Eating for Understanding: the Practice of Gastrodiplomacy
The Case of South Korea and Taiwan

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Case Background

As the world evolves and the exchange of goods become easier, countries found different ways to communicate their mind. On the old times, it will be a meeting between the head of states discussing the agenda they wish to achieve. This method which called traditional diplomacy is still being used until now. However, at the present time, it changed. Governments can utilize a variety of mediums are available to reach out to the audience. They can use their economy, sports, citizens, culture, or even food. The examples that this author mentioned are a part of soft power which many states prefer to use on the modern days instead of hard power such as the military.

Soft power is widely used nowadays to build an image of a certain state or to influence other nation. Public diplomacy is also a part of this practice and quite a success for many countries. The United States for example, they are known for their variety of public diplomacy. As many tools can be utilized to implement it, states tend to use something that is close to everybody, something that can be seen in daily life, and that is food. Hillary Clinton said that food is the oldest form of diplomacy and it is beneficial to have that in order to foster a relationship between states (Auer 2018). Food has more meanings than the ingredients only, from that we can see the culture and the value it brings.

The study about food in politics is a new thing and there is not much literature on that. However, Paul Rockower as one of the first researcher on this field coined the term gastrodiplomacy. To be put simply, it is a way to influence a certain market (in this case, a state) through food. He stated that through gastrodiplomacy people can have a deeper understanding of a particular country by experiencing the culinary (P. S. Rockower 2012). However, we must distinguish between food diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy. Although it might sound the same because both involve food and diplomacy, it has different objectives. Food diplomacy mostly involves food aid or any kind of food assistance when there is a disaster. On the other hand, gastrodiplomacy is to communicate through food, to make the foreign audience have a cultural understanding of a certain country. The difference between food diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy
will be explained further in the second chapter.

There are several countries that exercised gastrodiplomacy and it can be said it worked quite well. Thailand was the pioneer of this project. The government launched a program called Global Thai on 2002 with a purpose to increase the number of Thai restaurant around the world from 5,000 restaurants to 8,500 restaurants in a year (*The Economist* 2012). To support this action, the government established the Global Thai Restaurant Company which facilitates every Thai restaurant throughout the world. They reached the target and even by 2011, the number became 10,000 restaurants. The government also held trainings for chefs in order to provide authentic Thai food to people abroad.

Various government offices were also participating in this campaign. Ministry of Commerce’s Department of Export Promotion offered 3 different types of Thai restaurants for the investor if they want to open one abroad. They categorize it based on the national symbols of Thailand; Elephant Jump for fast food type Thai meals, Cool Basil for middle priced menu and Golden Leaf for high class and authentic meal with real Thai experience in decoration as well (Karp and Pollack 2018). This ministry also sent culinary experts abroad to train the chefs at Thai restaurant overseas and organized research about the local taste of many countries so they could adjust the flavor according to people’s taste buds (Karp and Pollack 2018).

Thai banks provided loans for Thai citizens who wished to open a Thai restaurant abroad or to establish a business in the food industry. A book was also released by the Public Health Ministry on 2002 to give information to individuals who are interested in opening Thai restaurants and this book will give them insight about the local taste, recruitment and also how to train the employees (Karp and Pollack 2018). To maintain the quality of the Thai restaurants and products abroad, the government initiated the Thai Select, a certification given to Thai restaurants who fulfilled the standard given by the Thai Ministry of Commerce. To be eligible for this certificate, there are 3 requirements needed; the restaurant must be open for at least 6 months, the authenticity of the food must reach a minimum of 60%, and the head chef must be a Thai citizen or a foreigner who had education or training on Thai cooking for minimum 2 years (“Thai Select” n.d.). The government also created a database for every certified Thai restaurant all over the world, with these restaurants could get promotion and the customers can choose an authentic restaurant in their area.
Not only the Thai government who put efforts on the campaign, but also the government of New Zealand. A special visa can be granted for Thai citizens who received an offer to be a chef in Thai restaurants in New Zealand. This visa is called Thai Chefs Work Visa and it allows the applicant to work in New Zealand for maximum 3 years with a possibility of 1 year extension and 3 months of study in 1 year period (“About This Visa : Thai Chefs Work Visa” n.d.). In order to receive this visa, the applicant must provide the certificate of their skill and proven work experience as well.

The growing number of Thai restaurants is one of the factors that make this revolutionary policy successful. With the United States as the biggest market of Thai restaurant with approximately more than 5,000 restaurants across the state, the Thai government decided to make another goal and explore another market. The government realized the opportunity in the Muslim communities even though the Muslim population in the country is rather low. They aim to be on the main exporter of halal food for Muslim consumers. On 2015 the Department of Industrial Promotion's National Food Institute released the Thai's 5 year plan from 2016 to 2020 to penetrate the market and export halal food, with estimation budget of 180,000,000 THB or almost 6,000,000 USD (The Nation 2015).

Many countries mainly in Asia follow Thailand's steps, including Japan, Malaysia, South Korea, and Taiwan. The United States and Peru also participated to create their own campaign although the United States was rather late – 9 years behind Thailand. On 2012 U.S State Department created their diplomacy program which called "Diplomatic Culinary Partnership: Setting the Table for Diplomacy". There are 2 main objectives of this program which are:

- Engage formal diplomacy by collaborating with renowned chefs and other culinary leaders to utilize food preparation, presentation and overall dining experience in thoughtful, meaningful ways to engage foreign leaders at official State Department functions.
- Foster cross-cultural exchange by enlisting prominent chefs to participate in public diplomacy programs that use the shared experience of food to engage foreign audiences and bring people of varied backgrounds and cultural identities together (P. Rockower 2012).
The United States cooperated with James Beard Foundation in this initiative and there are 2 programs of this diplomacy campaign; to create American Chef Corps and State Chefs. American Chef Corps is a group of chefs that travel around the country and participate in the government’s public diplomacy events, whereas State Chefs are selected chefs that have the honor to provide meals on every important government event (U.S Department of State - Office of the Chief of Protocol 2012). The campaign that is launched by the United States is relatively more formal compared to what Thailand did because the main targets are government officials and dignitaries, meanwhile, Thailand targeted bigger public scope.

Countries are not the only one who can implement this, but also individuals. Jamie Oliver, a British famous celebrity chef realized that he has the power to influence society and even the government. With his program, Jamie’s School Dinners, Oliver changed the eating habit of the pupils to a healthier one and more nutritious (The Guardian 2005). Apart from this, he also convinced the government to provide healthy school meals to reduce the number of obesity among young students and also to take vending machines from schools (“Jamie Oliver Launches Global Campaign for Compulsory Food Education” 2015). He also had a meeting with the prime minister of the United Kingdom to discuss the meal plan in UK schools and managed to change the supermarket policy on how to control their quality (Reynolds 2012).

The variety of television channels that focus around cuisine also play a big role in spreading the influence, to make people aware of a certain food. Food Network, for example, is an American channel which broadcast programs about food to all around the states. Not only that, but they also have sub-channels such as Food Network Asia, Food Network Canada, Food Network Italy and Food Network Europe. Most of the programs show American cuisine, even on Food Network Italy they also have the same shows with some additional Italian cooking program. Since the channel is aired almost throughout the world, the viewers received more exposure to American food. Before watching the shows they might think that burger and macaroni and cheese are typical American meal, but after that, they will know more about the cuisine and the United States has more than that.

Anthony Bourdain, a popular celebrity chef, and TV personality was a combination of influential individual and he also had several TV programs concerning food and country. He hosted No Reservations, The Layover and Parts Unknown, those are well-known TV programs where he
traveled to different cities all over the world, tried the local cuisine while exploring the cultures as well. These programs were remarkable, it won Emmy Awards several times. Aired in the Travel Channel and CNN, the programs lasted for 13 years and in this shows Bourdain implicitly promoting the cities that he visited. He met local people, tasted the local dishes and traveled to the less known places. Due to this media exposure, places that he visited became more popular among travelers and it attracted them to come as well. Although the increasing number of visitor or people’s understanding regarding the culture of the places that were featured on his programs cannot be measured, from this we can clearly see how food also can be a trigger to nation branding of a certain country.

All the cases above shown that food can play an important thing in politics. For the case of Thailand, food can be used to increase the number of international trades, on the United States' case, the government uses food over a discussion with another government. Meanwhile, non-government parties such as individual can have an impact on the wider public and they also use media as a tool to promote their program. Food has a special place for everyone and to understand it we can also understand the story and culture behind it. On this research, the author will study and show how the government of South Korea and Taiwan use their cuisine as their gastrodipomacy, what are the tools and the actors behind it. Based on the explanations above, the research questions are as below:

- How the government utilizes their gastronomy as a mean to reach soft power?
- What are the campaigns created by South Korea and Taiwan to exercise their gastrodipomacy?
- Except for the government, is there any other party who is involved in the gastrodipomacy effort?

To support the research questions above, the author proposes a hypothesis that gastronomy can be used as an advantageous tool to reach the audience overseas and it can bring economic benefits for the home country.
1.2 Research Structure and Methodology

This research will be divided into 5 chapters. The first chapter will contain the introduction in which the author will briefly explain about gastrodiplomacy campaigns from Thailand and the United States, also other actors that have the influence to spread gastrodiplomacy. The author will state the significance of the study, the research questions and as well as the methodology. On the second chapter, it will focus on the theoretical framework; several documents will be used as literature reviews such as books and journal articles. Since no theory will be applied to this research, the author will rather use concepts such as soft power, public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, gastrodiplomacy and nation branding.

The third and fourth chapter will be dedicated to discuss the study cases, which will be about South Korea and Taiwan. A concise country overview will be provided to South Korea and Taiwan including with their previous effort to promote their food before the government campaigns are created. Description of the national cuisine that is used on the campaigns will be written as well. The author will then examine the gastrodiplomacy campaigns executed by each government and their programs. The author will not only explain the programs from the government but also from the private sector. If there is any corporation involved and media exposure which can be movies, documentaries or in any form. The last part of this research will be the conclusion that will be drawn up from the research.

On the methodological part, the author will conduct a qualitative study where various relevant literature will be utilized. Because secondary data will be the main sources, the author will mostly focus on books and journals regarding soft power, food and nationalism, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, and other related topics. However, the author will also use primary data such as documentaries and movies to understand the gastrodiplomacy campaigns by South Korea and Taiwan.
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature Review

When asked about Latin American cuisine, many people will straight away think about enchiladas, nachos and other Mexican dishes. Mexico receives great awareness of their culture through their food, however, there are also many other countries in Latin America having an interesting cuisine. Peru, a country in South America who is most popular because of Machu Pichu, has been trying to popularize their cuisine recently. Few institutions, such as the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy, cooperate with the Ministry of Culture and Foreign Relations of Peruvian government in order to increase people's recognition of Peruvian culinary (Wilson 2013). The main objective of this collaboration is to have Peruvian cuisine listed under UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity because “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces, associated therewith—that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (Wilson 2013).

Peruvian government with Peruvian Society of Gastronomy submitted their proposal in 2013 and after that, they began a campaign named Cocina Peruana Para El Mundo. Along with the campaign, a website was created for interested individuals allowing them to have a short course about Peruvian cuisine, get to understand their traditional food and where to get quality ingredients. The government also offers certifications for restaurants that serve traditionally prepared food and thus allowing them to gain international recognition, by being published on the website. Those who wish to participate are supervised by the government in order to maintain the high quality standards, as well as participate in gastronomic events and promotions through tourism services and websites (“AUTHENTIC PERUVIAN CUISINE” n.d.). Participants are divided into three categories: gold, silver and bronze. The category is given to a restaurant after submission of necessary documents and it is assessed based on the use of ingredients, cooking techniques and the preparation itself (Wilson 2013).

The effort to introduce Peruvian cuisine didn’t stop at that point. A documentary movie was released in 2009 directed by Ernesto Cabellos and Gurango, a production house based in Lima.
with a title *De ollas y sueños* or Cooking Dream in English. The movie starts with the history of local food traced back to the Amazon river, and it continues to the modern day, where famous chefs such as Gaston Acurio, Ferran Adria, Juan Mari Arzak and Bernando Roca Rey talk about their favorite Peruvian food. The movie also features Peruvian expats in many metropolitan cities all around the world and their longing for traditional home-cooked meals that they managed to create despite the scarcity of ingredients. This movie represents the important role of food in our society and how it affects our lives.

Certain individuals are also equally important in this gastro diplomacy campaign. Gastón Acurio, an acclaimed Peruvian chef has a significant part in this field. Often known as the culinary diplomat and the ambassador of Peruvian cuisine, he was one of the first people who successfully established Peruvian restaurants and it expanded to all around South America, Europe as well as Middle East - their latest restaurant is located in Doha, Qatar. He traveled to various food festivals to talk about Peruvian cuisine, initiated the establishment of Pasquale Hnos, a Peruvian fast food chain restaurant which now spreads all around the country. He also wrote 2 cookbooks specializing in the culinary of his homeland; Ceviche Power and Peru: The Cookbook. In addition to that, he is actively involved in campaigns regarding how to solve issues of Peruvian society through culinary perspective. To take as an example, he uses agriculture products from a traditional farmer in villages and remote areas for his restaurants, with this action he hoped that it could economically support the local commodities (Wilson 2013).

The decision to utilize food as a tool to promote their country appeared from its closeness to the people, how food can bring a sentimental feeling. Moreover, Peru has a very influential cultural heritage because of the Inca, Machu Pichu, and their traditional dances, therefore they agreed to insert another symbol of their country. The director of *De ollas y sueños*, Ernesto Cabellos mentioned that “It is in our cuisine where we rediscover and encounter our nationalism. It hasn’t been in football—Peru hasn’t participated in a World Cup in more than 25 years—or either in politics or music. It is the cuisine, our food.” (“Interview w/De Ollas y Sueños Director Ernesto Cabellos Damián,” n.d.). In his statement, he emphasized the importance of food and why it is a good idea to use it as a campaign.

