ASAN REPORT

Identifying South Korea's Regional Partners:
On the Environment, Family Values, Politics and Society

Bong Youngshik, Choi Hyeonjung, Kim Chong Woo,
Kim Hankwon, Lee Jaehyon, Kim Soo Min

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About

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies is an independent, non-partisan think tank that undertakes policy-relevant research to foster domestic, regional, and international environments that promote peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula, East Asia, and the world-at-large.

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Executive Summary

The objective of this research is to investigate which countries in the East Asia region share common visions with South Korea as potential security partners. As power shifts to Asia, many countries in this region are adjusting their foreign policies to cope with the fast-changing external environment. In this circumstance, it is important to ask which countries South Korea is best suited to collaborate with on many regional and global diplomatic fronts. As South Korea globalizes, it needs partner countries to leverage international influence. Collective action through strategic alliances exerts more impact than when acting alone.

Many analytical reports on the same topic have primarily used qualitative reasoning, such as reviewing historical patterns of diplomatic interaction between countries or providing detailed accounts of common culture and values as preconditions for a more reliable and effective security cooperation. In contrast, this report employs a more quantitative and statistical approach, using Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) and data from the World Values Survey. This analyticalapproach was previously adopted by Jeremy Ghez in his research on the Trans-Atlantic Alliance.[1] Graphically displaying aggregate data in a simple scatter diagram, the MDS modeling technique takes World Values Survey response data and charts the similarities or dis-similarities among countries. Those like-minded countries sharing common visions with South Korea could be its future partners.

Only those variables in the World Values Survey that are considered to be of dir-

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1. Ghanz, Jeremy. "The Enduring Partnership? The Trans-Atlantic Community as a Natural Alliance." PhD diss., *RAND Corporation*, 2010. http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/rgs_dissertations/2010/RAND_RGSD266.pdf.

ect relevance were singled out and formatted as input to the model. These include questions on environment, family values and politics and society. The first variable on environment was chosen for its increasing importance nowadays in the politics of climate change. The second variable on family values was considered in response to the views advocated by Samuel Huntington that international conflicts are rooted in civilizational differences and that this variable would act as a good proxy for measuring these differences. The third variable on politics and society is a defining factor in gauging national compatibility and, hence, of prime concern.

All waves of the World Values Survey since 1994 covering a period of 20 years have provided sufficient data for analyses with the exception of environmental data that was missing in the latest wave six. It is important to bear in mind that there is no standard way of addressing our objective, and our approach is just one possible way with its limitations. It should be noted that bilateral relations between countries could not be considered at present as it would have prevented meaningful comparisons to be made among all the countries analyzed directly. Overcoming this methodological limitation is an area for further research.

This report presents research findings on environment, family values and politics and society with wider implications for South Korea. On environmental fronts, South Korea can play the role of an intermediary, bridging the gap between developing countries and developed countries. South Korea is observed to share values with both sides of the wealth divide. It has successfully hosted the Green Climate Fund, and has become the first country in Asia to introduce a cap-and-trade system for greenhouse gas emissions which would be in operation by 2015. Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, Vietnam and China are potential regional partners, while the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the United Kingdom are potential partners outside East Asia. In 2015, a new agreement, the successor to the Kyoto Protocol, is expected at the Paris Climate Conference, and is scheduled to be implemented from 2020. It will be beneficial to know which countries have shared common visions on the environment in the past prior to the forthcoming United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris. It will also be very useful to know which countries have conflicting goals. For these countries, much effort is needed to narrow our differences.

The purpose of carrying out a study on the subject of family values is as aforementioned. In effect, our analyses have shown that South Korea shares more family values with countries in East Asia than with any other groups of countries including the West. In particular, it is evident that there has been shifting attitudes towards women over the years with greater gender equality. This was lacking in earlier waves, which could be attributed to paternalistic Confucian traditions that are still relatively ingrained in the minds of South Korean men.

On politics and society, South Korea and Japan have shown strong similarities in past political attitudes. Given the countries' geographical nearness and relatively close proximity to the United States, this pattern is not surprising. But the latest wave six released in April 2014 revealed a mixed picture for South Korea and Japan in relation to China and the West; both countries appear roughly in between the two. For the people of South Korea and Japan, their shared political attitudes have persisted in direct contrast to the lack of shared political interests between the two governments. For Western countries, they have consistently formed clusters reflecting their shared commonalities. To some extent, this is also true of Islamic countries as shown in the latest wave six. But this feature was not observed among the countries in East Asia. In this regard, any significant geopolitical change in this region is less likely.

Our analyses have led to the conclusion that South Korea should continue to work closely with its traditional partners, including middle powers such as Canada and the Netherlands which share similar democratic values and principles as South Korea. Furthermore, among emerging middle powers, South Korea could make more collaborative efforts with Indonesia, Turkey and Australia. The evidence for shared political interests with China is rather weak despite booming economic relations and tourism. However, a growing number of Chinese who are more receptive to human right issues and democratic values will, no doubt, help enhance bilateral relations between South Korea and China. Interestingly, Chileans and Germans, lately, have had converging political attitudes with South Koreans.

Our findings will be of interest to policymakers to better anticipate regional and global international cooperation opportunities as they shed some light on the extent to which people of different countries share common visions with South Korea. However, it is important to remember that there are many other factors, such as bilateral relations that must be taken into consideration when policy recommendations are made to strengthen multilateral or bilateral cooperation.

Introduction

The main objective of this project is to identify regional countries South Korea can collaborate with on areas such as environment, economy, energy, defense and so forth. These countries can potentially become future partners or form a security partnership. The question is how to identify these countries objectively. The process of identification should be preferably based on facts rather than expert opinions as their opinions can vary. Measuring the potential of a country as a South Korea's security partner has been of great interest to scholars and policymakers in international relations responsible for national security, but in the past it has been mostly based on historical analysis and case studies. In this report, quantitative analysis based on a formal theory is undertaken to address the question of South Korea's security partners. One possible approach, Multi-Dimensional Scaling, is adopted by Ghez to help him answer a similar question in the context of Trans-Atlantic relations. His research showed that countries with greater commonalities in political culture tend to react in a similar manner to international incidents (i.e., they are correlated). NATO is mentioned as one group of countries that strongly shows this characteristic, and it is used as evidence to support his idea of "natural alliances." People from different countries can be described as sharing greater commonalities when they are observed to respond similarly to a global survey specifically designed to gauge people's views on political and environmental issues.

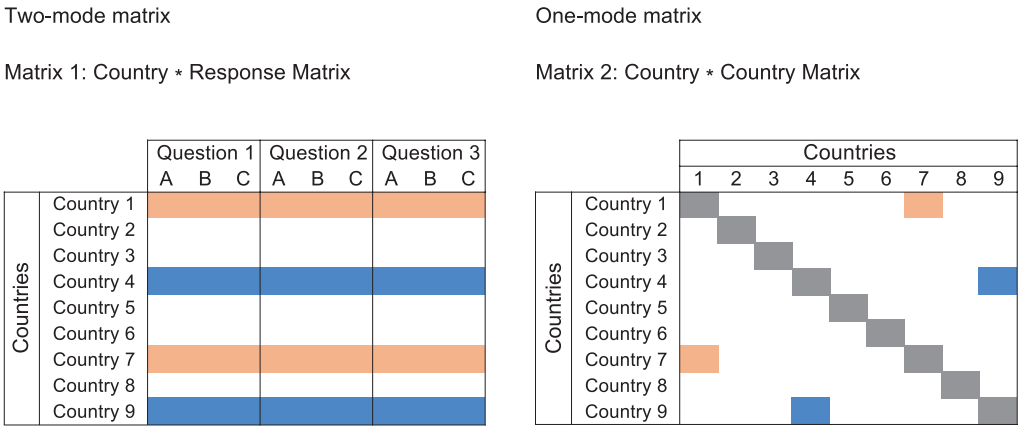One such survey, the World Values Survey (WVS), has carried out 6 waves of the survey on issues of public interest with the first wave taking place in 1981~1984, and the last one in 2010~2013. The WVS provides attitudinal data on people's beliefs and values. Although the WVS has several variables, this project investigates only those variables considered to be of direct relevance to the project.

They include "Environment," "Family" and "Politics & Society." The variables on "Perceptions of life," "Work," "Religion & Morale" and "National Identity" are not included either because of a technical reason, or because they are judged to have no direct bearing on shaping South Korea's foreign policies. The following section gives a short description of the modeling technique.

Methodology

The Multi-Dimensional Scaling technique can be used to determine those countries whose people hold similar values or share commonality at the aggregate level (i.e., when treating each survey as a whole). Some variables of our interest were chosen and used in modeling (see, for example, the Appendix for the questionnaire on the environment).[2] First, a two-mode, country-by-response, matrix is constructed for each wave of the survey as shown in Fig. 1A.

Figure 1A. Transformation of a matrix

Two-mode matrix

Matrix 1: Country * Response Matrix

One-mode matrix

Matrix 2: Country * Country Matrix

Source: RAND

In order to do a comparison between countries, this two-mode matrix must be transformed into a one-mode matrix. Each cell in this one-mode, country-by-country similarity matrix has a number representing correlation between two countries. So, for example, the similarity or the difference in responses between countries four and nine is represented by correlation in the country-by-country matrix in the cell shaded in blue. This one-mode matrix is converted into a diagram using the MDS technique as illustrated in Fig. 1B.

Figure 1B. An example of MDS diagram
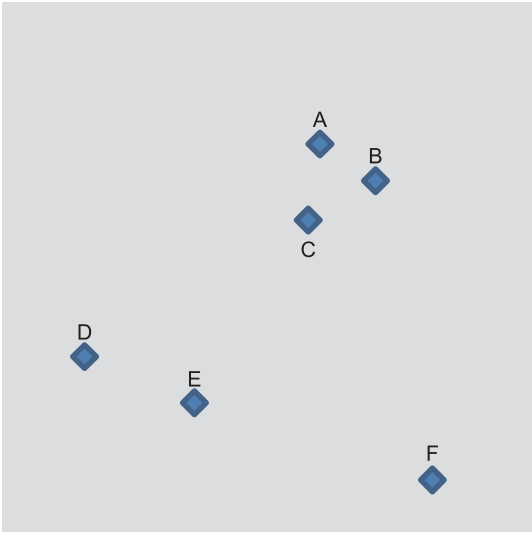
This diagram shows whether some countries tend to form a cluster and position themselves close to one another when the data are aggregated. Clustering is an indication that these countries can potentially become collaborative partners or even form a strategic partnership. In the diagram A, B and C form a cluster. Only

2. The World Values Survey. http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/index_html.

the distance between any two countries is meaningful, rather than country loca-tions in the diagram relative to the two axes (i.e., LHS and RHS are meaningless). Also, rotating or flipping the diagram has no impact. It is the relative position with respect to other countries that really matters. Two highly correlated coun-tries (A and B) will appear close to each other, whereas two poorly correlated countries (A and F) will appear distant from each other. A level of stress, which is an indication of how good the fit is, will be shown above the diagram. A study by Sturrock and Rocha provides a way of assessing the impact of the stress ac-counting for both the number of dimensions (two in our case) and the number of objects (countries) represented in the diagram.[3] They provide a table with a threshold stress (Th. stress) above which the probability that the objects are ar-ranged randomly in the plot is greater than 1 percent. We have adopted this ap-proach and all the cases in this report they are found to be below 1 percent. Math-ematically, the stress formula takes the following form for non-metric multi-di-mensional scaling:

$$Stress = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma\Sigma(f(x_{ij}) - d_{ij})^2}{\Sigma\Sigma \, d_{ij}^{\,2}}}$$

$f(x_{ij})$ is a weakly monotonic transformation of input data that minimizes the stress function, and d_{ij} is the Euclidean distance between countries i and j. The denominator acts as a constant scaling factor to keep the stress value between 0 and 1. This particular form is known as "Kruskal stress" or stress 1.[4] A smaller the stress value means a better representation. To determine initial locations of

points in a diagram, the default Torsca algorithm was used.

For data processing, the software tool STATA was first used, and subsequent analyses based on the MDS technique were carried out using the UciNet software.[5] A judgment call was made to trade-off between a number of countries and a num-ber of questions in each wave of the WVS. On the one hand, more questions would give more robust results but at the sake of losing a significant number of coun-tries. This would make the whole project pointless. On the other hand, consid-ering only a handful of questions in order to maximize the number of countries would give unreliable results. A balance had to be struck between the two en-tities for the purpose of reliably identifying South Korea's regional and non-re-gional partners. Although the project's main objective focuses on regional coun-tries, non-regional countries such as those on the continent of Africa were kept in modeling as their inclusion would only require a little more processing time. It is important to note that the current modeling technique cannot take bilateral relations into consideration and therefore, further thoughts should be given to bilateral issues. This is an area for future research to incorporate it into a model. In all analyses, the diagrams provide valuable information on countries which responded similarly, and which did not. For the latter countries, it can be bene-ficial to know where the difference lies from disaggregate information.

Currently, there are datasets available for six waves administered by the WVS since 1981. Waves three, four, five and six corresponding to the period from 1994 to 2013 were analyzed in detail so the data goes back some 20 years. Though the numbers vary, approximately 1,000 respondents participated in a survey per country and missing data were excluded from model building.

3. Sturrock, Kenneth., and Jorge Rocha. "A Multidimensional Scaling Stress Evaluation Table."*Field Methods* 12 (2000): 49-60.

4. Kruskal J., and M. Wish. *Multidimensional Scaling.* California: Sage Publications Ltd, 1978.

5. Borgatti, Stephen., Martin G. Everett, and Jeffrey C. Johnson. *Analyzing Social Networks.* Califor-nia: Sage Publications Ltd, 2013.

On the Environment

South Korea adopted green growth as a national development strategy during the former Lee Myung-bak administration. The former President's Committee on Green Growth stated, "As a responsible member of the global village, we have an obligation to work together in order to fight climate change, and take action to make sustained prosperity on Earth possible, not only for the current generation, but also for generations to come."[6] As a middle power, South Korea is committed to playing a bridging role between developed and developing countries to resolve challenging environmental issues. However, this role cannot be fulfilled by South Korea alone, but requires cooperation from other countries that are like-minded and share similar visions. By measuring how people from different countries responded to waves three to five of the WVS on the environment, it is found that Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, Viet Nam and China could be our regional partners in this regard. Similarly, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden and Norway could be our partners among developed countries; and to this list, Denmark and the United Kingdom, though not present in the models, can be further added on the basis of their collaborative efforts in the past. These countries share greater commonalities with South Korea and their policymakers, reflecting people's views, and are likely to have an affinity with their South Korean counterparts. South Korea, a country at the interface of developed and developing countries, is well-positioned to play an important intermediary role for these countries. It is noted that the environment was not the main focus in the most recent wave six of the WVS and so it was not considered.

