

Conservatives and Progressives in South Korea

A great deal of analysis on South Korean attitudes on international relations assumes two camps: conservatives and progressives. Conservatives are fundamentally defined by South Korea's adversarial relationship with North Korea and the U.S. role in ensuring South Korea's security. Consequently, they see the health and security of the nation predicated on cultivating a close partnership with the United States and vigilance against the ever-menacing threat from the North. Progressives, on the other hand, radically oppose that narrative, seeing the North more as a kin nation with which to be reconciled and the United States as a disruptive interloper. This prevailing portrait has had enormous influence in driving South Korea's political debates, shaping the course of presidential campaigns, providing a ready interpretation for the causes of anti-Americanism, and directing the discourse of East Asian foreign policy.

The current assumptions of this model have not been subject to the rigors of sophisticated statistical tools, such as cluster analysis, which uses complex algorithms to partition data into distinct camps.¹ The present study, the first to use cluster analysis to study the public's views on foreign policy, has revealed several significant findings with implications for South Korean foreign policy.

First, the conventional characterization of conservatives was found to be largely correct, although with some modifications. Second and most surprising, the progressive camp is much more complex and nuanced than the standard

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model allows. As will be shown, progressives are pragmatic and centrist. They support rapprochement with North Korea, but they are not oblivious to the threat posed by a North Korean nuclear weapons program. Progressives are wary of the United States, seeing their old ally as a potential spoiler of inter-Korean reconciliation, but they nevertheless continue to value the U.S.–South Korean military alliance greatly. This characterization represents a radical revision of the common depiction of progressives as uniformly anti-American and pro–North Korean.

The third finding is that South Korean society is not as polarized as is commonly assumed. The current popular view is that South Koreans are deeply and bitterly divided, a view perhaps reinforced by television images of vigorous and passionate public protests on both sides.² Yet, this study will show that progressives and conservatives in general are fairly closely bunched near the center, and even on those issues on which there are real ideological differences, the extent of the difference is not that severe.

The resulting portrait of the public is one of moderation. South Koreans are not as ideologically driven as currently assumed but are broadly governed by a pragmatic and realistic appraisal of South Korea's position in world affairs. There is a remarkable degree of coherence and consensus on the pressing foreign policy issues of the day. This overall revised picture of the two camps will have significant policy implications for how inter-Korean and U.S.–South Korean relations should be conducted.

The Current Model

The conservative-progressive split is a relatively new phenomenon in South Korea. During the country's military dictatorship and even during the initial years after the transition to democracy in 1987, there was no true competition among distinctive political viewpoints. Because of the ever-present and imminent threat that North Korea posed to postwar South Korea, only the stability of conservative ideology—anti–North Korean and pro-American—was considered legitimate, and thus it monopolized South Korean politics. The authoritarian government's suppression of the merest hint of a leftist ideology on national security grounds further reinforced this notion.

The 2002 election of President Roh Moo-hyun, who had pledged during his campaign not to kowtow to Washington, marked the end of the conservative monopoly and the ascendance of the progressives.³ Two events have been offered as an explanation for this remarkable transformation, according to the current model accepted by most political analysts. The first is the rise of the “386 Generation,” a term coined in the 1990s to describe those who were in their thirties at the time, attended college in the 1980s, and were born in the

1960s. The 386 Generation developed anti-American attitudes during their college-era pro-democracy struggles because they saw the United States as an unrelenting supporter of the South Korean military dictatorship. As this generation successfully entered mainstream politics in the 1990s, their views steadily gained popularity.⁴

The second event was the “Sunshine Policy.” During the 1990s, North Korea’s economy began to seriously falter as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and its decline was exacerbated by a series of devastating famines. In the late 1990s, the Kim Dae-jung administration began to argue that a new approach to North Korea was warranted. According to supporters of the policy, the end of the Cold War and the economic unraveling of North Korea had not cowed the North Korean regime as might have been hoped but instead had only accelerated the North’s nuclear arms development. The only way to deal with an insecure and destabilizing North Korea, the progressives argued, was to pursue the Sunshine Policy, a radically new approach of improving relations with the North through economic cooperation and aid. The resulting closer relationship would gradually lead to a peace regime in the Korean peninsula and to an eventual peaceful reunification.⁵

These new developments put the United States and North Korea in a new light. North Korea was now an impoverished and diplomatically isolated neighbor with little resemblance to its former image as a warmonger poised to pounce on a weaker South. The old argument that South Korea needed a strong protector therefore lost its potency.⁶ With North Korea greatly diminished, the *raison d’être* for the U.S.–South Korean military alliance ceased to exist. Moreover, the United States was cast as a rude disrupter of inter-Korean reconciliation as it appeared to recklessly pursue its own agenda against North Korea.

This prevailing narrative casts progressives as unalarmed by the military of North Korea and dismissive of U.S. security guarantees, whereas conservatives, a shrinking minority, were understood to be alone in their support of the U.S.–South Korean alliance and in their apprehension of the North Korean threat.

Progressives are not as uniformly anti-American and pro–North Korean as commonly assumed.

Surveying the Nation

The data for this study was collected from a nationwide face-to-face survey in Korean of 1,001 adult citizens 20 years of age or older conducted during March 8–28, 2007, by Gallup Korea on behalf of one of the authors.⁷ To obtain a representative sample, Gallup Korea used a multistage, stratified random

sampling method. South Korea was divided into 16 regions (seven metropolitan cities and nine provinces). A sample size from each region was determined in proportion to its population based on the 2005 Korean census.⁸

To assess South Korean attitudes on foreign relations, this study focused on three major areas of South Korean relations: North Korea, the United States, and neighboring countries other than North Korea. The first area of focus, inter-Korean relations, looked at three issues: the Sunshine Policy, the North Korean threat, and the National Security Law and North Korea's human rights violations. The second area, U.S.–South Korean relations, looked at perceptions of the United States in general and of the military alliance. The third area looked at South Korea's relations with neighbors China and Japan.⁹

Figure 1 represents a profile of the two clusters in which each cluster's means were calculated and plotted.¹⁰ The value 5 indicates a neutral response to the survey questions and serves as a reference line. Response values higher than 5 represent a favorable view of the subject in question, whether it is a country or a policy, while values lower than 5 represent an unfavorable one.

