

The Role of Hollywood Figures in Propagating Transnational Movement: Case Study of #MeToo in South Korea (2017–2019)

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Abstrak

Pelecehan seksual di Korea Selatan terjadi dalam berbagai macam bentuk dan di berbagai sektor sudah sejak lama yang disebabkan oleh konstruksi sosial masyarakat setempat. Kasus pelecehan seksual yang terjadi di Industri perfilman Amerika Serikat membuat tokoh Hollywood angkat suara tentang pengalaman pahit mereka dengan pelecehan seksual. Fenomena ini akhirnya berhasil membentuk sebuah Gerakan transnasional yang disebut Gerakan #MeToo. Tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa globalisasi telah memudahkan komunikasi antarbudaya melalui dunia maya. Hubungan Internasional telah bergeser menjadi tidak lagi terlalu sentris terhadap negara. Tidak seperti dulu lagi, sekarang aktor non-negara dari Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat, Perusahaan Multinasional, Gerakan Transnasional, dan bahkan individu dapat mempengaruhi proses pengambilan keputusan. Sudah ada berbagai penelitian yang membahas tentang pentingnya aktor non-negara dalam Hubungan Internasional khususnya Gerakan Transnasional dalam menangani isu-isu global. Meskipun demikian, masih belum ada penelitian sebelumnya yang membahas individu yang menjadi pemicu berdirinya Gerakan Transnasional. Oleh karena itu, untuk mengisi gap penelitian, tulisan ini akan mendobrak peran selebriti dalam mempropagandakan gerakan transnasional dengan studi kasus gerakan #MeToo di Korea Selatan dalam kurun waktu 2017 – 2019. Artikel ini akan menjelaskan peran selebriti dalam memelopori gerakan transnasional dengan studi kasus gerakan #MeToo di Korea Selatan dalam kurun waktu 2017 – 2019. Dalam menyelidiki peran tokoh-tokoh Hollywood, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif merujuk pada aksi – aksi tokoh Hollywood yang dikorelasikan dengan teori Jaringan Advokasi Transnasional dan Budaya Populer. Penulis menemukan bahwa figure publik telah memotivasi korban pelecehan seksual untuk angkat bicara yang menarik perhatian global dan pada akhirnya berhasil membuat reformasi legislatif di berbagai negara.

Kata kunci: Celebrities, Transnational Movement, #MeToo, Pop Culture

Abstract

Sexual misconduct in South Korea occurs in various forms and in various sectors since a long time due to the social construction of the local citizen. Series of sexual harassment cases that take place in the United States' film industry made Hollywood figures voice out their experiences through cyberspace. This phenomenon eventually succeeded in forming a transnational movement called the #MeToo Movement. Undeniably, globalization has simplified intercultural communication through cyberspace. Furthermore, International Relations has shifted to be less state-centric. Unlike in the past, now non-state actors from Non-Governmental Organizations, Multinational Corporations, Transnational Movements, and even individuals could influence the decision-making processes. There are already various research discussing about the significance of non-state actors in International Relations specifically Transnational Movement in dealing with global issues. Nonetheless, are still no previous study addressing individuals that triggers the establishment of Transnational Movement. Thus, to fill the research gap, this paper will break down the role of celebrities in propagating a transnational movement with the case study of #MeToo movement in South Korea within the timeframe of 2017 – 2019. In investigating the role of Hollywood figures, the author uses qualitative research methods referring to the actions of Hollywood figures correlated with the theory of Transnational Advocacy Network and Popular Culture. This research discovers that public figures have motivated victims of sexual harassment to speak up which attracted global attention and ultimately succeeded in making legislative reforms in various countries.

Keywords: Celebrities, Transnational Movement, #MeToo, Pop Culture

1. Introduction

South Korea is a country with high molestation cases proven by a report released by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, which exposed South Korea's rape cases that always above 20.000 cases within a year (UNODC, 2016). Korea Women's Association United (KWAU) also believes that the number of lawsuits due to sexual assault could be doubled if all victims were brave to talk. Through a survey KWAU discovered that only 10% of victims who file reports to the legal authority, which means there are still many victims in South Korea who have not spoken about their experience (CEDAW, 2018). Research by South Korea's Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) in 2017 indicated that 65% of the sexual assault case reported to the police occurred on workplace, the same research also acknowledge the existence of time gap between the incident and the reporting time due to the sense of fear experienced by the victims towards the company (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Department, 2018).

#MeToo was first coined by Tarana Burke in 2006 as a program of non-governmental organization (NGO) called Just Be Inc to empower sexual assault

victims in the United States (US) (Dey & Mendes, 2022). The term eventually transnationalized 11 years after its establishment due to numerous sexual assault cases involved well-known people in the US that was revealed in 2017 which triggers pop stars and Hollywood actors who have been molested to speak about their frightening experience. As a result, MeToo which was originally NGO's program transformed into a worldwide campaign and became popular in the cyber space across territorial boundaries (Dey & Mendes, 2022).

