
KINU Unification Survey 2019:

▶ Realistic Outlook and Persistent Confidence ◀

Preliminary Analysis

Venue: The Plaza Hotel

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I. KINU Unification Survey: Introduction and Summary

1. KINU Survey of Perception on Unification

☐ History of KINU Survey of Perception on Unification

- Since early 1990s, KINU regularly conducts a survey of Perception on Unification every year.
- Surveys about 1,000 people through face-to-face interviews.
- The Survey on North Korea, view on unification, preferences of the government's policy towards North Korea and unification; was the first taken in place in Korea.
- KINU's Survey of Perception on Unification still remains to be the oldest and most authentic survey on unification in Korea.
- Since 2014, the survey items have been greatly renewed, becoming the tools for new theories and analysis that cannot be tried in other existing unification-related surveys.

☐ Purpose of KINU Survey of Perception on Unification

- (1) Measure the view of the Korean people towards unification, North Korea, and policy towards unification and North Korea.
- (2) Elaborate why such view has been developed for the Korean people.

☐ Structure of KINU Survey of Perception on Unification

- Analyze the flow of public opinion through over 200 survey items.
- Core items
 - (1) Attitude and perception on unification;
 - (2) Attitude and perception on North Korea;
 - (3) Attitude and perception on policy towards unification and North Korea.
 - These core questions are used the same every year without any major changes, thus it is possible to analyze the flow of public opinion over time.
- Explanatory Items
 - Explanatory items are slightly replaced every year in consideration of the requests of the participating researchers and appropriateness of the items at the time.
 - In order to reflect short-term exogenous variables that affect public opinion, questions to ask about political events or issues that have occurred in the year have been developed.

☐ Participation of overseas scholars

- As peace and unification on the Korean Peninsula is a major concern not only for Koreans but also for the world, many foreign scholars are interested

in Korean unification and North Korea.

- Until now, it was difficult for foreigners to access due to the lack of translated version of raw data.
- To resolve this issue, KINU Survey of Perception on Unification has been translating codebooks and summary sheets into English and distributing to foreign scholars who are interested.
- In addition, KINU invites one competent overseas scholar every year to participate in this research as a co-researcher.
 - 2018 co-researcher: Professor Joshua Kertzer, Harvard University
 - 2019 co-researcher: Professor Rose McDermott, Brown University

□ KINU Survey of Perception on Unification 2019

- Designing and conducting research on “Gender and Unification • Perception on North Korea”.
- The 2018 survey showed young women are more positive about the need for unification.
- Results are different from the conventional wisdom that women are relatively more conservative in social issue.
- The aim is to verify the existing international political theory that women prefer peace over men.

2. Overview

Division	Contents
Population	South Korean adults over 19
Sampling frame	South Korean Resident Registration Data (the Ministry of the Interior and Safety, February 2019)
Sampling method	Stratified Random Sampling (by gender, region, and age)
Sampling unit	1,003
Sampling error	Assuming random sampling, sampling error is $\pm 3.1\%$ at the 95% confidence level.
Survey Method	Face-to-Face Interview with structured questionnaire
Survey Period	Apr. 5 - Apr. 25, 2019
Research Institute	Hankook Research (Chairman Roh, Ick Sang)

3. Summary

(1) Changes and Trends of Perception on Unification

- Changes of Perception on the Need for Unification
 - KINU survey showed a 5.1%P decrease in response to the need for unification in 2019 compared to 2018.
 - 70.7% (2018) -> 65.6% (2019)
 - However, since the ambience of the North-South dialogue has been ripe for the PyeongChang Olympics in early 2018, which was reflected in the statistics of 2018; it should be considered that the need for reunification has not decreased but rather, returned to the normal level
- “If South and North can peacefully coexist without war, the unification is not necessary”
 - The rate of preference for peaceful coexistence over unification (i.e. preference for peaceful coexistence) continues to increase.
 - In 2018, 16.2% favored peaceful coexistence, and in 2019 it increased by 4.6%P to 20.8%.
 - Younger generation, conservatives, supporters of Liberty Korea Party, women, etc. have a clear tendency to prefer peaceful coexistence over unification.
 - Particularly in their 20s, they prefer peaceful coexistence rather than unification at a rate of around 40% since 2017.
 - In the 60s and over, the preference for unification was more favorable, but since 2018, preference for peaceful coexistence among the elderly people is becoming clear.
 - The order of preference of peaceful coexistence is the conservative (28.2%), the moderate (20.1%) and the liberal (14.9%) in 2019.
 - The order of preference of peaceful coexistence is the non-partisan (31.4%), the Liberty Korea Party (26%), the Justice Party and the Democratic Party (5.8%).
 - Interpretation
 - Loss of the effect of nationalist-based unification discourse.
 - Creation of consensus on the current government's policy direction, which is pursuing a peace treaty after the declaration of the end of the war
 - This suggests that a new national consensus on unification is needed.
 - So far, there is only debate on “how to achieve unification”. There was virtually no discussion of “how a unified Korea should look,” and “how much should we pay for unification?”.
 - Preferences for peaceful coexistence should not be construed as skepticism on unification.

- “Just because the two Koreas are one people does not necessarily make them one nation.”
 - 4 out of 10 respondents think they do not need to be unified just because the two Koreas are of the same ethnic group
 - The tendency of a post-nationalist unity view is more evident among younger generation
 - Between 2017 and 2019, the 50s and 60s post-nationalist reunification view rose rapidly
 - It cannot be interpreted that the change of nationalist unification view is increasing number of people who do not want unification.
 - What it shows is that nationalism as the reason for achieving unification is no longer persuasive to the public at large.
 - There are many reasons for unification such as the economic leap of North and South Korea, advance into the continent, peace on the Korean peninsula, and now nationalism is just one of those many reasons.
 - Now there are more than 2 million foreigners residing in South Korea and multiculturalism is the official policy stance of the government, thus, it is necessary to consider how persuasive the nationalist unification view will be for the people.
 - In the process of the rapid post-nationalization of South Korea, there is a possibility that the heterogeneity between the two Koreas will become serious.
- “If I have to choose between unification and economy, I will choose economy”.
 - Seven out of ten respondents said they would choose the economy to unification. (70.5% in 2019).
 - It means economic issues are more important for each individual than unification. It cannot be interpreted as a result of not wanting unification.
 - However, unification is not the absolute goal for most Koreans to achieve now.
 - Unification is still an important national goal. However, unification is regarded as one of various issues to resolve for Korea.

(2) Changes and Trends of Perception on North Korea

- The progress of the policy towards North Korea policy and inter-Korean relations maintained consistently since 2018 have shifted the public perception of North Korea from the negative side to the positive side
 - The negative perception of North Korea is diminishing and the changes of perception towards seeing North Korea to be credible and cooperative are maintained in 2018 and 2019.
 - The perception of seeing North Korea as the subject for dialogue and support

- is rising, and perception of seeing North Korea as the subject to be cautious and hostile is decreasing.
- With the increased perception that Kim Jong-Un regime should be pursued with dialogue and compromise, the perception of seeing North Korea for dialogue and compromise has risen.
- Overall perception of threats from North Korea declined. Perception that North Korea also wants unification and peace has taken place.
- The response of agreeing to the view that North Korea desires peace and unification rather than conflict with South Korea is higher than the rate of disagreement.
 - The response of disagreeing view that North Korea wants unification under communism is higher than the view of agreement for the first time this year.
 - Also, the response of agreeing view that North Korea wants stability of the regime and economy advancement is higher than the view of disagreement.
- There is perception of seeing North Korea with a double-minded attitude toward the nuclear issue, so the perception of seeing the possibility of abandoning its nuclear weapons and denuclearization is low, but the perception of real threat from nuclear weapons is low.
- Even if economic sanctions are strengthened, the rate of agreement on the view that North Korea will not give up its nuclear weapons is high.
 - On the other hand, there is high rate of agreement on the view that North Korea's purpose of its nuclear weapons and missile development is only for a diplomatic measure and not likely to attack South Korea.
 - The perception of low possibility of war between North and South is dominant because the perception of real threat from nuclear weapons is not high.
- The path to obtain information on North Korea has been diversified. In addition to general TV channels, the influence of the Internet and YouTube has been highly evaluated recently.
- As a route to acquire North Korean information, the proportion of terrestrial TVs in the first survey is still overwhelming, but in the second survey, it is the highest in the general TV channels.
 - In addition, the proportion of the Internet is the second highest in the first survey and the third highest in the second survey, proving the influence of the Internet.
 - For YouTube, which was included in the survey for the first time in this year, the response rate was higher in the second survey than of the newspaper (major publications), showing that changes of information route

for communication has affected the route of acquiring information on North Korea.

(3) Changes and Trends of Perception on Unification and Policy towards North Korea

- ☐ In 2019, the Korean people are skeptical about North Korea's willingness to give up nuclear weapons. However, there is a high expectation of positive inter-Korean exchanges such as the resumption of Gaesong Industrial Complex and the resumption of Mt. Geumgang tourism.
- ☐ “Do you think North Korea will give up its nuclear weapons program?”
 - ☐ In 2019, the skeptical view of North Korea's nuclear abandonment is still very high.
 - However, despite the changes in the situation, the people's skepticism about the possibility of North Korea's abandonment of nuclear weapons is very “stable”.
- ☐ “The international cooperation should ensure that sanctions against North Korea are implemented.”
 - ☐ In the 2019 survey, 5.4% was against the maintenance of the sanctions, 45% agreed.
- ☐ “Two Koreas should continue economic exchanges and cooperation even in a state of political and military confrontation”.
 - ☐ In 2016, when the Gaesong Industrial Complex was decided to be shut down, there were more people who made a positive assessment of continuing economic exchanges with North Korea.
 - ☐ However, on the new item included in the 2019 survey, “Although it will be a loss to South Korea for the moment, South Korea must help North Korea to overcome the current economic crisis”, 60% of the respondents answered negatively.
- ☐ “We must continue the humanitarian aid to North Korea”.
 - ☐ The percentage of positive attitudes (more than 6 points on the scale) slightly increased in 2019 compared to 2018.
 - Increased positive response (55% liberal, 43% moderate, 39% conservative) regardless of respondents' ideology.
 - Attitudes toward humanitarian assistance remain stable regardless of inter-Korean relations.

- ☐ “The Gaeseong Industrial Complex should be resumed.”
 - There were a lot of negative opinions in 2016 and 2017, but the positive attitude toward resumption increased in 2018 and 2019.
 - In 2019, while 19.2% was negative, overwhelming 60% was positive.
 - 51% of respondents who declared themselves to be conservatives made a positive evaluation (more than 6 points on the scale) for the resumption of the Gaesong Industrial Complex (69% liberal, 58% moderate)
- ☐ “The tour of Mt. Geumgang should be resumed.”
 - The average preference is higher than the attitude toward resuming the Gaesong Industrial Complex.
 - 53% of the conservative respondents gave a positive evaluation on the resumption of Mt. Geumgang tourism. (Liberal 72%, moderate 63%).
- ☐ “A peace treaty on the Korean Peninsula must be signed to officially end the Korean War”
 - According to the 2019 result, people's preference for concluding a peace treaty is very high regardless of ideology.
- ☐ “The U.S. army in South Korea should station in the Korean peninsula even after the unification continuously.”
 - Still, the Korean people are favorable to the U.S. army stationed in South Korea with 22% Opposition and 40% Pros.

(4) Value, Ideology, and Issue ownership

- ☐ “Which of the following political parties do you trust to do a better job on handling Unification policies [Policy towards North Korea]?”
 - As a result of the 2019 survey, the respondent's response that issue ownership on policies towards North Korea and unification is with Democratic Party fell by 8.5%P from the previous year.
 - However, the majority 60% of the respondents still acknowledge that policy towards North Korea and unification are brand policies of the Democratic Party.

(5) Perception on Unification and North Korea from the Gender Point of View

- ☐ Necessity of Unification, Gender, Generation

- Men feel more need for unification than women, and much strongly.
 - However, young women aged 19 and early 20s have the same level of the need for unification when compared to men of the same age group.
 - In the case of women, the sense of unification weakens toward the elderly.
- ☐ Peaceful Coexistence and Gender
- Overall, there is higher rate among women who see that if peaceful coexist is possible, unification is not needed.
 - Although women do not show a negative attitude towards the unification itself, it can be assumed that they are more passive than men on unification.
- ☐ Unification Tax
- Women tend to be more opposed to tax hikes for unification costs by roughly 10%.
 - Women are more passive than men in preparing for unification as a whole.
- ☐ National Interests, Personal Benefits from Unification
- The type of perception of the utility of unification shows a clear difference by gender. For women, the type of optimism (unification is the benefit for both the state and the individual) is the least since 2014. On the other hand, men accounted for the largest percentage of optimistic types in 2018 which remains also in 2019.
 - Women tend to be more pessimistic about unification than men. The percentage who sees that unification will at least not bring personal benefits to themselves is high. Although they are not showing anti-unification attitude, it may be difficult to expect from them the active role for achieving unification. Nevertheless, compared with 2017, it can be positively evaluated that the gap between the optimism type and the pessimism type (unification brings loss to both the state and individual) in women has been reduced.
- ☐ Kim Jung-Un's regime credibility and gender
- Since 2018, men's trust in Kim Jung-Un regime has increased as much as the distrust in Kim Jong-Un regime has decreased, but women's trust did not increase as much. In other words, women tend to be more cautious and unreliable about the Kim Jong-Un regime.
- ☐ "What would you do if you had to move to North Korea for work or marriage

in the event of unification?”

- Significant rate both in men and women answered they will not move to North Korea after improved inter-Korean relations in 2018. In particular, this rate is very high for women, Since 2018, the rate answering they will never move to North Korea was highest.
- This clearly shows that women are much more worried than men about problems that may arise after reunification.

II. Changes and Trends of Perception on Unification

Lee Sang Sin, Research Fellow
Korea Institute for National Unification

1. Changes of Perception on the Need for Unification



☐ “How much do you think the unification is necessary?”

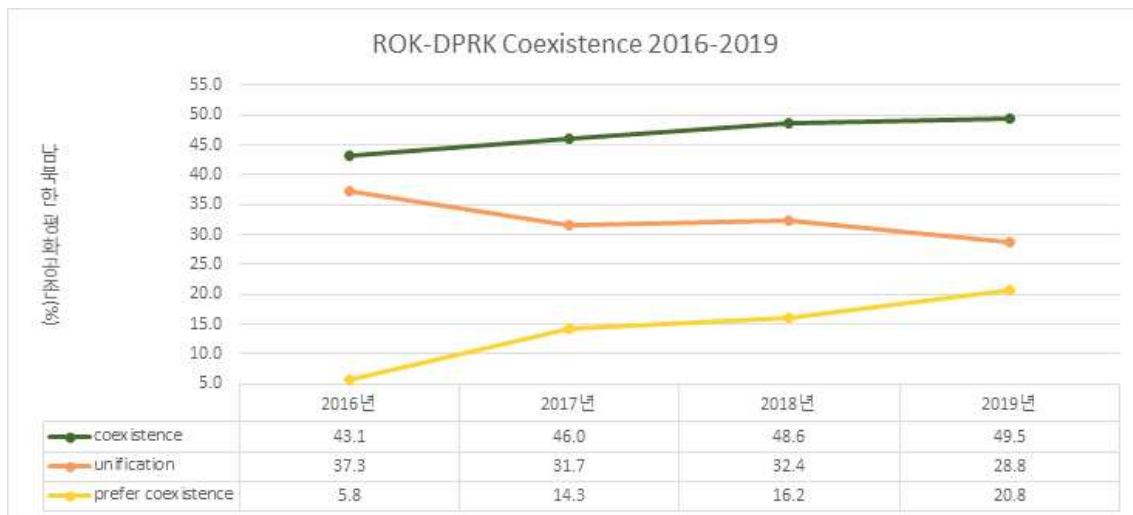
- Korea Institute for National Unification(KINU): 4 point scale (1=strongly unnecessary, 2=somewhat unnecessary, 3=somewhat necessary, 4=strongly necessary)
- Institute for Peace and Unification Studies of Seoul National University (IPUS): 5 point scale (1=strongly unnecessary, 2=somewhat unnecessary, 3=half, 4=somewhat necessary, 4=strongly necessary)
- In case of 2017, KINU survey took place in March, IPUS survey took in July.
 - The government changed in May 2017 after the presidential election.

☐ Trend in 2019

- The KINU survey showed a 5.1%p decrease in response to the need for unification in 2019 compared to 2018.
 - 70.7% (2018) -> 65.6% (2019)
- The need for unification between 2017 and 2018 has risen 12.9%p (57.8% -> 70.7%) due to three inter-Korean summit talks and the U.S - North Korea talks.
 - The statistics for 2017 reflect the public opinion before the Moon Jae In government inaugurated. The 2018 survey was conducted prior to the April 27 summit talks.
 - The decline in the need for unification in 2019 is presumably due to the delay in progress for the denuclearization of North Korea and the peace treaty, such as the failure of the two countries to reach an agreement at the Hanoi North Korea summit on February 27.

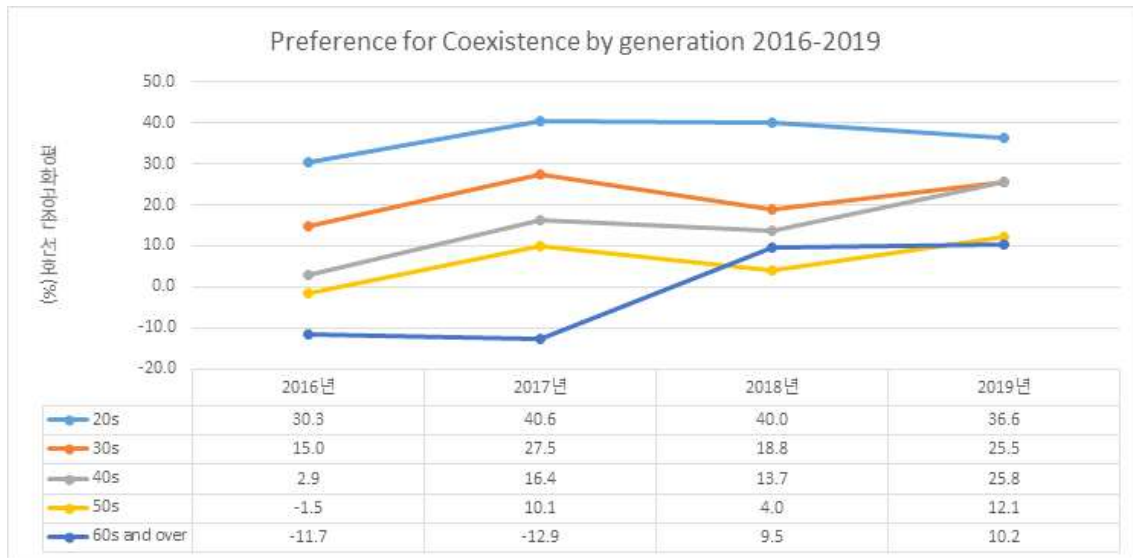
- However, considering that the ambience of the North-South dialogue was ripe for the PyeongChang Olympics in early 2018; 65.6% in 2019 reflected the fact that the need for unification did not deteriorate but returned to the normal levels.

2. Increasing preference for peaceful coexistence between the two Koreas



- “If South and North can peacefully coexist without war, the unification is not necessary.”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree
 - Peaceful coexistence = somewhat agree + strongly agree
 - Unification = strongly disagree, + somewhat disagree
 - Prefer peaceful coexistence = Peaceful coexistence - unification
- The rate of preference for peaceful coexistence over unification (= preference for peaceful coexistence) continues to increase.
 - In 2018, 16.2% favored peaceful coexistence, and in 2019 it increased by 4.6%P to 20.8%

□ Comparison of preference for peaceful coexistence by generation



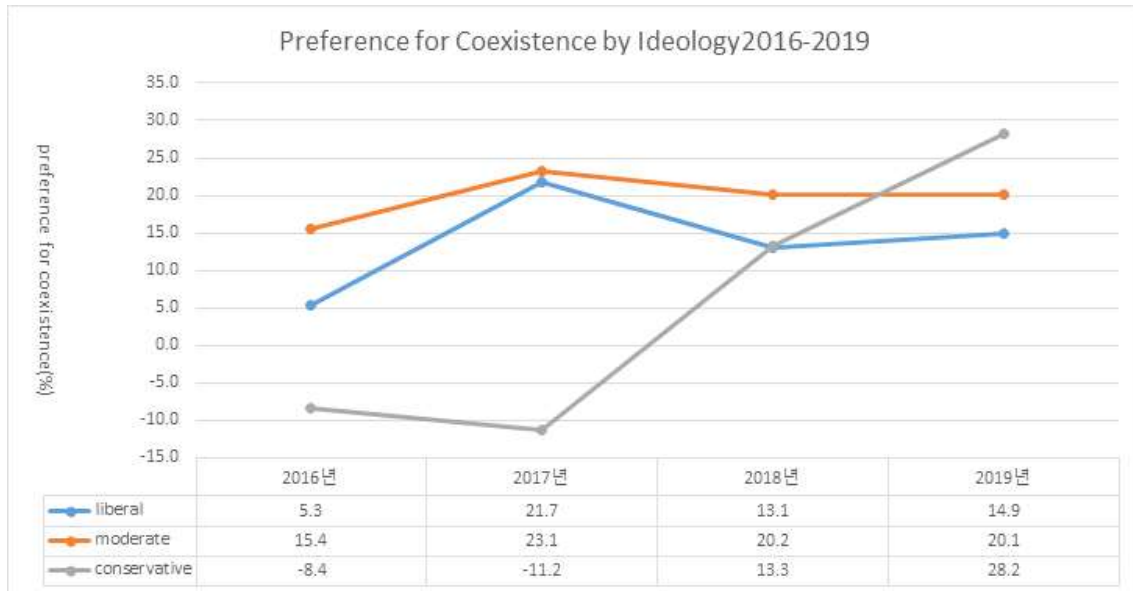
○ There is a clear difference in preference for peaceful coexistence among generations

- Younger generation relatively prefer peaceful coexistence more.
- Particularly in their 20s, they prefer peaceful coexistence rather than unification at a rate of around 40% since 2017.
- In the 60s and over, the preference for unification was more favorable, but since 2018 the preference for peaceful coexistence is becoming more clear for the elderly as well.
- Recently there is a argument that opinions of 20s are becoming similar to the opinions of 50s and 60s on North Korea or unification due to the conservatism of the 20s. However, in view of the preference for peaceful coexistence, the conservative nature of the 20s show a qualitative difference compared to the elderly conservatives.

