



WAPOR 2022 CONFERENCE
75 Years of Worldwide Public Opinion Research

An Introduction to a Public Discussion For Mid to Long-term National Issues

A Case Study : Social Dialogue on Peace and Unification of the Korean Peninsula

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Hankook Research



Prologue

Research Firm

Hankook Research


 LOCATION SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

 HISTORY 1978~ (44 years)

 EMPLOYEE 300

 BUSINESS AREA IN PUBLIC

Poitics/Elections	Provincial Governing	Integrity
Employment/Labor	Housing/ Real Estate	Education
Welfare	Woman	Youth
Disabled	Energy/ Environment	Agriculture

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 소속 Hankook Research(2019-2022)

 고객 및 비즈니스 영역

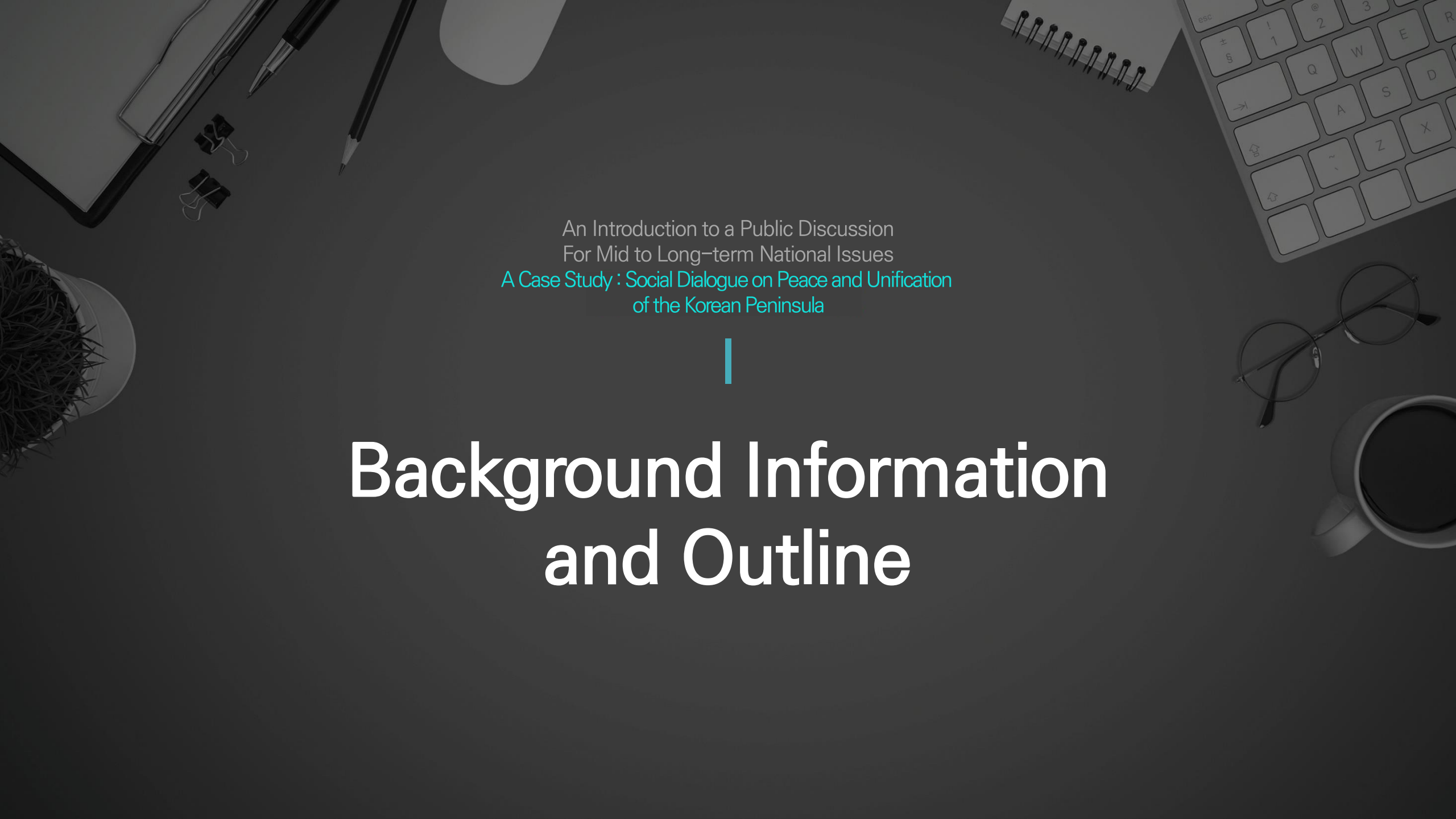
- Ministry of unification
Social Dialogue on Peace and Unification of the Korean Peninsula (2019-2022)
- Office for Government Policy Coordination
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An Introduction to a Public Discussion
For Mid to Long-term National Issues

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Background Information and Outline

Pre-emptive tasks: **Solve Conflicts within South Korea first**

Divided for 77 years



Conflicts within South Korea : A concept that contrasts with 'North-South problems', which means the conflict between citizens in South Korea about North-South relationship and unification

Pre-emptive tasks: **Solve Conflicts within South Korea first**

But, How?

Citizens come to a National Consensus about the Unification of the Korean Peninsula

Civic groups and experts
raised the need for a National Consensus
to solve conflicts within South Korea



Designated as a National Assignment
By President Moon Jae in

A Review of Prior Examples of Social Agreements

	The Netherlands	Austria	Germany	Ireland
Name of the Agreement	Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands (1950) Wassenaar Consensus (1982)	Parity Commission (1947) Wage-Price Agreement of 1951	Beutelsbach Consensus (1967)	Citizens' Assembly (2016)
Primary contents	Established as a legal body to discuss social issues such as economic policy, pensions, and employment	A discussion of policies to promote full employment, inflation, and economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prohibition of mandatory education • Encourage dialogue oriented educational methods • Strengthen political activity 	Deliberative discussions on constitutional amendments and major national reforms
Participants	Workers' organizations, employers' organizations, and public interest groups	Chamber of Commerce, Agricultural Chamber, Federation of Trade Unions, Left-Right Cooperative Government	West German educators of conservative and progressive backgrounds gathered to teach a consensus on German education	<i>100 Irish citizens drawn up by lot with consideration given to age, gender, class, religion, etc.</i>



The need for a social agreement based on citizen participation rather than experts or special interest groups

A review of public debate techniques used to create social pacts with the participation of citizens

- There are not many cases of consensus-forming public debates. These were predominantly discussions focused on 1 specific issue.
- There are no public debate models that aim for unanimity.