#MeToo succeeded to expand outside the US. South Korea is among the long list of country that actively participates within the movement. On November 2017, the topic has been widely discussed in South Korea, which eventually made Seo Ji-hyun revealed that she has been sexually assaulted back in 2010 (Shin, 2021). Ji-hyun admitted that #MeToo movement in the US has inspired her to talk about her traumatic past. #MeToo in South Korea has shed a light for victims of sexual assault within the country to publicize their experience, and stimulate its government to create policies and programs to counter sexual misconduct issue (Shin, 2021). This paper will answer the question of "How Could Hollywood Figures Contributes in transnationalization of #MeToo Movement to South Korea?" Thus, this paper will explain the contribution made by Hollywood Figures in propagating the transnational movement that could create an impact in South Korea within the timeframe of 2017 – 2019.

2. Literature Review

This section contains previous researches that provides discussion of topics related to the topic. First is a journal article by Albertus (2021) titled "Transnational Advocacy Network: Strategy of Greenpeace in Rejecting Shell's Arctic Drilling Plan" which also discuss about transnational movement but on environmental scope. This article considers Greenpeace which is a NGO as political entrepreneurs who initiated the movement by spreading educational information through posters and pamphlets, conducting symbolic action such as planted time capsule on the arctic ocean which includes 3 million names of people who taken part in the movement, and also executing persuasion towards popular names to participate within the movement, multinational cooperation and intergovernmental organization to take action in the issue and expand the transnational network (Albertus, 2021). Second is research by Monardi (2017) titled "Strategies of Slutwalk Movement in Expansion of Transnational Network to Defend Woman From Harrasment", this publication also discuss about women's movement, Slutwalk which was emerged first in Canada due to a phenomenon of *slutshaming* in 2010s. The publication argues that the movement succeeded to become a transnational movement due to the help of globalization, which enables the activists to utilize digital communication method to coordinate its actions along with other women's rights activists across state boundaries which gain public attention and empathy from people outside Canada (Monardi, 2017). Third is publication by Dewi (2019) titled "Implication of #MeToo on Changes in Sexual

Harassment Policy in the United States” which discuss about the same topic with this paper but different in the unit of analysis. This third publication believes that the success of #MeToo in the US is not only due to the local activists but also because of the help of international citizens that succeeded to attract global attention and collectively made intergovernmental organizations give pressure to the US for handling the sexual violence cases (Dewi, 2019).

Fourth is research done by Duthie, et al (2017) titled “Effectiveness of Celebrities in Conservation Marketing” by utilizing qualitative method, this research proven that fundraising for social projects are way more successful if a celebrity endorse and backed up the project. Moreover, research towards television campaign also shows that advertisement that includes celebrities are way more impactful and profitable, compared to those who do not include celebrity (Duthie, Verissimo, & Knight). Fifth is an article by Rickey & Budabin (2016) titled “Celebrity in International Affairs” this article argues that celebrities do have a significant role in international affairs, especially within the relation of developing and developed countries, because celebrities have the power to attract media attention which could eventually draw support from citizens. The article also affirms that due to the power of celebrities, they are oftentimes being employed by other actors in International Relations such as intergovernmental organizations to conduct international mission. As an example, Angelina Jolie has represented United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Myanmar in regards to the issue of refugee crisis (Rickey & Budabin, 2016). Sixth is a dissertation by Anindya (2022) titled “The Role of BTS in South Korea’s Public Diplomacy to Indonesia” which discuss regarding the contribution made by a boy group within a public diplomacy effort by the group’s home country, South Korea. The author found that the public diplomacy initiative to Indonesia with BTS as an agent succeeded in giving benefit to South Korea in numerous ways. For instance, it increases sales of a Korean brand Samsung that was promoted by BTS. The promotion boosts the interest of Indonesian people to visit South Korea’s tourism sectors, as well as lifts the willingness of Indonesian people to learn about Korean culture. Hence, the author believes that public figures could be employed to achieve national interest (Anindya, 2022).

The first three literature is about transnational movement, and the following three literature is discussing about pop culture and the power of celebrities in International affairs. These publications are all related to this current study. Nonetheless, there are still no previous study that specifically combined transnational movement and pop culture within its focus of analysis. Thus, this paper would try to look for the role of celebrities in propagating a transnational movement to fill the research gap.

3. Theoretical Framework

There would be two main concept that will be the framework of this paper which are Transnational Advocacy Network & Popular Culture

3.1. Transnational Advocacy Network

Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) is a social movement comprises of non-state actors across territorial boundaries who are conducting campaign for a particular issue that happens around the globe. The people behind a TAN are unified due to shared objectives to revolutionize the condition of their respective state. Rapid advancement of technology facilitates TAN to be able to expand their network across territorial boundaries faster than ever (Marchetti & Tocci, 2015).

TAN has two main characteristics. The first prominent nature of a TAN is the presence of *political entrepreneurs* which means TAN always starts with a pioneer who initiated the movement. The second trait of TAN is *boomerang pattern*, which means local activists wish to revolutionize their respective state. However, activists acknowledged that they do not have much power to shape its respective country's policy (Tyas, 2019). Thereupon, the people simultaneously formed or participated in a TAN that could give pressure to each country in regards to the issue that TAN is fighting for (Maziyah, 2020).