A strong will to introduce Peruvian food was also announced by Alejandro Riveros, the head of public diplomacy of the Embassy of Peru in the United States, aiming to increase the number of Peruvian restaurants across the United States, following the success of Thai government
and thousands of its new restaurants (Wilson 2013). Thailand as the pioneer on gastro diplomacy campaign set a high bar for any country planning to follow their steps. They were successful and it brought benefits for them economically with a higher number of incoming tourists. They also helped many entrepreneurs to build their businesses abroad. Furthermore, the image of Thailand is stronger than before, they’re popular not only for their blue sandy beach, but also for their exquisite culinary.

The journal article of Rachel Wilson contributes to this research paper in terms of structure - the author mentions many actors involved in the gastro diplomacy campaign of South Korea and Taiwan. Wilson approaches towards the actors are nicely written although it is rather brief. In selected case studies, the author divides the actors into 3 parts; the official campaign from the government, movies or documentaries that support the campaign and influential individuals able to spread the information about the culinary of their respective countries, if any significant one appears.

The second literature review is a journal article written by Paul Rockower, an expert in public diplomacy and one of the first people to coin the term gastrodiplomacy. He wrote an article titled Recipes for Gastrodiplomacy in 2012. Slightly different from the first literature review focused on the study case of Peru, Rockower talks about and develops the concept of gastro diplomacy. He explains it as another form of public diplomacy that relies on attraction to fulfill the objectives. To make the most of gastro diplomacy, he points, there are 3 parts that need to be combined; cultural diplomacy, culinary diplomacy and nation branding (P. S. Rockower 2012).

On the first part of his work, Rockower proposes the idea of gastrodiplomacy from different experts and later on, he elaborates about the concept itself. He cited a thought by Rachel Wilson – the writer of the first literature review – her comment is as below:

"Because we experience food through our senses (touch and sight, but especially taste and smell), it possesses certain visceral, intimate, and emotion qualities, and as a result, we remember the food we eat and the sensations we felt while eating it. The senses create a strong link between place and memory, and food serves as the material representation of the experience." (P. S. Rockower 2012)

Food is a great tool because there are no physical threats that come along with it, unlike military or economy for example. It also leaves a sentimental feeling when people consume it, they could taste the flavor of the cuisine and understand the culture or the value
that the food brings. In this sense, cultural diplomacy is also involved. From this, the audience could have a better awareness of the culture, the nation or the messages it tries to deliver. Rockower cited Wilson again referring to the relation of cultural diplomacy with gastrodiplomacy:

“Gastrodiplomacy, or the use of food in the construction of nation brand, is one of the many tools that a government can employ in its broader strategy in cultural diplomacy.” (P. S. Rockower 2012)

Even though gastrodiplomacy has a close relation with culinary diplomacy, it is important to differentiate those two terms as they are not entirely the same. Culinary diplomacy is the use of food during diplomatic events, on a government to government basis rather than government to public (P. S. Rockower 2012). It’s purpose is to have a stronger bilateral relationship through the cuisine served during the function. Meanwhile, gastrodiplomacy has a broader meaning. It aims at mainly bigger foreign public, tries to enhance people’s awareness of the culture of a specific country and to achieve a better understanding from the audience overseas (P. S. Rockower 2012). It is also important to know that food diplomacy is an entirely different field from culinary diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy. Despite the fact that all those 3 revolves around food, food diplomacy mostly involves food aid or any kind of food assistance in times of disaster.

Rockower stated that gastrodiplomacy is often used by middle power country as their nation branding strategy. This is because the middle power countries often don’t have enough recognition among the global public or have a negative image (P. S. Rockower 2012). These countries do not have many basic resources to promote themselves, therefore they must use another resource that they surely possess, in this case, food. They have to make themselves stand out amongst other countries. Many countries in East and Southeast Asia apply this approach to promote their nation because people often get confused and think all of them are similar. Thus, they differentiate themselves through food to make people know that sushi comes from Japan, not Thailand, or kimchi is from South Korea instead of China.

Many study cases are explored in this article, Rockower first starts with the case of Thailand, who pioneered the campaign. With 2 official government campaigns; Global
Thai and Thailand: Kitchen of the World, they managed to increase the number of Thai restaurant across the globe from 5 500 to 13 000 within 7 years (P. S. Rockower 2012). Rockower also describes several other gastrodiplomacy campaigns from another country in Asia following the success of Thailand. Because South Korea and Taiwan are also mentioned in this article, the author will refer to this part later in the study case.

In the last part of his article, Rockower writes about 2 unique cases of gastrodiplomacy. The first is Conflict Kitchen in Pittsburgh, the United States. This is a small restaurant that only serves take away food from countries who are involved in a conflict with the United States, such as Afghanistan and Iran (P. S. Rockower 2012). This restaurant is built to raise awareness and understanding for the citizen of the United States about the countries towards which they may have a negative sentiment. The other case took place in Australia where many Indian students experienced negative behavior from the locals. It was responded by a civil society organization by inviting both parties over dinner, where they could discuss their matters (P. S. Rockower 2012). A movement was also created in Facebook, “Viandaloo against Violence” where many people participated and encouraged Australians to eat in Indian restaurants, so they could taste the cuisine and feel the culture of India as well.

This piece will have a big contribution to the author's research because Rockower explains the concept gastrodiplomacy in detail and describes plenty of study cases, which will be beneficial for the content of this research. Rockower also has several other substantial writings, which will be used by the author for conceptualization.

2.2 Conceptualizations

2.2.1 Soft power

The concept of soft power was firstly introduced by Joseph Nye in his book, Bound to Lead, The Changing Nature of American Power which was published in 1990. In this book Nye describes soft power as one country getting other countries to want what it wants, which might be called co-optive or soft power and is in contrast with the hard or command power, where country orders others to do what it wants (Nye 1990). At that time, soft power was a new term and he built
up the concept in the book that he published in 2004, Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics. If hard power focuses more on military capabilities and economy, soft power puts more attention to the value of its country that can be utilized to attract others such as culture, ideology or institutions. Soft power also uses co-optive power which can be understood as the ability to shape what others want through cultural values or politics (Nye 2004).

Soft power itself relies on 3 sources:

- Culture, items or matters that make one country looks attractive to others;
- Values that the government use in their domestic politics;
- A foreign policy that has been legitimised.

For further details, the sources of soft power can be seen on the graph below:

*Table 1 Soft Power Sources, Referees and Receivers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of Soft Power</th>
<th>Referees for Credibility or Legitimacy</th>
<th>Receivers of Soft Power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policies</td>
<td>Governments, media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)</td>
<td>Foreign governments and publics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic values and policies</td>
<td>Media, NGOs, IGOs</td>
<td>Foreign governments and publics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High culture</td>
<td>Governments, NGOs, IGOs</td>
<td>Foreign governments and publics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop culture</td>
<td>Media, markets</td>
<td>Foreign publics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The first source, foreign policies are released by the government. This is an important thing to understand because the government needs to have strategies before the foreign policy is launched, because it can strengthen or even make the current soft power weaker (Nye 2004). If the policy is considered worthy by other countries, then the soft power will increase as well. The second would be domestic values and policies that the government holds on to. This values are implemented in international organizations and can be seen through their policies. For example, the democracy values by the United States. The last source is a culture which can be divided into
high culture and pop culture. High culture is mostly enjoyed by upper-class people and the elites, these are literature, paintings, music, and many other things. While pop culture aimed for a bigger audience and it is produced by private enterprises. The example of pop culture is the Bollywood industry in India. If the culture of one country holds the same universal value as another country, then it can increase the result of soft power that they want (Nye 2004).

To reach the maximum of its soft power, a country uses a spectrum of behavior as below:

Table 2 Spectrum of Behavior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spectrum of Behaviors</th>
<th>Hard</th>
<th>Soft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coercion, inducement</td>
<td>agenda setting, attraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Command</td>
<td>Co-opt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Most Likely Resources | force, payments, sanctions, bribes | institutions, values, culture, policies |


There are 2 components a country needs in order to get their soft power; agenda setting and attraction. For agenda setting an institution is needed and it usually comes from ideology, values or the culture of its country. In South Korea, we can use Korea Trade Promotion Cooperation (KOTRA) for an example. This is a state-funded institution that focuses on economic development through trade promotions, they also handle the promotion of Korean Wave known as Hallyu. If a country has an ideology or value which is similar or attractive to other countries, then it can be easily followed or adopted by other countries as well. The second is attraction which can be produced from values, culture or policies and these can be called soft power resources. Soft power is not only the ability to make itself looks attractive in others eyes, but also the ability to persuade other parties (Nye 2004).
2.2.2 Public diplomacy

The term of public diplomacy was firstly mentioned in 1856 in a newspaper in the United Kingdom, it was forgotten after a while and brought back to the public by Edmund Guillon, a diplomat and Dean of Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He explained it as below:

“Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communications, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communication.” (Cull 2009)

After Guillon, many other scholars stated their definition of public diplomacy. Hans Tuch as an illustration, explained public diplomacy as a government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies (Nye 1990). Although many definitions were publicized, there are still some assumptions that public diplomacy is propaganda in disguise because of the hidden agenda the government has.

The fundamental difference between diplomacy and public diplomacy is the target. In diplomacy, the government aimed to influence another government can be directed to the head of the state or other higher rank officials. Whereas public diplomacy is from people to people and it includes government, private individuals, organizations and even enterprises. It is also known as second track diplomacy, because the efforts are conducted mainly by non-government actors in unofficial ways.

Public diplomacy is an extension of traditional diplomacy. The changes from diplomacy to public diplomacy itself has created 2 different points of views in the function of it:

- On one side, who regarded public diplomacy as a supplementary effort that supports conventional diplomacy
- On the other side, who view public diplomacy as a tool for states to interact and to involve different level of people such as high officials and common citizen in the government’s agenda (Snow 2009).
Both views are correct, especially in the contemporary era like today. Public diplomacy is being used as a tool to support the foreign policy or soft power of a certain country. It is also a way for citizens and government to interact with each other. The citizens could receive the information from the government, and the government itself could assess whether their campaign is effective.

The aim of public diplomacy is to have a favorable opinion from a foreign audience and to engage publics through communication conducted by non-state actors and various interest groups. Hence, the intercultural communication is highly needed in order to reach the objectives (Shoelhi 2011). To reach this purpose, there are several paths that are usually done by the government; through movies, cultural exchange, music, television and as such. To be simply understood, public diplomacy is an effort to reach national interest by informing, understanding and influencing foreign audiences.

To achieve maximum results of public diplomacy, there are several aspects that have to be considered; intensive communication regarding recent issues, strategic communication, to develop and maintain relationship with key actors through various platforms (Leonard 2011). On the first aspect, a government has to maintain the communication at all times. They can't reach them only before the campaign or after, they have to keep it throughout the period. An up to date issues also need to be addressed.

On the second, since the market is foreign audiences, the strategy has to differ from the domestic public diplomacy (Melissen 2005). The government has to adjust it according to the characteristics or cultural value on that market. For instance, if the United States would like to launch their policy about terrorism to other countries, they have to use different strategies if they want to target it to Canada and Jordan. Both countries have different values and ideology, therefore in order to succeed, the United States cannot use the same strategy. If a country wants to use public diplomacy, they cannot expect to have an immediate result because to have an effective public diplomacy, the government needs to nurture and maintain the credibility, so the trust from the target can be obtained. Having said that, public diplomacy is more suitable for long term objectives.

Thirdly, after the objectives are reached, the government has to maintain the relationship with other parties. To take as an example, the awardees of Fullbright Scholarship from the United
States, after their program is finished and they return to the respective countries, the United States’ embassy usually holds a reunion for the alumni, where they can exchange information and build networks. The alumni will also be sent newsletter regarding the program, if they would like to take another course.

When the communication between two or more countries are well developed, the home country or the one who sends the message can aim at several aspects; it can increase familiarity of the country, it can increase the appreciation, it can engage people and it can influence people’s behavior (Leonard 2011). To check the familiarity of a country we can do it by when we mention one object about a specific country, for example, McDonald's. The idea of the United States popped out and people can easily associate McDonald's with the United States. The growing number of McDonald's restaurants around the world even could increase people's awareness. After this, people can appreciate their existence and have a positive opinion about the United States. The massive exposure of it and new industries or brands from the country also attract people to visit the United States which can lead to a higher number of incoming tourists. The last would be it could influence people's behavior in a way that they will support the United States. If they like it after a visit, they might stay in the country longer and find some jobs or open a business. This phenomenon called the American dream is one of the effects of good public diplomacy practiced by the United States.

The role of non-state actors is highly important in the practice of public diplomacy, especially media. In order to have the expected results, a country must know how to deliver the message and they have to choose the right and credible messenger to do this. NGOs are equally substantial in public diplomacy because sometimes they have access to sources such as broad network on the given area to experts, activists and foreign politicians that the government doesn't (Leonard 2011). Since NGOs are mostly working based on a specific area of expertise, they have more knowledge than the government. To take as an example, CARE International who specializes in poverty and have projects on disaster relief program. They know more about this field because of the number of projects that they have conducted and the experts who work for them. Also because of their specialization and it has no government-related hidden agenda, society tends to trust them more.
2.2.3 Cultural diplomacy

Many people say that cultural diplomacy is a part of public diplomacy. This is true because most of the cultural diplomacy activities involve the same actors which are mainly government and non-government bodies or individuals. The substantial item in cultural diplomacy is the culture itself. It is how a nation could 'sell' or use their culture to reach their national interests. It can be done through various approaches; exhibitions, student exchange, dance performance, opera, literature, folklore, and as such. Mark Donfried, the founder of the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy offered his perception of cultural diplomacy as below:

“Despite the semantic confusion, it is nevertheless possible to conceive of cultural diplomacy as a diplomatic practice of governments, carried out in support of a government's foreign policy goals or its diplomacy (or both), usually involving directly or indirectly the government's foreign ministry, involving a wide range of manifestations of the culture of the state which the government represents, targeted at a wider population as well as elites.” (Goff 2013)

As stated by Donfried, cultural diplomacy is a practice conducted and established by the governments to support their aims or any foreign policy they would like to achieve. The purpose of cultural diplomacy is similar to public diplomacy, where they want a bigger public to support their activities or to support the policy they made. Milton Cummings proposed a straightforward explanation of cultural diplomacy, it is an exchange of cultural elements such as art, dance, ideas, tradition, norms, and habit and as such between countries and their citizens to cultivate common understanding (Goff 2013).

