

KF Korea Friendship:

2018 Next Generation Conference

넥스트 제너레이션 컨퍼런스

August 30, 2018

KF Global Center

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KF 프렌드십 소개

2018 넥스트 제너레이션 컨퍼런스 프로그램

참가자 명단

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KF 코리아 워크숍 2 KF Friendship 소개

KF 코리아 워크숍 2의 일환으로 진행되고 있는 코리아 프렌드십은 한국국제교류재단(Korea Foundation: KF) 주최, 동아시아연구원(East Asia Institute: EAI) 주관하여 주한 외국인을 대상으로 한국에 대한 이해 증진과 공감대 형성을 확대하는 개별 교육 및 네트워크 사업을 통합하여 국제유학생을 위한 프로그램으로 최적화한 패키지 교육 프로그램입니다. 코리아 프렌드십 프로젝트는 탐구, 소통, 공감이라는 핵심어를 바탕으로 구성되어 있습니다.



일정

행사	일시 및 장소	비고
오리엔테이션	2018. 8. 3(금) 오후 12시 한국국제교류재단 글로벌 센터 19층 세미나실	프로그램 설명 및 학사일정 공유
강연	2018. 8. 3(금) ~ 8.7(화) 한국국제교류재단 글로벌 센터 19층 세미나실	연속강좌 6회
넥스트 제너레이션 컨퍼런스	2018. 8. 30(목) 오전 9시 한국국제교류재단 글로벌 센터 19층 세미나실	에세이 공모전 및 컨퍼런스
KF Friends Night	2018. 11. 2(금)	연간 KF 글로벌센터 주최 사업참가자 교류모임

KF Korea Workshop 2

About KF Friendship

The second KF Korea Workshop, part of the Korea Friendship program is hosted by the Korea Foundation(KF) and organized by the East Asia Institute(EAI) to promote and share understanding of Korean social, political, and economic issues among international residents in Korea. The project consists of three main programs; 1) Korea Friendship Academicus, 2) Korea Friendship Communicus and 3) Korea Friendship Empathicus. These programs are composed of lecture series and networking opportunities in which students can “explore,” “communicate,” and “empathize” with Korea.



Program

Event	Time and Location	Information
Orientation	Friday, August 3, 2018. 12PM. 19 th Floor Seminar Room, KF Global Center	Introduction to the KF Korea Workshop Program
Academicus	Friday, August 3 - Tuesday, August 7, 2018. 1PM to 5:30PM. 19 th Floor Seminar Room, KF Global Center	Discovering various aspects of Korea: Politics, Enterprises, Security, Diplomacy, Mass media and Literature
Next Generation Conference	Thursday, August 30 at 9AM. 19 th Floor Seminar Room, KF Global Center	Essay Contest and Conference
KF Friend Night	Friday, November 2	Annual networking forum for participants of KF Global Center programs

한국을 듣다 (Academicus)

KF 코리아 프렌드십 아카데미쿠스는 한국사회 탐구를 위한 연속강좌 프로그램입니다. 국제유학생들이 한국의 정치, 기업, 안보, 외교, 언론, 문학 등 캠퍼스 너머에 존재하는 한국사회의 다채로운 모습을 포괄적으로 이해할 수 있도록 돕는 6회의 강좌가 진행됩니다.

프로그램	강좌	강연 및 강사	일정
한국을 듣다 Academicus	· 한국 정치	"민주화 30년의 한국정치" 강원택 서울대학교 교수	8/3(금)
	· 한국 기업	"한국 스타트업 생태계" 임정욱 스타트업 얼라이언스 센터장	
	· 한국 안보	"한반도 비핵화 : 과제와 전망" 이상현 세종연구소 수석연구위원, 한국행정학회 회장	8/6(월)
	· 한국 외교	"한반도 평화시대의 한국외교" 배종윤 연세대학교 교수	
	· 한국 언론	"한국 외교와 언론의 역할" 유지혜 중앙일보 정치부 기자	8/7(화)
	· 한국 문학	"트라우마를 치유하는 한국문학" 정여울 작가	

1. 한국 정치 : 강원택 서울대학교 교수

- 런던정치경제대학교 정치학 박사
- 서울대학교 대학원 정치학 박사, 석사 과정 수료
- 서울대학교 사회과학대학 지리학 학사
- 현재 서울대학교 정치외교학부 교수로 재직 중
- 한국정치학회 회장(전)
- 한국정당학회 회장(전)
- 미국 듀크대학교 방문 교수(전)
- 송실대학교 사회과학대학 부학장(전)
- 송실대학교 정치외교학과 교수(전)
- 저서: <대통령제, 내각제와 이원정부제>, <지방정치의 이해 1, 2>, <보수정치는 어떻게 살아남았나> 등 다수

2. 한국 기업 : 임정욱 스타트업 얼라이언스 센터장

- 한국외국어대 경영학과

- UC Berkely 하스(Hass) 경영대학원 MBA
- Stanford University 경영대학원창업과정 수료
- Cornell University 경영대학원 리더쉽 과정 수료
- 서울대학교 경영대학원 문화콘텐츠 글로벌리더과정(GLA) 3기 수료
- 스타트업 얼라이언스센터 센터장
- 대통령 직속 4차 산업혁명위원회 민간위원
- 오픈넷 이사
- 서울산업진흥원 사외이사
- 다음 커뮤니케이션 글로벌 부문장 (실리콘밸리 주재) (전)
- Datemychool.com Director of board(전)
- Lycos Inc CEO (보스턴 소재) (전)
- Daum Global Holdings CEO (전)
- 다음 커뮤니케이션 서비스 혁신 본부장, 대외 협력 본부장, 글로벌 센터장 (전)
- 조선일보 JNS대표 (전)
- 디지털조선일보 인터넷기획부장 (전)
- 조선일보 사회부, 경제과학부 기자 (전)
- 저서: <나는야 호기심 많은 관찰자>, <아이패드 혁명>
- 번역서: <인사이드 애플>

3. 한국 안보 : 이상현 세종연구소 수석연구위원, 한국행정정책학회 회장

- 서울대학교 외교학과 학사/석사
- 미국 University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 정치학 석사/ 박사
- 세종연구소 수석연구위원
- 한국행정정책학회 회장
- 세계평화포럼 연구위원
- 한국국제관계연구소 연구원(전)
- 한국국방연구원 연구원(전)
- 외교통상부 정책기획국장(전)
- 연구분야: 국제정치와 안보, 군사전략, 한미관계, 북한문제