#MeToo movement is undeniably a TAN, because of its advocacy that happened borderless. Many domestic activist and sexual assault victims were not being heard by their respective government, and the existence of #MeToo was an opportunity to give pressure to its government (Hutabarat & Puspitasari, 2019). Thus, the author believes that the Transnational Advocacy Network is highly relevant to this study.

3.2. Popular Culture

Pop culture consists of some movies, music, television programs, figures, fashion, and many others that are broadly shared by the society. In order to be recognized as a pop culture, the object should be well-known and likeable by the general public (Debnath, 2019). Thus, pop culture is oftentimes considered as a mass culture that was born from the interest of society, being preserved and widely consumed by the society as well. People are exposed to pop culture on a daily basis, and it is hard to be avoided because it always be the topic of conversation between people (Storey, 2018).

Pop culture products are beyond more than just for entertainment purposes, it has the power to ignite social change (Istiqomah, 2020). It is a powerful vehicle to create connection with the society, numerous psychological researches have proven that pop culture has unique approaches to portray issues in entertaining ways which made people digest the information easier that could generate emotional bound and empathy from people (Godsil & MacFarlane, 2016). Thus, Pop culture oftentimes infused with information in order to make people understand about a particular issue that could shift people's behaviour, belief, and perception (Daniel & Musgrave, 2017).

Furthermore, psychologist Albert Bandura within his social cognitive theory believes that human being's behaviour and perception determined by its social learning process by observing the social models which act as the source of the process

(Bandura, 1985). Within mass media communications, pop icons serve as the model of social learning process for behavioural change. People could observe pop icons' perception and behaviour indirectly through mass media communication. The more audiences exposed towards the pop culture and its icons, the bigger influences and messages that they could receive (Mares & Woodward, 2005). More importantly, due to their fame, they are able to persuade other people to conduct an action, as well as generating a trend (Daniel & Musgrave, 2017). Hence, the writer believes that the concept of pop culture is highly relevant to this current study to help in understanding how could pop icons create social change by generating a trend.

4. Research Methodology

The research design that is being employed within this study is a descriptive analytical research with qualitative approach. Descriptive research intended to present the information of a phenomenon based on a particular conceptual framework with qualitative approach that relies on non-numerical data within the analysis process (Lune & Berg, 2000). Qualitative approach recognize the researcher as an asset in a research that could manage the data obtained by focusing, simplifying, and abstracting the data available to sort out data related to the scope of research (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Researcher also get the authority to organize the presentation of data within the research by compiling and assembling information to create an understandable flow (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Furthermore, researchers could also do interpretations and conclusions of the data gathered based on the framework of the research (Mojahan, 2018). Therefore, it is compulsory for the researcher to have broad knowledge in regards to the topic by relying on previous academic literature, publications, data analysis, and theories on the study field (Mojahan, 2018). Descriptive qualitative design was chosen as the methodology of this paper because it suits with the research objective which to explore the role of Hollywood figures within MeToo's trans nationalization process by compiling non-numerical data obtained from relevant official documents, books, journal articles, and digital medias. The gathered data would be analysed by utilizing particular theories and concept in order to answer the question of the research.

5. Analysis and Discussions

5.1. Hollywood Figures as *Political Entrepreneurs* in the Transnationalization of #MeToo Movement

The appearance of #MeToo as an hashtag was started by Alyssa Milano as a response to sexual assault allegations against Hollywood film producer, Harvey Weinstein. In 2017, Ashley Judd broke her long-term silence by telling her frightful experience with Weinstein. Judd's story paves the way for hundreds of entertainers who eventually tell their own story. Among the long list, there are Queen of Pop Madonna, global pop icons such as Angeline Jolie, Salma Hayek, Cate Blanchett, Cara Delevigne, Rose McGowan and many others (Murphy, 2019). These heart-breaking

stories made other celebrities such as Lady Gaga take part within the movement, and utilize their digital platform to participate in solidarity. Confession and campaign from these pop icons succeeded to attract the attention of public and became a trending topic on the cyberspace across territorial boundaries (Modrek & Bozhidar, 2019).

Pop icons work in unity at the 2018 Golden Globes, where they simultaneously wore black and a pin as a symbol to support sexual assault victims, which made the fashion of celebrities would not overshadow the messages that pop icons wanted to deliver during the night (Arkin, 2018). The advocacy continues to Hollywood's biggest night, at the 2018 Oscars, there was a special segment for Weinstein's victims Salma Hayek & Ashley Judd where they had the opportunity to campaign for #MeToo movement. Moreover, the performances also dedicated for the issue from Lady Gaga took the stage alongside dozens of sexual assault survivors to perform her song called "Till it Happens to You" which she wrote as a response towards the ongoing sexual violence cases in the US. Followed by, Common & Andra Day performed their song named "Stand Up for Something" joined by Tarana Burke, the founder of #MeToo movement (De Benedictis, Orgad, & Rottenberg, 2019). Hollywood figures employed the biggest night of film industry, which was being watched by millions of people across the globe to voice out #MeToo. As a result, it became a hot topic of conversation among the people virtually (McDonald, 2020).