Participants	Scope	Result	Application*	Type/format of public debate
Ordinary citizens	Small	Gathering of opinion sets	policy making gathering of opinions	N/A
		Consensus-forming	policy making gathering of opinions	Citizen jury system, regulatory negotiations Scenario workshop, roundtable discussions, citizens advisory meeting, consensus meeting
		Gathering of opinion sets	policy making confirmation of public opinion	Citizen Participation Survey Planning Cell, Public Opinion
	Large	Consensus-forming	policy making confirmation of public opinion	Civil Council Town Hall Meetings
		Small	Consensus-forming	gathering of opinions
	Experts	Small	Consensus-forming	gathering of opinions



Necessity of a model for public discussion aimed at unanimous agreement

Structure of the Discussions used in the National Consensus on the Unification

- Supported by the government, but not interfered with by the government.
- Led by civic groups and religious leaders, supported by subject matter experts, and managed by public opinion research facilitating organizations.



Social Dialogue for Peace and Unification Building of Korea (PUB of Korea) is a permanent organization of pan-citizens' social groups for peaceful unification social dialogue, and more than 700 progressive/middle/conservative civic groups and religious groups participated in 2019.

Requirements for deriving a National Consensus on the Unification through the public debate of the citizens of South Korea

- 01 The consensus must be reached by ordinary citizens who are party to the South–South Conflict – not by “experts” or representatives of special interest groups.
- 02 The consensus should be an open and public agreement reached by unanimous approval among the citizens of South Korea – not a closed negotiation between a handful of experts.
- 03 Supported by the government, but not interfered with by the government.
- 04 The agencies entrusted to oversee the process by which a consensus is reached must ensure fairness and professionalism.
- 05 The Consensus shall be created using a step–by–step, deliberative process.

Overview of the “Social Dialogue for Peaceful Unification”

Stages

① Planning ⇒ ② Experimental(Pilot) ⇒ ③ Preparing the National consensus on the Unification

2018 Early	2018	2019	2020	2021
<p>① Plan & Design</p> <p>Discussion among the Ministry of Unification, subject matter experts, civic groups, and religious leaders</p>	<p>② Experimental Negotiations (Pilot)</p> <p>Create an organization that is comprised of civic groups and everyday citizens and conduct experimental discussions</p>	<p>Expand discussion topics, create an experimental agreement, and design a negotiating model</p>	<p>③ Prepare Draft National Consensus on the Unification</p> <p>Select treaty subject matters and create wording for the 3 selected subjects</p>	<p>Fine tune final wording and create a treaty agreement</p>
	<p>Discussions amongst citizens in each of the 4 regions (200 participants)</p> <p>Discussions among citizens in each of the 17 cities (1,200 participants)</p> <p>Discussions among Future Generations (80 participants)</p>	<p>Discussions amongst citizens in each of the 4 regions (760 participants)</p> <p>Discussions amongst citizens in each of the 17 cities (1,200 participants)</p> <p>Discussions amongst Koreans overseas (520 participants)</p> <p>Comprehensive discussions on experimental negotiations (160 participants)</p>	<p>Conversations to select subject matters to be covered in a treaty(287 participants)</p> <p>Comprehensive discussions to select exact wording of treaty (109 participants)</p>	<p>Comprehensive discussions on final wording of treaty</p> <p>Share publicly and Institutionalize</p>

Actual scenes from our social dialogues for peaceful unification

2018 Early

① Plan & Design



2018

② Experimental Negotiations (Pilot)

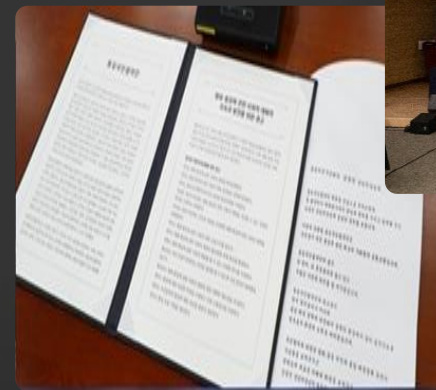


2019



2020

③ Prepare Draft National Consensus on the Unification



2021



A panel of citizens is representative of the people

- Participants for the 2020 comprehensive discussions were selected from discussion panels in major South Korean regions. Criteria such as geographic location, gender, age, and political leaning were used to ensure that the respondent pool was fully representative of the population at large.
- Participants for the 2021 comprehensive discussions were selected from those who participated in the 2020 comprehensive discussions.

2021 Participants of the Social Dialogue : 100 participants

Representativeness of the Panel

Level of pre-deliberation

Acceptability of Rough Draft

Maintain the 2020 panel
 If necessary, select additional participants from the regional level

✓ 2020 Citizen Group Participants

		Total Population		Regional Participants		Comprehensive Participant	
		(million)	Proportion	Participants	Proportion	Participants	Proportion
Gender	Male	2,155	50%	149	52%	50	46%
	Female	2,194	50%	138	48%	59	54%
	19~29	742	17%	45	16%	15	14%
By Age Group	30's	699	16%	35	12%	18	17%
	40's	835	19%	57	20%	20	18%
	50's	867	20%	69	24%	25	23%
	Over 60	1,207	28%	81	28%	31	28%
By Geographic Location	Metro area	2,313	53%	146	51%	64	59%
	Yeongnam	1,095	25%	81	28%	28	26%
	Honam	483	11%	33	11%	8	7%
	Chungcheon	458	11%	27	9%	9	8%