4. 한국 외교 : 배종윤 연세대학교 교수

- 연세대학교 정치학 박사
- 연세대학교 정치외교학과 교수
- 통일부 정책자문위원
- 국회입법조사처 자문위원
- 연세대학교 동서문제연구원 부원장(전)
- 통일학협동과정 주임교수(전)
- 정치외교학과장(전)

- 연세대학교 산학협력단 연구정책부단장(전)
- 해성국제문제윤리연구소 소장직
- 미국 Princeton대석 국제지역연구원 (Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies) 전임연구원(전)
- 연구 분야 : 국제정치 및 한국외교정책, 외교정책결정과정, 남북한 관계와 한반도 통일문제, 북한 관련 현안

5. 한국 언론 : 유지혜 중앙일보 정치부 기자

- 고려대 교육학과 졸업
- 서울신문 사회부(전)
- 중앙일보 정치부 외교안보팀 차장
- 2006년 대한민국인권상 수상
- 2008년 올해의 여기자상 수상

6. 한국 문학 : 정여울 작가

- 서울대학교 독문과 졸업
- 서울대학교 대학원 국문과 박사
- 2013년 제3회 전숙희문학상 수상
- <세계의 문학> 편집위원
- 2015년 여성가족부 선정 '청년여성 멘토링 위원'
- 네이버 오디오클립 월간 정여울의 진행자로 활동 중
- 경향신문, 한겨레신문, 중앙일보 등에 다양한 에세이를 연재 중
- 저서: <혜세로 가는 길>, <내가 사랑한 유럽 TOP10>, <그때 알았더라면 좋았을 것들>, <마음의 서재>, <정여울의 문학 멘토링> <늘 괜찮다 말하는 당신에게> <월간 정여울> 시리즈 등 다수

Academicus

Academicus is an six-part lecture series to help international students advance and comprehensively understand various aspects of Korea such as its politics, enterprises, security, diplomacy, mass media and literature.

Program	Lectures	Lectures	Dates
Academicus	• Korean Politics	“30 years after the democratization” Kang, Won-Taek Professor at Seoul National University	8/3(Fri.)
	• Korean Enterprises	“Growing Korea’s Startup eco-system” Lim, Jungwook Director of Startup Alliance	
	• Korean Security	“Tasks ahead and Prospects for the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” Lee, Sang Hyun Senior Research Fellow at the Sejong Institute, President of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society	8/6(Mon.)
	• Korean Diplomacy	“Korean Diplomacy in the Era of Peace on the Korean Peninsula” Bae, Jong Yeun Professor at Yonsei University	
	• Korean Mass media	“Korean Diplomacy and the Role of the Media” Yoo, Jee Hye Journalists at JoongAng Ilbo	8/7(Tue.)
	• Korean Literature	“Trauma Helaing Korean Literature” Jung, Yeo-ul Writer	

1. Korean Politics: **Kang, Won-Taek** Professor at Seoul National University

- Ph.D. in Political Science from the London School of Economics and Political Science
- Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science from Seoul National University
- MA in Political Science from Seoul National University
- BA in Geography from the College of Social Science at Seoul National University
- Current political science and international studies professor at Seoul National University
- Former President of the Korean Political Science Association
- Former President of the Korean Association of Political Party Studies
- Former visiting professor at Duke University
- Former Associate Dean of the College of Social Science at Soongsil University
- Former political science and international studies professor at Soongsil University
- Major Publications: <Presidential System, Parliamentary System and Semi-presidential System>, <Local Politics 1, 2>, <How did Conservative Politics Last?>

2. Korean Enterprises : **Lim, Jungwook** Director of Startup Alliance

- BA from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Business
- MBA from UC Berkeley Haas School of Business
- Received an EMBA and Entrepreneurship Certification through the Stanford University Graduate School of Business
- Received an Executive Development Program Certification from Cornell University S.C. Johnson Graduate School of Management

- Received a Global Leadership (GLA) Certification from the Seoul National University Graduate School of Business
- Former head of Global Business at Daum(Silicon Valley Office)
- Former director of the Board at Datemyschool.com (New York Office)
- Former CEO of Lycos Inc (Boston Office)
- Former CEO of Daum Global Holdings
- Former knowledge officer and VP of the Office of External Affairs, head of the Office of Service and Innovation, head of the Global Center at Daum
- Former CEO of Chosun Ilbo JNS
- Former team manager of the Internet Planning Team at Chosun Ilbo
- Former reporter at Chosun Ilbo covering social issues and Korea's IT industry
- Managing Director of the Korea Startup Alliance
- Civilian commissioner of the Presidential Fourth Industrial Revolution Commission
- Director of Open Net
- Non-standing Director at the Seoul Business Agency
- Publications: <I am a Curious Observer> (2018 Thenan Publishing Co.), <The Revolution of the iPad> (2010 Yein Books, co-author)
- Translations: <Inside Apple: How America's Most Admired-and Secretive-Company Really Works> (2012 Chungrim)

3. Korean Security: **Lee, Sang Hyun** Senior Research Fellow at the Sejong Institute, President of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society

- BA and MA in International Studies from Seoul National University
- MA and Ph.D. in Political Science at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
- Senior Research Fellow at the Sejong Institute
- President of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society
- Research Fellow at the World Peace Forum
- Former researcher at Korea Institute of International Studies
- Former researcher at Korea Institute for Defense Analyses
- Former Director General of Policy Planning for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Research Specialties: International politics and security, military strategy, ROK-US relations, North Korea

4. Korean Diplomacy: **Bae, Jong Yeun** Professor at Yonsei University

- Ph.D. degree from Yonsei University
- Associate professor in the Department of Political Science and International Studies, Yonsei University
- Director of the Center for Maritime Affairs at the Institute of East and West Studies, Yonsei University
- Secretary general of the Asia Research Fund (the ARF)
- Director of Haesung Institute for Ethics in International Affairs
- Former research professor of the Kim Dae-jung Presidential Library and Museum at Yonsei University
- Former research professor at Princeton University, N.J., USA,
- Former research associate of Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS).
- Research interests include International Relations, South Korean foreign policy and its decision-making process, inter-Korean relations, and Korean issues.

