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The ANU Korea Institute meets its mission by:

- Extending and enhancing the teaching of the Korean language and a wide range of contextual Korea-related subjects;
- Promoting original research and intellectual dialogue between Australia and Korea;
- Providing support for researchers and graduate students;
- Encouraging closer cooperation between Korean and Australian universities as well as with universities in the World;
- Regularly participating in the world-wide Consortium of the Centres for Korean Studies;
- Promoting active participation by government, business and the public in the Institute's activities.

KOREAN STUDIES AT ANU

The ANU is one of the world's foremost institutes for the study of Korean history and culture. In ANU teaching and research, our scholars engage with a wide variety of issues and themes from the nineteenth century to the present. ANU's courses analyse developments in Korean history and culture from decidedly different viewpoints and discuss issues related to, for example, social movements, economic mobility, gender imbalance, and popular culture. Supported by a strong network of peers across the College of Asia and the Pacific, and the vast resources of libraries in the ACT, ANU's Korean Studies program accommodates a broad range of topics and methodologies.

From 2018, the ANU will offer both a minor and a major in Korean studies. ANU students interested in a solid grounding in the study of Korea's fascinating history and culture are encouraged to contact us at: cap.student@anu.edu.au. Please note that knowledge of the Korean language is not required for any of the courses that fall under the Korean Studies minor, but students with at least a working knowledge of the language will be encouraged to apply it in their coursework.

GENERAL INFORMATION

2017 Korea Update Convenor

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WiFi

WiFi is available on campus for conference attendees:
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Username: 2017KoreaUpdate
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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

9:10 Welcome

Associate Professor Roald Maliangkay, Director, ANU Korea Institute

9:15 Opening

Ms Nancy Gordon, Assistant Secretary, North-east Asia Branch, North Asia Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

9:30 Keynote: Corruption, the presidential impeachment, and the future of democracy in Korea

Speaker: Prof HeeMin Kim, Professor of Political Education, Department of Social Studies Education, Seoul National University

10:30 Morning tea

11:10 DPRK panel - Chaired by Associate Professor Roald Maliangkay, Director, ANU Korea Institute

Whither North Korea? Sixty years of crises and six years of challenges

Speaker: Prof Jae-Jung Suh, Department of Politics and International Studies, International Christian University

"A ticking time bomb"? Mass rebellion and the military in North Korea

Speaker: Dr Andrew Jackson, Senior Lecturer, Monash University

12:20 Lunch

13:45 Migration and manipulation panel - Chaired by Associate Professor Fiona Yap, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU

Korean migrants and immigrant incorporation in Australia

Speaker: Dr David Hundt, Senior Lecturer in International Relations, Deakin University

Korean and Australian digital news users: different ways of accessing news online

Speaker: Ms Jee Young Lee (with Associate Professor Sora Park), News and Media Research Centre (N&MRC) University of Canberra

14:55 Afternoon tea

15:15 The politics of life and the business of death panel - Chaired by Associate Professor Roald Maliangkay, Director, ANU Korea Institute

The rise, fraud and fall of funeral service providing conglomerates: topics and concerns by journalists

Speaker: Associate Professor Gil-Soo Han, Associate Professor, School of Media, Film and Journalism, Monash University

Catholic rituals of protest and dissent in contemporary South Korea

Speaker: Ms Lina Koleilat, School of Culture, History and Language, ANU

The transnational networks of information life politics in South Korea's organic farming movement

Speaker: Mr Yon Jae Paik, College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU

16:45 Conclusion

Associate Professor Roald Maliangkay, Director, ANU Korea Institute

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2017 KOREA UPDATE
CROSSING BORDERS

FRIDAY, 22 SEPTEMBER 2017

Presented by

ANU Korea Institute

ANU
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KOREAN
STUDIES
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ANU College of
Asia & the Pacific

CROSSING BORDERS

The ANU Korea Update 2017 brings together key representatives from the academic and policy-making communities to discuss recent political, economic, security and social issues related to Korea. This year's Update is themed "Crossing Borders". It includes panels on Park Geun-hye's recent impeachment and the challenges faced by President Moon Jae-in's administration; the strategic and economic position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; public trust in news and social media in the Republic of Korea and Australia; the profiteering of funeral businesses in Korea; and social movements and religion.

