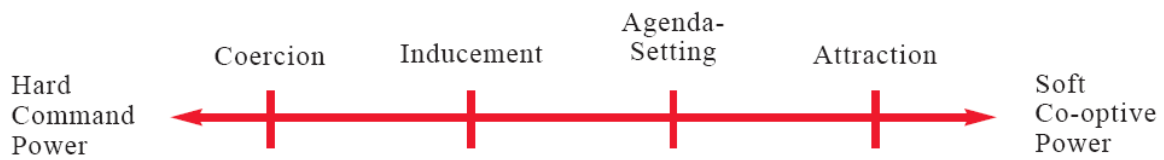
<sup>31</sup> Nye 2004. pp. 30-32.

main behavior is inducement or coercion. Soft power uses value, culture, policies, or institutions, and its main behavior is attraction or agenda setting. Nye argues that as a result of the information revolution in recent decades the locus of power has been shifting from military to economic and finally to soft power. Increasingly, it is informational resources that matter.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, power sources of a state can be analyzed from many different perspectives. Nye divides the sources of national power into two categories—hard power and soft power. According to Nye, the distinction between hard and soft power lies in different forms of behavior from coercion to attraction. Figure 2.1 shows that hard power is the ability to get the outcomes through coercive factors. “Command power”—the ability to change what others do—can rest on coercion or inducement, and “co-optive power”—the ability to shape what others want—can rest on the attractiveness of one’s culture and ideology or the ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices.<sup>32</sup> Soft power is less costly to employ than military means, though it is more difficult to use, and takes more time to accumulate.

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<sup>32</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr. 1990. *Bound to lead: the changing nature of American Power*, New York: Basic Books, p. 267.



**Figure 2.1 Command Power and Co-optive Power**

Source: Nye 1990. p. 267.

One of Nye's aims is to examine and assess the ability of the United States to create and use soft power effectively. At the heart of Nye's argument is a critique of the Bush administration's policies following September 11, 2001. Nye criticizes the Bush administration for focusing too much on hard power and trying to force other nations to follow America's will. The failure of the Bush administration to gain broad support for the war against Iraq, argues Nye, stems from their decision to turn to coercion without first exploring the potential afforded by soft power.

Nye argues that the United States' invasion of Iraq in the name of democracy and the Bush administration's unilateral policies have made it more difficult to develop cooperative approaches toward solving global problems. The Bush administration's emphasis on hard over soft power have made it difficult to achieve global consensus on America's foreign policy.

This chapter agrees with the idea that the use of coercive capabilities alone does not guarantee national security. Security comes from a careful wielding of both hard and soft power. In the global information age, the United States' ability to achieve the outcome it wants will depend on how attractive its image is.

Much of the existing literature on soft power maintains that a nation can increase its influence over others by disseminating its culture. But this kind of view puts too much focus on cultural aspects without considering existing social, political, and economic conditions.

Although Nye argues persuasively, his argument has some challenges and limitations as he acknowledges. First, his concept of soft power is not concrete, easily measurable, or predictable. The concept of soft power cannot be as neatly quantified as hard power. The attractiveness of culture, political ideals, and values is difficult to define or measure.

Second, the boundary of each power resource is rather blurry because they are interactive. Hard power and soft power sometimes reinforce, and sometimes interfere with each other. For example, the Bush administration's invasion of Iraq made it difficult to achieve the soft power of the U.S. in global politics.

In addition, hard power sometimes can be used as a source of soft power, and vice versa. For example, the soft power of the Internet might not have been developed without the hard power stemming from the U.S. economic abilities. If we do not have the economic ability to afford computer hardware, then the access of information itself cannot be available.

Nye does see these limitations to the concept of soft power and recognizes that there is a need for “smart power”—a combination of soft power and hard power. He suggests that we should use both soft and hard power to obtain a well-balanced power. America’s success will depend on developing a deeper understanding of the role of soft power in foreign policy, and achieving this will result in the ability of the United States to wield smart power. The question that remains is what can be done to improve America’s potential to use smart power effectively.

There are two major differences between Nye’s argument and the argument in this dissertation. First, Nye set economic power as major source of hard power whereas economic power turns into soft power as well as hard power in the framework of this dissertation. Second, among soft power resources, this dissertation argues that information via the Internet media is an essential resource

for soft power, more important than value, culture, policies, or institutions that Nye suggests.

### **Chapter 3. The Internet as a New Media**

Technological progress has played an important role in international relations. This fact can be applied not only to recent politics, but also to 18th and 19th century politics. As Anderson argues, actors were inspired by the great scientific breakthroughs of their day - the telegraph, the railroad, or industrial production.<sup>33</sup>

To understand and analyze the Internet's impact on global politics, understanding the role of the Internet as a new media is essential, particularly at the global level. The Internet is a unique media, and it can be described as a combination of technology, communication, and media. It is also a political, economic, social, and cultural invention. In terms of its global impact, the Internet has changed global politics by providing opportunities to access previously unavailable information.

If we accept that information is a source of power, then understanding how it is used, distributed, and interpreted is an essential aspect of understanding politics.

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<sup>33</sup> Bonnie S. Anderson 2000. "Panorama," chapter 1 of Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 7-27.



Some technologies enhance what people are already doing, and simply make those activities faster, easier, or less expensive, while other technologies offer entirely new possibilities. This chapter will discuss the Internet's ability that enables entirely new possibilities in the political arena as well as making people's activities faster, easier or less expensive beyond borders.

The media have had the crucial role of disseminating information to people, and the Internet has affected overall political communication. In early stages, the Internet created optimistic views on the digital democracy for a better world, creating more opportunities for active participation in the political arena. At the same time, there has been also consciousness of the potential dangers of the Internet as a new technology. The Internet as a new media also has had negative influences, which is relatively much less than the positive impacts on it. Cyber terror and digital divide are major negative examples of the Internet.

Within this dissertation, the Internet refers to the digital communications media that are available through the World Wide Web. More specifically, this includes emails, websites, search engines, bulletin boards, blogs, and digital media players for audio and video contents.

### *The Nature of the Internet*

Different communication media have different mechanisms. We can see world events only through media report, whether the media is print, radio, television or the Internet. The information that certain media deliver is different according to the type of media. Even regarding the same events, different media report in different ways from different perspectives. Traditional media, such as newspaper, radio, or television are still very powerful and reliable in terms of the impact and accessibility for people. But it is also true that new media, such as the Internet, provide more detailed information in a parallel setting rather than in a top-down one.

The Internet is a network communication media without any central control authority. The Internet's characteristic of disorganization has served as a means to facilitate anti-hierarchical communication, meaning less centralized control, less government intervention, and less censorship compared to existing print, radio or television media. Unlike the traditional mass media, the control over contents on the Internet usually belongs to those individuals, institutions, or organizations that produce the messages, free from central regulation authorities.

Everyday life continuously asks us to make decisions and choices. To do that, we need information. The kind of information we need may vary from the individual level to the international. Also, there can be various sources of information, such as family, friend, newspaper, television, or Google.

The Internet provides more diverse and in-depth information through hyperlinks and search engines. It does not simply provide a larger volume of information, and it also enables easy access to more complex information. Unlimited access with no boundaries in time and space also allows the audience to choose the information they want, while the other traditional media frame and set the agenda. A further advantage to the audience is the multiple functions of the Internet: text, music, graphic, animation and video.

The Internet is continually evolving, especially in application to global politics. From a political perspective, the Internet has expanded the issue areas from offline to online, and actors from national to transnational. It has enhanced the quality of information as well as its quantity. It has also reshaped who produces information, who delivers it, and how it is received.

There are two streams of scholars who have generally different views on the nature of the Internet. One group is based partly on the idea of technology

determinism, and sees the Internet as replacement tool. The other group is based on the idea of social constructivism, and sees it as a supplemental tool. Technology determinism assumes that technological developments lead to social change. To them, technology is a major vehicle for changes and development in society.<sup>34</sup>

However, this view is critically examined by other scholars who argue that technology determinism is an extreme theory, because the theory ignores other factors, arguing that technology solely determines the development and changes of society.<sup>35</sup> Technology determinism tends to see the Internet as a revolutionary tool to bring fundamental changes to society. What this assumes in the reality of world politics is that technology will allow people access the Internet completely and equally, which is not the case. From critical viewpoints, technology is not a sufficient condition determining social development.

Social constructivism, on the other hand, views reality as “constructed” by social relationships and interactions. Thus, social constructivism argues that technology is meaningful only when it has significant relationships with human beings, and

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<sup>34</sup> Chandler, 1995.

<sup>35</sup> Bimber, 1994

only when it has interactions with other factors in society. Contrary to technology determinism, social constructivism weighs much more on human beings' will and attitude in explaining the relationship between technology and social development.

Thus, social constructivists argue that technology is controlled by human action and is given meaning through humans' selection of how, when and why it will be used. Unlike technology determinism, the access and use of the Internet is influenced by the user's educational or socioeconomic background. Social constructivists and those who share their idea of the Internet's effect on politics see the Internet as a supplemental tool. Accordingly, off-line politics moves into online because it is fast, convenient, less expensive and effective.

Social constructivists argue that information provided by the Internet is mostly supplementary and complementary source rather than a unique information source.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, to them, the Internet is not a significant medium to bring socioeconomic or political change unless the users adopt the new technology to

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<sup>36</sup> Dimaggio et al, 2001

change their existing attitudes. For example, to access the Internet does not guarantee anything about political behavior unless users actually use the Internet for political purpose.

The revolutionary nature of the Internet is emphasized in this dissertation, rather than a supplemental tool. This dissertation partly agrees with the importance of technology in bringing social changes; however, at the same time, it also agrees with the social constructivists' idea that there are other existing important factors to determine the path of human development beyond technological developments. Even the access and the use of technologies are determined by existing educational, socioeconomic and political backgrounds. The Internet can be controlled, though not completely, by human beings' purpose and need.

### ***The Internet as Political Communication***

The Internet is a valuable means of political communication, but its value depends not on the communication technology itself but how it is politically exercised. Internet revolution and evolution as a political media rest on different political environments. The Internet is an interactive and democratic communication media beyond national boundaries. As a new communication technology, the Internet has opened doors to new forms of political participation. But it is important to

note that the Internet alone cannot promote democracy. Active civil and state efforts are essential to promote the political use of the Internet.

The literature on media and politics is quite rich and diverse, and demonstrates that the role of media is essential in achieving successful political outcomes. A full analysis of political communications is well beyond the scope of this chapter, but a brief overview is useful to understand the context of the relation between media and politics. The interactive use of the Internet has influenced both the process and outcome of political activities.

The instantaneity of the Internet has raised critical questions and theoretical reflections on the social phenomenon of speed.<sup>37</sup> Studies on the expanded use of the Internet as a campaign tool have developed to show the impact and potential of the Internet. Gibson identified three potential impacts: the large volume and high speed at which information is transmitted could provide a more substantive basis for campaigning than other forms of media; the ability to identify users makes it possible to target groups of voters; the interactive nature of the

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<sup>37</sup> Scheuerman, 2004

technology allows interested parties to accrue nearly instantaneous feedback on their campaign and positions.<sup>38</sup>

Change in communication technology and flow of new information can bring significant political transformation if the people use the technology and new information for reconstructing their own identities and if they form different views of the world, state, or society in which they live. Historically, new communication technology has enabled the creation of channels of information and more information that provides participants an alternative view.

The Internet, as a new communication media, has enabled people around the world to be linked together in virtual communities as never before. The Internet redefines time and space. The Internet is regarded as bringing two fundamental transformations in world politics. First, the new technology changed the way people think about their identities and how they are connected to others. More importantly, the forces of political change are not limited in the communication technology itself, but interact with the socioeconomic or cultural realities. Second,

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<sup>38</sup> Rachel K. Gibson, Michael Margolis, Davis Resnick, and Stephan J. Ward "Election Campaigning on the WWW in the USA and UK," *Party Politics*, 2003. Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 47-75



information is an essential source of power among many other sources, such as military force or economic might.

Opportunities provided by the Internet are enormous. The Internet, which originally began as a small computer network for the U.S. Department of Defense, has now expanded to a global infrastructure. The Internet has developed from simple network service to industrial, commercial, governmental, and academic purposes. Via the Internet, an ever-increasing share of research, communication, commercial transactions, and entertainment takes place around the world. It is very plausible that the Internet is considered to be a vehicle for political and socioeconomic development in many ways.

### ***New vs. Old Communication Media***

In contrast to traditional media's homogenous nature of contents, the Internet has an explicitly heterogeneous nature of the content, and the way people use it, generally depending on their socioeconomic or cultural backgrounds. According to knowledge gap hypothesis, people with low socioeconomic status use new media primarily for entertainment purposes, whereas those with high status would use new media mainly for an informational purpose.

The knowledge gap hypothesis, which will be addressed in Chapter 5, posits that as the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, people with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the people with lower status.<sup>39</sup> In other words, the informational use of mass media would have different levels of information acquired for individuals with different socioeconomic background.

