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KISA 13th Annual Convention & APISA 15th Congress

Operationalizing an East Asian Community of Peace and Development : Challenges and Opportunities

Date: November 26–27, 2021

Venue: Online

- **Registration** Via <https://kisa-apisa.org/> (Registration is free, but pre-registration is required.)
- **Hosted by** The Graduate School of International Studies and the Institute for International and Area Studies at Ewha Womans University, South Korea

- **Supporters**



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The global impacts of climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic at all levels of society have demonstrated that old, state-centric models of peacebuilding and development are insufficient to address the contemporary threat environment. These non-traditional security (NTS) issues pose additional challenges to policymakers in East Asia (both Northeast and Southeast), a region dominated by traditional state-centric approaches, and overshadowed by the conflictual legacies of colonialism, Cold War ideological divides, and territorial contestation. These challenges have also, however, given an opportunity to actors which are little regarded in the traditional paradigms.

Newly impactful actors include small and medium-ranked powers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and representatives of civil society. Furthermore, new conceptualizations of peace and development related to good governance, human security, human development, the sustainable development goals (SDGs) the responsibility to protect (R2P), the humanitarian-development-peace nexus (HDPN) comprehensive security, and sustainable peace are increasingly prominent in both policy and academic discourse.

Against this backdrop, South Korea has looked to leverage new approaches to peace and development as part of its middle power niche diplomacy, whereby it punches above its relative weight and gets more bang for its diplomatic bucks. New policy initiatives include the aspirational “Northeast Asia Plus Community” (NEAPC) of responsibility project aimed at building a sustainable regional system of cooperation with ASEAN, the “middle power” grouping of MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia), India and Northeast Asian states.

The papers presented at this combined conference, KISA’s 13th Annual Convention and APISA’s 15th Congress, explore the dynamics that new and future challenges will pose to governance in East Asia, as well as the potential for new initiatives from the region. The conference is hosted by Ewha Womans University Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Institute for International and Area Studies (IIAS), but due to ongoing restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic, is being held online in its entirety. KISA is the academic association devoted to the study of international affairs in Korea through the English medium. APISA is Asia’s leading academic organization dealing with political and international studies broadly defined, with research programs focused on conflict and peace studies, democracy and governance, human security, development cooperation, civilian control and security sector reform, and higher education in Asia.

The conference has been made possible thanks to generous support from Ewha Womans University, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and the Korea Foundation through Osaka School of International Public Policy (OSIPP). Two collaborative research programs have been closely linked with these proceedings: The “Women HRD Program for Sustainable Development and Peace-Building in the Korean Peninsula” involving faculty and students from Ewha Womans University, and the Korea Foundation project on “Korea and Japan in China-U.S. Relations,” involving academics from across Northeast and Southeast Asia under the leadership of scholars from OSIPP. Directly related to these programs, we have been honored to secure the participation of former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, Kang Kyung-wha, and former Foreign Minister of Japan, Kono Taro, as well as Lam Peng Er, Principal Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.



Welcome to the combined Korean International Studies Association (KISA) and Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) conference held online on November 26 and 27, hosted by the Graduate School of International Studies and the Institute for International and Area Studies, Ewha Womans University.

I would first like to thank all our administrative staff, in particular Ms. Heeseo Lee and Professors Haruko Satoh, Kadir Ayhan, and Thomas Kalinowski for all their hard work, and without whom this conference would not have been possible. I would also like to express our gratitude for the generous support from Ewha Womans University, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and the Korea Foundation through the Osaka School of International Public Policy (OSIPP). Technical and administrative support has been provided superbly by the International Academic Forum (IAFOR). Although due to the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, this conference has had to be conducted online in its entirety, it has still officially been hosted by the Graduate School of International Studies of Ewha Womans University, and the Institute for International and Area Studies. I would also like to express my appreciation for the support and active participation of the faculty, students, and administrators of these institutions.

KISA is the academic association devoted to the study of international affairs in Korea through the English medium. APISA is Asia's leading academic organization dealing with political and international studies broadly defined, with research programs focused on conflict and peace studies, democracy and governance, human security, development cooperation, civilian control and security sector reform, and higher education in Asia. This conference is open to scholars and students of international studies, as well as practitioners in the field.

In addition to these large annual conferences (this year held jointly) both academic associations have several smaller and more narrowly focused workshops and conferences in partnership with other institutions and organizations around the region. Both associations support the highly respected and Scopus-ranked Asian International Studies Review which is now published in collaboration with Brill by the Institute for International and Area Studies and is currently welcoming submissions for the May 2022 issue. Please visit the new website at <https://brill.com/view/journals/aisr/aisr-overview.xml>

APISA endorses several additional publication initiatives including the journals Asian Affairs: An American Review, the Journal of Asian Public Policy, the Asia-Pacific Social Science Review, the Philippine Political Science Journal, and the Asian Journal of Peacebuilding. There are also three APISA book series published with Palgrave Macmillan, the details of which can be found on the APISA website. I therefore encourage everybody, if you have not already done so, to check out the APISA website (<https://www.apisa.org>), and to friend both associations on Facebook.

Brendan M. Howe

Dean and Professor, Graduate School of International Studies
Ewha Womans University
President, Asian Political and International Studies Association

Friday Keynote Speaker

LAM Peng Er

Principal Research Fellow,
East Asian Institute,
National University of Singapore,
Singapore



Saturday Welcome Address

KANG Kyung-wha

Distinguished Professor Emeritus
at Ewha Womans University GSIS,
South Korea
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs,
South Korea



Saturday Keynote Speaker

KONO Taro

Member of the House of
Representatives, Japan
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Japan



Biography

Dr. Lam Peng Er is principal research fellow of EAI. He obtained his PhD from Columbia University. His articles have appeared in several renowned journals. Lam has seventeen books and monographs (single-authored and edited) to his name. His latest edited book is *Contemporary Korea–Southeast Asian Relations: Bilateral and Multilateral* (New York and London: Routledge, 2022). He is the executive editor of the *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific: A Journal of the Japan Association of International Relations* (Oxford University Press), *East Asian Policy: An International Quarterly* (EAI) and *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* (Seoul National University). Lam is Singapore country coordinator for NEAT (Network of East Asian Think Tanks) and NACT (Network of ASEAN–China Think Tanks).

Kyung-wha Kang is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of the Graduate School of International Studies at Ewha Womans University in Seoul. Prior to joining the GSIS in 2021, she was the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Senior Advisor on Policy to the United Nations Secretary-General. During her ministerial tenure, Dr. Kang spearheaded the Republic of Korea's efforts to win global support for its initiative to engage with North Korea to bring about lasting peace and complete denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula, while also deepening the country's diplomatic relations with further regions and countries. During her tenure, she also actively participated in various multilateral

discussions on human rights, nonproliferation, peacekeeping, development cooperation, and most recently Covid19 pandemic response. Dr. Kang graduated from Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science and diplomacy. She received MA and PhD degrees from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst in the United States. Her doctorate work was in the field of international/intercultural communication. Dr. Kang is fluent in Korean and English, and speaks basic-level French. She is married with two daughters and one son.

KONO Taro is a ninth-term Member of the House of Representatives of Japan. He has held positions as Foreign Minister; Defense Minister; Minister in charge of COVID-19 Vaccine Roll-out; Minister for Administrative Affairs; Chairman of the National Public Safety Commission; Minister for Civil Service Reform; Minister for Consumer Affairs and Food Safety; Minister for Disaster Management; and Chairman of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. He is a graduate of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, United States. He is former Chairman of the Japan Race Horse Association and former Chairman of the J1 League team, Shonan Bellmare FC. He has a wife, Kaori, and a son, Ippei.

Friday at a Glance

(November 26, 2021)

※ All times are Korea Standard Time (UTC+9)

09:00–09:15	Online Check-in
09:15–09:30	Welcome and Opening Remarks
09:30–10:30	Keynote Session Peng Er Lam, Principal Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore
10:30–10:45	Break
10:45–12:15	PANEL 1 National Policies for Peace and Development Chair: Heather Willoughby, Ewha Womans University, South Korea <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Spread or Concentrated? Gravity Analysis of Inbound Education Aid: The Case of South Korea Hyeji Jang and Jinhwan Oh, Ewha Womans University● Does US' Public Diplomacy-related Aid Promote Human Development and Peace? Paula Higgins and Kadir Ayhan, Ewha Womans University● Assessment of the Moon Jae-in Administration's Peace Initiative and Value Diplomacy Tae Kyeong Ryu and Kisuk Cho, Ewha Womans University● North Korea's Policy Direction: Shifting Away or Continuing 'A Frontal Breakthrough' Line? Won Gon Park, Ewha Womans University
12:15–13:00	Lunch Break
13:00–14:30	PANEL 2 Northeast Asian Security Challenges beyond North Korea Chair: Haruko Satoh, Osaka School of International Public Policy (OSIPP), Japan <ul style="list-style-type: none">● The Weaponization of Supply Chains in the Contactless Economy under COVID-19: The Role of the U.S.-China Race for Supremacy in AI in the Japan-South Korea Chip War June Park, Princeton University● Reservist System of the Japan Self-Defense Forces: What is that for? Saya Kiba, Komatsu University● Reassessing SSRG Agendas in Japan Atsushi Yasutomi, Eikei University of Hiroshima● Justifying Economic Coercion: The Discourse of Victimhood in China's Unilateral Sanctions Policy Enrico V. Gloria, University of the Philippines Diliman

14:30–14:45 Break

14:45–16:15 Parallel PANELS
Room A | Panel 3: International Political Economy Outlook
Room B | Panel 4: Security on the Korean Peninsula

PANEL 3 International Political Economy Outlook (Room A)

Chair: Rafal Smoczynski, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

- The Different Paths to the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and Korea: Multilateralism and Parliamentary Diplomacy
Edith Yazmin Montes Incin, Anahuac University
- The Drivers of China's outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
Ren Yu, Ewha Womans University
- Comparative Analysis of State Capacities, Science and Technology Policies, and Innovation System Functions in the Philippines: 1946–2020
Danilo Lorenzo Delos Santos, University of Tokyo
- The Resurgence of “Other Canon” Economics in the Twenty-First Century
Bryan Joseph G. Ortiz, Arellano University and Amr Solon Sison, University of Santo Tomas

PANEL 4 Security on the Korean Peninsula (Room B)

Chair: Leif-Eric Easley, Ewha Womans University, South Korea

- Biden's North Korea Nuclear Policy: Progress or Stasis?
Joel R. Campbell, Troy University
- Sources of and Challenges to North Korean Legitimacy
Lonnie Edge, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
- Threat Perception Gap of North Korea: an ESR and Putnam's Two-level Approach
Patricia Aguado, Ewha Womans University
- A ‘Peace-first’ Arms Race on the Korean Peninsula?: Seoul's Investments in Autonomy and Regional Security
Sea Young Kim, Yonsei University and Leif-Eric Easley, Ewha Womans University

16:15–16:30 Break

16:30–18:00

Parallel PANELS

Room A | Panel 5: Human Security and Civil Society

Room B | Panel 6: Information, Education, and Empowerment

PANEL 5 Human Security and Civil Society (Room A)

Chair: Hans Schattle, Yonsei University, South Korea

- An Empirical Investigation Of The Determinants Of Koreans' Attitudes Towards Immigrants
Jingyeong Song and Moamen Gouda, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
- The Role Of Women In Private Sphere To Build The Sustainable Peace In Post-Conflict Societies: Case Study Of Ambon, Indonesia
Shary Charlotte Henriette Pattipeilhy, Universitas Diponegoro
- Asian Identity: State Actors vs.Civil society
Christian Schafferer, Overseas Chinese University
- The Applicability of Hybrid Peacebuilding in Ethnic Conflicts: A Case Study of Xinjiang, China
Amanda Fish, Ewha Womans University