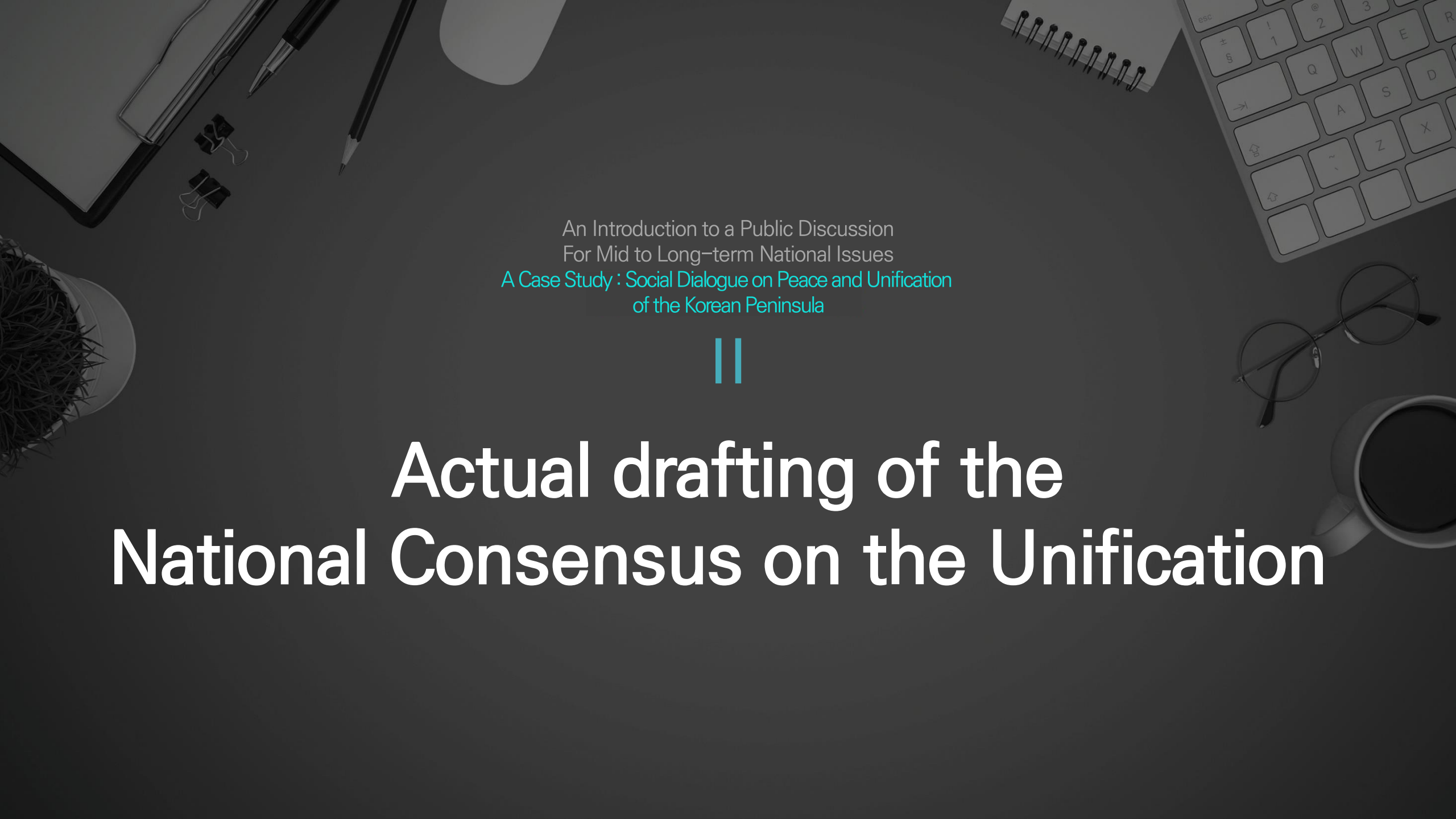
✓ 2021 Citizen Group Participants

		Total Population		Comprehensive Participant	
		(million)	Proportion	Participants	Proportion
Gender	Male	2,142	50%	41	40%
	Female	2,181	50%	61	60%
	19~29	728	17%	13	13%
By Age Group	30's	677	16%	17	17%
	40's	818	19%	19	19%
	50's	852	20%	20	20%
	Over 60	1,248	29%	33	32%
By Geographic Location	Metro area	2,301	53%	56	55%
	Yeongnam	1,084	25%	28	27%
	Honam	480	11%	8	8%
	Chungcheon	458	11%	10	10%

The process for deriving the initial draft of the National Consensus: an unprecedented deliberative process

	Step1	Step2	Step3
	Discussions about topics to include in the National Consensus	Discussions about the actual wording to be used in the National Consensus	Discussions to formulate a draft of the actual Consensus

Time frame	1 st half of 2021	2 nd half of 2021	1 st half of 2022
Time taken	1 day / 8 hours	4 days / 8 hours per day	5 days / 8 hours per day
Number of participants	287 participants (29 groups of 10)	109 participants (10 groups of 10)	102 participants (10 groups of 10)



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Actual drafting of the National Consensus on the Unification

Procedures for the 2021 Social Discussions

2020



2021

What should the topic be?

A Blueprint for the Korean Peninsula

Processes and Methods of Execution

Strategies for Maintaining Sustainability

What should be included?
(in sentence)

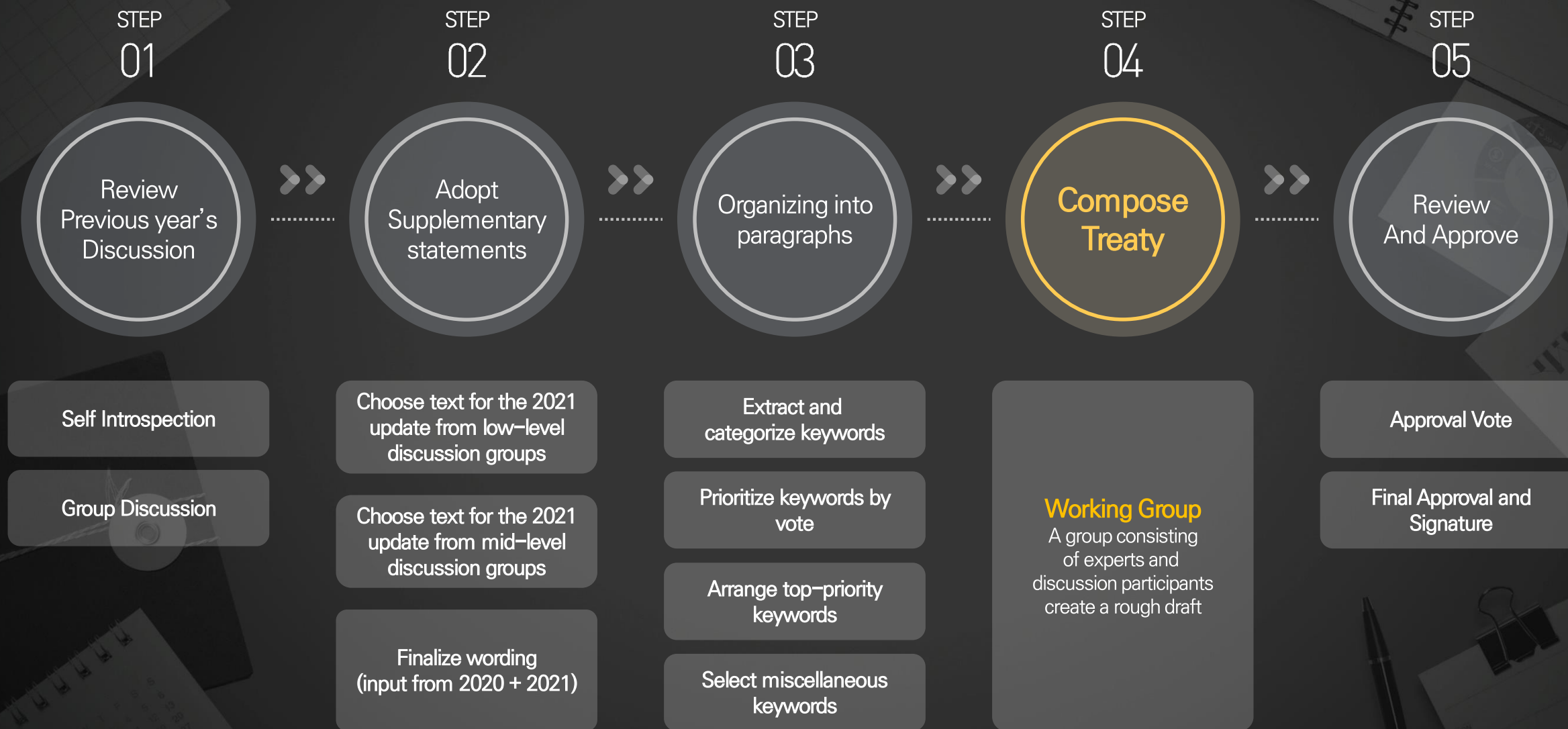
- 1) A strong Korean peninsula with independent diplomatic capabilities
 - 2) A Korean Peninsula where we actively engage in cultural exchange
-
- 1) Build trust through respect and cooperation between the 2 Koreas
 - 2) South and North Korea continuously engage in cultural exchange
 - ...
-
- 1) The government uses the power of public relations to further energize social dialogue
 - 2) The government prepares various communication channels for social dialogue
 - ...