□ Interpretation

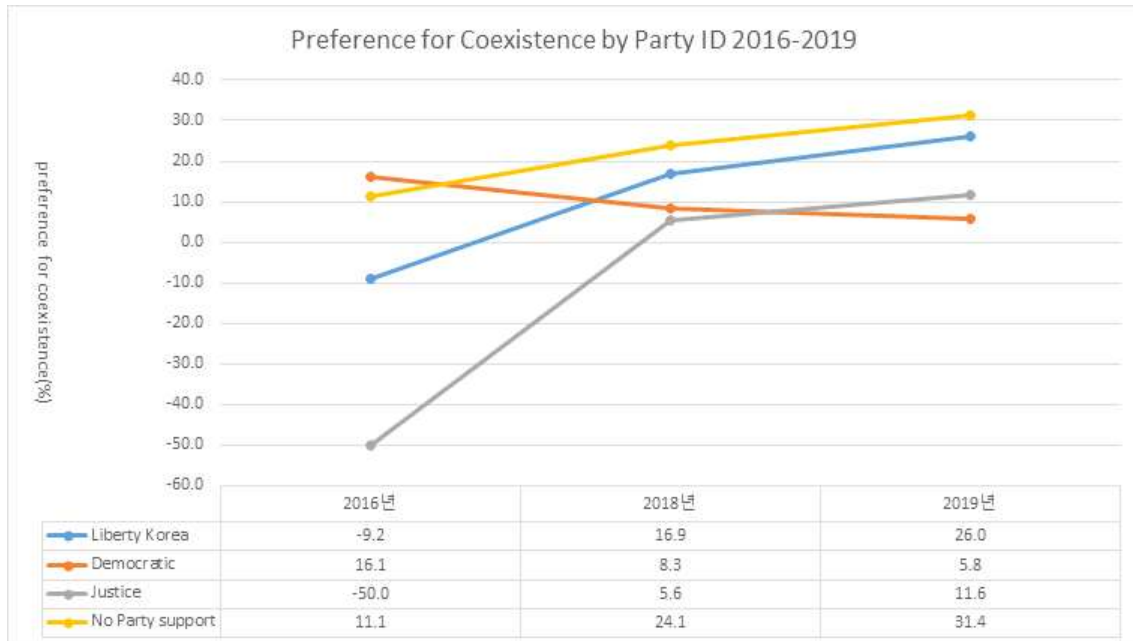
- Loss of unification discourse based on nationalism
- Creation of consensus on the current government's policy direction, which is pursuing a peace treaty after the declaration of the end of the war.

□ Ideological comparison of preferences for peaceful coexistence



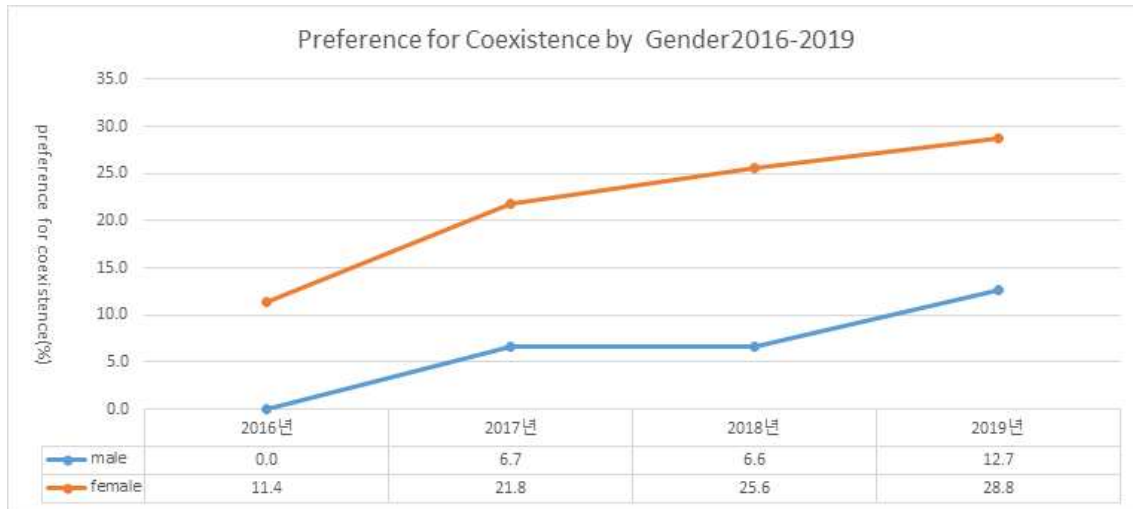
- 2018 is an inflection point, and in 2016 and 2017, the liberals prefer peaceful coexistence than the conservatives. However, from 2018, conservatives prefer peaceful coexistence than the liberals.
 - In 2016, the conservatives' preference for peaceful coexistence is only 8.4%. However, in 2019 it increased to 28.2%, showing a high growth rate of 18.8%.
 - As of 2019, the order of preference for peaceful coexistence to unification is conservative (28.2%) > moderate (20.1%) > liberal (14.9%).
- The liberals in Korea traditionally have shown a strong nationalist tendency, which is reflected in the results.
- On the other hand, the change in the conservatives seems to have been influenced by the changes in North Korea's attitude and inter-Korean relations after the government change in 2017.

□ Comparison of preference for peaceful coexistence by party identification



- In the 2017 survey, the preference of political parties was surveyed rather than supporting party. Only the parties that were surveyed in 2016, 2018, and 2019 were compared.
 - Justice Party has relatively small number of respondents, and hence can have big error.
- As of 2019, the preference of peaceful coexistence by party is in the order of non-partisan(31.4%) > Liberty Korea Party (26%) > Justice Party (11.6) > Democratic Party (5.8%).
 - The supporters of the Liberty Korea Party favored unification (-9.1%) in 2016, but this reversed in 2018 and 2019, favoring peaceful coexistence with the rate of 16.9% and 26% respectively. This is consistent with the change of the conservative respondents.
 - On the other hand, supporters of the Democratic Party sees reduction in their favor of peaceful coexistence since 2017 government change.

- Comparison of preference for peaceful coexistence by gender
 - Women prefer peaceful coexistence than men.
 - In 2019, preference for peaceful coexistence of women (28.8%) was 16.1% higher than men (12.7%).
 - Men also tend to show increasing rate of preference for peaceful coexistence rather than unification. Both men and women are increasing their preference for peaceful coexistence at almost the same rate.



- Overall increase in preference for peaceful coexistence
 - Younger generation, conservatives, supporters of Liberty Korea Party, women, etc. have a clear tendency to prefer peaceful coexistence over unification
 - This suggests that a new national consensus on unification is needed.
 - So far, there is only debate on "how to achieve unification". There was virtually no discussion of "how a unified Korea should look," and "how much should we pay for unification?".
 - Preferences for peaceful coexistence should not be construed as skepticism on unification.

3. Changes of nationalist unification view

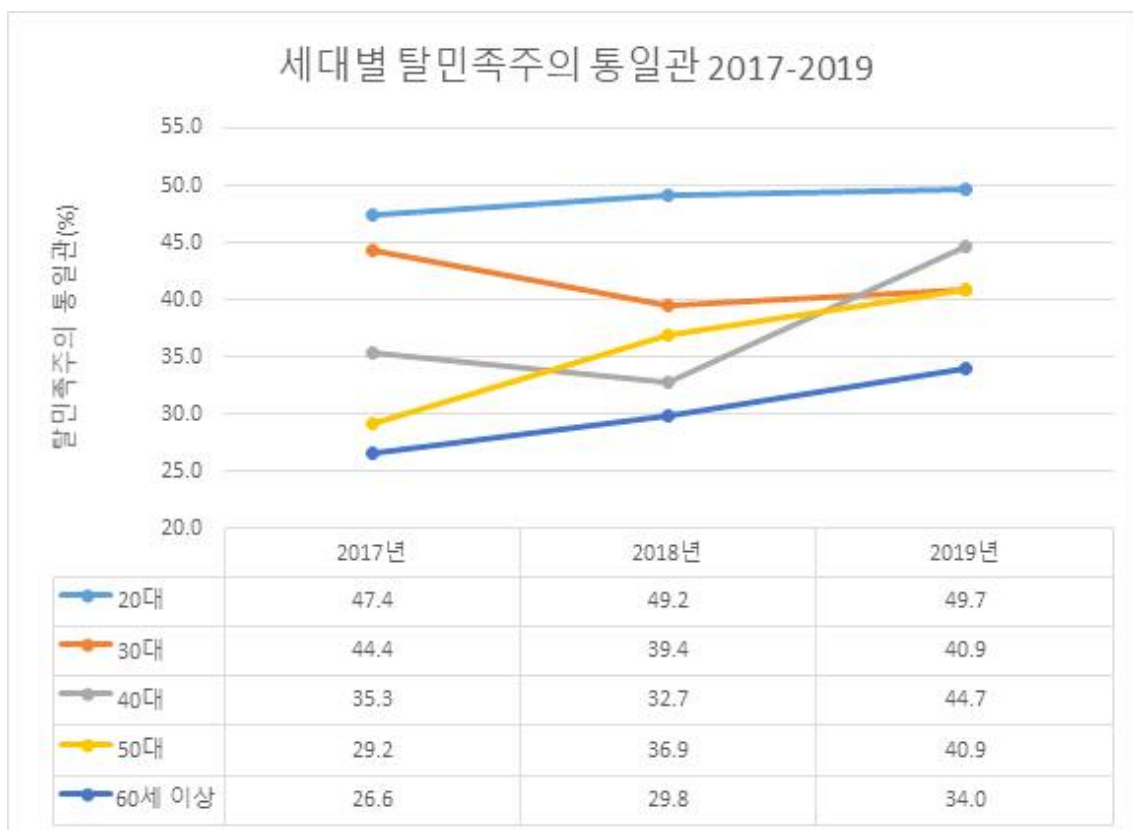


- ☐ “Just because the two Koreas are one people does not necessarily make them one nation.”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
 - Nationalist unification: strongly disagree + neither agree nor disagree
 - Post-nationalist unification: somewhat agree + strongly agree
- ☐ Rapid change in nationalist unification view
 - Item inserted to investigate public opinion on nationalist unification from 2017
 - In 2017 and 2018, the ratio of nationalist and post-nationalist unification view is almost the same.
 - 2017: 2.9%P, 2018: 2.5%P
 - However, in 2019 the difference is by 14.7%P
 - 4 out of 10 respondents think unification is not needed just because people from two Koreas are of same ethnic group.
- ☐ Cause and Interpretation
 - The change of nationalist unification view does not mean there are increasing people who do not want unification.
 - What it shows is that nationalism as the reason for achieving unification is

no longer persuasive to the public at large.

- There are many reasons for unification such as the economic leap of North and South Korea, advance into the continent, peace on the Korean peninsula, and now nationalism is just one of those many reasons.
- Now there are more than 2 million foreigners residing in South Korea and multiculturalism is the official policy stance of the government, thus, it is necessary to consider how persuasive the nationalist unification view will be for the people.

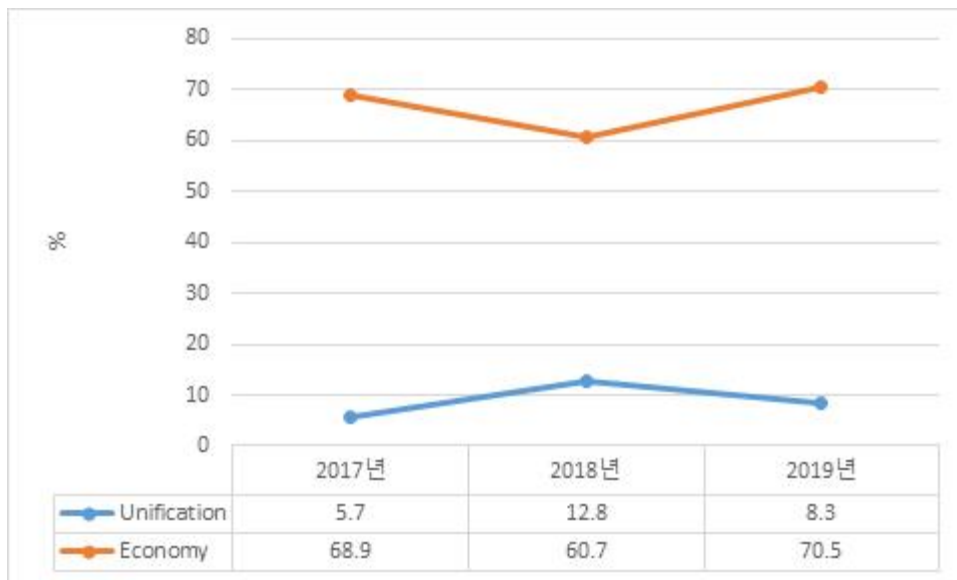
□ Comparison of post-nationalism view by generations



- The younger the generation is, the tendency to have a post-nationalist unification view is more clear.
 - In the case of the 2017 survey, the ratio of post-nationalist unification view in their 20s and 60s is 47.4% and 26.6% respectively, with a difference of 20.8%.
- However, while the proportion of post-nationalist unification view in the 20s remained almost unchanged from 47% to 49% between 2017 and 2019, the 50s and 60s of post-nationalist unification view rose rapidly.
 - 50s: From 29.2% in 2017 to 40.9% in 2019

- 60s: From 26.6% in 2017 to 34% in 2019
- Overall, the 20s are the most post-nationalistic, and the 30s, 40s and 50s are of almost similar levels with the 60s and above at the lowest level.
- Nationalism in North Korea and South Korea
 - North Korea is a conservative nationalist country that is almost as close to racism compared to South Korea
 - As shown in the expression "between Koreans," the North Korean unification is based on nationalism.
 - In the process of the rapid post-nationalization of South Korea, there is a possibility that the heterogeneity between the two Koreas will become serious.
 - The two Koreas need to discuss a more fundamental issue of unification view in the process of resolving the denuclearization and enhancing economic cooperation.

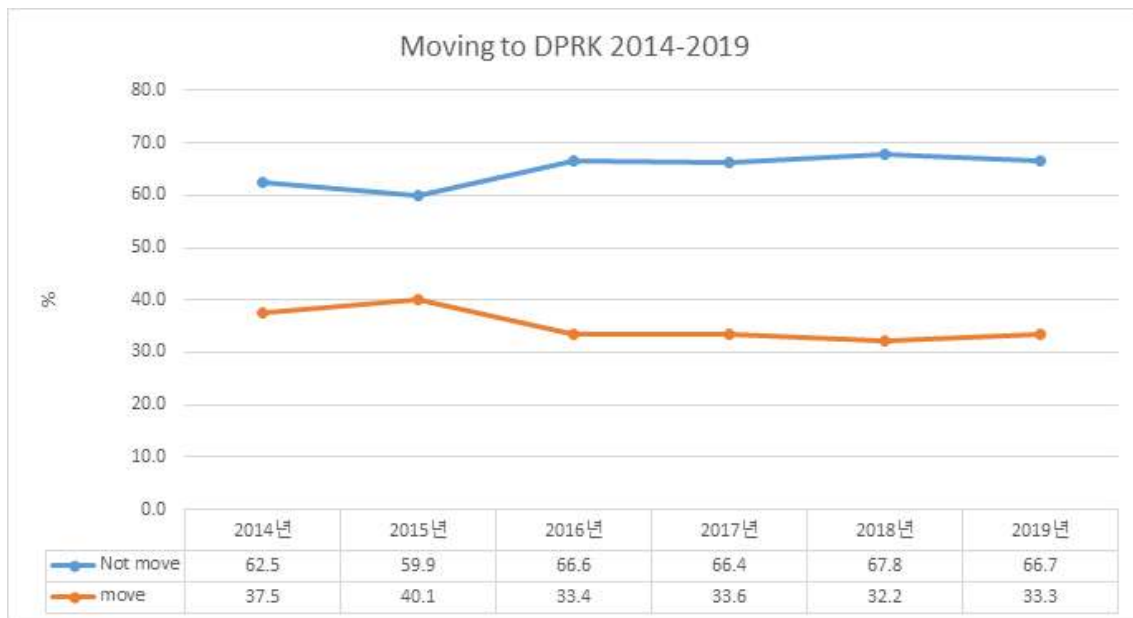
4. Unification vs Economy



- “If I have to choose between unification and economy, I will choose economy”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
 - Prefer unification: strongly disagree + neither agree nor disagree
 - Prefer economy: somewhat agree + strongly agree
- Trend of Change
 - In 2018, when the outlook for improved inter-Korean relations was clear, preference for unification went up and economy went down.

- In 2019, it will return to the similar level as it was in 2017.
- Need to interpret in the same context as the proliferation of post-nationalist unification view.
 - It means economic issues are more important for each individual than unification. It cannot be interpreted as a result of not wanting unification.
 - However, unification is not the absolute goal for most Koreans to achieve now.
 - Unification is still an important national goal. However, unification is regarded as one of various issues to resolve for Korea.
- Individual and unification
 - The discourse of "unification for people and national development" has lost persuasiveness.
 - New discourse needed to persuade each individual Koreans why unification is important.

5. Distance to North Korea



- “What would you do if you had to move to North Korea for work or marriage in the event of unification?”
 - 4 point scale: 1=I will never move, 2=if possible, I would rather not move, 3=I would move if really necessary, 4=I would gladly move.
 - Not move = I will never move + if possible, I would rather not move
 - Move = I would move if really necessary + I would gladly move

☐ Difference from other questions

- Preferences for peaceful coexistence and necessity of unification are items asking for opinions on unification and inter-Korean relations at an abstract level.
- On the other hand, when giving concrete situations (work or marriage) and asking about the unification impacting individual's life, the answer is constant regardless of the government change.
 - The difference between "Not move" and "Move" responses from 2016 to 2019 was very small showing 33.2%→32.8%→35.5%→33.3%.

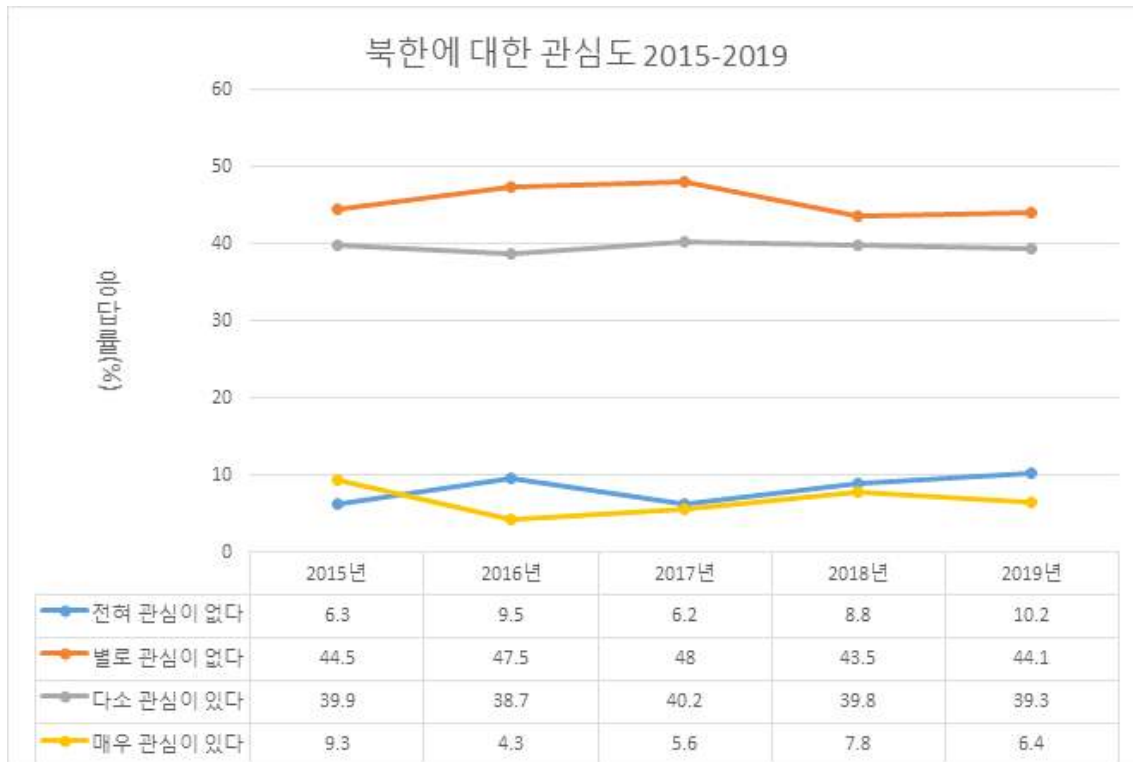
☐ Interpretation

- The Moon Jae-in government's policy towards North Korea and unification made a big difference in public opinion, but it has not led to fundamental change that narrows the prejudice and distance feeling based on the perception of North Korea.