There are several determinants referring to the goals of cultural diplomacy; to create a dialogue and have trust from other nations, to pursue recognition politically and culturally, to seek for financial advantages, to raise awareness of their culture from other nations, to weaken incorrect perceptions, to develop a certain worldview (Scott-Smith, n.d.). The determinants mentioned are important for a country to create its strategy to conduct their cultural diplomacy so they can shape their plans of action.

Decades ago, cultural diplomacy was identic with a high culture where it is mostly enjoyed by upper-class people because it can be quite costly to watch an exhibition or an art performance. Whereas nowadays, popular culture is everywhere and it is easily accessible by everyone as it aims
at a mass audience. The relations type for cultural diplomacy are also varied, it can be government to government, government to people, people to people and as such. The internet also plays an important part in the distribution of the culture itself, the culture can be easily transferred and viewed by people from different parts of the world. Similar to public diplomacy, to gain the result of cultural diplomacy it needs long term nurture. Government or any bodies appointed by the government have to create a long term strategy to have the maximum outcome.

People are often confused with the difference between cultural diplomacy and international cultural relations. Both of them share the same idea but it can be differentiated by the main goal itself. Not every international cultural relation are supported by the government or created to promote a certain foreign policy (Mark 2010). According to Higham, what makes international cultural relations differs from cultural diplomacy is the objective. International cultural relations are being used as a tool to have cooperation with other countries in culture or arts in general and it is also used to gain international exposure and to develop the domestic culture of the country itself (Topic and Sciortino 2012). The example of these are Alliance Francais, Confucius Institute, British Council and many more.

A perfect cultural diplomacy would be when a country could create a strategy where they can portray their national interests without clashing with other countries and they could maintain the good relationship (Bulumac and Sapunaru 2012). Also if it could share the same value with the audience where cultural diplomacy is projected, it could maximize the result as well. When cultural diplomacy is considered to be successful, it can influence the Global Public Opinion and it can stimulate 5 principles:

- Respect and recognition of cultural diversity and heritage
- Global intercultural dialogue
- Justice, equality, and interdependence
- The protection of international human rights
- Global peace and stability (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy n.d.)
Cynthia P Schneider, an ambassador of the United States who is also a professor in Georgetown University explained that there are several aspects that have to be taken into considerations in order to have effective cultural diplomacy:

- Cultural diplomacy is a two-way street
- Cultural diplomacy operates in the long term
- Cultural diplomacy does not explain or compensate for unpopular policies
- Cultural diplomacy can increase understanding between different peoples and cultures
- Cultural diplomacy can open doors between U.S diplomats and their host countries, even when relations are strained
- Cultural diplomacy cannot be effectively measured; it makes a qualitative, not quantitative, difference in relations between nations and peoples
- Cultural diplomacy works best when it caters to the interests of a host country or region
- In today’s climate of tight budgets, cultural diplomacy needs to be creative, flexible and opportunistic (Schneider 2006).

2.2.4 Gastrodiplomacy

The term “gastrodiplomacy” was firstly introduced by Paul Rockower, an American public diplomacy expert. This is a relatively new idea since the concept itself is still developing and not many people are aware of this. There are 2 important objects involved in this concept; gastronomy or can be simplified as cuisine and diplomacy. Based on those 2 terms, to be simply understood, gastrodiplomacy is the use of food as a tool to increase people’s awareness of a certain country. It is a branch of public diplomacy, therefore the receiver of the campaigns is the public as well. The aim of gastrodiplomacy campaign it to shape public opinion by their culinary culture through various mediums, it can be social media, movies, exhibition, TV programs and the like (Tettner and Kalyoncu 2016). To make the most of gastro diplomacy, there are 3 parts that need to be combined; cultural diplomacy, culinary diplomacy, and nation branding (P. S. Rockower 2012).
The role of food is highly important in diplomacy because it is such a staple ingredient in everybody's life. Therefore, it can develop an emotional connection to the people who tasted it. Mary Jo Pham, a gastrodiplomacy researcher observe it as below:

"Throughout history, food has played a significant role in shaping the world, carving ancient trade routes and awarding economic and political power to those who handled cardamom, sugar, and coffee. Trade corridors such as the incense and spice route through India into the Levent and the triangular trade route spanning from Africa to the Caribbean and Europe laid the foundations for commerce and trade between modern nation-states. Indeed, these pathways encouraged discovery - weaving the cultural fabric of contemporary societies, tempering countless palates, and ultimately making way for the globalization of taste and food culture.” (Tettner and Kalyoncu 2016)

Food is a great tool because there are no physical threats that come along with it, unlike military or economy for example. It also leaves a sentimental feeling when people eat it, they could taste the flavor of the cuisine and understand the culture or the value that the food brings. In this sense, cultural diplomacy is also involved. From this, the audience could have a better awareness of the culture, the nation, or the messages it tries to deliver. Rockower cited Rachel Wilson – a public diplomacy researcher - referring to the relation of cultural diplomacy with gastrodiplomacy:

“Gastrodiplomacy, or the use of food in the construction of nation brand, is one of the many tools that a government can employ in its broader strategy in cultural diplomacy.” (P. S. Rockower 2012)

Even though gastrodiplomacy has a close relation with culinary diplomacy, it is important to differentiate it because it is not entirely the same. Culinary diplomacy is the use of food during diplomatic events, it is government to government rather than government to public (P. S. Rockower 2012). The purpose is to have a stronger bilateral relationship through the cuisine served during the function. Meanwhile, gastrodiplomacy has a broader meaning. It aims at mainly bigger foreign public, tries to enhance people's awareness about the culture of the country and to have a better understanding from the audience overseas (P. S. Rockower 2012). It is also important to know that food diplomacy is an entirely different field from culinary diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy. Despite the fact that all those 3 revolve around food, food diplomacy mostly involves food aid or any kind of food assistance in times of disaster.
Rockower stated that gastrodiplomacy is often used by middle power country as their nation branding strategy. Eytan Gilboa explains it as such because of reason stated below:

“People around the world didn’t know much about them, or worse, holding attitudes shaped by negative stereotyping, hence the need to capture attention and educate publics around the world. Since the resources of middle powers are limited, they have to distinguish themselves in certain attractive areas.” (Eyton 2009)

In his statement Gilboa points out the reason, middle power countries are often don't have enough recognition in the global public or either have a negative image (P. S. Rockower 2012). These countries do not have many basic resources to promote their country, therefore they must use other resources that they surely have, in this case, food. They have to make themselves stand out amongst other countries. Many countries in East and Southeast Asia apply this approach to promote their nation because people often get confused and think all of them are similar. Thus, they differentiate themselves through food to make people know that sushi comes from Japan, not Thailand, or kimchi is from South Korea instead of China.

Samuel Tettner and Begum Kalyoncu formulate the efforts that can be conducted by both governmental and non-governmental actors in order to encourage gastrodiplomacy campaigns which can be seen on the below table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governmental Actions</th>
<th>Non-Governmental Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being part of supranational organizations</td>
<td>For Profit Actors that can sponsor or create projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocating budget for regional efforts</td>
<td>Transport companies (airlines, busses, car rentals, etc.), international hotel chains, real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting their cuisine responsibly</td>
<td>companies, financial services corporations, online marketplaces, travel websites, banks, energy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not accusing other countries of culinary plagiarism companies, ingredient suppliers, major grocery chain, kitchenware companies, travel agencies, international cooking schools University initiatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministries of agriculture, food, culture, tourism, and forestry</th>
<th>Chambers of commerce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Public and private cooperation


The strategies in each campaign can differ from one country to another. Juyan Zhang wrote a journal article, where she compares gastrodiploamcy strategies from Japan, Malaysia, Peru, Thailand, South Korea and Taiwan. She analyzes the content, the logos, the themes and tactics as well. Eventually she comes up with a proposition, that there are few categories in gastrodiploamcy campaigns: healthiness, diversity, mysticism and exoticism, an essential part of the culture, naturalness and environmentalism and the last one is an aesthetic value (Zhang 2015).

As the practice of gastrodiploamcy is becoming more popular among governments, Paul Rockower predicts it’s future trends: gastrodiploamcy polylateralism and gastrodiploamcy para-diploamcy (P. S. Rockower 2012). On the first prediction, Rockower stated that because of gastrodiploamcy, there will be more interactions created between the state and non-state actors in the sense of diploamcy or public diploamcy. Meanwhile the latter means that the foreign policy scope is not only on a high level, but it can also touch the local culture through the campaign of gastrodiploamcy.

### 2.2.5 Nation branding

Nation branding was believed to be firstly introduced by a British brand consultant, Simon Anholt in 1996. According to Anholt, he defined nation branding as a reputation of a country can have, similar to the concept of a brand image of a company (Anca-Georgiana 2016). Anholt viewed nation branding from 2 different perspectives; the first is to see a nation as a company in which
marketing techniques are used and utilizes all aspects of a country such as history, economy, and politics to shape the brand of a nation itself (Anca-Georgiana 2016). The second perspective is that every nation is different and has different values, which makes the nation branding strategy rather difficult (Anca-Georgiana 2016).

Another definition was produced by Eugene D Jaffe and Israel D Nebenzahl, according to them the aim of nation branding is to create a clear, simple, differentiating idea built around emotional qualities which can be symbolized both verbally and visually and understood by diverse audiences in a variety of situations and in order to work effectively, nation branding must embrace political, cultural, business and sport activities (Fan 2006).

The concept of nation branding is often misunderstood with marketing, how a country could sell itself and this study is closer to marketing rather than politics. If diplomacy aims for understanding and support towards their foreign policy, the key objectives of nation branding are to increase the number of export, foreign direct investment (FDI) and to have incoming tourists (Fan 2006). Apart from these 3 main objectives, nation branding can also be used to stabilize the local currency, to gain international trustworthiness, to have a higher influence in international politics, to have more powerful international cooperation and also to strengthen nation building (Dinnie 2008). Every aspect of the government is involved in the practice of nation branding; economy, politics, history, society, and culture as well. A country will create attraction of their nation to the international audience through these mediums.

Even so, the obstacles to nation branding can be tricky. First of all, for some nations, it is difficult to define their identity (Fan 2006). For a country with a history of many immigrants like the United Kingdom, it is hard to reach to a point where everybody agrees with United Kingdom's identity because every citizen has their own, that they bring from their respective country of origin. The next challenge is to find a perfect strategy to deliver the message to a foreign audience in various countries (Fan 2006). To take as an example, Russia cannot project their country using the same strategy for China or Saudi Arabia because those countries are entirely different. The last challenge would be to decide on the time frame itself, whether the government wants to have a nation branding campaign based on contemporary issues or they prefer to bring up their history as well? (Fan 2006). Many countries share the same history such as the Yugoslav countries, will there be any side who might feel offended, if their past is being used to get popularity for the nation branding campaign?
To highlight the difference between nation branding and normal product branding, the author will list the differences as below:

*Table 4 the Differences of Nation Brand and Product Brand*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nation brand</th>
<th>Product brand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offer</strong></td>
<td>Nothing on offer</td>
<td>A product or service to offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attributes</strong></td>
<td>Difficult to define</td>
<td>Well defined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benefits</strong></td>
<td>Purely emotional</td>
<td>Functional and emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Image</strong></td>
<td>Complicated, various, vague</td>
<td>Simple, clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Association</strong></td>
<td>Secondary, numerous, diverse</td>
<td>Primary and secondary, relatively fewer and more specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>To promote the national image?</td>
<td>To help sales and develop relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ownership</strong></td>
<td>Unclear, multiple stakeholders</td>
<td>Sole owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audience</strong></td>
<td>Diverse, hard to define</td>
<td>Targeted segment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On the table above it can be seen what are the differences between nation branding and product branding. Both are entirely different in many aspects. Product branding is easy to be measured because the purposes are clear, whereas nation branding is still vague and have a lot of room to be filled and described. The sole purpose of product branding is to support sales and strengthen relationships, meanwhile, nation branding aims to promote national image, increase investments, strengthen relationships and such. The scope is bigger than product branding itself.