5. Korean Mass Media: **Yoo, Jee Hye** Journalists at JoongAng Ilbo.

- BA in education from Korea University
- Former city desk reporter at Seoul Shinmun
- Deputy Manager of the diplomacy and security team on the JoongAng Daily political desk
- Awarded the 2006 Korean Human Rights Award
- Awarded 2008 Woman Journalist of the Year

6. Korean Literature: **Jung, Yeo-ul** Writer

- BA in German Language and Literature from Seoul National University
- Ph.D. in Korean Language and Literature from Seoul National University
- Awarded the 3rd Chun Sook-Hee Literary Award in 2013
- Editor of *Literature of the World*
- Selected as a 'Mentor of young women' by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family
- MC of Monthly Jung Yeo-ul, Naver audio clip
- Essay series author for the Kyunhyang Shinmun, the Hankyoreh and the Joongang Daily
- Publications: <The Way to Hesse>, <The Europe I Love: Top 10>, <Things that I Should Have Known Earlier>, <The Library of the Mind>, <Jung Yeo-ul's Mentoring in Literature>, <My Dear Who Always Says "I'm Fine">, and the <Monthly Jung Yeo-ul series>

한국을 말하다(Communicus)

커뮤니쿠스는 아카데미쿠스의 후속 프로그램으로서 유학생들이 한국에 대해 에세이를 쓰고 넥스트 제너레이션 컨퍼런스에서 발표하는 소통 프로그램입니다. 아카데미쿠스 강좌를 통해 습득한 한국 관련 지식을 바탕으로 유학생 스스로가 에세이를 집필함으로써, 커뮤니쿠스는 국제유학생들이 한국에 대해 자신의 생각을 말하고 함께 토론할 수 있는 기회를 제공합니다.

에세이의 테마는 아카데미쿠스의 강의를 바탕으로 선택할 수 있습니다. 참여 유학생들은 아카데미쿠스가 종료되는 시점에서 A4 한 장 분량의 연구계획서를 제출합니다. 커뮤니쿠스 자문교수는 1차 심사를 통해 이 가운데 6-8편을 선정하고, 선정된 학생들에게는 넥스트 제너레이션 컨퍼런스(Next Generation Conference)에서 자신의 에세이를 발표하고 토론을 할 수 있는 기회가 부여됩니다. 자문교수는 선발된 유학생들의 에세이 작성 지도와 멘토링을 담당하게 됩니다.



Communicus

Communicus provides a unique opportunity for participants to write essays related to Korea and to present them at the conference. The topic of the essay may relate to any of the lectures discussed during the Academicus program in which participants have the ability to share and discuss their opinions and ideas about Korea.

Participants will submit a one-page research plan upon the completion of the Academicus program. After submission, the Communicus advisory panel will select 6-8 of the participants' research plans. Once selected, these applicants will have the chance to present their research plans during the first and the second session of the Next Generation Conference and hold a discussion. These selected participants will also receive guidance on essay composition and mentoring from the Communicus advisory panel.



[KF 코리아 프렌드십] 2018 넥스트 제너레이션 컨퍼런스 프로그램

전체사회: Natalie Grant 동아시아연구원 연구원

09:00-09:10 **개회사**
손열 동아시아연구원 원장
송중석 한국국제교류재단 국제협력 실장

09:10-09:15 **KF 코리아 프렌드십 영상물 시청**

세션 I "New Perspectives on Korean Politics"

사회 김지영 송실대학교 교수

09:15-09:45 발표
A Path of Reconciliation and Cooperation: Exploring the Roots of Moon Jae-In's Policy Towards North Korea
Jekaterina Kalinova 중국외국어대학

Doing things in a Korean Way: from Hallyu to Diplomacy
Ana Albarran 아주대학교

09:45-10:45 **토론 및 청중 질의응답**
이하형 연세대학교
주연정 서울대학교
김원재 컬럼비아대학교; 파리정치대학교
손상용 서울대학교

10:45-10:55 **휴식**

세션 I "New Perspectives on Korean Society"

사회 김지영 송실대학교 교수

10:55-11:25 발표
Prospective Challenges for South Korea Development in a Real Multicultural Society
Diana Huaman Hidalgo 연세대학교

Why Is There Social Stigmatization Towards Unmarried Mothers? A Case of South Korea

Yolanda Gcambatsha 세종대학교

- 11:25-12:25 **토론 및 청중 질의응답**
김미현 더럼대학교
김호인 한국외국어대학교
정원기 스탠퍼드대학교
배수혁 중앙대학교
- 12:25-12:30 **시상식**
김지영 송실대학교 교수
- 12:30-12:50 **KF 코리아 프렌드십 수료식**
송중석 한국국제교류재단 국제협력 실장

[KF Korea Friendship] 2018 Next Generation Conference Program

MC : Natalie GRNAT, Research Associate, East Asia Institute

09:00-09:10 **Opening Address**
Yul SOHN, President, East Asia Institute
Jung sok SONG, Head of International Cooperation Bureau, Korea Foundation

09:10-09:15 **KF Korea Friendship Video Screening**

Session I "New Perspectives on Korean Politics"

Moderator

Jiyoung KIM, Professor, Soongsil University

09:15-09:45 **Presentations**
A Path of Reconciliation and Cooperation: Exploring the Roots of Moon Jae-In's Policy Towards North Korea
Jekaterina Kalinova, China Foreign Affairs University

Doing things in a Korean Way: from Hallyu to Diplomacy
Ana Albarran, Ajou University

09:45-10:45 **Debate and Q&A**
Hahyung LEE, Yonsei University
Yeonjeong JOO, Seoul National University
Wonjae KIM, Columbia University; Paris School of International Affairs
Andrew SON, Seoul National University

10:45-10:55 **Break**

Session II "New Perspectives on Korean Society"

Moderator

Jiyoung KIM, Professor, Soongsil University

10:55-11:25 **Presentations**
Prospective Challenges for South Korea Development in a Real Multicultural Society
Diana Huaman Hidalgo, Yonsei University

Why Is There Social Stigmatization Towards Unmarried Mothers? A Case of South Korea
Yolanda Gcambatsha, Sejong University

11:25-12:25 **Debate and Q&A**
Mihyeon KIM, Durham University
Ho-in KIM, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Won Gi JUNG, Stanford University
Soo Hyeok BAE, Chung-Ang University

12:25-12:30 **Awarding Ceremony**
Jiyoung KIM, Professor, Soongsil University

12:30-12:50 **Certificate Presentation Ceremony**
Jung sok SONG, Head of International Cooperation Bureau, Korea Foundation

참가자 명단(List of Participants)