III. Changes and Trends of Perception on North Korea

Joung Eun Lee, Deputy Research Fellow
Korea Institute for National Unification

1. Interest in North Korea

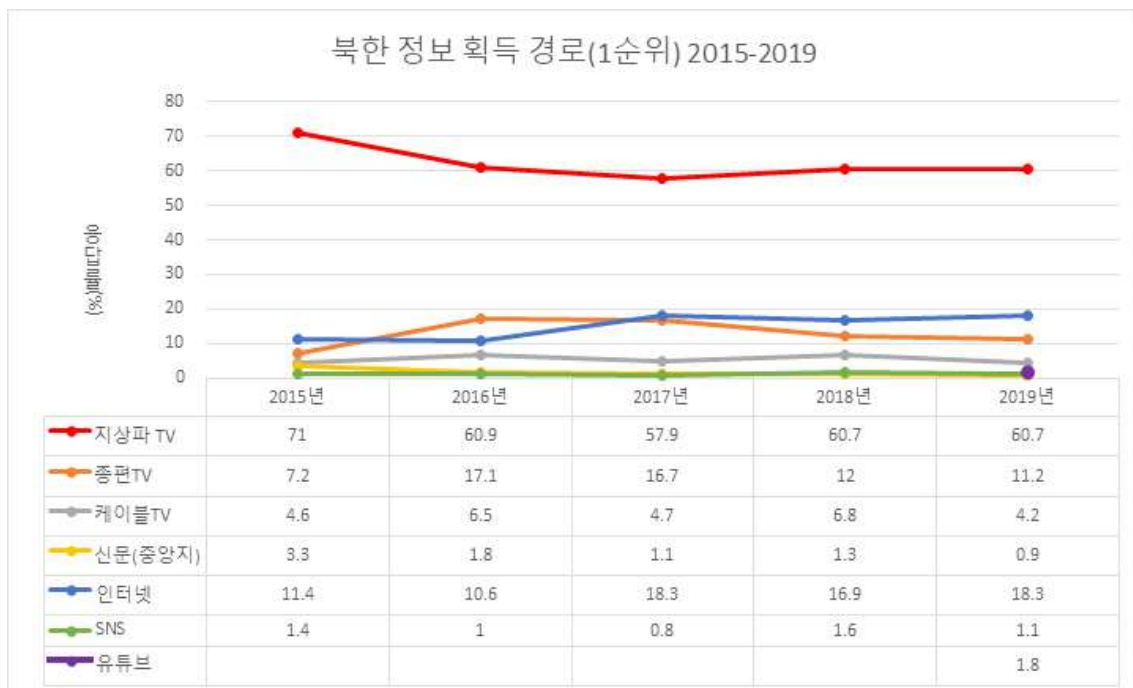


- As the inter-Korean relations are lukewarm and there is no progress in negotiations for denuclearization between the U.S. and North Korea, interest in North Korea declined slightly from the previous year.
- On the item, “How much are you interested in North Korea?”, 54.3% answered showing “not-interested” (not interested at all+a little interested), slightly higher than 45.7% answered showing “interested” (somewhat interested+very interested).
- Interest in North Korea for the past 5 years shows a pattern of repeated fluctuations within a narrow range.
 - “Interest”: 49.2% (2015) → 43.0% (2016) → 45.8% (2017) → 47.6% (2018) → 45.7% (2019)
- By learning effect from repeated provocations from North Korea, the impact from North Korea’s provocation on the interest in North Korea declined relatively after the elapse of time.
- Interest in North Korea fell sharply in 2016 due to the 4th nuclear test in January and the closure of the Gaesong Industrial Complex in February. However, in 2017, interest in North Korea did not rise relatively despite

continuous North Korea's missile launch test from February to May that year.

- On the other hand, in 2018, big events of inter-Korean relations such as participation of North Korea in PyeongChang Winter Olympics in January and the summit of South and North Korea in April raised interest in North Korea, but the interest in North Korea dropped again as the momentum formed in inter-Korean relations did not last until 2019.

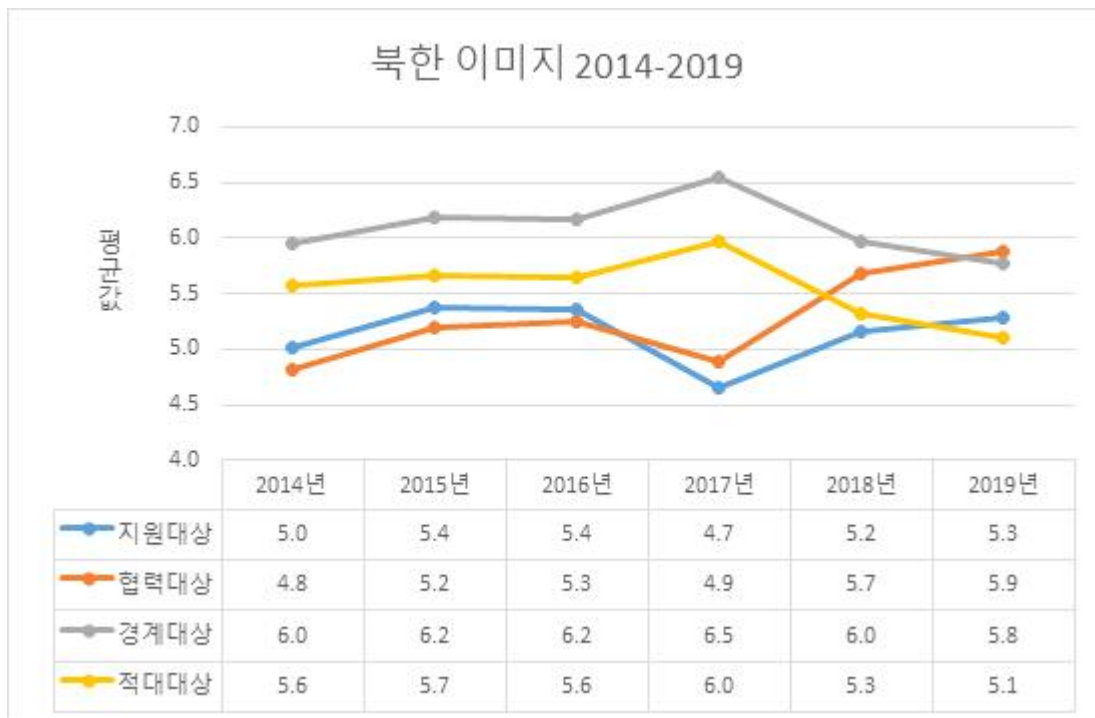
2. Route of Acquiring Information on North Korea



- As the percentage of terrestrial TV (ranking 1st) for acquiring information on North Korea remains high, the percentage of the Internet is also rising.
- According to the results of the survey on the route of acquiring information on North Korea, terrestrial TV showed 60.7%, Internet showed 18.3%, general TV showed 11.2%, and cable TV showed 4.2%, respectively.
 - Since 2017, the proportion of the Internet exceeded general TV channels, taking the second place.
 - You Tube which was included for the first time in 2019 has small percentage of 1.8%.
- In terms of trends, the proportion of general TVs, cable TVs, and newspapers are gradually decreasing, while the share of the Internet and SNS are rising.

- In the survey for second rank, general TV channels take the largest percentage and YouTube shows increase in percentage.
- As a result of compiling the route of acquiring information on North Korea, for the second place, the proportion of terrestrial TVs.
 - In the 2019 survey, the second-ranks were 36.1% for general TVs, 18.6% for cable TVs, 15.4% for the Internet, and 15.0% for terrestrial TVs.
 - For the second rank, general TVs increased largely from 28.2% in 2016 to 35.7% in 2017.
- On the other hand, in the case of YouTube, which was included for the first time in the survey in 2019, the portion in the second rank was 4.8%, which exceeded the newspaper (major publications) proportion of 2.4%.

3. North Korea's Image



- The perception of seeing North Korea as the subject for cooperation has increased 2 consecutive years while seeing Korea as the subject to be cautious declined 2 consecutive years.
- The image on North Korea ("What do you think North Korea is to us?) was classified as to give aid and support, to cooperate, to be cautious about, to be hostile to and to compete with; each classification was evaluated by score

of 11 point on scale (0=strongly disagree to 10=strongly agree).

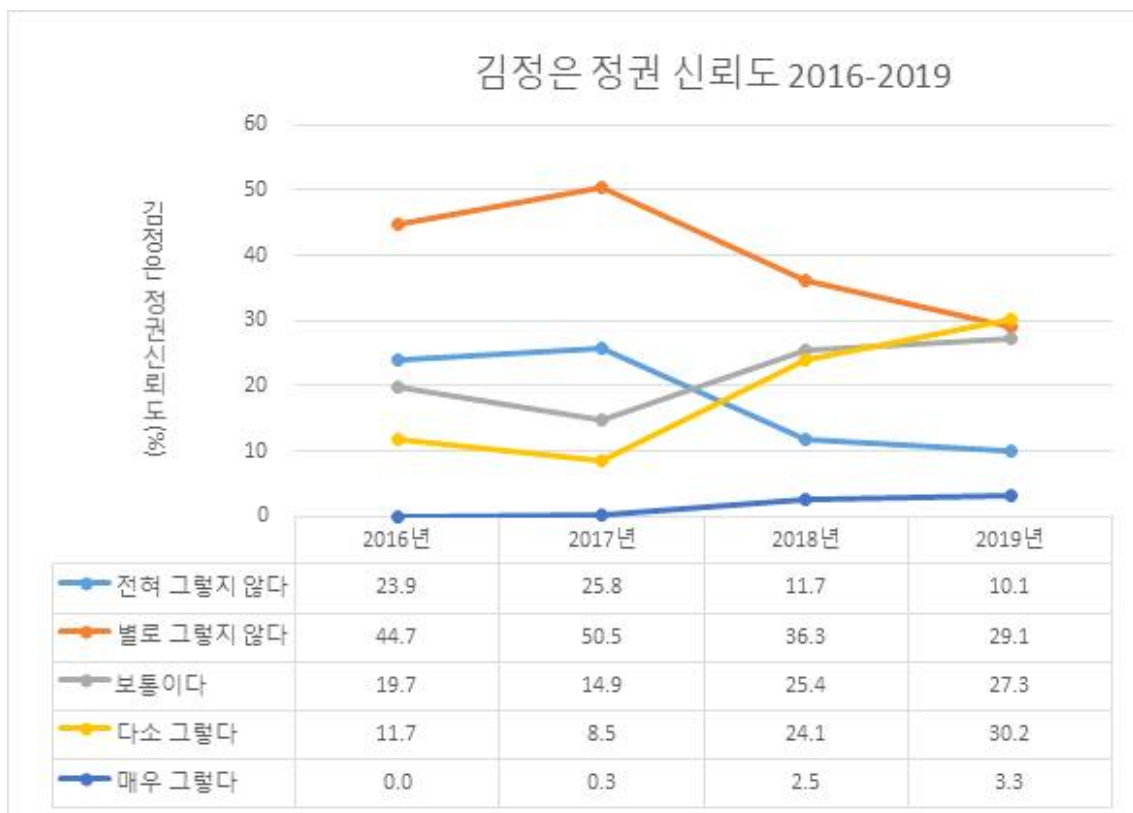
- After comparing the average value of the answers by respondents, the 2019 survey showed: to cooperate(6.1) > to be cautious about(6.0) > to give aid and support(5.5) > to be hostile to(5.3).

□ Increased perception of North Korea as a target of cooperation and support due to three inter-Korean summit talks since 2018, resuming inter-Korean inter-Korean exchanges, and continuing the peace phase on the Korean peninsula. On the other hand, perception of North Korea as a target to be cautious about and hostile has decreased.

- It is noteworthy that the increase in awareness of North Korea as a target for support and cooperation is more significant than the decrease in perception of North Korea as a target to be cautious about and hostile.

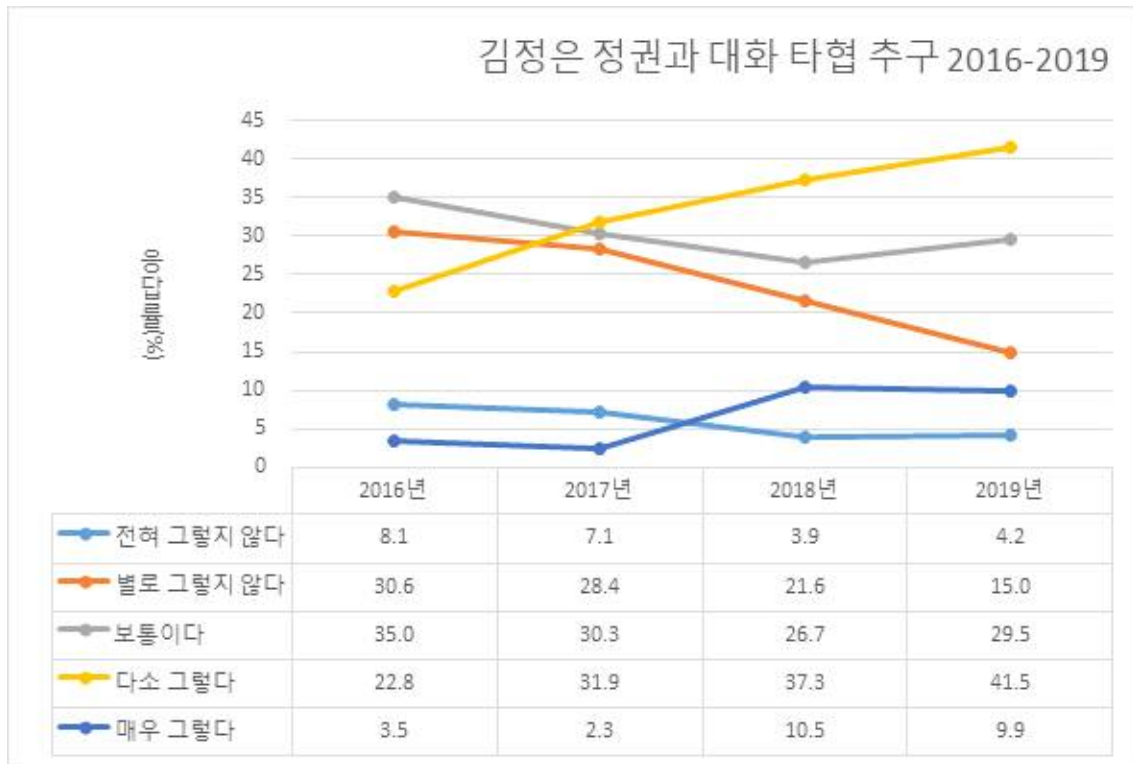
- to cooperate: 4.9(2017)→5.7(2018)→5.9(2019)
- to give aid and support: 4.7(2017)→5.2(2018)→5.3(2019)
- to be cautious about: 6.5(2017)→6.0(2018)→5.8(2019)
- to be hostile to: 6.0(2017)→5.3(2019)→5.1(2019)

4. Trust in Kim Jong-Un regime



- "Do you think the current Kim Jong-Un regime is a possible partner for dialogue and compromise?"
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree
- Trust in Kim Jung-Un's regime rose for two consecutive years.
 - 39.2% of the respondents did not consider North Korea as capable of dialogue and compromise, and 33.5% of respondents thought the opposite; thus more respondents had negative view on North Korea.
 - However, in 2018 and 2019, perspective of seeing possibility of dialogue and compromise from Kim Jong-Un's regime have increased, but in 2019, the increase has been slow per lukewarm inter-Korean relations.
 - "Strongly or somewhat agree": 8.8%(2017)→26.6%(2018)→33.5%(2019)
 - "Strongly or somewhat disagree": 76.3%(2017)→48.0%(2018)→39.2%(2019)
- Just like the improvement of North Korea image, North Korea's abstinence from provocation and the continuation of peaceful inter-Korean relations greatly contributed to the restoration of confidence in Kim Jong-Un regime.
 - Negative perceptions decreased by 37%P in 2019 compared to 2017, when North Korea's level of provocation was very high. Positive perceptions increased by 24.7%P, resulting a big reduction in negative perception.
 - When North Korea's follow-up measures such as the implementation of inter-Korean agreements and denuclearization become real, the confidence level of expecting possible dialogue and compromise from Kim Jong-Un will be greatly enhanced.

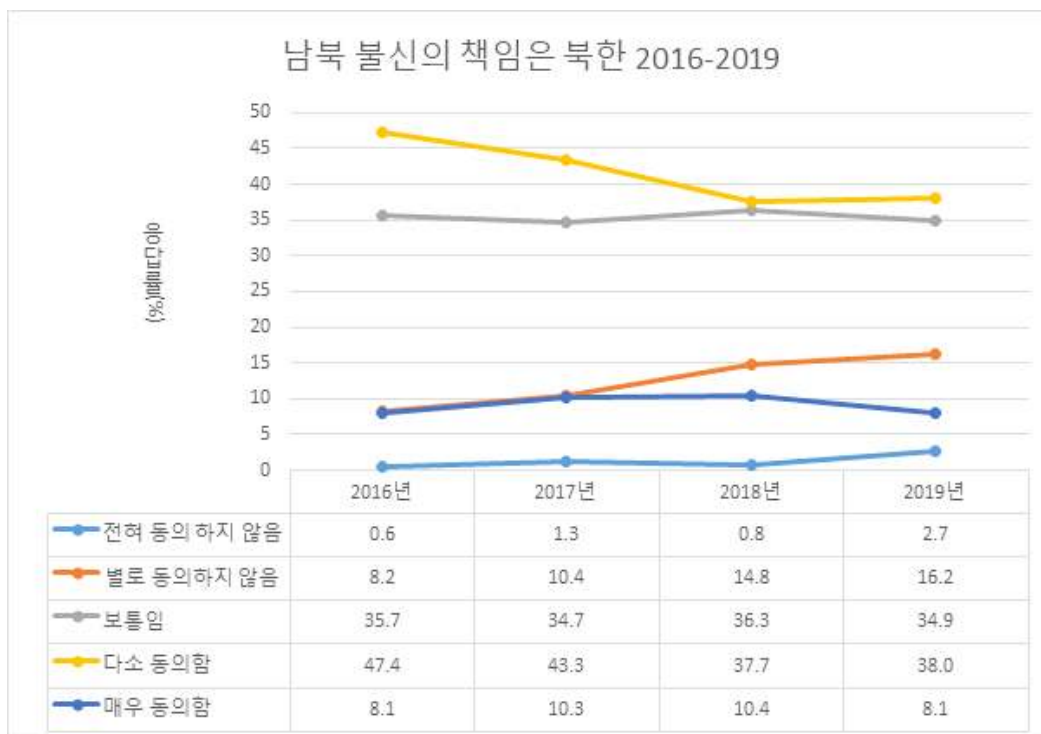
5. Pursuit of compromise by dialogue with Kim Jong-Un regime



- “Regardless of your answer to the previous question (trust in Kim Jong-Un regime), do you think we should pursue dialogue and compromise with Kim Jong Un?”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
- Perception that we should pursue dialogue and compromise with the Kim Jong-Un regime has been steadily rising. As a result, the positive response in 2019 exceeds 50% for the first time since the survey started in 2016
 - In 2018, more than half of all respondents answered positively on the pursuit of dialogue and compromise with Kim Jong-Un regime and in 2019, more than half of the respondents gave positive answer.
 - During the past four years (from 2016 to 2019), the positive response increased by 19.5P, while the negative response decreased by 25.1P, suggesting a greater change for people with negative perceptions.
 - “strongly or somewhat agree”: 38.7%(2016)→35.5%(2017)→25.5%(2018)→19.2%(2019)
 - “strongly or somewhat disagree”: 26.3%(2016)→34.2%(2017)→47.8%(2018)→51.4%(2019)

- Although the Kim Jong Eun regime is not completely trustworthy as a subject capable of dialogue and compromise, it is a result of a strong perception of the South Korean people's realistic desire to continue dialogue with the Kim Jong-Un regime in order to promote inter-Korean relations, denuclearization, and peace settlement.