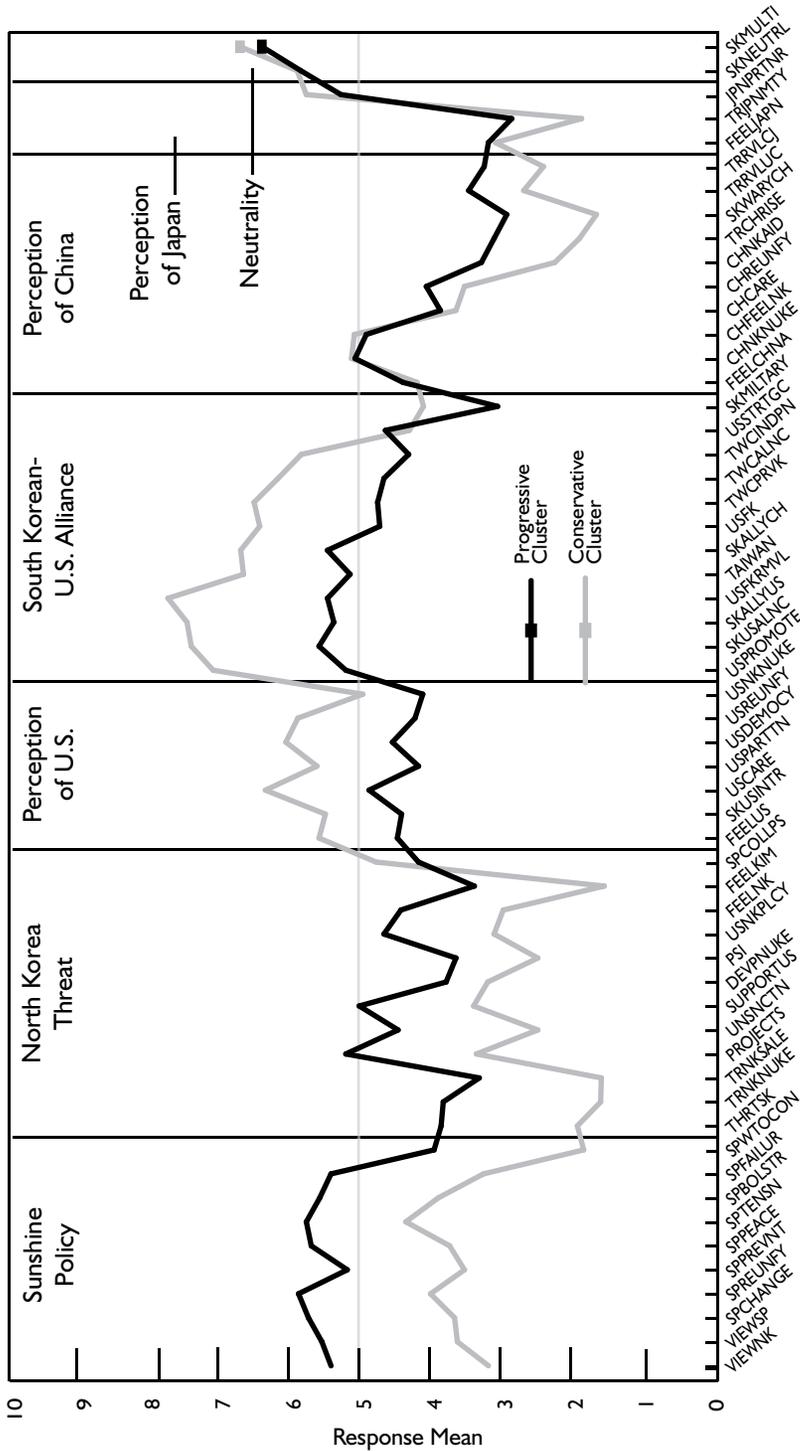
As figure 1 illustrates, a significant separation in mean values between the two clusters persists across most of the survey questions in the first two areas: South Korea's relations with North Korea and with the United States. On South Korea's relations with other countries, however, the two clusters move in near lockstep. In surprising concord, all respondents expressed deep apprehensions and suspicions toward China and Japan, while supporting a multilateral security system in Northeast Asia. In other words, South Koreans have a near consensus on the issues concerning countries other than North Korea and the United States. What separates South Koreans into two distinct camps is not foreign relations in general, but the issues of inter-Korean and U.S.–South Korean relations.

These two divergences serve as a basis for profiling the two clusters. According to the results, cluster 1 (black) has a more favorable view of North Korea than cluster 2 (gray) and a less favorable view of the United States. The resulting portrait for both clusters resembles what has long been assumed by analysts and Korea observers: two differing political groups exist in South Korea, one being generally pro–North Korean and anti-American (progressives, cluster 1), the other being generally anti–North Korean and pro-American (conservatives, cluster 2). A closer look at the data, however, reveals a more nuanced picture.

Inter-Korean Relations

Inter-Korean relations can be broken down into two main issues: engagement with North Korea (the Sunshine Policy) and North Korea's nuclear weapons threat. The most notable split between conservatives and progressives is com-

Figure I. Foreign Relations Profile of Clusters



monly understood to center on inter-Korean relations, with progressives feeling positive about the Sunshine Policy and downplaying the North Korean threat, while conservatives are more concerned about the nuclear program and less positive about the Sunshine Policy.