Opening Address 개회사

Yul Sohn 손열
President, East Asia Institute
동아시아연구원 원장



Opening Address 개회사

Jung sok Song 송중석
Head of International Cooperation Bureau, Korea
Foundation
한국국제교류재단 국제협력 실장



Moderator 사회자

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Presenter 발표자

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Presenter 발표자

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연세대학교 공중 위생학



Presenter 발표자

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Discussant 토론자

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Discussant 토론자

Won Gi Jung 정원기
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Discussant 토론자

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중앙대학교 공공인재학부 행정학

Essays

Session 1 “New Perspectives on Korean Politics”

“A Path of Reconciliation and Cooperation: Exploring the Roots of Moon Jae-In’s Policy Towards North Korea”

“Doing things in a Korean Way : from Hallyu to Diplomacy”

A Path of Reconciliation and Cooperation: Exploring the Roots of Moon Jae-in's Policy Towards North Korea

Jekaterina Kalinova

China Foreign Affairs University

Introduction

The inauguration of the serving Moon government in 2017, following a long period of conservative rule under the leadership of Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye, in South Korea arguably signalled a "far-reaching transition from conservative to progressive government" (Kim 2018). However, just how significant was this transition in regards to South Korea's policy towards its northern neighbour?

Taking note of the recent thawing of ROK-DPRK relations, this paper seeks to analyse the roots of the particular engagement policy adopted by ROK's Moon Administration by asking; *Why has the Moon Jae-in government decided to shift the emphasis away from the issue of unification, which was favoured by his predecessor Park Geun-hye, towards more neutral rhetoric advocating inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation?*

Taking President Moon's 2017 Berlin address as a basis for subsequent analysis, this paper considers three core motivations underpinning Moon's position; a liberal commitment to the 'Sunshine Policy' framework advocated by previous progressive presidents, generational shifts in South Korean public opinion, and, finally, the implication of the North Korean nuclear factor and heightened security crisis on the Korean Peninsula.

Part I: The Legacy of Kim Dae-jung's 'Sunshine Policy'

As most media coverage and academic sources tend to highlight, Moon Jae-in is a progressive President representing the liberal camp of domestic ROK politics – unlike Park Geun-hye of the conservative party. In light of this, it is unsurprising that he would promote a policy of engagement rather than containment towards the DPRK. Indeed, much of the shift tends to be attributed to the political ideology of the ruling party, with many analysts highlighting the link between conservatives and the US alliance versus the

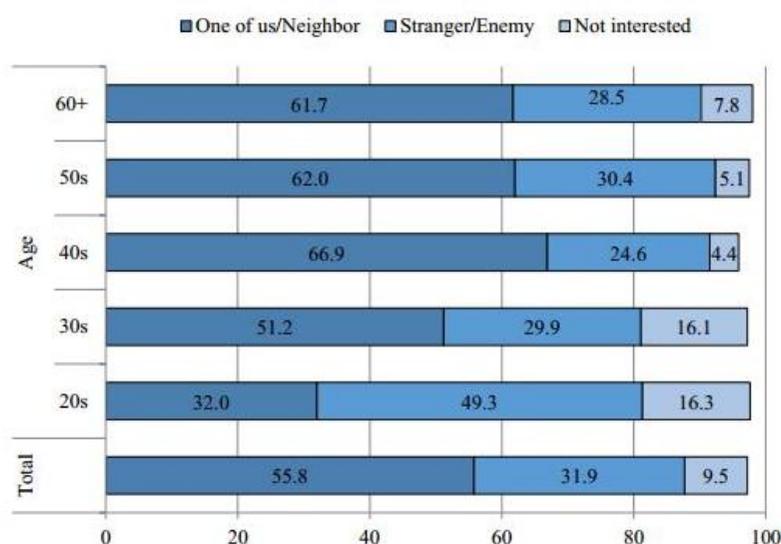
progressives and North Korean engagement. Interestingly, one scholar further notes that this phenomena may have deeper roots, as attempts to reduce ROK's reliance on the US by the progressives were historically tied to broader democratization efforts, aimed at "the eradication of the vestiges of authoritarianism in the political, economic and social fabric of South Korean lives" (Chung 2003: 14-15).

Indeed, compared to the policy adopted by the ROK throughout the Korean War, where the official unification policy under President Rhee was *pukchin t'ongil* ("march north for unification") (Chung 2003: 17-18), President Moon's approach appears of 'cooperation and reconciliation' strikingly different. However, the shift cannot simply be attributed to the processes of South Korean democratisation, changes in ruling party preference, and geopolitical factors, which is why it is necessary to delve more deeply into the domestic motivations underpinning the policies of South Korean leaders, particularly through examining the shifts in public sentiment towards unification and North Korea as a whole.

Part II: Public Opinion and Inter-Korean Solidarity

According to recent opinion poll data analyses conducted by the Asan Institute for Policy Studies and the Korean Institute for National Unification (KINU), the South Korean public is showing increasingly 'complicated' views towards North Korea and the unification question (Asan 2015; 2018, KINU 2017). Most strikingly, apart from the usual regional divides, generational perception gaps are arguably becoming a consolidated phenomenon in South Korean politics, which was most recently demonstrated in the negative reaction towards the formation of the inter-Korean hockey team for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics (*New York Times*, 2018).

Figure 2. Perception of North Korea by Age⁹ (%)

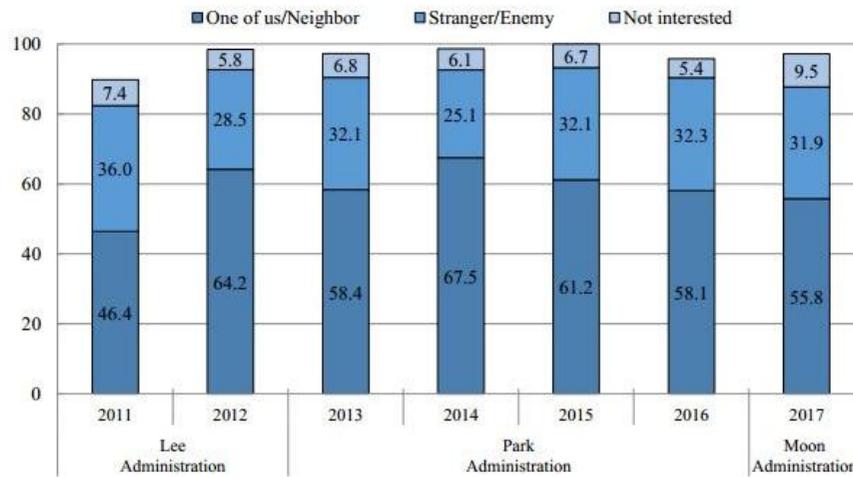


Source: Asan Institute for Policy Studies

According to polling data, there is a noticeable youth detachment from North Korea, which has been a recurring theme in the public opinion over the past five years – especially in regards to bearing the ‘costs’ of unification¹. This means that, while the younger generations tend to hold progressive views to other issues, their detachment from their northern neighbours tends to place them on the conservative side of the spectrum when it comes to hard security issues (Asan 2015). This was likely further reinforced by a degree of scepticism regarding the effectiveness of past policies of economic engagement of previous progressive governments (Park 2008).