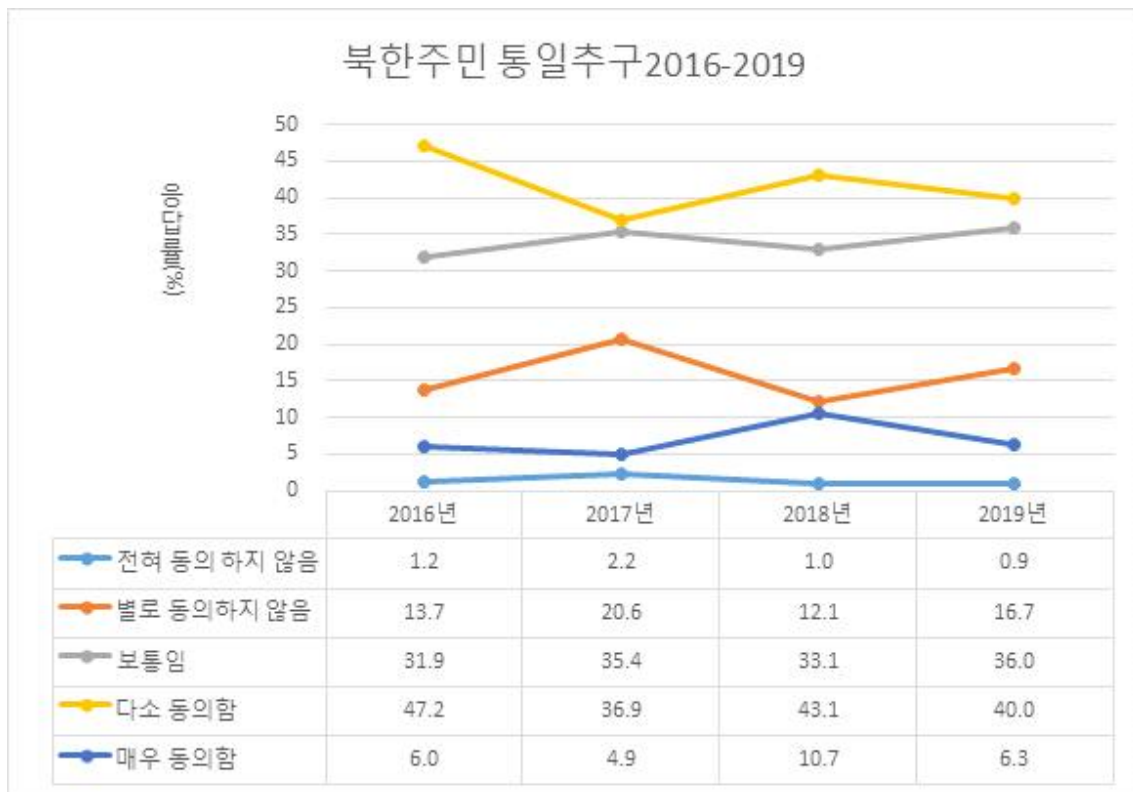
6. North Korea liable for distrust between the two Koreas



- “Distrust between the two Koreas is mostly due to North Korea.”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
- Although the perception of North Korea as a subject of dialogue and compromise is increasing, there is strong recognition that distrust between the two Koreas is due to North Korea
 - However, starting from 2018, the perception that the cause of distrust between the two Koreas is due to North Korea is gradually weakening.
 - The response agreeing that the distrust between the two Koreas is due to North Korea has decreased by 9.4%P over the past four years (2016 to 2019), while the disagreement has increased by 10.1%P over the same period.

- “Do not agree”: 8.8%(2016)→11.7%(2017)→15.6%(2018)→18.9%(2019)
- “Agree”: 55.5%(2016)→53.6%(2017)→48.1%(2018)→46.1%(2019)
- The response rate, which neither agreed nor disagreed on the liability of North Korea for distrust between the two Koreas ('neutral') maintains the proportion of about 35% for the past four years (2016 to 2019).
- As progress in inter-Korean relations weakens the perception on the liability of North Korea for distrust between the two Koreas, if relations worsen or recede, the perception on the liability of North Korea is likely to strengthen.

7. Pursuit of unification by North Koreans



- “Most North Koreans want unification.”
- 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
- There is more response that North Koreans want unification than they do not, but agreed ration can differ due to two Korea’s relations.
- In 2018, per significant progression of inter-Korean relations such as three inter-Korean summits, and the participation of North Korean players in the

PyeongChang Winter Olympics: rate of agreement has rebounded to more than half, which fell again in half 2018.

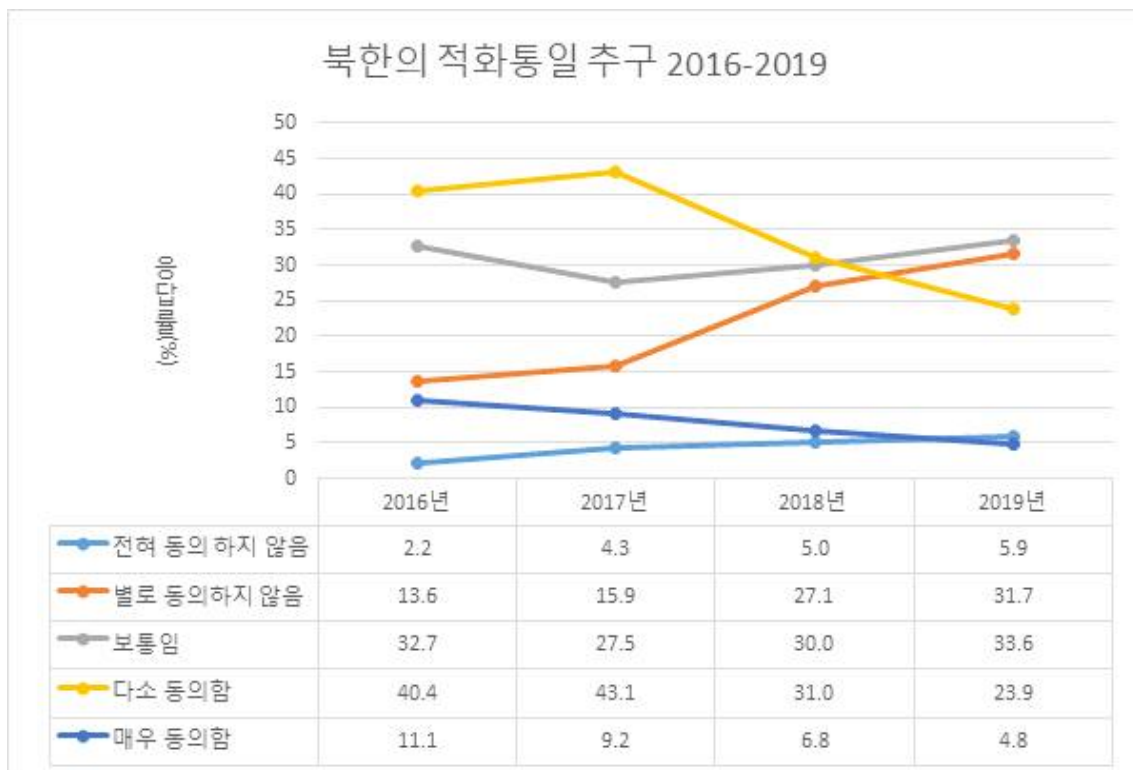
- “Agree”: 53.2%(2016)→41.8%(2017)→53.8%(2018)→46.3%(2019)
- “Do not agree”:14.9%(2016)→22.8%(2017)→13.1%(2018)→17.6%(2019)

□ The response rate, which neither agreed nor disagreed on the unification (‘neutral’) maintains the proportion of about 31.4 for the past four years

○ Neutral respondents also change their thoughts per changes of inter-Korean relations where good relations mean response and not good relations lowers the response rate.

- “Neutral”: 31.9%(2016)→35.4%(2017)→33.1%(2018)→36.0%(2019)

8. Pursuit of North Korea’s communist unification



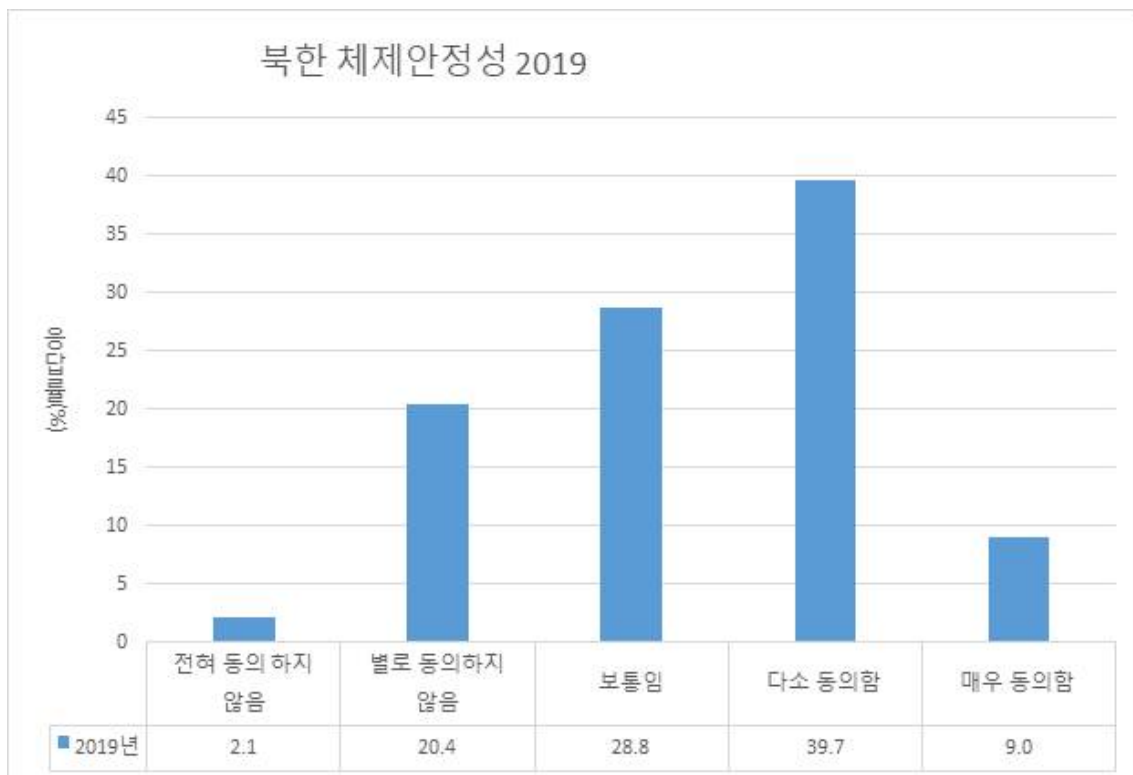
□ “NK wants the communist unification.”

○ 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.

□ For the first time, the percentage of disagreement exceeded percentage of agreement.

- More than half of all respondents from 2016 to 2017 agreed that North Korea wants communist unification. But after 2018, the rate of agreement declined sharply and in 2019, disagreement rate is higher.
 - “Agree”: 51.5%(2016)→52.3%(2017)→37.8%(2018)→28.7%(2019)
 - “Do not agree”:15.8%(2016)→20.2%(2017)→32.1%(2018)→37.6%(2019)
- In the opinion that most North Koreans want unification, there was tendency of agreement fluctuating according to the situation of inter-Korean relations, but the proportion of respondents who do not think that most North Koreans want unification is steadily increasing, Suggesting changed perception.
- In the meantime, 50.8% of respondents agreed to “What North Korea wants is regime stability and economic development rather than communist unification.”, reconfirming that there are many South Koreans who do not agree to the idea that North Korea wants communist unification.

9. Scale of Perception on North Korea: Regime Stability

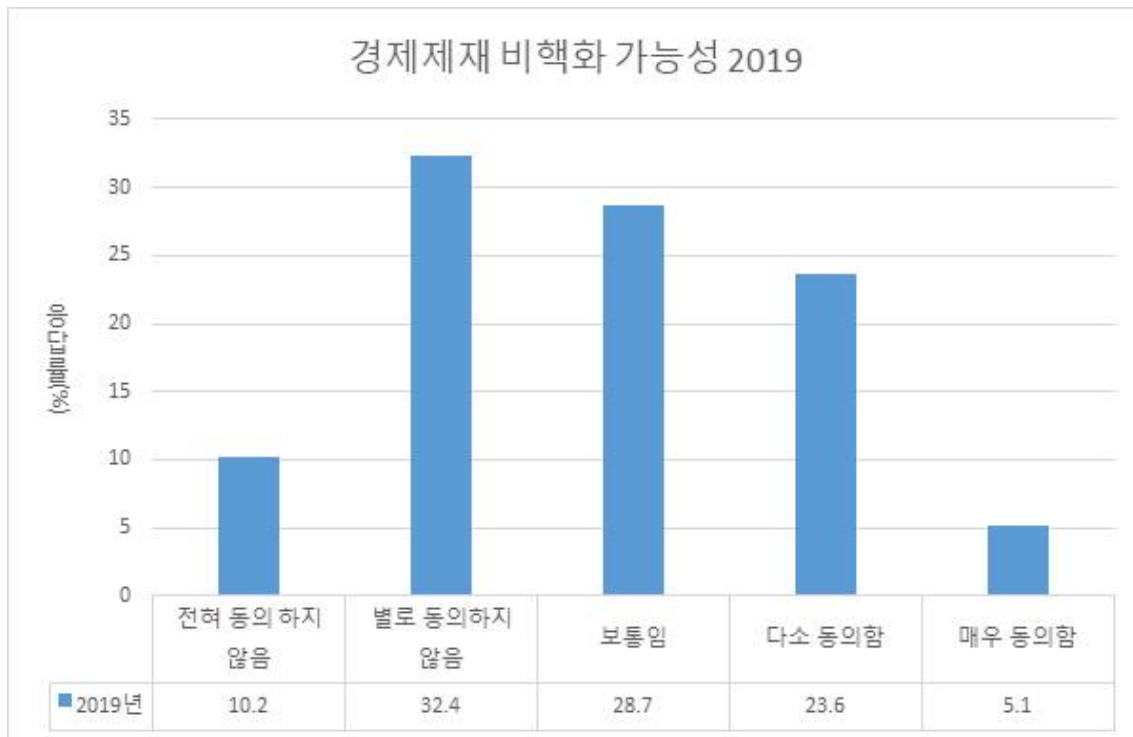


- “If Kim Jung Un's power weakens, North Korea will fall easily.”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree,

5=strongly agree.

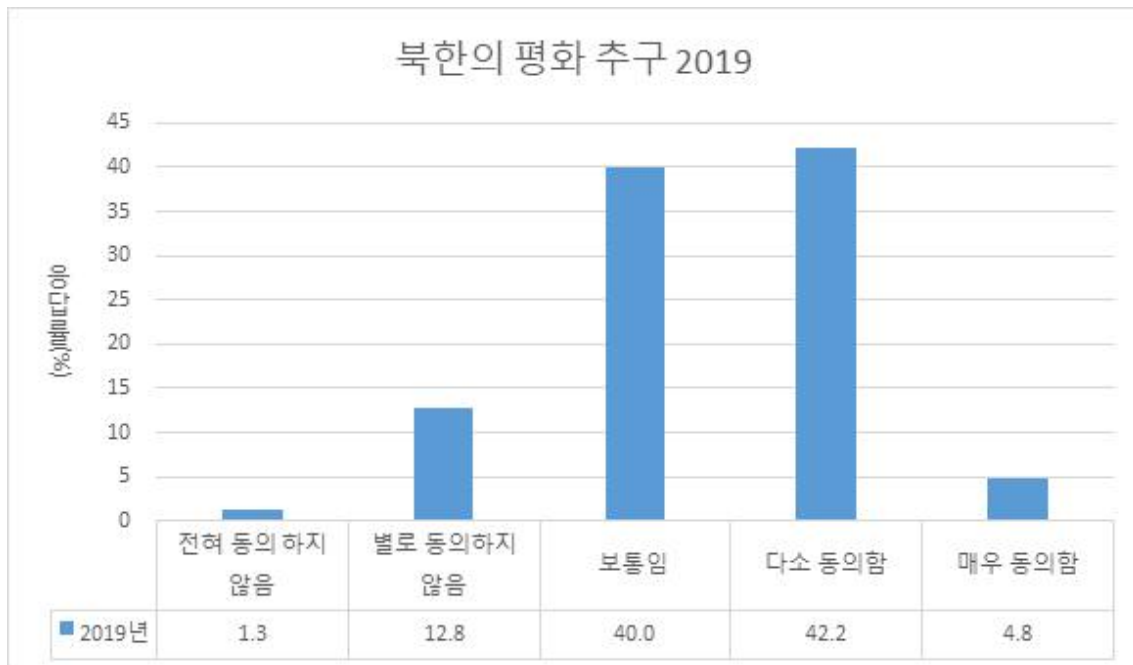
- ☐ Included in 2019 survey for the first time. Agreement rate is higher than Non-agreement on the changes.
 - The rate of agreement is 48.7% (somewhat agree 39.7% + strongly agree 9.0%) while rate of disagreement is 22.5%(somewhat disagree 20.4% + strongly disagree 2.1%), showing 26.2%P gap.
 - The response rate, which neither agreed nor disagreed ('neutral') is 28.8%, higher than disagreement.
- ☐ The result of this answer shows that many Koreans do not perceive North Korea as a general state system, but rather as a dominant power system of Kim Jong-Un and a strong tendency to think together with the supreme leader and the fate of the state.
- ☐ Apart from perception on the dominant power system of Kim Jong-Un, there is estimation that Kim Jong-Un regime will have stronger durability.
 - On the item that “Even if North Koreans suffer from famine, Kim Jung-Un will never give up the power.”, 65.9% agreed while 9.0% disagreed, predicting overwhelmingly the durability of power of Kim Jong-Un. .

10. Strengthening Economic Sanctions and Denuclearization



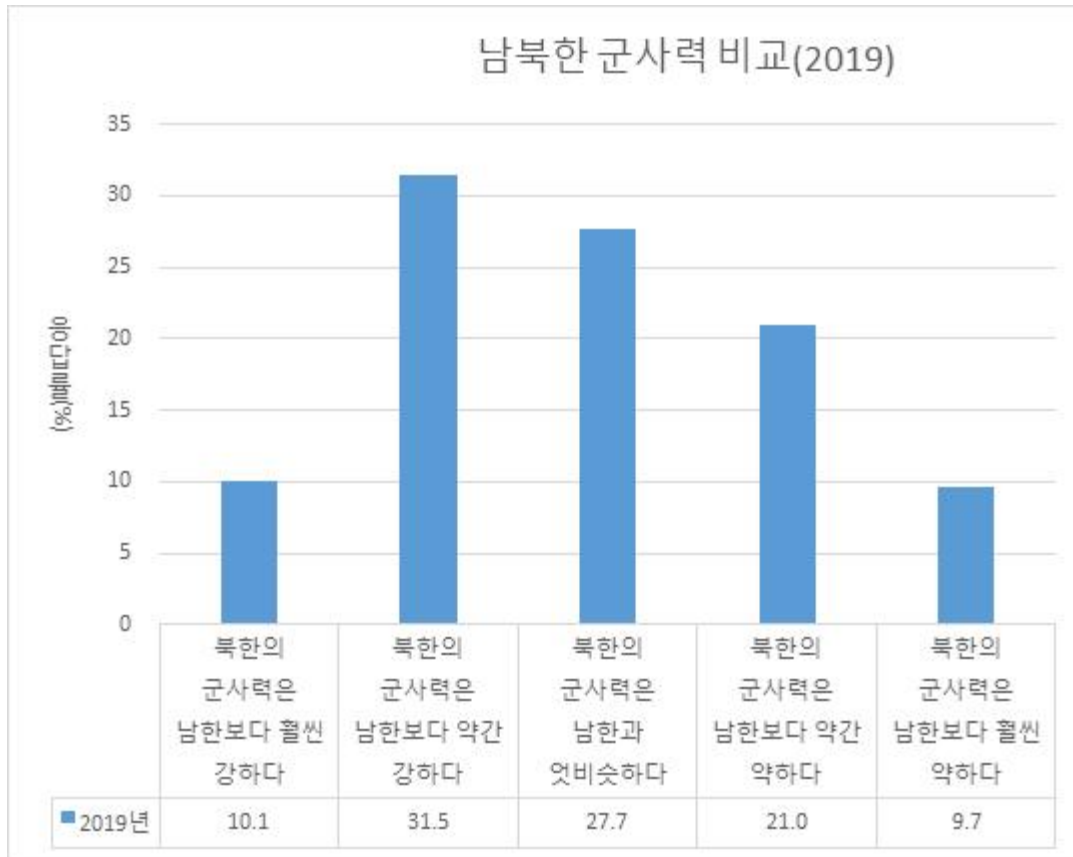
- ☐ “If economic sanctions on North Korea strengthen, North Korea will eventually give up nuclear power.”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
- ☐ The negative perception is higher than the positive perception of the effects of economic sanctions.
 - 42.6% answered "I do not agree" and 28.7% answered "I agree".
 - The response rate, which neither agreed nor disagreed ('neutral') is 28.7%, the same rate as response showing agreement.
- ☐ This result suggests that the maintenance of strong economic sanctions is limited for the denuclearization of North Korea, and that in order to achieve substantive progress, comprehensive approach is required to enhance effectiveness of the policy.

11. Pursuit of Peace by North Korea



- ☐ “North Korea wants peace with South Korea than conflict.”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
- ☐ The perception that North Korea also wants peace regime in the Korean peninsula is much higher than the opposite perception.
 - 47% answered “agree”, while only 14.1% answered “do not agree”.
- ☐ The response rate, which neither agreed nor disagreed ('neutral') is 40%, holding the evaluation on North Korea's actions. This suggests that evaluation could differ by the steps North Korea takes in the near future.