Participating in these dialogues will be distinguished speakers from academic and policy institutions in Australia, the Republic of Korea, and Japan, including Prof Jae-Jung Suh, Dr David Hundt, Dr Andrew Jackson, and Assoc Prof Gil-Soo Han. This year's keynote speaker is political scientist Prof HeeMin Kim from Seoul National University.

The Korea Update is a biennial event and is hosted by the ANU Korea Institute.

ABSTRACTS AND BIOS

Professor HeeMin Kim, Professor of Political Education, Department of Social Studies Education, Seoul National University

Corruption, the presidential impeachment, and the future of democracy in Korea

Abstract: In 2012, Park Geun-hye was elected the first woman president of South Korea. Three years into her presidency, the nation was shocked when in October 2016 a TV station revealed her involvement of associate Choi Soon-sil, a civilian without any position in government, in decisions regarding the most sensitive political issues. Further investigations revealed that by engaging in all sorts of illicit activities involving government facilities and personnel, Choi was able to amass an enormous amount of wealth and power. It appeared that the president had actively accommodated Choi's pursuits. Public outrage led to a million demonstrators gathering on Seoul's main city square near the presidential mansion every Saturday night for 13 consecutive weeks. Under much pressure, in December 2016 the Korean National Assembly finally impeached President Park by well over 2/3rd vote. Special prosecutors appointed by the Assembly investigated the activities of Choi Soon-sil and her associates in government and a number of leading Korean business conglomerates. The Constitutional Court decided to formally confirm the impeachment on March 10, 2017. As a result, Park was fired as president and indicted for bribery and failure to uphold the constitution. The vice chairman of the Samsung corporation, Lee Jae-yong, was also indicted for bribery. Right now close to 20 people, many of whom were top public officials in the Park administration, are being tried for various criminal charges. Park's own trial is on-going. How could this scandal happen in Korea, a country considered a model new democracy? What are the root causes of the citizen reaction to Choi Soon-sil-gate, and how has public opinion changed since? How do we explain the million-people candle-light marches over the 13-week period without a single casualty? What is the impact of the scandal and the resulting upheaval on Korea's relationships with Japan, China, and the U.S.A.? And what is the long-term impact of this scandal on the democratic transition in Korea?

Bio: Professor HeeMin Kim has published extensively on electoral systems, the development of Korean democracy, and South Korean party politics. Among his major works are *Korean Democracy in Transition: A Rational Blueprint for Developing Societies* (University of Kentucky Press, 2011), *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998* (edited vol., Oxford University Press, 2001), and *Rationality and Politics in the Korean Peninsula* (edited vol., Michigan State University, 1995). While working in the Department of Social Studies Education at Seoul National University, Korea, he is also Professor Emeritus of the Department of Political Science at Florida State University, and Guest Professor with the Institute of Public Diplomacy at Jilin University, China.

Professor Jae-Jung Suh, Department of Politics and International Studies, International Christian University

Whither North Korea? Sixty years of crises and six years of challenges

Abstract: Where is North Korea headed after a series of missile and nuclear tests? What has its leader Kim Jong Un accomplished with his byungjin policy of simultaneously developing the military and economy? What does he want to achieve during his rule? While we may not be able to find a definitive answer to these questions anytime soon, we can glean some insights from the past that shed light on North Korea's present and future direction. In this presentation, I critically review the past sixty years of Pyongyang's relationship with Washington as well as the past six years of Kim Jong Un's rule in an attempt to develop a more learned understanding of the country's actions and possible future directions.