¹For a detailed discussion see Lee, Sang Sin, ‘Public Opinion on Unification and North Korean Policy of the Moon Jae-in Administration’, KINU, 2017. 07. 28, pp. 1-5

Figure 1. Perception of North Korea⁷ (%)



Source: Asan Institute for Policy Studies

This trend is echoed by the 2017 figures presented by KINU, which found that 71.2 percent of 20-something South Koreans oppose reunification (*The Conversation* 2017). Therefore, while for the moment the younger generation is a minority, it is clear that the Moon Administration is facing a divided domestic opinion regarding unification, North Korean threat, and inter-Korean affinity. We can, therefore, conclude that this may be an important factor contributing to the policy formulation by the current government, which seeks to strike a balance between a strong commitment to South Korean security, including vis-à-vis the US-ROK alliance, and a diplomatic affirmation of inter-Korean dialogue and peace-building process.

Part III: The Nuclear Question and ROK Security Perceptions

“The biggest challenge that the Korean Peninsula is facing is the North Korean nuclear issue. North Korea is continuing its nuclear and missile provocations and is threatening the peace on the Korean Peninsula, Northeast Asia, and furthermore, world peace.” - Moon Jae-in, Berlin, 2018

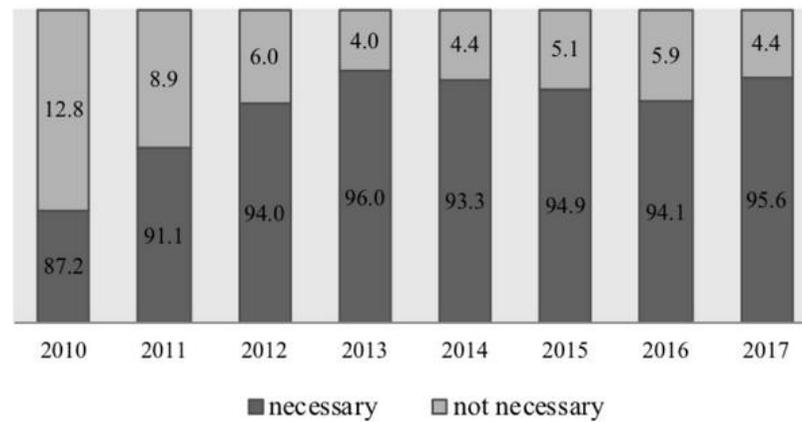
The iteration of President Moon's policy towards North Korea in Berlin was doubtlessly shaped by the context of 2017 escalation of tensions on the Korean Peninsula², following numerous nuclear test conducted by their northern neighbour. In many regards, the 'North Korea issue' had gained a security edge that was absent in the situation faced by previous liberal administrations (Kim 2018), meaning that the US security guarantee became elevated policy prioritization³. In a telling move, Moon Jae-in made clear reference to the complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization (CVID) policy preferred by the US in his Berlin speech, departing from the usual progressive preference of downplaying the US alliance.

Therefore, while President Moon grounds his approach in the foundations established by past progressive leaders, noting his reference to "road that leads to a peaceful Korean Peninsula" vis-a-vis "returning to the June 15 Joint Declaration and the Oct. 4 Declaration", he likewise adopts a stronger bottom-line approach due to the heightened threat posed by North Korea's nuclearization. While it can be seen as a geostrategic move made due to the complex regional situation, in some ways it was also responding to a mixed public preference for a positive 'Sunshine' engagement policy that is balanced with a strong stance towards resolving the North Korean nuclear issues (see graph below for a telling illustration of public perception of the US-ROK alliance). Reflecting these trends, a 2017 KINU study in the run-up to the presidential elections found that the number of respondents in favour of a sanctions/ pressure-oriented hard-line North Korean policy was relatively higher than those in support of economic cooperation/ humanitarian assistance-centered policies (Lee 2017).

² Which also impacted on the engagement of other actors with the Korean Peninsula – for instance, see Kim 2018 for a discussion of how this shaped US perception.

³ This trend can also be observed in the THAAD dispute with China, where President Moon decided to proceed with instalment following, what was perceived to be, North Korean provocation.

Figure 2. Support for Alliance between South Korea and the United States



Source: Public Opinion Polls of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Source: Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Nevertheless, it is evident that President Moon put a greater emphasis on engagement versus containment, making his policy distinct from Park Geun-hye and other conservatives. More importantly, his highlighting of the North Korean security and push to facilitate a stance of mutual-recognition where; “A peaceful Korean Peninsula is a peninsula free from the threat of nuclear weapons and war. It is a peninsula where the South and the North recognize and respect each other and live well together”, reinforces this dual focus on a ‘conservative’ stance towards ROK security and a ‘progressive’ preference for engagement.

While the scope of this paper is limited, it is also worth noting that the ‘North Korean issue’ is enmeshed in broader regional dynamics. Thus external factors, including the US and Chinairivalry (John 2017: 2-3), tensions within the US-ROK alliance (Straub 2018), and the need to navigate within the constraints of the UN-backed sanctions regime (Jo 2018), likewise contribute to shaping the balanced approach adopted by the Moon administration, alongside the three core motivations discussed.

Conclusion

It is clear that engagement with North Korea has been a policy priority for South Korea in the decades following the Peninsula's division. Throughout the decades, a government's North Korea policy reflected both power relations and public opinion (Park 2008: 52), thus reflecting domestic demographics of South Korea, such as region, generation, age, and education.

The same is true for President Moon's Administration. On the one hand, it is clear that his progressive preference towards diplomatic engagement of the DPRK, while prioritising reconciliation and coexistence (John 2017: 3), is balanced with a hard-line security pragmatism that responds to the nuclearization of North Korea. On the other hand, his shift from unification emphasis favoured by the 'Sunshine Policy' may be seen to echo domestic ambivalence towards Korean unification, which reflects a balance of internal and external calculation shaping the overall policy approach.

