

The Present and Future of Americanization in South Korea

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Abstract

This paper examines the historical origins and current processes of both pro- and anti-Americanism in South Korea, where Americanization is associated with Koreans' wealth and security in the era of globalization. However, it is suggested here that South Korea should explore alternatives to Americanization by considering a range of alternative futures for Korean society. The future is always changing, so South Korea has to carefully observe current situations and continuously redesign their vision of the future by considering four alternatives to Americanization rather than subscribing to only one dominant vision.

Keywords: Americanization, anti-Americanism, patriarchal society, South Korea, alternatives, globalization, English

Introduction

South Korea has done nothing to curb Americanization since the 1950s, and in an era of globalization, Korean society is becoming more influenced by the United States in terms of economic, political, and psychological realms. However, anti-Americanism has been recently growing rapidly there. The reactions to Americanization reflect changes of Koreans' consciousness about wealth and security. This paper examines the origins and processes of both pro- and anti-Americanism in Korea and forecasts possible alternatives appropriate for strengthening Korea's future security and wealth.

The first part of this paper discusses how Americanization occurred in South Korea and how it has become Americanized through 1) the number of US-educated Ph.D.s in universities and government, 2) the propensity to adopt American lifestyles, and 3) the high market shares of American movies and television programming. These three categories represent knowledge, life, and playfulness – in short, culture. Results of the examination in the three categories are astounding, because South Korea is deeply influenced by Americans. Even though Korea was decolonized from Japan in 1945, Korea now seems to be colonized by the US in economic, political, and cultural realms. As

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) points out, colonialism is involved in two processes: "the undervaluing of a people's culture" and "the conscious elevation of the language of the colonizer" (p.16). In this sense, we can see how Koreans internalize US values and how they undervalue Korean uniqueness in terms of beauty and body.

In contrast, in the second part of this paper, we explore the origin of anti-Americanism in Korea. This negative phenomenon consists of two different elements: anti-American ideology and anti-American sentiment. The former ideology comes from a "theory of evil U.S. imperialism" while the latter results from a wariness of US super powers (Kim, 1994, p.208). Through identifying the origin of anti-Americanism, we can find that Koreans recently attempt "to steer a more independent course in foreign policy vis-à-vis the United States" (Hahm, 2005, p.58). This attempt reflects how Koreans change their minds about national security and economic growth. Besides the two elements, the second section points out that it is undeniable that the anti-Americanism has been used in intentionally avoiding Koreans' patriarchal and authoritarian characteristics.

However, the changes confuse Koreans in creating novel alternatives that go beyond controversies between pro-Americanism and anti-Americanism. Why do Koreans need the new ways? Americanization in South Korea is a clear strategy for wealth and security while anti-Americanism is not a strategy but a reaction to Americanization. However, the strategy of Americanization is coming into question in South Korea because for instance, the US-led globalization, which is based on neo-liberalism¹, is being collapsed by the US' current financial crisis that resulted from sub-prime mortgage loans. The US financial crisis seems to be disconnected with Americanization in South Korea. However, if we consider that Americanization is "a homogenizing process as American cultures, orchestrated with capitalist consumerism" in accordance with cultural imperialism (Kim, 2000, p.83), the US financial crisis is a crisis of Americans' conspicuous consumerism. It is worth noting that Karl Polanyi (2001) argues that "A market economy can exist only in a market society," which must comprises "all elements of industry, including labor, land, and money" (p.74). Therefore, the US financial crisis is not only a financial crisis, but also a societal crisis, which negatively affects Koreans' thoughts on Americanization.