Nation branding has also a very close relationship with national identity. With this, a country can differentiate themselves from the others and this identity will linger in everybody’s mind when they think about it. Keith Dinnie, a nation branding scholar expressed that the image of nation branding is created from the national identity itself with the help of capable communicator to make it happen (Handayani and Rashid, n.d.). The conceptualization of nation brand image can be seen as below:
According to the mind map created based on Keith Dinnie’s work above, national identity, national-brand identity, nation's image, and nation-brand image are influencing each other. To make it work, every aspect has to be intertwined and involved in order to have a strong nation-branding of a country. Dinnie also summarizes the problems of using the nation as brand from several authors as below:

**Table 5 the Problems of Nation Branding**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Themes and Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aldersey-Williams</td>
<td>The process of branding a country is quite risky because it can be used as a political activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolff Olins</td>
<td>Even though brands are linked with companies and goods, the methods can be used in different sector. For the case of countries, the government has to be the one who manages the brand itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Shaughnessy and Jackson</td>
<td>To define the image of a country is a bit difficult because of its nature that is flexible and can be easily shifted by the political situation or any international events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilmore</td>
<td>The originality is an important part when it comes to the creation of nation branding because the sender country wants to give the truth to the audience so they will receive the message as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihailovich</td>
<td>An uncomplicated advertisement might be disadvantageous to the government, they need to consider all aspects to formulate a nation branding such as whether if they have emotional closeness or similarities and as such.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anholt</td>
<td>The choices of the word are crucial in nation branding because many words can sound arrogant and will not have a good impact, therefore the government should be careful on using phrases or terminology.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Based on the thoughts from different authors above it can be seen, that despite all the results that can be achieved, there are some concerns where the government or nation branding maker should really consider. The strategy has to be different and stand out to make it recognizable by the audience. The partnerships that have been built should also be utilized to have a bigger impact on the nation branding campaign.
Chapter 3:
Study Case - South Korea

3.1 Country overview and history of diplomacy

Located in East Asia, South Korea has a long history with its brother, North Korea. Their separation, which happened in 1948, was one of the results of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. The war itself—known as the Korean War— took place between 1950-1953. North Korea was supported by the Soviet Union and China, while South Korea was mainly backed by the United States. Since then the Korean peninsula is divided between 2 countries and they are maintaining the status quo until today.

The geographical condition of South Korea makes it difficult to define themselves and to make themselves visible in the eyes of the world, mainly because they are surrounded by significant countries such as China and Japan. South Korea was under control of these two countries during the 19th century, however, on 1880 they started to have diplomatic assignments and sent their representatives abroad. From that time they started to be known in the world of international politics (Patterson and Choi 2017). Before that, South Korea was not known for taking part in any diplomatic relations along with Colombia, Siam – Thailand in present times, and Morocco (Patterson and Choi 2017).

During the World War I its diplomatic activity was paused. The same happened during Korean separation and the Korean War. These caused a great impact on the foreign relations of South Korea. It became poor and left with no allies. The United States provided South Korea with various assistance, such as security and economic aid. However, this comes with a price, South Korea cannot move freely without the supervision of the United States. Based on the data from the COW Diplomatic Exchange, it was disclosed that South Korea had very few diplomatic activities, didn't open more embassies abroad or sent their country representatives (Patterson and Choi 2017).

Despite all the downfall they had, South Korea managed to rise and their position in the world politics transformed significantly. On the below figure we can analyze their drastic change starting from the 1970s.
Prior to 1950 the existence of the diplomatic missions is almost not identified. Between 1950 - 1960 the numbers of their embassies started to grow slowly and from 1970 South Korea had a big increase, along with the number of their trade as well. By 2010 South Korea has opened around 115 embassies throughout the world. This is a big improvement comparing to the number of embassies they had in the beginning. The major development of the diplomatic relations happened during the presidential term of Park Chung-Hee, from 1963 to 1979. During his term, the government of South Korea managed to establish 55 embassies and sent 20 consuls as their country representatives. Park was considered to be the most successful president during this era because of his ability to expose South Korea to the international world. To see the breakdown of the number of embassies opened during each presidency term please take a look at the table below:
Table 6 Diplomatic successes of Korea’s presidents in the pre- and post-transition periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidents</th>
<th>Embassies</th>
<th>Consuls</th>
<th>Representatives</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-transition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhee Syngman</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yun Bo-Sun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Chung-Hee</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choi Gye-Ha</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chun Doo-Whan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roh Tae-Woo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-transition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Young-Sam</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Dae-Jung</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roh Moo-Hyun</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Myung-Bak</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Geun-hye</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by the authors from the diplomatic missions established by year (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2013).

Even though during Park's presidency South Korea had a great achievement in building relationships with other states, the country itself remained underdeveloped. At the end of 1960s their GDP per capita was 279.31 USD, even lower comparing to Ecuador and Colombia (Patterson and Choi 2017). This explains that despite the fact that the number of South Korea's representatives are growing in foreign countries, it didn't give any effect to their country development. During his term, President Park developed his plan to start exporting South Korea's selected products to foreign markets, approached other states who would be potential buyers and built more relationships with other nations (Patterson and Choi 2017).

The rapid development of economic growth from 1950 to 1953 – also known as the Miracle of the Han and also Seoul Olympics in 1988 played a big part on South Korea's effort to be more acknowledged by other countries. South Korea became more developed when they adopted democracy, joined the United Nations in 1991 and normalized their relations with communist countries such as the Soviet Union and China in the next year (Oknim 1999). Previously, South Korea didn't have any relations with communist or socialist countries, after ties the two major players were back to normal, they immediately began to establish relationships with the allies of the Soviet Union and China (Oknim 1999). From that momentum, South Korea became more well-known and more advanced.

Nowadays, South Korea is more popular with its public diplomacy. Officially, South Korea began to use public diplomacy in 2010 because they have to distinguish themselves from the powerful neighboring countries like China and Japan. The use of culture, traditional values and nation brand image are being used more often because it gives a tangible result to the country.
However, these are not the only tools that South Korea used to get legitimacy from the foreign world, they also use development aid. David John Baker stated that South Korea was practicing niche diplomacy, mainly used by small states but also popular among the middle sized country. South Korea sells their experience from being a poor country to what they are today. They participated in many discussion programs, maintain a good relationship to donors and also be a facilitator between the North and the South (Baker 2017).

South Korean government established a specialized agency to deal with the development matter, the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA). This agency built more than 60 vocational schools and provided trainings for non-Korean citizens. The main objective of this agency is to support other countries on their development program, but at the same time they also would like to publicize South Korean culture as well (Baker 2017). KOICA has many programs to reach its objectives, such as Korea Aid and World Friends Korea. On Korea Aid, the receivers are Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia and there are 3 main components involved; K-Medic, K-Culture, and K-Meal. In this project, Korean doctors were sent to provide health assistance to people in need, while at the same they were given Korean food cooked by Korean chefs and introduced to Korean culture through movie screenings (Baker 2017). This program received many negative comments because it was more like a cultural festival rather than a development program.

On the second project, World Friends Korea, KOICA sent approximately 50,000 volunteers between 2009 and 2014 to their partner countries. These volunteers are sent to achieve the main goals of this project; to promote sustainable development, to reduce poverty level, to improve the standard of living, to create a good relationship with the partner countries, and to be active in international sphere (Baker 2017). The volunteers work with governments, educational institutes and many other actors in various fields to bolster Korean culture and cuisine on the respected partner countries. From those two programs conducted by KOICA there is one similarity, we can see South Korea’s effort to promote their culture and cuisine because that is an integral value in the society.

In addition to the projects conducted by KOICA, the South Korean government also relied on their soft power or known as the Korean Wave (Hallyu). Korean Wave started at the end of 1990s, the first wave was called Hallyu 1.0, the second was Hallyu 2.0 which are mainly music, hallyu 3.0 is about culture and the last, hallyu 4.0 is the Korean style (Bok-rae 2015). The first
wave came with Korean dramas aired in many neighboring countries such as China. What is Love was the first K-drama aired abroad, it received great feedback, however, and the biggest boom was when Winter Sonata released. From this drama alone, NHK – the production house of this series received 3.5 million USD as their profit (Kozhakhmetova 2012). The second wave was followed by the globalization of Korean music. Many music managements recruited and trained Korean teenagers to be featured in girl bands or boybands, after that they released their singles and went on a worldwide tour.

From the first two waves, the foreign public could understand the value and society of Korea, therefore to introduce the culture and style is not a difficult thing to do. By watching the drama and listening to the music the audience developed their interests toward South Korean culture, cuisine, and way of life, values and as such. Because of those, South Korea had a stronger nation-branding than before. The entertainment industry exported their music, dramas, and movies to various countries and it increased the country’s GDP. From Korean music alone, the government had a big increase from 22 million USD to 335 million USD during the period 2005 to 2014 (P. Chang and Lee 2017).

The number of tourists coming to South Korea also increased significantly. On 1998 there were 300,000 people came and after the Korean Wave, the number escalated to 11,8 million people (Bae et al. 2017). On 2004, the Korean Tourism Organization conducted a survey about the reason on why the tourists chose South Korea as their holiday destination, 47% of the respondents answered they visited South Korea because of the drama they watched on television (Bae et al. 2017). More tourists also came because of their liking to Korean music and they attended their favorite musician’s concert in South Korea.

3.2 The rise of gastrodiplomacy

The term gastrodiplomacy is a relatively new find in politics, however many nations has utilized food to promote their country so the foreign audience would understand them better. On the Summer Olympics 1988 in Seoul, the South Korean government introduced kimchi to the athletes and visitors (Nalewcki 2018). At that time, South Korea was still a small country and underdeveloped, not many people know about their traditional cuisine and it might not be accepted
by foreign taste buds because of its strong smell. Before they gave it to the athletes and visitors, the recipe was adjusted so the flavor won’t be too strange for them. Kimchi then introduced as the official food in the Olympic Village 1988 and it was given to some athletes and surprisingly they liked the interesting flavor of it (Nalewicki 2018). This was the first moment kimchi went international and became well-known by the foreign market.

Kimchi also became the official food on Soccer World Cup in 1998 in France and the Korean athletes always eat it before the match to improve their stamina (Cho 2006). During Incheon Asian Games, many Korean athletes were interviewed about their eating habit and they said that consuming kimchi is an important part of their diet (Jaehae et al. 2015). Health, an American magazine also stated that kimchi is one of the healthiest food along with Indian lentils, Greek yogurt, Spanish olive oil and many more (Jaehae et al. 2015). The foreign media then publicized it and informed that the ingredients in kimchi such as ginseng could increase stamina. The massive publication from the media about how healthy kimchi is and the effect of consuming it made kimchi more popular among people. It was the rise of kimchi as the national food of South Korea.

On the Atlanta Olympics, South Korea was supposed to supply kimchi as one of the official food during the game, however, Japan also proposed the same with their kimuchi – Japanese kimchi but less hot and spicy. This triggered a conflict between the two countries because Japan was accused to steal the national heritage of South Korea. Apart from that, the South Korean were outraged because kimuchi is a contravention to the original recipe of kimchi and also the most important thing is that South Korea used to be Japan’s colony and they don’t want that to happen again (Cho 2006). To settle the conflict both parties had multiple discussions and on 2001 they reached an agreement with the help of Committee Alimentarius Codex that kimchi will still be called kimchi but with a big room to adjust the recipe (Cho 2006).

After the dispute with Japan, South Korea's kimchi industry was growing, kimchi became industrialized. China is also involved in this and started to export kimchi to South Korea. They started with a low amount and after a while, they exported in a big batch. However, when the Research Institute of Public Health and Environment of Seoul detected that there might be a parasite in that kimchi, people started to worry (Cho 2006). More information received after the Korea Food and Drug Administration confirmed that they found parasite eggs that might come
from human waste (The Economist 2005). This was shocking and created a tensed relation between China and South Korea. The number of imported kimchi from China dropped significantly. In return, China claimed that there are 10 products from South Korea that contained similar parasites (The Economist 2005). This attitude from China caused anxiety for South Korea because China is their largest market for export. After negotiations, China and South Korea found a common ground where both countries will keep an eye on the traded products and maintain the quality at the same time (The Economist 2005).

3.3 Kimchi, the National culinary

The cuisines in South Korea are varied but mostly it consists of rice, meat, and vegetables. Fermenting food is a way to preserve food in South Korea, therefore there are many fermented dishes such as kimchi and gochujang – fermented red bean paste. In this sub-chapter, the author will elaborate on the cuisines of South Korea and the traditional food that is listed in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

In traditional Korean meal or can be called bapsang, there are 4 important elements that need to be there on every meal (Jaehae et al. 2015). Bap (rice) comes in many forms, it can be plain steamed rice or mixed with barley or wheat, and it provides carbohydrate. Kuk (soup or stew) to help on the chewing process and this must be placed next to rice. Banchan (side dishes) usually put in small plates and it can be vegetables or meat. Kimchi counted as banchan and always served on every meal. The last element is jang or sauce to give extra flavor and seasoning in the food, it can be gochujang (red pepper paste), doenjang (soybean paste), ganjang (soy sauce) or cheonggukjang (fermented bean paste) (Jaehae et al. 2015). Rice or grains are a substantial part of the meal as it has always been from ancient times. There are 5 traditional grains that Korean people consume: rice, proso millet, beans, millet, and barley (Jaehae et al. 2015).

Kimchi is considered to be the national food of South Korea and it is very popular among foreigners. It is fermented vegetables, although mostly cabbage is used as the main ingredient. There are more than 100 types of kimchi and different kimchi is made every season by using the vegetables that are currently growing. On spring, people make kimchi from radish water (nabak kimchi), from the end of spring to autumn people make kimchi from young radish (chong gak kimchi).
kimchi), and during summer people make kimchi from stuffed cucumbers, leek and radish (yeolmu-kimchi, oi-sobagi, lekchi) (Jaehae et al. 2015). Apart from the seasonal vegetables mentioned previously, Koreans also usually use eggplants, green onions, pepper, Korean lettuce and many different kinds of vegetables to make kimchi.

The kimchi for winter – or called kimjang kimchi, is more unique because it requires more ingredients, different kinds of vegetables are used. For autumn vegetables there are cabbage and radish, for summer they use red pepper, and for winter vegetables there is garlic (Jaehae et al. 2015). Kimjang kimchi is produced during the winter and needs to be preserved in low temperature, it is the only source of fresh vegetables when the cold months come. Different kinds of fish sauce, oyster and fish are also used to provide calcium and protein, this makes kimchi a nutritious meal.

There are 2 types of kimchi, the fresh kimchi (geotjori) and ripe kimchi (mugeunji). For fresh kimchi, the vegetables need to be seasoned with garlic, red pepper flakes, and some other ingredients, at least one hour is needed to let the seasoning infuse the vegetables. After that, it can be consumed immediately and it can be put in the fridge for several days. For ripe kimchi, the procedure is slightly different. After the cabbage is clean and seasoned with condiments, it is placed in a jar and it cannot be opened for 6 months to let the fermentation process turned the cabbage into tasty kimchi. While kimjang kimchi is mainly produced during the winter, mugeunji can be made any time of the year.