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Doing things in a Korean Way: from Hallyu to Diplomacy

**Ana Albarran
Ajou University**

South Korea is a very interesting nation; compared to most of the world countries, it is quite new (1948), However, in spite of its short existence, Korea has achieved what many countries dream of; a developed economy, good living standards, a truly democratic political system, world-leading industries and a growing international influence; but how did they got it all?

On its path towards development, S. Korea found a very successful way of getting things done, thus managing to establish itself not only as an economic power, but as a rising influence in the international sphere, and the lattes trough culture.

Its economic development, also known as “The Han river miracle”, is the most studied case, and a perfect example of this. Against the IMF recommendations, and through a unilateral loan from Germany in exchange for labor supply, S. Korea established a mining industry, which later became the foundation for Korea’s most prominent industries. By doing so, not only did Korea defied the world and beat the odds, but established a precedent for planned success; a formula that S. Korea has used repeatedly over the years and that seems to work every time.

Hard work, long-term plans, and vision, are parts of S. Korea’s trademark. Korea’s style is to first create the supply and then work on the demand; however, all the success came with at a price; in economic terms, it was the dependency on chaebols, that hit hard during the Asian financial crisis in 1997, however, in a more subtle way, the fast development of Korea and its particular history, had a social impact that can be seen in today’s society, its style, music, food, values and overall culture; specially after the crisis on 1997, when entertainment became not only therapeutic and a scape from the harsh reality, but also an alternative industry for investors.

Although the Korean peninsula has been inhabited since the Paleolithic era and the first kingdom is believed to have been established around the year 2333 a. C.; Korea's recent history has been plagued with invasions either from China or Japan and therefore their influence has played a big role in the country and the resemblance can be observed at every level, and so are the efforts to stand out and have a differentiation mark. As Korea developed, their nationalism arose. Wedged in between China, Japan, and Russia and with a strong presence from the US, Korea started building its own modern culture, thus reflecting its eagerness to take control over power and their own faith.

As Korea struggled to be internationally recognized and have its regime legitimized, many sacrifices were made; Among the policies implemented, a very strong diplomacy Project was settled up in place. Throughout the years Korea has loan money to many neighboring countries, becoming an example for the region. While Korea's economic ties grew so did the migration, both from Koreans in other countries, to people working with Koreans. Whether it was from Koreans working abroad to people that got to know Korea and liked it, the demand for cultural content grew. It is easy to identify with Korea, its trendy, it embraces international trends, its fun, it is happy, is an ideal, an idea that appeals to a lot of people, and ideal that shows the perfect scenario. During the late 1990's the success of Korean soap operas gave birth to what is now considered "the first Korean Wave" and the likes of K- drama spread rapidly through Asia; especially Japan, China, Philippines, Vietnam, and Taiwan. In 2012, the viral hit of Psy's "Gangnam Style" took Korean music to a new level of global exposure and helped ignite the second Korean wave.

As the demand for Korean content grew, so did the government awareness. The funds previously assigned to develop and strengthen national culture were reallocated to producing culture. The Korean formula for success was the answer, a perfect way to introduce and expand Korea to the rest of the world; K-content as cultural phenomena was seen as a very good opportunity to make people understand Korea, connect with its people, gain international awareness and recognition, and even to promote other sectors.

While its economic power grew and so did their ability to invest, the soft power diplomacy became the rule. As a once developing economy, with experience, a boosting economy,

capacity to grow and a limited market, opening up was the strategy, and soft power diplomacy the way to go. Whether cultural content opened up markets or whether it was a result of Korea's expansion is not clear. In some cases, it followed the market demand, in many others the demand was created. Korea started creating cultural content, drama, music, an idol. Idols were being trained to speak several languages, other nationalities were being cast for new bands. For many countries, especially in Asia, the new look up to, was Korea, the culture, the looks were similar enough to be relatable. In far countries such as Iran, the strong cultural features were appealing to the people; K-drama, K-pop, was hip, different and family-friendly enough for it to cause an impression. The innocent, yet provocative, synchronized and complex choreographies, the love stories, the work, or family relationships, the struggle... K-content had it all. Hallyu as an economic activity and a diplomacy tool became so effective that by 2005, Samsung Economic Research Institute was releasing a report that categorizes countries depending on their likes for K-content. By 2012, S.M. Entertainment agency expanded its line of business towards travel services, to facilitate foreign K-pop fans to attend concerts. By 2014, there were enough filming sets, museums, and entertainment related attractions, that the Korean Tourism Organization launched the campaign "Imagine your Korea", featuring many of them.

As the government pushed harder to open markets for Korean content, the entertaining companies were doing its part too; carefully planned releases, sequels to every song or story, multicultural groups singing in various languages, but as Hallyu expanded, so did the controversy. The smoothness of Korea, to penetrate and influence was not always well received, anti-Korean movements broke out in China, Japan, and trade quotas set up in place. While K-content had a huge success, its broader expansion was challenged. The "Success formula" failed in the US, the multi-million investments on internationalize artist were almost fruitless. The Korean embassies abroad and the entertaining companies' investments in festivals, encountered a loyal but small fan base, an uninterested crowd, and moreover a clash of values. For many markets Korea was trying too hard, the lyrics were not appealing, catchy, but lacking content; the artists were just too produced, and every band very alike. Another major critique is that it only portrays one side of the Korean

culture and that if it continues to be used as Korea's foreface, many will reduce Korea to only K-content, which is often tailored to that specific market.

While it is true that it is growing beyond Asia, it is a growth either based on very personal, girlish, teenagers, 90's vibes likes, or the result of customization; however, whether the "Korean formula" will succeed in producing the expected results and return on investment, is yet to be known. Up until now, it has proved efficient; it has helped to influence North Korea and has even served as a friendship token. In China, Hallyu, and its economic power became a diplomatic bargaining chip; In Japan, K-drama a way to appeal to the hearts of the people and to ease cultural tension. In many Southeast Asian countries, where Korea has investments, K- content is a way to communicate a different message from that of the aggressive business practices. In countries such as Uzbekistan, a form to capture a market niche. Although Hallyu may be less effective in other countries and especially where cultural values and likes differ more, it is true that through it S. Korea has managed to establish itself and grow its influence in the international community.