South Korea is ripe for new models of the future not only because the Korean-made Americanization is now discredited, but also because few Koreans have a passion for envisioning the future. To better envision new ways for Koreans to survive US-led globalization, the next three parts apply relevant methodologies in Futures Studies: timing the future; deepening the future; and creating alternatives (Inayatullah, 2008). In a timing methodology, historical facts are used for identifying patterns explaining why Korea worships the powerful. This section also covers likely reasons why Korea is Americanized within the global context. In a deepening methodology, causal layered analysis (CLA)² is applied to examine the correlation between the Americanization and Korean survival. CLA enables us to deeply look into the Korean understanding of Americanization. Finally, in creating alternatives, we attempt to broaden the future of Americanization by forecasting four scenarios.³

Major findings

While the focus of this paper is to envision alternatives to Americanization of Korean society, we must first examine historical continuities that have fostered this tendency. The continuities are related to certain images, such as globalization and economic growth. Koreans' knowledge of the English language is key in linking Americanization with globalization. Koreans think of English language ability as the most important element to promote careers. Hagen Koo (2007) has examined how globalization affects South Korean's social life in terms of work, consumption, and education for more than 10 years, arguing that "[t]he most obvious way globalization affects the Korean educational process is through the increasing emphasis on the English language... English is especially important for obtaining sought-after jobs in Korean conglomerate firms like Samsung, Hyundai, and LG, as well as high-paying jobs in transnational companies" (p.13). Those seeking personal economic advancement, therefore, tend to internalize American values by learning English, and Korean students generally prefer the United States as a place to learn the skill. But acquiring proficiency in any foreign language constitutes much more than speaking and writing ability. It internalizes the cultural values that the language shapes, and, in this sense, many Korean students are internalizing US cultural values.

The origin and expansion of Americanization in South Korea:

The Korean War in the middle of 20th Century destroyed Korean society. In the 1960s, South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world. For example, "[i]n 1965, South Korea had a per capita income of \$81, with 85 percent of its population living in rural area(s) in abject poverty" (Hahm, 2005, p.58). To overcome this devastation and rebuild Korean society, South Korea needed not only US material support, but also a new perspective for creating society. The US was also interested in South Korea's rebuilding in terms of spreading US modernization theory into the Third World. According to Il-Joon Chung (2005), after World War II, American intellectuals shared a conviction that the Third World would be transformed and set on a new and better historical course through the dissemination of modernization theory. In the context of American concern about the appeal of communism in the decolonizing and developing world, modernization theorists in the US sought to counter Marxist-Leninist arguments with their own model of historical development. Therefore, the US government strongly encouraged Korean intellectuals to study the modernization theory in America. These US policies marked the beginning of extensive Americanization in South Korea.

Now, we turn to a present situation of Americanization in terms of how Korean intellectuals are Americanized. According to Congressman Soon-Young Choi's 2007 data, among 12,912 of Korean Ph.D. holders who earned doctoral degrees from foreign countries from 2002 to 2007, 52.8% (6,819) were from US universities.⁴ This data also shows that 58% have the US doctoral degrees among tenure track Professors who were employed at Korean universities from 2000 to 2007. Choi points out that Korean society values school ties as an integral element in obtaining a job, and Korean society particularly values US school ties more than others.

However, these data alone do not show why Korean intellectuals prefer the US degree and how they affect Korean society. To investigate this, we should look into how many US doctoral degree holders are employed at top Korean universities. As of 2005, 50.5% of Professors at Seoul National University got PhDs from the US. Among foreign doctoral degree holders there, 81.1% earned PhDs from the US,⁵ and the figure has been increasing annually. For example, in 2002, 79.4% of Professors at this University held doctoral degrees from the US. Similarly, among foreign PhD holders at Yonsei University, 81% obtained doctoral degrees from the US; 82% at Ewha Women' University; and 75.7% at Hanyang University.⁶ In contrast, only 3.3% of Tokyo National University's faculty got PhDs from the US.⁷ As mentioned above, this trend results from socially valued school ties. The data support a conclusion that Korean universities like to employ tenure track Professors who got US degrees. Thus, students who want to be a Professor will overwhelmingly go to US universities. According to US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), as of 2006, there are 93,728 Korean students in the US, the majority of total international students in the US.⁸ Evidence supports that Americanized Korean intellectuals occupy not only sought-after jobs at universities, but also they continue to do so as evidenced in the number of Korean students seeking US academic degrees.