The new media like the Internet, and old media, such as newspaper, radio, or television, are different in terms of the possible gaps both in access and usage. The gap generally refers to the disparities in the access and use of media among individuals with different socioeconomic backgrounds. In particular, the Internet provides far more choices as far as content than do traditional forms of media, but the gap in access and usage tends to be greater. Television is much easier to access for most, and requires almost no knowledge in how to use it, while the Internet requires both the more expensive machine and the skill of using it. For example, whereas even a one-year-old can enjoy a television show, there are many adults who do not know how to send an email, or how to upload and download.

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<sup>39</sup> Tichenor et al., 1970

Television is an immediate and immersive media, capable of transmitting images and sound, and is accessible to nearly everyone both in terms of affordability of the equipment as well as the fairly low level of content sophistication it offers. Television has been noted to be the most revolutionizing media in the last several decades for political life as well as commercial, or entertainment purposes.

Although internet use is quickly increasing, the three media formats that are most frequently used in politics remain print, radio, and television. There are some major distinctions between the Internet and other forms of old communication media.

First, the cost of the Internet is rapidly decreasing for both users and producers. In addition, the boundaries between information consumer and information producer are becoming blurred. The low barrier to entry provided by the Internet has opened up new opportunities to diverse groups and individuals.

The cost of using new media, such as the Internet, is relatively low. Sending an email to a large audience costs nothing more than the cost of the Internet connection. Political campaigns through websites cost much less than traditional media, such as television or radio commercials. More importantly, a website can be updated very quickly at real time, which is a sharp contrast from traditional

media type. People can be easily connected with others regardless of distance and time.

Second, there are no significant barriers based on content or viewpoints. This is an important characteristic, since traditional media frequently fail to include minor views. Contrary to old media, in cyberspace there are no “gate keeper,” so the Internet provides much freedom of various viewpoints. This is in sharp contrast to traditional media, where producers play the role of gatekeeper in determining which issues and topics are considered newsworthy to report. Using the Internet for political communication allows people to bypass some of the agenda setting and gate keeping effects of mass news media.<sup>40</sup>

Third, the Internet is a dynamic and interactive form of communication, with constantly updated and evolving content. Furthermore, a website is available at all times from anyplace with an internet connection. In contrast to old media, internet users can access website content anytime, anywhere, and as many as they want to they get the access to the website content. The flexibility of the Internet communication media increases the power of the user to decide how much or how little content to access, which content is useful and which is ignored.

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<sup>40</sup> Johnson, 2003.

This attribute allows a dialogue among members of an online community, enabling instant feedback and networking among all participants regardless of their status in the socioeconomic hierarchy. Websites can make various virtual activities happen, ranging from email to blogs to chat rooms.

As stated, the Internet is more interactive, flexible, and informative than any other traditional media. These characteristics of the Internet provide an opportunity to the have-nots in society to participate in it. The Internet is inexpensive and accessible, potentially allowing minorities to participate and compete in cyberspace.

The Internet is more than just a new type of communication media. In a fundamental way, it transforms political and socioeconomic reality we face. In addition, the Internet redefines the concept of time and space, providing many new opportunities. More importantly the interactivity of the Internet has the ability to make a clear separation from traditional media formats. The Internet changed our notion about who produces what, blurring the boundaries between consumers and creators.

## **Chapter 4. The Political Use of the Internet and Soft Power**

Chapter 4 attempts to make theoretical and empirical connections between the concept of power and the rise of soft power in the reality of global politics. Chapter 4 takes a close look at the Internet as a new form of communication media with particular emphasis on the political use of the Internet. This chapter will show the ability of the Internet as a political media on national, regional, and global levels.

The overall argument of this dissertation is that the information provided by the Internet brought three expansions in global politics: expansion of the concept of political power from hard to soft; expansion of main actors from national to transnational; expansion of issue areas from offline to online. In order to show both theoretical and empirical connections between the changing concept of power and the rise of soft power in the reality of global politics, the Internet impact from three different levels will be examined—first, cyber politics in the 2002 South Korean presidential election; second, soft power in East Asia; and third, transnational online activism.

### *National Level - Cyber Politics in 2002 South Korean Presidential Election*

The 2002 Korean presidential election shows the political impact of the Internet at the national level. It was widely reported that Roh, Moo-hyun won the 16<sup>th</sup> South Korean presidential election primarily because he had dominated his counterpart Lee, Hoi-chang in online campaigning.

“A fierce cyber campaign to mobilize younger voters proved crucial in bringing about the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) candidate Roh, Moo-hyun’s victory over Grand National Party (GNP) candidate Lee Hoi-Chang in a closely-contested presidential election in December 2002.”<sup>41</sup> “One of the factors which made Roh’s victory possible was the advanced penetration of information infrastructure in Korea, particularly broadband internet access. Roh was very successful in mobilizing his supporters, especially young voters, in cyberspace.”<sup>42</sup>

These reports, however, are problematic in the sense that the turnout of voters in their twenties amounted to only 47.5%, and this represents a 20.7% decrease in voter participation for this age group in comparison to the previous presidential

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<sup>41</sup> Chan-kyung Park 2004. “South Korean vote goes down to the wire for cyber generation.” *Agence France Presse*, April 14

<sup>42</sup> Michael Feldman 2004. “Lessons from Korean digital democracy.” *The Korean Herald*, March 29

election in 1997.<sup>43</sup> Then, what are the real effects of the Internet in the 2002 Korean presidential election?

Questions to be investigated in this chapter are as follows: what was the impact and the role of the Internet on the 2002 Korean presidential election; what kind of influence did the Internet have on the changing concept of power?; and how did it make a difference? From these questions, this chapter argues that when the Internet is effectively used as a campaign tool in a presidential election, the candidate is more likely to win the race. That is, the successful use of the Internet has a positive effect on election results.

The rate of internet usage has a positive relationship with the support rate for Roh in the 2002 Korean presidential election. This shows that the younger generation who uses the Internet was more likely to vote for Roh. Roh's effective use of the Internet in the 2002 presidential election played an important role in his victory.

The questions explored in this chapter are best addressed using a combination of case study, data coding, and statistical comparison. In interpreting statistic data, we need to be cautious of what the numbers really represent. Data from the

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<sup>43</sup> National Election Commission (NEC) <http://www.nec.go.kr>



National Election Commission (NEC) and Millennium Democratic Party's White Paper on the 16<sup>th</sup> presidential election will be essential sources. Journal articles, books, and news media reportings will also provide valuable facts and data. Related websites such as "Nosamo" also serve as important sources for analysis. By critically analyzing the 2002 Korean presidential election data provided by the NEC, Millennium Democratic Party's white paper on the 16<sup>th</sup> presidential election in 2002, and news media coverage of the election, this chapter tries to get empirical focus on the emerging impact of the Internet on the 2002 Korean presidential election, and to explain how the Internet had an impact on the election.

The exploration of cyber politics in the 2002 South Korean presidential election aims to shed light on the impact of the Internet on the changing scope of political power by examining how Mr. Roh won. Generally, there are three things to consider when we discuss the political use of the Internet. First, we need to be cautious not to correlate the increase of internet access with widespread use of the Internet for political purposes because the use of the Internet does not guarantee a political use of the Internet. Second, the relationship between individuals' online political activities and their actual voting behavior needs to be addressed. Third, it

is clear that traditional mass media such as television or newspapers are still much more effective than the Internet in an election.

For these risks, systematic study of the Internet uses by, and effects on, political actors such as presidential election candidates and their voters has been limited. Most academic analysis of online electioneering has focused on the distribution and content of websites, rather than evaluating the effectiveness of internet-based campaigning for building a support base and generating votes and resources.<sup>44</sup>

### **Background**

Actual implementations of the Internet in political contexts differ from country to country. As the population of internet users has quickly grown, the Internet campaign has become a growing phenomenon, and most research on the political use of the Internet is done on western liberal democracies, such as the U.S. and the U.K. Limitless possibilities of the Internet for making new forms of political engagement by citizens have been presented from various perspectives.

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<sup>44</sup> See Rachel K. Gibson, Michael Margolis, David Resnick, and Stephen Ward. 2003. "Election Campaigning on the WWW in the US and UK: A Comparative Analysis." *Party Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 47-75

The emergence of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the 1990s led to the utilization of internet as a campaign tool. The growing use of the Internet as a campaign tool in elections has the potential for future study of the Internet use and its power in political contexts. However, it is very difficult to find a systemic study to assess political campaigns on the web in Asia. The potential influences of the Internet on elections differ from traditional mass media, because the characteristics are different from those of traditional media. The surprise victory of Mr. Roh in the election can be seen as providing the indication of the Internet's power to influence an election outcome.

Literature on cyber democracy has focused on the possibilities for direct democracy and closer connections between individuals and governments through the Internet. Negroponte presented "limitless possibilities" of the Internet for forging new and stronger forms of political engagement by citizens.<sup>45</sup> Gibson identified three potential impacts of the Internet: the large volume and high speed at which information is transmitted could provide a more substantive basis for campaigning than other forms of media; the ability to identify users makes it possible to target groups of voters, thereby allowing for the personalization of

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<sup>45</sup> For more detailed view on this issue, see N. Negroponte 1995. *Being Digital*. London: Coronet.

email messages, pop-up ads, or links to specific group members; the interactive nature of the Internet that allows people to get almost instantaneous feedback on their campaign. In addition, the voter could gain an active role in the campaign by getting more direct access to candidates.

### **Online Politics in South Korea**

As shown in Table 4.1 South Korea is the most internet-savvy country in the world. Its DSL users almost doubled the average OECD DSL users, and broadband subscribers per 100 inhabitants ranked number 1. According to a survey by Korea Network Information Center (KRNIC), about 26,270,000 people use the Internet at least once a month. This is about 59.4% of the population age 6 years and over, and among these, 71.8% access the Internet everyday and their average usage time per week is 13.5 hours.

**Table 4.1 Broadband subscribers per 100 inhabitants, by technology, June 2005**

	<b>DSL</b>	<b>Cable</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total*</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Total Subscribers</b>
<b>S. Korea</b>	13.9	8.9	2.7	25.5	1	12,260,969
<b>U.S.</b>	5.5	8.0	1.1	14.5	12	42,645,815
<b>OECD</b>	7.2	3.8	0.8	11.8		136,651,000

Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Broadband Statistics, 2005 \* DSL, Cable and Other may not add up to Total penetration due to rounding

The Internet was a major campaign tool in the 2002 presidential election in South Korea. The number of election law violations committed in cyberspace shows the intensity of online campaigning in the last election: online election law violations (54.5%) was greater than offline election law violations for the first time. There were 735 online violations in 2002, more than double the 346 crimes reported in the 1997 presidential election. Violations that occurred in cyberspace were much greater than those related to money and goods which had been the most common in previous elections.<sup>46</sup>

Roh's fundraising efforts also showed the emerging impact of the Internet use in presidential election. Largely through the Internet based groups, Roh raised over 7 billion won from more than 200,000 individuals. (See table 4.2) Nosamo, which means "people who love Roh, Moo-hyun," started out as an online group in May 2000, right after the president-elect was defeated in his bid for an Assembly seat in the Pusan district, and its membership reached 70,000 before the presidential election and 80,000 after the election. As of December 2005, three years after winning the election, membership was up to 109,611.

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<sup>46</sup> Dong-a Ilbo 2002. December 22

During his campaign, voters could get Mr. Roh’s message from internet sites that featured video clips of the candidate. Nosamos’s energetic activism is often regarded as a factor for Mr. Roh’s triumph in the 2002 presidential election. It had a great contribution in creating the culture of voluntary political donation. The website boasts a democratic decision-making process through online discussions, and it has expanded beyond cyberspace. Overall, the Internet helped Mr. Roh to distance himself from corporate donations that are South Korea’s traditional forms of campaign financing in the past.

**Table 4.2 Roh Camp’s Fundraising through Electronic Media**

	<b>Number of Donation</b>	<b>Amount of Donation (won)</b>
<b>Credit Card</b>	31,899	1,329,876,426
<b>Mobile Phone</b>	20,165	347,045,283
<b>ARS</b>	21,188	211,880,000
<b>On-line transfer</b>	101,635	4,320,699,711
<b>“Piggy Bank”</b>	22,042	759,633,678
<b>“Hope Ticket”</b>	6,835	309,000,000
<b>Total</b>	203,764	7,278,135,098

Source: Millennium Democratic Party, 16 dae daetongnyeong seon-geo baekseo (A White Paper on the 16<sup>th</sup> Presidential Election 2003)

### **The Difference that the Internet Made**

Table 4.3 represents generational voting patterns in the 2002 presidential election: the voters in their twenties Roh earned 62.1% support, while Lee collected 31.7%, resulting in a difference of 30.4%; from the voters in their thirties, Roh won 59.3% support and defeated Lee by 25.4%; voters in their fifties or higher favored Lee over Roh by 18.5%. Roh's victory over Lee among voters in their twenties and thirties can be accounted for the effects of the Internet when the high rate of internet use at the time of election in voters in their twenties and thirties is considered (see table 4.3). Most voters in their twenties and thirties were active internet users. Overall, through tables 4.3 and 4.4, we can see that Roh was able to collect support from young voters and won the presidential race in 2002.