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6. The World Bank. "Korea's Global Commitment to Green Growth.", Accessed May 3, 2012, http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/05/09/Korea-s-Global-Commitment-to-Green-Growth.

Climate Change: Overview

The economic crisis of 2008 has pushed the global warming off the list of priorities to be dealt with by the international community. The opening up of a sea passage through the Arctic Ocean would have triggered much anxiety in the past but instead it has led to a great deal of enthusiasm given the economic benefits. Surely, we should be more concerned about this development. Isn't this another piece of ominous evidence of global warming in progress? According to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the average world temperature in 2013, 14.52℃ (58.12℉), was in tie with that in 2003 for the fourth warmest year since 1880. The NOAA also points out 9 of the 10 warmest years on record in the 21st century, with the hottest year being 2010.

Global warming is humanity's greatest threat. The *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* lists possible impacts climate change could have on people around the world.[7] An average global temperature rise of two-to-three degrees Celsius will lead to serious consequences such as declining crop yields and rising sea levels. The prospects for addressing global warming are certainly not bright. According to a future scenario outlined in *OECD Environmental Outlook to 2050*, the world is likely to experience more disruptive climate change, and global greenhouse gas emissions are projected to increase by 50 percent by 2050, primarily owing to a growth in carbon-based fuel consumption. This estimate indicates that the average global temperature will be three to six degrees Celsius higher by the end of this century. Consequently, global warming will exacerbate existing struggles to access adequate resources. Hundreds of millions of people will face difficulty producing or purchasing sufficient food in Africa and Asia. Some coun

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7. Stern, Nicholas. *How Climate Change Will Affect People Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

tries in South East Asia like Bangladesh, Viet Nam, and large coastal cities such as Tokyo, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Mumbai, New York, Miami, and London will need to strengthen their coastal protection. Melting glaciers during dry-season will reduce water supplies to one-sixth of the world's population in the Indian subcontinent, parts of China, and the Andes in South America.

A joint effort to tackle global warming can be traced back to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which was the first official international treaty to cope with climate change at a global level. It came into force in 1994 and has 195 signatories since 2011. The Kyoto Protocol, as an international mechanism to mitigate global warming, was later set up in 1997 to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions by five percent of their 1990 levels by 2012. According to the UNFCCC, the countries were divided into "developed" and "developing" countries with only the former, the so-called Annex I countries, assuming obligations to cut their emissions. The two countries that mattered most—the United States and China—were absent from the scene. The United States did not take any part in the international efforts and, due to its status as a Non-Annex I country, China had no obligation to reduce its own emissions. At the end of the first "commitment period" of the Kyoto Protocol at the end of 2012 and after a series of the UN Climate Change Conferences of the Parties (COP), it was agreed at COP18 in Doha to extend the life of the Kyoto Protocol to 2020 in the name of "the second commitment period."

The Durban platform in 2001 was the first of its kind in that the global agreement encompassed all countries including China, India, and the United States, whose heavy greenhouse gas emissions have long been overlooked. The focus is now on developing and implementing a replacement to the Kyoto Protocol by 2015 and 2020, respectively. There will be an international climate conference to be held in Paris to adopt the new agreement in 2015. Its objective is to achieve a

legally binding and universal agreement on climate change with the aim of keeping global warming below 2°C, given that the first period of the Kyoto Protocol failed to curb global greenhouse gas emissions.[8] While the total emissions from the Annex I countries bound by the Protocol's targets have significantly reduced, emissions from developing countries listed on the Non-Annex I with no obligation have increased sharply. Man-made carbon dioxide (CO_2) has been accumulating since the industrial revolution and reached 402 PPM (parts per million)[9] in June 2015. This is well beyond 350 PPM, which is considered by scientists to be the safe level. To follow up on the history and latest developments on global warming, the UNFCCC is an excellent source of information.[10]

In the late nineteenth century, Irish scientist John Tyndall first proved that radiant heat produced by water vapor in the Earth's atmosphere would warm up the Earth, and Swedish chemist Arrhenius also discovered that emissions of CO_2 would cause global warming and, subsequently, climate change. In the early twenty-first century, Wallace Broecker, a renowned climate scientist, described the climate system as an angry beast that we are poking with sticks. Despite mankind's accumulated knowledge about climate change, it has long lacked the political and economic awareness about climate change and environmental disasters on an international level. Moreover, it is not only because there has been no universally binding regime for global climate change, but because people's short-sighted mindset toward the potential threats of climate change has pre-

8. Clark, Duncan. "Has the Kyoto Protocol Made Any Difference to Carbon Emissions?" *The Guardian*, November 26, 2012. http://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/2012/nov/26/kyoto-protocol-carbon-emissions.
9. CO2Now.org. "Atmospheric CO2." http://co2now.org/.
10. United Nations. "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change." http://unfccc.int/2860.php.

vailed. As Giddens explains, since the potential threats of climate change "are not tangible, immediate or visible in the course of day-to-day life, however awesome they appear, many will sit on their hands and do nothing of a concrete nature about them. Yet waiting until they become visible and acute before taking serious action will, by definition, be too late."[11]

We have taken it for granted that most industrialized countries have decoupled economic development and growth from environmental protection and preservation. Many developing economies continue to give the least amount of consideration to climate change as they make their strategic choices for investing social capital. In fact, most economies have attained industrialization and urbanization at the expense of consuming energy resources that cause greenhouse gas emissions. These very parties that have been guilty of environmental harm, however, have not paid for the environmental externalities of their economic growth. It is also true, however, that there are limits to establishing a direct link between the heavy greenhouse gas emitters' role in climate change, and regional and global side effects of climate change. When the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC took effect with the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities," it was heralded as the beginning of international cooperation on climate change mitigation and adaptation. However, there are yet no penalties for the noncompliance with the Kyoto Protocol. The commitment to control and reduce greenhouse gas emissions—considered the starting point of international cooperation to mitigate climate change—should essentially be "self-enforcing."[12]

Humanity only has limited time, if it is not too late already to avert disastrous consequences on a scale never seen before. Yet, our goal towards a comprehensive agreement to effectively cut greenhouse gas emissions to the level recommended by scientists has not been met, and our progress is ever so slow due to conflicting interests of many countries. The MDS technique has been instrumental in shedding some light on the situation, and will provide practical insights for decision-makers to develop partnerships for climate change mitigation and adaptation.

Carbon Dioxide Emissions

In global warming, as seen in the UNFCCC, we can broadly split the world into two sets of countries, developed and developing countries. Developed countries are mainly responsible for greenhouse gas emissions to date since the dawn of the industrial revolution, but it is the developing countries such as China and India that will emit more greenhouse gases and play a crucial role today as well as in the future. In 2004, the combined emissions of developing and least developed countries accounted for about a quarter of cumulative emissions since the mid-eighteenth century.[13] But China has already become the largest emitter of CO_2 gas in the world by 2015. Russia, India, and Brazil with their growing economies are expected to follow suit. According to data provided by the US Energy Information Administration (See Fig. 2), China overtook the United States in 2006 as the world's biggest CO_2 emitter and produced 8,715 million metric tons of CO_2 in 2011.[14] In recent submissions of INDCs (Intended Nationally Determined

11. Giddens, Anthony. *The Politics of Climate Change*. Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2009.

12. S. Barrett, "Self-Enforcing International Environmental Agreements." *Oxford Economic Papers* 46 (1994): 878-894; Prajit K. Dutta, and Roy Radner. "Self-Enforcing Climate-Change Treaties."*Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 101 (2004): 5174-5179.

13. Michael R. Rapauch et al., "Global and Regional Drivers of Accelerating CO2." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 104 (2007): 10288-93.

14. The US Energy Information Administration. "China's CO2 Emission." http://www.eia.gov/environment/data.cfm#intl.

Figure 2. Total CO$_2$ emissions from the consumption of energy by country
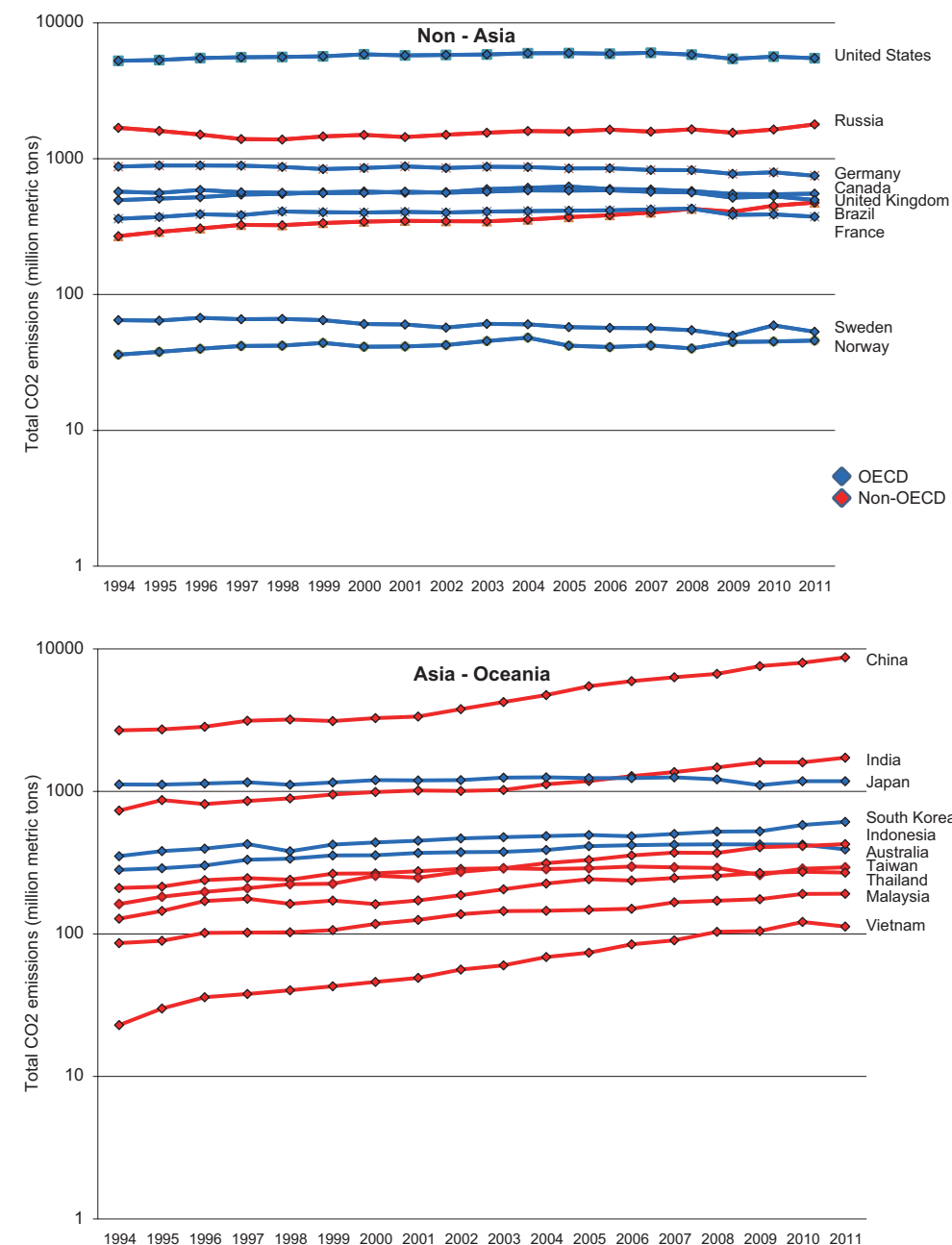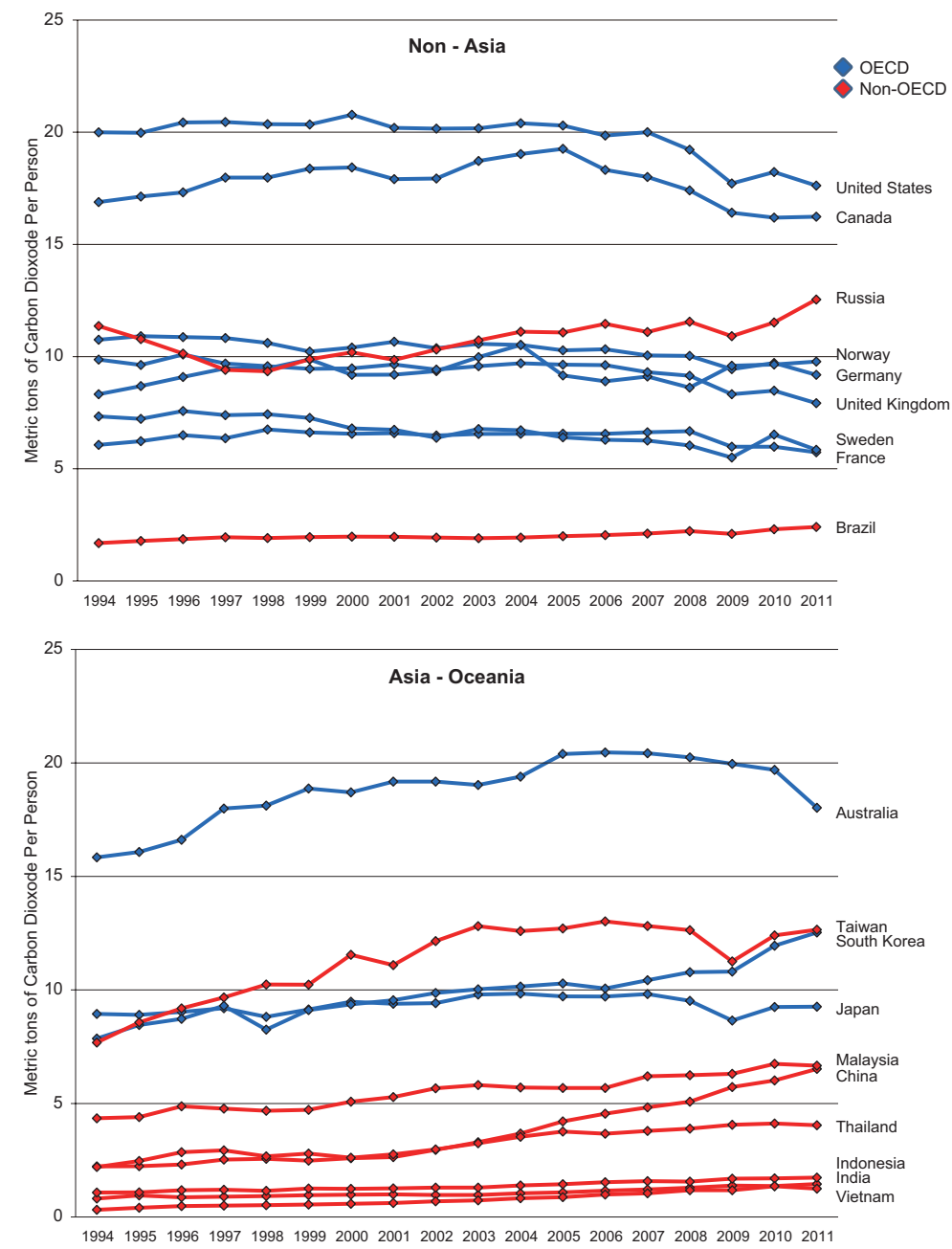

Source: EIA

Contribution), China has pledged to cut emissions intensity by 60-65% from 2005 levels by 2030, and the United States has firmly committed to a reduction of 26%~28% below 2005 emissions levels by the year 2025.