Review & Supplement
The results in 2020

Make it as a paragraph
& Complete

<p>통일국민협약안</p> <p>통일국민협약은 남과 북의 대결과 갈등을 평화적으로 해결하고 바람직한 한반도의 미래상을 함께 설계하고 만들어가기 위한 사회적 협약이다.</p> <p>해방 이후 한반도는 남북으로 갈라져 살다 전쟁까지 치렀다. 그 후에도 불안정한 휴전상태에서 남과 북은 대결과 적대행 계속해 왔다. 한반도의 주민들이 직면해 왔던 고통과 사회적 비효는 막대하다. 분단상황과 남북관계는 한반도 주민들의 삶에 중대한 영향을 미치고 있지만 이에 관한 정책 결정은 정권과 밀접한 소수의 권유들이었다. 점차 당사자인 국민들이 소의되고 사회적 합의의 기원이 부족한 상황에서 정책이 불명확하고 집행되었다. 그 결과 남북관계는 혼란과 불확실성이 심화되거나 일방적 정책이 강행되어 왔다. 특히 정권이 바뀔 때마다 대북정책이 일관성 없이 흔들렸다. 그 결과 남북관계에서는 혼란과 불확실성 악화가 초래되고 사회구성원 사이에는 '남남갈등'이라 불리는 소모적인 사회적 정치적 갈등이 발생하였다.</p> <p>통일국민협약은 남북관계와 한반도의 미래에 관한 정책 결정과 실행이 민주적으로 일관되게 이루어지도록 정파와 이념을 넘어선 공통의 합의기반을 도출하려는 노력의 일환이다. 통일국민협약을 도출하기 위한 사회적 대화에는 보수-중도-진보 시민사회단체와 7대 종교가 균형 있게 두루 참여했다. 2018년 이래 지난 4년간 전국에서 수천명의 시민과 활동가, 2차와 시민들이 평화와 통일에 관한 개인적 숙제인 주제를 정했다. 의견교환, 발제, 질의응답과 자문에 다양한 일종의 진언자들이 등장했다. 통일국민협약안은 신뢰할 만한 여론조사기구를 통해 선출된 시민들이 보편 시민의 숙제를 통하여 스스로 마련했다.</p> <p>통일국민협약안은 국회와 정부가 국민이 숙의 결과를 존중하는 바탕 위에서 공식협약으로 앞선시점 때 비록 소의된 사회적 합의로 완성된다. 통일국민협약은 선포되는 것에 그치지 않고 한반도 주변 환경 변화와 사회구성원의 인식 변화를</p>	<p>반영하여 보완되고 발전되어 한다. 평화와 통일에 관한 사회적 대화는 지속되어야 하고 제도화 문제로 정착되어야 한다. 궁극적으로는 북한과 주변국의 정주와 민간의 대화와 협의로 확정되어야 한다.</p> <p>통일부의 요청에 따라 평화-통일 비전 사회적 대화 전국시민회의가 주최한 <통일 국민협약안 채택 사회적 대화>에 참가한 선국의 시민참여단은 2020년 7월 6일부터 2021년 6월 26일까지 4개 권역별 예비 대화와 총 8일간의 전국 총합대회를 통해 한반도의 바람직한 미래상과 이를 실현할 과정과 방법에 관해 숙의하여 다음의 협약안을 채택한다.</p> <p>제1항 한반도의 바람직한 미래상</p> <p>우리의 비전은 미래의 한반도는, 군사적 위협이 없는 평화로운 한반도다. 평화적으로 해결된 한반도다. 인간과 삶의 다양성이 보장되는 한반도다. 남북한 주민 모두가 잘 사는 복지국가다. 공정한 사회체제가 정착된 한반도다. 안전의 자유가 보장되는 한반도다. 사회적 합의도 공평이 해소되는 한반도다. 자유로운 이동과 역량이 가능한 한반도다. 다양한 문화교류가 활발한 한반도다. 남북철도 연결로 세계경제의 자유로운 한반도다. 세계가 찾는 문화의 중심지 한반도다. 남북한 경제 교류와 협력으로 발전된 한반도다. 기술과 지원을 공동개발하는 한반도다. 가솔과 자동차의 지원협력에 이루어지는 한반도다. 세계 문화의 중심지 자유롭게 한다. 남북 상호간 인도적 지원협력에 이루어지는 한반도다. 국제사회의 인도적 지원협력에 이루어지는 한반도다. 남북한 주민은 정부와 더불어 통일 과정의 주체가 되고, 한반도는 평화-통일의 보람이 된다.</p>	<p>제2항 한반도 미래상 실현의 과정과 방법</p> <p>국민 참여와 합의방식</p> <p>통일에 대한 국민회의를 도출한다. 통일에 대한 국민이 공감과 지지를 얻을 수 있도록 중요하다. 남북한 주민이 함께 평화-통일 정책 수립에 참여한다.</p> <p>대북 통일정책 일관성 확보</p> <p>통일 시간을 중단없이 추진한다. 수립된 통일 정책을 실현하고 유지한다. 통일의 위함 범위를 계속적으로 확대해 나가야 한다. 남북한 대화를 강화한다. 남북공공의 대화의 협의 체계를 운영한다. 남북한이 신뢰를 바탕으로 대화를 지속한다.</p> <p>한반도 군사감축 협조와 비확화</p> <p>군사의 위함이 최소한 평화협력 체계를 정착시킨다. 한반도 주변국의 군축 협력을 이끌어낸다.</p> <p>주변국 관계</p> <p>남북과 주변국의 외교적 관계를 개선한다. 통일의 당위성을 국제사회에 홍보한다. 남북이 통일에 대해 주변국의 협력과 지원을 이끌어낸다.</p> <p>민간지원단체와 개발협력</p> <p>이산가족 교류를 활성화한다. 이산가족간 관계를 자유롭게 한다. 남북한이 사람과 용-이들의 연결망에 대한 대화와 방위에 협력한다. 한반도의 사회경제를 남북 상호 협력하여 관리 보존한다.</p>
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Procedures for the 2021 Social Discussions



Citizens' role in the process of drawing up the National Consensus on the Unification



01. Ice-break : The Contents and Considerations

Organize viewpoints in advance

Participants share their views before the main discussion → define 2 different but related focus questions

Learn the Rules

Learn the rules that will govern all discussions. This ensures that all opinion can be freely expressed and mutually respectful dialogue will take place.