Researchers at National Institutes are no exception in this trend of Americanization. For example, as of 2007, among twelve presidents who served for the Korea Development Institute (KDI), eleven hold PhDs from the US and one holds an MA from the US. Of seventy-two PhD holders at KDI, seventy (97%) received their degrees from the US.⁹ Importantly, the US degree can be seen not only as a vehicle for promotion but also as one that suppresses intellectuals who do not have US degrees. One of the researchers in the KDI confessed to a journalist that he doubts that he will be promoted because he does not have a US-conferred doctoral degree. Considering that KDI is the most influential institution for setting national agendas, we can see how competent intellectuals lean on the US.

In order to examine how bureaucrats in Korean government depend on the American model of education, we focus on how many Ministers of the Department of Education, where policies that shape the young generations' minds, hold US degrees. The modern Korean government launched in 1948, after the end of Japanese colonial rule on the Korean peninsula in 1945. From 1948 to 2001, the Department of Education had forty-two Ministers. Among them, twenty-one Ministers held US academic degrees, of which eleven were PhDs; five were MAs; one was a BA.¹⁰ During 1948 to 1968, those Ministers held more higher education degrees from Japan than from the US, because Korea was ruled by Japan from 1910 to 1945. Most intellectuals were forced to be educated in the Japanese educational system. However, if one looks into Ministers' resumes during 1968 to 2001, 71% held US degrees.¹¹ Roughly, citizens who are under 50 years old in Korea have been raised in the educational policies that "American-influenced"¹² thinkers have made.

As American-influenced thinkers dominate Korean society, Koreans are following American lifestyles to internalize US values. They are watching US television series such as *Sex and the City* and are eating a New York brunch on Sunday morning. In 2007, the *New York Times* depicts Korean people as the following:

When she returned to Seoul in 2000 after 10 years in New York City, Park Su-ji introduced her fellow South Koreans to an exotic way to socialize over food: brunch. In the spring of 2005 she opened Suji's, which serves toasted bagels and blueberry pancakes, among other brunch staples, in a setting that features black-and-white photographs of the Chrysler Building and Union Square in New York. Two years later, scores of restaurants in Seoul offer or even specialize in brunch – and they are filled with South Koreans... On a recent Sunday, Ms. Han, 29, was catching up with three other single women at a corner table at Suji's. "I feel like a New Yorker, like the characters of 'Sex and the City' " said Ms. Han.¹³

More Koreans including the want-to-be-New Yorkers are watching US movies and television series. According to the Korean Film Council, from January to October 2008, 41.2% of movie goers saw Korean films while 50.7% saw US films. In comparison, 3.3% of movie goers saw Chinese films; 3.3% saw European films; 1.3% saw Japanese films.¹⁴ Thus, among foreign films, US movies have been an overwhelming majority. In addition to US movies, US television series are also catching Koreans' eyes more than before. For example, *Lost*, *Desperate Housewives*, *CSI*, *24*, and *American Idol* are very popular among Korean audiences, so prices of those series' copyrights in 2007 went up two or three times compared to prices in 2006.¹⁵ It is worth noting that according to Warren I. Cohen (2002), "for much of East Asia, globalization has a distinctly American flavor; that for many Asians, the United States is perceived as the center of the world... when Asian peoples freely chose elements of American culture that they perceived as improvements over what their native cultures offered" (p.4). Taking all of this into account, Koreans prefer US cultural materials.

As Frantz Fanon (1967) points out that blacks regard themselves as inferior to whites because of "the outcome of a double process: primarily, economic; subsequently, the internalization... of this inferiority," (p.11) Koreans' excessive preferences for US values lead Korean people to devalue their culture, especially their bodies. For example, a psychiatrist Ryu In-Kyun examined how many Korean college girls received cosmetic surgery in 2007. As a result, 52.5% received cosmetic surgery and 82.1% wanted to receive cosmetic surgery.¹⁶ In regard to this remarkable desire, Jung Joo-Won (2006) points out that Korean society stirs up "lookism" in imposing a belief that social success depends on external features. How do college girls want to change their faces? The answer is into "Western," "modern," and "intellectual" faces (p.95). Furthermore, some Korean parents let their kids receive tongue operations in order for the kids to speak English fluently,¹⁷ and a hospital recently published an article that endorsed the operation of a lantern-jaw that would help people pronounce the English "s" sound.¹⁸ In this sense, we can conclude that Koreans destroy or undervalue their culture and elevate English.