Please note that a logarithmic scale is used for the y-axis so that all the countries considered can all be displayed clearly in Fig. 2. The United States and South Korea produced 5,491 and 611 million metric tons of CO$_2$ in the same year, respectively. One can also see that India's output of 1,726 million metric tons of CO$_2$ has surpassed that of Japan, the third largest economy in the world. Japan's share of CO$_2$ emissions is expected to increase with more fossil-fuel based power plants replacing the existing nuclear power plants after the Fukushima incident in 2011. Germany has been making efforts to moth-ball all nuclear power plants, which has pushed up their electricity prices. Although China is the biggest CO$_2$ emitter in terms of total emissions, Australia, Canada, and the United States still rank among the top five countries in the OECD in terms of per capita CO$_2$ emissions (see Fig. 3).

Australia and Canada's economies much depend on exporting raw materials such as coal to China and other developing countries, which increase their per capita CO$_2$ emissions. Unlike the total emissions, China's per capita levels rank only at a similar level as Malaysia, which is well below Germany or the United Kingdom due to its high population. South Korea is also responsible for emitting rather high CO$_2$ emissions per capita with each person producing 12.5 metric tons of CO$_2$. This is due to South Korea's dependence on heavy industries such as steel, oil refineries, and chemicals. It must curb its own per capita CO$_2$ emissions significantly to improve the country's credibility on being serious about protecting the environment and coping with climate change.

Figure 3. Per capita CO$_2$ emissions from the consumption of energy by country

Source: EIA

Wave 3 (1994~1999)

Questions: B002, B004, B008, B009, B010, B011, B012, B013, B014, B015, B016, B017

Figure 4. Countries in wave 3 (stress=14.2%, Th. stress [44 countries]=35.8%)

Source: WVS

In this wave, there were questions about whether respondents had actually taken any steps to help protect the environment in the past. For example, on one question about whether respondents had chosen household products that were better for the environment, 73 percent of South Korean respondents said yes. They

also responded positively to the questions on recycling and reducing water consumption. Chinese respondents were split roughly in half on these questions. The survey took one step further by asking respondents if they had attended a meeting or contributed to an organization for an environmental cause. South Korea and China both scored low on these questions. Nearly 90 percent of Chinese respondents indicated that humanity had a bright future, much higher than South Korea's less optimistic 66 percent. The majority of South Koreans responded that human beings should coexist with nature. While Brazil had 47 percent of its people choosing "economic growth and creating jobs" over "protecting the environment," which was higher than China's 29 percent, a great majority of Brazilians, about 95 percent, believed human beings must coexist with nature. On the other hand, only 59 percent of Chinese believed so. Brazilians, like Chinese, held a view that environmental problems could be solved without any international agreements, and they were also observed to be less willing to take a small step such as choosing household products that were better for the environment. In India, 63 percent of respondents chose "economic growth and creating jobs" over "protecting the environment" and nearly 80 percent indicated that human beings should coexist with nature.

A mixture of Eastern European and Latin American countries occupies the lower middle part of the MDS diagram. For instance, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina are in proximity to one another and so too are Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Estonia and Croatia. Russia and Belarus. One can also see that Western European countries are located at the top-right corner, together with the United States, Australia and New Zealand. South Korea is in the vicinity of this formation near Norway, the United States, and also Taiwan.

Wave 4 (1999~2004)

Questions: B001, B002, B003, B008, B009

Figure 5. Countries in wave 4 (stress=17.1%, Th. stress [26 countries]=31.3%)

Source: WVS

In this wave, only five questions were asked to respondents in the countries shown in Fig. 5. From this limited set of questions, one should be careful not to draw a firm conclusion. Three questions were repeated from wave three. We looked at China and found that a 10 percent shift was the largest we observed

among the questions that were repeated, with more Chinese disagreeing with an increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution. Chinese attitudes did not change much over this time-period on those questions.

More than 90 percent of both South Koreans and Japanese believed that human beings should coexist with nature. Japan's position in proximity to that of South Korea indicates greater commonality. Among respondents in the Philippines and Tanzania, 64 percent and 62 percent, respectively, indicated that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth. These figures are very high for developing countries. In South Africa, 39 percent of its people strongly agreed that the government should reduce environmental pollution without costing them any money. The figures were 18 percent for South Korea and five percent for China. Also, 62 percent of South Africans chose "economic growth and creating jobs" as the top priority over "protecting the environment." The figures were 36 percent for South Korea and 32 percent for China. The United States and Canada are near each other with South Korea and India in proximity. Three African countries, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe are found near the bottom. Only a couple of European countries were included in this wave of the survey.

Wave 5 (2005~2007)

Questions: B001, B002, B003, B008, B018, B019, B020, B021, B022, B023

In this wave, 10 questions out of 20 were retained to make direct comparisons possible between countries within the same wave. This was necessary because in some countries certain questions were not administered. Once again, a new set of questions was included in this survey. There were three questions about environmental problems in a respondent's own community such as water, air quality,

sewage, and sanitation. Another three questions considered large-scale environmental problems such as global warming, loss of biodiversity, and water pollution.

Figure 6. Countries in wave 5 (stress=12.8%, Th. stress [47 countries]=36.3%)
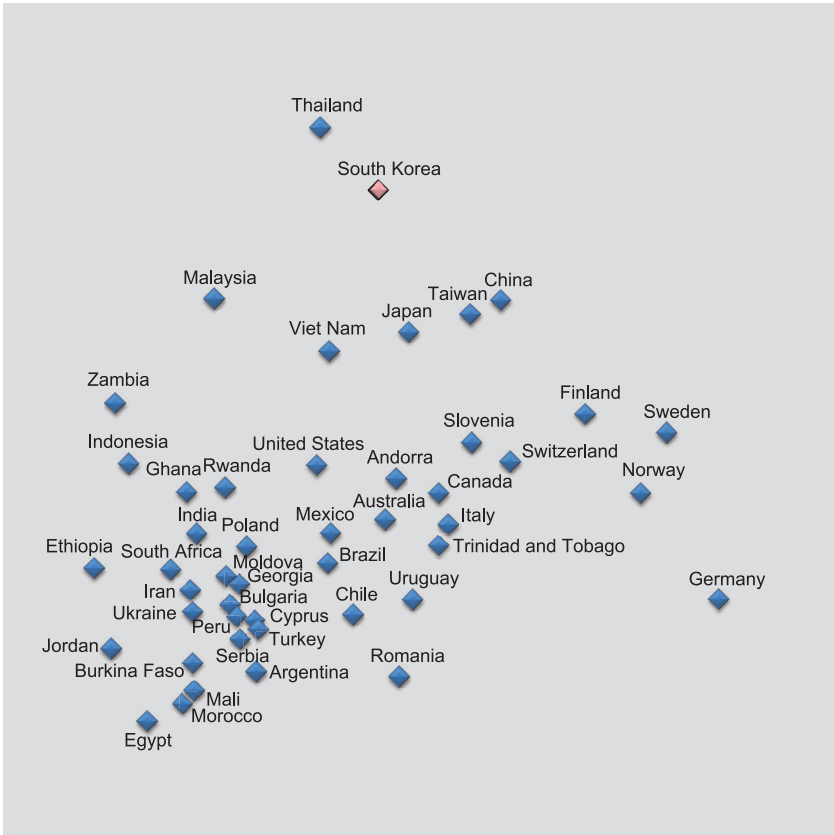
Source: WVS

For those questions where direct comparisons could be made with the earlier wave four, South Koreans had further moved away from choosing "protecting the environment" in favor of "economic growth and creating jobs" by as much as 16 percent. In wave three, carried out in 1996, the percentage of people who chose "protecting the environment" was at 70 percent but it was nearly halved to 36

percent in 2005. It must have been difficult for South Koreans to think of environmental issues before economic growth as making one's living became increasingly difficult in the aftermath of the IMF-South Korea bailout in 1997. Among the questions that were repeated from wave four, there was no noticeable shift in Chinese views. For the questions concerning the environmental problems in one's own community, many South Koreans made a choice between "somewhat serious" and "not very serious" whereas, for many Chinese people, the choice was between "not very serious" and "not serious at all." This is a little surprising considering all of the pollution problems China is facing.

Let us consider Sweden. The country consistently ranked near the top, if not at the top, for providing clean water, good air quality, and proper sewage and sanitation. Swedish people cared about the environmental problems in the world, such as global warming, loss of diversity, and pollution of rivers, with more than 90 percent choosing either "very serious" or "somewhat serious." For developed countries like the United States and Australia, the environmental problems facing a respondent's own community were observed to be high with 30-40 percent choosing the option "very serious." The United States government must take this into account before taking full advantage of shale gas exploration. In Africa, we found Egyptians do not like the idea of increasing taxes to prevent environmental pollution, and yet believed the government should reduce environmental pollution without costing them any money. Over 90 percent of Egyptian respondents thought that the environmental problems in their community were very serious. It seems that the Egyptian government found itself in a Catch-22 situation. There appears to be a cluster on the lower left corner consisting of countries from Africa and the Middle East. The United States, Australia and Canada are in proximity. For this particular wave, South Korea is surrounded by countries in its region. China, Taiwan and Japan are very close to one another. As the questions included environmental problems in the respondent's local community and the world

at large, the environmental front is a fertile ground for regional collaborations. Most green countries are found on the RHS.

Summary on the Environment

Figs. 4~6 provide us with snapshots of how difficult it would be for all countries in the world to commit themselves to cutting greenhouse gas emissions under a legally binding treaty. They show a wide range of opinions regarding the environment across many countries. However, it is observed that Western European countries, New Zealand and Australia, Canada and the United States were in one another's vicinity. Recall that the United States, Canada, and Australia, three countries with high per capita CO_2 emissions, were observed to be near one another in all three waves. Some ASEAN countries and perhaps Japan responded in kind in some waves. Countries grouped broadly by region can potentially cooperate in future negotiations. These can perhaps act as initial building blocks if all the countries in the world cannot reach comprehensive international agreements. A piecemeal type approach could be adopted towards the ultimate goal of achieving these international agreements if all else result in impasse. It is interesting to note that Bueno de Mesquita, a renowned game theorist, paints a pessimistic picture on the likelihood of curbing CO_2 emissions at the expense of sacrificing economic growth.[15]

South Koreans' responses are found to be similar to those of the West when it comes to its people taking a small step towards saving the environment. However, wave five shows that we also share strong commonalities with many countries in this region in our attitudes on the environmental issues. On the one hand,

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15. Bruce Bueno de Mesquita. *The Predictioneer's Game: Using the Logic of Brazen Self-Interest to See and Shape the Future*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2010.

most developed countries such as Sweden and Norway portray a view that their country's environmental problems cannot be solved without any international agreements but, on the other hand, developing countries such as China and Brazil think they can solve their own environmental problems without any international agreements.

South Korea, as a middle power, is perfectly suited to act as an intermediary between developed and developing countries. In fact, South Korean government announced that it would be an "*early bird* (i.e., leader)" for international cooperation on climate change issues and proposed a self-enforcing commitment, called the East Asia Climate Partnership (EACP), at the G8 Summit in 2008. The goal of the EACP is to aid developing countries in enhancing the capabilities to respond to climate change, and in promoting green growth in Asia as Korea's collaborative effort toward global development. During the five years from 2008 to 2012, more than 200 million dollars were spent in the name of Green Official Development Assistance (Green ODA). Furthermore, in 2012, the South Korean government, for the first time in Asia, introduced a law called the Act on the Allocation and Trading of Greenhouse Gas Emission Permits, establishing a cap-and-trade system for greenhouse gas emissions. The Korean ETS (Emissions Trading System) modeled on the EU ETS went into operation in January 2015. Also, Songdo, Incheon in South Korea became the host city of the Green Climate Fund (GCF) in 2012. Because the GCF must have the funds to meet its obligations, there will inevitably be a tug of war between developed and developing countries on who will contribute the funds and how the funds will be used. Developed countries must not renege on their financial pledges and developing countries must be able to provide evidence that the funds are properly applied. Sir David King, former UK Chief Scientific Advisor, has discussed some of the ways money can be channeled from developed countries to developing countries for mutual benefit, and also explained their pros and cons.[16] Finally, the Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI)

was established in Seoul and became an international organization to help developing countries and emerging economies around the world adopt green growth strategies.[17]

To quote the IPCC's[18] Fourth Assessment Report, "all of Asia is very likely to warm during this century; the warming is likely to be well above the global mean in central Asia, the Tibetan Plateau and northern Asia, above the global mean in East and South Asia, and similar to the global mean in Southeast Asia. It is very likely that summer heat waves/hot spells in East Asia will be of longer duration, more intense, and more frequent…"[19] This region is predicted to be hit harder by global warming, as already witnessed by the super-typhoon "Haiyan" that hit the Philippines. The Asia/Pacific region has paid a huge human toll due to natural disasters. The region accounted for 91% of the world's total death and 49% of the world's total damage caused by natural disasters in the last century. Climate change is believed to have aggravated the increasing number of natural disasters, about 70 percent of which occur in the Asia/Pacific region.[20] As a consequence, Asia-Pacific countries keenly feel a need for international cooperation on climate change.

In fact, since it added "green growth" to its national agenda in 2008, South Korea

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16. King, David., and Gabrielle Walker. *The Hot Topic: How to Tackle Global Warming and Still Keep the Lights on.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2008.
17. Global Green Growth Institute. "About GGGI." http://gggi.org/about-gggi/background/organizational-overview/.
18. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.
19. Susan Solomon et al., *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
20. APEC, "Climate Change Fact Sheets," http://www.apec.org/About-Us/About-APEC/Fact-Sheets/Climate-Change.aspx.

has demonstrated great leadership in building international cooperation within the region to combat climate change. However, the recent submission of South Korea's INDC to the UNFCCC Secretariat by the Park Geun-hye administration for the Paris Climate Conference has backtracked from the level of commitments made earlier by the former Lee Myung-bak administration. Its overall Carbon Dioxide mitigation target of 37% below 2030 BAU (Business As Usual) will be achieved through an internal reduction of 25.7% and the remaining 11.3% by relying on International Market Mechanisms. This target is not sufficient in the eyes of the world, and may have tarnished its image as a strong advocate for environmental causes.