Discuss and select topics for preliminary discussions	<p>Q1. How should we view the North Korea? Inter-Korean relations?</p> <p>Q2. What changes are expected for a peaceful Korean Peninsula to exist in 10 years' time?</p>
Discussion pre-requisites	<ol style="list-style-type: none">01. Everyone has the right to his/her own opinion02. Everyone can and wants to do the right thing03. In order to come to the most sensible solution, everyone needs the proper knowledge.04. There are no wrong answers05. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts06. Everyone deserves to be heard
Apply rules for discussions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">· All participants shall answer questions within the same time frame· All participants are guaranteed the freedom to express any opinion· Create a non-judgmental atmosphere· You may speak for a set period of time, but only when given the right to do so by the moderator
Specify the purpose of these discussions and participants' roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none">· Specify the ultimate goal of the overall dialogue and the roles of participating groups

02. Informational Material

	Informational Materials	eLearning	Video presentation materials	Q&A w/ expert presenters
Contents	Basic, background information regarding individual issues	Listen to opinions of both liberal and conservative experts	Focused on the viewpoints of opposing groups	Led by both liberal and conservative experts
Timeframe	Delivered to participants' homes 2 weeks before a discussion takes place	Materials are made available to participants 2 weeks before a discussion takes place	Before the start of formal discussions	Before the start of formal discussions
				

Balanced

All material presented was put through a mutual verification process. Strict rules governing the quantity, time, and order of oral arguments were also put in place to ensure that all viewpoints were given fair representation

Objectivity

We made every effort to provide participants with verifiable and balanced information – not the fake news that is so indiscriminately used these days.

Supporting Role

The provision of information was minimized to the furthest extent possible. We wanted a consensus to come organically from within – with as little outside interference/input as possible.

03. Group Discussion

Q

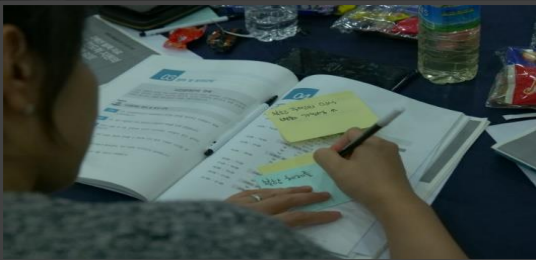
What do you see as a desirable and possible future for the Korean Peninsula? [Small Group Discussion]

Step 1

Drafting Sentence

Consensus starts with first hearing everyone's opinions

Each Participants drafts 2~3 sentences



Step 2

Clustering

Aim for a minimal level of agreement. Agreement should never be forced. Do not create "winners" and "losers."

Similar sentences are clustered
Unique sentences remain alone



Step 3

Naming(re-writing)

Participants write single sentences that represent each cluster of similar sentences



Step 4

Individual Voting

Aim for unanimity

Participants vote on each and every sentence separately
→ **adopted with unanimous**



04. Discussion among Group Representatives

Q

What do you see as a desirable and possible future for the Korean Peninsula? [Plenary Discussion]

Step 1

Designate a speaker

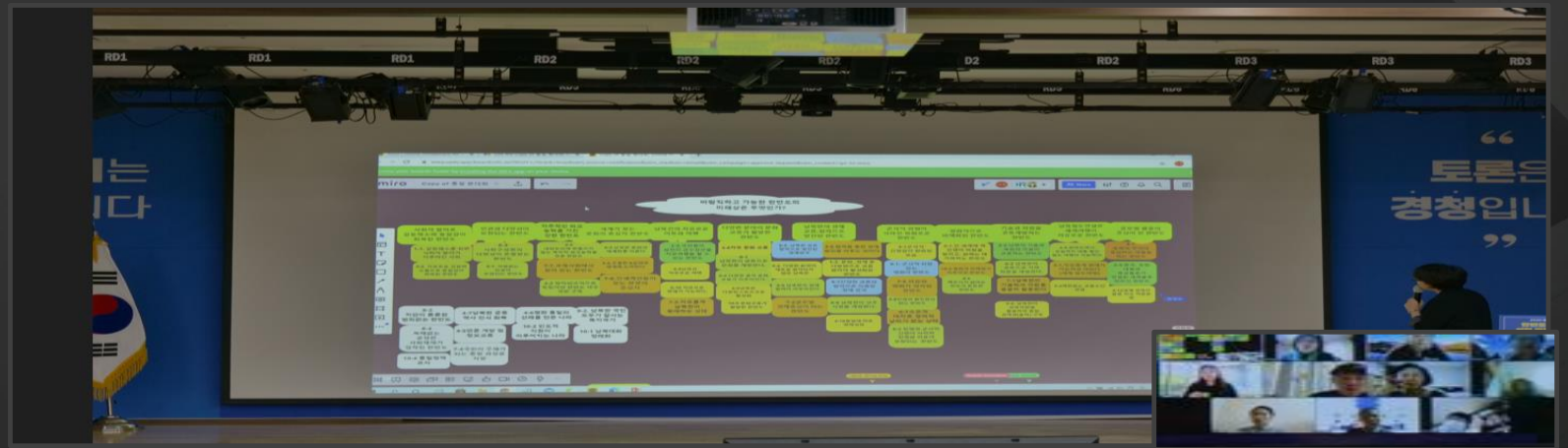
Participants cannot change their opinions on matters that were settled previously within their group



Step 2

Clustering

Aim for a minimal level of agreement. Never force participants to come to an agreement on any single issue. This ensures that there are no “winners” or “losers.”