Not only play a traditional food that represents South Korea, there are also cultural values behind these fermented vegetables as well. Back in the days, there were different types of kimchi prepared for different social class. Kimchi made from coarse cabbage and radish with minimal seasoning is usually eaten by people from lower class people, it is usually fresh kimchi as it does not go a long fermentation process (Jaehae et al. 2015). Meanwhile, kimchi for higher social class and guests are prepared from nicely cut good quality cabbage and radish and seasoned with a variety of condiments, left in the traditional Korean earthenware for fermentation process (Jaehae et al. 2015).

Kimchi and kimjang were designated in 2013 to be UNESCO as an Intangible Cultural Heritage Item of Humanity. Kimjang was considered to be a cultural value for South Korea because it is such a sacred activity, where people come together to make kimchi before winter comes. It is
a tradition that brings the whole family together, makes them help each other, and thereby strengthens the love and bond among them. Kimjang also represents the deep affection passed down from mothers and grandmothers of each family, as it is taught to the daughters and daughter in laws.

South Korean government takes a serious effort to promote their kimchi. Many festivals are held at home and abroad with a purpose to rejuvenate the *kimjang* culture among young people because many of them no longer participate in this traditional event. The biggest festival is the World Kimchi Festival that is held every year in Gwangju, the Kimchi town since 1994. Apart from the numerous variety of kimchi that can be tasted, visitors can also learn how to make it and also to pay a visit to the kimchi museum. From the first festival in 1994 until 2015, the government has spent roughly 1.5 million USD (Hwang 2015).

Not only being a national dish of South Korea, kimchi also becomes recognized worldwide and it is also one of the products that the government exported to many countries. On below figures, we can see how kimchi contributes to South Korean GDP:

*Figure 3 Korea's Kimchi Trade*

From 1993 to 2002 the trade of kimchi overseas was growing and the government did not import any kimchi at all for domestic consumption. However, starting from 2003 there was an import of kimchi by China and the number is increasing year by year. This ironic trade between South Korea and China is ongoing until today and the cheaper price of Chinese kimchi is the reason behind the event. Nonetheless, the kimchi export still one of the most important exports from South Korea and in 2018 it marked the highest amount of kimchi export. According to the Ministry of
Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs, the country had 97.5 million USD, it was 20% higher compared to 2017 (The Korea Times 2019). South Korea sent their kimchi to 68 countries with the biggest market is in Japan, the United States, Taiwan, and Hong Kong (The Korea Times 2019).

Another staple ingredient in South Korean cuisine is fermented red pepper or gochujang. Gochujang is used in almost every Korean cuisines including kimchi. Made from fermented soybeans, red pepper flakes, salt, and combined with steamed barley and rice cake powder, it becomes a nutritious condiment for Koreans. Gochujang has many benefits, it can be used as a pain reliever for diarrhea and any digestive issues, it can also be used to recover strength and prevent obesity (S. Kim et al. 2016).

3.4 Kimchi diplomacy

The South Korean government realized the value behind their traditional cuisine and decided to invest in it. On 2009, the official campaign was created by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries (MFAFF) with the help of the Korean Food Foundation (KFF). The program which was titled Korean Cuisine to the World, the government invested 77 million USD to create many programs to promote the culinary (Suntikul 2017). The term kimchi diplomacy itself came up during a meeting between the United States and South Korea on 2003 and kimchi is one of the popular dishes from South Korea in which they put a big exposure to promote it.

The main objective of this campaign is to introduce Korean cuisine – hansik to overseas countries but there are also several supplementary objectives; to create employment opportunities in the gastronomy industry, to boost food and agriculture export, to support Korean chefs and to intensify the national brand of South Korea (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015). Similar to Thailand, the South Korean government also wants to multiply the number of Korean restaurants throughout the world to 40,000 restaurants within 8 years from 2009 to 2017 (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015). This campaign is rather ambitious and the government created various programs and strategies to reach its goals, the author will elaborate it on the following paragraphs.
5 strategies were formed in order to achieve the objectives:

- To build an institution where they will be responsible for the globalization of the culinary
- To conduct research on food-related topics and develop it as well
- To train professionals and experts in the culinary sector
- To modernize the investment procedure and to provide grants and loans for any individuals who have an interest in it
- To advertise the food culture of South Korea (Pham 2013)

On the first strategy, the Korean Food Foundation is created in March 2010 after the program was launched with an aim to manage all the campaigns and supervise the programs. Korean Food Foundation received 620,000 USD of fund from several institutions such as the Korea Tourism Organization, the Korea Agro-Fisheries Trade Corporation, the Korea Foundation, the National Federation of Fisheries Cooperatives, the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation, the Korean Food Research Institute, and the Korean Racing Authority (Cwiertka 2014). One of the first programs that KFF created was to provide an educational fund to any Koreans who aspire to master the skill in traditional cooking (Pham 2013). South Korea also followed a program created by the Thailand government on their gastrodipomacy campaign, which they recommend any Korean restaurants abroad who meet the national standard quality and give them certificates as well.

Korean Food Foundation also held research and development in the Korean food industry, also they provide training sessions to have professional cooks and restauranteurs. Research about the effect of Korean food on diet was completed by Paik Hospital in Seoul with Concord Hospital of the University of Sydney in 2010. Another research was about the influence of Korean food on weight loss program and it was published by Obesity Research and Clinical Practice in 2012.

To familiarize the traditional cuisine to foreign audience, International Korean Menu Guide was launched on 2012, this book contains the descriptions and pictures of traditional Korean food and it is translated into many languages such as Japanese, French, Italian, Korean, English, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, German, and Vietnamese (Pham 2013). Apart from that mobile phone applications were developed in several languages, similar to the International Korean Menu Guide, this application also contains a list of traditional dishes with their description as well. To cater the needs of rising Muslim traveler, Korean Food Foundation also created another mobile phone
application with the list of halal restaurants especially in Seoul because many of Korean cuisines are not halal and with this application, the Muslim tourists can also have a taste of the local cuisine (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015).

Prior to the kimchi trade war between South Korea and China, Korea Food Foundation and the Korea Food & Drug Administration registered Korean chili paste (gochujang) and Korean soybean paste (doenjang) on 2009 to UN Codex Alimentarius Commission¹ (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015). They also registered the type of cabbage they use for kimchi instead of Chinese cabbage to kimchi cabbage. This is important for South Korea because, with recognition from the UN Codex Alimentarius Commission, the traditional ingredients that they registered are certified and belong to South Korea. It also contributes to the national image because the foreign public can associate the ingredients to a certain country.

Education and training were also provided for any individuals who would like to learn about traditional cooking. The government gave grants to professional chefs and restauranteur so later on they could be sent abroad to work for various Korean restaurants. Cooking schools were set up not only in universities in South Korea, but also on high-rank universities abroad such as Le Cordon Bleu and the Culinary Institute of America (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015). Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries (MFAFF) also managed to open the first Korean culinary course in the United States in Drexel University, they also made visits to many universities in the United States to promote the Korean snacks. Korean Food Foundation also held trainings for Korean restaurants abroad to standardize the taste of the cuisine and the service, they have been given the trainings for more than 2,600 individuals from the food and beverage industry in five countries (Pham 2013). Reportedly for these educational grants itself, the government allocated 10 million USD for the education and travel cost (Strugar 2015).

Festivals were also created in many places around the world. The most popular festival is the World Kimchi Festival that is held in Gwangju, South Korea annually. In the United States they participated in K-Wave Cultural Festival and KCON, in the United Kingdom they served hansik (traditional Korean food) at All Eyes on Korea exhibition, in Switzerland they presented 100-Year Dinner for Davos World Economic Forum on 2014 in which they collaborated with

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¹ UN Codex Alimentarius Commission is an organization established on 1963 by Food and Agricultural Organization and World Health Organization to implement international food standards and guidelines.
Bibigo, Korean cuisine was also catered to big events in many countries such as Hong Kong and Singapore and many other events (Zhang 2015).

In addition to the high scale events that were held by the government, foreign students in South Korea were involved in a program called K-Food Supporters Alliance. In this program, the foreign students were taken to experience the culinary culture with an expectation that they would return to their home countries and share the food encounter that they had during their stay (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015). In addition to that Bibimbap Backpackers were also created. It is a group of 5 Koreans who quit their jobs and traveled to 15 countries in an 8 months trip with an aim to introduce bibimbap – a bowl of rice topped with 7 different types of vegetables and meat served with gochujang. Sponsored by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, they received 100,000 USD to fund their journey to spread the bibimbap experience (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015).

Similar to Bibimbap Backpackers, the concept of Kimchi Bus is to travel to many places to introduce traditional Korean food, in this case, kimchi. The Kimchi Bus Project started in 2011 by a Korean chef and writer, Si-Hyeon Ryu and lasted until 2015. In this project, he traveled to 34 countries by bus in total 604 days and during his journey, he delivered lectures at various cooking schools, created tasting events, collaborated with local restaurants, and the most important is promoted kimchi by using their eye-catching bus (Y. Kim 2018). He also made a demonstration on how to make kimchi, and introduced the traditional Korean meal and the taste of fermented fish as well (Herald 2014). The project itself was divided into 4 seasons; on the first season on 2011 Ryu had 54 tasting events, on the second season on 2013 he visited 160 cities, on the third season he managed to drive 19,620 km and created 10 tasting events, on the fourth and the last season on 2015 he went to 11 cities by driving (Y. Kim 2018).

Not only the Korean government, but only various institutions and corporations such as Hyundai, Kolon Sport, and Kyung Hee University sponsored him for this project. On the below picture, one of their stops can be seen:
Another project that involved individuals was *Hansik* Ambassador. The government realized that *Hallyu* is getting more and more popular all around the world and they decided to take advantage of it. They collaborated with several celebrities, Rain – singer and actor, became the first ambassador to promote *hansik* on 2009. Advertisement of him endorsing *bibimbap* dan *kalbi* was produced and released, emphasizing the healthiness of Korean food and it uses seasonal products only (Cwiertka 2014). The second was Super Junior who became very well-known across the globe. Slightly different than Rain, Super Junior who traveled abroad very often to have concerts, introduced Korean food during the events. This campaign which was called Discover Korea’s Delicious Secret featured every member of Super Junior present their favorite Korean dish (Cwiertka 2014). These K-Pop artists were chosen to be *Hansik* Ambassador because they have a big fan base and with their endorsement, it would sound more appealing to their fans so they will find out about it and give it a try.

Other educational efforts for this Global *Hansik* campaign are the establishment of the World Institute of Kimchi and the cooperation with the Korean Cultural Center. World Institute of Kimchi is a research center established in 2010 and also a partner of the Korean Food Research Institute. As it is a research institute, they conducted research about kimchi or fermented food; how to make high-quality kimchi, how to industrialize it without forgetting the authentic taste, and to develop the benefits of consuming kimchi (“World Institute of Kimchi” 2010). Not only that,
they also help on the promotion of kimchi and collaborate with the government, private enterprises, and organizations to create the strategies ("World Institute of Kimchi" 2010). One of the strategies that they try to develop is to adjust the smell of kimchi because for the Western market it makes kimchi undesirable (Fifield 2017). However, it would be difficult because the smell of kimchi plays a big role in the taste as well.

Korean Cultural Center is a non-profit institute under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. Established in 2008, the Korean Cultural Center is the only institution recognized by the South Korean government that is responsible to spread the culture of Korea. Up until today, they have 32 offices in 27 countries all around the world. Not only became a center to learn the language and to have the official language examination, Korean Cultural Center also held various events very often such as movie screenings, art exhibition, music performance and also cooking class. To take as an example. Korean Cultural Center in Hungary offers a cooking class every week with a different dish on every class. Before the class starts, the teacher would explain the story behind the dish that they will cook, explain about the ingredients and the students will also make it themselves. In the Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines they even held Global Taste of Korea, a cooking competition with the main prize a trip to South Korea. To participate in this competition the participant must not have Korean descendants, raised in Korean household or live in South Korea before as this competition is created for non-Korean citizens (Center 2016). The participants are required to make 1 Korean dish and the winner will be decided based on that. This event was firstly held in 2016 and since then it has been an annual event of the Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines.

3.5 The Effort from the Private Sector

The government is an important part of this gastrodiplomacy campaign by South Korea, but to make it more successful involvement from the private sector is also needed. In the United States, people were crazy about Korean tacos, a fusion of Korean-Mexican dish. Roy Choi together with Mark Manguera teamed up in 2008 and started to roam around the streets in Los Angeles selling tacos with bulgogi or Korean barbeque (Gordinier 2014). Choi, who has Korean descendant but living in an area with Mexican majority came up with the idea to combine the best feature from both cuisines. The Kogi Truck started to appear on the streets of New York and Los Angeles, it
was the first food truck in Los Angeles and became popular overnight because of twitter. Since it is a food truck, they don't have a permanent place where they can stay and serve their food, the location changes every day and the utilize twitter to let people know where they will be on a specific day. It was a great marketing tool because every day people would line up for hours to have a taste of their dish.

All of their menus is Korean-Mexican fusion and the most popular is their tacos bulgogi and kimchi quesadilla. In the beginning, when they started they only have 1 truck and after a few years now they have 4 different trucks serving a different area in Los Angeles. Choi also has a catering company called Taqueria, a bar named Alibi Room and a restaurant named Chego! and his latest restaurant is A-Frame who share the similar dining experience with his other restaurants and the Line, his first hotel ever (Gordinier 2014).