The reaction to Americanization: anti-Americanism

This section attempts to identify what is attempting to break the tendency of Americanization: anti-Americanism. The phenomenon is global; in general, non-Americans do not like American-style materialism, imperialism, and militarism. As US power has strengthened since the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989, anti-Americanism has spread and intensified.

Until the 1970s, there was no public anti-Americanism movement in Korea (Kim, 1994; Lee, 2004). But, in 1980, a military government's massacre marked the beginning of widespread anti-Americanism. After a military dictator Park Jung-Hee was assassinated by one of his men in 1979, another general, Chun Doo-Hwan, occupied political power in 1980 and killed thousands of innocent civilians in Gwang-Joo city, a southern part of Korea, because those civilians protested against Chun's regime. At that time, university students were the counterforce of Chun's regime and raised the political question: why did the US not stop the brutal military government from killing the people? Besides the fact that the US did not do anything other than looking on as a spectator, one year after the massacre, Reagan's government officially invited President Chun to the US and promised more economic supports to Chun's government. Thus, students interpreted US action as US supporting the Korean dictatorship. This recognition led university students, religious groups, and leftist-intellectuals to take part in anti-American movements. Anti-Americanism meant democracy, independence from the US, and decolonization of neo-colonialism for Korean dissidents (Lee, 2004). In addition, from the 1980s the US pressured Korea to open agricultural markets to the US. This pressure angered people in rural areas and pushed them to become political dissidents who fought against Korean dictatorships and US economic imperialism. Moreover, the US invasion of Iraq in 1991 awakened Korean civilians to recognize that US militarism was excessive. Like adding fuel to this anti-Americanism, two schoolgirls were accidentally killed by a US military truck on June 13, 2002. As a result, Korean grassroots groups have acknowledged that US military imperialism threatens not only Korean peace but also world peace. The girls' deaths were accidental, but, coupled with the timing of the American invasion of Iraq, led Koreans to reconsider American militarism as a threat to peace as opposed to a preserver of peace. Those who remained a mere spectator of the American invasion to Iraq opened their eyes to see realities of the Iraq war committed by the US government, and some Korean non-governmental organizations (NGOs) attempted to organize a peace movement as a reflection of a culture that could resist Americanism. In short, anti-Americanism in Korea is involved in processes of political democracy opposed to military dictatorship, fostering a rise of new nationalism in reaction to US imperialism, and support for food sovereignty fighting US pressures to open agricultural markets.

Recently, many anti-American Koreans held American-influenced thinkers accountable for the Korean financial crisis of 1997. The anti-American thinkers argued that the American-influenced thinkers have influenced the social system, especially economic structures. Ha-Joon Chang and Jang-Seop Shin (2004) argue in their book, *Restructuring Korea Inc.*, that the Korean financial crisis resulted from American-influenced intellectuals' neo-liberalism. According to Chang and Shin, American-influenced intellectuals studied in the US from the 1980s to 1990s and then spread US neo-liberalism in Korea. For example, during the period from 1987 to 1995, among PhD economists in the US, 10% were Koreans. Most of them returned to Korea and spread neo-liberalism to Korean society. As a result, during 1990 to 1997 the Korean government deregulated and gave companies and individuals economic initiatives and freedom. Chang (2008) argues that neo-liberalism driven by the Korean

government in the mid-1990s was "partly due to American pressure, but also because, after three decades of its economic 'miracle', [South Korea] had become too full of itself." South Korea decided to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1996 and "act like a rich country when it really wasn't one" (p.208). Consequently, the Korean government was unable to prevent the financial crisis in 1997.