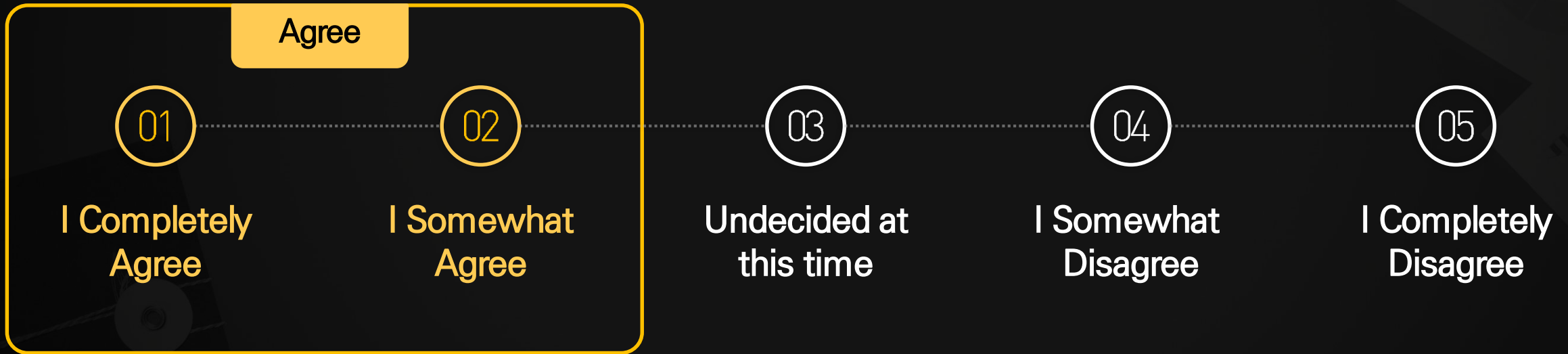


Step 3

Naming(re-writing)

Procedure for deriving a draft of the National Consensus on the Unification: Unprecedented consensus standards

Agree = level of agreement with finalized wording



Selection Criteria = at least 80% of all voters chose either ① or ②

05. (example) Final Voting Results for a “Desirable Future for the Korean Peninsula”

All 22 out of 22 phrases/sentences submitted for inclusion were approved with a minimum approval rate of 80%

#	Sentence/phrase	Approval Rate	Selected?	#	Sentence/phrase	Approval Rate	Selected?
1	strong Korean Peninsula with independent diplomatic capabilities	99%	YES	12	People of South, along with the government, become agents in the unification process	91%	YES
2	Korean Peninsula with active and diverse cultural exchanges	98%	YES	13	Engage in joint efforts to restore historical understanding	90%	YES
3	Peaceful Korean Peninsula without military threats	96%	YES	14	Korean Peninsula denuclearized in a peaceful manner	87%	YES
4	Korean Peninsula developed through inter-Korean economic exchange and cooperation	95%	YES	15	Korean Peninsula of welfare states that ensure prosperity for all people in the South and the North	86%	YES
5	Korean Peninsula where the development of technology and resources are joint endeavors	95%	YES	16	Korean Peninsula with fairness established in the social system	85%	YES
6	Korean Peninsula that attracts the world as a center for culture	94%	YES	17	Korean Peninsula becomes a model for peace and unification	84%	YES
7	Korean Peninsula with freedom of travel and tourism	94%	YES	18	Continue inter-Korean dialogue based on trust	83%	YES
8	Korean Peninsula as a center for global logistics	93%	YES	19	Korean peninsula with strong security	82%	YES
9	Korean Peninsula where conflicts are resolved through social consensus	93%	YES	20	Korean Peninsula with freedom of the press	82%	YES
10	Korean Peninsula where human rights and diversity of life are guaranteed	93%	YES	21	Korean Peninsula where the South and the North provide mutual humanitarian assistance	81%	YES
11	Korean Peninsula where people can travel out to the world on an inter-Korean railroad	91%	YES	22	Maintaining consistency in North Korea policy	81%	YES

05. Completing the initial draft of the National Consensus

Modification

Agree on amendments and supplements to sentences set for inclusions in the Consensus

Paragraphing

Form these sentences into paragraphs suitable for a national consensus

Adoption

A final vote on whether to accept the National Consensus → **101 out of 102 participants voted to approve the National Consensus**

통일국민협약 채택 사회적 대화

투표 결과 발표

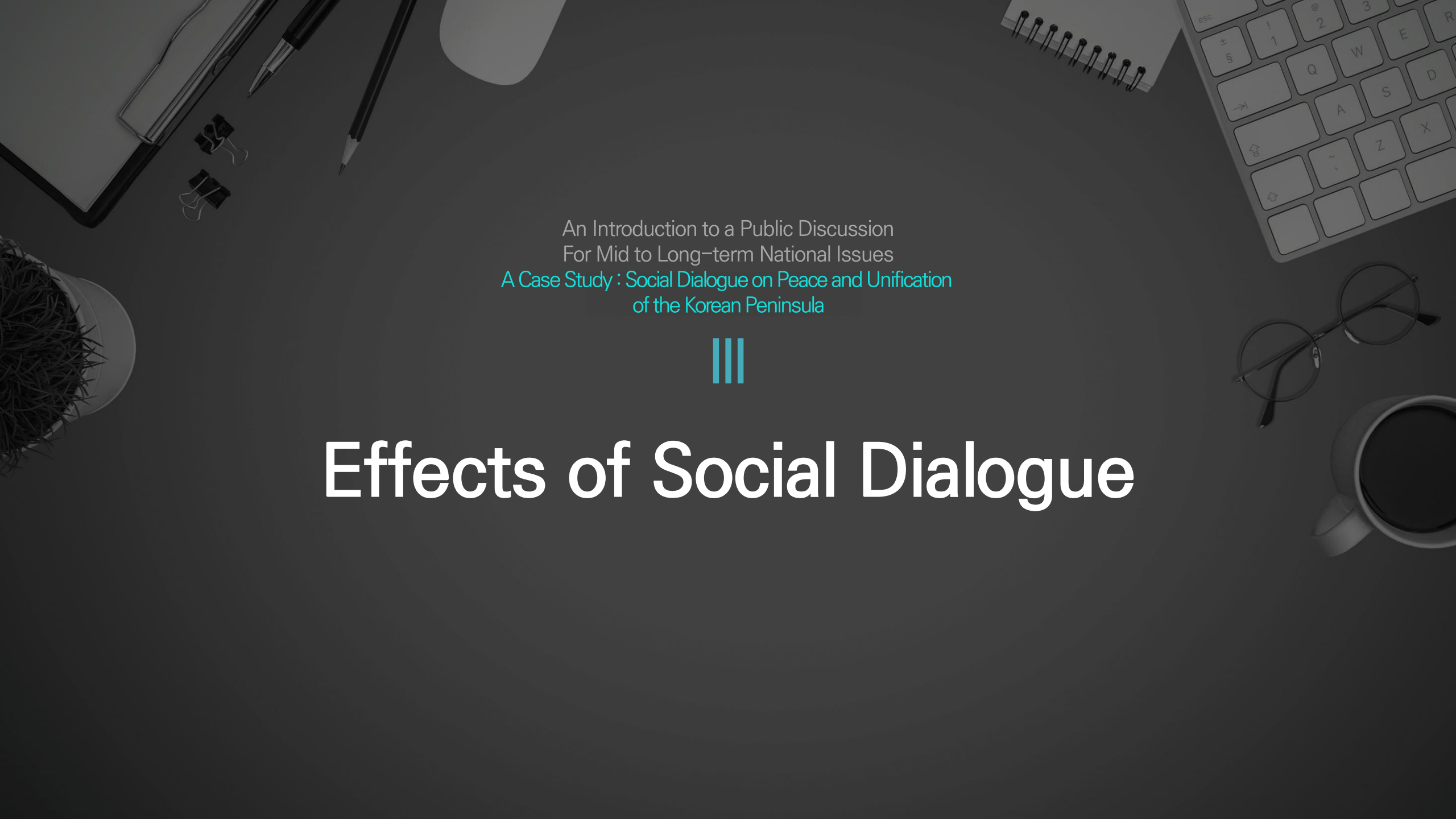
전체 102명 중 101명 동의(99.0%)