PANEL 6 Information, Education, and Empowerment (Room B)

Chair: Lonnie Edge, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea

- Discouragement vs Encouragement: Sri Lanka's Female Domestic Worker's Corridor to the Gulf Countries
Loku Thambugalage Jayathry Dhananja Gunaratne, Ewha Womans University
- Closet or Bridge: YouTube Platform's Transnational Space for Gender Identity in the Philippine Boy's Love Genre
Ronaldo Castillo, National Chengchi University
- Challenges and Opportunities for Peace (or Conflict) in Higher Education: The Case of Afghanistan and Somaliland
Chaewon Sohn, Kevin Kester, Mary abura, and Ella Rho, Seoul National University
- Framing the Belt and Road Initiative: China's Public Diplomacy Narratives from 2013 to 2020
Yuan Jiang, Queensland University of Technology

Saturday at a Glance

(November 27, 2021)

※ All times are Korea Standard Time (UTC+9)

09:00–09:15	Online Check-in
09:15–09:30	Welcome and Opening Remarks <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Kyung-wha Kang Distinguished Professor Emeritus at Ewha Womans University GSIS, South Korea Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, South Korea
09:30–10:30	Keynote Presentation <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Taro Kono Member of the House of Representatives, Japan Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan
10:30–10:45	Break
10:45–12:15	PANEL 7 Multilateral and Regional Security Conceptualizations <p>Chair: Mason Richey, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Peace and Security in Indo-Pacific Asia: IR Perspectives in Context Sorpong Peou, Ryerson University● Great Powers and Regionalisms: Contrasting Europe and East Asia Cesar De Prado, National Taiwan University● The Emergence of New Geo-Strategic Equations: Implications for Asian Security Bhawna Pokharna, Government Meera Girls College● The U.S– Iran 1970s Regional Alliance Failure: Lessons of the Cold War Persian Gulf for East Asian Regional Security Model Amir Ahmadi, University of Guilan● Succession in the DPRK: Perceptual Variants, Regime Stability, and Implications for US Diplomacy Youngho Kim, Yonsei University and Lonnie Edge, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
12:15–13:00	Lunch Break
13:00–14:30	PANEL 8 Multilateral Policy-making for Peace and Development <p>Chair: Rosalie Arcala Hall, University of the Philippines Visayas, Philippines</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● ASEAN and its Responsibility to Protect Refugees – Case of North Korean Refugees in Southeast Asia Heeseo Lee, Ewha Womans University● Elevating the Aid Debate: A Call for Value Coherence for Development Nancy Kim, Ewha Womans University

- Security, Governance, and Operationalization the Security, Governance, and Operationalizing the Humanitarian–Development–Peace Nexus (HDPN) on the Korean Peninsula
Brendan Howe, Ewha Womans University
- Institutional Innovations and Their Challenges in the Green Climate Fund
Thomas Kalinowski, Ewha Womans University

14:30–14:45 Break

14:45–16:45 **Parallel PANELS and Roundtable session**
Room A | Panel 9: COVID–19 and Security and Panel 10: COVID–19 and Society
Room B | Roundtable Session

PANEL 9 COVID–19 and Security (Room A)

Chair: Christian Schafferer, Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan

- Covid–19 Pandemic and People of Myanmar: After Coup 2021
Min Thang, Myanmar Institute of Theology
- Antagonisms and COVID–19: Protests and State Repression in Thailand since 2020
Paul Chambers, Naresuan University
- Explaining Thailand’s Politicized COVID–19 Mitigation Strategies: Counter–Securitization and Re–Securitization
Tawei Chu, Alyssa Gosteli Dela Cruz, Sung Jae Lee, and Chuenthip Nithimasarad, Chiang Mai University

PANEL 10 COVID–19 and Society (Room A)

Chair: Sylvia Yazid, Parahyangan Catholic University, Indonesia

- From Vulnerabilities to Resilience: Lessons from Davao de Oro Youth During the Pandemic
Rowee Joy Decena, Davao de Oro State College
- Covid–19 Influences Habits And Lifestyle
Ratna Ayu, Chinese Culture University
- The Challenges and Needs During the Pandemic of the Residents in Barangay Mandahilag Talisayan, Misamis Oriental
Joann Lim, Bukidnon State University

Room B | Roundtable Session: APISA Roundtable on Japan–Korea NTS Partnership

Enhancing Japan–Korea Partnership in Non–Traditional Security Issues in Asia

- Haruko Satoh (Moderator)
- John Ciorciari, University of Michigan
- Brendan Howe, President of APISA and KISA
- Saya Kiba, Komatsu University
- Carmina Untalan, Osaka University

**Operationalizing an East Asian
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PANEL 1

National Policies for Peace and Development

Chair : Heather Willoughby
(Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

- Spread or Concentrated? Gravity Analysis of Inbound Education Aid: The Case of South Korea
Hyeji Jang and Jinhwan Oh (Ewha Womans University)
- Does US' Public Diplomacy-related Aid Promote Human Development and Peace?
Paula Higgins and Kadir Jun Ayhan (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)
- Assessment of the Moon Jae-in Administration's Peace Initiative and Value Diplomacy
Tae-Kyeong Ryu and Kisuk Cho (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)
- North Korea's Policy Direction: Shifting Away or Continuing 'A Frontal Breakthrough' Line?
Won Gon Park (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Spread or Concentrated? Gravity Analysis of Inbound Education Aid : The Case of South Korea

Heyji Jang and Jinhwan Oh (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

Whenever South Korea's Official Development Assistance is criticized as fragmented or "thinly spread" disbursement, "selection and concentration" are suggested as a solution. Using a panel dataset that covers the past three decades of South Korea's inbound education ODA, this study examines whether these critiques are still valid. Applying the gravity model with distance and population as major variables, it finds a limited concentration ODA disbursement pattern; the country's inbound education ODA is basically consistent with the gravity model's estimations when all the countries are considered, but the "distance" factor loses its explanatory power when major countries are taken into account. In addition, analyses addressing geographic concentration using a dummy variable for the New Southern Policy and the New Northern Policy also show a lower significance level, although it would be premature to draw conclusions from these findings due to the short duration of these policies. Based on these findings, this study recommends further "selection and concentration" consistent with the NSP and NNP as a long-term blueprint for South Korean ODA policies.

About the Authors

Hyeji Jang is a Master's Candidate from the Graduate School of International Studies at Ewha Womans University and received a B.A. in German Language and Literature, and International Development Cooperation from Ewha Womans University in 2020. Her research interest lies in Conflict Regions, Aid, Migration, Refugee, Gender-Based Violence, and International Development.

Jinhwan Oh received his degrees from Yonsei (B.A.), Brown (M.A.), and Cornell University (Ph.D.). Prior to joining GSIS, he has taught international trade, microeconomics, and economic geography at the International University of Japan. His research focuses on geographical aspects of economic development, political economy of international trade, and South Korea's aid policies as an emerging donor. Professor Oh is serving as a chair of the undergraduate development cooperation program

Does US' Public Diplomacy-related Aid Promote Human Development and Peace?

Paula Higgins and Kadir Jun Ayhan (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

US public diplomacy efforts claim to promote democracy and peace via direct engagement with foreign publics. Three channels through which the US endeavours to engage at this grass-roots level include activities and aid disbursements by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Peace Corps (PC), and Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA). These initiatives aim to increase direct cultural and educational ties between host societies and the US, and thereby contribute to human development and peace in the developing world. In this paper, we analyze whether US' public diplomacy-related aid contributes to improving the level of democracy, human development and peace in the recipient countries. We employ panel data analysis taking into account alternative explanations for determinants of human development and of peace, and control variables. Our findings shed light on the efficacy of these public diplomacy-oriented channels of aid that deviate from the traditional forms of economic, disaster and military aid that already populate the literature. We also uncover the connection between public diplomacy aid and the humanitarian-development-peace nexus literature.

※ **Keywords:** public diplomacy, human development, democracy, peace, United States, ODA, humanitarian-development-peace nexus

About the Authors

Paula Higgins is a PhD candidate at Ewha Womans University Graduate School of International Studies, majoring in International Relations. She earned a MSc in International Relations from Trinity College Dublin, Ireland.

Kadir Jun Ayhan is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Ewha Womans University Graduate School of International Studies. His main research interests include public diplomacy, power in world politics, Korean foreign policy, status and reputation, international relations theory, and active learning pedagogy for international relations. He serves as Editor-in-chief of Journal of Public Diplomacy, and regularly consults for governmental public diplomacy projects in Korea. His Ph.D. (2016) and M.I.S. (2010) are from Seoul National University in International Studies and Bachelor of Commerce (2008) in Economics and International Trade is from the University of Auckland. Dr. Ayhan published peer-reviewed articles in journals such as International Studies Perspectives, Korea Observer, Asia Pacific Education Review, and Politics & Policy among others

Assessment of the Moon Jae-in Administration's Peace Initiative and Value Diplomacy

Tae-Kyeong Ryu and Kisuk Cho (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

South Korea's public diplomacy efforts have been rather impromptu under political administrations of a single five-year term presidency focusing on short-term accomplishments mostly piggy-backing on existing cultural assets of Hallyu (Korean wave). However, there is a growing need for South Korea to pursue strategic positioning to realise mutually beneficial long-term goals in a fast changing global society in which multilateral blocs of power and ideas and values clash amid newly emerging rivalry between the United States and China. This project considers theoretical and empirical assessment of the Moon Jae-in Administration's Peace Initiative that puts the government's priority for a 'peaceful and prosperous Korean Peninsula' as the core national interest. The analysis will include the examination of the Moon Administration's national identity setting and 'framing' effort to change the North and South Korea's value from 'unification' to 'peace', then the success and failure of such campaign. The focus of this work is inevitably on the Northeast Asian subset of the international system, containing countries of China, Japan, North and South Korea, plus the undeniable presence of the United States in the region. Further to this external environment in which South Korea is situated, the internal domestic audience in South Korea will be partially taken into account.

About the Authors

Tae-Kyeong Ryu is currently a Ph.D. candidate in International Studies (International Relations) at Graduate School of International Studies, Ewha Womans University. Her research focus lies in public diplomacy in relation to international and regional settings of the Northeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific. While pursuing her doctoral degree, she has a governmental public affairs career she started as a professional public affairs officer in the Republic of Korea Navy, trained by the ROK Ministry of National Defense and the United States Department of Defense. After eight years of service, she resigned her commission and joined Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade working as Senior Public Diplomacy Officer leading media relations at the Australian Embassy in Seoul.

Dr. Kisuk Cho is a professor of political science at Graduate School of International Studies educated at Ewha Womans University, Korea and Indiana University in the U.S. She is a founder and director of Public Diplomacy Center. She has served for President Roh Moo-Hyun as a Senior Secretary in Public Relations and editor of Political Science Review. She has published numerous books and articles including "Do Women Lead Differently?," "Global Leadership Model and Its Empirical Applicability," and "Presidential Leadership and Government Trust". She is also a co-editor of Encyclopedia of Leadership (Berkshire). She is currently leading research teams on "Governance and Effectiveness of Public Diplomacy" and "Social Capital and Female Social Entrepreneurship" as a director of Institute for International Trade and Cooperation.

North Korea's Policy Direction : Shifting Away or Continuing 'A Frontal Breakthrough' Line?