Picture 1: Meryl Streep, Jessica Chastain, Natalie Portman and other actresses simultaneously wear black as a political symbol of #MeToo at the 2018 Golden Globes



Source: Getty Image (2018)

Picture 2: Harvey Weinstein’s victims (Salma Hayek, Ashley Judd and Anabella) take over the 2018 Oscar’s stage to discuss about MeToo



Source: Getty Images (2018)

Picture 3: Lady Gaga performs sexual assault themed song called “Till it Happens To You” along with dozens of sexual assault victims at the 2018 Oscars.



Source: AFP (2018)

Furthermore, #MeToo included within the agenda of Women’s March 2018 beside from protest against Trump. Numerous celebrities initiated the execution of Women’s March also participated within the March. Notable names such as Adele, Natalie Portman, Jennifer Lawrence, Scarlett Johansson, Halsey, and Yoko Ono are among the long list of celebrities who participated at 2018 Women’s March. At the

protest, celebrities were delivering speeches and advocacies. Once again, this momentum draw mass media coverage and public attention as well (Quinn, 2018). Hollywood celebrities also gather together to form "Time's Up" foundation which is an organization that provides assistance for low-income victims who seek for justice. The establishment of this foundation proven the initiative and strong determination of Hollywood figures within the advocacy (Littleton, 2018).

Picture 4: Scarlett Johansson delivers breath-taking speech for Time's Up Foundation at the 2018 Women's March



Source: Rex (2018)

Pop icons did not only utilize internet and award shows as a mean for activism, but also a work of art such as movie and music. An example of song would be "Praying (2017)" by Kesha about her trauma with sexual misconduct done by her former music producer Dr. Luke (Stanton, 2018). While, an example of movie would be "Bombshell (2019)" that portrays a female reporter that got discriminatory behaviour from the company that she worked for because she refused to engage in sexual contact with the chairman of the company (Flood, 2020). Within the perspective of pop culture, music and movie could influence people, engage audiences and amass people to take action. Hence, inserting messages within art have meaningful purposes and could contribute in spreading the advocacy (Haycock, 2015).

Picture 5: Kesha performs song about sexual violence survivor at the 2018 Grammy



Source: Getty Images (2018)

Picture 6: Scene From Bombshell (2019)



Source: Lionsgate (2019)

Hollywood popular icons collectively has driven MeToo from a domestic program to a transnational movement by attracting public attention which ultimately gathers people from different continents under the same objective to fight for social change towards the current circumstances within their respective states. The proof of pop icons' role can be seen through the history of MeToo itself, MeToo was a small program at the beginning that only existed in the US since 2006 and it became widely known by the public because of the case that happened within the Hollywood industry (Luo & Zhang, 2021). Hollywood figures could be seen as political entrepreneurs who act as the pioneer that have taken part within the trans nationalization of the movement because of their collective initiatives to conduct digital activism towards their platform which succeeded to generate global trend, proven by millions of tweets

that contains #MeToo from more than 85 countries reported in 2017 (Benedictis & Orgad, 2019).

Beside from digital activism, it is important to recognize the advocacy that celebrities did physically from participating in Women's March 2018, and their actions on numerous award shows which were intentionally done to gain public attention. As an example, 2018 Golden Globes and 2018 Oscars which collected millions views, and witnessed by hundreds of countries across the globe (Robehmed, 2018). Moreover, the infusion of #MeToo messages in music and movie undeniably have created emotional bound among the people, and it strengthen the empathy of people that could urge people to take action. Music and movie have long been employed as an agent for advocacy since in the 20th century to rise social mobility (Hass, 2019).

Additionally, pop icons also initiated the establishment of Time's Up Foundation which shown their commitment in the advocacy (Rearick, 2018). All of the advocacy actions taken by celebrities have become a conversation among the public. Undeniably, it is because of the power and attractiveness of celebrities which made them being reported by mass media. In line with the concept of pop culture, pop culture products that has been infused with advocacy would be easier to digest by the general public which could draw the attention of society because people are exposed to pop culture on a daily basis because of globalization that enables intercultural communication. This phenomenon eventually could shape other people's perception and behavior (Juntiwasarakij, 2018). As a result, people outside from the US were influenced by the movement, including South Korea (Meilanesia, 2021).

5.2. #MeToo Movement's Actions in South Korea

The birth of #MeToo in South Korea started from Seo-Ji Hyun who admitted publicly that she was a victim of sexual violence back in 2010 on the workplace, Ji-hyun mentioned that she does not has the power to go for litigation process against her boss. Therefore, Ji-hyun admitted through an interview in a local TV Show that #MeToo movement within the US' film industry has motivate her to seek for justice by revealing her dark past with the support from the public (Shin, 2021). Likewise in the US, after Ji-hyun revealed her story, it was followed by numerous other stories accusing popular names in Korea, such as Ahn Hee-jung (Governor), Oh Keo-don (Mayor), Park Won-soon (Mayor), Lee Youn-taek (Film Director), Jo Min-ki (Actor), and other popular names (Larsen, 2018). In order to obtain the objectives of the movement, #MeToo in South Korea employ four strategies which are *visibility*, *audibility*, *lobbying* and *networking* that would be elaborated on the following paragraphs.