South Korea can work together with regional partners such as Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, Viet Nam, and China, as seen in Figure 6. Developed countries like the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, and Norway can be our non-regional partners as their citizens share commonalities with us. Countries such as the United Kingdom and Denmark that were not in the survey can still be included in this group of non-regional partners.[21] In November 2013, South Korea and the United Kingdom issued a joint statement outlining the two countries' commitment to tackling climate change. Denmark also has a GGGI office in Copenhagen and has committed strong support for the Institute.[22] Admittedly, non-regional partners lack the motivation for cooperation because they are not directly beset by the same sets of environmental problems that affect us. Yet, European countries have significantly advanced green technology and cli-

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21. Department of Energy & Climate Change, Foreign & Commonwealth Office. "United Kingdom – Republic of Korea Joint Statement on Climate Change." Accessed November 7, 2013. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/united-kingdom-and-republic-of-korea-agree-new-collaboration-on-tackling-climate-change.

22. Global Green Growth Institute. "Statement on Denmark's Commitment to GGGI Support." http://gggi.org/statement-on-denmarks-commitment-to-gggi-support.

mate change response infrastructure compared to South Korea, meaning South Korea will have much more to gain by cooperating with such environment-friendly countries. Therefore, it is beneficial for South Korea to further step up its exchange and cooperation with these countries. As has been noted, these findings strengthen the case for South Korea to act as an intermediary bridging the gap between developed and developing countries on environmental issues.

On Family Values

The WVS provides excellent data especially in terms of key variables on environment, family and politics and society. The variable on Family, though not considered to be a key variable, was included for the following reasons.

Proponents of Samuel Huntington and the thesis on the clash of civilizations[23] have argued that fault lines in the 21st century might actually be even deeper, as conflict is now driven by differences in civilizations. This means that societal differences, especially in terms of how a society is organized and functions (e.g. family structure), determine which countries will be driven closer and which ones will be at odds. Those who claim this suggest, for instance, that deep societal and cultural differences between the Islamic world and the West will inevitably lead them to clash. Huntington predicted that Asian countries (China in particular) would side with the Islamic world.

This does not mean that the variable on Family is the only one that matters.

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23. Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.* New York: TOUCHSTONE, 1996.

Analyzing this variable in the broad data analysis part of the project should address the criticism from those proponents of the clash of civilizations. In a way, including this variable would mean that we are trying not to ignore differences in civilizations that others say matter. It is more of a methodological issue (i.e. trying to make the measure more robust) than a conceptual one.

The research findings basically confirm our earlier expectations that South Korea shares its family values more closely with countries in its region than the West. It is also observed that there has been changing attitudes towards women over the years with greater gender-equality.

Wave 3 (1994-1999)

Questions: D17 D18 D19 D22 D24 D54 D55 D56 D57 D58 D59 D60 D66

In wave three, 13 out of 15 questions were retained from the original set of questions. Only those questions that allowed direct comparisons between South Korea and other countries were used in analysis. In the West, a high percentage of respondents disagreed with the statement "A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled." In New Zealand, Sweden and the United States, the figures were 82.4 percent, 83.0 percent, and 81.9 percent, respectively. In the Far East, however, people had different views. A majority of respondents from South Korea (67.1 percent), China (81.7 percent) and Japan (71.5 percent) are observed to agree with the statement. South Korea ranked lowest among the three countries. On the question of "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do," more than 80 percent of respondents in Sweden, New Zealand and Germany preferred to have disagreed with the statement. In the United States, the figure was slightly lower at 66.9 percent. In the Far East, South Korea (62.8 percent), China (53.9 percent) and Japan (59.8 percent) mostly agreed with the statement.

Figure 7. Countries in wave 3 (stress=19.2%, Th. stress [49 countries]=36.5%)

Source: WVS

The majority of Indians (91.6 percent) and Brazilians (87.8 percent) indicated that one of main goals in life had been to make their parents proud. It was somewhat lower at 60.3 percent for South Koreans and even lower at 36.9 percent for Japanese. As for the ideal number of children to have, both South Korean (56.2 percent) and Chinese (61.1 percent) respondents thought two children were ideal, but in Japan, 50.1 percent of respondents chose three children instead. In Nigeria, more than 80 percent of respondents chose four children or more as being ideal, and 77 percent of Filipinos would like three children or more.

37 percent of both South Korean and Japanese respondents agreed with the statement "A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl." The figure for China was lower at 23.8 percent. This might have reflected China's one-child policy in that Chinese parents would like to give their child the best education irrespective of their child's gender. In the West, a high percentage of respondents disagreed with more emphasis given to a boy for a university education. 54.1 percent of South Korean and 49.4 percent of Japanese respondents agreed with the statement "If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems." But only 33.3 percent of Chinese respondents thought likewise. Perhaps, many South Korean men thought of their role as breadwinner. These views are not shared by people in the West, but Turkey, Mexico, Nigeria and Azerbaijan showed more than 50 percent disapproval of a woman earning more than her husband.

Overall, Western countries occupy the lower part of Fig. 7 with all three Nordic countries appearing on the LHS. Some countries in Asia including South Korea are found near the RHS, and some Latin American countries such as Peru, Argentina, Colombia and Chile form a small group in the lower middle, except Brazil which is positioned on LHS. Interestingly, Roman Catholic Church is the dominant religion in all these countries, including Spain. Several former Eastern European countries are found near Russia. It is observed that Japan, the Philippines, and India are in the vicinity of South Korea. Countries such as Armenia and Belarus that became independent after the collapse of the Soviet Union also shared much commonality on family values with South Korea.

Wave 4 (1999-2004)

Questions: D18 D19 D22 D23 D54 D55 D56 D57 D58 D59 D60

Figure 8. Countries in wave 4 (stress=12.0%, Th. stress [36 countries]=34.3%)

Source: WVS

In wave four, 11 out of 23 questions were retained from the original set of questions. Among these questions, 10 questions were repeated from wave three. One question newly added was "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove?" In Bangladesh, China, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, more than 90 percent of people showed disapproval. All these countries are Islam except China. Islamic belief is considered to be one of the main factors influencing people's responses. In contrast, Spain is found

to be the country with the highest 78.6 percent approval rate followed by Venezuela's 64.8 percent. This comes as a surprise for countries with a Roman Catholic majority. The figure for South Korea showed 22 percent approval. For the question "A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled," 81.7 percent of Chinese respondents agreed previously, in wave three, but this was reduced to 36.6 percent this time round. The cause of sudden drop in 2001 is not known. Perhaps, this could have attributed to the fact that enough babies were born in 2000. Chinese believed that babies born on the turn of the century, which coincided with the year of dragon, would be blessed; subsequently, many young couples chose to have babies in 2000.[24] However, in South Korea, there was a sharp rise to 92 percent in people who agreed with this statement. Also, the majority of respondents in Islamic countries are observed to share their views with South Korea. In Canada and the United States, the figures were only 18.7 percent and 14.6 percent respectively.

Japan and the United States were ranked first and third in the list of countries with high disapproval (43.2 percent for Japan, 31.8 percent for the United States) of the statement "Both husband and wife should contribute to household income." Saudi Arabia showed the second highest disapproval. Turning to the question of "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do," the percentage of respondents who shared these views were 48.2 percent, 50.2 percent and 43.4 percent in South Korea, China and Japan, decline from the response from the earlier wave three. There was a significant drop of 16.4 percent in Japan. Again, in Islamic countries, the figures are observed to be very high at around 70 to 80 percent.

24. People's Daily. "China's 'Millennium Babies' Encounter Kindergarten Queues." Accessed June 26, 2015. http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200308/06/eng20030806_121819.shtml.

In wave four, where several Islamic countries were present, clear differential reactions to men and women's gender role was observed in these countries. 7 out of 11 questions were specific to women. It is evident from Fig. 8 that these Islamic countries form a group near the top, and Western countries are located on the opposite side of this group near the bottom. The United States and Saudi Arabia are located at the opposite side of each other. Mexico, Puerto Rico, Chile, Argentina and Peru are not relatively close to one another. China and Japan gave similar responses. A group of Southeast Asian countries, Viet Nam, Singapore and Indonesia are found near South Korea. Interestingly, people from Uganda and Zimbabwe also showed a similar mindset despite geographical gap. Many South Koreans still believed the status of men is higher than that of women. One possible explanation of such perception is that there are still remnants of Confucian tradition in the minds of South Koreans. This would have positioned South Korea to be relatively closer to some Islamic countries than to the United States and Canada on the response. Venezuela is an outlier located the furthest away from South Korea.

Wave 5 (2005-2007)

Questions: D18 D22 D23 D54 D55 D57 D59 D60 D78 D79 D80

In wave five, 11 of 27 questions were retained from the original set of questions. Among these questions, 8 questions were repeated from wave four and 3 new questions were added. It is observed that 91.7 percent of South Korean respondents agreed on the question "If someone says a child needs a home with both a father and a mother to grow up happily, would you tend to agree or disagree?" 96.8 percent and 89 percent of Chinese and Japanese respondents indicated they agreed with the statement. Similarly, a high percentage of respondents from Islamic countries also held similar views. In contrast, Sweden (47 percent),

Norway (67 percent) and Finland (55 percent) thought this necessary to bring up a child happily.

Figure 9. Countries in wave 5 (stress=12.0%, Th. stress [46 countries]=36.2%)

Source: WVS

One of the questions asked if "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay." More than 90 percent of both South Korean and Japanese and 71.8 percent of Chinese respondents agreed with this statement. Once again, only half the respondents replied in kind in Sweden and Norway, but it is observed to be much higher at 84.2 percent in Finland.

Only 8.2 percent of Swedish respondents agreed with the statement "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do." Just over a quarter of respondents in the United States held similar views. Most Western countries did not share these views as seen in Sweden. In India and Indonesia, the figures were around 60 percent. For South Korea, China and Japan, there was no significant change in the overall attitude toward this statement since wave four. On the question of "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove?" only 5.1 percent of South Korean respondents approved. This is a significant drop from 22 percent observed in wave four. When asked a new question, "On the whole, men make better business executives than woman do," 47.2 percent of South Korean respondents agreed with the statement. This is still higher than China and Japan which were lower at 37.4 percent and 35.8 percent, respectively. India (62.8 percent), Turkey (52.8 percent), South Africa (44.1 percent) and Mexico (22.6 percent) agreed with the statement, as well. The last two additional questions were "I seek to be myself rather than to follow others" and "I decide my goals in life by myself." Most people across the surveyed countries responded positively to these questions with no significant difference.

Once again, some Islamic countries are found near the top of Fig. 9. Here, 5 out of 11 questions were about women. Note that Ghana and Georgia have Christian majorities, and India has more than 800 million adherents of Hinduism. As in waves three and four, Western countries are observed to be positioned toward the bottom. It is evident that South Koreans share more of their family values with other people in its region such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Taiwanese, Malaysian, Japanese and Thai people. This could perhaps explain to some extent the rise in South Korean entertainment and culture, known as Hallyu, around this region. This is a fertile ground for further exploration.

Wave 6 (2010-2013)

Questions: D1 D54 D57 D59 D60 D61 D63 D66 D78

Figure 10. Countries in wave 6 (stress=10.7%, Th. stress [53 countries]=37%)

Source: WVS

In wave six, there were 9 questions with no new questions added from the earlier waves. 5 questions were repeated from wave five. In all, 53 countries were considered in this latest wave of the survey.

In terms of numbers, on the question of "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do," 56.5 percent of South Korean respondents disagreed with the statement. This is more than 10 percent increase from the previous wave five. Also, the percentage of respondents who disagreed with the statement "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" increased significantly from 9.4 percent to 53.5 percent. The figures for China and Japan remained more or less the same for both statements. 54.8 percent of South Korean respondents agreed with the statement "Children suffer when a mother works for pay" as opposed to the United States' much lower 24.4 percent.

In Fig. 10, many Islamic countries are found on the LHS near one another, and this grouping was already witnessed in the earlier waves especially in wave four. Out of 9 questions, 7 questions were on gender roles, and high correlations clearly exist among these countries on the role of women. On the whole, respondents from these countries believed that women should still take on the traditional women's role (i.e., their place should be at home bringing up children). However, when asked if "A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl," Pakistan was the only country showing more than 50 percent approval. The figure was 27.5 percent for a moderate Islamic country like Qatar. It is also of interest to note that Turkey evidently appears to be closer to some Islamic countries than the West on family values.

The United States, Slovenia, Australia, Spain, Poland and the Netherlands are in proximity to one another on the RHS with Germany and Sweden slightly further down. Also, a handful of countries from the Central and Latin Americas with Roman Catholic Church as the largest religious denomination appear to cluster around as observed in wave three showing a similar mindset on family values. Several countries like Belarus and Ukraine which were part of the former Soviet Union were found near Russia. It was observed earlier in wave three that Belarus

and Ukraine were near each other and so too were Russia and China. Regionally, Singapore is observed to be the closest country to have shared similar family values followed by China. Taiwan and Japan were also relatively close to South Korea.

Summary on Family Values

There could be many factors at play when people responded to the survey questions administered by the WVS. As mentioned earlier, religion could be one significant factor in shaping responses on the role of women especially for people from Islamic countries. Similar views were reflected by people in Asia, but in some countries this could have been attributed by the influence of traditional culture rather than a strict religion. One good example is South Korea where people have been under China's influence for centuries and, in particular, the teachings of Confucius have profound impacts on people's way of thinking including their attitudes towards women. There is some evidence that many South Korean people have long viewed the role of men to be clearly distinct and elevated from that of women, and men perhaps considered themselves to be superior to women. But this tendency is clearly diminishing in the latest wave six and there is a growing trend that women are considered as equal partners. These beliefs are mutually shared by people in the West. But still, Nordic countries such as Norway, Sweden and Finland hold the values very different from those of South Korea as parallel to their great geographical distance from South Korea. The gap between South Korea and the group of Islamic countries has widened in wave six with changing perception on the role of women being a significant contributing factor.

On the whole, accumulating evidence based on Fig. 7 to 10 indicates that South Korea's shared family values are more closely reflected by countries in its region than the West. Regarding Huntington's claim that when faced with the choice between the Islamic world and the West, China will choose the former, there is no strong evidence to support this claim in our findings. Also, Huntington has put together China and South Korea into a group he called "Sinic," and a separate group "Japanese" for Japan only when classifying the World of Civilizations into 9 distinct groups. He basically believed China and South Korea are deeply rooted in Confucianism whereas Japan is not. No definitive fault line is observed between "Sinic" and "Japanese" and more data is needed to support this classification.