A near consensus of deep apprehensions and suspicions toward both China and Japan exists.

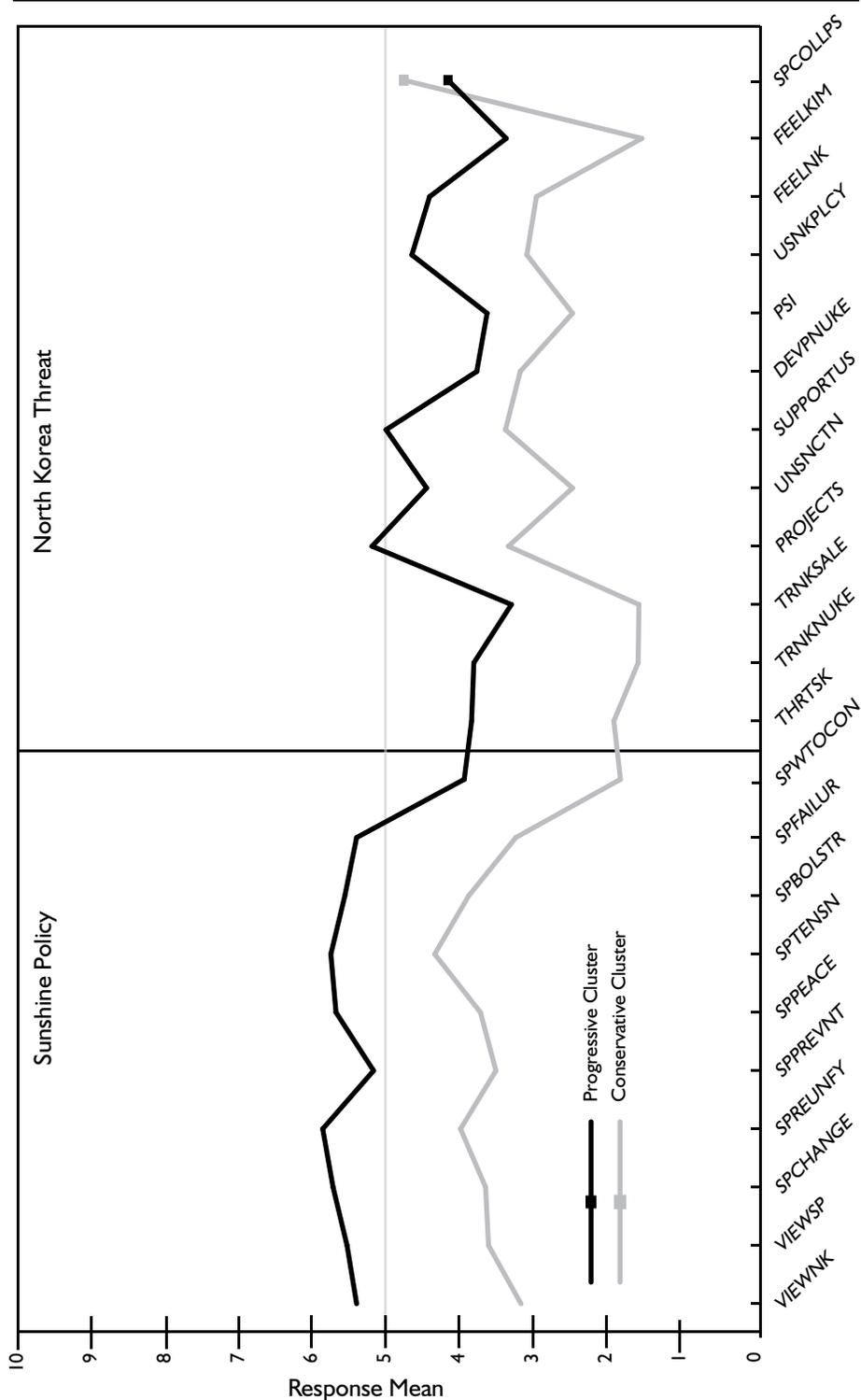
Figure 2 illustrates that the two clusters are differentiated on the issue of inter-Korean relations, with progressives, as expected, aligned more favorably toward North Korea. In particular, on questions regarding the Sunshine Policy, conservatives and progressives were situated on opposite sides of the reference line, with progressives in favor of the policy. Notably, however, this disparity of opinions was not strongly polarized. Conservative objection was not intense, and progressive support was tepid, indicating that the split between the two groups was relatively small and that both sides gravitated toward a middle position.

On the North Korean threat, however, the two clusters essentially agreed, which is a significant departure from the prevailing view. Both cluster mean lines run below the reference line, indicating that the North Korean threat distressed both groups. The difference between the groups is therefore only one of degree, with conservatives predictably more alarmed by the threat. In sum, the survey data shows that the South Korean public is only moderately divided on the issue of inter-Korean reconciliation, while it is loosely united on the issue of national security.

This profile of these two ideological groups becomes clearer with a closer look at the individual questions. Progressives found in North Korea a reliable partner in inter-Korean détente (VIEWNK) and believed that North Korea could be positively influenced through engagement (SPCHANGE). Conservatives, on the other hand, were skeptical on both accounts. Likewise, progressives and conservatives disagreed about whether the Sunshine Policy has led to a reduction of tension (SPTENSN) or can prevent the collapse of the North Korean regime (SPPREVNT) and whether it has bolstered the North Korean regime (SPBOLSTR). On these questions about the underlying assumptions and effectiveness of the Sunshine Policy, progressives and conservatives lined up on opposite sides of the fence.