Maangchi, a Korean who is famous on YouTube because of her cooking videos is a person that cannot be taken away when we talk about Korean cuisine. She started doing videos in 2007 and now she has more than 3 million subscribers on YouTube. She moved to the United States on 1992 and at that time there were not so many places that sell Korean food and she had to cook it herself, from there she learned how to cook and her children encouraged her to record it as a new hobby (Moskin 2015). Her reason to start doing videos was that the Korean recipes that she saw were incorrect and she wanted to share the authentic recipes. She published her own cookbook on 2015 which was called Maangchi’s Real Korean Cooking, it is one of the most authentic Korean cookbooks published in the United States. The New York Times even named her YouTube's Julia Child because of her popularity in that platform (Moskin 2015). Her video of traditional kimchi-making had more than 10 million views which show how people put a big interest in Korean cooking.

Unlike the previous non-state actors mentioned above, Bibigo is not a small player at all. Bibigo is the only food company who produces and export Korean dishes abroad and their main products are dumplings, frozen ready meals and sauces. It is a sub-company of CJ CheilJedang, the biggest food producers in South Korea. They export processed food to several countries such as the United States, China, Japan, the United Kingdom, and Singapore (Hikam and Ongkowidjojo 2015). With their tagline "Share Korean Flavor" they deliver Korean cuisines to an overseas country and the consumer can devour it right away without any hassle. Their food represents 3
values; they use only seasonal and healthy products, a balance of protein, fiber, and carbohydrates and as traditional Korean meal it consists of rice, meat, vegetables, and fermented sauces or in Korean it is called bibim (“Share Korean Flavor,” n.d.).

Considering that they received big demand from the United States, they established their third factory in New Jersey which became their third factory in the United States. With this new factory, they are hoping that they will produce more Korean dumplings (mandu) which became the most favorite product for American customers. On 2017 their sales for the United States market alone increased by 156 million USD (Y. Lee 2018). By 2020 the company targeted to have 929 million USD of sales from mandu with Koreans, Chinese, Russians, and Americans as their main market (Y. Lee 2018).

Bibigo was also the major sponsor of Bibimbap Backpackers, a group of people who went on a journey to several countries to promote bibimbap. Their sponsorship was 150 million KRW and ingredients to make bibimbap or any other Korean dish (“CJ Bibigo Becomes The Official Sponsor of ‘Bibimbap Backpackers’” 2014). Along with Bibimbap Backpackers they held food tasting events in many prestigious universities all around the globe, such as Stanford University, Harvard University, University of Cambridge, and University College London. They tried to promote Korean food as healthy food and therefore their message for the campaign was “Eat Bibimbap once a week and take care of your health.” (“CJ Bibigo Becomes The Official Sponsor of ‘Bibimbap Backpackers’” 2014).

Their effort does not stop there. They also open restaurants under the same brand and specialized in bibimbap in a modern way. Instead of serving the traditional version, in the restaurants customer can choose rice, kimchi rice, brown rice, salad or noodle as the base and choose the vegetables, sauce, grilled meat or tofu and the last topping which can be egg, sesame oil, sesame seeds, seaweed, or crispy onion (“Handcraft Your Bibimbap Bowl” n.d.). They had their first restaurant in Seoul in May 2010 and today they have 2 outlets in South Korea, 8 restaurants in the United States and 10 restaurants in China.
The Result of the Campaign

The government of South Korea spent a lot of money to execute their gastrodiplomacy campaigns, and although the results of the projects might be a bit difficult to measure, there are some key achievements accomplished by South Korea. First of all, South Korea's position in the Nation Brand Index moved up. On 2008 South Korea was on the 33th position, and gradually they went up to rank 30 in 2010 and rank 27 in 2011 (Pham 2013). According to the data from the World Tourism Organization – an entity under United Nations, one of the main reason of the big number of incoming tourist was because they would like to experience the gastronomy ambiance in South Korea.

*Figure 4 Considerations for Deciding to Visit Korea*

![Considerations for Deciding to Visit Korea](http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/session_2_kim_snag Ug_policy_direction_of_food_tourism_in_korea.pdf)

Source: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. *Policy Direction of Food Tourism in Korea.*

On 2010 the number of incoming tourists in South Korea was 8,797,658 people (“Statistics of Arrivals and Departures by Item” 2010) and more than 40% of them came to South Korea because they would like to try the cuisine the country can offer. Even though the culinary experience was not the main trigger for the tourist but it is on the second position and it indicates that the foreign public was becoming more familiar with Korean gastronomy.

The second achievement was the massive expansion of CJ CheilJedang as the first Korean food company to open restaurants and factories abroad and to export ready food as well as Korean ingredients. Their export of paste products rose from 5,125 tons in 2013 to 7,195 tons in 2017, it means 2,070 tons in 4 years (Choi 2018). At the beginning of 2000 they made 100 billion KRW
of sales from the fermented pastes alone, and by 2017 it increased to 300 billion KRW (Choi 2018). Their biggest markets are the United States with 29.9% of the international sales, China with 16.9% and the last one is Japan with 7% (Choi 2018).

Thirdly, the increasing number of incoming tourists to South Korea can also be considered as a result. Although it did not have a direct implication, but we can say that the gastrodiplomacy campaign launched by the government is one of the indicators as well. On the below figure we could see the graphic of incoming tourists to South Korea:

![Figure 5 Number of Tourists' Arrival](image)

The Global Hansik campaign was launched in 2009 and from there the number of tourists' arrival to the country keep increasing. As there is no specific indicator to measure the success of gastrodiplomacy campaign, the author considered the number of incoming tourists can be included even though it has no direct correlation.

The fourth result of the gastrodiplomacy campaign is more people is willing to try Korean food. According to a survey in New York conducted by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, the number of people who tried or willing to try Korean food increased to 41% in 2011, meanwhile on 2010 it was 30% and even lower on 2009 which was only 9% (H.-S. Lee 2012). Michelin guide, a guide book of selected restaurants which has good quality, awarded stars to 4 Korean restaurants and also more high-end restaurants serve Korean dishes in many countries as well (H.-S. Lee 2012).
The last achievement was a memorandum of understanding was signed between the Parnas Hotel Corporation\textsuperscript{2}, InterContinental Hotels Group and Korea Agro-Fisheries Trade Corporation to advertise Korean cuisine through their hotels in Asia (R. Kim 2012). In this agreement there are many agendas that they try to achieve; Korean chefs will be sent to InterContinental Hotels for culinary events, to hire more students from Korean culinary school and to send more Korean agricultural products abroad (R. Kim 2012). InterContinental Hotel Group is a big player in the hospitality industry and they have thousands of hotel across Asia, to be featured in their properties is a big benefit because their guests could experience *hansik* and it also leads to more employment opportunities for Korean graduates who specializes in traditional cuisine.

\textsuperscript{2} Parnas Hotel Corporation operates Grand InterContinental Seoul Parnas and InterContinental Seoul COEX
Chapter 4: Study Case - Taiwan

4.1 Country overview and history of diplomacy

Taiwan is a country located in East Asia, only 100 miles away from China. It is widely known that Taiwan and China have a special relation, especially when we look at the historical background. On this sub-chapter, the author will elaborate on the relationship between these two countries and a brief history of Taiwan’s diplomacy.

A long historical background can be explained when we want to understand the reason behind Taiwan's political condition today. Taiwan – will be called the Republic of China – and China – will be called the People's Republic of China – were the same country under the Republic of China prior to the Chinese Civil War. There were two parties involved in this war, the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang Party. However, when the war broke out in 1949, the country was split into 2 different entities. At the end of the war, Kuomintang Party fled to Taiwan and continue the governmental affairs there while the Chinese Communist Party stayed in mainland China.

The Republic of China claimed to be the only China and they took positions in various international organizations including the United Nations and seek recognition from other countries (Pajtinka 2017). Knowing the efforts made by the Republic of China, the government of the People's Republic of China in Beijing started to make similar efforts and this is the beginning of One China Policy. At that time, the United States is one of the first countries who recognized the legitimacy of Taiwan, indicated by the signature of Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of China and the United States on 1954 (“History,” n.d.). When the efforts from the People’s Republic of China were growing, and many countries started to recognize Beijing as the sole governmental center of China, Republic of China had to discharge themselves from their membership in the United Nations on 1971 (“History,” n.d.).

The relation with the People's Republic of China itself did not go well. Beijing took over the position in the United Nations and obtained more recognition as a country. Under this circumstances, many countries changed side and chose to be with the People's Republic of China but at the same time, they still maintain non-diplomatic relation with the Republic of China such
as Great Britain (Pajtinka 2017). Under the One China Policy, Beijing wants a reunification between the two countries, and they did not recognize the Republic of China as a country, but rather than a province under the People's Republic of China. At the Consensus of 1992, the representatives of President Hu Jintao and President Ma Ying-jeou had a meeting in Hong Kong which resulted in an agreement that there is only one China but both Beijing and Taipei had their own perception (Heilman and Schmidt 2014). To understand further about the conflict between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, it is explained in the below table:

Table 7 Chinese and Taiwanese Fundamental Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People’s Republic of China</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Roots of the conflict** | - Taiwan reverted to China when the Japanese occupation ended in 1945.  
- The PRC government has been the sole government of China since 1949.  
- The Republic of China (ROC) government was transferred to Taiwan in 1949.  
- The ROC claims territorial control over Taiwan, Jinmen, Matsu, and Penghu. |
| **Present status** | - The PRC government claims sole representative authority (the “One-China principle”).  
- Recognition of the “One-China principle” is prerequisite for all negotiations.  
- Strengthening of political, economic, cultural, and social cooperation will create better conditions for achieving peaceful reunification.  
- Taiwan has been governed as a territory separate from the PRC since 1949.  
- The constitution of the ROC is the basis for all exchanges with the PRC.  
- The Taipei government’s policy vis-à-vis the mainland is “No unification, no independence, no use of force.”  
- The ROC aims to uphold the status quo in the Taiwan Strait while pursuing common interests. |
| **Solution to the conflict** | - Complete reunification of China is an irresistible historical process.  
- Reunification will be based on the (Hong Kong)  
- Final settlement of the bilateral relationship hinges on the mainland’s moving forward greater freedom, democracy, and equitable wealth. |
formula of “one country, two systems”. - The wording "one country, two systems imply the subordination of Taiwan.
- Moves toward independence are the result of manipulation by non-representative secessionist forces.
- Any decision on future relations must be based on free and democratic elections.


The United States who was on the side of the Republic of Taiwan from 1913 to 1978, had to change their direction and launched the Taiwan Relations Act on 1979 (Dumbaugh 2009). On this Act, the government of the United States stated that they acknowledged the People’s Republic of China as the sole government of China but they will keep supporting the Republic of China both economically or military (Dumbaugh 2009). Following the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States established American Institute in Taiwan as an operation base for their cooperation and the United States also offered Six Assurances to the Republic of China as their position between their governmental relations. In this Six Assurances, the United States confirmed that they don’t have any end date to stop military equipment sales to Taiwan, they don’t have any agreement with the People’s Republic of China to stop selling military equipment to the Republic of China, they will not be a mediator between Beijing and Taipei, they will not push Taipei to reunify with Beijing, they still hold the same position regarding the sovereignty of Taiwan, and they not yet consider to make a revision on the Taiwan Relations Act (Kan and Morrison 2014).

When the first time Republic of China showed themselves to the international public in 1949, they made their efforts to be recognized. On 1971, there were 68 countries who maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China, meanwhile, the People's Republic of China had 53 (Pajtinka 2017). On 1979 it went to the opposite direction, Beijing gained more diplomatic allies with 117 countries and only 21 states remained on Taipei’s side (Pajtinka 2017). The people's Republic of China was successful to gain more diplomatic allies and left the Republic of China with limited options. The countries who still maintain diplomatic relations with Taipei are mostly small countries, which can be seen on the below table:

Table 8 Diplomatic Allies of Taiwan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East Asia and Pacific</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Latin America and the Caribbean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>Eswatini</td>
<td>Holy See (Vatican)</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Haiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Belize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Lucia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Palau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Republic of Paraguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Marshall Islands</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Republic of Honduras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Republic of Guatemala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Kitts and Nevis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Vincent and the Grenadines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As the foreign relations of the Republic of China is rather limited, their main activities are maintaining diplomatic cooperation with states who recognized them as a country – as listed on the table above – and unofficial diplomatic activities with countries they don’t have formal relations with. For the official diplomatic relations, the government of Republic of China has several long term ambitions such as to re-open more diplomatic relations with many countries, to re-define their status in international sphere as agreed with People's Republic of China, to convince other governments that they deserve international acknowledgment, and to be granted a seat in the United Nations (Rawnsley 2000).

On the other side, Taipei has a model for their informal diplomacy as articulated on this statement:

“… Taiwan would, as possible establish formal diplomatic ties with nations that simultaneously recognized Peking as well as Taipei, build unofficial and commercial links with Communist nations in Europe and Asia, upgrade official ties with nations with which it could not establish diplomatic relations, and rejoin international organizations under such names as ‘Chinese Taipei’ or ‘Taipei China’.” (Rawnsley 2000)
To execute the day to day non-diplomatic relations they have 92 institutions that function as their country’s representatives and since it is not their embassies, they use different names for their offices (Pajtinka 2017). To have brief information of their representative's offices name, it is mentioned in the below table:

_Table 9 Names used by unofficial representations of Taiwan in the world_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names used by unofficial representations of Taiwan in the world</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Office of Taipei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Office of the Republic of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Cultural Delegation of Taipei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Commercial Representative Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Economic and Cultural Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Economic and Cultural Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Economic and Cultural Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Economic and Trade Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Liaison Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Representative Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Trade and Economic Representative Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Mission of the Republic of China</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Despite the name difference, these institutions serve almost the same function as a normal embassy, except that they don’t have political section because they are not in diplomatic relations, therefore they would like to avoid “political incorrectness” (Pajtinka 2017). These institutions also have a consular section, where foreign citizens can apply for Taiwanese visa and also they provided consular service to the Taiwanese citizens.