채택

2021 통일국민협약 채택 사회적 대화

Delivering the National Consensus on Unification to Ministry of Unification





An Introduction to a Public Discussion
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of the Korean Peninsula



Effects of Social Dialogue

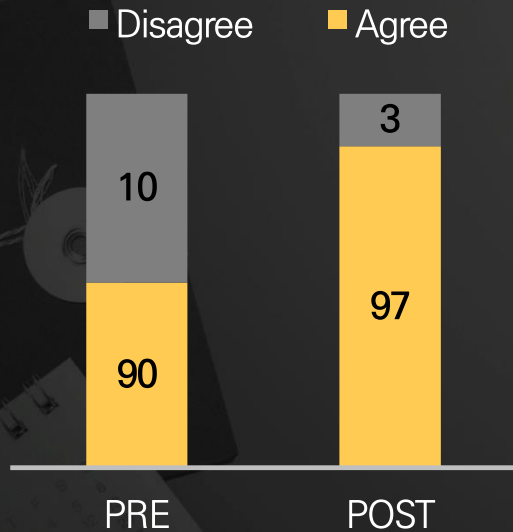
① Citizens: Increased Citizenship

We saw an increased willingness to participate in the public decision-making process. The willingness to make concessions and place trust in others increased.

Q

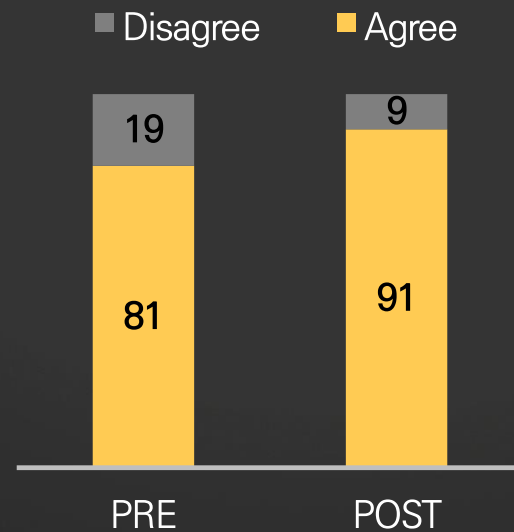
I am interested in the issue of the peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula

Pre-survey: before the agenda selection dialogues (n=287), %
Post-survey: after the draft was created (n=102), %



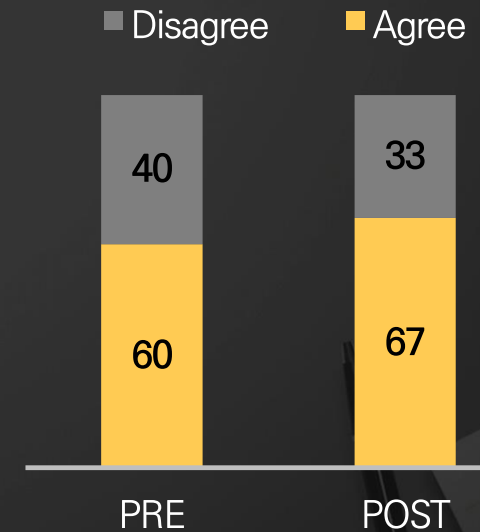
My position may change during the course of these social dialogues

Pre-survey: before the agenda selection dialogues (n=287), %
Post-survey: after the draft was created (n=102), %



Even if a decision is made that I do not agree with, I will trust in that decision

Pre-survey: before the agenda selection dialogues (n=287), %
Post-survey: after the draft was created (n=102), %



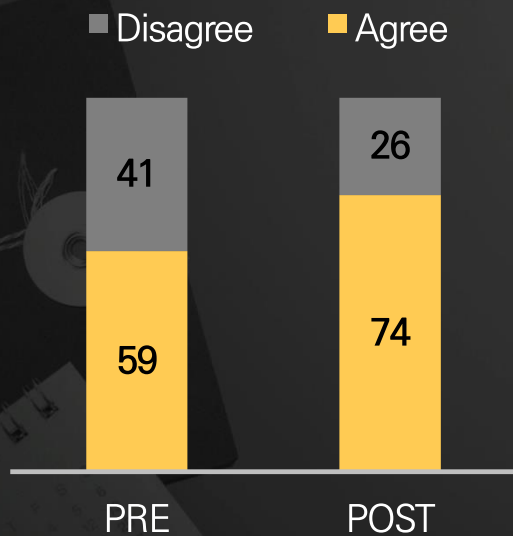
① Citizens: Political Efficacy and Government Credibility

Political efficacy has increased.
Confidence in the government and policies regarding North Korea has increased

Q

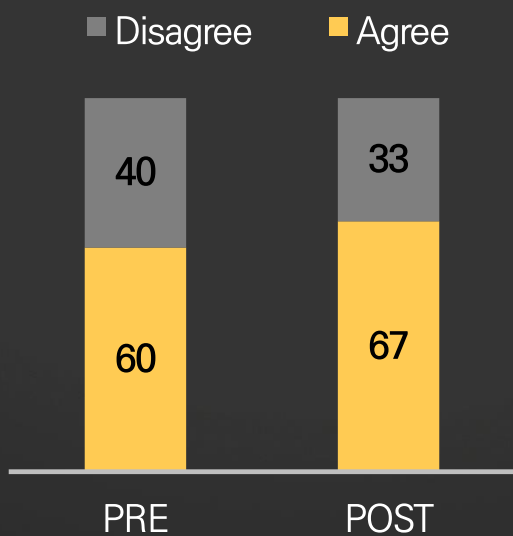
The government cares about the opinions of people like us