Yet, the groups concurred on one aspect of the Sunshine Policy: the question of whether reciprocity should be expected from the North Korean authorities (SPWTOCON). The responses reveal that progressives and conservatives disagreed to varying degrees with the statement that the South Korean government should provide economic aid to North Korea without any precondi-

Figure 2. Inter-Korean Relations



tions. Although the two camps fundamentally clash on the premises behind the Sunshine Policy and the likelihood that positive change will result, they do essentially agree that the North should give something in return for the South's overtures. Despite agreement in this one area, however, the overall picture arising from this survey is that progressives and conservatives are indeed sharply divided on the policy, including over the basic question of whether the Sunshine Policy should be pursued at all (VIEWSP).

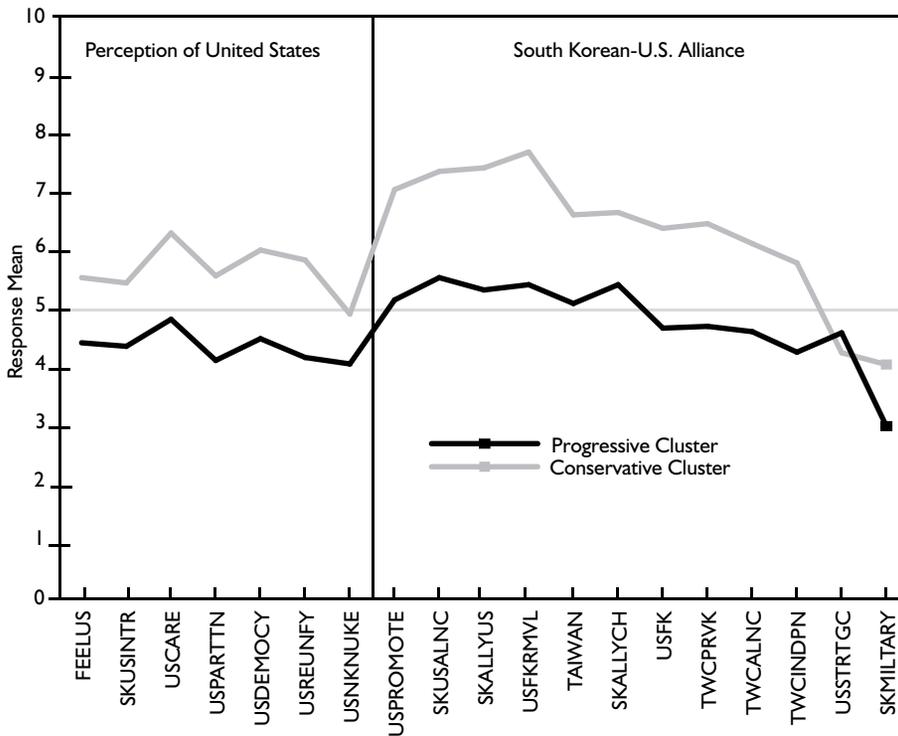
Conventional wisdom holds that this split persists on other critical inter-Korean issues, such as the assessment of the North Korean regime, the threat posed to South Korea, and the options for dealing with the threat. This survey's findings, however, show that progressives largely share the views of conservatives on these issues, again only varying in degree. Like the conservatives, they are keenly aware of the danger posed by the North Korean nuclear threat (THRTSK, TRNKNUKE, and TRNKSALE) and show a strong dislike of North Korea and its leadership (FEELNK and FEELKIM). Furthermore and again contrary to the prevailing portrait, progressives do not strongly object to South Korea's forceful measures to censure North Korea for the continued development of its nuclear program (PROJECTS, UNSNCTN, SUPPORTUS, PSI, and USNKPLCY). In fact, progressives go so far as to join conservatives in their support of the development of South Korea's own nuclear weapons to counter the North Korean threat (DEVPNUKE). This finding flatly contradicts the widely held view that progressive support of engagement goes hand in hand with downplaying the military threat posed by the North. Lastly, as a side note, both camps agree that regime collapse in the North would be disastrous and lead to chaos on the Korean peninsula and thus should be prevented (SPCOLLPS).

The more nuanced picture reveals that progressives distinguish inter-Korean reconciliation (Sunshine Policy) from national security (North Korean threat). Progressives support national reconciliation between the two Koreas but take conservative positions on issues related to national security. The fact that progressives are able to parse the complexities of inter-Korean relations has implications for their views on South Korea's relations with the United States.

South Korean–U.S. Relations

Another area of supposed disagreement between conservatives and progressives is South Korea's relations with the United States. Generally, conservatives are described as staunchly pro-American while progressives are anti-American. As was the case with popular views toward the public's perception of North Korea, this characterization is overly simplistic and misleading in several ways.

Figure 3. South Korean-U.S. Relations



First, the characterization that conservatives are uniformly pro-American needs some minor but significant revision. As figure 3 shows, conservatives are reliable supporters of the United States. When it comes to the specific issue of South Korean armed forces, however, conservatives adopt the position more closely associated with the progressives that the military should move toward greater independence from the United States (SKMILITARY). Support for the alliance with the United States and support for a stronger, more self-reliant Korean military thus are not mutually exclusive. An interesting corollary is that conservatives, much like progressives, are also opposed to the deployment of U.S. troops outside of the Korean peninsula (USSTRTGC). It appears that the argument made by the United States that flexibility in troop strength would not diminish South Korea’s security and would promote vital U.S. interests has not persuaded pro-American conservatives. Conservatives, although pro-American, are nationalists first.

Second, the survey data reveal that progressive attitudes are also more complex than previously thought. Figure 3 confirms that progressives are anti-American, holding that South Korea and the United States have divergent interests in dealing with North Korea (SKUSINTR) and that the United States does not take South Korean interests into consideration significantly

when dealing with North Korea (USCARE). They also hold that the United States was responsible for the partition of the two Koreas (USPARTN), was a hindrance to democratic development in South Korea (USDEMOCY), and presently is an obstacle to reunification hopes (USREUNFY). Obviously, this assessment of the United States is fairly negative, consistent with the prevailing model on what progressives believe.