Anti-Americanism is moving to cultural areas and trying to embrace socialism. For example, a movie called *My lover is Far from Here* (2008), depicts Vietnamese communists as friends of Koreans. In the movie, some Korean singers went to the battle fields of Vietnam to entertain Korean troops, but were caught by North Vietnamese soldiers and forced to live in a prisoner of war camp. As time went by, those Korean hostages realized that communists had something in common in terms of humanitarian aspects. The Korean movie critic Sung-Ryul Kang (2008) pointed out that this movie attempts to place both anti-communists and communists share a common Asian identity.

Finally, Kang concludes that this movie suggests that South Korea should make an effort to be more independent from the US. Considering that over one million people watched this movie, the current public discussions about anti-Americanism reflect "Korea's complicated position in the global, neocolonial world, especially its regional position in Asia" (Kim, 2001, p.622). In this sense, one can understand that Koreans really need new ways for overcoming the complicated position.

Historical facts on Koreans' dependency on powerful nations:

Korea's dependency on powerful nations was, in part, required for its survival. It needed markets to trade and alliances to defend against any invader. These needs can be found through historical facts that show why Korean dynasties encouraged people to learn Chinese language and relevant studies. Those dynasties believed that more knowledge about China enabled people to efficiently survive.

Until the 19th Century, China was as powerful throughout Asia as the US is today. Chinese political and economic powers dominated Asia and influenced Asian cultures. Korea profoundly had to depend on China in terms of language, culture, and technology. Ancient Koreans used Chinese writing to read Chinese literature and reworked it into ancient Korean's *Yi-doo* and *Hang-chal* that was used from the 4th to the 15th centuries. Either *Yi-doo* or *Hang-chal* borrowed Chinese pronunciations and meanings to allow Korean writings. During Korea's early Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910), King Sejong (1397-1450) created the Korean alphabets (*Hangeul*) and encouraged people to use *Hangeul* instead of *Yi-doo* or *Hang-chal*. However, King Sejong did not push people to use only *Hangeul*. *Hangeul* was a language for common people at that time. Korean intellectuals at the Chosun Dynasty seldom used *Hangeul* because Chinese was the measure of cultural refinement and ability. If one wanted to pass a national exam and become gentry at the Chosun Dynasty, one should be well versed in Chinese literature and writings (Jeong, 2004). In order to have a good relationship with Chinese Dynasties, the Chosun Dynasty needed to understand how Chinese foreign policies changed. As Kun-Soo Lee (1980) points out, the Chosun Dynasty established a "good-neighbor" policy because it saved them from the stronger Chinese Dynasties.

Some critiques regard this Dynasty's language policy as toadyism, but it was imperative for survival.¹⁹

While the Chosun Dynasty was based on the Confucian philosophy of China's Song Dynasty (960 to 1279), the Korean Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) was much influenced by China's Tang Dynasty (618-907). The Goryeo applied the Tang Dynasty's governance systems into creating Goryeo's own system. The pro-Chinese preference affected people's lives. For example, there was a national language school (*Sayokone*) where Chinese was taught. This language school published a textbook, *Noguldae*, for teaching Chinese which was also used as a textbook in the Chosun Dynasty (Jeong, 2004). The book employed conversations between a Korean and Chinese merchants to teach how to successfully trade with the Chinese. Use of Chinese language skills was also useful during Goryeo Dynasty to facilitate selling products such as ginseng and celadon porcelain. Therefore, proficiency in spoken or written Chinese in the Goryeo and Chosun dynasties was directly linked with accumulating wealth through successful business. Like other nations, Korea needed not only security but also wealth, so they adopted Chinese writing, culture, and scholarships as a form of foreign policy.