**Table 4.3 Generational Vote in the 2002 Presidential Election (%)**

	<b>20s</b>	<b>30s</b>	<b>40s</b>	<b>50s or higher</b>
<b>Roh Moo-hyun</b>	62.1	59.3	47.4	39.8
<b>Lee Hoi-chang</b>	31.7	33.9	48.7	58.3
<b>Others</b>	6.2	6.8	3.9	1.9
<b>Difference</b>	30.4	25.4	-1.3	-18.5

Source: Millennium Democratic Party, 16 dae daetongnyeong seon-geo baekseo (A White Paper on the 16<sup>th</sup> Presidential Election 2003)

**Table 4.4 Growth of Internet Access Rate by Age (Unit: %)**

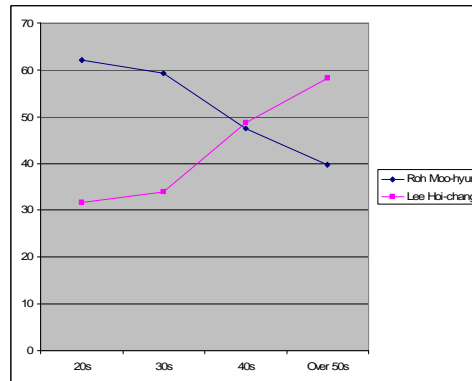
	<b>20s</b>	<b>30s</b>	<b>40s</b>	<b>Over 50s</b>
<b>Dec 2000</b>	74.6	43.6	22.7	5.7
<b>Dec 2001</b>	84.9	61.6	35.6	8.7
<b>Dec 2002</b>	89.8	69.4	39.3	9.3

Source: KNIC (2003, 18)

The rate of internet usage has a positive relationship with the support rate for Roh in the 2002 Korean Presidential Election. This is to show that the younger generation who uses the Internet had a tendency to vote for Roh. To examine this, quantitative data analysis on the 2002 Korean presidential election is implemented as follows: the data on internet usage rate, which is the independent variable in this test, is collected from the National Internet Development Agency of Korea (NIDA), and the data on the support rate for Roh, which is the dependent variable in this test, is collected from Millennium Democratic Party's white paper on the 16<sup>th</sup> Presidential Election in 2002. Minitab was used for the statistical analysis and the regression was chosen to show the relationship between two variables.

The Figure 4.1 displays the line chart of the above Table 4.3.



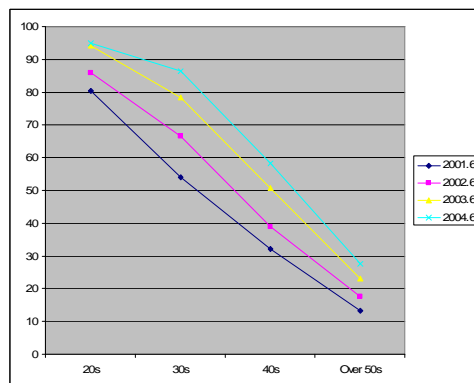


**Figure 4.1 The Chart for Generational Vote in the 2002 Presidential Election (%)**

**Table 4.5 Internet Using Rate by age (%)**

	20s	30s	40s	Over 50s
2001.6	80.3	54.1	32.2	13.2
<b>2002.6</b>	<b>86.0</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>38.9</b>	<b>17.5</b>
2003.6	94.3	78.5	50.8	23.2
2004.6	95.0	86.4	58.3	27.6

Source: The 2004 report of the National Internet Development Agency (NIDA) of Korea

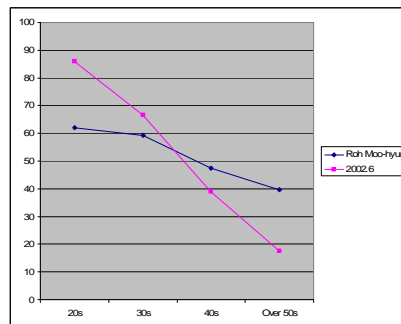


**Figure 4.2 The chart for Internet Using Rate**

The above Figure 4.2 shows the line chart of the Table 4.5.

**Table 4.6 The data used in the test.**

	20s	30s	40s	Over 50s
<b>Roh Moo-Hyun</b>	62.1	59.3	47.4	39.8
<b>2002.6</b>	86.0	66.7	38.9	17.5



**Figure 4.3** The chart for the variables

The above Figure 4.3 shows the chart of the Table 4.6.

Following regression analysis of the support rate for Roh versus the Internet using rate shows that the Internet using rate is correlated with the support rate for Roh in the 2002 Korean presidential election, and proves that the younger generation who uses the Internet had a tendency to vote for Roh.

### **Regression Analysis: Support Rate for Roh versus the Internet Using Rate**

The regression equation is

Support Rate for Roh = 34.3 + 0.341\* Internet Using Rate

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	T	P
Constant	34.333	2.187	15.70	<b>0.004</b>
Internet Using Rate	0.34083	0.03743	9.11	<b>0.012</b>

S = 1.95683 R-Sq = 97.6% R-Sq(adj) = 96.5%

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	1	317.55	317.55	82.93	0.012
Residual Error	2	7.66	3.83		
Total	3	325.21			

Obs	Internet Using Rate	Support Rate for Roh	Fit	SE Fit	Residual	St
Resid						
1	86.0	62.100	63.644	1.597	-1.544	-1.37
2	66.7	59.300	57.066	1.117	2.234	1.39
3	38.9	47.400	47.591	1.099	-0.191	-0.12
4	17.5	39.800	40.298	1.628	-0.498	-0.46

**The p-value for the constant is 0.004 < 0.05.**

**The p-value of the Internet using rate is 0.012 < 0.05.**

## Summary

Cyberspace interacts with the real world and it cannot exist apart from the real world. The widespread use of the Internet does not necessarily mean an increase in the political use of it, and traditional media still remained much more effective than the Internet in election. However, this chapter argued that there was some evidence to show that Roh's successful online campaign strategy supported his victory in the 2002 presidential election. The surprise victory of Roh in the 2002 presidential election can be seen as the emerging power of the Internet use in Korean presidential election.

Cyber campaign in South Korea proved that the Internet is an effective tool for presidential election, and Roh's effective use of it made a contribution to the victory in the election. The successful use of the Internet has a powerful and positive effect on election results. 2002 Korean presidential election revealed how the Internet impacts national politics, and how it changes the concept of political power from offline to online.

### ***Regional Level - Soft Power in East Asia***

This part explores Nye's soft power at the regional level, focusing on Japan's soft power in East Asia. The formation, development, and change of soft power inevitably have both national and international background.

In analyzing the soft power of Beijing, Tokyo, and Seoul, Japan offers the most interesting example, since there is a big gap between Japan's soft power at the global and regional levels.

According to *The Japan Times*, Japan ranks first worldwide in the number of patents, third in expenditure on research and development as a share of GDP, second in book sales and music sales, first for life expectancy, and it is home to

three of the top 25 multinational brand names such as Toyota, Honda, and Sony.<sup>47</sup>

In addition, Japan's global cultural influence grew in areas ranging from fashion and food to electronics and game systems, such as DS or Wii by Nintendo.

It is interesting to note that there are serious limitations to Japan's soft power, particularly at the regional level. The residual suspicion that lingers in countries like China and Korea sets limits on Japan's appeal, and it is reinforced every time the Japanese prime minister visits the Yasukuni Shrine. This shows just one example among many that Japan's regional soft power differs from its global soft power.

Globally Japan's culture seems to produce potential soft power resources much better than in the rest of East Asia. Why is that the case? Why does there exist such a big gap in Japan's soft power between the global and regional levels? How and why does Japan's soft power matter in East Asia? How does Japan's soft power work or not work? What are the factors that limit Japan's soft power in East Asia?

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<sup>47</sup> The Japan Times, December 5, 2005

Here, I focus on the limitations of Japan's soft power in dealing with the relationships among Beijing, Seoul, and Tokyo. From the questions noted above, this chapter presents the following arguments. First, the limitations on Japan's soft power are caused by a distortion of its history, which has negative effects on its regional power in East Asia. Namely, Japan's insincere attitude about its past war crimes decreases its soft power in East Asia. Second, when Japan has limitations on its regional soft power, it is less likely to achieve its national interests.

This chapter assumes that soft power contributes to Japan's ability to achieve its goals, and aims to show that soft power comes from universalism, not from parochial nationalism. This work seeks to contribute to studies of East Asia, China-Japan relation, and Korea-Japan relation, particularly focusing on the role of soft power in this region. This research aims to shed light on the role of soft power in East Asia to increase our theoretical knowledge of how it works.

### **Background**

This section acknowledges that soft power doesn't quantify neatly like hard power. Quantifying hard power, such as population, territory, raw material, or military forces is much easier than quantifying soft power, such as culture,

ideology, information, communication technology. The questions and arguments to be explored in this chapter will be best addressed using a combination of historical analysis, case study and the collection and coding of existing soft power literatures, as well as of news media reports on this issue. McDougall's UN reports are important sources, and survey results of public opinion in China, Japan and South Korea are also major objects of analysis.

Joseph Nye presented the changing sources of power, and argued that power is becoming less transferable, less tangible, and less coercive in an age of information-based economies and transnational interdependence.<sup>48</sup> There are several different views on national power in international politics, and empirically there are three different ways of observing power: first, power as a resource; second, power as a relationship; third, power as a structure.<sup>49</sup> As Hans J. Morgenthau offered, traditional realist theories of international relations rely on a power as a resource, such as population, military forces, economic size and natural resources.<sup>50</sup> This shows that realists have a preference for hard power instead of soft power.

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<sup>48</sup> Nye, p. 33

<sup>49</sup> Jeffrey Hart, "Three Approaches to the Measurement of Power in International Relations," *International Organization*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 1976), pp. 289-305

<sup>50</sup> For traditional power concept, see Chapter 9 in Hans J. Morgenthau, 1985. *Politics Among*

## **How and Why Japan's soft power matters in East Asia**

In assessing international power today, factors such as technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more important, whereas geography, population, and raw materials are becoming less important.<sup>51</sup> As discussed, this dissertation does not deny that hard power such as military power remains important in international politics; however, it also recognizes that soft power is increasingly becoming as important as hard power.

The term 'soft' means that one country's national power does not come from 'hard' military resources but the good image stemming from culture, ideology, or popularity among the people in the region. Joseph Nye says that soft power is more than influence and persuasion, "it is also the ability to attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence."<sup>52</sup> He argues that a good deal of Japan's success has been due to the substitution of human skills for missing natural resources.<sup>53</sup>

To Nye, the most striking feature of Japan's power resources is its relative military weakness. The constitution in which "the Japanese people forever

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*Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf)

<sup>51</sup> Joseph S. Nye, 1990, p. 29

<sup>52</sup> Joseph S. Nye 1990, p. 6

<sup>53</sup> Joseph S. Nye 1990, p. 160



renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation,” was made by the United States during the post war occupation. Due to its peace constitution Japan has no military power In the security field. Therefore, this chapter agrees that there exists more leverage to explain Japan’s power in East Asia with the concept of soft power than hard power. Table 4.7 shows how the unresolved historical issues are important to China-Japan-Korea relations.

**Table 4.7 Opinion Poll - How important do you think the unresolved historical issues are to China-Japan-Korea relations?**

	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Korean</b>	<b>Japanese</b>
<b>Very important</b>	63%	46%	24%
<b>Somewhat important</b>	29%	47%	51%
<b>Not very important</b>	6%	6%	17%
<b>Not important at all</b>	1%	1%	3%
<b>Don't know/No response</b>	1%	0%	5%

Source: Dong-A Ilbo, “Opinion Poll: Special Research on Chinese and Korean Attitudes toward Japan and Other Nations” Dates Conducted March 15-31, 2005 Released April 26, 2005 This survey research was conducted as part of a joint research survey with Asahi Shimbun of Japan and The Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).

Concerning Japan’s soft power, Barry Buzan critically described how Japan’s reputation for aggressiveness and brutality in the half-century before 1945

continues to stunt its political life, both domestically and internationally.<sup>54</sup> There is no doubt that Japan's policy between 1895 and 1945 was aggressively expansionist and brutal to the oppressed people of countries they were occupying. Buzan also focused on two facts that highlight the extreme oddity of Japan's contemporary international position. On the one hand, Japan is a major power with a wide range of global responsibilities and influence. But on the other hand, Japan still suffers heavy liabilities, such as systematical war crime organizing "comfort stations", and whitewashing its war crimes in the new history textbooks, both in domestic political life and in its foreign relations.

It is easily found in literature that Japan has not done a good job of reconstructing its relationship with the East Asian States that were the main victims of its aggression. The sensitivity of China and Korea to the lies that Japan might be seeking to cover up from wartime is very acute.

In order for a nation to be regarded as having soft power, it must have at least two things: presence and respect.<sup>55</sup> First, the nation should not be ignored but should always be listened to, because of its presence. Second, respect must be earned so

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<sup>54</sup> Barry Buzan 1988. "Japan's Future: Old History versus New Roles" *International Affairs* Vol. 64, No. 4, pp. 557-559.

<sup>55</sup> Gyohten, Toyoo 2004. "Japan's Soft Power Reconsidered" *Japanese Institute of Global Communications* August 30<sup>th</sup>, <http://www.glocom.org/>

that the nation's opinion or position will be highly regarded by other nations. Without presence or respect, soft power cannot be a real power. In sum, Japan's soft power in East Asia has been limited because Japan seems to lack the two sources of soft power: presence and respect.