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Session 2 “New Perspectives on Korean Society”

“Prospective challenges for South Korea development in a real multicultural society”

“Why Is There Social Stigmatization Towards Unmarried Mothers A Case of South Korea”

Prospective challenges for South Korea development in a real multicultural society

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What makes us feel concerned about the arrival of foreigners to our homeland? There are many reasons why people struggle to accept foreigners. To understand this situation is not enough to see migration as a mere movement of people from one country to another. Actually, migration is facing many challenges to be understood as a real social problem for what it deserves a deep understanding. But, how this situation can be understood by one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries in the world towards continuing facing development? The answer to this question brings us to think about one of the biggest challenges for the South Korean society in a real multicultural environment.

Same as South Korea, Peru is a country with a rich cultural legacy. Both countries have been the witness of many ups and downs in their history. But, what we can learn from each other? Definitely, the way how to reach development after a war in just 50 years is the best lesson for the Andean country that also seeks to follow the same step. On the opposite, Peru considered as one of the most diverse countries(Gören 2013), may be a good example about the construction of a society where multiculturalism is begging to be taken as its main asset.

For this, it is important to get a brief glimpse of some facts about the migration to Peru. By 1531, Peru received their first big migration wave, Spaniards colonizers arrived in the Inca's empire land and together with them bring African people mainly from Guinea, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana, Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, etc., for working in different activities along the Peruvian territory mostly as slaves, and in 1856 slavery was abolished recognizing these people as formal Peruvian citizens. Later, in 1849 the arrival of around 80,000 Chinese workers who were employed in sugar plantations and guano mines constituted the first approach to the Oriental culture. In addition,1853 was the year in which the second wave of European immigration (Tyrolean and German) was implemented after the subscription of a contract to

colonize the Amazon region and by that incorporate it to the national economy (Vasquez Monge 2009). Later in mid-1910 occurred the arrival of Japanese people to Latin America, and Peru was the first country in receiving Japanese immigrants as a part of a contract labor agreement. The growing demand of workforce for plantations contributed to the onset of Japanese immigration (Takenaka 2004; Haney 2011).

Being migration a complex phenomenon, it still comes along with challenges for the Peruvian society. First, with the arrival of Spanish colonizers and the destruction of Inca's empire the massive rejection towards foreigners was evident. Furthermore, the same process occurred after with Chinese people, who not always were accepted. In 1918, the Chinese community faced opposition from some sectors of the Peruvian society. Although, it also led to social movements supported mainly by intellectuals, which advocated in favor of the Chinese cultural contributions never seen before in the Andean nation. Or more recently, with the precarious and acute socio-political situation of Venezuela, many citizens from the Caribbean country have seen Peru as one of the alternative countries for migrating, generating all kind of reactions since solidarity and acceptance to rejection.

However, how these foreign historical components might be related to South Korea? South Korea historically was also a country that faced many migratory movements. More recently thanks to its prosperous economic condition the number of expats has increased exponentially (Korea Immigration Service 2018). Despite this, the low number of ethnically diverse people together with the limited interaction with Koreans may explain in part why there are still some people who get surprised to see foreigners. It seems that the increasing exposure of people ethnically diverse in media is not enough to influence over people mindset, who sometimes cultivates stereotypes towards certain ethnic groups (Yale University 2008; Decarvalho 1993). Thus, it has been proposed some propitious strategies for overcoming prejudice and intergroup bias (American Psychological Association 2012). Some of those strategies that can be seen in the Peruvian society and which may be taken as a reference are the *intergroup contact* and *interpersonal interactions and cross-group friendship*, these may have helped to part of the population in accepting people from different cultural backgrounds. However, multiculturalism still constitutes a big challenge for Peruvians as those differences make us not being a fully integrated society, hence more recently it has been reinforcing the idea

of *dual identity or mutual intergroup differentiation* in which different ethnicities can be part of a more inclusive identity without the necessity to forsake their ethnic or racial identity.

Can these alternatives help South Koreans to accept more easily people from different ethnicities? It is possible, however, it is important to take into account some other factors. The historical component in which homogeneous ethno-racial characteristic was implanted as a strategy for building an internal cohesion and recovering the national identity after the colonial period is a unique characteristic in the Korean society (Y. Kim et al. 2016; C.-O. Kim 2016). However, there exist characteristics that can be common in the Peruvian society such as the strong patriarchal social traditions and ethnic stereotypes (S.-S. Kim and Williams 2012; Robillard 2010). Thus, all of them may constitute the Achilles' heel towards helping to Peru and South Korea to build an integrated multicultural society. For this situation, it has been proposed that embrace and value inclusion and diversity may constitute an alternative pathway against stereotypes (American Psychological Association 2012). Precisely, we may not be able to avoid stereotypes, we can nevertheless prevent them. In the case of Peru not long ago the acknowledgment of positive examples has been used as an alternative to help the Andean nation to become a more integrated country.

On the other hand, in terms of multiculturalism is unavoidable to talk about racial phenotypical bias. What makes some people appreciate one skin color over another or, what makes some people value certain skin color? Probably it may be explained for some hypothesis such as racism in Korea seems as a "normal" and "ordinary" phenomenon, thus the Korean supremacy looks similar to the white supremacy, what may drive to different minorities groups be racialized differently by the dominant part of the population. Additionally, the use of storytelling may be another factor goes against the natural acceptance of people of different skin colors. As Kim cited "The purpose of storytelling is to analyze the myths, presuppositions, and received wisdom that make up the common culture about race, and the counter stories challenge the dominant discourse that "constructs social reality in ways that promote its own self-interest (of that of elite groups)" (H. A. Kim 2017). In the Peruvian case, during Spaniards colonization, there was a race mixture as a result of the union among Peruvians, colonizers, and Africans. The result, the creation of new castes and thus the color-based stratification. Besides, Harrison et al. in his study give us interesting facts about the different social advantages that lighter-skinned

slaves had compared with their dark-skinned pairs during the era of slavery in America(Harrison and Thomas 2009). In addressing the above questions, it is important to look beyond the black-white division and see this issue not as a mere problem of demographic diversity but as a real cultural challenge, in which one's societies do not see ethnic minorities as a threat, and in which strategies for overcoming prejudices be put into practice.

Finally, whether South Korea is ready to continue facing development in a real multicultural society? Probably Korean society will continue experiencing big economic transformations as in the last 60 years, but in fact, it is not sure that those advances will occur in a real multicultural society. The way how migration is understood and managed is a key point to continue facing development. Additionally, the efforts of emphasizing the nation's economic objectives, migratory program continuity, and immigrants' selection have helped other countries to create a good image of immigration in terms of a valuable contribution and economic opportunity. However, the integration of multicultural people into the society could be a step forward that Korean society has on its hands as it may assure the sustainable nation's economic growth and wellness for all their inhabitants.