Correlations between Americanization and Korean survival:

Causal layered analysis (CLA) can assist in the analysis of the relationship between Americanization and Korean survival. For the analysis, four key words – US, English, Korea, and survival – are searched in websites serving five daily newspapers and two business newspapers in Korea.²⁰ (See Table 1)

Table 1
Alternatives to Americanization in South Korea by CLA

Litany	<i>The only hope is the US:</i> Americanization is the survival strategy in globalization.
Systemic views	<i>Do not put all your eggs in one basket:</i> A dominant nation-led vision is risky; Koreans should consider that Chinese empire is emerging.
Worlds-view	<i>You hypocrite, first take the log out of your own eye!</i> : Koreans should consider the impact of their patriarchal and authoritarian mind instead of only faulting Americanization.
Myth/metaphor	<i>The blind men and the elephant:</i> even though each blind man is partly in the right, all are in the wrong. Therefore, consider that there are varied-façades in Americanization and anti-Americanism.

i. The first level is a litany level. This stage searches news headlines that deal with the four words listed above and attempts to identify how citizens think about Americanization with regard to Korean survival. The analysis identified 180 news articles from January 1, 2000 to December 4, 2008. Headlines that showed up most often are:

*Korea should attempt to be closer to the US for reasons of national security and better off house keepings; English is like Latin language of the middle age, therefore English empire will go on for a long time. Thus, educate your kids English as earlier as your kids can learn; competent people try to go to the Ivy League in the US.*²¹

The headlines can be interpreted to indicate that Koreans think of Americanization as globalization, therefore they have to internalize American values and language in order to survive. For them, living in globalization metaphorically means fighting in *battle fields*. *No question will be allowed except that of survival*. The only hope is the US.

ii. While the litany level shows what a common people have in mind about Americanization, the second level involves a systemic view that explains what political, economic, and cultural leaders think of the correlation between Americanization and Korean survival through a review of relevant opinions from editorial sections of the newspapers. Forty-eight editorials from the same time period included the following:

*Korean governments should open for discussions for survival strategies to the public, because a dominant nation-led vision does not work any more; English empire is sinking and Chinese empire is emerging so that we should teach students more Chinese character.*²²

By these systemic views, we can see that Americanization is not the only option that Koreans can select; there is also the option of following China's lead. This claim is supported by an English saying, "*Don't put all your eggs in one basket*." This saying parallels with a conventional financial investment practice, in which diversification is regarded as a means to manage vagaries of markets. Some editorials warn that excessive Americanization can make a larger gap between the rich and poor.

iii. The third level of analysis examines world-views that reveal psychological or internal explanations of what Koreans think of Americanization. The process was facilitated by reviewing academic articles that deal with the subject from a culturally-based perspective. Major findings are the following:

*The US is still regarded as a symbol of urbanization, modernization, and freedom for Koreans. Especially, many Korean women aspire to go to America, because they wanted to run away from Korean patriarchal society*²³; "*Hollywood films in Seoul illustrate both the growing dominance of American cultural industries...and the remaking process of imported cultures by local consumers and producers*" (Kim, 2000, p.81).

The first phrase reflects another Korean view about Americanization. In some respects, Koreans should have pointed their fingers at their patriarchal and authoritarian mind instead of Americanization. So, Korea needs to not discriminate based on age, gender, or education. The second phrase is also notable in that the Americanization thesis is overstated in Korea. Yeong Kim (2000) argues that "as critiques of the Americanization thesis have argued that globalization should not be understood as the triumph of a single metanarrative," (p.88) many Korean films

achieved a box office success. So, Koreans can creatively interact with Americanization by producing Koreanness.

iv. The fourth level of analysis looks for a myth or metaphor that can explain why Korea heavily leans on the US in an unconsciousness level and examines Korean sayings and poems. For example, there is a Korean saying about survival: *Don't chase after another. You will end up losing both of them.* Thus, the saying advises Korea to choose one neighbor who firmly protects against enemies and allows Koreans to trade. However, there is also an opposite Korean saying: *you know only one side of the story; every story has varied-façades.* Consider the famous fable, *The Blind Men and the Elephant*, which tells that even though each blind man is partly right, all are essentially wrong. In this sense, Korea needs to carefully consider the diverse driving forces that drive the direction of US society to any future and to forecast what Korean futures will be in response to changes of the US.