### **Three factors that limit Japan's soft power in East Asia**

#### **1. Japan's administrating the system of military sex slaves during World War II**

It has been more than 50 years since the end of World War II. However, there are still agonized victims of Japan's most brutal war crime, military sexual slavery, holding a peaceful protest in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, every Wednesday since 1992. This protest asks for Japan's sincere apology, and for Japan's crimes to be punished and redressed.

In 1998, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights has been urged to hold Japanese responsible for sex slavery during World War II by the victims of Japan's war crimes. The U.N. report on "systematic rape, sexual slavery and slavery-like practices during armed conflict" was submitted to a conference of the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discriminatory Action and Protection of

Minorities in Geneva.<sup>56</sup> Gay McDougall, an investigator for the U.N., clearly defined “comfort women” as military sexual slavery and “comfort stations” as rape centers in her official report to the UN.

According to McDougall, between 1932 and the end of World War II, the government of Japan and the Japanese Imperial Army forced over 200,000 women into sexual slavery in rape centers throughout Asia. The majority of these “comfort women” were from Korea, but many were also taken from China, Indonesia, the Philippines, Taiwan and other Asian countries under Japanese control. Over the past decade, an increasing number of survivors from Japan’s military sexual slavery has come forward to seek redress for these crimes. On August 1991, a South Korean woman named Kim Hak-Soon became the first former comfort woman to give a public testimony. Since then, about 200 women in Korea alone have come forward.<sup>57</sup>

Women’s International Criminal Court for War Crime Tribunal found the Japanese government guilty on Dec 4th 2001, pronouncing that Japan’s system of comfort women for the military during World War II fell into a case of “rape

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<sup>56</sup> Jun, Kwan-woo 1998 *Korea Herald* August 13<sup>th</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Korea Chongshindae Institute, [http://www.truetruth.org/know/know\\_03.htm](http://www.truetruth.org/know/know_03.htm)

approved by the nation.”<sup>58</sup> In addition, the court clarified where the responsibility lied, pronouncing, “The Japanese Government is also responsible for the matter of comfort women, which has gone unpunished for 56 years, and has not made a sufficient public-apology or enough reparations.” The court adjudged additionally that eight politicians and military commanders, including the Prime Minister of that time, were guilty.

## 2. The Japanese government’s approval of a controversial history textbook

Japan’s education ministry approved a new edition of a controversial junior high school history textbook that critics called nationalistic, immediately drawing flak from China and South Korea. China summoned Japan’s ambassador to Beijing and expressed strong resentment over the approval of the textbook that “distorts history.”<sup>59</sup> The South Korean government also summoned Japanese Ambassador Toshiyuki Takano to lodge a formal protest over the approval of the controversial history textbook.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> People’s Daily, “Japanese Government Guilty of Drafting Comfort Women,” December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2001

<sup>59</sup> Kyodo News, “Japan again OKs nationalist text, sex slavery glossed over,” April 5, 2005

<sup>60</sup> Japan Economic Newswire, “TokyoNow: Japanese textbooks trigger uproar in China, S. Korea,” April 10, 2005

Whitewashing history through Textbooks is a serious issue when we discuss Japan's soft power in East Asia. Anti-Japanese protests that spread through China in April 2005 are the latest manifestation of Japan's distortion of history. The protests erupted after the formal approval by Japan's Ministry of Education to print the textbook that glosses over Japanese war atrocities during its early 20<sup>th</sup> century history, and an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 Chinese demonstrators marched to the Japanese Embassy in Beijing, throwing stones at the facility.<sup>61</sup> Chinese and South Koreans have also protested over Japan's support for revisionist textbooks. Nevertheless, Japanese education specialist Fujioka Nobukatsu responded that many nations commit war crimes, and his concern is that Japanese children will be taught to hate their country.<sup>62</sup> He believed that the aim of teaching history is to prepare people for citizenship, and they can't teach them Japanese crimes, so Japanese have to make the choice to distort history. Fujioka's conception of education shows that it is framed exclusively within narrow nationalist limits. The Japanese government's approval of a new version of a contentious history textbook for use at junior high schools has caused anti-

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<sup>61</sup> Power and Internet News Report. April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2005

<sup>62</sup> Davis McNeill 2005. "History Redux: Japan's Textbook Battle Reignites" *Japan Policy Research Institute* Working Paper, No. 107

Japanese sentiment in China and South Korea with criticism that the textbook has distorted history.

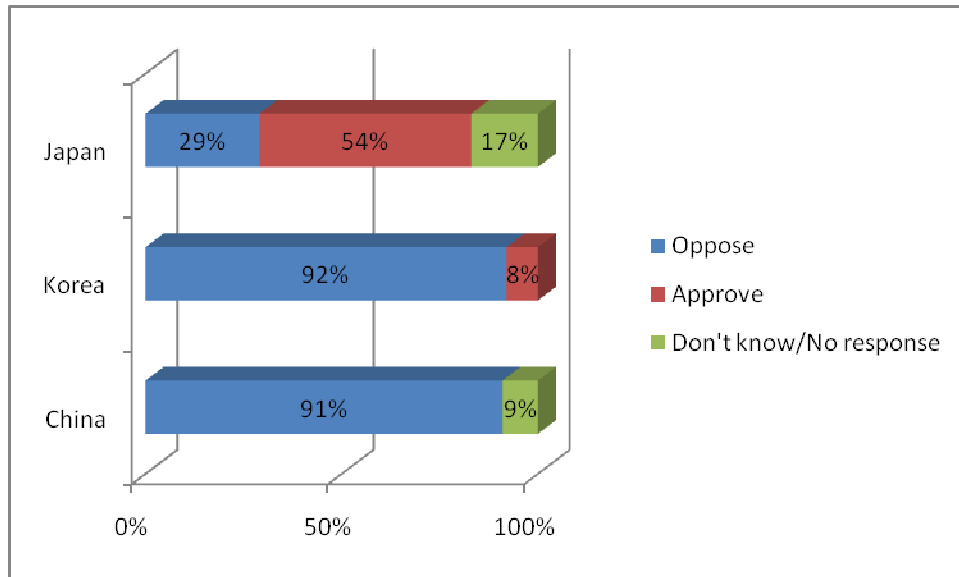
### 3. Koizumi's continuing Yasukuni shrine visits

Yasukuni Shrine is the Tokyo war memorial that honors 2.47 million wartime dead, including 14 Class-A war criminals. The former prime minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi, visits the Yasukuni Shrine and this is another factor that decreases Japan's soft power in relation to Beijing and Seoul (See Figure 4.4). China and South Korea expressed their anger in fiercely worded statements and cancelled planned diplomatic meetings in 2005. China called off a scheduled ministerial meeting with Japan in what observers say is a protest against Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi's visits to the Yasukuni Shrine. Earlier in December 2005, China also cancelled a three-way summit with South Korea and Japan that was supposed to be held on the sidelines of the ASEAN+3 summit in Malaysia for the same reason.<sup>63</sup> A three-way summit between Korea, China, and Japan, held every year since 1999 on the sidelines of the ASEAN+3 meeting, has been

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<sup>63</sup> Arirang News, December 22, 2005

cancelled due to diplomatic tensions over Koizumi's repeated visits to a controversial war shrine.<sup>64</sup>



**Figure 4.4 Do you support or oppose Koizumi's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine?**

Source: Dong-A Ilbo, "Opinion Poll: Special Research on Chinese and Korean Attitudes toward Japan and Other Nations" Dates Conducted March 15-31, 2005 Released April 26, 2005 This survey research was conducted as part of a joint research survey with Asahi Shimbun of Japan and The Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).

Korea and China have strongly protested against Koizumi's Yasukuni visits, which have hurt Japan's relations with them. Nevertheless, Koizumi said he had no intention of ending his visits to a controversial war shrine.<sup>65</sup> The Kyodo News

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<sup>64</sup> Chosun-ilbo, "Korea, China Cancel Regular Summit With Japan." Dec 4, 2005

<sup>65</sup> Arirang News, "Koizumi Again Ignores Asian Criticism of Shrine Visits" December 1, 2005



Agency said the Yasukuni issue was not a diplomatic one, nor should it hinder economic and other exchanges between Japan and its neighbors. The Japanese leader said he believes his visits to the shrine would eventually be understood; however, it does not look likely. To China and Korea, Koizumi's visits exemplify Tokyo's failure to atone for its expansionist past. In sum, the Yasukuni visits have further cemented the widespread view that Japanese expressions of regret over the war are insincere, and decreased its soft power in East Asia.

Where can we find the evidence that Japan's insincere attitude over the past can have perceptible economic and political effects? First, the failure of Japan's bid to win a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council—an ambition that no significant Asian nation supported, despite the billions in investment, is a good example. Second, the anti-Japanese riots in China in April 2005 triggered sharp falls on the Tokyo stock market. Japanese companies have been reassessing their strategies for investment in China, and many are already relocating factories to countries viewed as less politically sensitive. Japanese business leaders had lobbied Koizumi vigorously to stay away from Yasukuni, for the sake of good relations with China—a sign of how high the stakes are for them.<sup>66</sup> Third, after

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<sup>66</sup> Caryl 2005

Koizumi's Yaskuni shrine visits, Beijing and Seoul expressed their anger in fiercely worded statements and cancelled planned diplomatic meetings, in December 2005.

Soft power contributes to the nation's ability to achieve its goals. Despite the size of Japan's contributions to the United Nations budget, Japan does not have a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Japan's campaign to join the Security Council is part of the country's desire to increase its global power. And it was supported by the United States; however, it was not supported at the regional level, being opposed by China and South Korea. South Korea's ambassador to the United Nations, Kim Sam Hoon said that there are difficulties for a country that does not have the trust of its neighboring countries because of a lack of reflection on the past to play the role of a world leader. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao also said that only a country that respects history, takes responsibility for history and wins over the trust of peoples in Asia and the world at large can take greater responsibilities in the international community.<sup>67</sup> These examples show well that Japan's insincere attitude over the past can have perceptible economic and political effects in reality.

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<sup>67</sup> Power and Internet News Report. April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2005

## Summary

Soft power contributes to the nation's ability to achieve its goals. Japan's insincere attitude about its war crimes decreases its soft power in East Asia. Japan's new history textbooks that obscure its war crimes have caused serious concern among regional countries of a reviving Japanese nationalism. Its former prime minister's continuing visits to the Yaskuni Shrine enrages its neighbor countries that were the victims of Japanese imperialism. Moreover, Japan's insincere apology for administrating the system of military sex slaves during World War II has worsened the relationship between Korea and Japan. In contrast to post-war Germany, Japan has consistently attempted to whitewash its past wrongdoings rather than to sincerely apologize for it.

Soft power is the ability to shape what others want, and sometimes it can be reinforced or substituted for hard power.<sup>68</sup> If you can produce the right outcomes by attracting others to want what you want, you do not need to spend on sticks which cost much more than carrots. Even under the situation that is only allowed to use carrots, Japan has not done a good job of reconstructing relationships with the East Asian states that were main victims of its aggression, and it has not been

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<sup>68</sup> Joseph S. Nye, 2003. The Velvet Hegemon, *Foreign Policy*, (May), Issue 136.

trusted by its neighbor countries. This chapter showed that Japan has a limitation in its soft power in East Asia, and could not attract neighbor states due to its insincere attitude about history.

### ***Global Level – Transnational Online Activism***

Are recent transnational social movements really new in a profound way when compared with previous ones? If the answer is yes, what is the newness? If not, why is that? How important is the new meaning of time and space, which new technology provides?

Transnational online activism is a good example of the impact of the Internet on global politics and how the concept and sources of power have been changed. In the sense that it is both “transnational” and “online”, transnational online activism presents the extension of actors and issue areas in global politics.

The Internet is a new medium that is essential in almost every aspect of social, economic, and political arena. There is wide agreement that transnational activism has expanded dramatically in recent years, and the Internet has been changing the dynamic of the activism. But there is no agreement as to what extent and how the Internet has been changing the activism. To address this gap, this chapter explores

the impact of the Internet on global politics focusing on transnational online activism.

**“Rooted Cosmopolitan” vs. “Rootless Cosmopolitan”**

“Transnational activism does not resemble a swelling tide of history but is more like a series of waves that lap on an international beach, retreating repeatedly into domestic seas but leaving incremental changes on the shore.”<sup>69</sup>

In Tarrow’s book, *The New Transnational Activism*, he argues that the most effective transnational activists are ‘rooted cosmopolitans’—people who grow up in and remain closely linked to domestic network and opportunities. According to him, “rooted cosmopolitans” are actors reaching beyond their borders but employing domestic resources, network, and opportunities. He claims that individuals who move into transnational activism are both constrained and supported by domestic network.

This chapter prefers “rootless cosmopolitans”, “less rooted cosmopolitans” or “online rooted cosmopolitans,” to “rooted cosmopolitans” for the following

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<sup>69</sup> Sidney Tarrow, 2005. p.219

reasons. Tarrow's "rootedness" cannot explain activists who do not have any domestic resources, networks, and opportunities. The openness of the opportunity structure is different from state to state. The power structures and political cultures differ, too.