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Why Is There Social Stigmatization Towards Unmarried Mothers? A Case of South Korea

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Known for its entertainment industry, cosmetics and high speed internet, South Korea is one of Asia's largest economies as well as a member of the OECD. It is also home to big Corporations such as LG, Hyundai and Samsung. Despite the fact that it's a first world country and behind all that glamour we see, lies a neglected people: **Unmarried mothers.**

It's believed that being an unmarried woman in Korea is a taboo. Not only are single mothers seen as impure and shameful to the society, they are also viewed as an embarrassment to their relatives. Korean New Year (Seollal) and Thanksgiving (Chuseok), two of Korea's biggest and most important holidays, are events whereby family members gather and spend time together. Unfortunately, unmarried women are unable to attend these special holidays since they're considered as outcasts. I begin to wonder where they spend their holidays. When I hear that a woman is pregnant, I visualize her being on cloud nine. A baby is a blessing so it's a time of celebration for her, family and friends but this isn't the case with unwed mothers. Most of them do not inform their family members for fear of rejection. In fact, government statistics states that there are more than 20 000 women registered as single mothers but they also believe that there are more but are unregistered. They prefer to be hidden because of the social stigma.

I have heard several stories about women who lost their jobs simply because they were unmarried pregnant women. The government does support them to a certain degree but it is not enough to sustain both the mother and the child so the majority of them end up looking for jobs to make ends meet. This puts more pressure on the mother because not only does she have to work, she must take care of her child with no support from family and siblings. Due to these problems, many single mothers face psychological trauma as well as economic

challenges. Could this be the reason why many of them either abandon their kids or give them up for adoption as soon as they are born for fear of being judged and isolated from the rest of the Korean society? Why is the stigma so strong in Korea? If this social problem is eliminated, will this reduce abandonment?

For centuries, South Korea has always been and still is a family oriented nation. They have long valued the traditional family unit over single parent households. Due to this, unwed mothers often face discrimination. What can be done so that unwed mothers are accepted in the society?

Sweden, one of the most beautiful and advanced countries in the world is considered as one of the top countries that have many unmarried mothers who are accepted and thrive in the community. During the time when societies in most countries were homogeneous (including Sweden itself), Sweden changed its social norms and values towards unmarried mothers. It wasn't an easy thing to do but the government knew that to cater for all of their citizens including the unwed mothers, they had to make laws that protected them. Some of their plans include immigration. It's one thing to implement the law, it's another thing to change the mindsets of the citizens. They knew that just by implementing the law, it would not have a huge impact so they focused on immigration. The more the Swedish were exposed to other nationalities, the more they opened up their minds and accepted new family ideals, attitudes and social conditions. Not only did the society accept them, the workforce also accepted them. This is because in 1939, Sweden passed a law that made it unlawful to lay off a female employee because of pregnancy, birth or marriage. This social stigma doesn't exist in Sweden hence when a woman falls pregnant, she does not hide it neither does she fear any victimization. Single mothers survive single handed. Thanks to the generous Swedish government support and welfare. Though Sweden has very high single mother rates (above 50%), they have low poverty rates. That is because Sweden's policy supports both mother and child. The single mothers in Korea are afraid to send their children to normal schools because they fear that their children will be labeled illegitimate and end up being victimized whereas in Sweden, children born from unwed mothers do attend normal schools and are treated just like every other kid out there.

The government gives full support e.g. health care is provided for everyone i.e. from the unborn baby all the way to the elderly, leave is provided for every parent and finances are given to the parent(s) when they go on leave so they can survive. On top of that, parent education is provided and last but not the least, child care such as childhood education is provided as well. Sweden believes in investing in caring for their people starting in early childhood which is why it's regularly listed in the highest ranks of the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness reports. Prioritizing their peoples' needs results in the nation having low poverty rates, low crimes, good living standards which also leads to economic success. It is recorded that Sweden is one of the best countries in the world for women. A major factor is that Sweden strongly believes in gender equality. Was it always like this? No it wasn't. In the past Sweden also used to discriminate single mothers and women in general. The women had to fight their way to the top so their voices could also be heard. They have a very long history of strong feminist movements. It took decades for women to be supported which led to supporting single mothers. To date, there is a law that supports single mothers get the same opportunity as married couples, registered partners and peers.

Having said all this, that's not to say Sweden is the perfect place and all single mothers should relocate there. Even though the policy for single mothers is very strong, they still have a lot to do. I believe that the reason why single mothers are treated and seen as equal as the rest of the community is because they have been advocating for women rights for more than 50 years and for years there has been a change in the traditional family unit so it has become the norm to be an unmarried woman with children. When we look at women empowerment, it states back to 1845 when both male and female received equal inheritance rights. When the law was put in place, women were able to join the workforce in 1846. In 1985, about 12% of Swedish children under 18 years old lived with a single mother (McFate, K. et. al) and by the time it was 1987, more than 80% Swedish single mothers were working and out of them almost 50% were full-time workers. Only about 30% worked part-time. As years went by, not only were women able to attend school, a new marriage law was put in action. This law gave husbands and wives equal legal status. Finally in 2009, the Discrimination act entered into force. It combats discrimination on grounds of gender, transgender, identity or expression (Statistics Sweden).

We live in the 21st century where there should be no discrimination of human beings. I also believe that first world countries should also set an example to other countries on the issue of segregation of single mothers. In as much as Korea's culture is about the family unit of a mother and a father, unmarried women should not be left out. Culture and human rights are two different things. Korea can still keep the traditional culture of family orientation whilst also accepting and giving a voice to the unwed women. Another factor is the men. The man that impregnated the unwed woman should also be given the responsibility to support her. They are equally to blame as they also contributed to the so called "accidental pregnancy". Surprisingly, some of these men who do not give fair job opportunities to single mothers, were born and raised by a single parent. Some of the men in higher authorities who are Policy Makers have in their families, single mothers and it is a shame and heartless to know that policies which lack recognition of such women are endorsed by the very same men. Single mothers shouldn't be left to handle all the responsibilities alone because it takes two people to produce a child. I strongly believe that if the Korean society is taught and brought to light about the changes in the family unit, they will accept and embrace the unmarried women.

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