First, *visibility* which means the movement conduct actions publicly that are tangible accessible for the public. On February 5th, 2018, people from 15 civic group gather in front of the prosecutor's office to protest about the unsolved sexual violence cases in Korea as well as the case experienced by Ji-hyun (Kim, Park, & Ho-Jin,

2018). On March 2018, hundreds of #MeToo activist took to the streets in Seoul by bringing posters related to #MeToo as a means of peace demonstration (Amsden, 2018). On August 4th 2018, huge demonstration took place in Seoul as a protest for sexual misconduct cases within the country, approximately 70.000 people joined the protest (Gong & Sullivan, 2018). Surprisingly, school students even participated within the demonstration held on February 2019 in front of the presidency office demanding for the government to take serious actions to solve the molestation cases (Hasunuma & Shin, 2019).

Picture 7: Demonstrators supporting the #MeToo movement in Seoul, South Korea, March 2018



Source: AP Images (2018)

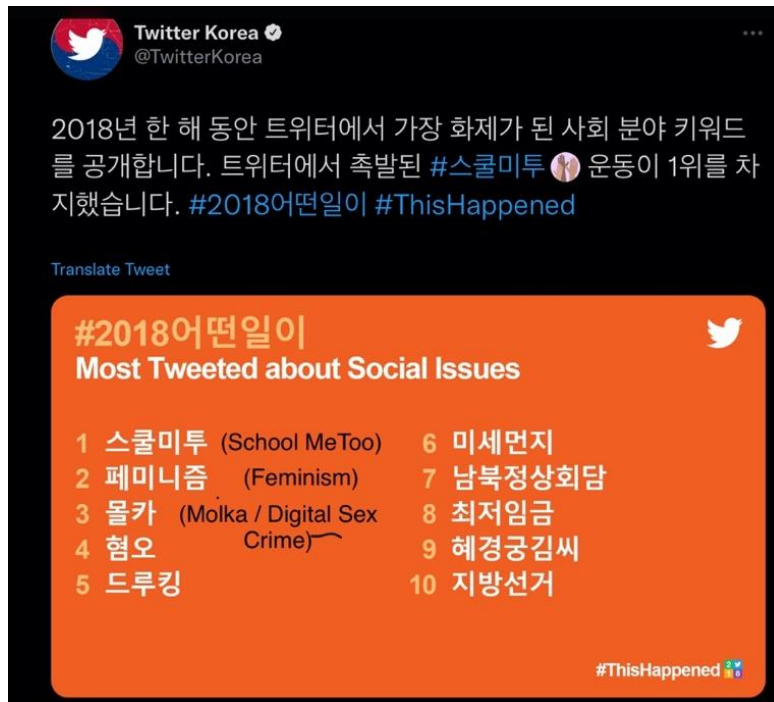
Picture 8: Students join #MeToo protest in South Korea, February 2019



Source: The Korea Herald (2018)

Moreover, the advocacy also being delivered on the cyber space. KBS reported that there were 5000 - 6000 of tweets related to #MeToo coming from South Korea's user of twitter every day (Yang-soon, 2018). Based on statistics released by Twitter Korea, topic related to #MeToo occupied the top three of most tweeted social issues in 2018 by South Korean users which indicated that the movement draw the attention of public (Twitter Korea, 2018). According to research published in the International Journal of Communication Vol 15, there were 1.5 millions of comments in the worldwide web related to #MeToo coming from South Korean users (Bae & Cha, 2021). In addition, there were 311 online petitions created related to #MeToo on 2018 (Civicus, 2018).

Picture 9: #MeToo Related Issue Occupied Top 3 Most Discussed Social Issues in South Korea in 2018



Source: Screenshot From Twitter Korea's Official Account (2018)

Second, *audibility* which utilize audio media such as television and radio as tool to spread the message. #MeToo movement in South Korea succeeded to strategically employ medias to spread the messages, it all started from the appearance of Seo Ji-hyun in a local TV show talking about the movement that inspired her to speak up (JTBC News, 2018). Followed by the public confession made by Kim Ji-eun, the victim of governor Ahn Hee-jung (JTBC News, 2018). Furthermore, the movement also present on the local radio station, the example would be the interview of Yang Ji-hye, #MeToo activist on KBS Radio (Sang-geun, 2018). Beside from TV and Radio, #MeToo also utilize YouTube and Podcast to reach more audiences (Krisnamukti, 2022).

Picture 10: Seo Ji-hyun interview on local TV show



Source: Screenshot from JTBC News' YouTube account (2018)

The third strategy that the movement employ is *lobbying*. It is essentially an attempt to influence the ruling authority to achieve the desired outcomes by organizing meetings with the target. On March 2018, there were three meetings held by #MeToo activists which involved the representative from Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF, 2018). Within the same month, numerous #MeToo activists had the chance to conduct informal meeting with the Vice Minister of Education, Park Chun-ran. On May 2018, numerous women's organizations and #MeToo activists held a meeting within the office of national assembly which focuses on scrutinizing the draft Bill proposed by the national assembly as well as brainstorming ways to fix the status quo of South Korea in terms of regulation about sexual violence cases (MOGEF, 2018).