Four alternatives to Americanization in South Korea (See Table 2):

Finally, creating alternatives to Americanization will broaden Korea's futures. There are four scenarios that describe how Koreans could move to the future depending on how Americanization is treated – continued growth, collapse, a disciplined society or a transformative society.

i. *A Continued growth: American dreams must go on.* The majority of intellectuals could continue to earn academic degrees from the US. Furthermore, numbers of Korean students in the US could continue to increase annually. Thus, both present and future generations would continue to be American-influenced thinkers. In addition, US movies and television programming would continue to flow into Korea. In the near future, the Korean government will publicize English as another official language.

ii. *A Collapsed society: Neither the US nor China.* US neo-liberalism would collapse and Wall Street would become a tomb of US capitalism as a result of US overconsumption and overconfidence. As a result, Koreans would lose their fascination with US materialism and militarism. Some would likely propose China as alternative in terms of trade and security, but the majority would deny this proposal because historically China gave Koreans many troubles. Finally, Koreans would look for a neutral state, such as Switzerland, as a model to follow.

iii. *A Disciplined society: Ties with small but strong countries.* In fact, in the early 20th Century, Koreans were very interested in socialism. But, after the Korean War, Koreans have deeply entered into capitalism. Ultimately, socialism proved to be poor at strengthening economic power, but US capitalism may also fail. Therefore, Koreans would attempt to find the third way that not only strengthens economic power but also defends national territories. The answer can be to have good foreign policy relations with "small but strong nations"²⁴ such as Sweden, The Netherlands, and Finland, countries that, while geographically small, have strong technologies. Such small but strong nations can be reinterpreted to be too small to intrude South Korea, but they are strong enough to teach Koreans how to develop economic power.

iv. *A Transformative society: A new era of universalism.* A new US regime collaborates with diverse religious groups like the Roman Catholic Church²⁵ for building

a new universalism²⁶ because of US concerns about losing power due to excessive militarism and because of US concerns about translational problems such as environmental disaster and energy exhaustion. A new political regime in the US constructs a new universalism that leads the world into non-killing²⁷ and conserver²⁸ societies. Thus, wars against "terrors" diminish and South Korea contributes for the conserver society, where Koreans look for a deep concern for future generations, self-fulfillment in harmony with nature, and the virtue of moderation. South Korea also makes the *Panmunjeom* truce village as a symbol of a world peace.

Table 2
Four alternatives to Americanization in South Korea

Continued growth	<i>American dreams must go on:</i> Korean government publicizes English as another official language.
Collapse	<i>Neither the US nor China:</i> Koreans look for a neutral state such as Switzerland as a model to follow.
Disciplined society	<i>Ties with small but strong countries:</i> establishes good foreign policy relations with small but strong nations such as Sweden, The Netherlands, and Finland.
Transformative society	<i>A new era of universalism:</i> the <i>Panmunjeom</i> truce village becomes a symbol of a world peace.

Conclusion

Both pro-Americanism and anti-Americanism in Korea are interrelated with survival in globalized competitions. Like other peoples in the world, Koreans are also worried about security and wealth. One of reasons that Korea still survives is its flexibility in establishing relationships with neighbors such as China (in the past) and the US (at present).

However, current public discussions about Americanization reflect both Korea's and the US's complicated positions. Pro-American intellectuals continuously ask the government to be closer to the US while grassroots groups demand greater independence from the US. In addition, common Koreans hesitate in choosing either China or the US as their partners and consider choosing neither. In this sense, Korea's direction seems to be lost. Only the dichotomy of Americanization or anti-Americanism exists in Korea, and there is a lack of conversation of a third alternative to foster Korean survival.