Consider activists who do not have any local mobilizing opportunities, or resources under highly repressive regime. How can we analyze 'rootless cosmopolitans'—the cosmopolitan actors who cannot have a root in the local, even if they want to? This chapter defines "rootless cosmopolitans", "less rooted cosmopolitans" or "online rooted cosmopolitans," as actors reaching beyond their borders and employing global rather than domestic resources, networks, and opportunities through the Internet.

The openness of the opportunity structure is different from state to state. The power structures and political cultures differ, too. Think of human rights activists for refugees of North Korea. They do not seem to have any local mobilizing opportunities or resources under a highly repressive regime. How can we analyze "rootless cosmopolitan"—the cosmopolitan actors who cannot have a root in local, even if they want to?

Technological progress has played an important role in transnational activism. This fact can be applied not only to recent activism, but also to 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century activism. As shown in Anderson's "Panorama", activists were inspired by the great scientific breakthroughs of their day—the telegraph, the railroad, the industrial production.<sup>70</sup> In the feminist history of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, activists knew one another, learned from each other, read the same books, and connected through conventions, periodicals, and correspondence. As Anderson suggested, technological progress made all the connections increasingly easier, and the new inventions of the period facilitated the development of the international social movement. The question here is how much the new meaning of time and space provided by the Internet matters in transnational activism.

This chapter proposes that information technology as well as the multi-polar nature of the post-Cold War period play an important role in transnational activism. The creation of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) is one international institution in the emerging realm which is not fully captured by the language of inter-state regimes or organizations as

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<sup>70</sup> Bonnie S. Anderson 2000. "Panorama," chapter 1 of Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 7-27

commonly used in the international relations literature.<sup>71</sup> This chapter will try to demonstrate how the Internet offers new opportunities for transnational activism.

Take the case of ICANN. What made ICANN possible? The effective use of internet in transnational activism made it possible to change the existing domain name system (DNS) to ICANN. This chapter focuses on the creation process of ICANN, as the initial process of ICANN formation can show the impact of the Internet at the transnational level. “White Paper” produces produced by the U.S. Department of Commerce is a good starting point to analyze the creation process. “The original memorandum of understanding between the U.S. Department of Commerce and Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers” is another source for studying the formation process of ICANN. Most of all, websites of the related NGOs are important objects for analyzing how effectively the Internet has been used in NGO activism, and how the use of the Internet influenced the creation of ICANN.

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<sup>71</sup> Thomas Risse, “*Transnational Governance and Legitimacy*,” Paper presented at the ECPR Standing Group on International Relations Conference, (The Hague, September 9-12, 2004), p. 3



## Background

Domain names are the familiar and easy-to-remember names for computers on the Internet, and the domain name system (DNS) translates internet names into the IP numbers needed for transmission of information across the network.<sup>72</sup> The management of internet domain names and addresses has become a major issue in the question of internet governance.<sup>73</sup> The government of United States played a crucial role in developing DNS, and this has become an important factor in studying the dynamics of transnational activism around ICANN.

The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) is an internationally organized, non-profit corporation that has the responsibility of Internet Protocol (IP) address space allocation, protocol identifier assignment, generic (gTLD) and country code Top-Level Domain (ccTLD) name system management, and root server system management functions. These services were originally performed under U.S. Government contract by the Internet Assigned

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<sup>72</sup> The U.S. Department of Commerce 1998. *Management of Internet names and addresses* (white paper). *Federal Register* 63(111), p. 2

<sup>73</sup> The Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard Law School, 2000. The Debate over Internet Governance: A Snapshot of Year 2000. <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/is99/governance/introduction.html>

Numbers Authority (IANA) and other entities. ICANN now performs the IANA function.<sup>74</sup>

In 1998, U.S. Department of Commerce (DOC) released a “white paper” policy statement on the administration of internet names and numbers, and DOC officially recognized ICANN as the organization that would inherit the responsibility for managing names and numbers.<sup>75</sup> ICANN was created through the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the DOC and ICANN to transit the management of the DNS from the U.S. government to the global community.<sup>76</sup>

In the mid 1990s, there have been increasing voices asking for change in DNS management. Particularly from 1994 to 1998, many debates and attempts were made to move internet administration into private hands. These attempts started with the Internet Society (ISOC) which was founded in 1992, and gradually expanded as other internet organization allied with it to carry out its agenda. As shown in the MOU, there were two key factors here: the full participation of the

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<sup>74</sup> <http://www.icann.org/general/>

<sup>75</sup> For more specific information about historical background on the formation of ICANN, see Milton Mueller 1999. “ICANN and Internet Governance: sorting through the debris of self-regulation” *Info*, vol. 1, no. 6, (December), pp.497-520.

<sup>76</sup> From the fact sheet. <http://www.icann.org/general/fact-sheet.html>

international community and collaborative nature of the bottom-up policy development process.

### **The Creation of ICANN**

Every social activism needs space to emerge and evolve, and the ICANN case can show that the Internet provides it. How was the management transition of DNS from U.S. government to ICANN generated? What made the global participation in internet management possible? What was the pressure for changing the existing system of managing the DNS?

According to policy statement of DOC, there were six reasons to change the management of DNS as the Internet was rapidly becoming an international medium for commerce, education and communication. The pressures for change were coming from many different quarters: There was widespread dissatisfaction about the absence of competition in domain name registration; conflicts between trademark holders and domain name holders were becoming more common. Mechanisms for resolving these conflicts were expensive and cumbersome. Many commercial interests, staking their future on the successful growth of the Internet, were calling for a more formal and robust management structure, and an increasing percentage of internet users reside outside of the U.S.; these

stakeholders wanted to participate in internet coordination. As internet names increasingly held commercial value, the decision to add new top-level domains could not be made on an ad hoc basis by entities or individuals that are not formally accountable to the Internet community; as the Internet became commercial, it became less appropriate for U.S. research agencies to direct and fund these functions.<sup>77</sup>

ICANN's creation was accompanied by an active internet user movement through a website. Online users participated in it and asserted digital rights so that they could have a voice in decisions affecting DNS. According to Hans Klein who serves as chair of Computer Professionals for social responsibility (CPSR), there were two coalitions, which can be labeled the "e-commerce community" and the "pro-democracy movement".<sup>78</sup> The e-commerce community consisted mainly of four groups: the engineering research community based in Internet Society; multinational information technology firms such as IBM, MCIWorldcom; trademark interest groups such as World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO); the U.S. Department of Commerce. Opposing these groups was the pro-

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<sup>77</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Docket Number: 980212036-8146-02, Statement of Policy "Management of Internet Names and Addresses"

<sup>78</sup> Hans Klein 2001. "The Pro-Democracy Movement in ICANN", p. 4

democracy movement consisting of many internet user groups, free speech organizations and a number of distinguished individuals in technology and policy community. Pro-democracy movements wanted the U.S. government to give up its authority over the Internet, and wanted to ensure that internet governance would be transparent, accountable, and representative.

Then, how was the Internet used in this debate? Transnational activism around ICANN conducted much of its work online. As an active participant, Hans Klein provided for multiple email discussion groups to allow for intensive online interaction, and through the Internet, individuals from around the world could maintain regular communication. In the creation process of ICANN, the work on the part of the advisory committee shows how the Internet was well used in its decision making process. The work of the advisory committee was open and inclusive of all members of the Internet community. Drafts and final recommendations were posted on the website, and suggestions and comments via the Internet were invited from interested parties. Some of the work of the committee was conducted over the phone, but most of it was online.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> 5 November, 1998 “ICANN Membership Advisory Committee - Expressions of Interest Sought by 5 December, 1998” <http://www.icann.org/announcements/index-1998.htm>

ICANN election process is another good example for active NGO participation through effective use of the Internet. Elections for the board of directors were held in 2000, and the entire election was held online. Anyone possessing an email address was allowed to participate. This is meaningful in a sense that it allows more grassroots participation than existing international organizations.

Transnational online activism around ICANN was very effective in its use of internet. Indeed, it is a fully online movement, and well explained as a collective network. The activism for the creation of ICANN was a decentralized network with no hierarchical control. Underlying organizational features of the activism, the Internet has capability to allow people around the world to communicate across time and space. Online activism around ICANN would be totally nonexistent, and would not have been successful without capabilities the Internet provides.

### **The Internet in Transnational Online Activism**

In dealing with the Internet impact, it is necessary to be cautious because the Internet does not have any filtering functions compared to the existing mass media. A great deal of uncertainties exists regarding the validity of online

information because much of the information on the Internet is often unreliable. Quality is always just as, if not more, important as quantity.

The Internet promotes active participation. Ayres argued that the Internet, which includes websites and e-mail, is promoting a revolution in both the means of communication and the dynamics of popular contention.<sup>80</sup> The rapid dissemination of information across borders has changed the nature and process of contention. Also, the opportunity structure has expanded beyond borders, physical boundaries.<sup>81</sup>

Many websites dedicated to transnational movements present a variety of options, including posting messages on a discussion board, joining a bulletin board to receive updated information on a campaign or new event through an email account, sending emails to politicians, government agencies, or other activists, and searching related links for additional information related to various movements. With these abilities, the Internet removes barriers to the rapid diffusion of protest ideas, tactics and strategies.

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<sup>80</sup> Jeffrey M. Ayres 1999. "From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 566. (November), p. 133

<sup>81</sup> Ayres 1999, p. 137

The Internet is an interactive medium and requires less cost. In the past, interaction was very difficult to achieve through mass media. But with the advent of the Internet, as a new information communication technology, most transnational activism could gain social interactions not restricted by time and space.

Traditionally, protests relied heavily on individual leadership; however, the Internet is altering this dynamic by electronically promoting the diffusion of protest ideas and tactics sufficiently and quickly across the globe.<sup>82</sup> The Internet is a horizontal media, not vertical in the exchange of information, and has bottom-up processes whereas conventional media has unilateral hierarchical processes. Thus, the Internet offers an environment where communications can be processed and linked to each other with less cost beyond borders. The Internet is a new tool for bottom-up communication and grassroots campaigning.<sup>83</sup>

As we can see through NGO activism around ICANN, email enables an effective communication network through the Internet. The exchange of email messages is certainly a substitute for many traditional cumbersome calls, mailing, and

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<sup>82</sup> Jeffrey M. Ayres 1999. "From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 566. (November), p. 132

<sup>83</sup> Hans Geser, 2001. *On the functions and consequences of the Internet for social movements and voluntary associations*. Online Publications. [http://socio.ch/movpar/t\\_hgeser3.htm](http://socio.ch/movpar/t_hgeser3.htm), p. 1



meetings. It reaches many possible participants in very different places and time. While physical meetings have practical limitations, online communications can occur with relatively less restrictions. The Internet allows a new way of active participation by sitting in front of the computer. In contrast to most traditional forms of activism, which most often were restricted to people living in well-populated cities, online communication opens up a wide various forms of “electronic civil disobedience” accessible to every online user anytime and anywhere in the world.<sup>84</sup>

The Internet has provided a new opportunity for emerging transnational activism. It has expanded time and space, and supports transnational networking. It also promotes the emergence of transnational activism from the grassroots level because it has decentralized as well as informal procedures which can start and develop transnational activism relatively easily. The Internet has enabled active participation beyond borders. Building communication networks and using resources are also easily possible through the online.

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<sup>84</sup> Hans Geser, 2001. *On the functions and consequences of the Internet for social movements and voluntary associations*. Online Publications. [http://socio.ch/movpar/t\\_hgeser3.htm](http://socio.ch/movpar/t_hgeser3.htm), p. 11

## Summary

Without the Internet, the creation of ICANN would not have been possible because the activism around ICANN would never have been successful without it. The transnational activism was very effective in its use of internet, and overall it was fully an online movement. The Internet has capabilities that allow people around the world to communicate across time and space, and it promotes active participation. In summary, the Internet has created a new opportunity for interactive participation across time and space with less cost.

This chapter argued that the effective use of the Internet in transnational activism made it possible to change the existing domain name system (DNS), and to create ICANN. While there is a wide agreement that the creation of ICANN was an unprecedented experiment, there have been also many criticisms on the ICANN after its creation that ICANN has failed on all charges.<sup>85</sup> The transnational activism around ICANN as well as ICANN itself is evolving process, and still opens to various possibilities.

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<sup>85</sup> From “Testimony of the Domain Name Rights Coalition and Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility” source: <http://www.cpsr.org>

## **Chapter 5. The Information Haves and the Have-nots**

This chapter discusses the “digital divide” from global dimension based on communication theories, such as diffusion of innovations theory, knowledge gap hypothesis, and structuration theory. It discusses the main reasons for the information inequalities between information-rich countries and information-poor countries, the role of socioeconomic development, and what can be done to reduce information poverty and to bridge the global digital divide, focusing on the role of government and international organizations such as the U.N. or World Bank.

Despite various definitions of the term, digital divide is commonly used to indicate unequal access and use of the Internet. The term, digital divide, is used to describe the discrepancy between people who have access to and the resources to use new information and communication tools, such as the Internet, and people who do not have the resources and access to the technology. The term also describes the discrepancy between those who have the skills, knowledge and abilities to use the technologies and those who do not. The digital divide can exist between those living in rural areas and those living in urban areas, between the

educated and uneducated, between economic classes, and on a global scale between more and less industrially developed nations.<sup>86</sup>

The Internet is a new media; however, there is nothing new about the inequality between information haves and have-nots. There have been numerous studies on information inequality in the past. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, researches on global information flow from the North to the South have focused on the inequality of information flow around UNESCO's New World Information communication Order (NWICO).