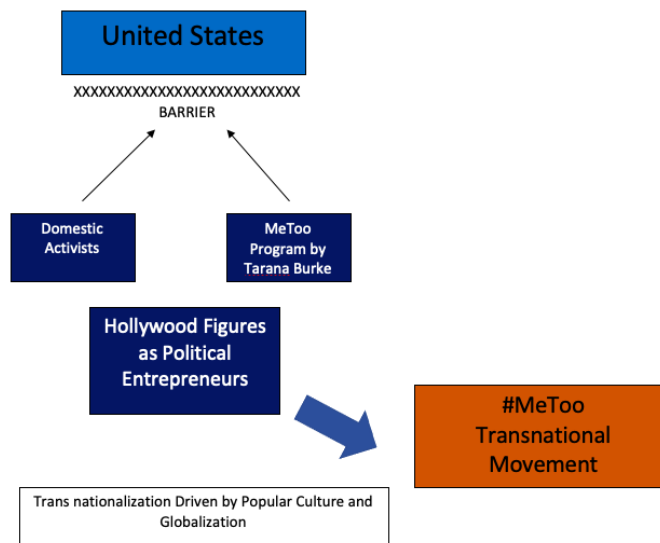
Lastly, *networking* also employed on #MeToo actions, in which the movement engages with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to pursue to obtain their objectives. #MeToo in South Korea was not formed by a particular group of people. It was a movement that was born due to collective actions from people which succeeded to gain support from local organizations. The networking could clearly be seen through the press conference made by numerous local organizations in South Korea declaring their support towards the movement which includes environmental movement, labour union, lawyer's association, and many other local associations (Minabari, 2021). These four strategies from *visibility*, *audibility*, *lobbying* and *networking* were being employed simultaneously in order to reach the desired outcomes (Minabari, 2021).

5.3. Boomerang Pattern of #MeToo Movement

The prominent characteristic of a transnational movement is the presence of boomerang pattern on its enlargement process. Boomerang pattern is a phenomenon where there is a similar issue being faced by more than a country, but the advocacy done by the citizen in domestic level did not create a significant change to meet the desired outcomes. Hence, the activists seek for international supports (Keck & Sikkink, 2014). The concept of TAN believes that there would be political entrepreneurs that offer strategies that could gain international attention in order to strengthen the movement and eventually give pressure to its corresponding state for legislative reforms (Şahin & Yıldız, 2010).

Within the study case, sexual violence cases happening in more than a country, US is the place where MeToo program was born due to the weakness of the US' government to handle sexual violence cases. The US' Equal Employment Opportunity Commission stated that 3 out of 4 sexual assault victims decided to remain silent about the case which proven the existence of problems within the US' legal system and the failure of sexual violence advocacy executed in the US' domestic level. In 2017, Hollywood figures joined the advocacy and formulate an idea to transform MeToo that was a program of NGO based on the US to become #MeToo movement by utilizing the internet that could reach international audiences (Modrek & Bozhidar, 2019). Hence, Pop icons are identified as political entrepreneurs within this paper because they created strategies by forming hashtag activism to gain international attention.

Figure 1: Transformation Process of MeToo as Domestic Program to #MeToo as Transnational Movement

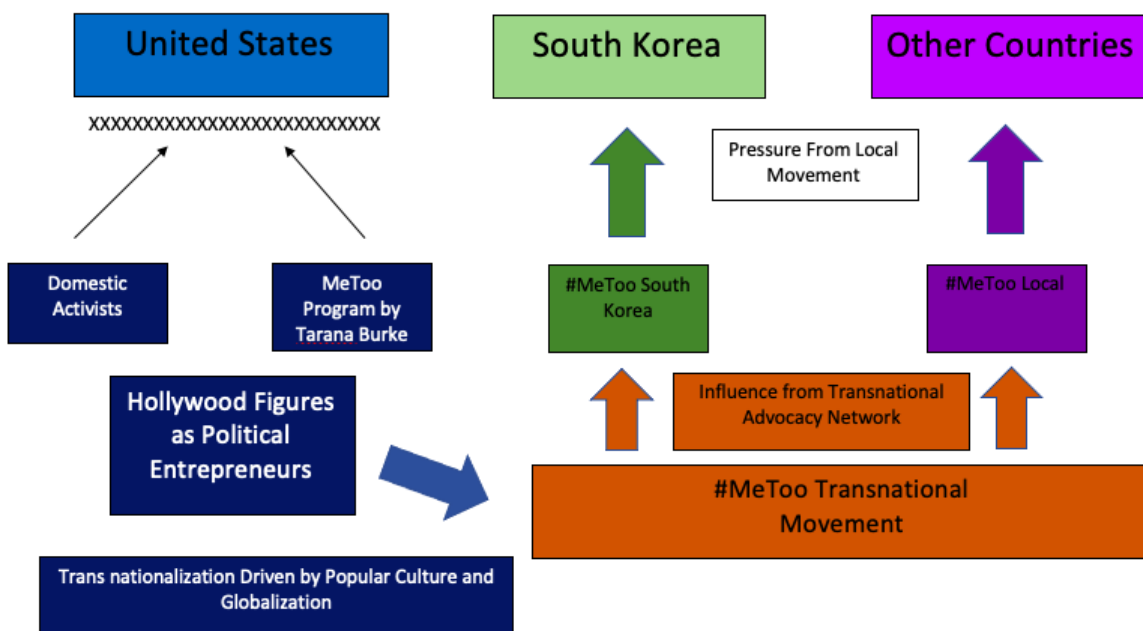


Source: Made by the Author Based on Transnational Advocacy Network Concept by Keck & Sikkink (2014)