On Politics and Society

The "Politics and Society" variable has a direct bearing on the project's objective. This variable includes more questions than any other variable in the WVS, reflecting its importance. According to Ghez's analysis on the notion of alliance in the twenty-first century, "commonalities in political culture and in constructed identity can constitute a strategic asset for better coordination and greater predictability among allies. Enhanced awareness of these commonalities in political culture can help allies to maintain a high degree of cohesiveness and allow them to better coordinate their reactions." He also suggested that a group of nations sharing greater commonalities in political culture often form "Natural Alliances," and gave strong evidence to support most NATO countries as having this characteristic.

Aside from countries within the NATO alliance, his findings revealed four countries outside of the alliance that also share commonalities with and are located near the aforementioned cluster of states: Australia, New Zealand, South Korea

and Japan. It is perhaps expected that the former two countries share strong commonalities in civil society with NATO countries as they are both members of the British Commonwealth and have strong historical and cultural ties to the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the latter nations of South Korea and Japan are more unexpected. However, while shared traits were observed in some waves, the latest wave six paints a mixed picture. In each analysis, the trade-off between the number of countries and number of questions has been optimized for South Korea. It is noted that South Korea has undergone a few major changes – after transitioning into a democracy, in the span of 20 years from wave three to six, the main opposition consolidated political power away from the ruling party.

Our analyses on Politics and Society focus on South Korea's major diplomatic fronts at present. They distinguish which countries and alliances are ideal or better options in which to concentrate our efforts. The concerned are: 1) traditional security partners or partners of South Korea such as the United States and Japan; 2) a newly emerging partner of South Korea, ASEAN[25] or Southeast Asian countries, which are important partners in the economic field as well as in regional cooperation frameworks such as ASEAN+3[26] and the East Asia summit; 3) traditional and newly emerging middle power cooperation partners - the former includes countries such as Canada, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands, and the latter is represented by MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia) (MIKTA was established in 2013 through a South Korean initiative to address common challenges and to seek out opportunities for close collaboration in the international arena). MIKTA is a vehicle for South Korea to realize middle power diplomacy; and finally 4) other regional powers such as India and China.

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25. Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam.

26. South Korea, Japan and China.

Our research findings have led to the following conclusions. One consistent observation was that South Korea and Japan were observed to be very close to each other, yet this has not been translated into developing close bilateral cooperation at the government level. In fact, Japan's historical interpretations of its wartime actions and territorial disputes over Dokdo Island have wedged apart the two countries even further. On the other hand, the United States remains relatively close to both these countries. As for China, it appears to have edged closer to South Korea in wave six relative to wave five. But the Chinese seem to have very different attitudes toward political values that are cherished by South Koreans despite growing economic ties.

Moreover, as aforementioned, Western nations strongly share political values, and they manifest their commonalities by forming clusters. This practice is also observed among Islamic countries, but not among the countries in this region. In saying so, South Korea should continue working closely with its traditional partners, including current middle powers, and seek out further opportunities with emerging middle powers like Indonesia, Turkey and Australia. Especially in pursuing relations with China, it is important to consider that reaching a convergence of values, such as in human right issues and democracy, can only strengthen ties between countries.

Wave 3 (1994-1999)

Questions: E001 E002 E003 E004 E005 E006 E012 E014 E015 E016 E018 E019 E022 E023 E025 E026 E027 E028 E029 E033 E034 E035 E036 E037 E039 E040 E041 E045 E046 E062 E069_01 E069_02 E069_04 E069_05 E069_06 E069_07 E069_08 E069_10 E069_11 E069_12 E069_13 E069_14 E069_15 E069_17 E069_20 E112 E114 E115 E116 E117 E118 E120 E121 E122 E123 E125 E128 E130 E131 E133 E143

Figure 11. Countries in wave 3 (stress=20.3%, Th. stress [46 countries]=36.2%)
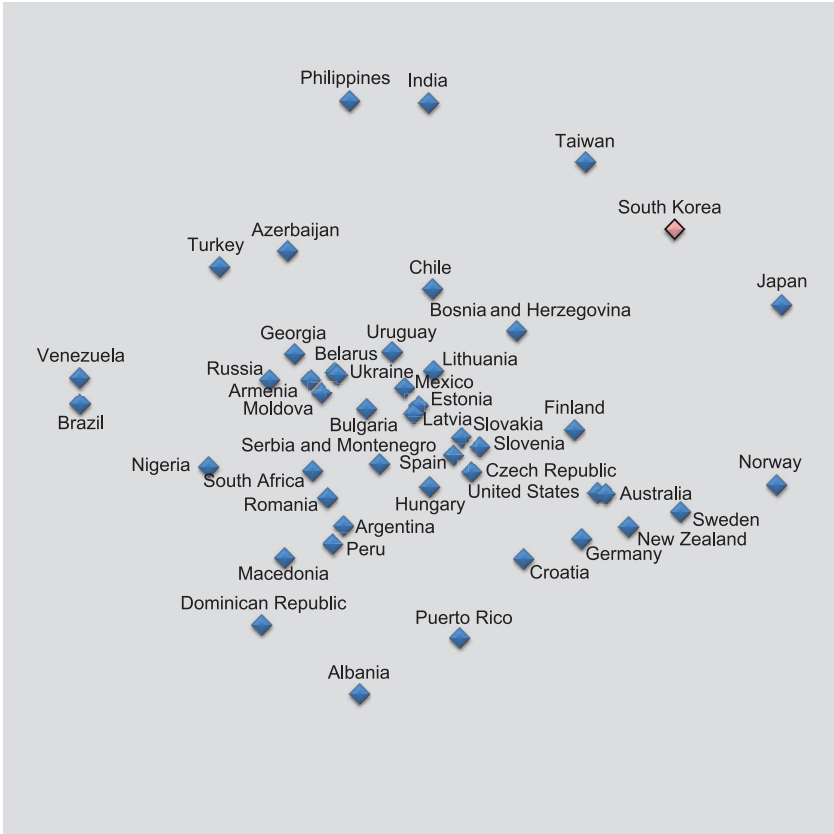
Source: WVS

A total of 46 countries were considered in wave three based on a set of 61 questions. The first observation that could be made is the many similarities between the civil societies of South Korea and Japan in Fig. 11 as demonstrated by their graphical proximity. Despite territorial and history issues, which had contributed to deteriorating relations between the two countries, the two geographical neighbors shared greater commonalities in political culture. Most Western countries occupy the lower RHS.

Taiwan, once our strategic ally, was found to be the closest to South Korea followed by Japan. Despite being geographically distanced from the rest, Finland, the United States and Australia are the fourth, sixth and seventh closest countries to parallel South Korea's political values with Norway and Sweden following behind.

The reasons for these findings can be interpreted in several ways. One may argue that these countries had been either a security partner of South Korea or shared a similar security posture against military threats from the communist military bloc during the Cold War. Thus, considering that the survey was conducted only few years after the end of the Cold War, it should not be surprising to see these countries continue to qualify as primary candidates for security partners. The situation is similar for countries that used to be part of the Soviet Union. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, these countries are still found near Russia on account of their shared past under the same ideology for a few decades.

Another interpretation is that the result reflects South Korea rapidly absorbing global norms and practices during the period. Considering that the Western countries most like-minded with South Korea led the wave of globalization, South Korea may have more readily absorbed global norms and practices in order to increase mutual affinity. It is noted that when wave three was carried out in South Korea, Kim Young Sam was the President of South Korea from 1993 to 1997. His administration was the first to initiate South Korea's inroad in globalization by formally introducing *Segyehwa* ('with the world') as the Korean concept of globalization in 1994. The *Segeyeghwa* drive of the Kim Young Sam government was manifested in three strategic choices: de-concentration of the *Chaebol* (South Korean business conglomerate), external opening of the national economy, and democratization. The government also created the Globalization Commission

headed by the Prime Minister in 1994, and South Korea joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1996.[27]

The third interpretation attributes the findings to the process of democratization in South Korea. The transition from military authoritarianism to a representative democracy occurred in 1987 when South Korea freely elected its president for the first time since 1970. Incoming President Kim Young Sam had no professional military background or close ties to the previous military authoritarian government. His election marked the first peaceful and constitutional transition of political power since 1960. The timing of South Korea's process of political liberalization can account for why South Korea is found relatively close to Finland, the United States and Australia, countries that also embrace democratic values and political system.

The relationship between South Korea and Japan deserves some attention here. Two major developments positively influenced relations between South Korea and Japan during this period. The first was the announcement of the 1993 Kono statement and the 1995 Murayama statement. The Kono Statement, based upon the result of a study conducted by the government on the issue of wartime comfort women, was the first and most authoritative official statement by the Japanese government in history that admits the official involvement of the Japanese military and government in the establishment, operation, and management of comfort stations and the unlawful and coercive recruitment and transfer of wartime sexual slaves, many of whom were Koreans. The Kono statement further extends the Japanese government's sincere apologies and remorse to all the victims. Such spirit and official position of sincere reflection of and apology for the

27. Kim, Samuel. *Korea's Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

country's past wrongdoings during the colonial period was reiterated in 1995 by Prime Minister Murayama on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Pacific War. The statement swears that Japan as a sovereign country will never repeat the errors made during its imperialist past and will further strengthen relations based upon understanding and trust with neighboring countries. It also expresses sincere remorse and apology for the countries who suffered from Japan's colonial rule and aggression such as South Korea.

The second development was the summit diplomacy between South Korea and Japan, which produced the 1998 Joint Declaration by President Kim Dae-Jung and Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi on a New ROK-Japan Partnership for the Twenty-first Century. The Kim-Obuchi Joint Declaration laid a solid foundation for upgraded and future-oriented bilateral relations between South Korea and Japan. The Kim Dae Jung administration implemented the missions articulated in the Joint Declaration as main building blocks of its policy toward Japan. As a result, South Korea began to rapidly open its market to Japanese pop culture and increase the volume of human and cultural exchange.

The arrival of a new threat to regional security in Northeast Asia spurred the United States, Japan, the European Union and South Korea to increase the level of security cooperation and coordination during this period. The most menacing threat was the beginning of North Korea's military threats with its long-range missiles and nuclear weapon capability. In August 1998, North Korea shocked Japan by a successful test launching of Taepodong-1, a long-range missile across the northern part of Japan. The Taepodong-1 launch brought a new nightmarish reality to all the regional powers, particularly to Japan as it meant that now Japan is well within the range of North Korea missile threats. Furthermore, US attempts to prevent North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons reached a critical point in the summer of 1996, when North Korea walked away from the

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and continuously refused the demands for international inspections of its nuclear facilities. The Clinton administration of the United States was on the verge of launching surgical strikes on the nuclear facility in Yongbyeon, North Korea, despite North Korea's repeated warnings that such military action would be considered as an open act of war. The danger of a second Korean War was averted by a dramatic turn of events that led to both North Korea and the United States agreeing on the Agreed Framework in 1994. The United States, Japan, South Korea and the European Union all endorsed the Geneva Agreed Framework, which laid down basic paths toward denuclearization of North Korea in exchange for diplomatic normalization with the United States and delivery of two light-water reactors. The above countries made financial contributions to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), an international consortium to supervise and manage the delivery of the reactors. As a result of this history, closer security cooperation became one of the main agendas between Seoul and Tokyo.

Thanks to the new diplomatic and political initiatives to upgrade its bilateral relationship due to pressing security conditions, South Korea and Japan continually suppressed their different views on territorial and historical issues to prevent them from undermining their policy cooperation during this period. In addition, there was further diversion from such issues of contention due to the fact that the two countries were also coping with the shock of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998, which also contributed to the relative peaceful and pragmatic nature of the ROK-Japan bilateral partnership in this period. As one can see, the bilateral issues of territory and history notwithstanding, similar political values and beliefs are shared by the two countries, and this pattern is repeated in several waves.

Comparisons between South Korea and other countries outside the Northeast

Asian region reveal notable differences in public's attitudes towards political issues. For instance, it is observed that only 16.1 percent of South Koreans as opposed to a larger 76.4 percent of Filipino respondents indicated that greater respect for authority would be a good thing. 83 percent of Brazilians and 62.5 percent of Mexicans shared a similar view. In the Philippines, nearly 81 percent responded that they would never take political action in the form of joining boycotts, but the figure for South Korea was much lower at 25.5 percent. When asked a question of whether their country was run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or for the benefit of all the people, 82.8 percent of South Korean respondents chose the former. For the United States, the response was 73.3 percent with Norway having the lowest figure of 28.2 percent.

When asked on a scale of 1 to 10 whether the onus is on people to take more responsibility to provide for themselves or on the government, around 66.5 percent of South Korean respondents chose the 8~10 range, which indicates more government responsibility. This is the highest percentage observed among all the countries surveyed. Moreover, South Koreans and Mexicans considered a stable economy to be the most important issue, but Brazilians considered the fight against crime to be the most important. Brazil and Venezuela diverge the most from South Korea.

Wave 4 (1999-2004)

Questions: E001 E002 E003 E004 E005 E006 E014 E015 E016 E018 E019 E022 E023 E025 E026 E027 E028 E033 E034 E035 E037 E069_01 E069_02 E069_04 E069_05 E069_06 E069_07 E069_08 E069_10 E069_11 E069_12 E069_13 E069_14 E069_15 E069_20 E114 E115 E116 E117 E120 E121 E122 E123 E124 E125 E128 E143

Figure 12. Countries in wave 4 (stress=15.9%, Th. stress [31 countries]=33%)
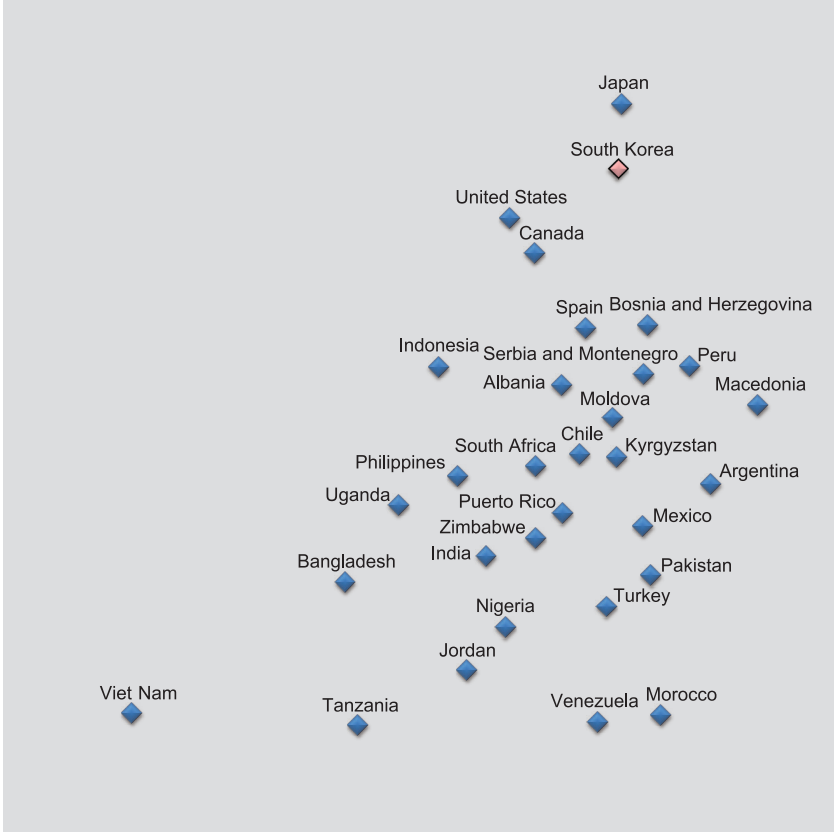
Source: WVS

In wave four, 31 countries based on a set of 47 questions were considered. Japan is again observed to be the closest to South Korea. This persisting pattern, which was also observed in wave three, indicates South Korean and Japanese people hold similar political values, leaving aside the bilateral issues mentioned earlier (i.e., the specifics of bilateral relations were not part of the WVS questionnaire as the survey was intended to gauge people's general views on politics and society). The United States and Canada, South Korea's traditional security partners, were also found to have like-minded civil societies. In all, South Ko-

rea, Japan and the United States are closely knit compared to that of any other waves, implying that the conditions were most conducive for these countries to work together as "natural allies" during this period.