Won Gon Park (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

North Korea's detailed plan for weapon development, especially nuclear power, is different from what they introduced in the party plenum of April 2018, the so-called "new strategic line of everything for the economy." In that party plenum, North Korea declared the victory of the Byungjin Line, simultaneous pursuit of economic development and nuclear capability that was first introduced in March 2013. North Korea used the word "gyeolsog" which is not commonly used in South Korea, to describe the status of the Byungjin Line brought lots of different interpretations. Yet, it understands North Korea moves from Byungjin to 'Economy First.'

However, the 8th Party Congress raises the question of the line again. Although North Korea did not mention the official line at the Congress, their emphasis on military power can bring back Byungjin Line, putting the nuclear first, the simultaneous pursuit of nuclear capability, and economic development. In the balance between the civilian and military priorities, North Korea once again tilt to the latter. Some argue that North Korea at the 8th party still emphasizes economy because Kim Jung Un mentioned in his closing remark that "the socialist economic construction is the most important revolutionary task on which we should focus our all-out effort at present." Kim Jung Un emphasizes the economy, yet he wants to achieve it with military development, especially nuclear power. The problem is that while Kim IL Sung already tried the Byungjin Line in the 1960s and Kim Jung Un reenacted from 2013 to 2018, it failed to bring economic development.

How would it be interpreted current North Korea's strategic direction or 'line,' especially revealed at the 8th Party Congress? Is it back to the Byungjin line or a "new Byungjin," which puts far more emphasis on nuclear development while economically retrenches? Then what happens to the economy? Is it a permanent withdraw or temporary backup? Can it be possible to see the direction in place of "a Head-on break through-line" vis-a-vie the U.S. relations? This paper aims to interpret current North Korea's strategic line compared to previous directions and articulate its location. It will also explore the dynamic or embedded mechanism to bring the 'changes' of the line. It will mainly focus on the 8th Party Congress in January 2021, yet frequently compare to other important meetings related to strategic directions, such as Central Party Committee's Plenary Session on March 31, 2013, the Byungjin line was first introduced.

North Korea's Policy Direction : Shifting Away or Continuing 'A Frontal Breakthrough' Line?

About the Author

Dr. Won Gon Park is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of North Korean Studies at Ewha Womans University. In addition, he is holding a position as a member of the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs advisory committee. He was previously a professor of international studies at Handong Global University and a research fellow at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA). His main research interests include (history of) international relations in Northeast Asia, ROK-US Alliance, and North Korean studies. Professor Park earned his M.A. from Boston College and received his Ph.D. in international relations from Seoul National University. His publications in this year include "The U.S.'s China Policy and the Advent of the Biden Administration," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol 28, No. 2 (2021.8), and "Quo Vadis America: The decay of the U.S. and the Advent of the Biden Administration," *Peace Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2021.3).

**Operationalizing an East Asian
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PANEL 2

Northeast Asian Security Challenges beyond North Korea

Chair : Haruko Satoh

(Osaka School of International Public Policy (OSIPP), Japan)

- The Weaponization of Supply Chains in the Contactless Economy under COVID-19: The Role of the U.S.-China Race for Supremacy in AI in the Japan-South Korea Chip War
June Park, Princeton University
- Reservist System of the Japan Self-Defense Forces: What is that for?
Saya Kiba, Komatsu University
- Reassessing SSRG Agendas in Japan
Atsushi Yasutomi, Eikei University of Hiroshima
- Justifying Economic Coercion: The Discourse of Victimhood in China's Unilateral Sanctions Policy
Enrico V. Gloria, University of the Philippines Diliman

The Weaponization of Supply Chains in the Contactless Economy under COVID-19 : The Role of the U.S.-China Race for Supremacy in AI in the Japan-South Korea Chip War

June Park (Princeton University, the U.S.A)

Abstract

What role does the U.S.-China tech war and race in artificial intelligence (AI) play in the trade spat on semiconductors between South Korea and Japan? Since July of 2019, Japan's export curbs on core elements of semiconductor production to South Korea were implemented in response to the South Korean Constitutional Court's decision on Japanese asset seizure for reparations regarding forced wartime labor. Following a year of 'NO JAPAN' boycotts, South Korea filed a WTO case (DS590) in July 2020, amid institutional paralysis of the WTO Appellate Body. This article goes beyond wartime history explanations and presents a conceptual framework grounded in geopolitics and geoeconomics of future industries in high-tech to better explicate the South Korea-Japan trade conflict on semiconductor-related materials. It argues that the South Korea-Japan trade conflict on chips is well within the context of the U.S.-China tech war, under which the supply chains of high-tech industries are weaponized and domination of the chip industry is sought by the United States.

※ **Funding** : This research has been enriched by the Korea Foundation-IAFOR project entitled, 'Korea and Japan in the Evolving China-US Relations: COVID 19 and Global Governance: Korean and Japanese perspectives' between 2019 and 2021.

About the Author

June Park is a political economist by training and works on trade, energy, and tech conflicts with a broader range of regional focuses not just on the U.S. and East Asia, but also Europe. She studies economic pressures and conflicts, analyzing different policy outcomes based on governance structures – domestic institutions, leaderships, and bureaucracies that shape the policy formation process. Her current work pertains to post-pandemic geoeconomic conflicts in data governance and technology. She is a Fung Global Fellow, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS) at Princeton University and a Visiting Scholar at the Digital Trade & Data Governance Hub, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University for the 2021–2022 academic year. Concurrently, she is a Korea Foundation Fellow at Salzburg Global Seminar.

Reservist System of the Japan Self-Defense Forces

: What is that for?

Saya Kiba (Komatsu University, Japan)

Abstract

This paper explores the ambiguity of the reservists of Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) using the garbage can model. Unlike other countries, Japan has no legal framework to call out reservists for overseas missions such as peace support operations, capacity building, or humanitarian assistance. The reservists are stand-by forces to prepare for domestic operations, particularly for disaster relief dispatch.

There are two kinds of reservists—“Ready Reserve Personnel” who responds to more than 30-day training call-ups a year, and others. The majority belongs to the latter and the main requirement is to attend a five-day training per year with a small monetary allowance.

The training structure, training programs, and call-out policies are designed by the Ministry of Defense, JSDF Ground Staff Office (Headquarter), the local training units, prefectural liaison office (recruitment branch offices). Each actor has different expectations for the reservists. Using their publication and the contents of the training programs, the paper analyzes four independent streams (problems, solutions, participants, and choice opportunities).

About the Author

Saya KIBA is Associate Professor at Komatsu University, Japan. She studied at Kobe University (Ph.D. in Political Science 2010) and the Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines. She served as a secretary to Diet member Seiji Maehara from September 2010 to March 2012 when his Democratic Party of Japan was the ruling party. Her major fields of interest are Southeast Asian studies, civil-military relations, international cooperation policies, and defense diplomacy. She has experience as a practitioner, working in the Embassy of Japan in the Philippines, the Embassy of Japan in Thailand, and a Japan-based international NGO for conflict prevention as a program officer in charge of Kenya and South Sudan. Her recent works include “Disaster Diplomacy or Commitment to Global Health? Japan’s Foreign Aid on COVID-19 Response,” in *Liaison* Vol.12(1), Center for Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance, Hawaii (2020), and “Opposition” in *Power and their Foreign Policies 2009–2012* in *Japan's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Continuity and Change*, Lexington Books (2020).

Reassessing SSRG agendas in Japan

Atsushi Yasutomi (Eikei University of Hiroshima, Japan)

Abstract

Security Sector Reform and Governance (SSRG) remains one of the vital components required for building peace and stability in Asia and elsewhere. Scholars and practitioners focusing on SSRG in Japan seem to have much emphasised the efforts in the external support for enhancing SSRG in post-conflict states and new democracies in Asia and beyond. Such efforts per se have been proven meaningful and effective. The drawback in Japan, however, is a constant trend of neglecting its own domestic SSRG agendas, such as parliamentary oversight and gender-streaming in the security institutions. Against this background, the author argues that these overlooked agendas need to be re-identified and re-assessed by the Japanese SSRG community. This paper warns of the risks involved in the sheer negligence of its own SSRG agendas and readdresses concrete measures required for today's Japan to accommodate the fast-changing security environment in East Asia and beyond.

About the Author

Atsushi Yasutomi is Associate Professor at Eikei University of Hiroshima, Japan. His previous positions include: Senior Researcher, Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), Tokyo (2013–2018); and Associate Professor, Miyazaki International College, Miyazaki (2018–2021).

Justifying Economic Coercion: The Discourse of Victimhood in China's unilateral sanctions policy

Enrico V. Gloria (University of the Philippines–Diliman, the Philippines)

Abstract

China remains reluctant in claiming unilateral economic sanctions as a valid form of statecraft. China has consistently withheld official acknowledgment of its use of unilateral sanctions despite using them in different disputes. This has resulted to observations arguing that China is increasingly approaching the use of sanctions in a stealthier, therefore, more aggressive manner. It begs to ask, how does China's reluctant attitude towards its use of unilateral economic sanctions fit into China's overall foreign policy logic? More specific- ally, how does China's victimhood discourse justify unilateral sanctions and at the same time, promote a positive identity of itself in light of coercion? This paper argues that China's consistent vague acknowledgment and denial in claiming a direct hand on unilateral sanctions comes from its broad foreign policy objective of maintaining a positive identity through its discourse of victimhood. To uncover this understanding, this paper analyzes China's official positions in six bilateral disputes where China has resorted to unilateral sanctions. While existing observations only stop at 'plausible deniability' as primary explanation for China's vague rhetoric, analyzing China's predication strategies provides a necessary nuancing in terms of how this peculiar behavior remains consistent with China's overall foreign policy logic.

About the Author

Enrico V. Gloria is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines Diliman. His areas of interests include Chinese foreign policy, Philippine foreign policy, foreign policy discourses, and major power status. He obtained his Master of Laws (Politics) degree from Tsinghua University, and his Bachelor's Degree (Economics) from the University of the Philippines Diliman.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 3

International Political Economy Outlook

Chair : Rafal Smoczynski

(Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences,
Poland)

- The Different Paths to the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and Korea: Multilateralism and Parliamentary Diplomacy
Edith Yazmin Montes Incin, Anahuac University
- The Drivers of China's outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
Ren Yu, Ewha Womans University
- Comparative Analysis of State Capacities, Science and Technology Policies, and Innovation System Functions in the Philippines: 1946–2020
Danilo Lorenzo Delos Santos, University of Tokyo
- The Resurgence of “Other Canon” Economics in the Twenty-First Century
Bryan Joseph G. Ortiz, Arellano University and Amr Solon Sison, University of Santo Tomas

The Different Paths to the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and Korea : Multilateralism and Parliamentary Diplomacy

Edith Yazmin Montes Incin (Anahuac University, Mexico)

Abstract

A frequent theme in the discourse of Mexican foreign policy is the diversification of foreign relations, therefore, one of the regions with which these efforts to diversify has been promoted is Asia. In the 21st century, one of the Asian countries that has gained relevance on the Mexican agenda is the Republic of Korea. In 2004, the Joint Group of Experts was established, made up of members of the government, businessmen and academics from both countries to analyse the advisability of signing a Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Although several meetings were held between 2005 and 2008 to assess the relevance of an agreement, it has not been finalized to date.

The purpose of this presentation is to describe two avenues that the Korean government has tried to follow to finalize the free trade agreement: multilateralism and parliamentary diplomacy. The presentation is divided into three parts, the first briefly describes the background in the negotiations of the FTA, the second refers to the entry of Korea as a state associated with the Pacific Alliance and its impact on the relationship with Mexico and the last section explains the role that other government actors in Mexico seek to approach Korea, specifically the Senate.