The issue became trending topic that attract the attention within and outside the US, it raise the awareness of foreign publics in regards to sexual violence and

obtain support from foreign citizens and organizations which made #MeToo became a TAN (Zhafirah, 2021). #MeToo eventually spread its wings by the establishment of the movement in another country, such as #BalanceTonPorc in France, #미투 in South Korea and many others. This cross-boundaries network has created collective initiative among the society which surely could give pressure to the respective government for legislative reforms (Ghadery, 2019). The establishment of #MeToo in other countries is undeniably due to the role of Hollywood figures as the initiative of the trans-nationalization. For instance, in South Korea, the first person who spoke about sexual violence experience was Seo Ji-hyun, she admitted that due to the initiative of Hollywood industry in tackling down sexual violence, it motivates her to seek for justice (Shin, 2021).

Figure 2: Trans nationalization Process of #MeToo

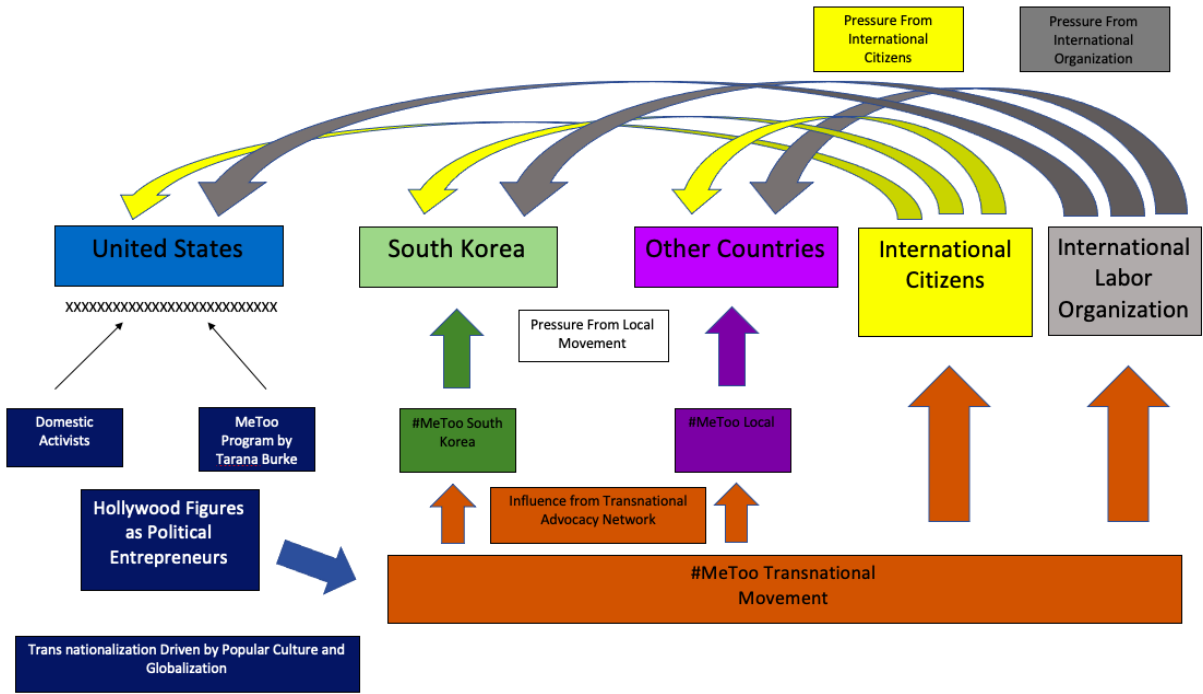


Source: Made by the Author Based on Transnational Advocacy Network Concept by Keck & Sikkink (2014)

The rapid advancement of #MeToo has gripped the attention of intergovernmental organization, which were the United Nations (UN) and International Labour Organization (ILO). UN Secretary General, António Guterres formed a special body to handle the case of sexual misconduct. Furthermore, ILO initiatively conduct a conference attended by its member states that succeeded to produce new convention and recommendation called "The Violence and Harassments Recommendation 2019" which encourage its member states, including South Korea to adopt the regulations in accordance with ILO's recommendation (Nebhay, 2019). Legislative reform also has taken place in numerous sovereign states, such as France who has ratified the bill that contains more comprehensive provision in regards to

sexual harassment law in August 2018. Additionally, Japan and China’s authority also has created law to address this matter (Stone & Vogelstein, 2019).