Bio: J.J. Suh is currently Professor at International Christian University (Tokyo, Japan). He has served as Associate Professor and Director of Korea Studies at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University and Assistant Professor in Department of Government at Cornell University as well as on the Presidential Commission on Policy Planning (Republic of Korea). An expert on the U.S.-Korea relations, U.S. policy toward Asia, international relations of East Asia, international security, and IR theory, he is currently working on regional orders in East Asia, human security, and North Korea. He has authored and edited numerous journal articles and books, including *Power, Interest and Identity in Military Alliances* (2007); *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power and Efficiency* (2004); *Truth and Reconciliation in the Republic of Korea: Between the Present and Future of the Korean Wars* (2012); *Origins of North Korea's Juhe: Colonialism, War, and Development* (2012); *"The Imbalance of Power, the Balance of Asymmetric Terror: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) in Korea,"* "Changes in U.S. Military Strategy and the U.S.-Korea Alliance," "The Two-Wars Doctrine and the Regional Arms Race: Contradictions in U.S. Post-Cold War Security Policy in Northeast Asia," and "War-Like History or Diplomatic History? Historical Contentions and Regional Order in East Asia."

Dr Andrew Jackson, Senior Lecturer, Monash University
"A ticking time bomb"? Mass rebellion and the military in North Korea

Abstract: One common assumption about North Korea is that it is bound to collapse, and this is a prediction that has been made since the fall of Eastern European communism in 1989, the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, the famine of 1994-7, and the death of Kim Jong Il in 2011. One of the scenarios for collapse is that of a mass uprising by ordinary North Koreans angered by their lack of political freedoms, access to material goods and the perceived incompetence, cruelty and corruption of government. Researchers into North Korea who have predicted a popular uprising have included Martin (2004), Lankov (2013), Hassig and Oh (2015), however it is Victor Cha (2012) who has devoted the most research to such a possibility. Cha argues that a series of breakdowns in social order over the past thirty years demonstrate that North Korea is a "ticking time bomb" that will shortly result in a "Ceaurescu moment" where the population publically and violently turn against their leadership. Using theories about the role of the military in the outcomes of mass rebellion by Diana Russell (1974) and Terence Lee (2015), I argue that causal factors like discontent or repression on their own cannot be used to predict a successful popular overthrow of the government. I argue that military and regional variables as well as international intervention must also be considered by researchers to predict successful mass rebellion. In this presentation, I focus on military and regional variables in the North Korean case and hypothesize on the likelihood of such a scenario.

Bio: Andrew David Jackson is currently Senior Lecturer and Convenor of Korean Studies at Monash University, Melbourne. He obtained his PhD in Korean history from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 2011. Other research interests include: late-Choson rebellion and factionalism, legal responses to rebellion in late-Choson. As well as pre-modern history, Andrew is interested in modern Korean history and society, South and North Korean film, sound in Korean film, and theories of rebellion and revolution. He is the author of *The 1728 Musin Rebellion: Politics and Plotting in Eighteenth-Century Korea* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016) and co-editor (with Colette Balmain) of *Korean Screen Cultures: Interrogating Cinema, TV, Music and Online Games* (Peter Lang, 2016)

Dr David Hundt, Senior Lecturer in International Relations, Deakin University
Korean migrants and immigrant incorporation in Australia