12. Comparison of military strength between two Koreas.



- ☐ “Do you think the military power of North Korea stronger than South Korea? Or weaker than South Korea?”
- 5 point scale:
- 1= NK military power is much stronger than that of South Korea
 - 2= NK military power is a little stronger than that of South Korea
 - 3= NK military power is similar to that of South Korea
 - 4= NK military power is a little weaker than that of South Korea
 - 5= NK military power is much weaker than that of South Korea
- ☐ About 4 out of 10 respondents think that North Korea's military strength is stronger than that of South Korea, and 6 say that they are comparable or weaker.
- 41.5% answered that the military force of North Korea is stronger than that of South Korea, and 30.7% answered that it is weak.
- The response rate that North Korea's military strength is comparable to that of South Korea was 27.7%.
- This result shows that despite the possession of nuclear weapons by North Korea, the level of threat South Koreans feel from the North Korean military is not very high.

13. Possibility of War on the Korean Peninsula.

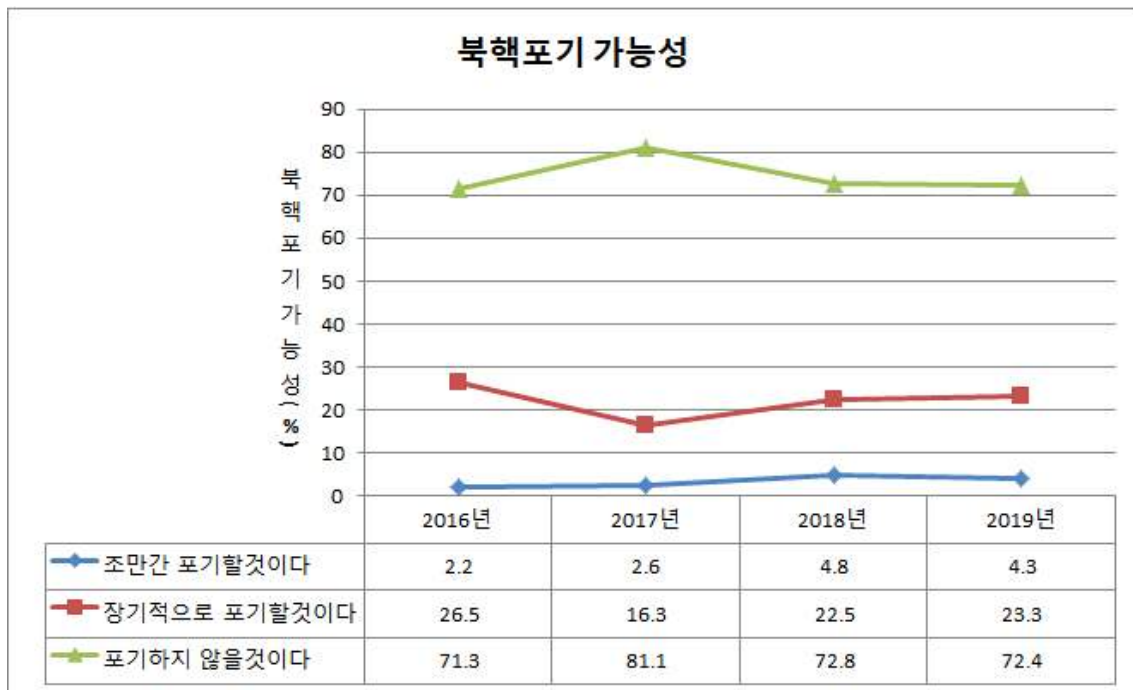


- ☐ “How likely do you think a nuclear war will break out with North Korea in 10 years? ”
 - 5 point scale: 1=not likely at all, 2=somewhat not-likely, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat likely 5=very much likely.
- ☐ Seven out of ten Koreans are looking at the possibility of civil war low.
 - 70.9% of the respondents answered that the possibility of war was "low", and only 7.3% said "high".
 - The proportion of respondents who answered "half" for the possibility of war was surveyed as 21.9%.
- ☐ In the other questionnaire analysis, South Koreans saw a low probability of North Korea giving up nuclear weapons (72.4%). At the same time, however, the perception can be suggested that North Korea's nuclear armament does not immediately increase the possibility of war between the two Koreas.
 - On the item of “North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and missiles is only a diplomatic means, and the possibility to attack South Korea is very low.”, 41.3% agreed and only 14.3% disagreed. It can be reaffirmed that the South Korean people have a low perception of the possibility of the outbreak of war by the North Korean armed forces (including nuclear weapons).

IV. Changes and Trends of Perception on Unification and Policy towards North Korea

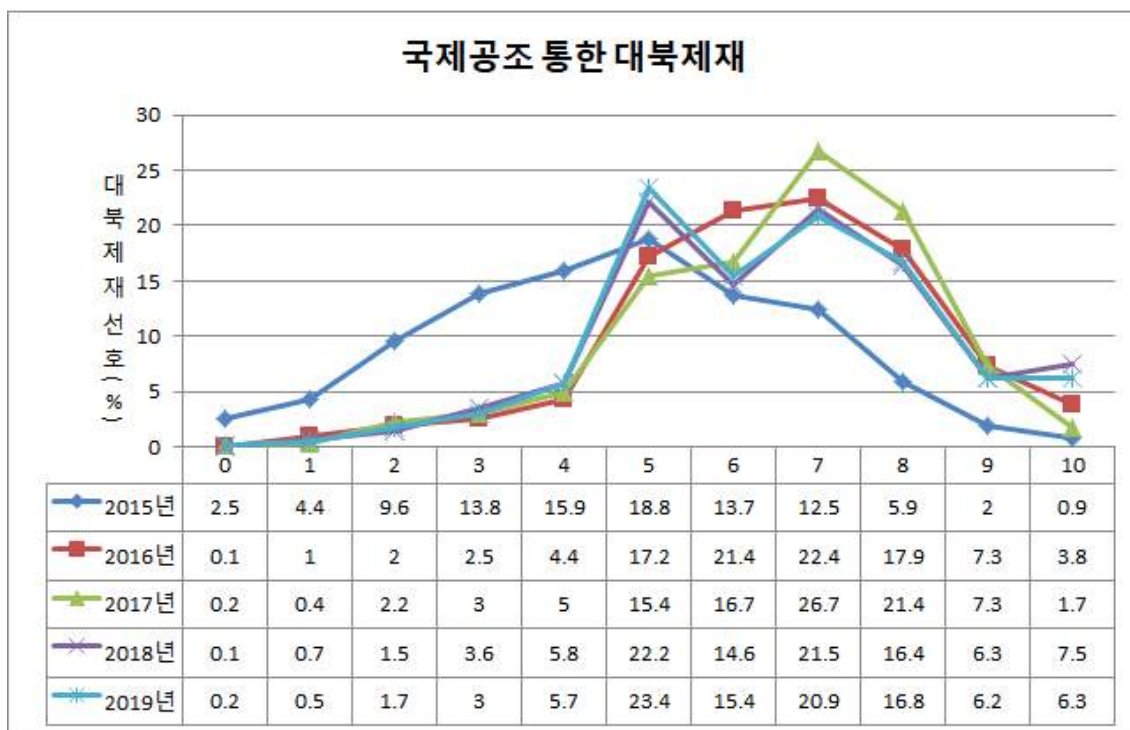
Min Tae Eun, Deputy Research Fellow
Korea Institute for National Unification

1. Possibility of North Korea Giving up Nuke



- “Do you think North Korea will give up its nuclear weapons program?”
- 3 point scale (1=NK will give up nuclear weapons soon, 2=NK will give up nuclear weapons in the long run, 3=NK will not give up nuclear weapons)
 - In 2019, skeptical view on North Korea abandoning nuclear weapons is still high.
 - However, considering that the recent denuclearization talks between North Korea and the U.S. have been stalled, it is noteworthy that the survey was conducted in a similar pattern to that of 2018, when the inter-Korean relations and the U.S.-North Korea relations improved significantly.
 - Except for 2017, when North Korea's nuclear threat was high, there have been similar survey results on the possibility of the North Korea's nuclear weapons abandonment. This shows that South Koreans' skeptical view on the possibility of the North Korea's nuclear weapons abandonment is very “stable”.

2. Sanctions against North Korea through international cooperation



□ “The international cooperation should ensure that sanctions against North Korea are implemented.”

○ 11 point on scale: 0=strongly disagree to 10=strongly agree

○ 2015 survey question: “North Korea should be isolated through international cooperation.”

○ Except for 2015, there is no big difference in the survey years.

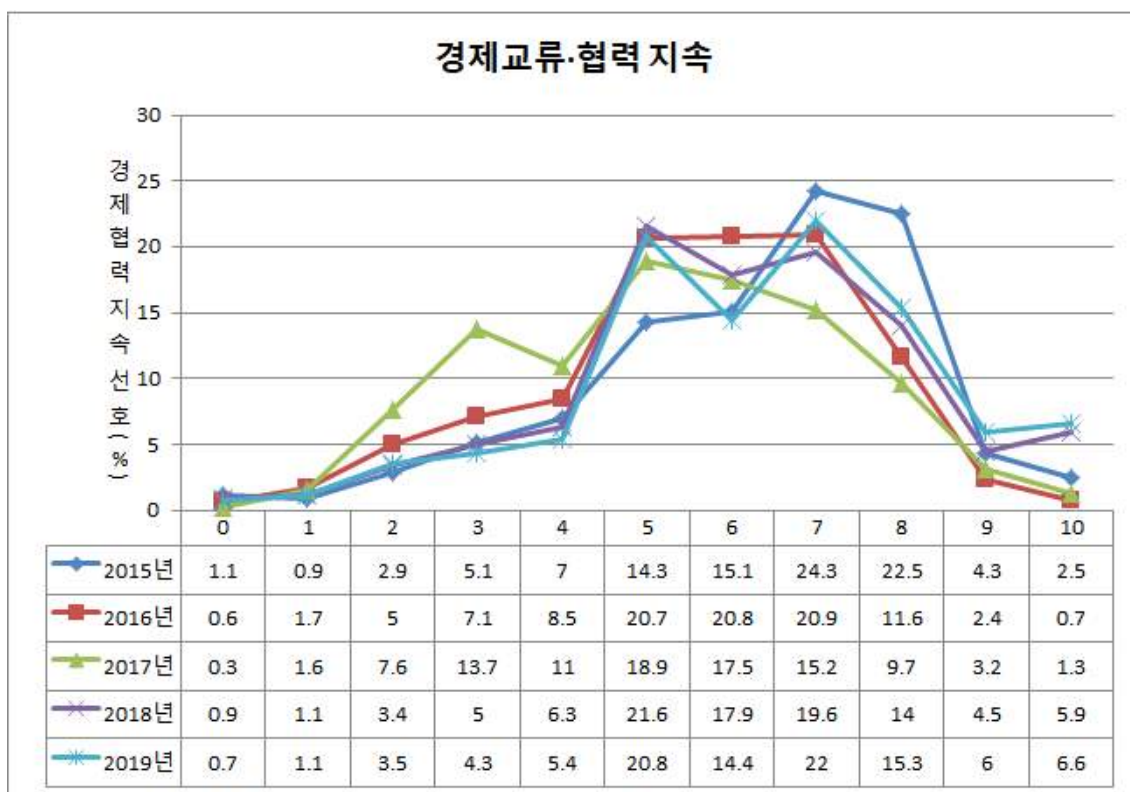
	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Average	4.7	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.4

○ The difference in the items in 2015 is considered to come from one cause.

○ Despite improvements in inter-Korean relations, the result of the 2019 survey shows that 5.4% of the South Korean people oppose sanctions (less than 4 on the scale) and 45% (on the scale of 6 or more) agree sanctions, which shows the firm view of South Koreans on the denuclearization of North Korea.

- It seems to be related with high skepticism of the people on the denuclearization of North Korea.

3. Continuation of Economic Exchanges and Cooperation

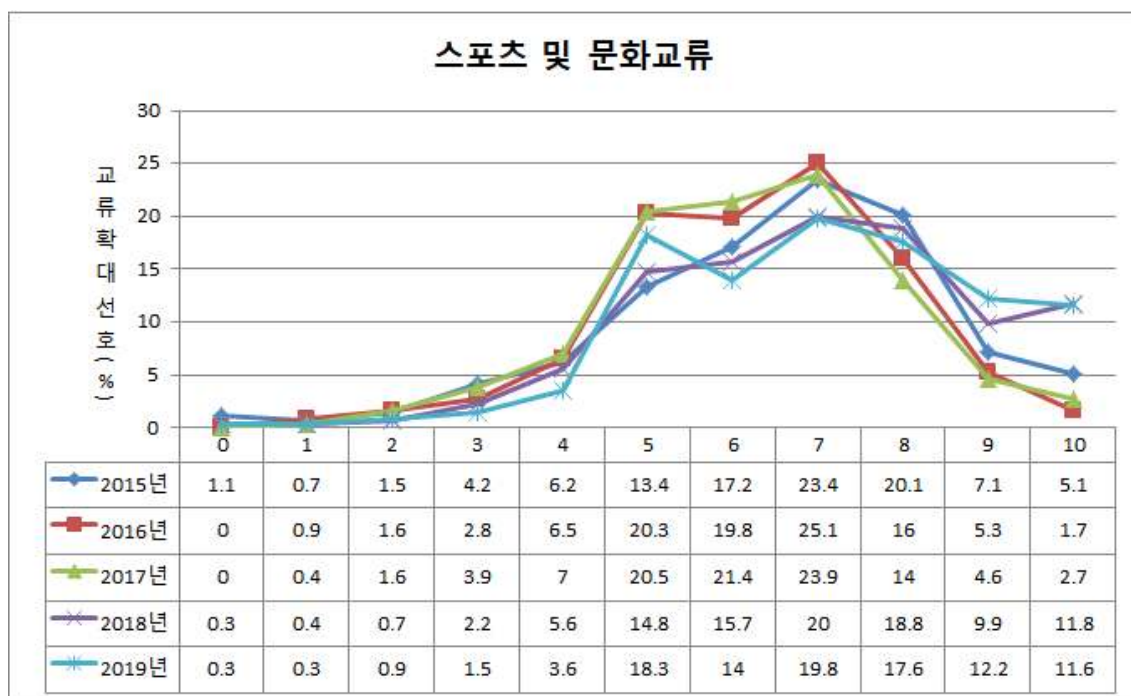


- ☐ “Two Koreas should continue economic exchanges and cooperation even in a state of political and military confrontation”.
- 2015 survey question: “Continuing economic exchanges and cooperation in the political and military confrontation will help ease tensions and gradually change North Korea”
- Except for 2015, positive view on economic exchanges and cooperation is dominant.

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Average	6.3	5.6	5.3	6.1	6.3

- In 2016, when the Gaesong Industrial Complex was closed, more people made a positive evaluation (more than 6 on the scale) of continuing economic exchanges with North Korea.
- However, on the new item in the 2019 survey, "Although it will be a loss to South Korea for the moment, South Korea must help North Korea to overcome the current economic crisis.", 60% of respondents answered negatively.
 - This suggests that there is a need to improve inter-Korean relations from the long-term perspective and efforts to build public consensus of future benefits.

4. Expansion of Sports and Culture Exchanges



□ “We need to expand sports, culture and human exchanges with North Korea.”

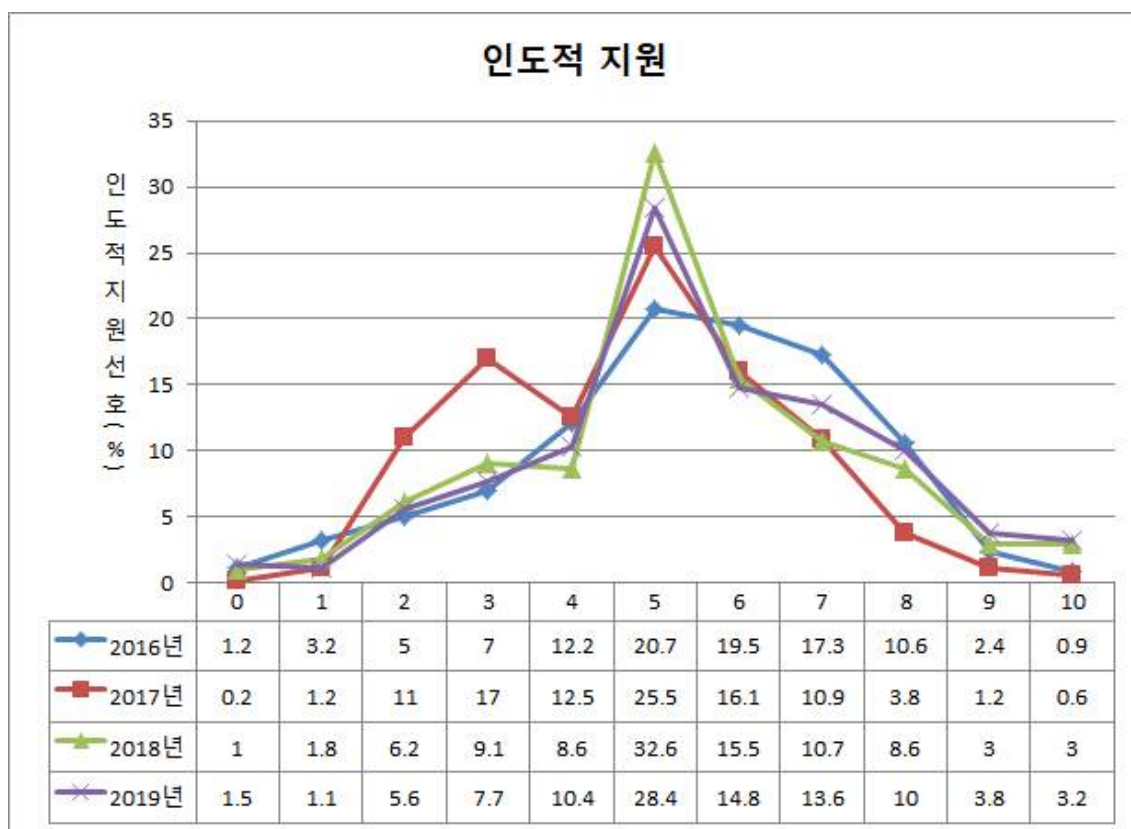
○ 2015 survey question: “We must deepen our relationship with North Korea through sports and cultural exchanges”

- Highly positive attitude with the average of 6 points or more regardless of inter-Korean relations, including 2015 when question was different.

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Average	6.5	6.3	6.2	7.0	7.0

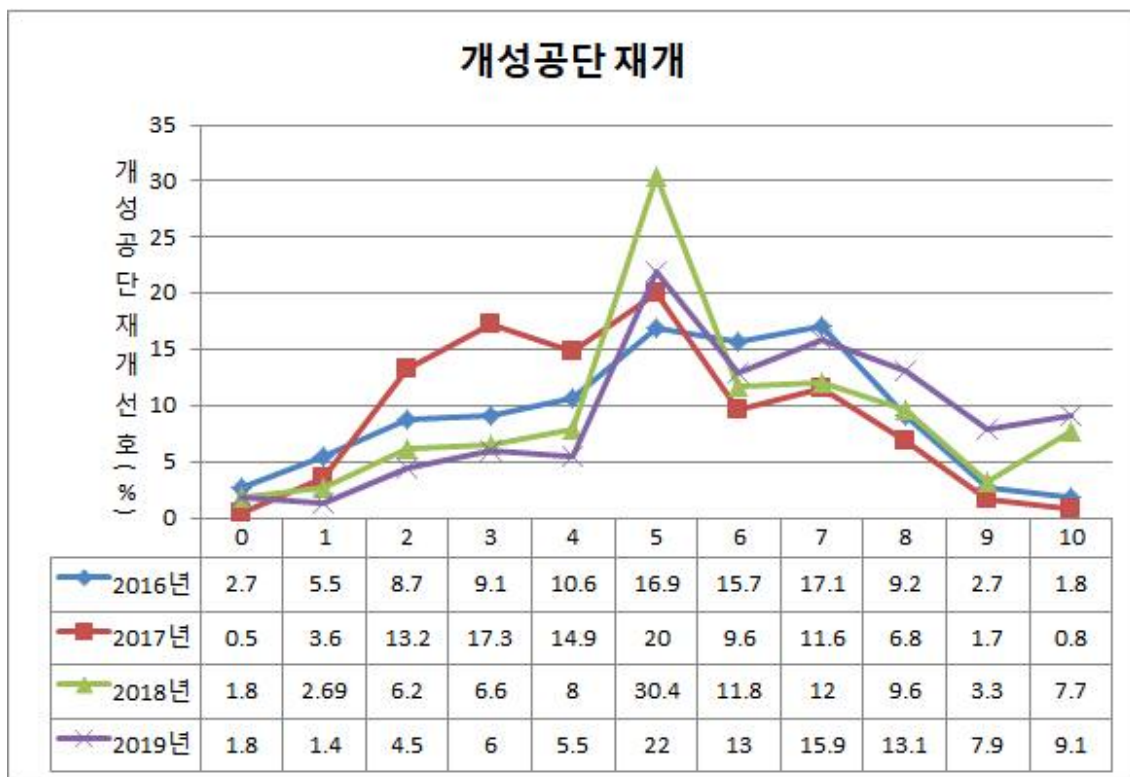
- It shows that this is the field where government can promote and maintain improvement of inter-Korean relations with less sensitivity to domestic and international situations in relation to North Korea, and hence it is necessary to promote more active expansion of exchanges to improve inter-Korean relations.