On questions related to the South Korean–U.S. alliance, however, progressives depart from their perceived role. Progressives believe that the U.S. troop presence in South Korea has led to economic prosperity for their nation

(USPROMOTE). They believe in strengthening the alliance and oppose a precipitous withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea (SKUSALNC, SKALLYUS, USFKRMVL). In general and in a hypothetical situation in which conflict breaks out between the United States and China over the Taiwan Strait, progressives hold that South Korea should not waver in its alliance with the United States in exchange for closer ties with China (TAI-

WAN and SKALLYCH). The paradoxical conclusion is that progressives, while censuring U.S. activity in the Korean peninsula, still value the alliance with the United States.

Although progressives value the alliance, they have mixed feelings toward it. Progressives view North Korea with ambivalence, both as a kin nation with which to be reconciled and as a mortal threat to be constrained. The South Korean–U.S. alliance is critical to both of these impulses. From one perspective, progressives believe that U.S. forces in Korea (USFK) are an obstacle to peacefully engaging with North Korea. At the same time, however, progressives are mindful that the alliance has staved off North Korea aggression. Alliance with the United States, then, occupies the rather complex position of being simultaneously the chief obstacle to inter-Korean reconciliation and the chief guardian of South Korea's security.

Although progressives and conservatives embrace the South Korean–U.S. alliance, they disagree on how it should be structured. In February 2007, Seoul and Washington signed a bilateral agreement that will transfer operational control of the South Korean military to the South Korean government in 2012. (The United States has maintained command authority over U.S. and South Korean forces since the Korean War.) Progressives endorse this change in leadership as an enhancement of national autonomy, believing it will be done without diminishing the deterrent value or adversely affecting U.S. com-

The idea that conservatives are uniformly pro-American needs some minor but significant revision.

mitments to South Korea (TWCINDPN, TWCALNC, and TWCPROVK). Progressives want the alliance but on their own terms. Conservatives, on the other hand, oppose any change to the command structure, believing it would weaken the alliance and encourage North Korean aggression. For conservatives, the alliance and U.S. leadership in it go hand in hand, and one cannot be rejected without the other.

What emerges from the survey data is a complex picture. There exists a clear-cut ideological split on views of the United States, but the political camps converge on the South Korean–U.S. alliance, agreeing that the alliance is of critical importance because of a still-dangerous North. Yet, the two camps see the alliance in different ways. For progressives, the alliance should accommodate movement toward inter-Korean reconciliation; for conservatives, security is preeminent, and thus no one should tamper with the alliance.

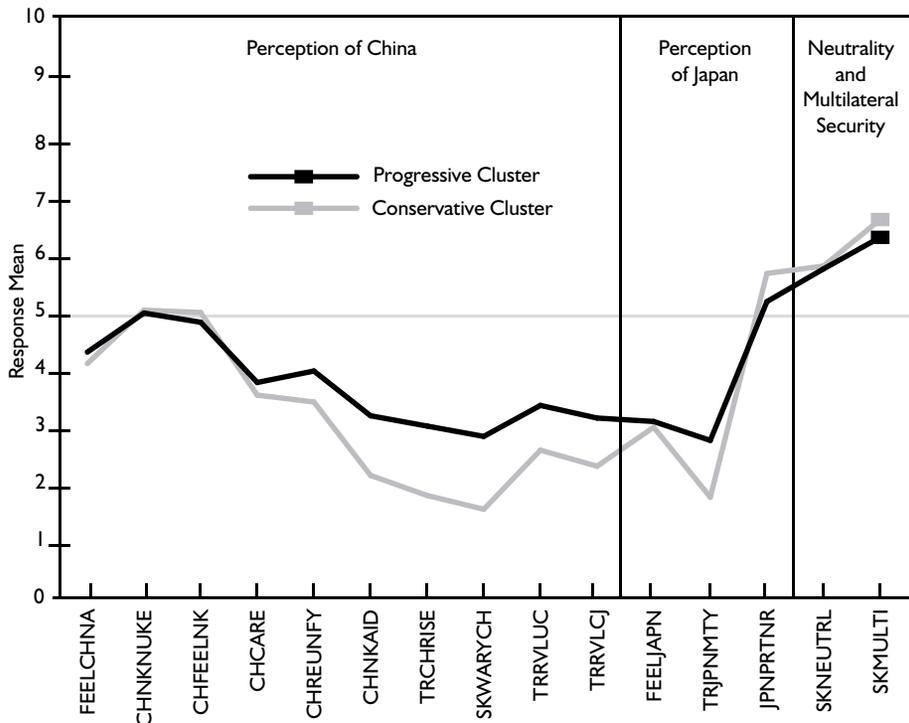
Nevertheless, both sides essentially agree that the alliance is valuable to South Korea's national interests. This pragmatic approach from the progressive camp is a major finding because many analysts in South Korea and the United States have expressed the concern that the alliance may become increasingly tenuous due to widespread and growing anti-American sentiment. This study shows that anti-American sentiments do not contradict but rather coexist with a general support for the alliance.

South Korea's Relations with Neighboring Countries

There is no essential difference between progressives and conservatives on relations with China and Japan, as figure 4 vividly demonstrates. When asked to rate their feelings toward China, progressives and conservatives answered in the negative with nearly the same intensity (FEELCHNA). The same result was seen with Japan, the responses being much more negative (FEELJAPN). This concord is all the more remarkable when juxtaposed with how the United States elicited opposite responses from the two camps.