Apart from those 2 relations, the Republic of China also has Cross-Strait Relation with mainland China. This started on 1987 where Taipei allowed their citizens to travel to People's Republic of China and the number of people traveling between these two countries got intensified on 2008 when direct flights between Beijing and Taipei was launched (“Cross-Strait Relations” n.d.). Straits Exchange Foundation was established in 1991 by the government of the Republic of
China to handle the relations with the People's Republic of China, including one of the most important was Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) on 2010 with an objective to facilitate trade and economic relation between the 2 countries (“Cross-Strait Relations” n.d.). After the establishment of this agreement, their trade relation escalated, before 2010 it was less than 91.15 billion USD and in 2017 it increased to 139 billion USD (“Cross-Strait Relations” n.d.).

4.2 The rise of gastro diplomacy

The term of Taiwanese cuisine was first coined during the Japanese occupation in Taiwan as early as 1898 and according to Jack Goody, at that time the type of Taiwanese cuisine was divided by two, low cuisine for middle-class families and high cuisine for a lavish meal at restaurants (K. O. Kim 2015). Under the Japanese occupation, Taiwanese food was developed rapidly and they created a different menu to be served at home and restaurants, as well as certain cuisines to be presented to the public such as cold sliced chicken meat dressed with sauce (liang-pan-chi) and hot pot with three delicacies (san-hsien-huo-kuo) (K. O. Kim 2015).

During the rule of Kuomintang Party, as many Chinese fled from the mainland China to Taiwan, the presence of Taiwanese cuisine was unintentionally degraded because the refugee brought Chinese food to Taiwan and prefer to consume it and it was promoted by the government. At the beginning of the 1950s, the ruling party decided to officially promote Chinese cuisine and they chose Jiangzhe cuisine. Meals from this region were served in various upscale events and regarded as prestigious food (K. O. Kim 2015). At this time, Taiwanese food was seen as home cooking or low-quality food, for this reason, the government used Chinese food instead to be showcased.

As the democratization period started to appear, the Taiwanese cuisine was also becoming more exposed because the people focused more on their Taiwan national identity, such as culture, history and including the food as well (K. O. Kim 2015). Taiwanese cuisine from certain tribes was introduced which gave a clear signal that the core identity of Taiwan is back and recognized in the country. Globalization also produced an impact on the spread of Taiwanese cuisine as the flow of cultural exchange was becoming easier. On official documentation from Council of Cultural Affairs which titled Taiwan's Rich Flavors it explained the origin of the Taiwanese cuisine, that various cultures and people from mainland China, Europe and as well as refugees
from many other states gathered in Taiwan and have contributed to the Taiwan food culture (K. O. Kim 2015).

One of the oldest culinary promotion events is The Taiwan Culinary Exhibition managed by the Ministry of Transportations and Communications, the Council of Agriculture and the Ministry of Economic Affairs (Her 2011). This three-day event was started in 1989 and since then it has been an annual event. The main aims are to conserve the culinary culture, introduce the traditional cuisine to young people as well as to increase the number of tourist coming to the country by using local products (“Taiwan Culinary Exhibitions” n.d.). Various traditional food from different tribes such as Hakka are presented, and starting from 2018 the organizer realized that the number Muslim travelers are growing and it is a new market to be catered, henceforth, a halal booth was added (“Taiwan Culinary Exhibition 2018: The Age of Beauty and Goodness” 2018).

Another major event in Taiwan is Taipei International Food Show and it is managed by Taiwan External Trade Development Council (TAITRA). Unlike the Taiwan Culinary Exhibition, this event is rather a marketplace created for Taiwanese sellers to meet international buyers (Taiwan Today 2013). Numerous products are sold in this event, including fresh fruits and vegetables, seafood, frozen ready food, condiments and confectionary and many more. Nevertheless, both events have 1 similarity which was the creation of halal booths in the event. On Taipei International Food Show, from 2017 booths for halal-certified products are presented including food products and even cosmetics.

Taipei International Beef Noodle Festival was initiated by the government of Taipei City in 2005 and now it is held every year. On this event, apart from the famous beef noodle, the visitors can also see a cooking competition for chefs to make the best beef noodle in Taipei, participate in the beef noodle cooking class and see a celebrity cook a bowl of beef noodle (“Introducing the 2009 Taipei International Beef Noodle Festival” 2009). This event is a great boost for beef noodle to be recognized by visitors and tourists and it has become a signature dish of Taiwan. The author will elaborate more about beef noodle in the next sub-chapter.

4.3 National culinary

The history of Taiwan is fairly rich, some areas were used to be under Dutch and Portuguese influence, it was occupied by Japan and received a huge migration from mainland
China. This flow of people created a variety of culinary culture in the country. In this sub-chapter, the author will describe the national dishes from Taiwan.

Many considered beef noodle soup (niúròu miàn) as the national cuisine of Taiwan, as it can be found anywhere anytime and the locals eat it at any time of the day. Back in the days, the society did not eat beef because cows were considered a farming tool as it was valuable for the farmers to plow the land. They would eat fish, chicken or any other kind of meat except beef. However, this changed after the Kuomintang troops came after the Chinese Civil War, many of them are from the Sichuan region and they were homesick and they tried to replicate the food back home, this was the beginning of beef noodle soup (Chen et al. 2015). The older generation up until now many of them still don't consume beef, however, the younger generation consumes it frequently.

The dish itself contains braised beef, wheat noodles, broth from beef that was simmered for hours and some green vegetables. Many people assume that beef noodle soup is similar with Lanzhou lamien that is very popular in China, but it is slightly different because in Lanzhou lamien dried beef is used while beef noodle soup use chunks of braised beef (Van Hinsbergh 2017). Even though historically it is not Taiwanese cuisine as the society didn’t consume beef in the past, now it is a comfort food for every Taiwanese.

If beef noodle soup is considered to be the national dish of Taiwan, then stinky tofu is the national snack. Stinky tofu or chou dou fu is a very popular street food snack made from fresh tofu that has been immersed with milk, meat, vegetables, and some other secret recipe varies by street vendor and this creates the strong, pungent smell (Kelly 2013). There are many kinds of stinky tofu available in the market, it can be deep-fried, barbequed, braised, steamed and even in a stew.

The history of stinky tofu itself can be traced back to the Qing dynasty where one scholar, Wang Jhih-he who opened a tofu shop in Beijing but it did not go well and he had a lot of unsold tofu. He wanted to make fermented bean curd out of it, he sliced the tofu and put it in an earthen jar, however, after few days he realized that it did not work and his tofu turned blue with a very strong odor but it tasted good so he tried to sell it and it became a favorite of many people (Fang, Syu, and Liu, n.d.). Since then, stinky tofu has to become a new dish that is liked by many people. Similar to many other fermented foods, stinky tofu also comprises of many health benefits. It contains equol which is good for skin and women who already on their menopause (Messina 2017). Tofu is also popular for protein source, and it also has many other nutrients such as calcium and
phosphorus that is beneficial to decrease the heart problem and to reduce the cholesterol level (Rodriguez 2018). Although since the common type of stinky tofu is deep-fried, the nutrients became less.

The perfect example of Taiwanese beverage can go global is boba tea or bubble tea. It is a big phenomenon worldwide and everybody loves it. In Taiwan tea was used to be served hot in a pot, but around 1980s Liu Han-Chieh, the owner of Chun Shui Tang Teahouse went to Japan and he found iced coffee and he liked it. He implemented it in his tea house and that was the first step to the development of bubble tea. Then a few years later, one of his employees brought a Taiwanese desert to the tea house which was tapioca puddings and she put it into the tea and drank it, surprisingly it was refreshing and a had a good taste, therefore, they decided to sell it in their tea house (D. Chang 2017). Since then iced teas and bubble teas have been the most ordered beverages in his tea house.

Bubble tea or *zhèn chu nài chá* is a drink made of milk, tea, and the bubble itself or tapioca balls. Although nowadays more varieties can be found, tapioca balls can be replaced with grass jelly, aloe vera, red beans, pudding, or even taro balls. It can be quite sweet and sugary also contain caffeine. This drink reached Hong Kong and mainland China by 1996, at the end of 1990 bubble tea was also introduced in the United States and Canada by the Taiwanese people who migrated to the country (Wen 2018). Bubble tea became a trend in the United States among Asian-American because it was a place for them to hang out and reconnect to their Asian roots.

It is a growing industry throughout the world and even Taiwan exported its boba to other countries. Reportedly the Asia Pacific and America have 83% of the global industry of bubble tea and on 2016 the market of global tea was worth 1,957 million USD worldwide (“Bubble Tea Market Expected to Reach $3,214 Million by 2023” n.d.). This shows how a Taiwanese beverage could develop and spread all around the world.

### 4.4 Dimsum diplomacy

The conflict between China and Taiwan has taken its toll on Taiwan's image abroad, it is often mistaken as the ‘brother’ of China and they are entirely similar. Regarding the cuisine, people frequently have mistaken it as the same cuisine like Chinese, while even though they might share the historical background of the food, but it was developed in a different way. Taiwanese cuisine is also often disregarded because the cuisine from neighboring countries is more well-known such
as sushi and kimchi. For that reason, Taiwan needs to find a way to distinguish themselves from China, and they decided to do it through gastronomy. Many countries in Asia were also utilized their cuisine to attract foreign audiences and it was successful. It triggers Taiwan to do the same as it was the ‘trend’ for Asian countries at that time.

The Guardian was the first who coined the term dim sum diplomacy for Taiwan when President Ma Ying-jeou created a campaign that worth 20 million GBP or roughly 34,2 million USD starting on 2010 to 2013 (Booth 2010). Collaborating with the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Taiwan Tourism Bureau, this campaign which called ‘All in Good Taste: Savor the Flavors of Taiwan’ aimed at promoting and developing Taiwanese cuisine at home and abroad (Solleh 2015). According to the action plan of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the objectives of this campaign are divided into 2; internationalization strategy and international localization strategy (Defrancq 2018). On the first objective, its ambition is to make Taiwanese cuisine to be more accepted worldwide and to have a better reputation of Taiwan. To achieve this they created culinary exhibitions and invited celebrity chefs, provided trainings and education for local culinary actors so they could improve the quality of their business, sent Taiwanese chefs abroad to take part in a culinary competition and as such (Defrancq 2018). For the international localization strategy, they cooperate with Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (OCAC) to provide guidance and recommendation for local actors who wish to participate in culinary exhibition internationally, also Taiwan Cuisine Internationalization Promotion Team was established to globalize Taiwanese food (Defrancq 2018).

Even though the main organizer of this campaign is the Ministry of Economic Affairs with the help of the Taiwan Tourism Bureau, many other governmental institutions are involved for numerous programs as well. For the detailed explanations, it will be listed on the below table:

*Table 10 Taiwan Ministry Cooperation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governmental Agency</th>
<th>Campaign Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ministry of Economic Affairs</td>
<td>To plan the actions, financial plan, divide and assign the work between each agency, and to be the main management as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Executive Yuan</td>
<td>To create industrial talent investment program, Chinese cooking career, National Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry</td>
<td>Action Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Information Bureau</td>
<td>To produce Taiwanese television programs and food-related international communication sheet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>To establish Cooperation Technology Development Center Project by vocational education institutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>To set up the Taiwanese Tea Promotion Program and Vegetarian Health Promotion Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Taiwan Tourism Bureau</td>
<td>To arrange a culinary tour for tourists, to select and promote food-related events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
<td>To analyze food ingredients in the catering business and to create the Food Safety Control Appraisal Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee (OCAC)</td>
<td>To run Overseas Camp Meal enhancement program, to enhance and promote Taiwanese chefs, and to create international food events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transportation</td>
<td>To set up food tasting events in various international airport in Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Apart from the activities on the action plan, various programs were created in order to accomplish the goals such as supporting Taiwanese chefs to participate in international cooking competition, creating gastronomy festivals, and in domestic level Taiwanese culinary institute is created as a support center that will facilitate the new Taiwanese restaurants abroad (P. Rockower 2011). With this new institute, Taiwan expected to have 3500 new restaurants both inside of the
country and overseas as well as creating more than 10,000 employment opportunities for Taiwanese people (Strugar 2015).

Since many people thought Taiwanese and Chinese cuisine are similar, this campaign tried to take advantage of it by claiming that Taiwanese food is a healthier and less greasy comparing to any other globalized Asian food (Strugar 2015). In order to show this to the audience, the Taiwan government held food sampling events in international airports across Taiwan such as Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport, Kaohsiung International Airport, Taichung International Airport and Songshan International Airport (P. Rockower 2011). This was an attractive move because as the first entry point to the country, countless foreigners were introduced to Taiwanese cuisine and could have a taste of it. As this was an official event from the government and the food was produced by an appointed chef or catering enterprise, the people who participated in the food tasting event must have a favorable opinion of Taiwan.

Numerous food festivals also were held in many countries. In Europe, Taiwan participated in Taiwanese Food and Flower Culture in 2010, performed on a cooking art program in London and Paris, and also Taiwan was featured Helsinki Restaurant Day (Zhang 2015). While in the United States, Taiwan hosted a Gourmet Night and they were invited to participate in Annual Asian Culture Festival in Miami (“Join TECO Miami at the 29th Annual Asian Culture Festival This Weekend, March 2-3, 2019!” 2019). Another food festival that attracts tourists to come to Taiwan is the International Beef Noodle Festival. Taipei International Beef Noodle Festival was initiated by the government of Taipei City in 2005 and now it is held every year. On this event, apart from the famous beef noodle, the visitors can also see a cooking competition for chefs to make the best beef noodle in Taipei, participate in the beef noodle cooking class and see a celebrity cook a bowl of beef noodle (“Introducing the 2009 Taipei International Beef Noodle Festival” 2009). This event is a great boost for beef noodle to be recognized by visitors and tourists and it has become a signature dish of Taiwan.