5. Humanitarian Aid



- “We must continue the humanitarian aid to North Korea”.
 - The percentage of positive attitudes (above 6 points) slightly increased in 2019 compared to 2018.
 - Increased positive response regardless of respondents' ideology(55% progress, 43% moderate, 39%)
 - Interestingly, the proportion of people with a positive attitude (above 6 points) in humanitarian assistance in 2016 and 2017, when the Gaesong Industrial Complex was closed and inter-Korean relations were down, was not much different from that of 2018/19.
 - It suggests the attitudes of the South Korean people to humanitarian aid are stable regardless of the conditions of inter-Korean relations.

6. Resumption of the Gaesong Industrial Complex



□ “The Gaeseong Industrial Complex should be resumed.”

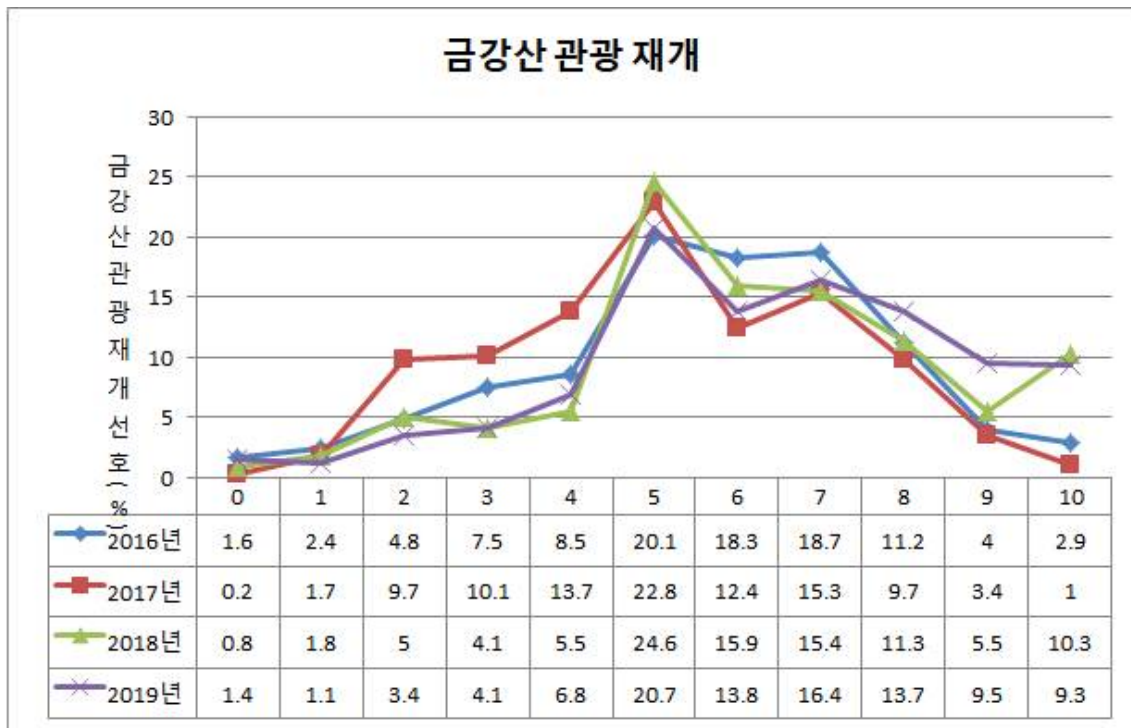
○ The South Korean people's view toward the resumption of the Gaesong Industrial Complex, which was closed in February 2016 by the 4th nuclear test and the long-range missile test, was relatively negative in 2016 and 2017, but positive view increased in 2018 and 2019.

- In the case of 2019, 19.2% respondents had negative opinions (less than 4 points), while overwhelming 60% had positive views (more than 6 points).
- In particular, despite the recent stalled negotiations on denuclearization, it is noteworthy that proportion of people with a positive attitude increased compared to 2018 (as a result, the average increased in value).

	2016	2017	2018	2019
Average	5.1	4.6	5.6	6.2

○ 51% of respondents who declared themselves to be conservatives made a positive evaluation (more than 6 on the scale) for the resumption of Gaesong Industrial Complex (liberal 69%, moderate 58%).

7. Resumption of Mt. Geumgang Tourism



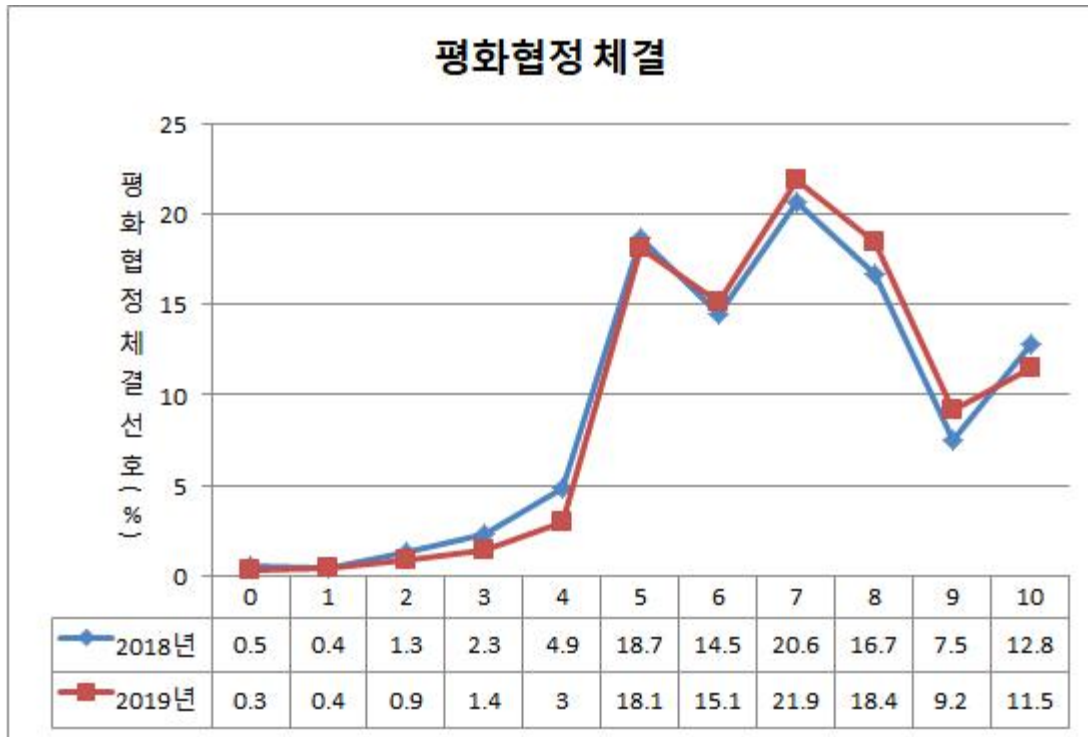
☐ “The tour of Mt. Geumgang should be resumed.”

- Higher average preference than attitude toward resumption of Gaesong Industrial Complex.

	2016	2017	2018	2019
Average	5.6	5.2	6.1	6.4

- It can be interpreted that the resumption of tour of Mt Geumgang is less political and economic than the resumption of Gaesong Industrial Complex.
- 53% of conservative respondents gave a positive evaluation on the resumption of Mt. Geumgang tourism (Liberal 72%, Moderate 63%).
- Taken together, in 2019, the South Korean people are skeptical about North Korea's willingness to give up nuclear weapons, but there is a high expectation of positive inter-Korean exchanges, such as the resumption of the Gaesong Industrial Complex and the resumption of Mt. Geumgang tourism.

8. Signing Peace Treaty

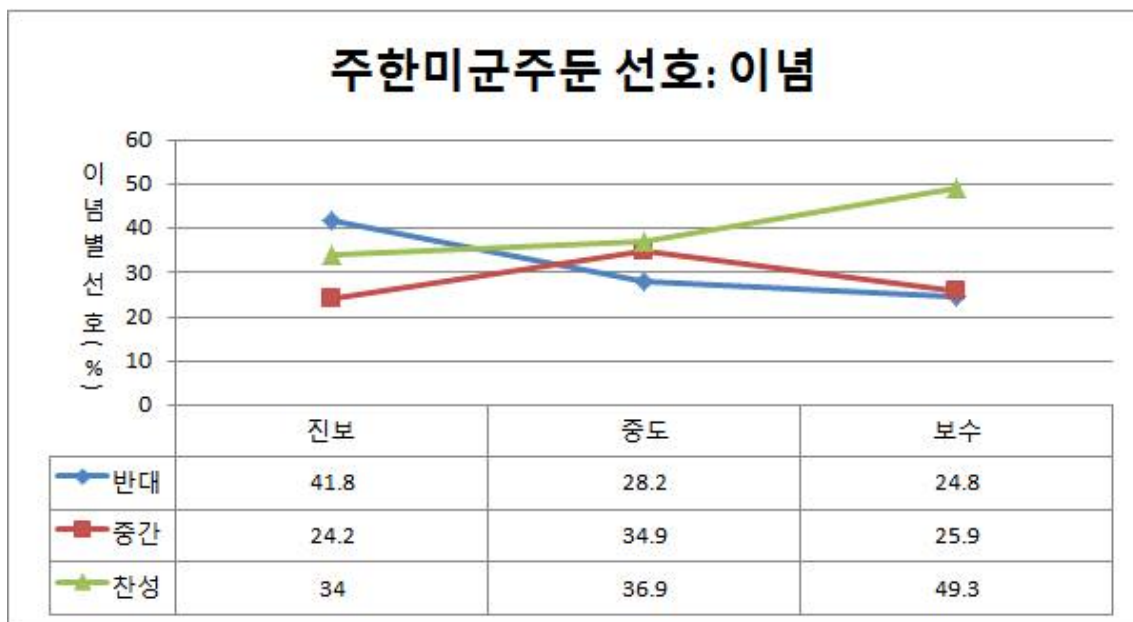
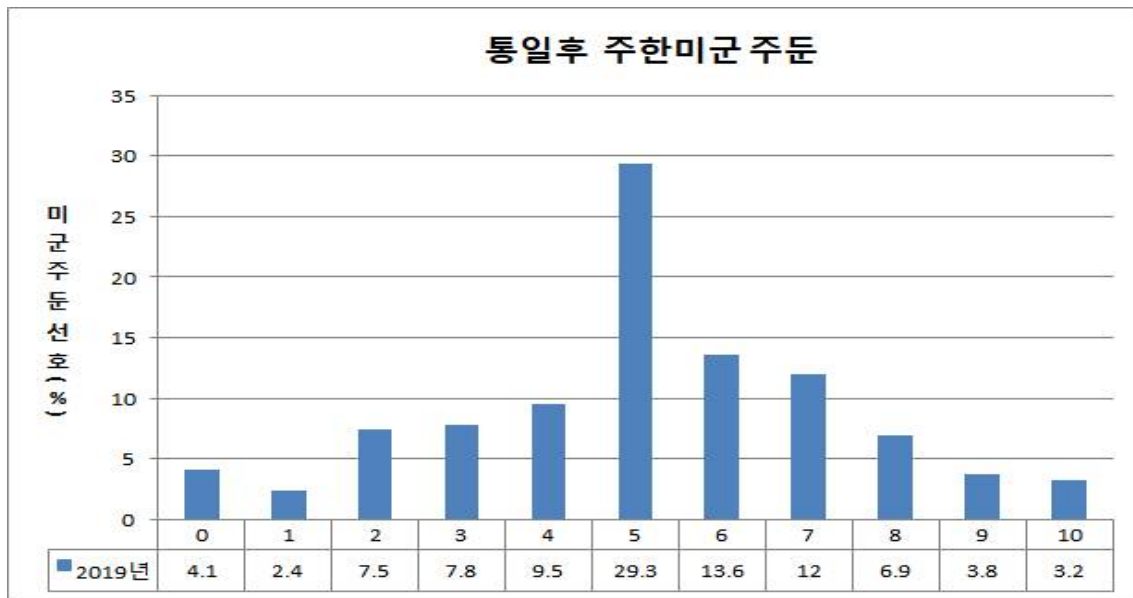


- “A peace treaty on the Korean Peninsula must be signed to officially end the Korean War.”
- Shows similar patterns in 2018 and 2019
- 2019 survey shows, the South Korean people’s preference on signing of the peace treaty regardless of idealolgy is high.

	Disagree	Middle	Agree
Liberal	2.0%	17.3%	80.7%
Moderate	7.2%	17.0%	75.8%
Conservative	6.0%	18.0%	76.0%

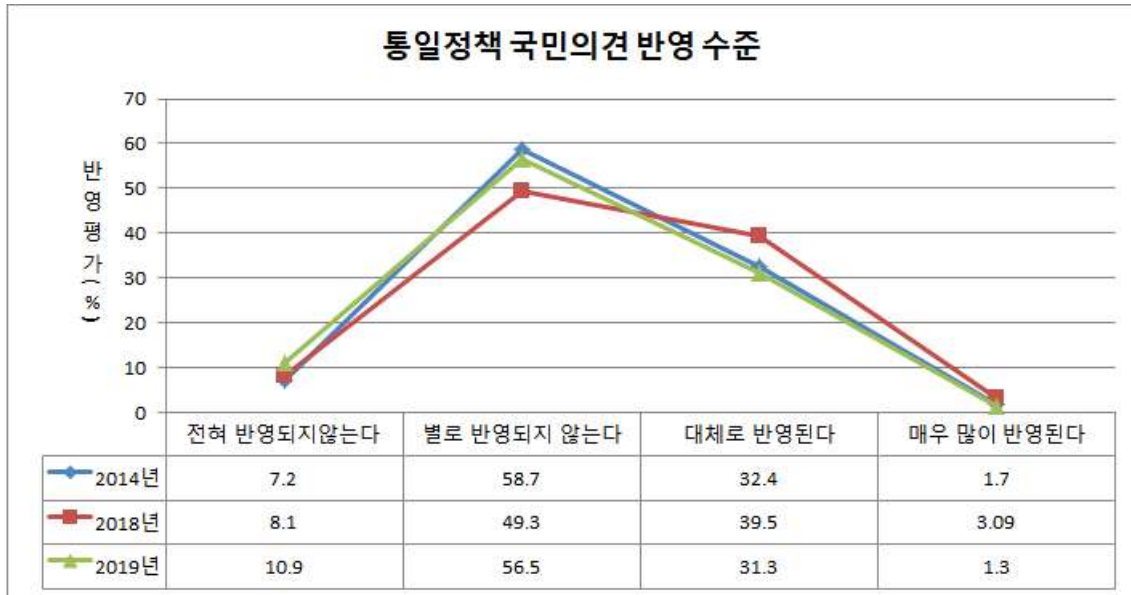
- This high level of positive attitude reflects the desire and consensus of the South Korean people for peace on the Korean peninsula, suggesting that the government can expect public support for future efforts for peace treaty.

9. Presence of the United States Forces Korea



- “The U.S. army in South Korea should station in the Korean peninsula even after the unification continuously.”
- Opposition 22%, favor 40%. Still, the South Korean people are favorable to U.S. military presence.
 - Opposition goes higher to respondents who are more liberals
 - However, opposition view of liberals is higher than moderates.
 - For moderates, the rate of favoring presence of USFK is higher than opposition rate.

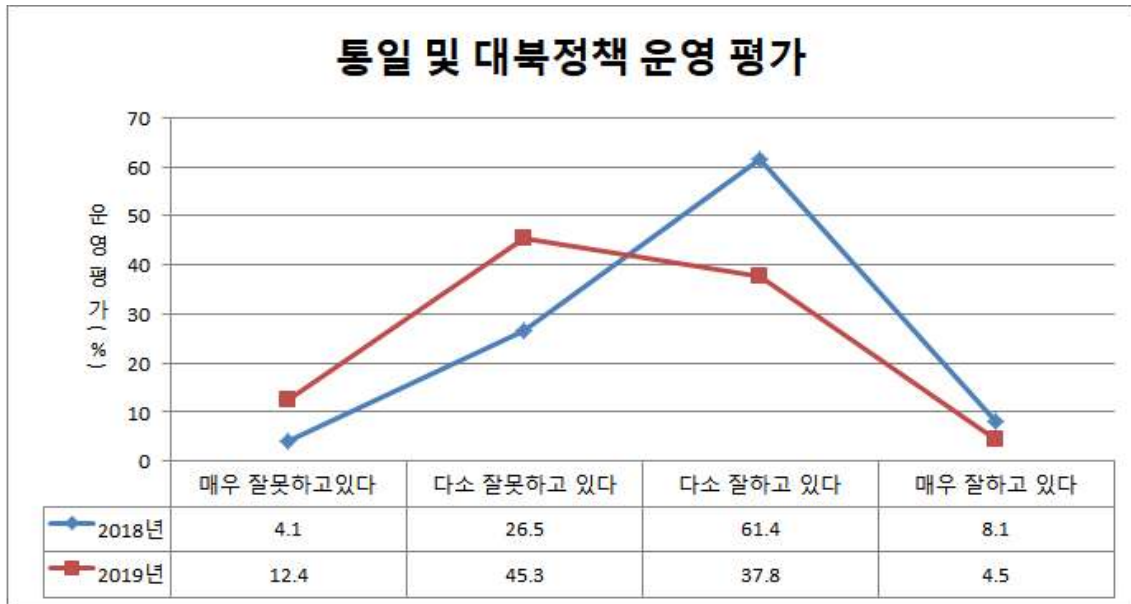
10. Unification Policy Reflecting the Opinions of the People



□ “To what extent do you think the people's opinions are reflected in the government's unification policy?”

- 4 point scale(1=reflected very much, 4=not reflected at all)
- Regardless of the ideological tendency of the government, the South Korean people's evaluation whether the unification policy opinion reflects people's opinion was overwhelmingly negative.
 - In the case of 2018 and 2019 survey after Moon Jae-in government inaugurated, 53% of respondents in the liberal tendency (0 to 10) gave negative view.
 - In 2019, 60% of liberal respondents, 66% of moderate respondents, and 77% of conservative respondents gave negative view.
- These evaluations suggest that more government efforts are needed to promote policy and public consensus in establishing the unification policy of the Korean government.

11. Evaluation on Handling of Unification and North Korea Policy



- “How well do you think the current administration is handling the unification and North Korea policies?”
 - 4 point scale (1=very badly, 2=somewhat badly, 3=somewhat well, 4=very well)
 - The negative evaluation (very bad / somewhat wrong) greatly increased compared to 2018 (30.6% → 57.7%)
 - 60% liberals, 66% moderates, and 77% conservatives are negative. The more conservative the rate is, the higher the rate of negative evaluation.
 - However, the correlation between the respondent ideology and the evaluation is low (0.27), thus, the negative evaluation of the current government's policy towards the unification and North Korea can be interpreted as also high for the liberals and moderates.
 - These results are consistent with the recent overall assessment of the state administration of the government.
 - It is difficult to see that the unification and North Korea policies have more negative evaluation than other policies.

V. Values, Ideology, Issue Ownership

Professor Yoon, Kwang Il
Sookmyung Women's University

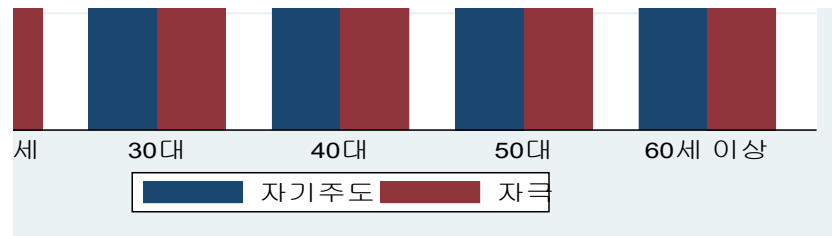
1. Values and Ideology Distribution

- ☐ The meaning of values and ideology
 - To individuals, values are belief about 'what is desirable'
 - Influences the choice of various possible forms of behavior, means and purposes (Kluckhohn 1951)
 - Ongoing beliefs about what behavior or end-state is personally or socially preferred (Rokeach 1973)
 - Goals that transcend situations that are guided by the social actors' lives but differ in their relative importance (Schwartz 1992)
 - Political ideology is a stable belief in political subjects such as government, political party and policies.
 - Ideology includes logical coherence and consistency and persistence, unlike political attitudes that change according to short-term situations.
- ☐ Unification and Perception of North Korea as Values and Ideology
 - The value and ideology distribution of Koreans through representative sample surveys can contribute to determine whether the preference for North Korea and unification policy derives from the fundamental political and psychological differences of individuals.
- ☐ Schwartz's basic value distribution
 - Measured the below statement of value out of six points in scale.