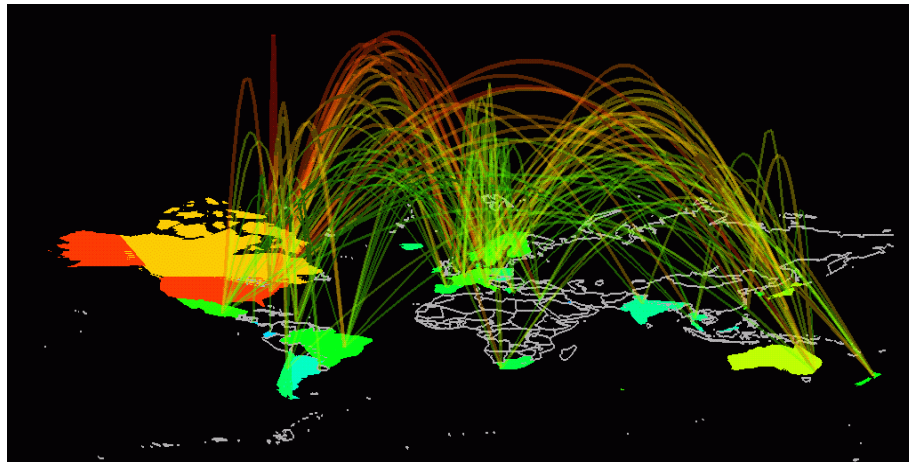
The debate on the new information order meant a conflict between the information-rich countries and the information-poor countries. The former, developed world, supported the free flow of information and existing communication order, while the developing or underdeveloped world emphasized the imbalances both in quantity and quality of the free information flow. To the poor countries, the free flow of information meant a one-way flow of information.

The Internet has changed social, economic, and political lives at unprecedented speed. Internet diffusion continues throughout the world; however, its uses widely vary depending on socioeconomic, cultural and political environments. As

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<sup>86</sup> [http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/D/digital\\_divide.html](http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/D/digital_divide.html)

information can turn into social, economic, and political power, the asymmetries of information acquisition have a direct impact on people's everyday life. Figure 5.1 shows great disparities in the flow of information and the access to the Internet on the global level.



**Figure 5.1 The Atlas of Cyberspace**

Source: <http://www.cybergeography.org/atlas/atlas.html> (2005)

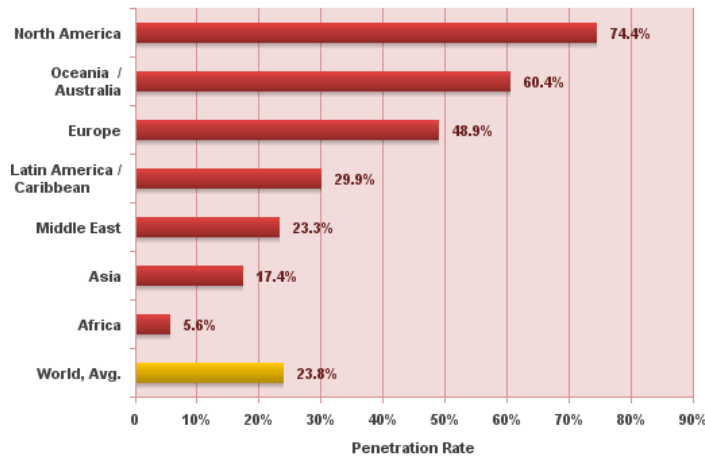
The Internet provides limitless information at high speed, but only to those who can afford it. In order to get the potential benefits of the Internet, basic access is required. In poorer societies, how realistic is this? Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2 show how the regional disparities are marked. There exists a danger that poorer

societies can become poorer, increasingly marginalized at the periphery of communication networks.

**Table 5.1 World Internet Usage and Population Statistics**

<b>World Regions</b>	<b>Population (2008 Est.)</b>	<b>Internet Users Dec. 31, 2000</b>	<b>Internet Users Latest Data Mar. 31, 2009</b>	<b>Penetration (% Population)</b>	<b>Users Growth 2000-2008</b>	<b>Users % of Table</b>
<b>Africa</b>	975,330,899	4,514,400	<b>54,171,500</b>	5.6 %	1,100.0 %	3.4 %
<b>Asia</b>	3,780,819,792	114,304,000	<b>657,170,816</b>	17.4 %	474.9 %	41.2 %
<b>Europe</b>	803,903,540	105,096,093	<b>393,373,398</b>	48.9 %	274.3 %	24.6 %
<b>Middle East</b>	196,767,614	3,284,800	<b>45,861,346</b>	23.3 %	1,296.2 %	2.9 %
<b>North America</b>	337,572,949	108,096,800	<b>251,290,489</b>	74.4 %	132.5 %	15.7 %
<b>Latin America/ Caribbean</b>	581,249,892	18,068,919	<b>173,619,140</b>	29.9 %	860.9 %	10.9 %
<b>Oceania / Australia</b>	34,384,384	7,620,480	<b>20,783,419</b>	60.4 %	172.7 %	1.3 %
<b>WORLD TOTAL</b>	6,710,029,070	360,985,492	<b>1,596,270,108</b>	<b>23.8 %</b>	342.2 %	100.0 %

NOTES: (1) Internet Usage and World Population Statistics are for March 31, 2009. (2) CLICK on each world region name for detailed regional usage information. (3) Demographic (Population) numbers are based on data from the US Census Bureau . (4) Internet usage information comes from data published by Nielsen Online, by the International Telecommunications Union, by GfK, local Regulators and other reliable sources. (5) For definitions, disclaimer, and navigation help, please refer to the Site Surfing Guide. (6) Information in this site may be cited, giving the due credit to [www.internetworldstats.com](http://www.internetworldstats.com). Copyright © 2001 - 2009, Miniwatts Marketing Group. All rights reserved worldwide. Source: <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>



Source: Internet World Stats - [www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm)  
 Penetration Rates are based on a world population of 6,710,029,070 and 1,596,270,108 estimated Internet users for March, 2009.  
 Copyright © 2009, Miniwatts Marketing Group

**Figure 5.2 World Internet Penetration Rates by Geographic Regions**

### *Diffusion of Innovations Theory*

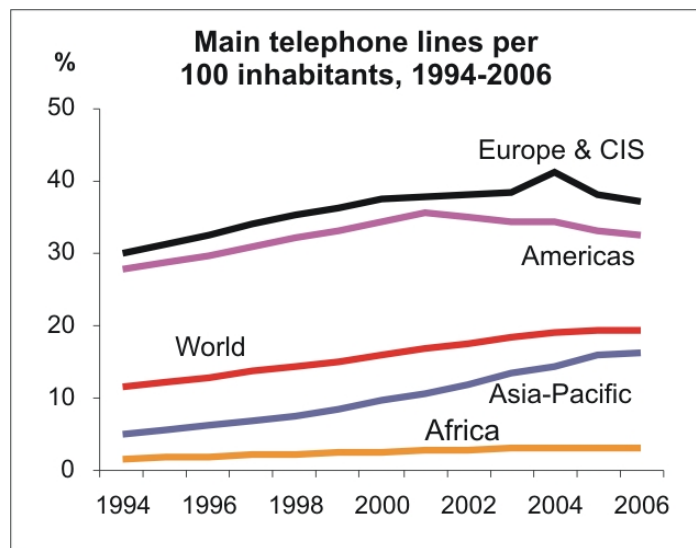
Some scholars believe that the information technologies would eventually spread out around the globe, just like television, radios and telephone. Compaine argues that the nature of the marketplace dynamics will eventually close the information gaps without interference from policy-makers. He presents evidence that the gaps are rapidly closing without substantive public policy initiatives and spending.<sup>87</sup> Despite the fact that he still points out some gaps that are present, Compaine

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<sup>87</sup> Compaine, 2001.

emphasizes the decreases in the cost of computers and the Internet services in recent years, as well as the increases in the number of minority groups online. His argument leads to the conclusion that digital divide is a natural progression of the market and will resolve itself over time.

An important flaw in these arguments is found in many aspects. First, even telephones, the very basic communication devices, are not provided to the poor people in underdeveloped countries (see Table 5.3). Does this table support diffusion of innovations theory? No.



**Figure 5.3 Main Telephone Lines per 100 inhabitants, 1994-2006**

Source: ITU. <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/ict/graphs/af5.jpg>



Second, the nature of the Internet does not support the idea of the divide resolving itself over time. The Internet is not the same as previous communication media. While the telephone is an interpersonal communication, and television and radio are mass communication, the Internet is both mass and interpersonal communication. Contrary to telephones, radio and television, information technologies allow for increasingly complex tasks, requiring a cumulative set of sophisticated digital skills. The emergence of the Internet has offered an unlimited space to share information, exchange messages, and store files. E-mail also has allowed new forms of interpersonal communication and network formation.

There are views that the rapid evolution of technology may serve to increase existing information gaps.<sup>88</sup> They argue that the speed of information technology development creates situations in which those who are limited to a very basic level of skills will be outpaced by those who are ahead in the ability to select and process information. These arguments can be seen as related to the arguments about knowledge gap hypothesis.

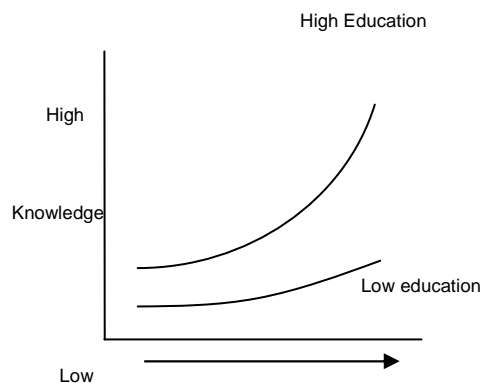
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<sup>88</sup> Rogers 1986; Van Dijk 1999

### *Knowledge Gap Hypotheses*

There is a generally supported hypothesis about the information gap, which is “knowledge gap hypothesis.” Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien introduced the knowledge gap hypothesis in 1970. They argued that as the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease.<sup>89</sup>

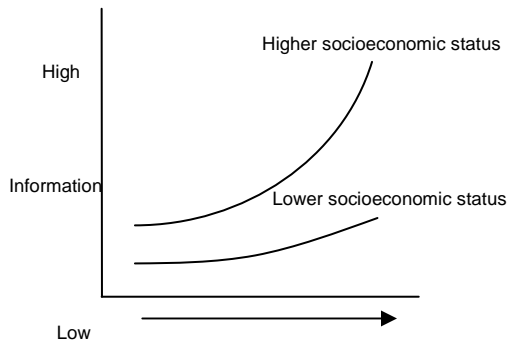
This hypothesis can be adapted to new media, both in terms of the access to and the use of the Internet. See Figure 5.4 and 5.5.



**Figure 5.4 Knowledge Gap Hypothesis**

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<sup>89</sup> Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien. 1970. pp. 159-160.



**Figure 5.5 Information Gap hypothesis**

These two figures show the possibility of new communication technologies creating new information gaps before old gaps can close. This view indicates that new communication media increase information inequalities, not only because of unequal access but also because of unequal use which is linked to socioeconomic differences. According to Bimber and Norris, the use of the political resources on the web tend to reach those who are already most engaged, reinforcing their resources, but not reaching the part of the polity that other forms of political communication fail to meet.<sup>90</sup>

The development of new media technologies, particularly the Internet, encourages the debate over the impact of new technologies on the knowledge gap. Although

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<sup>90</sup> Bimber 1998; Norris 2000, 2001

the concepts of digital divide and knowledge gap were often intertwined in research on the inequality issue, very few studies formally linked these two concepts. Some scholars argue that the Internet would reduce inequality by lowering the cost of information, while other scholars suggest that the greatest benefits will accrue to the majority with higher socioeconomic status who can use the new media sooner and more productively than the lower status groups.<sup>91</sup> On a global level, it seems true that people in lower socioeconomic status do not enjoy the benefits offered by the new technologies, due to the problem of inaccessibility to the Internet.

### ***Structuration Theories***

Structuration theory, proposed by Anthony Giddens in *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, is an attempt to reconcile theoretical dichotomies between agency and structure, between subjective and objective, and between micro and macro perspectives. The approach does not focus on the individual actor or societal totality “but social practices ordered

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<sup>91</sup> Anderson et al., 1995; DiMaggio et al., 2001

across space and time.”<sup>92</sup> The theory of structuration, on which this dissertation stands, is closely related to constructivism in the theory of international relations.

Giddens adopts a balanced position for social change including changing power, attempting to treat influences of structure and agency equally. The theory of structuration holds that human action is performed within the context of a pre-existing social structure which is governed by a set of norms. This means that human action is partly predetermined based on the varying contextual rules under which it performs. Structuration theory tries to avoid extremes of structural or agent determinism. For Giddens, structures are rules and resources organized as properties of social systems. Based on structuration theory, society does not exist as an entity externally given; rather, it is created and changed by interactions with human action.

Structuration theory offers insight into the ways of how the Internet influences society. According to the theory, rules are created through social interaction and serve to govern the behaviors of the members of the society.