About the Author

Edith Yazmin Montes Incin has a degree in International Relations from the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the UNAM and currently specializes in politics and public management, as well as a master's degree in Public Administration at the Anahuac University in Mexico City. She also works as Coordinator of National Mobility and Communication in the Office for Internationalization at the same institution. She served as a local consultant in 2017 for the Knowledge Sharing Program and she also has served as adjunct and subject professor at UNAM. She is a member of the Mexican Circle of Korean Studies (CMEC, in Spanish) and the Group of Studies on Eurasia (GESE in Spanish).

The Drivers of China's outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

REN YU (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

The emergence of outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) in China which was in 1982, and China's OFDI experienced an overall upward trend that from 2002 to present. Especially after 2010, the number of China's outward investment countries increased largely, which nearly double than before. The purpose of this study is investigating the determinants of OFDI in China, so the study focuses on the question of what factors will affect the China's OFDI. In other words, the study tries to answer what factors China will consider when China act the outward investment activities. This study employs the quantitative research method and the empirical analysis based on the two different panel data sets which cover the two different periods: 2003–2010; 2011–2019. The empirical study results show that exports level of host countries is significantly positive related to China's OFDI, and both imports level of host countries and GDP growth rate of host countries are significantly negative related to China's OFDI. These results indicate that when China's outward foreign investments are targeting at the resources-seeking motivation, China prefers to invest to countries with higher level of exports and lower level of imports, while when China's outward foreign investments are targeting at the market-seeking motivation, China prefers to invest to countries with lower economic growth which can achieve cost-efficiency.

About the Author

My name is **REN YU**, I come from China. The major of my master is International Accounting and Finance, and now I am studying the doctoral program of Ewha Womans University, my major is International Business. My major research directions are Green Bonds, ESG as well as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Additionally, I am interested in the quantitative analysis methods, so I hope that I can grasp much more knowledge about the quantitative methods as well as practice them well in the future study.

Comparative Analysis of State Capacities, Science and Technology Policies, and Innovation System Functions in the Philippines : 1946-2020

Danilo Lorenzo S. Delos Santos (University of Tokyo, Japan)

Abstract

The research aspires to study the emergence of the national technological innovation system in the Philippines through the various political transitions after World War II. In studying the innovation system from emergence to transition and its ideal sustainable practice, it is important to not only layout the narrative of innovation system emergence but also analyze the differences of each leadership regime through the innovation policy implemented and prioritized. This paper will use the innovation system function to elucidate the fundamental nuances of innovation policy per regime and compare each though the most dissimilar systems design to compare each and expose the policy trends and themes that has run across decades of leadership until present time.

※ **Keywords** : Transition Studies, Technological Innovation Systems, National Innovation Systems, Philippines

About the Author

Danilo Lorenzo S. Delos Santos is a Ph.D. research student at the University of Tokyo earning his degree of International Public Policy under the Graduate School of Public Policy (GraSSP) through the Monbukagusho Scholarship – Japanese Government. Currently, he is a fellow on Global Politics of the Stratbase Albert Del Rosario Institute. He is also the solo author of the K-12 textbook “Community Engagement, Solidarity, and Citizenship” and the co-author of another textbook title for the tertiary level on the topic of corporate governance and corporate social responsibility. Before pursuing his Ph.D. studies, he was the former Research Manager of the Stratbase Group and was a former Assistant Professor of De la Salle University under the departments of International Studies, Political Science, and Decision Science & Innovation.

The Resurgence of “Other Canon” Economics in the Twenty-First Century

Bryan Joseph G. Ortiz (Arellano University, the Philippines)
Amr Solon Sison (University of Santo Tomas, the Philippines)

Abstract

This paper will explore the relevance (or irrelevance) of the “developmental state” concept in explaining economic evolution in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The proposed undertaking shall be done by 1) tracing the presence of the “Other Canon” approach in doing economics; 2) revisiting Peter Evans’ notion on enhancing state capacity and linkages with different social forces in response to new economic challenges; 3) critiquing Evans using other scholarly works that revived and refined Joseph Schumpeter’s ideas on the evolution of capitalism; and, 4) juxtaposing such works with those that express skepticism towards infinite economic growth. The authors argue that piecing together various strands of “Other Canon” economics, with emphasis on historical specificity (Hodgson, 2001), can help not only in building a more powerful and credible tool in elucidating economic change but also in nurturing a project of economic transformation different from the past experience of industrialization.

About the Author

Bryan Joseph Ortiz is currently working as a political science faculty member of the College of Arts and Science of Arellano University, Manila, Philippines. He obtained his undergraduate degree in social science and master’s degree in political science from the University of Santo Tomas, Manila. Email Address: bryanjoseph_ortiz@yahoo.com

Amr Solon Sison is a political science instructor of the Faculty of Arts and Letters of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines. He is pursuing for a doctoral degree in political science in the same university.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 4

Security on the Korean Peninsula

Chair : Leif-Eric Easley
(Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

- Biden's North Korea Nuclear Policy: Progress or Stasis?
Joel R. Campbell, Troy University
- Sources of and Challenges to North Korean Legitimacy
Lonnie Edge, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
- Threat Perception Gap of North Korea: an ESR and Putnam's Two-level Approach
Patricia Aguado, Ewha Womans University
- A 'Peace-first' Arms Race on the Korean Peninsula?: Seoul's Investments in Autonomy and Regional Security
Sea Young Kim, Yonsei University and Leif-Eric Easley, Ewha Womans University

Biden's North Korea Nuclear Policy

: Progress or Stasis?

Joel R. Campbell (Troy University, the U.S.A)

Abstract

U.S. negotiations with North Korea are at a standstill. After three summits and much bilateral activity under Donald Trump, there was little forward progress in ending North Korea's nuclear weapons program. Much criticism focused on Trump's top-down approach, which left little scope to lower-level negotiators to reach mutually acceptable deals. Joe Biden ran for president promising a more coherent foreign policy focused on working with America's allies to achieve workable goals. North Korea has been relatively quiet about the new administration, issuing occasional criticism. Meanwhile, concerns about Kim Jong Un's health have resurfaced, as the dictator's sister Kim Yo Jong has taken on an increasingly prominent role. Based on the past four administrations' experience dealing with Pyongyang, this paper considers the possibilities for renewed nuclear negotiations, as well as the prospects for creation of a viable *modus vivendi* among America and its allies, China, and North Korea. It uses both neo-liberal and constructivist theory to construct plausible scenarios that may play out in the next eight years. It also compares North Korea nuclear negotiations with those conducted on the Iranian and other Middle Eastern nuclear programs.

About the Author

Joel R. Campbell is an Associate Professor of Political Science in the Pacific Region (Japan and Korea) of the Global Campus program of Troy University, and teaches in the Masters of Science in International Relations (MSIR) program. He has taught global political economy at Tohoku University, politics and economics at Miyazaki International College and political economy and business at Kansai Gaidai University in Japan, as well as international relations at Chung Ang University, political economy and public policy at Kyung Hee University and East Asian political history at Yonsei University in Korea. He has published extensively on the politics and political economy of Northeast Asia, along with technology policy, international security, and film and politics.

Sources of and Challenges to North Korean Legitimacy

Lonnie Edge (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea)

Abstract

The DPRK suffers a deficit of legitimacy in the eyes of many observers. This has been the primary reason for the repeated attempts to predict the collapse of the DPRK as a state. An upswing in inter-Korean relations and improved relations between the US and the DPRK have some commenting that North Korea cannot denuclearize because nuclear weapons are the source of regime legitimacy and stability. This article explores this reasoning on DPRK legitimacy, choosing to examine discourses of legitimacy in the DPRK domestically, including the 'military first' discourse of Kim Jong Il, the 'two-pronged' approach of Kim Jong Un, and the manner citizens in the DPRK are exposed to discourse. The analysis then moves to the regime's legitimacy internationally and attempts to highlight how the rhetoric of collapse is based on conflating international and domestic legitimacy. Then, drawing on soft authoritarian regime theory, I will argue that the legitimacy of the DPRK may be maintained in spite of economic opening as it has been in China, or of economic development as it has in Singapore. Finally, the article will examine some hurdles or stumbling blocks that may pop up along the way to a shift toward alternate sources of legitimacy.

※ **Key Words:** songun, byungjin line, DPRK, legitimacy, economic opening, soft authoritarian theory

About the Author

Lonnie Edge is an Assistant Professor at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. He is the Managing Editor of both North Korean Review and the Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies. His research interests include Politics of Identity, Northeast Asian International Relations, Inter-Korean Relations, Nationalism, and Political Communications. He recently contributed a chapter on South Korean Relations with North Korea to the Routledge Handbook of Contemporary South Korea.

Threat Perception Gap of North Korea

: an ESR and Putnam's two-level approach

Patricia Aguado Gamero (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

During the past years, United States and South Korea have been developing a gap in threat perception of North Korea that has translated into divergent policy strategies, hindering their alliance. This research argues that Defensive Realism has two principal shortcomings when assessing United States and South Korea's threat perception of North Korea: Immutability, and the importance of domestic constituencies playing a major role in policy making, which are better explained by English School Rationalism and Putnam's two-level game. Although the level of perceived North Korean threat is expected to be similar in Defensive Realism analyses, empirical evidence shows otherwise. Our main goal is to provide a critique of Defensive Realism while exploring the range of alternative explanations of United States and South Korea's threat perception of North Korea. First, it examines the threat posed by North Korea from a Defensive Realism perspective to assess whether and how the dominant discourse is lacking. Then, proposes an English School Rationalism and Putnam's two-level game framework as competing theoretical explanations.

About the Author

Patricia Aguado Gamero is an International Relations PhD Candidate from the Graduate School of International Studies of Ewha Womans University. Originally from Spain, she completed her undergraduate program in Political Science and Public Management in the Autonomous University of Barcelona, as well as her master's degree in International Relations, Security and Development, with a specialization in Human Security. Her research interests comprise North Korea, Security issues and metatheoretical critique of International Relations Theories.

A 'Peace-first' Arms Race on the Korean Peninsula?

: Seoul's Investments in Autonomy and Regional Security

Sea Young (Sarah) Kim (Yonsei University, South Korea)

Leif-Eric Easley (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

Why did the Moon administration greenlight so many costly cutting-edge military systems, despite consistently espousing a 'peace-first' engagement policy toward North Korea? To rival missile tests and vocal objections from Pyongyang, South Korea increased its military spending and capabilities to procure high-technology weapons including F-35 stealth fighter jets, cruise missiles with larger payloads, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, solid-fuel space launch vehicles and reconnaissance satellites. Seoul is even considering an aircraft carrier and nuclear-powered submarines. Domestic narratives for these expanding capabilities include preparing for OPCON transfer from Washington and nationalist desires for autonomy. This paper examines competing explanations for the Moon administration's defense spending and finds that South Korea is expanding its capabilities to strengthen its partnership with the United States to avoid potential abandonment and to deter often unspoken threats from China.

About the Authors

Sea Young (Sarah) Kim is a Visiting Scholar for the United States-South Korea Cooperation in Southeast Asia program at the East-West Center, and a PhD Candidate in international cooperation at Yonsei University. She previously served as research associate and program manager at the East Asia Institute, where she was responsible for research on East Asian politics and public opinion. She holds an MA in Asian studies from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and BA in international studies from Ewha Womans University.