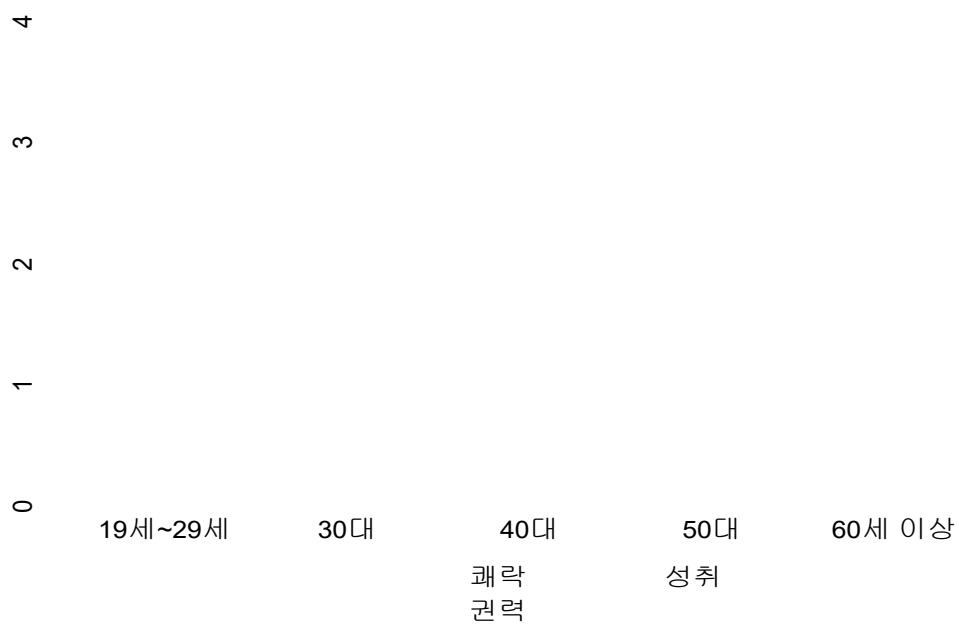
Basic Values	Statements describing values
Self-direct edness	It is important for this person to come up with new ideas, to think creatively, and to act in his own way.
Power	It is important for this person to have a lot of expensive things by being rich and having lots of money.
Safety	It is important for this person to live in a place where the surroundings are safe and there is no threat.
Pleasure	It is important for this person to have plenty of time and enjoy themselves.
Fraternity	It is important for this person to do something for society.
Accomplis hment	It is important for this person to be successful and to be recognized by others.
Stimulatio n	It is important for this person to have adventure and new challenges.
Sympathy	It is important for this person to abide by what is right without doing anything reprehensible.
Universalis m	Nature protection is important to this person.
Tradition	Sticking to Traditions is important to this person.

2. Distribution of Values by Generation

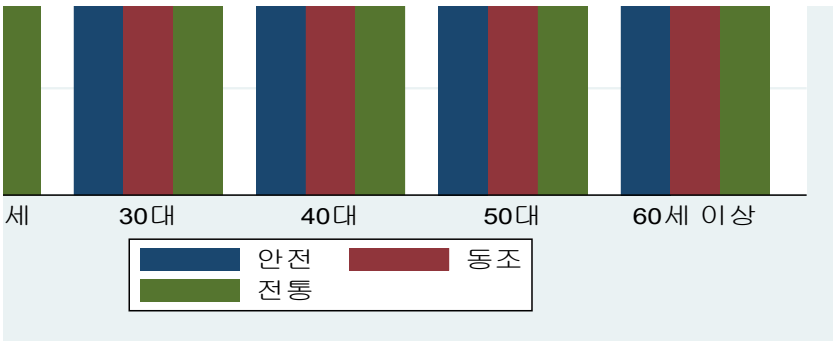
1. Distribution of openness (self-directedness and stimulation) to change by generation



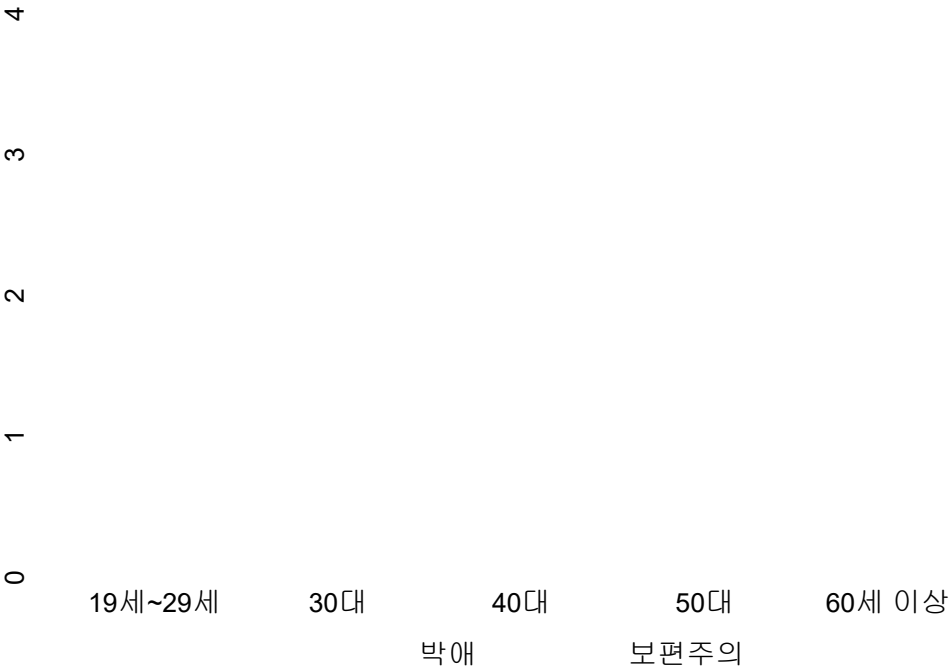
2. Distribution of self-enhancement value (pleasure, accomplishment, power) by generation



3. Distribution of conservative values (safety, sympathy, tradition) by generations



4. Distribution of self-transcendent value (fraternity and universalism) by generation

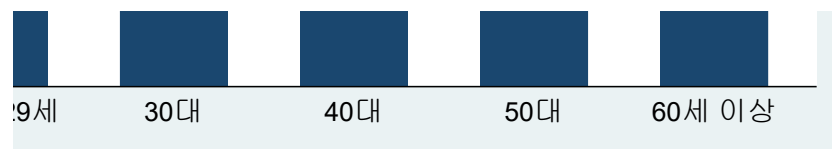


- Younger generations are more likely to prefer self-directed and stimulating values
 - In particular, the difference between below 50s and above 60s is remarkable, and the preference of younger people to the stimulus value is remarkable (Figure 1).
 - This seems to be partially supported by the empirical fact that younger generations are more prominent to have liberal tendencies.
- If the contradicting basic value is related to the contradicting political ideology orientation, the fact that preference for self-transcendent value (Figure 4) of fraternity and universalism related to liberal tendency & its contradicting self-enhancement value (Figure 2) are shown in all generations; suggests that influence of conservative political ideology discourse may not be relatively large.
- If we look at the distribution of conservative values (Figure 3), which is known by contents and empirically to be related to conservative ideology, it shows that a relatively high proportion of respondents appear in safety, sympathy and tradition.
- In particular, safety values are relatively high in the 20-30s.
 - Whether this reflects the changed national consciousness after the incident of Sewol Ferry, and whether it will continue need to be researched further.
 - The preference for safety values of young people suggests that the preference for maintaining the status quo or maintaining a peace regime is likely to persist rather than a rapid change.

3. Ideological Distribution by Generation

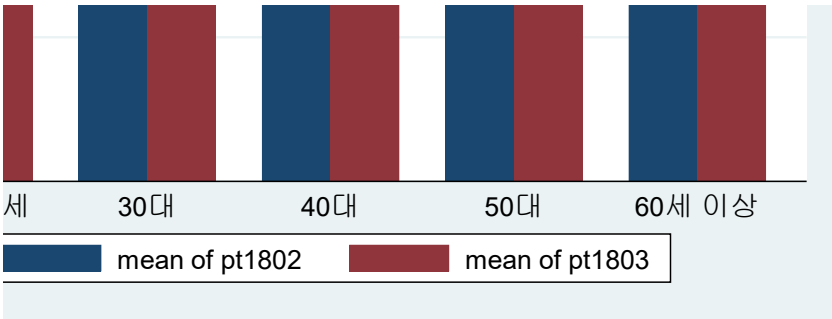
- “On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is the most liberal, 5 is moderate, and 10 is the most conservative, where would you place yourself?”
- Measured the ideological orientation of major political parties that each respondent think on the same scale.

1. Distribution of ideology by generation



- Similar to the value distribution, the liberal tendency of the younger than 50s and conservative tendency of above 60s were prominent while liberal tendency below 30s is very clear.
- Discourse of liberals - conservative and generation in Korean politics
 - If (1) the difference between liberal and conservative policies is centered on North Korea, unification, and security policy rather than economic or social policy,
 - (2) If self-assessment of liberal and conservative is reflected in the preferences for these policies,
 - (1) and (2) are premised, the liberal tendency of 50s or less suggests that they will stably prefer for a moderate North Korean policy.

□ Distribution of Ideology by Generation on the Democratic Party and Liberal Korea Party.



○ Consistent evaluation from all generations on the Democratic Party and Liberal Korea Party. This suggests that it will be difficult to convert or converge the two parties' policies.

4. Issue Ownership

- ☐ “Which of the following political parties do you trust to do a better job on handling North Korean policies?”
- 1=Democratic Party, 2=Liberty Korea Party, 3=Bareunmirae Party, 4=Party for Democracy and Peace, 5=Justice Party.

- ☐ Issue Ownership on Policy towards North Korea(%)

	2018	2019	2Yr Average
Democratic Party	71.0	62.4	66.7
Liberty Korea Party	18.4	27.8	23.1
Bareunmirae Party	6.1	5.9	6.0
Party for Democracy and Peace	1.7	1.6	1.7
Justice Party	2.8	2.3	2.6

- ☐ Issue Ownership on Unification Policy(%)

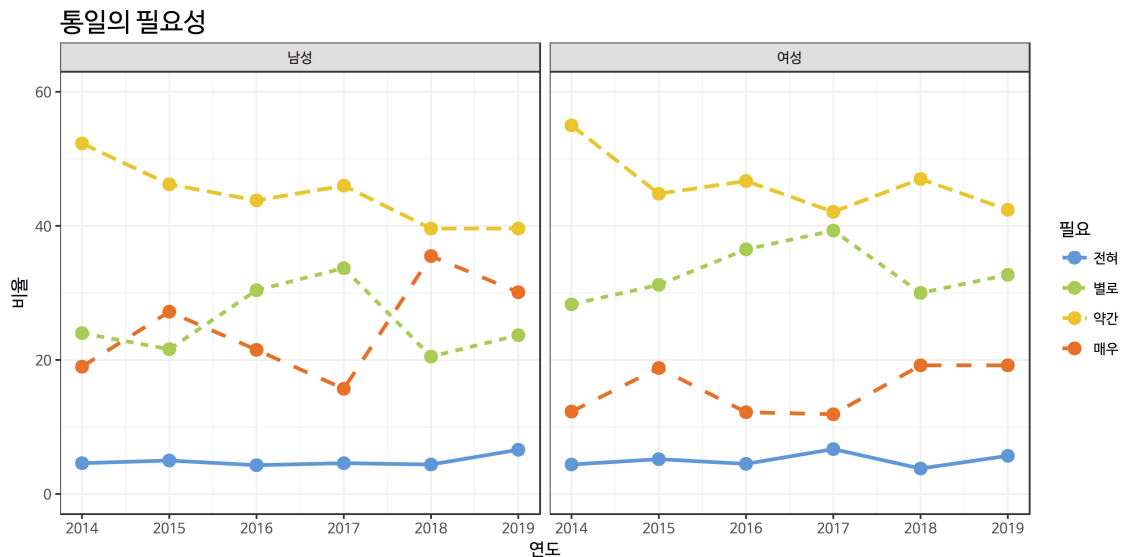
	2018	2019	Total
Democratic Party	69.7	61.3	65.5
Liberty Korea Party	20.1	25.8	22.9
Bareunmirae Party	5.7	7.3	6.5
Party for Democracy and Peace	1.7	3.8	2.8
Justice Party	2.8	1.8	2.3

- As a result of the 2019 survey, the percentage agreeing that the issue ownership of policy towards North Korea and unification is with the Democratic Party is 8.5%P lower than the previous year.
- On the other hand, the respondents who answered that the issues ownership is with Liberty Korea Party increased by 9%P and 5.7%P respectively.
- Nevertheless, over 60% of respondents still acknowledge that policies towards North Korea and unification are brand policies of the Democratic Party.
- This evaluation, whether when combined with relatively high support for values related to liberal inclination and a relatively high proportion of liberal self-assessment, will lead to support for the Democratic Party’s policy towards North Korea and unification should be seen through thorough and systematic research in the future.

VI. Perception on Unification and North Korea from Gender Perspective

Professor Koo, Bon Sang
Chungbuk National Universtiy

1. Need for Unification



□ “How much do you think the unification is necessary?”

- 4 point scale (1=strongly unnecessary, 2=somewhat unnecessary, 3=somewhat necessary, 4=strongly necessary)

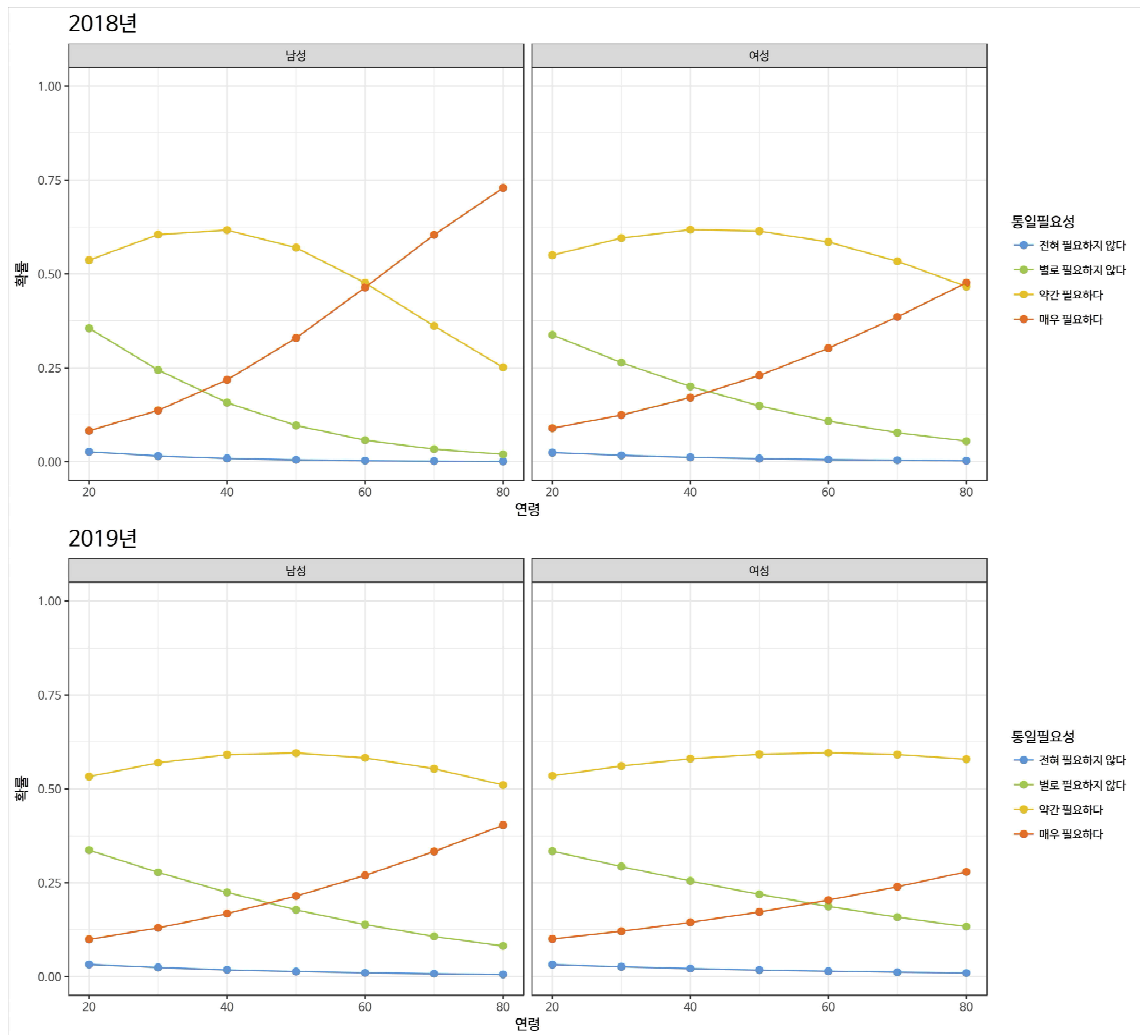
□ Trend of Changes by Gender

- Since 2014, women have maintained the order of the percentage of respondents who answered "somewhat necessary,> "somewhat unnecessary"> "strongly necessary"> "strongly unnecessary"
- On the other hand, respondents who said "somewhat necessary," had the highest weight, respondents who said "strongly unnecessary" had the lowest weight as in women. The respondents for “strongly necessary” and “somewhat unnecessary” were different.
- In particular, the data of 2018 surveyed ahead of the inter-Korean summit talks and the U.S- North Korea talks showed that 35.5% of respondents said that they were "strongly necessary." In the following year, the two countries failed to reach consensus at Hanoi in Feb 27 and respondents who feel that unification is necessary slightly reduced, but still over 30%.
- The percentage of respondents who said that they are "very necessary" for women was smaller than that for men, but reached 19.2% in 2018 and 2019, the highest since 2014.
- In the end, men feel more need for unification than women, and more strongly. In addition, since the proportion of men who have a strong opinion

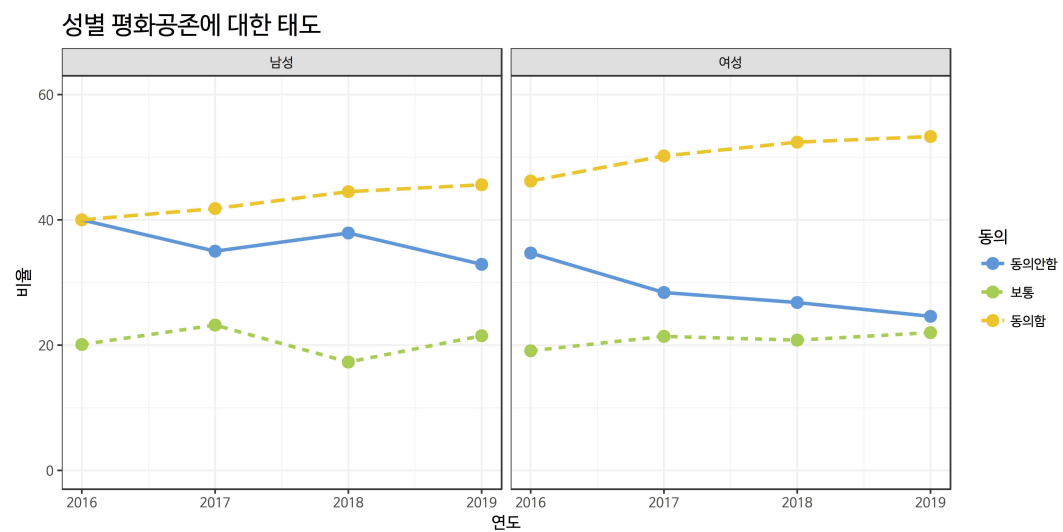
that 'it is strongly necessary' has risen sharply from 2018, suggesting men who have a strong orientation towards unification tend to respond more sensitively to changes in the environment and inter-Korean relations around the Korean Peninsula.

□ Changes and Trends by Age and Gender

- Considering the socioeconomic variables and political variables (ideology, political party unity, evaluation of the administration of the current government), and estimating how much need for unification is felt by gender and age, in 2018 when the inter-Korean relations was favorable due to summit meeting between two Koreas and between the U.S. and North Korea; there was no difference on the need for unification by gender between 19 to 30s. In particular, younger-age women in their 19s and early 20s are less likely to feel the need for unification and less strongly than of the same age group of men.
- In the case of women, the awareness of unification is not stronger toward the elderly, so they are sensitive to changes in the political environment and the surrounding security environment.
- On the other hand, on February 27, 2019, the U.S. and North Korea failed to reach consensus at the Hanoi summit talks, which negatively affected the perception of unification. Therefore, the perception of need for unification in 2019 has declined as a whole, regardless of gender. However, the gap between men and women over 50s has become clear.



2. Peaceful Coexistence



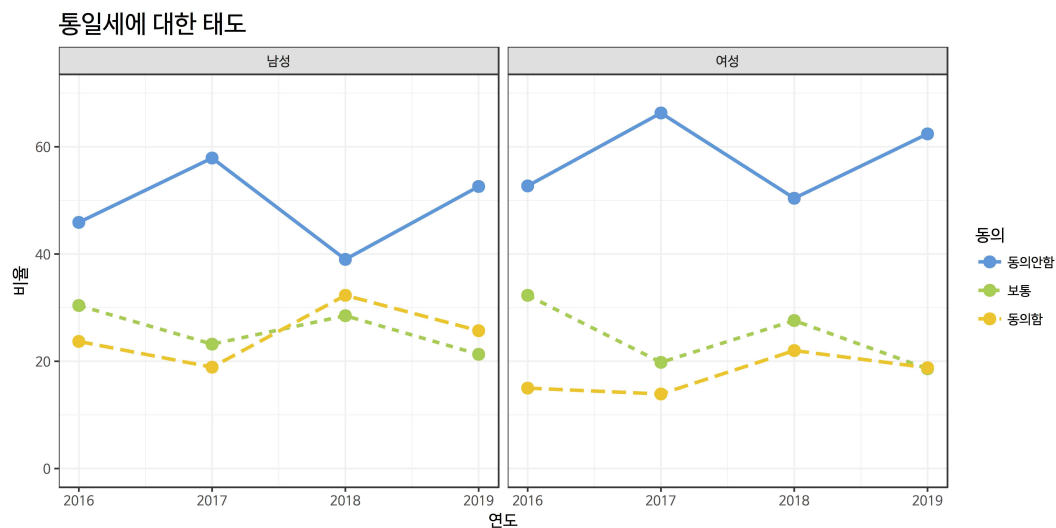
- ☐ Please answer freely and frankly on each questions below how much you agree or disagree. “If South and North can peacefully coexist without war, the unification is not necessary”
 - 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.