Consider in particular how China compared with the United States. When asked to what extent respondents thought China took South Korea's interests into account when acting on North Korea, both clusters registered nearly the same unfavorable value (CHCARE). Yet, the same question about the United States elicited opposite opinions from the two clusters. Even among progressives, who generally held that both China and the United States neglect the welfare of South Korea, China was thought to be more remiss. On the issue of whether China is an asset or an obstacle to the reunification of the two Koreas, both groups again gave very similar ratings perceiving China as an obstacle (CHREUNFY). On the other hand, the same question about the United States elicited opposite responses (USREUNFY). The conclusion is that China

Figure 4. South Korean Relations with Neighboring Countries



is negatively viewed across the South Korean political spectrum, whereas the United States is a dividing factor between the two clusters.

Figure 4 also reveals that South Koreans are deeply apprehensive about the new developments in the Asia-Pacific area. They feel threatened by the prospect of China's rise as a global superpower (TRCHRISE) and the expansion of Japan's military power (TRJPNMTY). These developments could result in a rivalry between the two countries, and South Koreans registered acute awareness of the threat posed to their national interests (TRRVLJCJ). They feel equally threatened by the potential rivalry between China and the United States, in which South Korea might be forced to choose sides (TRRVLUC). Should armed conflict break out as a result in either case, both progressives and conservatives support the idea of South Korean neutrality (SKNEUTRL). Moreover, both camps also support the idea of moving from the current, exclusive alliance that South Korea has with the United States to a multilateral security regime in Northeast Asia that includes China, Japan, Russia, and the United States (SKMULTI). Lastly, both camps agree Japan is an important country with whom South Korea should further its cooperation in order to enhance the security of both nations (JPNPRTNR).

Additional Evidence

Up to this point, cluster characteristics were defined in terms of the cluster profiles depicted in figure 1. This section discusses other survey questions that had nominal scales, requiring respondents to choose between alternatives while not allowing the strength or conviction of their answers to be measured, and thus were not included in the previous discussion.

CHINA IS NOT AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES

Figure 5 is based on a survey question that asked respondents whether South Korea should maintain closer ties with the United States or China for the sake of national interest. An overwhelming majority, 90 percent of conservatives and 74 percent of progressives, chose the United States. This finding suggests that, for South Koreans, China is not a competitive alternative to the United States at the moment. This result may be explained by the wariness of China displayed in figure 4. The expressed preference for the United States contradicts the pervasive belief of an increasing public tilt toward China either as a result of or in tandem with growing anti-Americanism.

Figure 6 further confirms the relative insignificance of China to South Korea's national interests. Respondents were asked with whom South Korea should most cooperate if faced with the crisis of the sudden collapse of the

Figure 5. United States or China

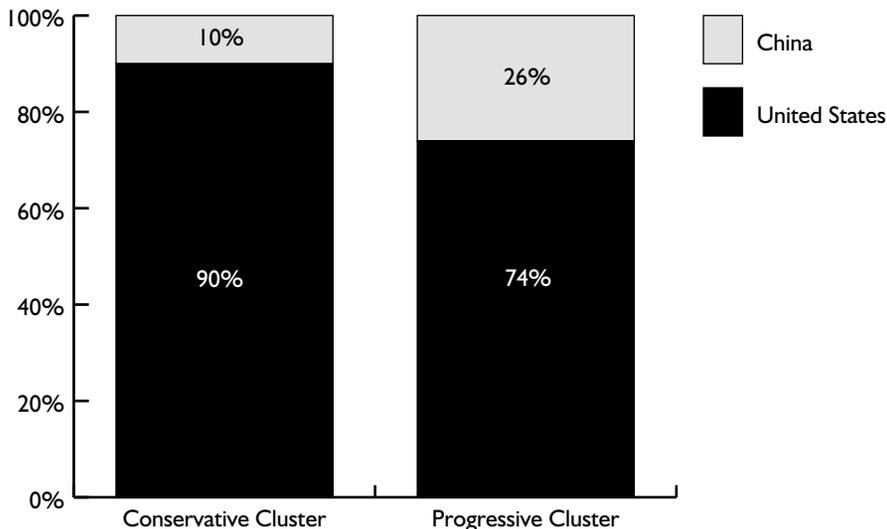
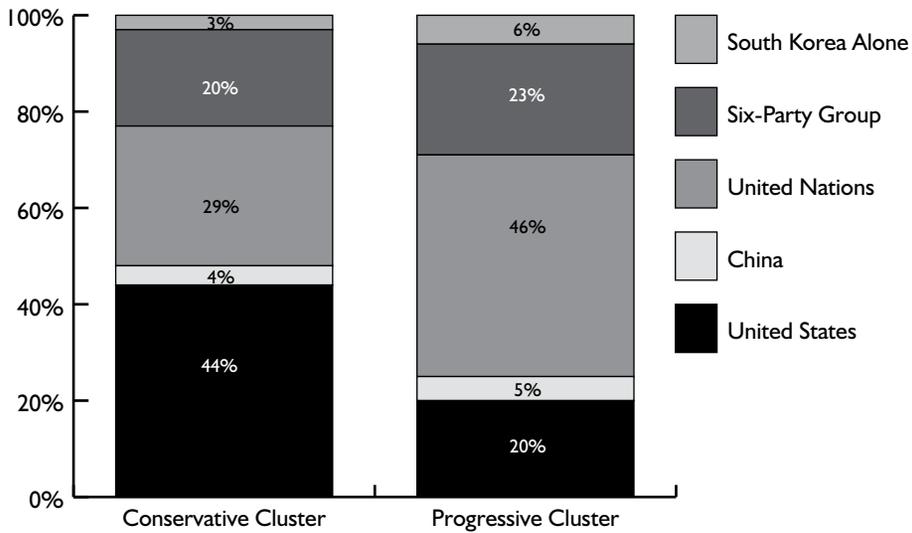