However, such a finding is only partially corroborated by evidence of international collaboration during this period. There were some developments that embodied the political and social affinity between South Korea and Japan and between South Korea and the United States. As for the Korea-Japan relationship, the joint hosting of the World Cup soccer game in 2002 and the surging popularity of Korean pop culture in Japan should be noted as positive signs of the Korea-Japan partnership. Also, South Korea and Japan were pursuing similar policies toward North Korea. The first ever inter-Korean summit meeting between the ROK president Kim Dae Jung and the North Korean leader Kim Jong Il took place in June 2000, while Prime Minister of Japan Junichiro Koizumi visited Pyongyang twice, in September 2002 and May 2004, to negotiate the terms of a possible diplomatic breakthrough with North Korea and address the abductee issue.

Conversely, bilateral relations between Seoul and Washington were severely strained by different perspectives toward North Korea and its WMD programs. The Bush administration made the global fight against terrorism the national security mandate for the United States, and North Korea became one of the main targets as part of the denounced "axis of evil." As the United States became increasingly concerned that the WMD capability of North Korea had possibly fallen into the hands of international terrorists, it collided with a South Korea that upheld an engagement policy through the Sunshine Policy with North Korea. To make matters worse, there was a series of anti-American movements in South Korea in 2002-2003, which led many security experts to predict that the ROK-US security partnership would be in jeopardy.[28]

Though few are inclined to doubt close relations between South Korea and the United States, in reality, there was a crisis in the bilateral security partnership of the two countries. In saying so, it is important to note that commonalities in political culture do not preclude disagreements. They never did within NATO. The basic foundation of NATO is rooted in shared values and common interests rather than short term political interests and diplomatic events. In other words, a country's decisions on security partnership are embedded in the politics of identity, and are affected by its domestic interests. Jae-Jung Suh argues that the ROK-US security partnership "faced the most challenging test yet" in this period because the two governments were experiencing rising nationalism almost simultaneously in the complex post-Pyongyang Summit and post-9/11 world.[29] The process through which both governments tried to find ways to harmonize their newly molded identities put serious strain on the existing security partnership, which resulted in anti-American sentiment in South Korea and a critical view of South Korea as ungrateful and pro-North Korean in the United States. Despite this challenge, the basic structure of the security partnership remained intact, which demonstrates the resilience of their common values in politics and society, as explained in wave three.

There are some significant differences noted among South Korea and its regional neighbors, such as Viet Nam and Indonesia. For instance, only 28.1 percent of South Korean respondents indicated that they would never take political action in the form of joining boycotts, which is similar to the previous wave. On the contrary, the majority of respondents, around 80 percent, in Viet Nam and Indo-

28. Steinberg, David. *Korean Attitudes toward the United States: Changing Dynamics.* New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.

29. Suh, Jae-Jung. *Power, Interest and Identity in Military Alliance*s. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

nesia, said they would not join in boycotts. One distinct feature to note is that Vietnamese respondents showed much more confidence in public organizations such as their armed forces, police, parliament and government. For example, they showed strong support of around 78.3 percent compared to less than 1 percent support from South Koreans.

Despite the geographical proximity that would seemingly predicate commonalities, these variant answers among Viet Nam, Indonesia and South Korea are on account of their different political systems and level of democratization. Under communist one-party rule, Vietnamese people are more confident in their political institution and, therefore, are less likely to join in political protest. Meanwhile, Indonesia had just begun democratizing when wave four was administered. The fact that Indonesia appears to stand in between Viet Nam and South Korea can be attributed to the fact that Indonesia is more democratized and freer than Viet Nam, but not to the extent of South Korea.

It is interesting to note that Viet Nam is located the furthest away from South Korea, while the Philippines and Indonesia are found in between. It is important to remember that what matters is the relative position with respect to other countries rather than its absolute position. The latter two countries uphold democracy unlike Viet Nam. Again, political system and religious culture (i.e., Taoist-Buddhist, Catholic and Islam respectively) can explain the apparent gaps between the countries. This gives support to one of the most commonly used descriptions of Southeast Asia – Unity in Diversity.

As Spain was the only country from Western Europe, this made comparisons rather limited. Turkey and Mexico, MIKTA partners of South Korea, appear distant from South Korea while in short distance from each other.

Wave 5 (2005-2007)

Questions: E001 E002 E003 E004 E005 E006 E012 E015 E016 E018 E019 E022
E023 E025 E025B E026 E026B E035 E036 E037 E039 E040 E041
E069_01 E069_02 E069_04 E069_05 E069_06 E069_07 E069_08
E069_10 E069_11 E069_12 E069_13 E069_14 E069_15 E069_17
E069_20 E069_40 E124 E135 E136 E137 E138 E139 E143 E217 E218
E219 E220 E224 E225 E226 E227 E228 E229 E230 E231 E232 E233
E234 E235 E236 E237 E238 E239 E247 E248 E250 E251 E252 E253
E254

In the case of wave five, 73 questions were chosen to analyze responses from 37 countries. A group of Western countries consisting of Canada, Finland, Germany, Australia and the United States occupies the upper RHS of Fig. 13 with South Korea and Japan underneath. Germany, ranked second, is in close proximity to South Korea compared to wave three. The proximity of Australia and the United States is a feature consistent throughout all waves. Evidently, there is another group of countries in the middle.

Malaysia, Thailand and Viet Nam appear more distant than Indonesia. This can be attributed to Indonesia's progress towards democratization, which has significantly affected its people's political attitudes. The neighboring Southeast Asian countries of Thailand and Malaysia form a small group by themselves near the bottom, sharing some political similarities although their majority religions are very different – Islam and Buddhism. Malaysia has long been categorized as a semi-democracy, and Thailand has been recognized as being a full democracy since the 1990s. However, growing authoritarianism under the Thaksin government in the early 2000s could have led to a decline in respect for democratic values. Alternatively, the political turmoil that ensued after the fall of Thaksin

in 2006 may have created more cautious views on politics and restrained their criticisms of the government. Perhaps given the instability of democracy in both countries, the people hold similar views on politics quite different from the more democratic South Korea.

Figure 13. Countries in wave 5 (stress=16.5%, Th. stress [37 countries]=34.7%)

Source: WVS

It is interesting to observe that China and Viet Nam, both under communist rule, are within proximity on the LHS. Again, Viet Nam is the country located at the furthest point from South Korea as in wave three. Indeed, different political sys-

tems, such as the multi-party democracy of Korea and single party rule in both Vietnam and China, would have influenced people's perceptions toward politics and society in general. Given the relative gaps observed between South Korea and Viet Nam, Viet Nam will not qualify as a security partner of South Korea.

Some differences are noted on the question of whether showing greater respect for authority would be a good thing, a bad thing or don't mind. 61 percent of Chinese respondents indicated that it would be a good thing, but only 27.2 percent of South Korean respondents thought likewise. Indeed, more South Koreans, about 43.1 percent, indicated that it would be a bad thing. As such, Chinese respondents showed much confidence in their governmental organizations compared to South Korean respondents. For instance, it was observed that 87.8 percent of Chinese respondents had much confidence in political parties, but the figures were only 23 percent for both South Korea and Thailand.

Middle powers such as Brazil, Turkey and Mexico are observed to be some distance away from South Korea. But Mexico and Turkey's close proximity is observed once again as in wave four. There is also a noticeable gap between Australia and its neighbor Indonesia. India, though the largest democracy in the world, is not found near South Korea. In fact, significant gaps were also observed in two earlier waves. Although both countries exhibit many of the same characteristics of democracy, Korea and India took very different paths historically. The Indian economy was closer to that of a socialist economy during the Cold War, which was much different from that of South Korea. It is only in the last decade or two that India has moved away from its socialist-like past. In their economic policies, the differences are quite clear. India's market has been relatively closed to the outside world and is still highly protected, while South Korea has opened up more and economically globalized.

Wave 6 (2010-2013)

Questions (Politics): E001 E002 E003 E004 E005 E006 E012 E015 E016 E018
E238 E023 E025 E026 E027 E028 E035 E036 E037 E039 E040
E041 E069_01 E069_04 E069_10 E069_05 E069_06 E069_17
E069_11   E069_12   E069_07   E069_08   E069_03   E069_13
E069_41 E069_14 E069_15 E069_40 E069_20 E114 E115
E117 E224 E225 E226 E227 E229 V137 V138 E233 E235
E236 E124 V181 V182 V183 V184 V185 V186 V187 E217
E218 E220 V195 V196 E234 V217 218 219 220 V221 V222
V223 V224 E255 V226 V227

In the most recent wave, 62 questions were included in our analysis to compare 46 countries after optimization. This particular wave had more questions on "Politics and Society" than any previous wave. It was decided to concentrate on questions that are directly relevant to and more in line with the earlier waves. Once again, Western countries form a cluster on the RHS of Fig. 14. Japan, Taiwan and Germany, Thailand and the Netherlands are amongst the countries in proximity to South Korea. Germany has edged closer in the last two waves. Meanwhile, countries of the Middle East and Africa occupy the LHS. Some Latin American countries, such as Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and Peru are found in the lower middle part. Chile has been consistently close to South Korea throughout all waves, which insinuates that it could be a good partner in Latin America. These groupings are also indicative of clear underlying divisions, for example, between the people in the West and the Middle East on issues of politics and society.

South Korea and Japan are located near each other once again. Interestingly, both countries are sandwiched in between China and the group of Western countries this time. China appears by itself without any country within close range.

Figure 14. Countries in wave 6 (stress=17.7%, Th. stress [46 countries]=36.2%)

Source: WVS

As for people's attitudes on political values in South Korea, Japan and China, clear patterns emerge. Significant differences are observed between South Korean and Chinese respondents when asked about attending peaceful demonstrations as a form of political action. 68.7 percent of Chinese respondents chose the option "Would never do" compared to South Korea's 28.7 percent. In South Korea and Japan, a clear majority of respondents, well over 70 percent, indicated low confidence in their government. Also, less than 20 percent of South Korean and Japanese respondents thought that it was an essential characteristic of

democracy for the State to make people's income equal, but in China, the figure was much higher at 66.1 percent. Japan scored the lowest percentage when it came to showing "Greater respect for authority" as only 4.8 percent of Japanese respondents thought it was a good thing followed by South Korea's rather low 26.6 percent. One crucial difference observed between China and democratic countries is that 84.3 percent of Chinese respondents never voted when elections took place at a national level. In South Korea and the United States, the figures were only 14.3 percent and 17.3 percent respectively.

This report also examines the proximity to South Korea from other countries in the Asia-Pacific region based upon political and social values. It found that Taiwan, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand were the closest after Japan. At the time of writing, political crisis and turmoil in Thailand caused by Thaksin's rule in the early 2000s and his ouster after the 2006 coup is still ongoing. It is not anticipated that the political crisis between so called pro-Thaksin Red-shirts and royal Yellow-shirts will be resolved any time soon. This political crisis has increased Thai people's critical attitudes towards politics regardless of whom they support. South Koreans and Thai people share similar doubts towards politics.

In saying so, it is noted that Thailand and Malaysia maintain their closeness as in wave five. Australia and New Zealand, who are traditional security partners of South Korea, will evidently continue to be so. There are other interesting features to notice such as how far apart the United States is from Pakistan, and how close Russia and Ukraine appear then in light of the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014. At the moment, there is increasing criticism of Russia's annexation of Crimea. Before this, however, Crimea and the whole of Ukraine were once part of Soviet Union. Influenced by shared historical memories and the same religion, the two countries share many cultural and social characteristics.

Summary on Politics and Society

It is evidently clear that South Korea and Japan share many core values in politics and society. The historical issues between the two countries were not addressed as part of the WVS, and these specific issues would render direct comparisons with other countries technically impossible. Overall, South Korea shared a good deal of commonalities with its main ally, the United States, which consistently ranked around seventh in all waves except in the latest wave six. South Korea should continue to work closely with its traditional security partners built on a strong foundation. It can be said that Australia and New Zealand are other regional countries besides Japan that share core values, and can be areas of further cooperation with South Korea in regional matters and beyond. In the case of Australia, the country has almost always been positioned within the vicinity of the United States. The two countries appear to move in unison.

For other regional countries, the picture is not so clear-cut and there is no apparent consistency. China functions under a socialist political system, but at the same time has developed a market economy since the end of the 1970s. In the latest wave six, China's relative position with regards to South Korea, Japan and the group of Western countries only adds complexity to the overall picture. China is yet to fulfill all four freedoms Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed in his 1941 speech as essential human freedoms to be universally enjoyed "everywhere in the world," namely, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. South Korea regards these freedoms to be fully enjoyed by its citizens and considers a country sharing these core values to be its potential natural partner to work with on the international stage. It is worth noting that China, Cuba, Pakistan, Russia, Venezuela and Viet Nam are six countries that voted against adopting the UN Human Rights Council resolution "Situation of human rights in the DPRK" endorsing the findings, conclusions, and recommen-

dations of the UN Commission of Inquiry on the human rights violations in the DPRK. In saying so, China, Pakistan, Venezuela and Viet Nam were very distant from South Korea in most waves. Cuba was not included in any waves. However, China may increasingly become more considerate of human rights issues as China's younger generation is more open and receptive to democratic values. One kind of evidence comes from the Pew Research surveys administered in China. In 2007, 48 percent of Chinese respondents liked American ideas about democracy as opposed to 36 percent who disliked the ideas, but the figures were 52 percent and 31 percent respectively in 2012.[30] This continuing trend can only further enhance the bilateral relations between the two countries.