People use technology to meet their needs, and the resources and rules they brought into the information technology context serve to shape the roles and rules

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<sup>92</sup> Giddens, 1984. p.2.

of the new interaction. This may serve to reproduce the existing power relations in the social system, or it opens up new opportunities for those previously without power and resources. According to structuralist theorists, there should be equal opportunity to use these technologies.<sup>93</sup>

The concerns of structuralist theorists are presented by Castells in his arguments about network society.<sup>94</sup> He argues that those who have the resources to effectively utilize information technology to network are the negotiators of a society, while those who do not are excluded from another opportunity for social influence.

It is natural that early adopters of information technologies are more likely to have the most communication resources to change or reinforce practices of existing communication media. The early adapters use information and communication technologies to change social structures. In this process, those who have less structure access are likely to be left out of such structuralist processes.

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<sup>93</sup> Mason, shana M. and Kenneth L. Hacker, 2003.

<sup>94</sup> Castells, 2000.

According to Keane, global media companies regulate public communication spheres and alter society by creating a space for the discussion of power controversies among millions of people.<sup>95</sup> To him, the Internet is one such type of public sphere because it counts hundreds of millions of citizens among its users. Keane argues that the Internet has changed much of society because it allows citizens to move beyond the traditional idea of public sphere beyond geographical boundaries. Cyberspace, a new space of communication, is created by new communication technologies, and it provides much stimulation of change both at the national and global levels.

The arguments made by structuration theorists are useful in understanding the societal implications of the digital divide. They contribute to the idea that the Internet has the power to influence networking, organize and make institutional changes, and is more than simply another medium of communication.

### ***Digital Divide***

This chapter uses the term digital divide to refer to disparities in access to and usage of the Internet among nations, and examines “digital divide” from a global

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<sup>95</sup> Keane, 2000

perspective. What is a “digital divide”? Why does the “digital divide” matter? How is it different or similar with pre-existing traditional inequality issues? Why is it important to bridge the digital divide between the information-rich and information-poor?

The term “digital divide” appears first from a national point of view in the 1995 U.S. government report “Falling through the Net.”<sup>96</sup> National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) reported that there is a persisting digital divide between the information haves and have-nots, between high income and low-income citizens, between college graduates and those without college degrees, between rural area and urban area, and between the races.

Most digital divide research focuses on whether or not the information gaps exist and whether or not they are closing. Communication researchers also suggest that scholars should accept the reality that some gaps exist, rather than debating the demographics of access. Particularly at the national level, ten years of research by

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<sup>96</sup> NTIA, 1995



NTIA shows that there are numerous gaps between those who possess and use interactive communication and information technology and those who do not.<sup>97</sup>

Global information gaps in relation to the Internet communication, computer network usage, and new communication technology networks need to be further explained because they also provide a base for explaining other socioeconomic or political transformations. The ability to form new social networks has provided the potential to reorganize existing social, economic and political conditions. Economic competitiveness and productivity are now measured by the ability to generate, process and manage information quickly.<sup>98</sup> The global economy is electronically interconnected in ways that allow major economic activities to occur in cyberspace. The success of Amazon.com is a good example. The Internet connects geographically distant consumers together and increase efficiency and profit. The observation of Amazon.com indicates that usage of the Internet is at once offering economic benefits for individual users and also altering the nature of the economy.

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<sup>97</sup> Mason, shana M. and Kenneth L. Hacker, 2003. pp. 40-55

<sup>98</sup> Castells 2000.

One of the most significant areas of exploration in digital divide studies has been in the political benefits gained by the Internet users. While the exact nature of the Internet effects on politics are not yet proven, there are indications of many positive political benefits of the Internet usage, particularly concerning online campaigning in elections. The digital divide is argued by Johnson's observation that "the Internet can give power to the less powerful, and it can increase the power of the already powerful. It all depends on who uses the Internet and how."<sup>99</sup>

Digital divide is not only a matter of technological access. It raises issues of social networking, political actions, educational backgrounds, and economic status. Therefore, a long line of arguments have been made by communication scientists about the dangers of exclusion from new communication technology networks. Their work and theories can provide a useful tool for examining the possible long-term social disadvantages for those who lag behind in the digital divide.

Previous researches have shown that there exists a gap between individuals who have access to information via the Internet, and those who do not.<sup>100</sup> And this gap

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<sup>99</sup> Johnson, 2003. p.3

<sup>100</sup> Norris, 2000; 2002

has resulted in a corresponding gap between the information-rich and the information-poor, the haves and the have-nots. This phenomenon has been described in literature as the digital divide. Studies on the digital divide mainly focused on the access to and the use of new media.<sup>101</sup> Attewell categorized the digital divide into two levels. He labeled the access to the Internet the “first digital divide”, and the disparities in the Internet use “the second digital divide.” The first digital divide relate directly to material or physical access, while the second digital divide is related to non material skills, or educational back ground.<sup>102</sup>

According to Norris, the concept of the digital divide encompasses three levels.<sup>103</sup> First, the global divide refers to the divergence of the Internet access between industrialized and developing countries. Second, the social divide concerns the gap between information rich and poor in each nation. Third, the democratic divide signifies the disparities between those who do and do not use new media to engage, mobilize and participate in public life.

Despite the attention to the digital divide, much contemporary debate over this issue remains mostly on the national level. Many scholars have expressed concern

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<sup>101</sup> Norris, 2001

<sup>102</sup> Attewell, 2001

<sup>103</sup> Norris, 2001

about the inequalities of the Internet access and use by disadvantaged groups within one nation. There are many literatures concerning digital divide at the national level; however, researches about global digital divide have been relatively small and not systematic. Therefore, more systematic study from global level is needed.

### ***What Can Be Done***

The use of communication theories for explaining the implications of the digital divide in this chapter has drawn mainly on three of them: diffusion of innovations theory; knowledge gap hypothesis; structural theory.

In global perspective, information gap between the information haves and have-nots has existed continuously, and equal opportunity to access information is still needed. Because media diffusion largely depends on the free market mechanism, capital concentration is connected to information concentration. In this perspective, information inequality is a profound and complex problem, and the debate on that is on-going.

The importance of addressing the digital divide—the perceived gap between information haves and have-nots—comes from the multidimensional nature of the

problem, which entails significant potential socioeconomic and political implications. In the short term, there will remain significant gaps in access, so that certain people will lag behind.

As discussed in Chapter 3, both technological determinism and social constructivism are not free from the problem of digital divide to explain the impact of internet. For technology determinism, digital divide is only a temporary problem, and it argues that eventually the digital divide will disappear. It is true that internet users are rapidly increasing; however, the existing gap between the information haves and have-nots will not be easily narrowed. Concerning the digital divide, structuration theory provides insight into how the Internet influences society.

The Internet is becoming an increasingly prominent medium of information. The Internet has the potential to enhance access to and use of information even for poorer nations, since the new technology offers better services at relatively cheap price. This means that the traditional barriers to get necessary information can be removed through the Internet's ability to go beyond time and space. In a naïve, rosy scenario, the Internet promises many opportunities even to the people in under developed nations.

The Internet is still very much a communication medium for the industrialized world. Since new communication technologies require previous socioeconomic investments, they could widen the existing socioeconomic gap and information gap between haves and have-nots.

There are many factors that have contributed to the digital divide. The structure of opportunities provided by public policy within each country, such as the regulation of telecommunications, or different cultural attitudes towards using computers may also contribute towards the differences. More importantly, different levels of socioeconomic development and education contribute to the digital divide problem. Access to the Internet is remarkably similar to the diffusion of other forms of information technology that have been available for decades, such as telephones and personal computers.<sup>104</sup>

Kofi Annan calls for urgent action to bridge digital divide: “let us resolve to bridge the digital divide between countries, between rural and urban areas, between rich and poor, between educated and illiterate populations, and between

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<sup>104</sup> Norris, 2000

men and women. And let us act urgently so that all the world's people can benefit from the potential of the information communication technologies revolution.”<sup>105</sup>

The World Bank has expressed growing concern that the Internet may leave many nations far behind, making inequalities deepen between advanced industrialized and developing societies and under developed world. The World Bank also attempted in many ways to reduce information poverty, and to bridge the technological gap between rich and poor nations. The global information gap is likely to widen the North-South divide without adequate action by government and non-profits organizations.

Whether the inequality in the access and the use of the Internet gradually decreases or expands over time will depend on how government, corporate, and international organizations' efforts and investment in the public provide access for the information have-nots. The challenge in the information age is to maximize the potential benefits of the Internet worldwide before further inequalities arise.

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<sup>105</sup> [http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/sgsm8230.doc.htm\(09/21/05\)](http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/sgsm8230.doc.htm(09/21/05))

## **Chapter 6. North Korea: What the Internet Does Not Change**

“The Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger. Suddenly they saw a traveler coming down the road, and the Sun said: ‘I see a way to decide our dispute. Whichever of us can cause that traveler to take off his cloak shall be regarded as the stronger. You begin.’ So the Sun retired behind a cloud, and the Wind began to blow as hard as it could upon the traveler. But the harder he blew the more closely did the traveler wrap his cloak round him, till at last the Wind had to give up in despair. Then the Sun came out and shone in all his glory upon the traveler, who soon found it too hot to walk with his cloak on.” (source: Aesop’s Fable, “The Wind and the Sun.”)

Aesop’s fable of the Wind and the Sun suggests the analogy to North Korea that active engagement policy would draw North Korea out of its isolation better than a threatening approach of oppression. The Sunshine Policy, articulated by former president, Kim Dae-Jung, was the South Korean policy towards North Korea from 1998-2008.



The Sunshine Policy, emphasizing peaceful cooperation, resulted in two Korean summit meetings in Pyongyang in June 2000, which are historical moments in the Korean peninsula. There has been criticism that the Sunshine Policy ignores the fundamentally repressive and belligerent nature of North Korea, and in effect helps to sustain the Kim Jong-Il regime. In 2000, Kim Dae-Jung was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize thanks to the Sunshine Policy.

The Sunshine Policy aimed at achieving peace with the basis of a strong security stance on the Korean peninsula through reconciliation and cooperation with the North. The South Korean government saw that a reunification will not be achieved in the near future, as the confrontation endured for more than half a century. However, the South Korean government continues to believe that settlement of peace and coexistence is important.

### ***Soft power in North Korea***

Korea is the only divided nation in the world. There are two Koreas: the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). South Korea and North Korea stand on two extremes concerning the impact of the Internet. Whereas South Korea is one of the most internet savvy

countries, North Korea is the least open to access and use of the Internet in the world. North Korea is one of the least globalized countries in the world. Regarding information technologies, naturally, it lags far behind South Korea, the world's most wired country. Any international theory or communication theory which were explored in this dissertation, does not fully explain the reality of the Internet impact on North Korea.

It is very interesting to discuss North Korea's soft power because North Korea continuously pursues hard power such as military forces, instead of soft power. North Korea is widely considered to have a negative national image by the outside world, and is considered to be a *de facto* totalitarian dictatorship under Kim Jong-Il. Almost always, there has been a hard power problem at the center of North Korean issues. North Korea does not seem to be interested in soft power at all. North Korea, as well as Iran and Iraq, was labeled as an "Axis of Evil" by the former U.S. President George Bush in his 2002 State of the Union Address.

Both in the Korean peninsula and in the East Asia region, hard power is still regarded more important than soft power. This chapter agrees that hard power really does matter more than soft power in the policy towards North Korea. Nevertheless, this chapter explores how soft power matters in the policy towards

North Korea, and how the Internet can potentially be used for improving the relationship between two Koreas and the U.S. This chapter assumes that the Internet will eventually be available in North Korea, and once it is used, it will change the politics of North Korea. One unanswered question here is when that will be. How to use the Internet for the better relationship between North Korea and South Korea is interesting. An analysis of the Internet impact on North Korea, South Korea, and the U.S. would make for interesting further studies.

A major problem in discussing the Internet use in North Korea is that the actual statistics and other sources for research are very limited. For example, there are no basic data related to the Internet use. International Telecommunication Union (ITU) does not have any statistics for North Korea, and the World Bank provides only data about telephone mainlines in North Korea. Overall, no official data yet exists on how many people in North Korea go online.

The power of information to transform social, economic, and political systems is increasingly drawing scholarly attention both in the field of international relations and political communication. There is, however, only scant information in the existing literature on North Korea's information technology. Indeed, little literature at all on North Korea exists, partly because it remains almost completely

isolated from the rest of the world. As a result, it is extremely difficult to get a clear picture of North Korea's information technology.

### ***Access and Use of the Internet in North Korea***

The North Korean regime faces a profound dilemma about the development of information technology. Whereas the regime acknowledges the benefits which the new communication technology will bring, at the same time, the regime certainly has a great fear about losing its power to control the free flow of information and the Internet impact on its regime change.<sup>106</sup> The free flow of information via the Internet will threaten the authoritarian regime. There is a possibility that the impact of the Internet will pose a serious challenge to the political regime of North Korea, and will result in its social and political changes, once unrestricted access and use of the Internet becomes permitted in North Korea.