Figure 6. North Korean Collapse

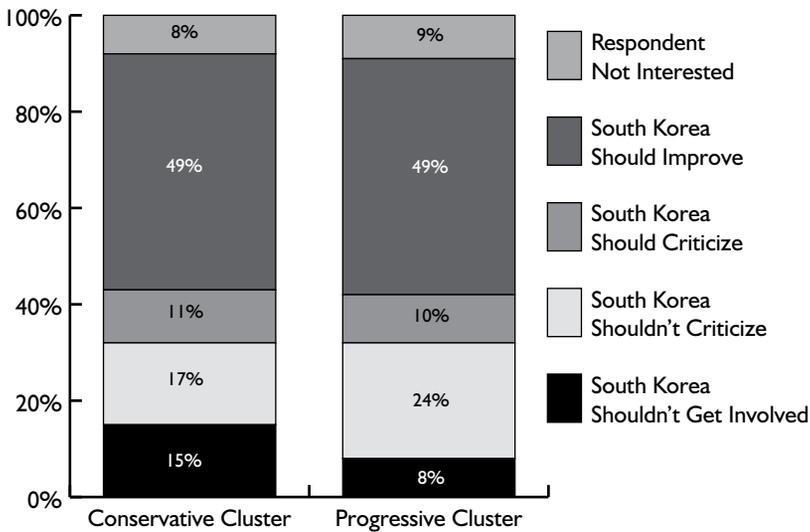
North Korean regime. Only a tiny minority, 4 percent of conservatives and 5 percent of progressives, chose China over other countries and international bodies. Consistent with their pro-American image, a plurality of conservatives (44 percent) chose the United States, while a plurality of progressives (46 percent) chose the United Nations. A large majority of progressives (69 percent) chose an international entity, whether the UN or the six-party talks group (23 percent), over any single nation.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY LAW

The National Security Law is considered one of the most contentious topics on which progressives and conservatives sharply disagree. The law, which was initially passed in 1948 but has gone through many revisions, makes it a crime to engage in actions that abet or show sympathy toward North Korea. Progressives generally see the law as an outdated holdover from the Cold War that no longer reflects the changing dynamic between the South and the North. Conservatives, on the other hand, see that law as a matter of national security, a bulwark against North Korean encroachment and an inhibitor of South Koreans who would cast North Korea in a favorable light. It is commonly believed that progressives want the law flatly repealed while conservatives support the law as is.

The results of a survey question that asked respondents whether they preferred to repeal, revise, or retain the National Security Law yielded startling

Figure 7. North Korean Human Rights



contradictions to what is commonly believed. The vast majority (72 percent) of progressives favor revision, not repeal, of the law. Among progressives, those who want the law repealed completely constitute only a small minority (14 percent). Consistent with the centrist image of the progressive cluster revealed in figures 1 through 4, this finding demonstrates that progressives are much more moderate than assumed. Similarly, conservatives also exhibit a centrist tilt. About one-half of conservatives (45 percent) favor retention of the law as is, but the other half (51 percent) favor revision. The National Security Law is therefore not as profoundly polarizing as the prevailing account held. As the data show, there is a large amount of common ground between the two groups.

NORTH KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS

Another issue commonly believed to be polarizing is North Korea’s record on human rights. Progressives are depicted as intentionally overlooking this more unsavory aspect of the North Korean regime, while conservatives are supposedly alone in the gravity of their concerns. Figure 7 is based on a survey question that asked respondents what position the South Korean government should take with respect to the human rights problem in North Korea. Our findings show striking congruity between the two camps, making this question a nonissue as a critical distinction.

Reconciling Lee's Election

At first blush, the December 2007 election of conservative President Lee Myung-bak, with 49 percent of the vote, presents a dilemma for the survey data—only 36 percent of South Koreans surveyed are conservative while 64 percent are progressive. How did a conservative win? One possibility is simply to consider that the election was generally considered a referendum on the economy, not foreign policy, thus accounting for Lee capturing a good share of the progressive vote.¹¹ The previous, progressive administration's handling of the economy undoubtedly put its candidates at a serious disadvantage.

There is another way to read the results: Lee as the only major candidate who advocated a foreign policy in line with the majority of all South Koreans. Lee's party, the Grand National Party (GNP), has traditionally been staunchly pro-American, anti-North Korean, and highly critical of the Sunshine Policy, a conservative formula that has fared poorly at the polls. Lee has strategically repositioned his party toward a more centrist and moderate stance. In February 2007, he announced that he supported engagement with North Korea and the provision of economic aid. Unlike the previous administration, however, Lee made his support for the Sunshine Policy contingent on North Korea dismantling their nuclear weapons program; at the same time, he prioritized strengthening the South Korean-U.S. alliance.¹² Although his embrace of the Sunshine Policy was a sharp departure from his party's traditional hard-line position, it was also a rebuke of progressive policymakers who did not ask North Korea to reciprocate the South's friendly gestures. In effect, according to the survey data, Lee shrewdly realigned the GNP to be in sync with the foreign policy favored by most South Koreans.

Lee's popularity is all the more reasonable when the other two major candidates are considered. Lee Hoi-chang, provoked by the GNP's redirection, bolted from the party and ran as an independent, promising a hard-line North Korea policy. Chung Dong-young, on the other hand, as the major progressive candidate, pledged to continue the Sunshine Policy but without the conditions demanded by Lee Myung-bak. According to the survey data, both candidates were out of step with the majority of voters. Lee Myung-bak's win with a foreign policy similar to the broad consensus outlined in this paper serves as a real-world confirmation of the survey data.