4.5 The effort from private sector

Apart from governmental efforts, there are also several brands that are popular abroad and help to increase people’s awareness of Taiwan. In this gastrodiplomacy campaign, the government of Taiwan had cooperation where 2 Taiwanese brands, Din Tai Fung Restaurant, and 85°C Bakery Café were actively promoted. The author will discuss these brands and will add another Taiwanese
brand that is popular worldwide, Chatime. On the last part of this sub-chapter, a small description will also be given to the night markets in Taiwan.

Din Tai Fung was established in Taiwan as a cooking oil business on 1958 and a few years later it was changed to a restaurant on 1972 in which they specialize in xia long bao – pork soup dumpling (“Our Legacy” n.d.). Their first overseas branch was opened in Tokyo in 1996 and since then their restaurants keep growing by adding more branches in different countries. Today Din Tai Fung restaurants have more than 100 restaurants in 15 countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, the United States, China, Hong Kong, Macau, Japan and Taiwan itself.

It gained its popularity after it was featured as the top ten restaurants in the world by the New York Times in 1993 (Hom 1993). In the article, the writer describes the recommended dishes and it was rather unique because instead of named the dishes, the restaurant numbered them. At that time their only restaurants are in Taiwan, because of that international publication they became more popular and opened their first branch abroad in Japan. Their restaurants in Hong Kong also received their first Michelin star in 2009 and the year after another restaurant in Hong Kong was awarded by Michelin as well (da Silva 2012). This was something unusual as most restaurants that received the Michelin stars are often upscale and fine dining restaurants, while Din Tai Fung is a family run business and it is relatively inexpensive compared to the other restaurants that were awarded as well.

Eva Air, a Taiwanese airline also provided inflight meals from Din Tai Fung. Beef noodles, xia long bao, and various dumplings are served for Royal Laurel Class (“Our Cabin Class” n.d.). This is another way to introduce Taiwanese food to people, the locals who board on this plane will feel more connected to their root and the foreigners can get to try Taiwanese food before they land. Apart from that, the Taiwan government involve this restaurant in various events. On December 2007 before the gastrodipomacy campaign started, Din Tai Fung was invited to host a cooking show in Paris in a diplomatic event (Liu 2011). When the official gastrodipomacy campaign started in 2010, the Taiwan government also keep their partnership with Din Tai Fung as a successful Taiwanese restaurant at home and abroad.

Another actor from the food and beverage industry that is supported by the Taiwan government is 85°C Bakery Café. This is a Taiwanese coffee shop chain established in 2003. The owner, Mr. Cheng-Hsueh Wu wanted to create affordable coffee for people to enjoy as in that time
coffee was mostly sold in exclusive places with a high price. Apart from coffee, 85°C Bakery Café also sells pastries, cakes, smoothies and other kinds of deserts. The first store was opened in Taiwan in 2004 and 2 years later they reached Australia and launched the first store overseas in Sydney in 2006 (“Achievement 85度C成就” n.d.). Since then they keep on growing and adding more branches abroad. At the moment, 85°C Bakery Café has more than 1,000 stores in Australia, Hong Kong, China, the United States, and also Taiwan (“How It All Started…” n.d.).

85°C Bakery Café is very popular in the United States and often called as the Starbucks of Taiwan. As of March 2018, more than 48 stores are scattered around East and West Coast of the United States (Gowen 2018). Offering a big variety of pastries and bread ranging from $1 to $3, various beverages, and unique style of serving customers this café is growing rapidly and is becoming a phenomenon especially among Asian Americans (Amick 2017). Their most ordered beverage, sea salt latte is also made them more popular as it is unique because sea salt is sprinkled on top the latte to give different flavors.

On 2013 the sales of their American branches are reportedly reached more than 700,000 USD per month, while their stores in China made up to 100,000 USD monthly (W. Lee 2013). While on another report conducted on 2016 different result appeared, their stores in China contributed 67% to their income (Ltd 2017). On 2017 and 2018 this café received an award from Industrial Development Bureau (IDB) and the Ministry of Economic Affairs as the 8th from the Top 20 Taiwan International Brand, while the first rank was given to Asus (Oy 2018). 85°C Bakery Café has maintained their position as one of the top Taiwanese brands since 2011 up until today and also similar with Din Tai Fung, the government of Taiwan also cooperated with 85°C Bakery Café on the gastrodipломacy campaign of Taiwan starting from 2010.

The last corporation that will be discussed in this sub-chapter is Chatime. Bubble tea – a Taiwanese type of drink, has been a new favorite beverage for many people around the world and the company who was the first to produce it massive amount is Chatime. Founded in 2005, Chatime is now the biggest teahouse chain with more than 2500 stores in 38 countries (Su 2013). As this drink is very popular in Asia, Chatime has the most stores in Asia and one store in Mauritius as the only branch in Africa.

On 2014, Chatime received Brand of the Year from World Branding Awards, after competing with more worldwide-known brands such as McDonald’s, Louis Vuitton, Coca Cola and as such (“Culture Taiwan’s Chatime Wins ‘Brand of the Year’ at World Branding Awards”
This is a big achievement for Chatime as it proved that it could compete with a more popular brand. Apart from that Chatime also managed to signed a deal with AirAsia – Asia’s biggest low-cost airlines, to sell several types of their bubble tea on Malaysian AirAsia that flies to India, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Thailand, this will be the only airlines to serve bubble tea on board (Daily Express 2012).

Unlike the corporations explained above, the last actor from the private sector will be individuals who participated in the night markets. It is a big and important part of Taiwanese society as these small vendors can get a place to sell their goods – mostly street food snacks, and people could buy affordable meals in this place. The concept of night markets was already existed from the Tang Dynasty, however, the first tourist night market was established on 1987 and today only in Taipei there are 3 authorized night markets; Hwa-shee, Zhao-ho and Linchiang, and Tourist Night Markets (Hsieh and Chang 2006). Many of the night markets in Taiwan are divided by the location; north, central and east of Taiwan. Even though there is no statistical data about the number of night markets in Taiwan but it has become one of the main attraction of this small state.

4.6 The Result of the Campaign

In the concept of gastrodiplomacy, there are factors that could be used to determine the success rate of the campaign, therefore, to see the result of the gastrodipomacy campaign of Taiwan the author will see if the state could reach their original objectives of the campaign and the number of tourist coming to the country.

One of the objectives that were done in this campaign was to introduce Taiwanese chefs in the international market and to support them in any culinary competition. This effort was fruitful as the team of Taiwan won the national team culinary award in Food and Hotel Asia, the biggest international food trade show in Asia (Tzu-Chiang and Lin 2018). The number of tourists coming to Taiwan also increased as can be seen on below graphic:
Figure 6 Visitor’s Arrival in Taiwan

![Visitor's Arrival in Taiwan Chart](chart_url)

On the above graphic, we can see the increasing number of incoming tourists before and after the gastrodiplomacy campaign was released. This campaign started in 2010, before that Taiwan received less than 5 million people per year and after 2010 it kept growing and by 2015 it was doubled to 10 million people per year. The Tourism Bureau who works under the Ministry of Transportation and Communications conducted a survey every year to see the trend and consumption of the incoming tourists, one of the aspects that they see is what attracts the tourists the most that they decide to visit Taiwan. To make it easier to see, the author has simplified the result in the graphic below:

Figure 7 Decision Factor of Incoming Tourists to Taiwan

![Decision Factor of Incoming Tourists](chart_url)

Source: Ministry of Transportation and Communication

On the survey there are 10 main reasons that can be chosen by the tourists; shopping, food, scenery, Taiwan's custom, and culture, friendliness of the people, fruits, historic relics, and geographical convenience (Tourism Bureau, n.d.). The tourists can choose more than one reason.
which made the result is not in 100% but rather in the number of persons in a hundred. The author chose the top 3 reasons which were scenery, food, and shopping. From the figure above it can be seen that scenery was the main pull factor for tourists to come to Taiwan and in 2016 and 2017 it became the first reason. The gastrodipolomacy campaign itself lasted from 2010 to 2013, during this period the tourists didn’t come to Taiwan because of it’s culinary, the result from the surveys showed only around 40 people chose the culinary experience while more than 60 people chose scenery. This changed in 2016 and 2017 where there was a big increase in the food reason. The result of the effort to introduce Taiwanese cuisine cannot be seen immediately in this case, but slightly later after the campaign ended.

Another objective that was tried to be reached by the government of Taiwan was to create 10,000 employment opportunities for Taiwanese people. According to the data of National Statistics, the number of employed labor in Accommodation and Food Service Activities on May 2010 was 725,000 people and on January 2013 it increased to 785,000 people (National Statistics Republic of Taiwan 2017). In 3 years Taiwan managed to create 60,000 employment opportunities, 5 times bigger than the original plan, which was 10,000 jobs. As this exceeds the expectation we could say that in this part Taiwan achieved their goal.
Chapter 5:  
Conclusion

The concept of gastrodiplomacy is rather new in the realm of politics and it is often underestimated because of its significance. Only a small number of scholars studied this concept and could relate it to international study as most of the time gastronomy can easily be linked to health or even tourism study. Paul Rockower, one of the first scholar who focuses on the study of gastronomy and diplomacy – which later on called gastrodiplomacy – wrote a number of articles in this topic and since then more researcher grew their interest in this subject.

Thailand was the pioneer of this project. The government launched a program called Global Thai in 2002 with a purpose to increase the number of Thai restaurant around the world. Various efforts were made and many organizations were involved as well in order to make it successful. It went fruitful and the Thai government was satisfied with it that they continue their gastrodiplomacy campaign for another 5 years with more ambitious goals. Later on, many countries mainly in Asia follow Thailand’s steps, including Japan, Malaysia, South Korea, and Taiwan. The United States and Peru also participated to create their own campaign although the United States was rather late – 9 years behind Thailand.

These cases above show that gastrodiplomacy is becoming an emerging topic to study, the author also has a deep interest in this area and chose South Korea and Taiwan as the subjects. The main reason both countries decided to implement gastrodiplomacy was that they are often mistaken with another country. For example, people frequently think that Japan and South Korea are the same, while at the same time Taiwan is considered to be a part of China which until now it is still undergoing a debate.

To answer the research questions and to see if the hypothesis that the author proposed are aligned with the results, it will be explained one by one in this chapter. For the first research question: How the government utilizes their gastronomy as a mean to reach soft power? Both the government of South Korea and Taiwan created gastrodiplomacy campaigns to utilize gastronomy. For the case of South Korea, they started their campaign which they named Korean Cuisine to the World in 2009 and allocated 77 million USD for it. The main objective of this campaign is to introduce Korean cuisine – hansik to overseas countries but there are also several supplementary objectives; to create employment opportunities in the gastronomy industry,
to boost food and agriculture export, to support Korean chefs, to intensify the national brand of South Korea and as well as to increase the number of Korean restaurants. For the case of Taiwan, they decided to do the same and they started the campaign in 2010 with title ‘All in Good Taste: Savor the Flavors of Taiwan’. Similar concepts were applied such as providing scholarships and trainings, creating food tasting events, and some other programs.

On the second research question, what are the campaigns created by South Korea and Taiwan to exercise their gastrodipomacy? Similar with the answer of the first research question, the campaign created by the government of South Korea was Korean Cuisine to the World that they started on 2009. Taiwan started a year later on 2010 with campaign named All in Good Taste: Savor the Flavors of Taiwan.

The last research question is except for the government, is there any other party who is involved in the gastrodipomacy effort? For the case of South Korea, the government collaborated with numerous actors, from governmental organizations to celebrities, and on a various level as well. On the educational level the Korean Food Foundation was created to held research and development in the Korean food industry, also to provide training sessions. Apart from that the World Institute of Kimchi was also established and the cooperation with the Korean Cultural Center was started. The government gave grants to professional chefs and restauranteur so later on they could be sent abroad to work for various Korean restaurants. Cooking schools were also established at home and abroad, also they cooperated with high-rank universities.

On the marketing level, international students in South Korea were involved in a program called K-Food Supporters Alliance where they were taken to have a Korean culinary experience. In addition to that Kimchi Bus and Bibimbap Backpacker were created. Korean celebrities were also engaged as Hansik Ambassadors where they promote their favorite Korean dish. One of the important moment was when kimchi and kimjang were listed in UNESCO as an Intangible Cultural Heritage Item of Humanity, it was a big achievement for South Korea as their cuisine was recognized internationally.

The increasing popularity of Korean food was also helped by various individuals such as Maangchi who is a famous Youtuber who uploads cooking videos, Roy Choi who created The Kogi Truck in the United States and a Korean corporation, Bibigo who sells frozen Korean food around the world. This campaign can be considered successful, South Korea managed to
popularize kimchi as their national food, their Nation Brand Index increased, and the number of incoming tourists boosted. Other impacts were the massive expansion of CJ CheilJedang as the first Korean food company to open restaurants and factories abroad and to export ready food as well as Korean ingredients, the last will be a memorandum of understanding was signed between the Parnas Hotel Corporation, InterContinental Hotels Group and Korea Agro-Fisheries Trade Corporation to advertise Korean cuisine through their hotels in Asia.

Meanwhile, Taiwan involved more governmental agencies to support their gastrodiplomacy campaign and the non-state actors who also helped to promote Taiwanese cuisine are mostly companies, unlike South Korea who has individuals as well as companies to support them. The Taiwan government officially supported Din Tai Fung and 85°C Bakery Café, both companies are included in their gastrodiplomacy campaign because it is considered to be successful and popular brands in the international market. On the other hand, Chatime emerged to be an important non-state actor as well because of the popularity of bubble tea throughout the world.

Based on the elaboration on the third and fourth chapter, and as well as the conclusion above, it can be said that the hypothesis proposed in the first chapter that gastronomy can be used as an advantageous tool to reach the audience overseas and it can bring economic benefits for the home country is aligned with the result that the author found.


Does Stinky Tofu Let the Human Love and Hate?


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