Abstract: In 2010 there were more than 100,000 Koreans residing in Australia, making them the 12th-largest group of residents in the country. The Korean population has grown steadily, but to date there have been few comprehensive studies done of the experience of Koreans in Australia. It is notable too that the Korean population has increased at a time when Australia has introduced and to some extent disowned an official policy of multiculturalism. How have Koreans experienced Australian multiculturalism, and what has that meant for their lives? In order to answer these questions, this paper draws on interviews that I have carried out with Korean residents in Australia. In seeking to understand how Koreans have integrated into Australian society, I use Albert Hirschmann's tripartite schema of 'exit, loyalty' and 'voice' to set out the possible responses of migrants to a new host society. By 'exit', we refer to new migrants deciding to leave what they perceive to be an intolerable society, or one where they feel extremely uncomfortable. By 'loyalty', we mean the propensity for new migrants to in large part or full adopt the norms of the host society, possibly at the expense of their own customs and practices. By 'voice', we refer to the actions that new arrival take to seek to change the terms of their engagement with the host society, and in doing so to shift what is perceived to be an intolerable set of conditions to something more acceptable. This study seeks to identify which of these three coping strategies best applies to Koreans in Australia, and the degree to which they apply. We are particularly interested in whether or not some Koreans are more drawn to one strategy over another, and also whether they switch between strategies. In this way, the study seeks to shed new light not only on the lives of Koreans in Australia, but also on the larger migrant experience in Australia.

Bio: David Hundt is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Deakin University. His research interests are the politics, security and political economy of the Asia-Pacific, and he has a particular interest in Korean Studies. His articles have appeared in the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *Political Science and Asian Perspective*. His recent book, *Varieties of Capitalism in Asia: Beyond the Developmental State*, was published by Palgrave in July 2017. He is currently working on a new project, funded by the Academy of Korean Studies, which investigates the lives of Korean migrants in Australia and New Zealand

Ms Jee Young Lee (with Associate Professor Sora Park), News and Media Research Centre (N&MRC), University of Canberra

Korean and Australian digital news users: different ways of accessing news online

Abstract: With increased digitalisation, news media have transformed the way news content is disseminated to news consumers, especially among highly connected societies such as Australia and Korea. Drawing on Reuters Digital News Report 2017, a global survey of 36 countries, we selected Australia and Korea (N=2004 and 2002 respectively) and analysed the consumption behaviour of Australian and Korean digital news users. This study reveals that, although both populations of users are increasingly turning to digital channels to access news, the way they discover and consume news differs. Australian users tend to go directly to news websites to access news and come across news on social media, whereas Korean users tend to mainly find news stories and websites via a search engine. The way of sharing news stories also differs. Australian users are more likely to be active in sharing news by commenting on a news story or talking with others face-to-face, whereas Korean users are more likely to be reactive in sharing a news story. This study aims to discuss various cultural and societal factors more deeply in order to understand the emerging digital news consumption patterns of Australians and Koreans

Bio: Jee Young Lee is a doctoral researcher at the News & Media Research Centre. Her work focuses on policy issues and digital environments. Her PhD thesis explores a user-centric inclusion framework for a digitalised society and the role of digital divide policy in addressing exclusion. She has received a fellowship research grant from SyarifHidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN)(Indonesia) for a research on 'Digital technology to Indonesian young people: trends and opportunities for Education'.

Associate Professor Gil-Soo Han, Associate Professor, School of Media, Film and Journalism, Monash University

The rise, fraud and fall of funeral service providing conglomerates: topics and concerns by journalists

Abstract: The funeral service industry has been booming since the 1990s and there has been severe competition among 300 service providers, and the number of individual members who were paying their monthly premium reached 2.65 million, whose accumulated balance was about \$900 million as of August 2008. The purpose of joining such insurance is to be able to cope with the huge expenses for the necessary labour and materials required for funeral rites when the loved ones die. There has been a consistent number of report of funeral service providers' embezzlement of the fund. This has been causing a significant degree of concern to the consumers. In some cases of the bankruptcy, the service providers may not even be able to return the premiums that their consumers had already contributed. In other cases, the insurance policy holder could not cancel the policy and walk away from it. The common and prevalent problems that underpin the difficulties resolving the fairly widespread financial loss to the consumers include that a large proportion of the service providers operate their business with limited amount of their start-up capital. As of 2008, about 60% of the funeral service-providing companies had less than \$100,000 of the capital. The paper analyses the funeral service-providing companies' chronic engagement in taking advantage of those Koreans during a time of grieving, as reported by journalists in the media particularly dealing with funeral services.