Our analyses clearly revealed one consistent feature, which was that Western countries are more closely knit and bound together than countries in this region, where people's responses tend to be more varied on political and societal issues. With regard to MIKTA countries, Mexico and Turkey have displayed some clear differences with South Korea in most waves. These countries do not strictly qualify as "Natural Allies" but Turkey has moved closer in recent years. From a South Korean's perspective, the country could perhaps move up its collaboration with Indonesia, Turkey and Australia to one notch despite their differences. As for India, not part of MIKTA countries, it seems to be a little too far at present, despite the fact that both South Korea and India are firmly founded on democratic values. As explained, it was largely because of different economic systems that these countries took since independence. However, it is more likely that the two countries will become much closer economically in coming years with India embracing more open market economy. They have signed the Comprehensive Eco-

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30. Pew Research Center. "U.S. Personal Freedoms." http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/72/country/45.

nomic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) to enhance economic cooperation, led by private investments. The summit level contacts have also become more frequent with the last visit to South Korea by Prime Minister Modi in May 2015.

More variations in people's responses in this region can explain to some extent why this region has lacked even a watered-down version of a military pact similar to NATO. Unlike this region, the Islamic countries have also shown their tendency to cluster together as observed in wave six. Despite the fact that the United States has slipped in terms of ranking since wave four, the ROK-US security partnership has remained strong, and it has been upgraded in terms of force deployment structure, inter-operability and parameter of strategic missions and operation. South Korea and the United States have agreed to upgrade the security partnership from mainly deterring North Korean military aggression to protecting and promoting common values such as liberal democracy, free-market economy, non-proliferation and environmental issues.

As mentioned, Japan has ranked very high on the list of countries close to South Korea, but the two countries' attempts to upgrade to the level of bilateral security cooperation have been abortive. On June 29, 2012, less than an hour before South Korea and Japan were scheduled to sign their first unprecedented military pact, the South Korean government called off the deal, citing strong public outcry. In addition, President Lee Myung-bak's visit to Dokdo and ensuing protest by the Japanese government further deteriorated the bilateral relationship. Under the duo of the Park Geun-hye administration and the Shinzo Abe administration since 2013, the prospect for the bilateral relationship appears to remain dim.

The ROK-US relationship and the ROK-Japan relationship when juxtaposed reveals an important insight as to the effect of values in politics and society on inter-state relations. That is, shared values in politics and society per se do not

determine a security partnership and security cooperation between countries. Rather, the values should be viewed as important enabling conditions for a security partnership, its operation and sustainability.

In order for the security partnership to sustain itself by adapting to a new security environment and domestic political conditions, it needs to go through a positive feedback loop. As such, the existence of strong common values is the powerful cultural underpinning of a security partnership. Conversely, the more successful the security partnership has become, the more likely such an experience creates a sense of community, a coalition of like-minded countries based upon common values. The transformation of NATO after the end of cold war is a case in point. The original underpinning of the NATO was deterrence and defense of military threats from the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the NATO has attained a new identity of a Euro-Atlantic community of liberal democracies, which justifies its continued existence in the post-Cold War. The continued and uninterrupted history of strong partnership among the NATO members has created the sense of cultural community in Europe that transcends the scope of military operations.

Shared values are not panaceas in international relations. They do not preclude disagreements or disputes over how security partnership is created and maintained. Even in a case of successful security cooperation, partner countries have disputes with regards to intelligence sharing, burden sharing, and strategic coordination that arise out of its operation and maintenance. No security partners ever will sail on smoothly and indefinitely. In this regard, despite the proximity measured by political and social values, it still remains to be seen whether ROK-Japan security cooperation could be significantly upgraded in the absence of strong political incentives to overcome the burden of historical and territorial issues and thereby creating the positive feedback loop. On the other hand,

the countries which are devoid of any common vision do not necessarily mean that they cannot cooperate as evidenced by ASEAN+3 and East Asia Summit. But their level of cooperation may not be as strong as that of countries sharing common visions.

Conclusions

The Multi-Dimensional technique provides one way to determine South Korea's potential partners based on input data from the World Values Survey. This technique makes it possible to compare responses from different countries in a meaningful way notwithstanding its shortcoming on bilateral relations. Three variables of relevance to the project objective include environment, family values and politics & society. For each of these variables, four waves of the survey were administered in 1994~1999, 1999~2004, 2005~2007 and 2010~2013. No analysis was carried out on the environmental variable for wave six due to insufficient data.

Our research findings can be summed up as follows. On the environment, South Korea can act as an intermediary between developing countries and developed countries. South Korean respondents are observed to have similar concerns about issues from both sides. The country has promoted green growth policies. For instance, it has become the first country to introduce a cap-and trade system for greenhouse gas emissions, and has plans to operate the system by 2015. Also, South Korea has successfully hosted the Green Climate Fund in Songdo, South Korea in 2012. This fund was founded within the framework of the UN-FCCC to channel money from developed to developing countries to adapt and mitigate the impact of climate change. It is found that Thailand, Malaysia, Japan,

Taiwan, Viet Nam and China can be South Korea's regional partners. Beyond the Asian region, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the United Kingdom could be potential partners from developed countries. The new agreement, replacing the Kyoto Protocol, will be expected at the Paris Climate Conference in 2015, and will be implemented from 2020. It is beneficial for South Korea to know not only the countries that have shared visions on the environment in the past prior to the forthcoming Paris Conference, but also the countries that have not.

The main reason for considering the questions on family value was to address Samuel Huntingdon's thesis that conflict is driven by differences in civilizations. There is strong evidence that South Korea shares more of family values with its regional countries than the West. It is observed that many South Korean people have long viewed the role of men to be clearly distinct and elevated from that of women, and men perhaps considered themselves to be superior to women. But this tendency has diminished recently. It is also evidently clear that there are sharp differences particularly on the role of women between a group of Western countries and a group of Islamic countries, as illustrated in the MDS diagrams.

Before undertaking this project, it was anticipated that distinct patterns in the form of a cluster would not feature among the countries in East Asia, as those exhibited earlier by NATO countries in Ghez's research. This proved to be true of politics and society. The rise of China and the United States strategic rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific are creating the complex and fast-changing external environment to which many of the countries in this region must adapt. By knowing which countries share common visions with South Korea, it can possibly go on to build mutually beneficial collaborative partnerships.

South Korea and Japan were repeatedly observed to be in proximity, and were

located relatively near the United States. Despite this observation, the bilateral relationship between South Korea and Japan has deteriorated in recent times. Eariler Ghez suggested that both South Korea and Japan be made partners to NATO. However, in the latest wave six, their positions revealed a mixed picture in relation to the West and China. Overall, Western countries has a strong tendency to form a cluster, and this is also true of Islamic countries to a lesser extent. But this feature has not been observed among the countries in this region. It is an indication that there are much more varied views among the people in this region. Against this background, any sudden shift in the strategic landscape is unlikely.

South Korea should continue to work with its traditional partners including middle powers like Canada, the Netherlands that share democratic values and principles, and seek out a further opportunity among emerging middle powers like Indonesia, Turkey and Australia. A gradual increase in the number of Chinese who are more understanding of human rights issues and democratic values would pave the way for further collaboration beyond the current economic cooperation and social-cultural exchanges. It is also noted that Chile and increasingly Germany have shown similar political attitudes as those of South Korea.

It is hoped that policymakers, not confined to South Korea, will find our research findings informative. They can better anticipate and identify opportunities for international cooperation in our region and beyond. A shared vision is one metric that can be used to determine, as an enabling condition, potential partners, but it is not an answer by itself. It is possible that people's responses do not have to be reflected in government policy and there are bilateral relations to consider. So there are many other factors that must be carefully thought through before a decision is made to strengthen multilateral or bilateral cooperation.

Appendix

Questions on the Environment

B001. **Would give part of my income for the environment:**
    1: Strongly agree, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

B002. **Agree to an Increase in taxes if used to prevent environmental pollution**
    1: Strongly agree, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

B003. **Government should reduce environmental pollution, but it should not cost me any money**
    1: Strongly agree, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

B004. **I would buy things at a 20 percent higher price if it helped to protect the environment**
    1: Strongly agree, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

B008. **Which one comes closer to your own point of view?**
    1: Protecting environment, 2. Economy growth and creating jobs, 3. Other answer

B009. **Which one comes closer to your own point of view?**
    1: Human beings should master nature, 2. Human beings should coexist with nature
    3: Both, 4: Neither, 5: Other answer

B010. **[COUNTRY]'s environmental problems can be solved without any international agreements to handle them.**
    1: Strongly agree, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

Which, if any, of these things have you done in the last 12 months, out of concern for the environment? Have you decided for environmental reasons to reuse or recycle something rather than throw it away? (B011-B015)

B011. **Have you chosen household products that you think are better for the environment?**

0: Have not, 1: Have done

B012. **Have you decided for environmental reasons to reuse or recycle something rather than throw it away?**

0: Have not, 1: Have done

B013. **Have you tried to reduce water consumption for environmental reasons?**

0: Have not, 1: Have done

B014. **Have you attended a meeting or signed a letter or petition aimed at protecting the environment?**

0: Have not, 1: Have done

B015. **Have you contributed to an environmental organization?**

0: Have not, 1: Have done

B016. **Which one should we emphasize more?**

1: Tradition, 2: High economic growth, 3: Both, 4: Neither, 5: Other

B017. **Which one comes closest to your own views?**

1: Humanity has a bright future, 2: Humanity has a bleak future, 3: Both, 4: Neither, 5: Other

B018. **Environmental problems in your community: Poor water quality.**

1: Very serious, 2: Somewhat serious, 3: Not very serious, 4: Not serious at all

B019. **Environmental problems in your community: Poor air quality.**

1: Very serious, 2: Somewhat serious, 3: Not very serious, 4: Not serious at all

B020. **Environmental problems in your community: Poor sewage and sanitation**

1: Very serious, 2: Somewhat serious, 3: Not very serious, 4: Not serious at all

B021. **Environmental problems in the world: Global warming or the greenhouse effect.**

1: Very serious, 2: Somewhat serious, 3: Not very serious, 4: Not serious at all

Environmental problems in the world: Loss of plant or animal species or bio-

B022. **diversity.**

1: Very serious, 2: Somewhat serious, 3: Not very serious, 4: Not serious at all

B023. **Environmental problems in the world: Pollution of rivers, lakes and oceans.**

1: Very serious, 2: Somewhat serious, 3: Not very serious, 4: Not serious at all

Questions on Family ( ) refers to options modified in wave six

D001. **How much do you trust your family.**

1: Trust them completely, 2: Trust them a little, 3: Neither trust nor distrust them, 4: Do not trust them very much, 5: Do not trust them at all (1: Trust completely, 2: Trust somewhat, 3: Do not trust very much, 4: Do not trust at all)

D017. **Ideal number of children.**

0: None, 1: 1 child, 2: 2 children, 3: 3 children, 4: 4 children, 5: 5 children, 6: 6 children, 7: 7 children, 8: 8 children, 9: 9 children, 10: 10 or more children

D018. **Child needs a home with father and mother.**

0: Tend to disagree, 1: Tend to agree

D019. **A woman has to have children to be fulfilled.**

0: Not necessary, 1: Needs children

D022. **Marriage is an out-dated institution.**

0: Disagree, 1: Agree, 2: Other answer

D023. **Woman as a single parent.**

0: Disapprove, 1: Approve, 2: Depends

D024. **Enjoy sexual freedom.**

1: Agree, 2: Disagree, 3: Neither

D054. **One of main goals in life has been to make my parents proud.**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D055. **Make effort to live up to what my friends expect.**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D056. **Relationship working mother.**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D057. **Being a housewife is just as fulfilling (as working for pay).**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D058. **Husband and wife should both contribute to income.**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D059. **Men make better political leaders than women do.**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D060. **University is more important for a boy than for a girl.**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D061. **Pre-school child suffers with working mother. (When a mother works for pay, the children suffer.)**

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D063. Job best way for women to be independent.

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree (1: Agree, 2: Neither, 3: Disagree)

D066. Problem if women have more income than husband.

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree (1: Agree, 2: Neither, 3: Disagree)

D078. Men make better business executives than women do.

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D079. I seek to be myself rather than to follow others.

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

D080. I decide my goals in life by myself.

1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

Questions Politics and Society ( ) refers to options modified in wave six

People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important? (E001-E002)

E001. Aims of country: first choice.

1: A high level of economic growth, 2: (Making sure this country has) strong defense forces, 3: (Seeing that) people have more say about how things are done (at their jobs and in their communities), 4: Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful

E002. Aims of country: second choice.

1: A high level of economic growth, 2: (Making sure this country has) strong defense forces, 3: (Seeing that) people have more say about how things are done (at their jobs and in their communities), 4: Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful

If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important? And which would be the next most important? (E003-E004)

E003. Aims of respondent: first choice.

1: Maintaining order in the nation, 2: Giving people more say (in important government decisions), 3: Fighting rising prices, 4: Protecting freedom of speech

E004. Aims of respondent: second choice.

1: Maintaining order in the nation, 2: Giving people more say (in important government decisions), 3: Fighting rising prices, 4: Protecting freedom of speech

Here is another list. In your opinion, which one of these is most important? And what would be the next most important? (E005-E006)

E005. Most important: first choice.

1: A stable economy, 2: Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society, 3: (Progress toward a society in which) Ideas count more than money, 4: The fight against crime

E006. Most important: second choice.

1: A stable economy, 2: Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society, 3: (Progress toward a society in which) Ideas count more than money, 4: The fight against crime

E012. Willingness to fight for country: Of course, we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would you be willing to fight for your country?

0: No, 1: Yes, 2: Depends (1: Yes, 2: No)

I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? (E014-E019)

E014. Future changes: Less emphasis on money and material possessions.