Finding Common Ground in South Korea

The commonly accepted model of South Korea's political landscape depicts society as bitterly divided between two irreconcilable schools of thought on South Korea's place in international affairs: one advocating alignment with

the United States against North Korea (conservatives) and the other sympathetic with North Korea and against the United States (progressives). Policymakers are confronted with these two contradictory agendas, forced to pick one side and alienate the other. This situation is a false choice that offers little in the way of intelligent guidance.

The major contribution of the present study is to clear the air with statistical analysis based on sound empirical data. Yet, the analysis, the first of its kind, was based only on a snapshot survey. To get a longer-term understanding of South Korean progressives and conservatives on foreign policy, this study needs to be repeated longitudinally over time. Yet, even based on these initial results, policymakers now have the beginnings of a map from the public on how to navigate the treacherous road ahead. Based on these findings, there seems to be broad consensus on four main issues.

First, South Korea should uphold the principle of reciprocity in its pursuit of the Sunshine Policy. The public takes a moderate position on engagement, neither enthusiastically supporting nor intensely objecting to it. On balance, the public supports continuing the policy, but cautious implementation seems appropriate here.

Second, South Korea should be firm about demanding that North Korea implement the February 13 agreement to dismantle its nuclear program. If North Korea does not follow through, the South Korean government should be prepared to pursue more aggressive options. Policymakers should take heed that South Koreans believe this issue is a matter of their own national security and therefore show little tolerance for North Korea's rebuffs.

Third, South Korea should cultivate its alliance with the United States. Regardless of political orientation, the public supports maintaining the alliance. Counterintuitive though it may seem, strong anti-American sentiments should not be interpreted as a demand to terminate or weaken the alliance. Progressives are able to sustain both a negative view of the United States and a positive view of the alliance. For many progressives, the U.S. military presence is a necessary evil.

Fourth, South Korea should pursue a strong, self-reliant military. With the ominous prospect of China's rise and Japan's remilitarization on top of contending with North Korea's nuclear menace, South Koreans are united in their support for a military equal to these threats.

Overall, this research reveals two groups in South Korean politics who are, contrary to expectations, pragmatic and centrist and who share a great

Anti-American sentiments coexist with general support for the alliance among progressives.

deal of common ground on issues related to national security. Where they have real disagreements, on engagement with North Korea and on attitudes toward the United States, the breach is not insurmountable, with much space for compromise.

Notes

1. Cluster analysis is a set of statistical techniques that group objects into homogeneous categories on the basis of their similarities. This statistical tool discovers meaningful structures within the data set that would otherwise remain hidden. For further discussion of cluster analysis, see Maurice Lorr, *Cluster Analysis for Social Scientists* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1983), pp. 1–6; Darren George and Paul Mallery, *SPSS for Windows Step by Step* (Boston: Pearson Education, 2006), pp. 261–276; “Cluster Analysis,” Statsoft, <http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/stcluan.html>.
2. Chaibong Hahm, “The Two South Koreas: A House Divided,” *The Washington Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 57.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
4. Sunhyuk Kim and Wonhyuk Lim, “How to Deal With South Korea,” *The Washington Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (Winter 2007–08): 74–75; Hahm, “Two South Koreas,” p. 63.
5. Hahm, “Two South Koreas,” pp. 64–65; Kim and Lim, “How to Deal With South Korea,” pp. 75–78; Myongsob Kim, Suzanne L. Parker, and Jun Young Choi, “Increasing Distrust of the USA in South Korea,” *International Political Science Review* 27, no. 4 (October 2006): 432–433.
6. Kim and Lim, “How to Deal With South Korea,” p. 76.
7. Out of 1,001 respondents, only respondents who had complete data for all of the questions were included in the analysis. As a result, 16 respondents whose data was incomplete were excluded from analysis, leaving 985. For the purposes of this study, the number of clusters was set at two. The resultant cluster 1 comprised 64 percent of the population, with cluster 2 the other 36 percent. The mean resultant age for cluster 1 was 39, with 27 percent born prior to 1960; for cluster 2, it was 47, with 51 percent born prior to 1960.
8. The sampling error is ± 3.1 percent with a 95 percent confidence level.
9. Because cluster analysis uses variables (the responses by survey participants) as the criteria for grouping, the variables must be comparable. The response scale for most of the survey questions were on a continuous scale, but some were on a nominal scale. Thus, this study used a two-step cluster analysis procedure integrating both types of survey questions. Among the survey questions with a continuous scale, most use an 11-point scale, but some use a 4- or 5-point scale. To eliminate problems associated with using different response scales, all variables were standardized internally by the SPSS computer analysis program. Through such standardization, each survey question was equally weighted. See Richard D. De Veaux and Paul F. Velleman, *Intro Stats* (Boston: Pearson, 2004), pp. 82–83. See also John A. Fleishman, “Types of Political Attitude Structure: Results of a Cluster Analysis,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 374.
10. All of the survey questions included in figure 1 used a continuous scale. For the full list of survey questions, see appendix at <http://www.bw.edu/academics/pol/faculty/Chae/appendix.pdf>. Most of the survey questions range from zero to 10, with a midpoint of 5. Survey questions with a 4- or 5-point scale were rescaled so that all the questions

used in this graph have the same 11-point scale (0–10). For easy comparison, we linearly transform questions whose endpoint values are different, A and B respectively, to the same scale by using: $y = mx + b$, where $m = 10/(B - A)$ and $b = -mA$. This mapping preserves the shape of the histogram representing the respondent's answers while mapping the endpoints and midpoint to 10, 0, and 5, respectively.

11. Norimitsu Onishi, "Election in South Korea Is Missing Its Suspense," *New York Times*, December 17, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/17/world/asia/17korea.html?ex=1355634000&en=2a3bd95f71f82679&ei=5124&partner=permalink&expd=permalink>.
12. Lee Joo-hee, "Lee Champions Realist, Pragmatic Approach to N.K.," *Korea Herald*, December 21, 2007.