Leif-Eric Easley is Associate Professor of International Studies at Ewha Womans University in Seoul. He teaches international security and political economics. His research includes U.S.-ROK-Japan trilateral coordination on engaging China and North Korea, and the geopolitical implications of domestic transitions (especially in Myanmar). Dr. Easley was a Northeast Asian History Fellow at Stanford University and a visiting scholar at the Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIIA) in Tokyo. His research appears in academic journals and volumes (available at <http://leifeasley.net>), supplemented by commentary in major newspapers. He completed his B.A. in political science with a minor in mathematics at UCLA and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University's Department of Government.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 5

Human Security and Civil Society

Chair : Hans Schattle,
(Yonsei University, South Korea)

- An Empirical Investigation Of The Determinants Of Koreans' Attitudes Towards Immigrants
Jingyeong Song and Moamen Gouda, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
- The Role Of Women In Private Sphere To Build The Sustainable Peace In Post-Conflict Societies: Case Study Of Ambon, Indonesia
Shary Charlotte Henriette Pattipeilhy, Universitas Diponegoro
- Asian Identity: State Actors vs.Civil society
Christian Schafferer, Overseas Chinese University
- The Applicability of Hybridized Liberal Peacebuilding in the Ethno-Religious Conflict between the Han Chinese National Government and the Uighur Muslim Local Minority in Xinjiang, China
Amanda Fish, Ewha Womans University

An Empirical Investigation Of The Determinants Of Koreans' Attitudes Towards Immigrants

Jingyeong Song and Moamen Gouda (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea)

Abstract

This study aims to empirically explore the demographic, socio economic, political and cultural determinants of Koreans' attitudes toward immigrants. Employing waves 6 and 7 of World Values Survey (WVS), we use an ordered logit regression model, controlling for both individual and macro level variables. Our results show that, while the socio-economic determinants played a significant role in shaping Koreans' perception of immigrants in the period 2010-2014, represented through wave 6, political factors have been the most significant determinant in the period 2017-2020, represented by wave 7. We discuss this result and argue that the 2018 Yemeni refugee crisis has been playing a considerable role in reshaping Koreans' attitude towards immigrants.

※ **Keywords** : Immigration, South Korea, World Values Survey, informal institutions, preferences.

About the Authors

Jingyeong Song is a M.A student in the Department of Middle East and African Studies at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. Currently, she is Research assistance with the Migration in Middle East program at the Institute of Middle East and the Disaster Resilience project funded by NRF. She specializes in social economic analysis and statistics, and has a special interest in migration, refugee and socioeconomics.

Moamen Moamen Gouda is an Associate Professor of Middle East Economics at the Graduate School of International and Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. has been an elected board member at the Middle East Economic Association since 2019. His research focuses on Institutional Economics of Muslim-majority Countries, Economics of Crime and Terrorism, and Islamic Constitutionalism. Dr. Gouda received his Ph.D. in economics from Philipps-University Marburg. He received his MBA from Edinburgh Business School, Heriot-Watt University. His articles are published in Political Research Quarterly, Public Choice, Constitutional Political Economy, European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, European Journal of Law and Economics, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, among others. His work has been cited in many media outlets including China Daily, National Affairs, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and the Harvard Crimson.

The Role of Women in Private Sphere To Build The Sustainable Peace In Post-Conflict Societies : Case Study of Ambon, Indonesia

Shary Charlotte H. Pattipeilhy (Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia)

Abstract

The Sustainable Development Goals began in 2015, obviously become the standards of sustainable development in the world without the exception of post-conflict territories, and the role of women in conflict resolution obviously has been undoubted since the existence of Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. The sustainable peace process also takes place in post-conflict areas such as Ambon where a traumatic bloody conflict occurred in 1999. This research is using a qualitative method with literature study as a data collection technique which focuses on the sustainable peace at the grassroots level, such as Papalele activity and the Beta Mau Jumpa me Movement in Ambon, Indonesia. There are three concepts used in this research such as sustainable development, positive peace, and Hannah Arendt's thoughts of the private sphere. The result of this research is to understand the importance of women's role in building a sustainable peace inside their private sphere of families and communities.

※ **Keywords** : Sustainable peace, women, private sphere, Ambon, post-conflict

About the Author

Shary Charlotte Henriette, S.IP, M.A is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations, FISIP, Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia with a scientific concentration of Peace Studies, International Conflict Resolution, and Gender Studies. Since 2013, she has been teaching course subjects such as Crimes against Peace, International Negotiations and Conflict Resolution, and International Politics. She was graduate from Bachelor of International Relations, Parahyangan Catholic University in 2009, and continued her Masters on Department of International Relations, Gadjah Mada University in 2011. The author is also active in a number of organizations that aim to create and maintain interfaith peace in Indonesia.

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Asian Identity

: State actors vs. civil society

Christian Schafferer (Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan)

Abstract

There has been much debate about Asia potentially regaining the dominant global economic position it held before the Industrial Revolution more than two hundred years ago. The region in general has experienced considerable socio-economic growth over the last few decades. The rise of nationalist rhetoric, territorial disputes, democratic regression, religious fundamentalism and state-centric policies in times of health and environmental crises however seem to constitute obstacles to forming a common Asian identity beyond primordialism. Identity formation appears to be outside official inter-state relations. Civil-society groups rather than state actors appear to be the driving forces behind the processes of collective identity formation. Local NGOs engaging in cross-country relief efforts and citizen groups, such as the #MilkTeaAlliance, resisting the regional dominance of authoritarian China may be cited here as examples illustrating the possible discrepancy between state actors and civil society in terms of identification. Using data from the World Value Survey 7, this paper endeavours to investigate the extent to which a common Asian identity exists at the individual level among the population and to analyse the shared characteristics of those individuals exhibiting similar identification patterns.

About the Author

Christian Schafferer is Associate Professor at the Department of International Trade, Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan. He has served as President of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA), President of the Austrian Association of East Asian Studies, and founding Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Contemporary Eastern Asia (JCEA). His research interests embrace political and economic studies with special reference to East Asian societies; current research projects deal with the impact of semi-presidentialism on democratization in Asia.

The Applicability of Hybrid Peacebuilding in Ethnic Conflicts : A Case Study of Xinjiang, China

Amanda Fish (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

This paper seeks to determine to what extent hybridized liberal peacebuilding may be applicable in the ethno-religious conflict between the Han Chinese national government and the Uighur Muslim local minority in Xinjiang, China. The paper briefly outlines the conflict, its components and underlying causes, current parties involved and each of their perspectives, as well as modern efforts to resolve the conflict, before situating modern hybridized liberal peacebuilding in the liberal peacebuilding literature and contextualizes it through its other applications in Asia. The paper then qualitatively analyzes hybridized peacebuilding's theoretical applicability in the Xinjiang conflict. It references the ways that hybridized peacebuilding models could potentially improve on current conflict resolution methods in Xinjiang, but suffers from some potentially severe limitations. The paper concludes with cautious optimism, but warns of the potential for underwhelming expectations of any definitive conflict resolution.

About the Author

Amanda Fish is a Ph.D. Candidate majoring in International Relations at Ewha Woman's University's GSIS, which she began attending in 2018 as a combined Masters/Doctorate student. She earned her Bachelor's degree at Hawai'i Pacific University, majoring in International Studies and specializing in International Relations and Security, as well as double minoring in History as well as Diplomacy and Military Studies. She has worked as a field representative for Amnesty International, as an English Editor for Dr. Sang Jin Han at the Joongmin Foundation for Social Theory, and currently works as an English language instructor at Pagoda Academy. Her areas of research interest include peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and diplomacy, and regional areas of interest are North and South East Asia.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 6

Information, Education, and Empowerment

Chair : Lonnie Edge

(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea)

- Discouragement vs Encouragement: Sri Lanka's Female Domestic Worker's Corridor to the Gulf Countries
Loku Thambugalage Jayathry Dhananja Gunaratne, Ewha Womans University
- Closet or Bridge: YouTube Platform's Transnational Space for Gender Identity in the Philippine Boy's Love Genre
Ronaldo Castillo, National Chengchi University
- Challenges and Opportunities for Peace (or Conflict) in Higher Education: The Case of Afghanistan and Somaliland
Chaewon Sohn, Kevin Kester, Mary abura, and Ella Rho, Seoul National University
- Framing the Belt and Road Initiative: China's Public Diplomacy Narratives from 2013 to 2020
Yuan Jiang, Queensland University of Technology

Discouragement vs Encouragement

: Sri Lanka's Female Domestic Worker's Corridor to the Gulf Countries

Loku Thambugalage Jayathry Dhananja Gunaratne
(Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

Feminization of labour migration has been a unique feature among Sri Lankan labour migration since late 1980s. Despite its massive contribution to the economy of the country through remittances, the government had imposed strict regulations to discourage women from migrating as domestic workers to Gulf countries considering its social cost. This research argues that strong push and pull factors that are linked to both home country and to the country of destination lead more women to migrate despite Government's strong discouragement. The research adopted a qualitative method and used both empirical and secondary data for the analysis. The findings revealed that the financial implications (such as poverty and debt) followed by non-economic factors such as strong patriarchal norms, lack of occupational opportunities, freedom and mobility, unsatisfactory family and social settings have forced women to migrate. Despite the fact that existing literature has highlighted that the push and pull factors for both men and women are similar, findings of this research indicates that push factors are gendered and contextual. This research further suggests affirmative actions with durable solutions are required to address this issue.

※ **Keywords:** labor migration, feminization of labor migration, push and pull factors, gendered push factors

About the Author

Loku Thambugalage Jayathry Dhananja Gunaratne is a PhD student major in Development Cooperation at Ewha Womans University. The abstract of the paper of which the author is submitting herewith discusses the issues related to the low-skilled female labor migration in Sri Lanka.

Closet or Bridge

: YouTube Platform's Transnational Space for Gender Identity in the Philippine Boy's Love Genre

Ronald M. Castillo (National Chengchi University, Taiwan)

Abstract

As society transitions into the fourth wave of the industrial revolution, members of the LGBTQ+ community also transition into the digital locus of social media and online platforms. A space which offers the gender marginalized a place of expression and a place of meeting. This phenomenon further shows a tendency to become another version of the proverbial 'closet,' where gays go to be safe. This study uses content analysis of a digital discourse through the comments and replies dynamic from selected episodes of two popular Philippine Boys Love (BL) TV Series which aired on YouTube (BL) during the Covid Lockdown of 2020, which was also the year of the rise of Philippine BLs. Analysis follows two cases of content; one is foreign language posts, and second, discoursed posts conducted in English language. Findings describe the gay condition as shared across experiences across nations meeting transnationally in digital space.

※ **Keywords** : Transnational Space, Online Media Platforms, Gay Condition, Gender Identity Politics

About the Author

Ronald M. Castillo is currently a PhD student taking up International Doctoral Program on Asia-Pacific Studies at the National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan. He is currently on leave as assistant professor at the University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines where he taught International Relations to Political Science majors, and Migration, Diaspora, and Transnationalism to Asian Studies majors. His research focusses on the mapping of society's structures navigating through social institutions and human behavior.

Challenges and Opportunities for Peace (or Conflict) in Higher Education : The Case of Afghanistan and Somaliland

Kevin Kester, Mary Abura, Chaewon Sohn, and Ella Rho (Seoul National University)

Abstract

Universities have a role to play in supporting peacebuilding in all societies but especially in (post)conflict contexts. Yet such work has rarely been examined. This paper then looks toward the diverse approaches of higher education to support peacebuilding, from policy and philosophy to pedagogical practices, in (post)conflict contexts. Specifically, the paper examines the work of university educators in two institutions in Afghanistan and Somaliland. Data for the research was collected through qualitative interviews with 12 university educators across the two institutions. Findings indicate a number of challenges and opportunities that university lecturers and their institutions face in supporting peace in diverse societies, particularly as relates to the ‘two faces’ of higher education to support or impede peacebuilding processes. The paper ends with a discussion of implications for curriculum, teaching and learning.