1: Good thing, 2: Don't mind, 3: Bad thing

E015. **Future changes: Less importance placed on work (in our lives).**
1: Good (thing), 2: Don't mind, 3: Bad (thing)

E016. **Future changes: More emphasis on (the development of) technology.**
1: Good (thing), 2: Don't mind, 3: Bad (thing)

E018. **Future changes: Greater respect for authority.**
1: Good (thing), 2: Don't mind, 3: Bad (thing)

E019 **Future changes: More emphasis on family life.**
1: Good thing, 2: Don't mind, 3: Bad thing

E022. **Opinion about scientific advances.**
1: Will help, 2: Will harm, 3: Some of each

E023. **Interest in politics: How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you (read out and code one answer)**
1: Very interested, 2: Somewhat interested, 3: Not very interested, 4: Not at all interested

Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it. (E025, E026, E027, E028, E029)

E025. **Political action: signing a petition.**
1: Have done, 2: Might do, 3: Would never do

E026. **Political action: joining in boycotts.**
1: Have done, 2: Might do, 3: Would never do

E027. **Political action: attending lawful(/peaceful) demonstrations.**
1: Have done, 2: Might do, 3: Would never do

E028. **Political action: joining (unofficial) strikes.**
1: Have done, 2: Might do, 3: Would never do

E029. **Political action: occupying buildings or factories.**
1: Have done, 2: Might do, 3: Would never do

Have you or have you not done any of these activities in the last five years? ((Read

out and code one answer for each) action): (E025B, E026B)

E025B. **Political action recently done: signing a petition.**
1: Have done, 2: Not done

E026B. **Political action recently done: joining in boycotts.**
1: Have done, 2: Not done

E033. **Self positioning in political scale: In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?**
1: Left, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Right

E034. **Basic kinds of attitudes concerning society: On this card are three basic kinds of attitudes concerning the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion.**
1: Society must be radically changed, 2: Society must be gradually improved by reforms, 3: Society must be valiantly defended

Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. Sentences: (E035-E039, E045, E046)

E035. **Income equality: Incomes should be made more equal vs. We need larger income differences as incentives (for individual effort).**
1: Incomes should be made more equal, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: We need larger income differences as incentives (for individual effort)

E036. **Private vs state ownership of business: Private ownership of business (and industry) should be increased vs Government ownership of business (and industry) should be increased.**
1: Private ownership of business should be increased, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Government ownership of business (and industry) should be increased

E037. **Government responsibility: People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves vs The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for.**

1: People should take more responsibility, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: The government should take more responsibility (in reverse order)

E039. **Competition good or harmful: Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas vs Competition is harmful. It brings (out) the worst in people.**

1: Competition is good, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Competition is harmful

Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can chose any number in between. Agreement: (E040-E041)

E040. **Hard work brings success.**

1: In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Hard work doesn't generally bring success - it's more a matter of luck and connections

E041. **Wealth accumulation.**

1: People can only get rich at the expense of others, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone

E045. **Major changes in life: One should be cautious about making major changes in life vs. You will never achieve much unless you act boldly.**

1: One should be cautious about major changes in life, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: One should act boldly to achieve

E046. **New and old ideas: Ideas stood test of time better vs New ideas better.**

1: Ideas that stood test of time are generally best, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: New ideas are generally better than old ones

E062. **Importation of goods: Do you think it is better if: A) Goods made in other countries can be imported and sold here if people want to buy them. B) There should**

be stricter limits on selling foreign goods here, to protect the jobs of people in this country.

1: Import goods, 2: Limit imports, 3: Other answers

I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? (E069_01- E069_40)

E069_01. **Confidence: Churches.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_02. **Confidence: Armed Forces.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_03. **Confidence: Education System (Universities).**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_04. **Confidence: The Press.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_05. **Confidence: Labour Unions.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_06. **Confidence: The Police.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_07. **Confidence: Parliament.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_08. **Confidence: The Civil Services.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_10. **Confidence: Television.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_11. **Confidence: The Government (in your nation's capital).**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_12. **Confidence: The Political Parties.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_13. **Confidence: Major Companies.**

1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_14. **Confidence: The Environmental Protection Movement (Environmental organizations).**
1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_15. **Confidence: The Women's Movement (organizations).**
1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_17. **Confidence: Justice System (The courts).**
1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_20. **Confidence: The United Nations.**
1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_40. **Confidence: Charitable or humanitarian organizations.**
1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E069_41. **Confidence: Banks.**
1: A great deal, 2: Quite a lot, 3: Not very much, 4: None at all

E112. **Rate political system as it was before: People have different views about the system for governing this country. Here is a scale for rating how well things are going: 1 means very bad; 10 means very good. Where on this scale would you put the political system as it was … [in former communist countries: under communist regime], [in countries where recently a change of regime xx has taken place: under xx regime;], [in countries where no regime change has taken place: ten years ago]**
1: Bad, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Very good

I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? (E114- E117)

E114. **Political system: Having a strong leader (who does not have to bother with parliament and elections).**
1: Very good, 2: Fairly good, 3: (Fairly) Bad, 4: Very bad

E115. **Political system: Having experts, (not government,) make decisions (according to what they think is best for the country).**
1: Very good, 2: Fairly good, 3: Fairly Bad, 4: Very bad

E116. **Political system: Having the army rule.**
1: Very good, 2: Fairly good, 3: Fairly Bad, 4: Very bad

E117. **Political system: Having a democratic political system.**
1: Very good, 2: Fairly good, 3: Fairly Bad, 4: Very bad

E118. **Firm party leader vs. Cooperating party leader: In politics, different parties often hold different views. Which do you think is better? A) A party leader should stand firm for what he or she believes, even if others disagree. B) A party leader should be prepared to cooperate with other groups, even if it means compromising some important beliefs.**
1: Firm party leader, 2: Cooperative party leader

I'm going to read off some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. Could you please tell me if you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly, after I read each one of them? (E120- E123)

E120. **In democracy, the economic system runs badly.**
1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

E121. **Democracies are indecisive and have too much squabbling.**
1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

E122. **Democracies aren't good at maintaining order.**
1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

E123. **Democracy may have problems but is better.**
1: Agree strongly, 2: Agree, 3: Disagree, 4: Strongly disagree

E124. **Respect for individual human rights nowadays: How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays (in our country)? Do you feel there is (Read out):**
1: There is a lot of (A great deal of) respect for individual human rights, 2: There is some respect (Fairly much respect), 3: (There is) not much respect, 4: (There is) no respect at all

E125. **Satisfaction with the people in national office: How satisfied are you with the way the people now in national office are handling the country's affairs? Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, fairly dissatisfied or very dis-**

satisfied?

1: Very satisfied, 2: Fairly satisfied, 3: Fairly dissatisfied, 4: Very dissatisfied

E128. **Country is run by big interest vs. for all people's benefit: Generally speaking, would you say that this country is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?**

1: Run by a few big interests, 2: Run for all the people

E130. **Poverty compared to 10 years ago: Would you say that today a larger share, about the same share, or a smaller shares of the people in this country are living in poverty than were ten years ago?**

1: Larger share, 2: Same share, 3: Smaller share

E131. **Why are people in need: Why, in your opinion, are there people in this country who live in need? Here are two opinions: Which comes closest to your view?**

1: Poor because of laziness and lack of will power, 2: Poor because of an unfair society, 3: Other answer

E133. **How much is the government doing against poverty: Do you think that what the government is doing for people in poverty in this country is about the right amount, too much, or too little?**

1: Too much, 2: About the right amount, 3: Too little, 4: Other answer

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations than by the various national governments. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the respective national governments; while others think they would be handled best by the national governments working together with co-ordination by the United Nations. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by the United Nations, or by the national governments with UN co-ordination? (E135-E139)

E135. **Who should decide: international peacekeeping.**

1: National governments, 2: United Nations, 3: National governments, with UN coordination, 4: Regional organizations, 5: Non profit / Non governmental org, 6: Commercial enterprise

E136. **Who should decide: protection of the environment.**

1: National governments, 2: United Nations, 3: National governments, with UN coordination, 4: Regional organizations, 5: Non profit / Non governmental org, 6: Commercial enterprise

E137. **Who should decide: aid to developing countries.**

1: National governments, 2: United Nations, 3: National governments, with UN coordination, 4: Regional organizations, 5: Non profit / Non governmental org, 6: Commercial enterprise

E138. **Who should decide: refugees.**

1: National governments, 2: United Nations, 3: National governments, with UN coordination, 4: Regional organizations, 5: Non profit / Non governmental org, 6: Commercial enterprise

E139. **Who should decide: human rights.**

1: National governments, 2: United Nations, 3: National governments, with UN coordination, 4: Regional organizations, 5: Non profit / Non governmental org, 6: Commercial enterprise

E143. **Immigrant policy: How about people from other countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do?**

1: Let anyone come, 2: As long as jobs available, 3: Strict limits, 4: Prohibit people from coming

Now, I would like to read some statements and ask how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. For these questions, a 1 means that you "completely disagree" and a 10 means that you "completely agree." (E217-E220, V195-V196)

E217. **Science and technology are making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable.**

1: Completely disagree, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely agree

E218. **Because of science and technology, there will be more opportunities for the next generation.**

1: Completely disagree, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely

agree

E219. **Science and technology make our way of life change too fast.**

1: Completely disagree, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely agree

E220. **We depend too much on science and not enough on faith.**

1: Completely disagree, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely agree

V195. **One of the bad effects of science is that it breaks down people's ideas of right and wrong.**

1: Completely disagree, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely agree

V196. **It is not important for me to know about science in my daily life.**

1: Completely disagree, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely agree

Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. Use this scale where 1 means "not at all an essential characteristic of democracy" and 10 means it definitely is "an essential characteristic of democracy" (Read out and code one answer for each): (E224-E233, V137-V138)

E224. **Democracy: Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E225. **Democracy: Religious authorities (ultimately) interpret the laws.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E226. **Democracy: People choose their leaders in free elections.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E227. **Democracy: People receive state aid for unemployment.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8,

9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E228. **Democracy: The army takes over when government is incompetent.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E229. **Democracy: Civil rights protect people's liberty (people) against oppression (from state oppression).**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E230. **Democracy: The economy is prospering.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E231. **Democracy: Criminals are severely punished.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E232. **Democracy: People can change the laws in referendums.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

E233. **Democracy: Women have the same rights as men.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

V137. **The state makes people's incomes equal.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

V138. **People obey their rulers.**

1: Not an essential characteristic of democracy, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: An essential characteristic of democracy

All things considered, would you say that the world is better off, or worse off, because of science and technology? Please tell me which comes closest to your view on this scale: 1 means that "the world is a lot worse off," and 10 means that "the world is a lot better off." (Code one number):

E234. **The world is better off, or worse off, because of science and technology.**
1: A lot worse off, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: A lot better off

E235. **Importance of democracy: How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is "not at all important" and 10 means "absolutely important" what position would you choose? (Code one number):**
1: Not at all important, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Absolutely important

E236. **Democraticness in own country: And how democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is "not at all democratic" and 10 means that it is "completely democratic," what position would you choose? (Code one number):**
1: Not at all democratic, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Completely democratic

E237. **Heard of the Millennium Development Goals.**
0: No, 1: Yes

In 2000, leaders representing almost all the world's countries agreed to carry out a number of programs to improve the lives of the peoples of low-income countries. These programs are known as the Millennium Development Goals. I'm going to read out some of the problems that these programs involve. I would like you to indicate which of these problems you consider most serious. Which of the following problems do you consider the most serious one for the world as a whole? (Read out and code one answer under "most serious for the world"): (E238)

E238. **Most serious problem of the world: 1st choice.**
1: People living in poverty and need, 2: Discrimination against girls and women, 3: Poor sanitation and infectious diseases, 4: Inadequate education, 5: Environmental pollution

In 2000, leaders representing almost all the world's countries agreed to carry out a number of programs to improve the lives of the peoples of low-income countries.

These programs are known as the Millennium Development Goals. I'm going to read out some of the problems that these programs involve. I would like you to indicate which of these problems you consider the second most serious problem for the world as a whole? (Code one answer under "next most serious for the world"): (E239)

E239. **Most serious problem of the world: 2nd choice.**
1: People living in poverty and need, 2: Discrimination against girls and women, 3: Poor sanitation and infectious diseases, 4: Inadequate education, 5: Environmental pollution

E247. **Priority: Global poverty versus National problems. Thinking at your own country's problems, should your country's leaders give top priority to help reducing poverty in the world or should they give top priority to solve your own country's problems? Use this scale where 1 means "top priority to solve my own country's problems."(Code one answer):**
1: Top priority to help reducing poverty in the world, 2: 2, 3: 3, 4: 4, 5: 5, 6: 6, 7: 7, 8: 8, 9: 9, 10: Top priority to solve my own country's problems

People use different sources to learn what is going on in their country and the world. For each of the following sources, please indicate whether you used it last week or did not use it last week to obtain information (Read out and code one answer for each): (E248-E254)

E248. **Information source: Daily newspaper.**
0: Not used last week, 1: Used last week

E250. **Information source: Printed magazines.**
0: Not used last week, 1: Used last week

E251. **Information source: In depth reports on radio or TV.**
0: Not used last week, 1: Used last week

E252. **Information source: Books.**
0: Not used last week, 1: Used last week

E253. **Information source: Internet, Email.**
0: Not used last week, 1: Used last week

E254. **Information source: Talk with friends or colleagues.**

0: Not used last week, 1: Used last week

E255. **How often use of PC: How often, if ever, do you use a personal computer? (Read out and code one answer):**

1: Never, 2: Occasionally, 3: Frequently, 4: Don't know what a computer is (do not read out, code only if volunteered!)

To what degree are you worried about the following situations?

V181. **Losing my job or not finding a job.**

1: Very much, 2: A good deal, 3: Not much, 4: Not at all

V182. **Not being able to give my children a good education.**

1: Very much, 2: A good deal, 3: Not much, 4: Not at all

V183. **A war involving my country.**

1: Very much, 2: A good deal, 3: Not much, 4: Not at all

V184. **A terrorist attack.**

1: Very much, 2: A good deal, 3: Not much, 4: Not at all

V185. **Civil war.**

1: Very much, 2: A good deal, 3: Not much, 4: Not at all

V186. **Government wire-tapping or reading my mail or email.**

1: Very much, 2: A good deal, 3: Not much, 4: Not at all

V187. **Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Under some conditions, war is necessary to obtain justice."**

1: Agree, 2: Disagree

People learn what is going on in this country and the world from various sources. For each of the following sources, please indicate whether you use it to obtain information daily, weekly, monthly, less than monthly or never (read out and code one answer for each):

V217. **Daily newspaper.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V218. **Printed magazines.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V219. **TV news.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V220. **Radio news.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V221. **Mobile phone.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V222. **Email.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V223. **Internet.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

V224. **Talk with friends or colleagues.**

1: Daily, 2: Weekly, 3: Monthly, 4: Less than monthly, 5: Never

When elections take place, do you vote always, usually or never? Please tell me separately for each of the following levels (Read out and code one answer for each item):

V226. **Local level.**

1: Always, 2: Usually, 3: Never

V227. **National level.**

1: Always, 2: Usually, 3: Never

A S A N
R E P O R T

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by **Bong Youngshik, Choi Hyeonjung, Kim Chong Woo**
   Kim Hankwon, Lee Jaehyon, Kim Soo Min

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