- ☐ Trend of Changes by Gender
 - Overall, there is high percentage of women who feel that unification is not necessary under the premises that peaceful coexistence is guaranteed. In 2016, the percentage of men agreement and the rate of disagreement were the same - 40.0%, but the percentage of people agreeing to peaceful coexist increased and the gap widened to 12.7%P in 2019.
 - This tendency is more pronounced for women, and the gap increased to 28.7%. In particular, this trend continued in 2018, when inter-Korean relations have dramatically improved. This suggests that women tend to have a passive attitude toward unification rather than men.

3. Agree on Raising Unification Tax

☐ Please answer freely and frankly on each questions below how much you agree or disagree. “I am in favor of raising taxes to cover the costs of unification.”

- 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.
- Aressiveness for unification preparation can be measured through the survey item.



☐ Trend of Changes by Gender

- Since 2016, the general trend of change is not clear, but women tend to be 10% more against tax hikes for unification costs. Since the ratio of respondents who answered "neutral is almost the same, the difference between agreeing and disagreeing respondents is more than 20%P.
- As in the responses to the question that unification is not necessary as a guarantee of the peaceful coexistence shown above, women are more passive than men in preparing for unification.

4. Perception of Usefulness of Unification

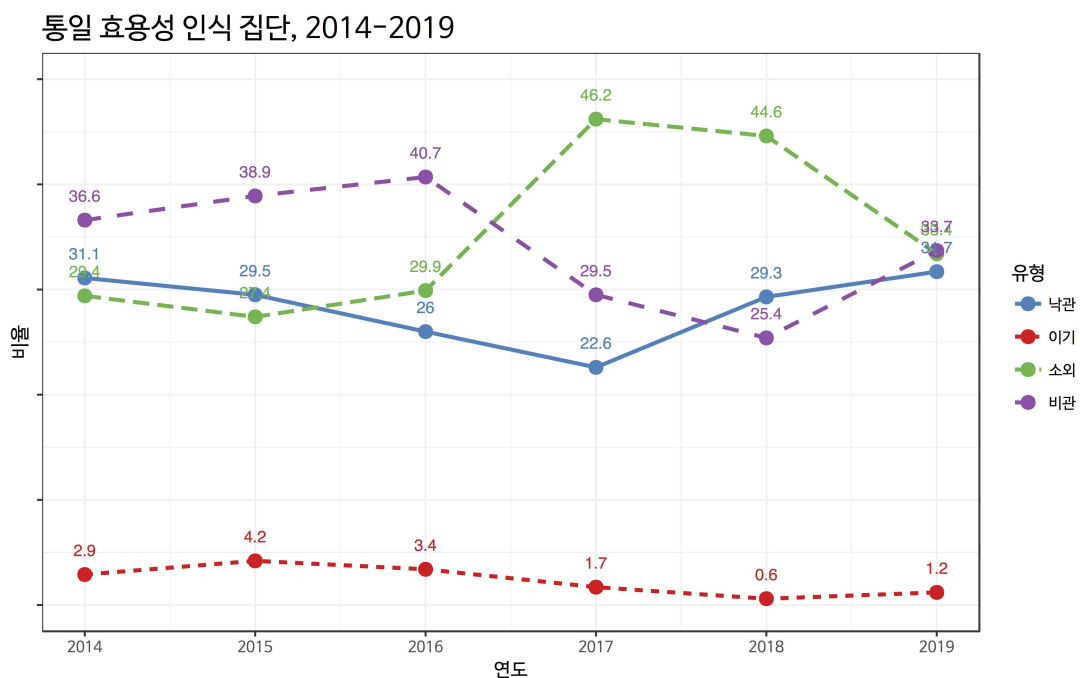
- ☐ Benefits of unification can be approached by distinguishing the benefits to the nation and to the individuals.
- ☐ “How much do you think unification would benefit the entire nation of South Korea?” and “How much do you think unification would benefit yourself?”
 - 4 points on scale for the two questions (1=no benefit at all, 2=not too much, 3=somewhat beneficial, 4=very much).

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Nation(A)	60.5%	56.9%	55.9%	68.8%	73.9%	65.1%
Individual(B)	34.0%	33.7%	29.4%	24.3%	29.9%	32.8%
Difference (A-B)	26.5%p	23.2%p	26.5%p	44.5%p	44.0%p	32.3%p

- ☐ Trend by Year
 - Since 2017, the unification will benefit to the national level increased in particular in 2018, but started decreasing in 2019.
 - On the other hand, the view that it benefits to the individual level increased since 2017. As a result, the difference between the rates in 2019 can be interpreted as the ratio of people who do not think that the improvement of national security and economic revitalization due to unification is linked to the increase of individual's benefits, which decreased to 32.3%P from 44.0% in the previous year.
 - As the number of people who see unification benefiting the individual level, the unification benefit theory can be strengthened. Or it can be interpreted that education for unification benefits is working.

		National level	
		Benefit	Not Benefit
Individual level	Benefit	Optimistic	Selfish
	Not Benefit	Alienated	Pessimistic

- According to the proposal of Choi Jun-young (2016), respondents can be categorized into the following four types by simultaneously considering their perception of profit in two dimensions¹⁾
- Assuming that voters are trying to maximize their utility, it can be predicted that the optimistic type will show a more positive and active attitude toward unification compared to the pessimistic or alienated type..
- Likewise, when compared with the pessimistic type, it can be predicted that the type of alienation is positive.

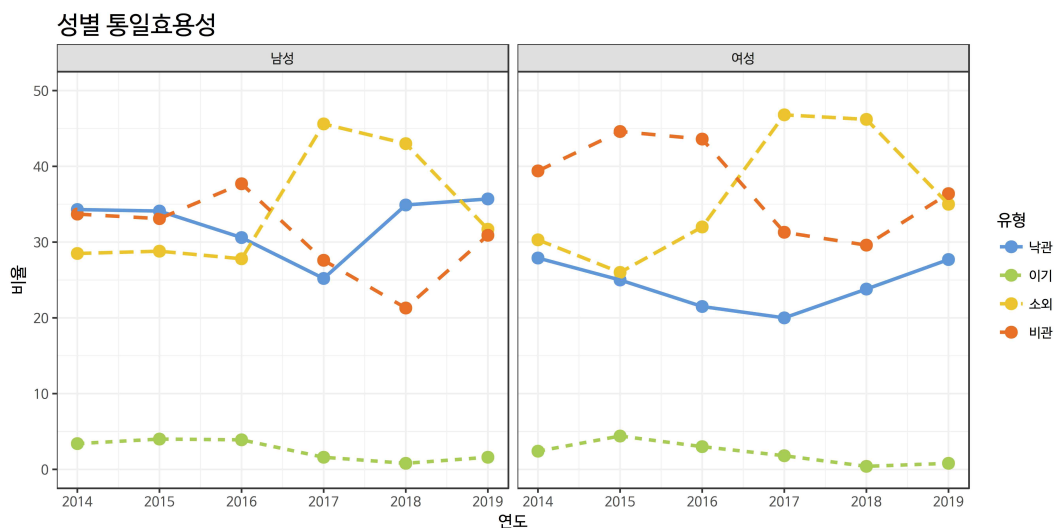


- The above figure shows that ratio of each type changes dynamically.
- The type of optimism with view that unification is beneficial to both the national and the individual levels has rebounded in 2018 after falling since 2014. 2018 was the only year in which optimistic patterns have been shown to be more than pessimistic since 2014. Improving the dramatic relationship between North and South Korea gave the people a chance to positively evaluate the benefits that unification can bring, and it can be assumed that this contributed to the increase in optimism.
- The proportion of optimistic types increased slightly in 2019, in the order of

1) Choi Jun-young. 2016. "Differential perception of the benefits of unification and the necessity of unification." "National Strategy" Vol. 22, No. 3, 113-138.

pessimistic type (33.7%), alienated type (33.4%), optimistic type (31.7%), selfish type (1.2%).

- The pessimistic type increased by 8.3%P from the previous year. It is estimated that the change in the security environment around the Korean peninsula, such as the conclusion of the second North-South summit in 2019, failed to reach an agreement affected the result.
- After 2016, the type of alienation (the type that recognizes unification as beneficial to the national level but not at the individual level), which accounted for the largest portion started reducing.



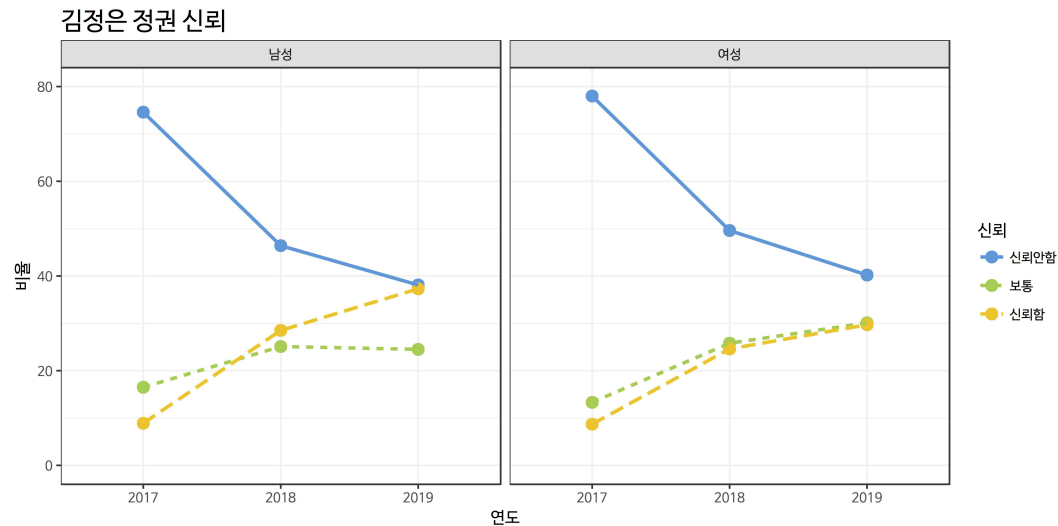
□ Trend by Gender and Year

- The type of optimism has increased in both gender since 2018. In addition, the number of pessimistic types that declined in 2018 increased significantly in 2019.
- The perception of the usefulness of unification shows a clear difference by gender. First, women are the least likely to be optimistic since 2014. On the other hand, males accounted for the largest percentage of optimistic types in 2018.
- Women tend to be more pessimistic about unification than men. At least the proportion of unification that did not expect to bring private benefits to them is high. Even if they do not show anti-unification attitude, it may be difficult to expect the positive role from them in achieving unification. Nevertheless, compared with before 2017, it can be positively evaluated that the gap between optimistic and pessimistic types in women has decreased.

5. Trust in Kim Jong-Un regime

□ “Do you think the current Kim Jong Un regime is a possible partner for dialogue and compromise?.”

○ 5 point scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2=somewhat disagree, 3=neutral, 4=somewhat agree, 5=strongly agree.



□ Trend by Gender and Year

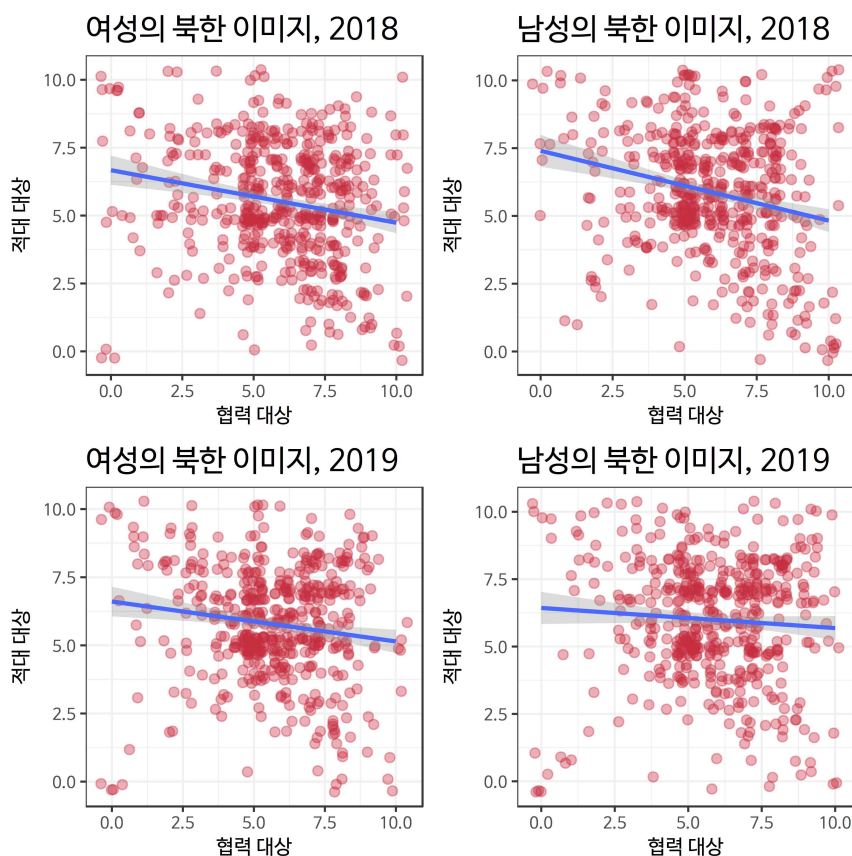
○ In 2017, the percentage of people who did not trust Kim Jung-Un came close to 80%, but after 2018, the distrust of the Kim Jong-Un regime decreased sharply. Despite disappointing results of the second round of the U.S.-North Korea talks in 2019, it is noteworthy that the distrust of the Kim Jong-Un regime is declining. Even if it is difficult to say genuine trust, it can be said that at least the ratio of making conversation and compromise is possible.

○ Since 2018, the trust of men has increased as much as the distrust of Kim Jong-Un regime has decreased, but for women, it did not increase as much. In other words, women tend to be more cautious and think Kim Jung-Un regime unreliable.

6. North Korea's Image

□ “What do you think North Korea is to us?”

- Selected two question items - subject for cooperation (nk0402) and subject for hostility (nk0404) whose meaning is clear than subject for support (nk0401) and subject to be cautious (nk0403).
- 11 point scale (0=strongly disagree, 10=strongly agree).



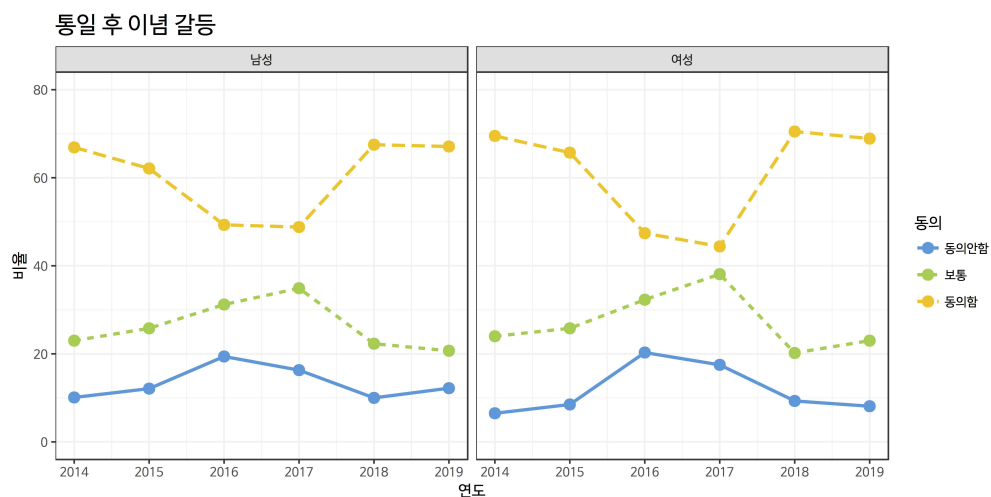
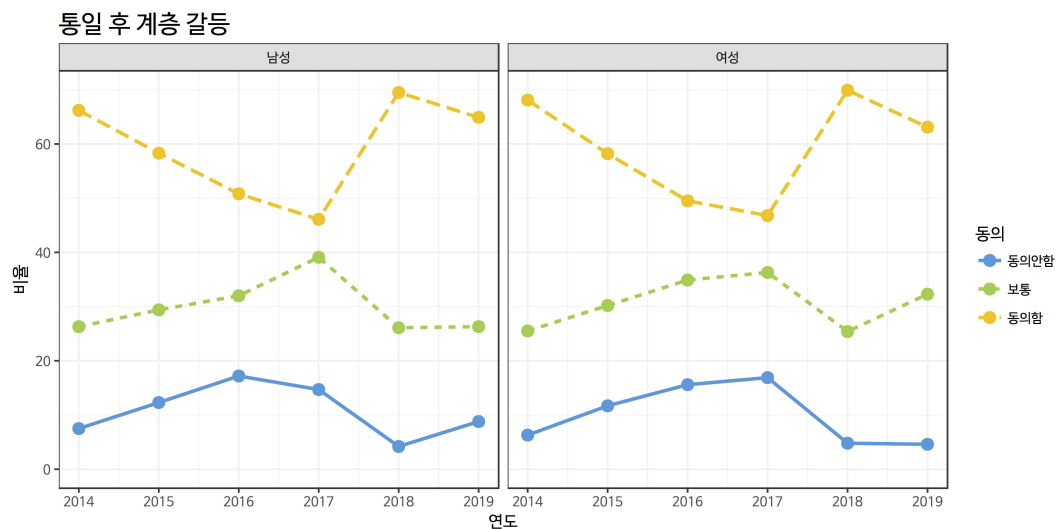
□ Trend by Gender

- The figure is a scatter plot after jittering on two dimensions of target for cooperation (x axis) and target for hostility (y axis). First, the blue line represents a linear regression line. The more the slope of the regression line becomes, the stronger the tendency is to see North Korea as a cooperative target and not as a target for hostility. For women, it is difficult to find a clear difference between 2018, when relations with North Korea improved, and 2019, when they were stalled.
- On the other hand, for men, it is difficult to see a clear tendency in 2019,

when the U.S.-North Korea relations are stalled, unlike clear tendency in 2018. This suggests that men have more confusing and ambivalent image on North Korea.

7. Social Conflict after Unification: Class struggle

- ☐ “How do you think the conflicts in the Korean society would be when unification is achieved?”
- ☐ 5 point on scale (1=it will get much better, 2=it will get somewhat better, 3=there will be no change, 4=it will get somewhat worse, 5=it will get much worse).

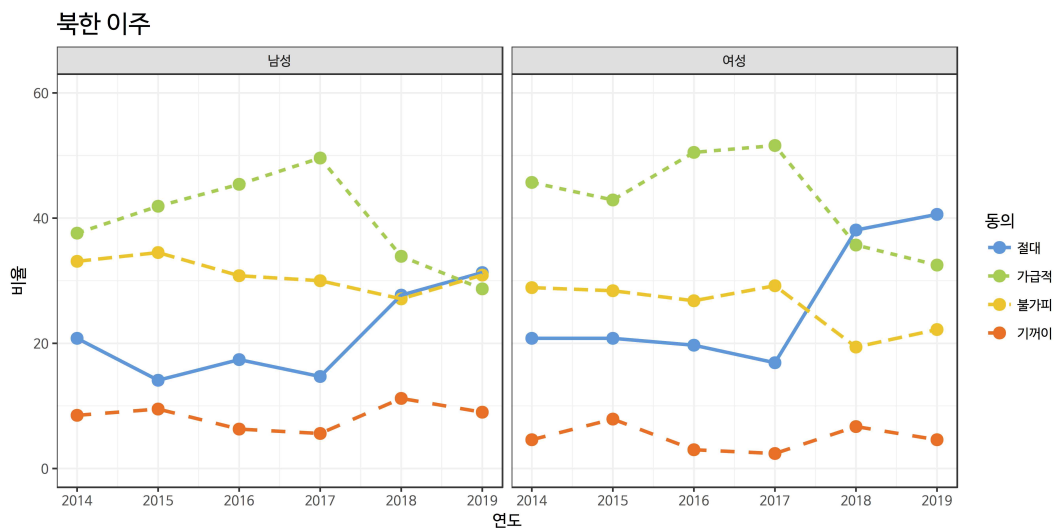


☐ Trend by Gender

- There is no clear gender difference in predictions of class and ideological conflicts.
- Both men and women are increasingly concerned about social conflict after improved inter-Korean relations in 2018. This can be deduced from the fact that expansion of human ties is becoming more active due to improved inter-Korean relations and the U.S. - North Korea relations, and thus, more concerned about social conflicts that can appear after unification when realized.

8. Opinions on Migrating to North Korea after Unification

- “What would you do if you had to move to North Korea for work or marriage in the event of unification?”
- 4 point scale: 1=I will never move, 2=if possible, I would rather not move, 3=I would move if really necessary, 4=I would gladly move..



□ Trend by Gender

- There is no fundamental gender difference in time series in relation to migration to North Korea.
- As is the case for social conflicts, both men and women have significantly increased their attitude that they will not move to North Korea after unification since 2018 when inter-Korean relations improved. In particular, this rate is very high for women, the highest rate of never migrating since 2018. The more likely the unification will be realized, the stronger rejection to

moving to North Korea.

- This is a definite result that shows that women are much more worried issues that can arise after unification than men. From this, it can be predicted that women will have a more passive attitude toward active implementation of the unification.