Therefore, the potential threat posed by the Internet has led the North Korean regime to adopt a two-way approach that encourages technological development

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<sup>106</sup> Heejin Lee, and Jaeho hwang 2004. "ICT development in North Korea: Changes and Challenges," *Information Technologies and International Development*. Vol. 2. No. 1

under the government's strict control on the one hand, while it constrains people's social, or political use of the Internet on the other hand.

North Korea set up the website of Korean Central News Agency (<http://www.kcna.co.jp>) in 1997, which is the first website run by the North Korean government to serve as the propaganda outlet of the regime. Other major websites, such as "Naenara," run by the North Korean regime show that the regime has become increasingly aware of the potential of the Internet as an economic tool as well as a useful instrument for propaganda. Naenara ("my country" in Korean, <http://www.kcckp.net/en/>) is the official web portal of North Korea, and its main purpose is to provide information related to politics, tourism, or history to the rest of the world, not to allow North Korean people to get information and communicate online. The website contains mostly political propaganda.

North Korean websites show that the government is clearly aware of the Internet's potential political and social impact, and the government uses the websites for the purposes of political propaganda and economic development. The regime's fear for the Internet's social and political impact of information technology has continued to impede its progress.

The North Korean government has developed its information and communication technology since the 1990s. According to *Asia Times*, North Koreans also produce some of the software for mobile phones made by the South Korean company Samsung. In addition, North Korean computer experts have received training in China, Russia and India, and even in South Korea. But, inside North Korea, access to email and websites via the Internet remains extremely limited. The main "intranet" service is provided by the Kwangmyong computer network, which includes a browser, an internal email program, newsgroups and a search engine; however, most users are government agencies, research institutes, and educational organizations.<sup>107</sup>

North Korea tries to make a limited use of the Internet to portray a better image to the other countries, or to promote foreign investment; however, it generally prohibits domestic access to the Internet and only depends on the intranet. Furthermore, intranet is not for the masses in North Korea, but for the privileged social elites. The regime has been able to improve its abilities of internet control through the experience of running the domestic Kwangmyong intranet, which was built in 2002 by the Central Information Agency for Science and Technology

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<sup>107</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Asia Times Online*. April 24, 2007.

(CIAST). This two-way approach is primarily the result of the regime's perception that the Internet is both useful for its economy and potentially harmful for its regime.

In North Korea, the government allows only a limited number of people to have private telephones. It is hard to believe that the data on the access rate of telephone mainline is the only statistic that international organizations, such as the World Bank or ITU, provide. The result, coming from the only available IT statistic about North Korea, shows very striking result because telephone mainlines per 100 people in North Korea increased from 2.2 in 2000 to 4.2 in 2006.<sup>108</sup> Compared to the telephone mainlines per 100 people during the same period, from 55.0 to 55.5 in South Korea, it is surprisingly low. It is estimated that very limited mobile services began in late 2002, but citizens were banned from using mobile phones as of May 2004. North Korean government has complete control of print, radio and television media, and does not want to accept citizen's use of the Internet. North Korea's overall broadcasting and telecommunication

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<sup>108</sup> The World Bank, ICT at a Glance. Korea, Dem. Rep., and Korea. Rep.

policies enable us to predict its internet policy. If technically possible, the North Korean regime will pursue absolute control over the Internet.

### *Information Security*

Governments have recognized for a long time that controlling communications media can enhance their power. It is true that the Internet can rarely be controlled by its government with a great difficulty. But, it is also true that there is a space that even the Internet, a new communication technology, can be controlled by the government. For example, if you try to access the websites of North Korea in South Korea, it is not accessible. But if you try to access the same North Korean website in the U.S., then you can access it. Why does this happen? Under the South Korea government's National Security Law (NSL), it is illegal to access North Korean websites. It is also most likely that some of the contents of the Internet are filtered by North Korean government agencies.

Since the Korean War, national security has always been the top priority in Korea Politics and the ideology of national security is at the core of both South and North Korean politics. The National Security Law (NSL) was promulgated in 1948, after the establishment of the Rhee Seung-Man government. The experience of the Korean War (1950-1953) has caused South Koreans to accept anti-



communist ideology. This enables most Koreans to sacrifice their essential democratic values, such as freedom of expression and human rights, for the sake of national security.

According to the annual report by the South Korea administration of justice, there were many detainees who violated the NSL and Anti-Communist Act under the military and authoritarian regimes, such as Park Jung-Hee and Chun Doo-Hwan.<sup>109</sup> The report supports that the military and authoritarian regime used the NSL and Anti-Communist Act violations a lot more than the democratic regime under Kim Dae-Jung.

North Korea is uncomfortable with permitting their people to have access to a communication medium that can only be controlled by its government with great difficulty. In North Korea, even much of the contents of television programs and

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<sup>109</sup> The noxious provision of Article 7 in the NSL is as follows: “up to 7 years in prison for those who praise, encourage, disseminate or cooperate with anti-state groups, members or those under their control, being aware that such acts will endanger the national security and the democratic freedom. Minimum two years in prison for those who create or spread false information which may disturb national order as members of anti-state groups....Punishments as defined ... for those who create, import, duplicate, possess, transport, disseminate, sell, or acquire documents, arts or other publications for the purpose of committing acts as defined ...”

newspapers are censored under government authority. Therefore, it is natural that North Korea is very concerned with losing its abilities to control access to major sources of information because that can create great threats to its regime. New communication media, such as the Internet can be a challenge to the power of the national state, especially to North Korea.

Political constraints have obviously prevented North Korea from technological progress. If North Korea allows wide use of the Internet, the main purpose of it would be to have potential economic and technological benefits. Consequently, to maintain the regime security, the North Korean government seems to implement restrictive policies to the social and political uses of the Internet by the people.

### ***Implications for Two Koreas and the U.S.***

The Internet changes politics and politics changes the Internet. In North Korea, politics has restricted the access and use of the Internet, and in South Korea, the use of the Internet has changed the politics. The Internet alone cannot bring democracy. Even though the Internet has the potential to change existing pattern of activities, the change depends on social, economic, political and cultural

conditions. Analyzing how the Internet can be integrated into different political milieu requires an understanding of the conditions under which it is used.<sup>110</sup>

This chapter presented that the North Korean regime currently faces a profound dilemma about the development of information technology. While the regime acknowledges the benefits of the Internet media, the regime also has a great fears about losing its power to control information, since the free flow of information via the Internet will almost definitely threaten the authoritarian regime. Therefore, the potential threat posed by the Internet has made the North Korean regime adopt a two-way approach. On the one hand, the North Korean regime encourages technological development under the government's strict control, and on the other hand, it constrains people's social and political use of the Internet.

In the long run, North Korea is likely to allow wider access to the Internet for economic reasons, but only when the regime makes sure that it can minimize the Internet's political and social impact. Even after it allows wider access to the Internet, the regime will continue to implement strict internet regulations.

Therefore, beyond using military might or economic sanctions imposed against North Korea, the U.S. and South Korean governments need to suggest to the

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<sup>110</sup> Tkach-Kawasaki 2003a

North Korean government the necessity of wider internet access. It would be helpful for both governments to persuade North Korea, showing that other regimes such as China have been able to take advantage of the Internet economically, while successfully minimizing its political impact. Using soft power costs much less than using hard power, and soft power approach will reduce the possibility the unwanted war in Korean peninsula.

In the current North Korean context, the rapid social and political changes, coming from the impact of the Internet, is difficult to expect. Nevertheless, once the access and use of the Internet is allowed to its people, the Internet will eventually provide more opportunities for North Korean, despite the regime's efforts to control the spread of ideas and information.

## **Chapter 7. Conclusion**

Everything changes except the fact that everything changes. Indeed, the world always has been in a state of change, and our views on it also change when existing theories do not explain the change. The Internet is a new media that is essential in almost every aspect of social, economic, and political life. The Internet has been changing the dynamics of global politics; however, there has been no agreement as to what extent and how the Internet has been changing it. To address this gap, this dissertation has proposed a study on the impact of the Internet on political power and the rise of soft power.

While most of international relations studies has focused on the rise and fall of economic or military power, this dissertation has been interested in exploring the less studied, the other face of power, what is called “soft power.” This dissertation has examined how the Internet has been changing the dynamics of global politics by evaluating a classic notion of a traditional power concept, and by offering a new concept of political power.

This dissertation has explored the power of information, and argued that the Internet brought three expansions in global politics: the concept of political power from hard to soft; actors from national to transnational; issue areas from offline to

online. The Internet has changed power sources from material resources such as military or economic resources to non-material informational resources. Thus, this dissertation has presented how the Internet promotes the rise of soft power, and analyzed how soft power interacts with hard power in international relations.

The theoretical foundation of this dissertation was provided in Chapter 2. It explored the nature of power, and examined the changing sources of power to gain a better understanding of political power in global politics. This dissertation analyzed different power concepts from three approaches—realism, liberalism, and constructivism, and then analyzed Nye’s soft power. Soft power is “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion.” Based on Nye’s argument, successful states need not only hard and soft power, but also “smart power,” defined as the strategic combination of hard and soft power.

Chapter 3 presented the Internet as a new media, and showed what is really new about the Internet. Compared to traditional media, such as newspaper, radio, or television, the Internet is more interactive, flexible, and informative. The revolutionary nature of the Internet has been emphasized in this dissertation, rather than as a supplemental tool. At the same time, this dissertation has agreed with the social constructivists’ idea that there are other important existing factors

to determine the path of human development beyond technological developments. The access and the use of the technologies are often dependent on existing educational, socioeconomic and political backgrounds.

Chapter 4 made both theoretical and empirical connections between the concept of power and the rise of soft power in the reality of global politics. It took a close look at the Internet as a new form of communication media with particular emphasis on the political use of it. How the Internet works as a political media on national, regional, and global levels was presented in Chapter 4.

Cyber campaign in South Korea proved that the Internet is an effective tool for presidential election, and Roh, Moo-hyun's effective use of it made a contribution to the election victory. The 2002 Korean presidential election revealed how the Internet impacts national politics, and how it changes the concept of political power from offline to online. With the Internet, Roh tried to make his presidency more democratic, and to curtail the power of conservative newspapers, such as Chosun Il-bo. This made a sharp contrast with the Lee Myung-bak's authoritarian view on the Internet use. Lee's policy on the Internet media proved his backing away from democracy.

Japan's soft power in East Asia showed how soft power matters in achieving its national goals. The Internet has provided capabilities to transnational activists around the world to communicate across time and space.

From a global perspective, information inequality between the information haves and have-nots has existed continuously and equal opportunity to access information is still needed. Chapter 5 discussed the "digital divide" on a global dimension based on communication theories—diffusion of innovations theory, knowledge gap hypothesis, and structuration theory. The importance of addressing the digital divide—the perceived gap between information haves and have-nots—comes from the multidimensional nature of the problem, which includes significant potential socioeconomic, political implications. Since new communication technologies require previous socioeconomic investments, they could widen the existing socioeconomic gap and information gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Giddens adopts the balanced position for social change including changing power, attempting to treat influences of structure and agency equally. Based on structuration theory, whether the inequality in the access and the use of the Internet gradually decreases or expands over time, depends on how government,



corporate, and international organizations' make an effort to provide public access for the information have-nots. The challenge in the information age is to maximize the potential benefits of the Internet worldwide before new inequalities emerge.

Chapter 6 provides what the Internet does not change, with the example of North Korea, and implications for two Koreas and U.S. policy. Soft power is related to the Kim, Dae-jung's "Sunshine policy," which means active engagement of North Korea. Chapter 6 explored why soft power matters to the two Koreas, and how it can potentially work for North Korea. This chapter examined how North Korea's views and policies on the Internet influenced the access and the use of it. This chapter argued that domestic political environments of North Korea do matter in the use of the Internet, and argued why it is important that South Korea and the U.S. makes efforts to promote the use of the Internet in North Korea.

The North Korean regime currently faces a dilemma about the development of information technology. While the regime acknowledges the benefits of the Internet media, the regime certainly has a great fear about losing its power to control information, since the free flow of information via the Internet will threaten the regime. In the long run, North Korea is likely to allow wider access

only when the regime makes sure that it can minimize the Internet's political and social impact.

In the current North Korean context, the rapid social and political changes, coming from the impact of the Internet, is difficult to predict. Nevertheless, once access and use of the Internet is available to its people, the Internet will eventually provide more opportunities for North Korea, despite the regime's efforts to control the spread of ideas and information.

In conclusion, this dissertation has sought to understand the political power of information in global politics. The Internet as a new communication media transformed the traditional concept of power, and promoted the rise of soft power. Information interacts with power. Power enables actors to get information, and information makes actors to get what they want.

One of objectives in this dissertation was to improve theoretical understanding of information as a source of political power, and to show the change of actors from national to transnational, and the change of the issue areas from offline to online. Changes in communication media and information flow via the Internet beyond national borders resulted in significant political transformation. Therefore, this dissertation has focused on the Internet as a new media and the rise of soft power,

while it acknowledges traditional media is still powerful, and hard power still matters.

This dissertation is an attempt to prove that information is a source of power. Information interacts with power. Power enables actors to get information, and information helps actors to get what they want. Understanding how information is produced, communicated, and used is an essential part of understanding global politics. The Internet has created new opportunities across time and space. The challenge is to maximize the benefits of the Internet, and to minimize the cost of it before new inequalities emerge. Information is power.

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