Figure 3: Boomerang Pattern of #MeToo Movement



Source: Made by the Author Based on Transnational Advocacy Network Concept by Keck & Sikkink (2014)

The process of TAN to achieve their desired outcome is like a boomerang, because domestic citizen acknowledge that they do not have power to ignite social change. Thereupon, they intentionally participated within international network and invest their effort there in order to strengthen the movement (Dewi, PENGARUH GERAKAN #METOO TERHADAP PERUBAHAN KEBIJAKAN TENTANG PELECEHAN SEKSUAL DI AMERIKA SERIKAT TAHUN 2017-2019, 2019). As a result, The international network help the domestic citizen in creating change on the status quo of their home country because of the pressure given by the actors engaged in TAN, from intergovernmental organizations, media, domestic as well as foreign citizens. Hence, the effort that domestic citizens invested in a TAN was paid off because the result goes back to its home country like a boomerang (Dewi, 2019).

5.4. The Implication of #MeToo in South Korea

As a response towards series of #MeToo actions in South Korea that has been explained previously within this paper, the government of South Korea has issued numerous statements. After the huge demonstration taken place on March 2018, Chung Hyun-bak as the Minister of Gender Equality and Family declared that the she

supports the movement and promise to take the aspirations from the activists (Doo, 2018). President of South Korea, Moon Jae-in sent letter to #MeToo activists in which he appreciates the effort done by activists and stated that the government will work actively to counter the issue (Aljazeera, 2018). Government declared that zero tolerance principle would be implemented for perpetrators, they will be punished without taking into consideration of its status, position and achievement (Korean Women's Development Institute, 2019). Additionally, harassment cases that draw the attention of public were handled quick. For instance, the sexual misconduct case done by the former governor, Ahn Hee-jung who was sentenced 3 years in prison (Zhafirah, 2021).

Demand from people and parties engaged in TAN occurred in the boomerang pattern phenomenon succeeded to make South Korea issued legislative reform. South Korea added new articles, on Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act that obligated the company to provide education, investigation assistance, and protection to the victim of sexual assault in the workplace, the same law also extend the duration of punishment and increase the amount of fine for perpetrator (Meilanesia, 2021). Furthermore, the act on punishment of sexual crimes also amended by Law number 15977, December 2018 in which regulate about digital sexual crimes for an individual who record, distribute, and duplicate a content that contains a person who do not give permission to publicize the content (Park, 2018). Beside from that, the company which provides a search engine also required to immediately remove the content and prevent its distribution with the request of the person who is within the content. (Park, 2018) Additionally, the regime also decided to fund 170 counselling centre to provide psychological help for the victims (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor United States Department of State, 2019).

#MeToo has created a tremendous impact on South Korea's citizen. According to Center for Media Research of the Korean Press Foundation, 65% of Korean people believe that media coverage about #MeToo has boost the awareness among South Korean people about the issue, and 88% of the society support the movement (Mi-sook, 2019). Data from National Democratic Trade Union Federation in 2009 showed that more than half of South Korean people think that verbal sexual harassment has decrease in a significant number after the #MeToo movement (Da-hae, 2019). In 2018, research from South Korea Statistic Institution demonstrates that the number of reported case within the matter of sexual harassment has increased 33% compared to before #MeToo was born (Minabari, 2021). Lastly, Sunflower Center revealed that the number of call that the institution received from people who wants to seek for help due to sexual violence was increased after the #MeToo taken place in South Korea (Sun-min, 2019). These data proven that #MeToo has shed a light for sexual assault survivor to fight for justice and enhance public understanding regarding the issue.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, Hollywood figures have taken a huge part in the transnationalization process of MeToo. Aligned with the concept of TAN, there is a political entrepreneurs of #MeToo which were the Hollywood figures. Their contribution was proven by the transformation of MeToo from local US' NGO program to a hashtag that accessible globally due to Hollywood figures' collective advocacy actions which succeeded to captivate media attention and eventually draw public attention as well due to their cumulative digital advocacy effort within the cyberspace, activism through numerous award shows, infusion of messages within art, and initiative to establish Time's Up Foundation. These collective actions succeeded to gather public attention and became topic of conversation among citizens across state boundaries. The success of celebrity to spread advocacy internationally is in line with the concept of Popular Culture, which emphasizes that pop culture products are more than just for entertainment purposes, it has the power to form connection and ignite emotional bound of people due to its unique action of activism that is packed in entertaining ways which made people easier to digest, understand and engage with the issue Hence, it is able to generate trend, connection and ignite emotional support from the public..

Furthermore, the #MeToo campaign has triggered people outside of the US, including South Korea to establish and start #MeToo campaign within their respective country. South Korean people had been facing sexual violence related problems for a long period of time, but the people were not freely to voice out their trauma and the law was not that strict. Hence, the presence of #MeToo movement propagated by Hollywood figures has motivated South Korean to break their long term silence and participate within the transnational movement. This was proven by Ji-hyun, the first South Korean who speak about her unfortunate incident where she emphasized that Hollywood has inspired her to seek for justice by revealing her dark past. Ji-hyun's courage has evoked #MeToo movement in South Korea which employed four strategies to obtain its mission, which were *visibility, audibility, lobbying* and *networking*. It is in line with the concept of boomerang pattern in Transnational Advocacy Network which highlights that people tend to seek for international supports in order to strengthen the movement that could eventually give pressure for legislative reforms and social change. Lastly, the pressure from within and outside of South Korea succeeded to make the government to apply stricter regulation in regards to sexual violence issues and give several facilitations for the victims.

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