※ **Keywords** : Post-conflict contexts, higher education, peace and violence, pedagogy

About the Authors

Kevin Kester is Assistant Professor of Comparative International Education and Peace/Development Studies and Director of the Education, Conflict and Peace Lab at Seoul National University. His research interests lie in the sociology and politics of education with a focus on international education development; education, conflict, and peacebuilding; and decolonial approaches to research and teaching. His most recent book is *The United Nations and Higher Education: Peacebuilding, Social Justice and Global Cooperation for the 21st Century*.

Mary Abura is Research Assistant in the Education, Conflict and Peace Lab at Seoul National University. Her research interests lie in the sociology of education; decolonizing higher education; prefigurative politics; and global citizenship education. She is a holder of a Master of Int'l Studies having majored in Development Cooperation at Ewha Womans University. She is currently a Ph.D. student at the Global Education Cooperation Department.

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Challenges and Opportunities for Peace (or Conflict) in Higher Education : The Case of Afghanistan and Somaliland

and critical approaches (postcolonial and decolonial approaches) to education. She holds an MPhil in Education, Globalisation and International Development from the University of Cambridge.

Ella Rho is Research Assistant in the Education, Conflict and Peace Lab at Seoul National University and working as an MRes student in the Department of Psychology at Durham University. Her research interests lie in the psychology of education; comparative education; poverty and inequality; decolonization; and higher education.

Framing the Belt and Road Initiative

: China's public diplomacy narratives from 2013 to 2020

Yuan Jiang (Queensland University of Technology, Australia)

Abstract

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a central policy of the Chinese government. The initiative is directly associated with President Xi Jinping, who first put forward the BRI in Kazakhstan and Indonesia in 2013, initially as One Belt One Road. This paper analyzes Chinese President Xi Jinping's speeches from 2013 to 2020 pertaining to the BRI, as well as official statements of the Chinese Central Government. In doing so it provides a public diplomacy perspective on the BRI by using frame analysis. Frame analysis in this paper refers to how public media select, organize and emphasize certain aspects of reality. This paper identifies two frames of the BRI (1) a constantly changing policy settings of assemblage that accommodates various economic and political interests (2) a medium of positive cultural exchange that can provide a sense of mutual reciprocity.

The paper focuses on Chinese frames of the BRI, showing how the BRI has been embedded into other aspects of Chinese domestic policy. It argues that the BRI narratives are a continuous rebranding with a globalization colour that is diverse, ambiguous and sometimes contradictory. Also, I discuss how the BRI public diplomacy responds to the changing international environment and domestic Chinese politics.

About the Author

Yuan Jiang is studying a PhD in the Digital Media Research Centre at the Queensland University of Technology, focusing on the Belt and Road Initiative.

He completed his master's degree of political science at Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and bachelor's degree of law at Shanghai University. As a Russian speaker, he worked with ZTE Corporation as an account manager, as a co-founder with LockBreakers Consulting and as a special correspondent with Asia Weekly and Pengpai News, all in Moscow.

His publications have extensively appeared in diverse types of media and think tank spheres, underlining my understanding of international affairs. His writing revolves around politics, economics and international relations in China, Australia, Russia, the US and Central Asia.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 7

Multilateral and Regional Security Conceptualizations

Chair : Mason Richey

(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea)

- Peace and Security in Indo-Pacific Asia: IR Perspectives in Context
Sorpong Peou, Ryerson University
- Great Powers and Regionalisms: Contrasting Europe and East Asia
Cesar De Prado, National Taiwan University
- The Emergence of New Geo-Strategic Equations: Implications for Asian Security
Bhawna Pokharna, Government Meera Girls College
- The U.S- Iran 1970s Regional Alliance Failure: Lessons of the Cold War Persian Gulf for East Asian Regional Security Model
Amir Ahmadi, University of Guilan
- Succession in the DPRK: Perceptual Variants, Regime Stability, and Implications for US Diplomacy
Youngho Kim, Yonsei University and Lonnie Edge, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Peace and Security in Indo-Pacific Asia

: IR Perspectives in Context

Sorpong Peou (Ryerson University, Canada)

Abstract

This presentation is based on a book titled *Peace and Security in Indo-Pacific Asia: IR Perspectives in Context* (Routledge 2022). It reviews more than 30 theoretical perspectives and concludes that that political realism is making a comeback. Even critical scholars with normative commitment recognize the new reality of geopolitics. Rival states such as China, Japan, India and the United States continue to engage in security politics. However, other major theoretical traditions such as liberalism, pacifism, culturalism, social constructivism, historical materialism, feminism and transnationalism are far from being subdued. Although democratic liberalism appears to enjoy the most empirical support, most states in Indo-Pacific Asia remain undemocratic. Overall, empirical evidence still shows that the region remains far from prone to peace and security. This book will advance a theoretical perspective labelled as democratic realism.

About the Author

Dr. Sorpong Peou is Full Professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration and a member of the Yeates School of Graduate Studies, Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada. He is a Member of the Eminent Persons Group, the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA), and a College Fellow at McLaughlin College, York University, Toronto. His former administrative and academic positions include Chair of the Politics and Governance Department (Ryerson University) and Chair of the Political Science Department (University of Winnipeg). He also served as President of Science for Peace, based at the University of Toronto, and Manitoba Chair on Global Governance Studies (University of Winnipeg/University of Manitoba). From the mid-1990s to 2010, he was Professor of Political Science, Sophia University (Tokyo, Japan), Canada-ASEAN Fellow, and Fellow, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore).

Great powers and regionalisms

: contrasting Europe and East Asia

César de Prado (National Taiwan University, Taiwan)

Abstract

During the Cold War the structural realist literature focused just on weaker nation-states aligning with confronting great powers. In the much more complex world that has developed after the Cold War that kind of long-standing arguments should be upgraded to consider how confronting great powers affect the evolution of not only nation-states, but also multidimensional regional processes. This presentation argues that great power confrontation over the long-term negatively affects multidimensional regionalisms, that is, not only involving security, diplomatic and economic dynamics, but also social sectors. It contrasts developments in Europe with the efforts about East Asia since the Cold War. Overall, while the European Union (EU) is resilient, regionalism in East Asia is increasingly weakened. In most of Europe, great power confrontation has largely past despite some tensions with Russia in recent years. However, regional projects in East Asia, involving Southeast, Northeast and South Asia, areas largely stabilized under American presence, remain weak and increasingly challenged by growing Sino-centric initiatives. Evidence is forthcoming from different dimensions: Security alliances and partnerships, broad economic agreements, and developments in soft-sectors like education and communication.

About the Author

Dr. César de Prado accrues academic and professional experiences across Europe and East Asia. He was in 2016–19 an associate professor at the Centre for European Studies in the Guangdong Institute for International Strategies, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, Guangzhou. As research in China became increasingly difficult, he became in 2020 a Fellow at the EU Centre in Taiwan, where he relaunched his research profile with several articles on Europe, China and Asia. While he finishes a book on Europe in the Indo-Pacific great power competition he works as a part-time collaborator or consultant with universities, think-tanks and development agencies. He received his PhD from the European University Institute in Florence, has published three books, and has single-authored around 40 novel academic articles, book chapters and policy papers.

The Emergence of new Geo - Strategic Equations : Implications for Asian Security

Bhawna Pokharna (Government Meera girls college, Udaipur Raj India)

Abstract

With the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan, International relations have taken twist with quick developments on the part of big powers. On the one hand China is keen to fill the void with US pullout as evident by developments in Afghanistan and Iran Nuclear Deal, On the other hand US has articulating new alliance to contain growing Chinese assertiveness. The recently formed AUKUS alliance and recently held QUAD summit indicates proactive US approach to strengthen its Geo Strategic position to face the new realities in view of rising Chinese influence. Some new equations have also developed with Russia supporting China and US having less friendly EU. Thus proposed paper endeavours to explore implications of these new developments on Asian Security.

About the Author

Dr. Bhawna Pokharna is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Government Meera Girls College Udaipur Rajasthan India. She has done her Graduation and Post Graduation from Mohan Lal Sukhadia University Udaipur. She was awarded Gold Medal in Post Graduation. She was Awarded Ph D on India China Relations. She has 25 years of teaching and research experience. She has Published widely in various journals of repute and has presented papers in seminars and Conferences. Two scholars have been awarded Ph D under her supervision and five are registered at present.

The U.S- Iran 1970s Regional Alliance Failure

: Lessons of the Cold War Persian Gulf for East Asian Regional Security Model

Amir Reza Ahmadi Khoy (University of Guilan, Iran)

Abstract

The Persian Gulf serves as a clear example of how alliance building can determine regional security dynamics and future stability of the region. Historically the region was affected by Cold War rivalry between the U.S and the Soviet Union as the two superpowers. The U.S alliance with region member states did not result in a stability.

Partnership with the regional allies when evaluated in historical perspective proves how foreign interventions of the superpowers and their alliance buildings might cause blocs rivalries.

Middle powers involvement in genuine regional security architecture is necessary for achieving stability without foreign interventions. Lack of regional understanding and consistent reliance on military capabilities prevailed and the chronic regional instability in the Persian Gulf lasted today.

The East Asian model of regional security needed to avoid negative effects of foreign interventions and regional collaborators as an ingenuine model of security cooperations which will prevent achievement of its goal due power blocks nature and exclusions of other states. The U.S. did not favor bargaining mechanisms and cooperation with the non- allied states.

This research, through a historical analysis of alliance building in the Persian Gulf comprising the U.S. relations with Iran, intends to shed light on the lessons which any alliance comprising the foreign power might bear for East Asian security cooperation.

About the Author

Amir Reza Ahmadi received his Ph.D. in international relations from the University of Guilan in 2017. He also received his BA of political science from the University of Tehran in 2006 and MA in diplomacy and international organizations from the School of International Relations in 2010. He is interested in Iran-U.S. history of bilateral relations and Iran's diplomatic history as well. The Iran-U.S. interaction within Persian Gulf is one his working Subjects.

Succession in the DPRK

: Perceptual Variants, Regime Stability, and Implications for US Diplomacy

Yong-ho Kim (Yonsei University, South Korea)

Lonnie Edge (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea)

Abstract

Why should the US pursue engagement with the DPRK? This question is central to the debate over whether US President Donald Trump's 'bromance' with DPRK Chairman Kim Jong Un is a good idea or not. The Western news media continues to miss the mark by portraying the DPRK as a weak and bizarre rogue state led by a tyrannical and unstable regime that could quite easily collapse under the sanctions regime that has been arrayed against it. This paper argues that a return to previous US foreign policy strategies based on the assumption of regime instability would be a serious misstep. This argument hinges first on the idea history shows that hereditary succession is inherently more stable and allowed Kim Il Sung to pass power to Kim Jong Il and avoid the instability of the successors dilemma faced by non-democratic regimes. Mao Ze Dong and Kim Il Sung's attempts succession are used to illustrate the perceptual variants of their upbringing and parenting, which strongly influenced their choice of successor. Second, this paper further contributes to succession literature by demonstrating that the temporal aspect of one leader allowing the next to consolidate their power in a 'power incubation period' prior to succession significantly improves the chances of the new leader's survival once they assume control. Given the short PIP there was reason to be concerned but, since Kim Jong Un shared the Kim dynasty's power base, he avoided the successor's dilemma and is unlikely to lose his grip on power. This points to an urgent need for active diplomatic engagement with the DPRK and for recognition that failure to do so will only make things worse.