In order to go beyond this dichotomy, South Korea should design alternatives of survival that consider all variables and possibilities that can enable Korean society to become transformative. Korean futures can be a more Americanized society or a neutral state like Switzerland; it can be a member of a union of small but strong countries and/or a participatory society for peaceful universalism. The future is always changing so we have to carefully observe current situations and continuously redesign our vision of the future by considering the four alternatives to Americanization. We should not limit our future by only subscribing to a dominant vision.

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Notes

1. Regarding influences of neo-liberalism to Asian countries, have a look at Robert Wade's book, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (Princeton, 2003). Wade argues that "the neoliberal paradigm as the Washington Consensus...could also be described as *globalization plus*. The globalization part refers to the need for developing countries to integrate their economies fully into the international economy by eliminating...anything that would impede the operating freedom of foreign investors"(p.xliii).
2. Refer to Sohail Inayatullah's book, *The Causal Layered Analysis Reader*. Taiwan: Tamkang University. According to Inayatullah, Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) is a research theory and method in the field of Futures Studies. Inayatullah argues that CLA "seeks to integrate empiricist, interpretive, critical, and action learning modes of knowing" and its method is "not in predicting the future but in creating transformative spaces for the creation of alternative futures."
3. According to Jim Dator, one of the major things shaping the future in reality is what people presently imagine the future as being. Thus, images of the future are important to design the preferred future.
4. Deajun daily newspapers, Oct. 25, 2007. According to that data, among PhD holders from 2002 to 2007, 17.1% are from Japan; 7.1% from Germany; 5.5% from the UK; 4.6% from China; 3.4% from France; 2.2% from Russia; 6.8% from others.
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10. I refer to the website: www.sericeo.org in order to examine who were ministers at the Department of Education. The website provides resumes of Korean public intellectuals.
11. For Ministers in the Department of Finance and Economy, during 1998 to 2006, 60% out of total ten Ministers hold PhD and MA from the US.
12. I substituted "pro-American" for "American-influenced," which Tim Dolan suggested. According to Dolan, "The distinction is that the former suggests agreement with the American political agenda, while the latter better aligns with aspiring to the American cultural ideals of individual freedom and creativity that are not dominant values in Korea's traditional culture." I agree with Dolan, so I changed the word "pro-American" into "American-influenced." I thank Dolan.
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19. Tim Dolan also comments on it, "Koreans were not alone in this reverence for Chinese culture. The Japanese also adapted the Chinese model as the standard for high culture. Likewise almost all the people's living along China's periphery from Manchuria, through Mongolia (Tibet maybe not so much) to Southeast Asia were *Sinified*."
20. These news are from Donga-Ilbo, Munhwa-Ilbo, Hangyorea, Kyonghwang-Shinmoon, Joonang-Ilbo, Meail business newspaper, and Hankook business newspaper.
21. My translation of the Korean news articles.
22. My translation of the Korean news articles.
23. My translation of the Korean literatures.
24. This is a popular slogan in Korea: "Korea should follow the way that small but strong countries like Sweden, Finland paved." This campaign was initiated by Samsung Economic Research Institute in the early of 2000s and then, spread all over Korea. This campaign can reflect Korean dislikes of Americanization.
25. In the 1970s, Richard A. Falk directed a project, titled "The World Order Models Project (WOMP)," arguing, "Symbolic world leaders such as the Secretary General of the

United Nations or the Pope might espouse [the WOMP agenda]... as a program for the future... These kinds of external developments... would initiate a world order dialectic within American politics that would begin to break down decades of adherence to [the Westphalian system] and its infrastructure of values, perceptions and institutions" (Daniel Taylor, April 2008, *Infowars.com*, from www.infowars.com/pope-blesses-un-flag-calls-for-binding-international-rules/).

26. Refer to Alain Badiou's book, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism* (Stanford University Press, 2003).
27. Refer to Glenn D. Paige's "Korean Leadership for Nonkilling East Asian Common Security" [Paper prepared for the 50th Anniversary Conference of The Korean Association of International Studies (KAIS), "Global East Asia and the Future of Two Koreas," Shilla Hotel, Seoul, May 12-13, 2006]
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