Bio: Associate Professor Gil-Soo Han was educated in Korea, India and Australia. He taught at the University of New England and the Monash University School of Rural Health, Australia and the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Sunway Campus.

Ms Lina Koleilat, School of Culture, History and Language, ANU
Catholic rituals of protest and dissent in contemporary South Korea

Abstract: Based on participant observation conducted between 2013 and 2015, I analyse in this paper how a Catholic community has been using religious rituals in order to transform spaces of contention into spaces of dissent and resistance to the construction of a new military naval base in a small coastal village on Jeju Island. In my analysis, I focus on three main rituals: the one hundred bows, the daily mass held at the gates of the construction site of the military base, and thirdly, the special Easter religious ritual held on yearly basis. Through this Catholic community's political imagination these elaborate Catholic rituals are expressions of protest placed around the site of construction to convert the projected military space into a spiritual transformative space. I highlight the specific Catholic religious forms of resistance to military bases which exist in a wider context of political engagement of villagers, activists, NGOs and other religious groups resisting the construction of the military naval base since 2007. I articulate the relevance of religious rituals as forms of political dissent, and elaborate on how these religious rituals challenge the state's power and authority in the context of the anti-base movement in Gangjeong village. This paper will shed further light into the nexus of religious rituals and protests in South Korea.

Bio: Lina Koleilat is a Lebanese-Australian PhD candidate at the School of Culture, History and Language, the College of Asia and The Pacific at The Australian National University. After two years of participant observation and language studies in Korea between 2013 and 2015, she is now at the final stages of writing her PhD dissertation. Ms. Koleilat is the recipient of a 2014 Prime Minister Australia Asia Endeavour Award and her research is partially funded by the Australian Government through the Australia-Korea Foundation of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Ms. Koleilat obtained an MA in Korean Studies from Yonsei University in 2008 and an MSc in International Studies from the National University of Singapore in 2009. Her research interests are focused on contemporary Korean Studies, social movements (transnational social movements, anti-nuclear movements, anti-base movements and religious activism) and religion in Korea (Catholicism, Buddhism, Inter-religious activism).

Mr Yon Jae Paik, PhD Candidate, College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU
The transnational networks of informal life politics in South Korea's organic farming movement

Abstract: Organic farming comprises an important part of South Korea's alternative social movements. Unlike the organised struggles that shaped the mainstream social movements, alternative movements are growing based on local communities and focusing on specific issues of livelihood, such as education, energy, healthcare, consumption and production. By delving into the history of the organic farming movement that was started by the Jeongnonghoe (an association for righteous farming) in 1976, I present the long-standing tradition of communal self-help where people sought an autonomous space from the control of the nation-state. The Jeongnonghoe was created by a group of Protestant farmers inspired by a Japanese organic farmers association, Ainoukai, and they spread organic farming through farming communes and adult education. At the height of the 1970s' state-led Green Revolution and the New Village Movement, creating this communal space inevitably involved developing local norms and values that could compete with national ones. In the Jeongnonghoe's organic farming movement, Christian nationalism and the model of the nineteenth century's Danish rural development shared by Korean and Japanese organic farmers played a pivotal role in overcoming national campaigns. The pursuit of communal autonomy in Jeongnonghoe's organic farming movement highlights the significance of Morris-Suzuki's 'informal life politics' where people seek social changes through self-help without recourse to the state's intervention.

Bio: Yon Jae Paik has academic background in Chemistry (BA), Environmental Studies (MA), Business (MSc), and Asian Studies (MA), and professional background in commercial banking. He enrolled as a PhD student in College of History and Language in January 2014 to join Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki's ARC Laureate Project 'Informal Life Politics in the Remaking of Northeast Asia: From Cold War to Post-Cold War'.