※ **Keywords** : DPRK, US, succession, sudden collapse, power incubation period

About the Authors

Yongho Kim is a Professor of International Relations and Inter-Korean Relations at Yonsei University, Department of Political Science. He completed his PhD at Columbia University and his research interests include international relations, inter-Korean relations, North Korean Studies, and Political Communication. He has published several books including his most recent offering *Social Media and South Korean National Security*. Professor Kim is also a past Director of Yonsei University's Institute for North Korean Studies and a member of the President's Unification Advisory Committee.

Lonnie Edge is an Assistant Professor at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. He is the Managing Editor of both *North Korean Review* and the *Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies*. His research interests include Politics of Identity, Northeast Asian International Relations, Inter-Korean Relations, Nationalism, and Political Communications. He recently contributed a chapter on South Korean Relations with North Korea to the *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary South Korea*.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 8

Multilateral Policy-making for Peace and Development

Chair : Rosalie Arcala Hall

(University of the Philippines Visayas, Philippines)

- ASEAN and its Responsibility to Protect Refugees – Case of North Korean Refugees in Southeast Asia
Heeseo Lee, Ewha Womans University
- Elevating the Aid Debate: A Call for Value Coherence for Development
Nancy Kim, Ewha Womans University
- Security, Governance, and Operationalization the Security, Governance, and Operationalizing the Humanitarian–Development–Peace Nexus (HDPN) on the Korean Peninsula
Brendan Howe, Ewha Womans University
- Institutional Innovations and Their Challenges in the Green Climate Fund
Thomas Kalinowski, Ewha Womans University

ASEAN and its responsibility to protect refugees – Case of North Korean refugees in Southeast Asia

Heeseo Lee (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

The nature of contemporary international normative order has changed what we call ‘international society’ to ‘international community.’ This transition includes the dominant approaches of international norms from state-centric to people-centric. The change of the international operating environment has impacted the regional level as well. For instance, ASEAN has evolved as an international normative community by coalescing the norms of respecting national sovereignty and embracing human rights, responsibility to protect, and human security norms. In this regard, the rights of vulnerable groups, such as refugees, should be protected by the practices of ASEAN and its member states. However, North Korean refugees in the region are exposed to multiple human insecurities, including the current pandemic situation. This phenomenon leaves a question to ASEAN’s stance and its operating realm as an international normative community. Hence, this study aims to examine to what extent the treatment of refugees in Southeast Asia represents the evolution of a normative community by analyzing North Korean refugee cases in the region. With the implication of the selected case, the study will seek hopes for promoting refugee protection in the region.

※ **Keywords** : ASEAN, normative community, international society, refugee rights, North Korean refugees

About the Author

Heeseo Lee is a Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate School of International Studies of Ewha University. Her research interest is in international norms, human rights, and human security, particularly in refugee issues in East Asia. Her current ongoing research project is “North Korean Refugees and Challenges of ASEAN’s regional governance,” under the Global Ph.D. Fellowship program by National Research Foundation since 2019. She also has recently co-conducted a research project and published a policy proposal report, “A Study of Global Refugee Qualification Recognition Systems and Its Applications in Korea,” funded by the Korea Council for University Education.

Elevating the Aid Debate

: A Call for Value Coherence for Development

Nancy Y. Kim (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

Development is stuck in a vicious cycle of its own making. As illustrated by various aid debates, the development community has wound itself in circles trying to justify or discredit development. It has ample rope with which to wind, as the development agenda justifies a seemingly unlimited number of development-friendly positions. Some see aid as giving developing countries the “big push” they need to escape the poverty trap; others see aid as breeding dependence and corruption and call for private sector solutions instead. The Asian Development Bank, World Bank, and other development finance institutions are on the one hand lauded for building infrastructure that is essential for industrialization; and on the other hand exhorted to protect indigenous resources and communities. These are all legitimate development pathways according to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. One can promote community-driven development and be on the side of the angels; and one can stand with big business and still stand with the angels. In recent years, there has been some recognition that perhaps not all of the 17 sustainable development goals (and 169 sub-goals) can be achieved. Indeed, a sneaking suspicion of the incoherence of the SDGs has breathed new life into the long-overlooked tool of policy coherence for development (PCD). However, this paper posits that PCD is missing a critical element without which it cannot be operationalized. PCD can only help us to identify interconnections and trade-offs. But how should development actors prioritize once trade-offs have been identified? The answer, this paper argues, lies in re-orienting development to be guided by ultimate values. Through critical analysis of existing PCD frameworks – such as the Human Rights-Based Approach to Development, Environmental and Social Safeguards, and Sustainable Development Goal Interaction Frameworks – this paper finds that development has become values-free, or at least values-confused. It is plagued by both deliberate and technocratic obfuscation of ends and means. This paper stands not with the angels but with Max Weber in calling for a revival of “the ultimate and most sublime values.” Development must become more value rational, that is, more responsible in providing that which people value. The paper concludes with recommendations to elevate development discourse and practice via a new Value Coherence for Development (VCD) conceptual framework (which incorporates current conceptions of an “overlapping consensus” on ultimate values), as well as a corresponding Responsibility to Provide (R2Pr).

About the Author

Nancy Y. Kim is a PhD Candidate and Researcher (Institute for Development and Human Security) at Ewha Womans University. She has a Masters in Foreign Service from Georgetown University. She is a mid-career development professional with over 10 years of experience in the field, including as Country Representative for The Asia Foundation in Lao PDR and Deputy Country Representative for The Asia Foundation in China. Her research interests include: sustainable development; ethics; welfare and wellbeing; social protection; and human security.

Security, Governance, and Operationalizing the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus (HDPN) on the Korean Peninsula

Brendan Howe (Ewha Womans University, South Korea)

Abstract

In 2005, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan referenced the interrelatedness of the three pillars of the UN by noting “we will not enjoy security without development, development without security, and neither without respect for human rights. Unless all these causes are advanced, none will succeed.” In doing so he encapsulated the progress made by the evolution of security and governance conceptualizations, as well as ongoing challenges. This presentation notes how security provision has become increasingly entwined with other governance aspirations, while at the same time broadening along the x-axis of issues and the y-axis of referent objects of security. Policy prescription and obligations for those who govern, therefore, must increasingly consider spillover between these diverse agendas. This has been reflected in the newly emerging discourse on the humanitarian–development–peace nexus (HDPN). The article assesses not only the promise of the HDPN, but also continued shortcomings, and implications for the Korean Peninsula.

About the Author

Brendan Howe is Dean and Professor at Ewha Womans University GSIS, and President of APISA. He holds a PhD in Political Science from TCD, an MA in International Conflict Analysis from UKC, and a BA in Modern History from the University of Oxford. His research focuses on East Asian security, human security, comprehensive peacebuilding, middle powers, and conflict transformation. He has authored, co-authored, or edited over 90 related publications including *The Niche Diplomacy of Asian Middle Powers* (2021), *UN Governance: Peace and Human Security in Cambodia and Timor-Leste* (2020), *Regional Cooperation for Peace and Development* (2018), *Peacekeeping and the Asia-Pacific* (2016), *Post-Conflict Development in East Asia* (2014), and *The Protection and Promotion of Human Security in East Asia* (2013).

Institutional Innovations and Their Challenges in the Green Climate Fund

Thomas Kalinowski (Ewha Womans University)

Abstract

This article investigates the institutional innovations within the Green Climate Fund (GCF), a new international organization that finances climate mitigation and adaptation in developing countries. In particular, donor–recipient parity in decision making, civil society participation and private sector involvement are explored. The aim of this study is to lay the institutional groundwork for a larger study that will be analyzing the effect of these institutional innovations on the design and result of the fund’s projects. This article concludes that the GCF indeed implemented important institutional innovations that are unique for a major international organization. At the same time, this article reveals that these innovations have created some important challenges for the functioning of the fund. It is also difficult for the GCF to balance the goal of transparency and civil society participation with the need for secrecy of private contracts and a speedy process demanded by the private sector.

About the Author

Thomas Kalinowski is a professor of political science at the Graduate School of International Studies at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, South Korea. At Ewha he is teaching International Political Economy, Comparative Political Economy, International Organizations, Environmental Governance and Development Cooperation. Recent publications include works on the political economy of financial crisis and crisis management, global governance, the political economy of climate change, the Green Climate Fund, sustainable governance, the diversity of capitalism and the transformation of the East Asian developmental state.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 9

COVID-19 and Security

Chair : Christian Schafferer
(Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan)

- Covid-19 Pandemic and People of Myanmar: After Coup 2021
Min Thang, Myanmar Institute of Theology
- Antagonisms and COVID-19: Protests and State Repression in Thailand since 2020
Paul Chambers, Naresuan University
- Explaining Thailand's Politicized COVID-19 Mitigation Strategies: Counter-Securitization and Re-Securitization
Tawei Chu, Alyssa Gosteli Dela Cruz, Sung Jae Lee, and Chuenthip Nithimasarad, Chiang Mai University

Covid-19 Pandemic and People of Myanmar

: After Coup 2021

Min Thang (Myanmar)

Abstract

Since 1962, Myanmar has been ruled by the military regime. After almost 70 years, again the military coup-sized power on 1 February 2021, and overthrow elected civilian government. The military has detained a number of politicians, artists, and civilian leaders. Before the coup, Myanmar face challenges by the covid-19 pandemic and ban on large gatherings but on the following weeks there was massive protests in Myanmar, calling for the release of all political detainees and a restoration of the democratically elected government. The so call Generation Z (youth) is playing a key role in anti-coup protest, which is the biggest protest movement after 1988 and 2007 Saffron Revolution in Myanmar. According to assistance association of political prisoners (AAPP) as of 17 September 1108 people are killed by the coup and 6591 people are currently under detention. The days continues international community condemned the military 'coup the so call State Administration Council. Myanmar youth and civilians are resisting the coup peacefully but the coup brutally killed, tortured, beaten, and arrested peaceful protestors. Therefore, this papers an attempt to explain the coup, Covid-19, and political crisis in Myanmar. The paper studies what are the challenges of civilians and youth resistance the coup during the Covid-19 pandemic in Myanmar. What are the domestic and international communities responses to the military coup in Myanmar?

※ **Keywords** : Covid-19, Military coup, Civil Disobedience Movement, Religious, Politics, and Myanmar

About the Author

I am **Min Thang** from Chin State of Myanmar. I have earned the degree of Bachelor of Theology (B.Th), Bachelor of Divinity (B.D) both are under Serampore University in India and written B.D thesis on “A Critical Analysis on the Impact of Christianity towards the Matu-Chin Tribal Culture in Chin State, Myanmar”. Previously I have served as lecture in Hosanna Bible College in Yangon, and Assistant Researchers at Chin Agency Organization in Yangon. And then continue to study Master of Theology in Myanmar Institute of Theology, Myanmar special concentration on Religious Studies and written Master thesis on “The Concept of Peace and Its Significance for Establishing Religious Harmony in the Context of Myanmar” in 2019. I was elected to be an International Student Representing from Myanmar Institute of Theology (MIT) for International Student Exchange Programe at Stockholm School of Theology in Sweden in 2018. And also the trip was made to the field study tour in Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine and Israel for study in socio-political and religious issues in the West Asia. I was working as director of Male Dorm and Lecturer at head of theology department, Shan State Baptist Theological Seminary. I have written some presented papers and article namely, Patai Theology: A Search for Contextual Relevance published in contextual theology (MIT), 2019, Theology of Thungut Kop: A Chin Contextual Theology of Salvation published in contextual theology (MIT) 2020. “The Role of Chief in Chin Traditional Society.” (Yangon: Myanmar Cultural Research Society, 2020).

Antagonisms and COVID-19

: Protests and State Repression in Thailand since 2020

Paul Chambers (Naresuan University, Thailand)

Abstract

This paper examines the post-2020 rise of youth-led protests in Thailand and how the Thai state has used laws ostensibly meant to guard against the COVID-19 pandemic to repress them. Why did post-2020 student-led protests emerge, who were their leaders and what were their demands? What was novel about these protests? How did state and society respond? How has the student protest movement persevered into late 2021 and what might be its future? The paper argues that the post-2020 student demonstrations resulted from the social consciousness and standpoint of youth reaching maturity amidst rapidly changing socio-historical events. Contemporary factors further stimulated the protests' character. But the demonstrations' future success will depend upon their leaders engaging in efficient decision-making, cohesion and ability to cultivate new leadership while the government further diminishes in credibility and, as COVID subsides, will not be able to use national emergencies to maintain public support.

About the Author

Dr. Paul Chambers (pwchambers@gmail.com) is Lecturer and Special Advisor on International Affairs at the Center of ASEAN Community Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Naresuan University (Thailand). He is a Fellow at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, the German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance and the Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace. He is also executive editor of the Routledge (Scopus) journal *Asian Affairs: an American Review*. Paul has authored or co-authored numerous journal articles, book chapters and six books. Recent publications include his co-edited book *Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia* (NIAS, 2017). His research centers upon civil-military relations and democratization in Southeast Asia with a particular focus on Thailand.

Explaining Thailand's Politicized COVID-19 Mitigation Strategies : Counter-Securitization and Re-Securitization

Alyssa Gosteli Dela Cruz, Sung Jae Lee, Ta-Wei Chu, Chuenthip Nithimasarad
(Chiang Mai University, Thailand)

Abstract

Thailand's prevention strategy of COVID-19 outbreaks has been a highly politicized issue. Securitization, explaining how and why a securitizing actor frames an issue as an existential threat, is a potential explanatory theory, because it can shed light on the Thai government's motivation to impose draconian laws. Traditionally, scholars argue that a successful securitization is based on whether audience accepts an issue as an existential threat or rejects it. We argue that securitization can explain the issue in the context of Southeast Asia only if it considers the role of audience. We harness the social conflict concept to explain the role of audience and find the relationships between securitizing actors and audience are contested: they struggle over what issues should be securitized. Our research finding is that the roles of securitizing actors and audience are not fixed which means that one group can be both the securitizing actor and audience simultaneously. Against this backdrop, our research finding provides a different definition of successful securitization: successful securitization occurs only if the securitizing actor can dominate the power struggle between audience and securitizing actor.

※ **Keywords** : Securitization, Thailand, COVID-19, Prayut Chan-ocha, Protesters

About the Authors

Alyssa Gosteli Dela Cruz was born in Manila, Philippines in the 2000, but shortly after immigrated to Thailand. She is currently pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in Social Science at Chiang Mai University. In her first year, she has been awarded a Certificate of Academic Excellence for her 4.0 GPA. She focuses on human rights issues, particularly those relating to women and minorities. Through her research, she aims to spread awareness and influence positive change.

Sung Jae Lee was born in Republic of Korea in 1997 and moved to Chiang Mai, Thailand in 2013 where he currently resides. His ample experience with Southeast Asian culture and society is reflected in his research interests of Thai politics and Southeast Asian studies. He has successfully completed IGCSE and AS level course at Varee International School. In 2016, he was awarded the Certificate of the Highest Academic Achievement. Currently, Sung Jae Lee is a second year BA student in Department of Social Science and Development, Chiang Mai University. Here he has earned a 3.95 GPA in his first year and been granted a scholarship as well as a Certificate of Academic Excellence (04/2021).

Explaining Thailand's Politicized COVID-19 Mitigation Strategies : Counter-Securitization and Re-Securitization

Ta-Wei Chu is a lecturer in Department of Social Science and Development, Chiang Mai University. He obtained his PhD degree in East Asian Studies, University of Leeds in 2015. His research interests are security studies, hydropolitics in the Mekong Basin, and transdisciplinarity. His latest paper, “the Human Security Crisis in Cambodia: Is Transdisciplinarity a Solution?” is published in *Asian International Studies Review* (2020). In addition, he is the author of “Riparians versus the State in Southeast Asia”, published in *Asian Survey* (2017). Currently, he is working on the research project focusing on Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Myanmar.

Chuenthip Nithimasarad is a 3rd year student at the Faculty of Social Science. She majors in Sociology and Anthropology and has worked on numerous projects, one of which was in collaboration with Sophia University of Japan. She was born in Nan, Thailand and is currently residing in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Her specialty is regarding exploitation of labor and oppression within the workforce.

**Operationalizing an East Asian
Community of Peace and Development
: Challenges and Opportunities**

PANEL 10

COVID-19 and Society

Chair : Sylvia Yazid

(Parahyangan Catholic University, Indonesia)

- From Vulnerabilities to Resilience: Lessons from Davao de Oro Youth During the Pandemic
Rowee Joy Decena, Davao de Oro State College
- Covid-19 Influences Habits And Lifestyle
Ratna Ayu, Chinese Culture University
- The Challenges and Needs During the Pandemic of the Residents in Barangay Mandahilag Talisayan, Misamis Oriental
Joann Lim, Bukidnon State University

From Vulnerabilities to Resilience

: Lessons from Davao de Oro Youth During the Pandemic

Rowee Joy S. Decena (Compostela Valley State College, the Philippines)

Abstract

The effects of CoVid 19 and the pandemic is devastating to vulnerable groups to include children and youth (Global Child Forum, 2020). The impact of the pandemic on young people is systematic, deep, and disproportionate (ILO, 2020). Thus, documenting how the youth experiences the pandemic and how they could bounce back is essential. This qualitative research examined the essays written by College students of Compostela Valley State College on their experiences during this pandemic. The data gathered were analyzed using content analysis. This study revealed that the students, their families, and communities experienced economic, health, and social problems during the pandemic. Also, it was found out that the majority of the students are having problems and issues regarding access to quality education. However, despite increased vulnerabilities due to the pandemic's impacts, the students highlighted important values they learned from their experiences to include the value of time and bonding with the family, the importance of health, cooperation, and observance to government policies and health protocols.

Meanwhile, environmental conservation, alternative sources of income, and a high sense of spirituality served as coping mechanisms for the students, families, and communities. Thus, aside from economic and health, the programs and interventions provided to the youth must include education and other concerns. Lastly, the researcher recommends further studies related to impact assessment.

※ **Keywords** : Vulnerabilities and Resilience, Davao De Oro Youth, CoVid 19 and Pandemic

About the Author

Dr. Rowee Joy S. Decena is an Assistant Professor at the Davao de Oro State College, Philippines teaching general education subjects. She served as the Director for Research and Extension Services of the College from 2014–2016. Her research expertise and interests are social development, human security, disaster risk reduction, and sustainable mining.

Covid-19 Influences Habits and Lifestyle

Ratna Kusuma Ayu (Chinese Culture University, Taiwan)

Abstract

The COVID-19 or pandemic affects the lives of many people, not only having an impact on mental health, but also the way students learn by staring at computers for hours which causes a certain level of saturation and fatigue and even the lifestyle of many people begins to change, washing hands more often has also become a habit because of this pandemic. Many of them experience health vulnerabilities, lack of socializing and or decline in health, lack of ability to regulate emotions and difficulties in dealing with them, especially young students, such as in doing worksheets with material explained through online teaching and learning comprehension. So, that awareness is needed in maintaining health and mental as well as support to get through this pandemic. This study explains in more detail about COVID-19 and its influence on life.

※ **Keywords** : Covid-19, pandemic diseases, WHO, influences, health

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The Challenges and Needs During the Pandemic of the Residents in Barangay Mandahilag Talisayan, Misamis Oriental

Joann Dajuya Lim (Bukidnon State University, the Philippines)

Abstract

The barangay Mandahilag is one of the barangays of Talisayan, Misamis Oriental. Fifty percent (50%) of the residents are dependents on fishing and farming as the source of primary living. Ten percent (10%) of the residents are laborers and forty percent (40%) are government and private employees.

The study utilized a descriptive and qualitative approach. It utilized the Focal Discussion Group (FDG) and survey questionnaire in the vernacular. It answered the following objectives: (1) What are the challenges encountered during the pandemic?; (2) What are their needs that made them struggled?, (3) What are actions taken in the barangay?; and (4) What are the possible solutions to address the challenges and needs of the residents?

The study is conducted in barangay Mandahilag Talisayan, Misamis Oriental. There are fifty (50) respondents who are the residents of the barangay. The study found out that the (1) the residents encountered difficulty of their daily needs when the private employees stopped and on-call on their work, (2) the vaccination challenge in terms of unwillingness to be vaccinated, (3) the struggle of easy access to the water system as daily need, (4) and the needs of livelihood training and program.

The study concluded that the residents of barangay Mandahilag is calling for development in barangay as per livelihood and access to water system as concern. They are aiming for the support and leadership skills of barangay officials to make the needs to be realized.

※ Keywords: Challenges of Residents, Needs of Residents, Barangay Mandahilag

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Joann Dajuya Lim is a graduate of Bachelor of Science in Business Administration major in Financial Management at Bukidnon State University–Talisayan External Studies Center in 2012. She earned her Master in Public Administration (Thesis) at Bukidnon State University–Main Campus, Malaybalay City, Bukidnon in 2019. She has twelve (12) units in Doctor in Management at Capitol University, Cagayan de Oro City.

She rendered seven (7) years in government service as Administrative Assistant Positions. She has seven (7) years as a part-time college instructor, and now she is a full-time regular faculty, designated as Campus In-Charge at Bukidnon State University–Medina Campus, Medina, Misamis Oriental.

A woman who has a passion for teaching and a love of community. In 2021, She started the passion of conducting researches as a solution to the problem of the community, agencies, and participants.

Roundtable Session: APISA Roundtable on Japan–Korea NTS Partnership

Enhancing Japan-Korea Partnership in Non-Traditional Security Issues in Asia

While the QUAD and the recently announced AUKUS reflect converging security interests around the US, Asia is also an arena of middle power activism. Whether allied to the US or not, middle powers such as Australia, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam are conscious of securing manoeuvrability in the great power rivalry between US and China, and flexibility in their choices of cooperation partners in areas of economic development and non-traditional security issues. For Japan and South Korea that have similar economic and strategic interests in the region (as well as globally) the, supporting the coherence of ASEAN and supporting ASEAN centrality is important, if not critical. As part of their middle-power activism the two countries need to set aside disagreements over history and work together more in addressing non-traditional security issues together with their Southeast Asian partners. This roundtable discusses existing and potential issues and areas of Japan–Korea cooperation and coordination, as part of the Osaka School of International Public Policy’s IAFOR Research Centre project on “Peace and Human Security in Asia: Toward a Meaningful Japan–Korea Partnership”, supported by the Korea Foundation.

Speakers

- Haruko Satoh (Moderator)
- John Ciorciari, University of Michigan
- Brendan Howe, President of APISA and KISA
- Saya Kiba, Komatsu University
- Carmina Untalan, Osaka University

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