Pre-survey: before the agenda selection dialogues (n=287), %
Post-survey: after the draft was created (n=102), %



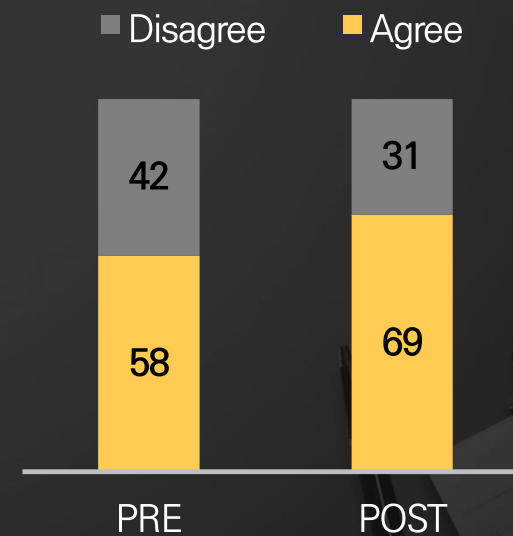
In Korea, the will of the people is reflected in policy

Pre-survey: before the agenda selection dialogues (n=287), %
Post-survey: after the draft was created (n=102), %



I trust in the policies regarding North Korea

Pre-survey: before the agenda selection dialogues (n=287), %
Post-survey: after the draft was created (n=102), %



① Citizens: Confirmation of the sincerity of the citizens of South Korea

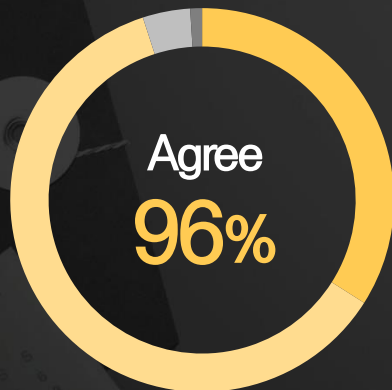
Citizens were open and sincere throughout the entire process. They took into consideration others' point of views as well as their own.

Q

The draft of the National Consensus accurately reflects my views on reunification.

%, n=102, post-survey

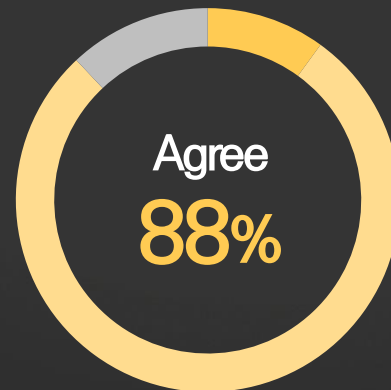
■ Strongly agree ■ Agree
■ Disagree ■ Strongly disagree



I made compromises in my own position to come to this consensus.

%, n=102, post-survey

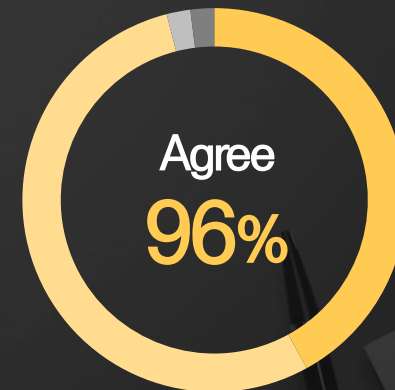
■ Strong agree ■ agree
■ disagree ■ Strong disagree



I am satisfied with the resulting draft of the National Consensus

%, n=102, post-survey

■ Strong agree ■ agree
■ disagree ■ Strong disagree



① Citizen : Overall Satisfaction and Interest in Participating Again

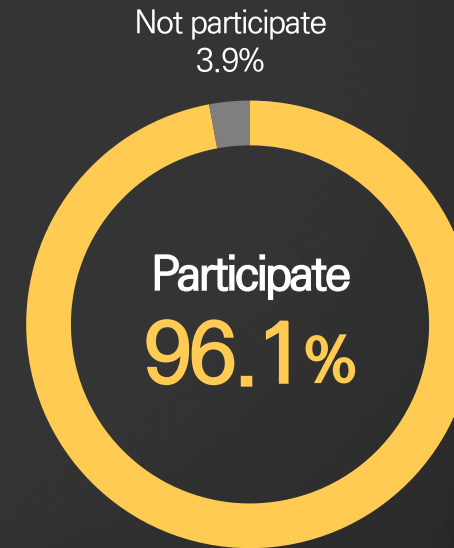
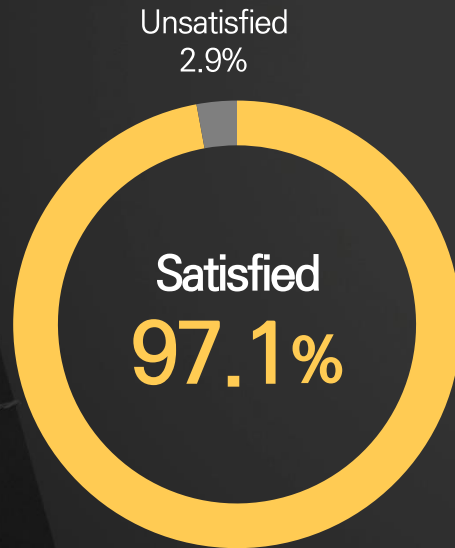
Q

Were you satisfied with the discussion process

If given the opportunity to participate in Social Dialogue again, I will

(after the conclusion of the entire process, n=102, %)

(after the conclusion of the entire process, n=102, %)



② Civic group

As a North Korean defector, I never expected to participate in any sort of social dialogue.

In fact, to be perfectly honest, I was highly skeptical. It wasn't realistic for me to even think about sitting face-to-face with key figures from the left.

... (ommitted) ...

Our conversations reached a point where we began sympathizing with each other and even applauding others. At that very moment, I was overtaken by the solidarity and unity that was being developed during our small roundtable discussion.

– Chairman of the North Korea Democratization Committee
(conservative)

The war and the ensuing period of division left in us DNA that instructed us to separate ourselves from our enemies to survive. And this DNA was passed down from generation to generation. It made us suspicious of those with opposing views. It went so far as to make us attack or evade those with even slightly different points of view.

... (ommitted) ...

As these dialogues progressed, the expressions on people's faces changed quickly. Once our social dialogues were complete, all the people at our table exchanged business cards – regardless of their political leanings. Everyone, to a certain degree, was sad to see these dialogues come to an end.

–Asst. Administrator of the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (progressive)

③ Government

Even though the administration changed, the research continued

Moon Jae In administration (2017 ~ 2022)

19th president of
the Republic of Korea

Political party:
Democratic Party
(progressive)



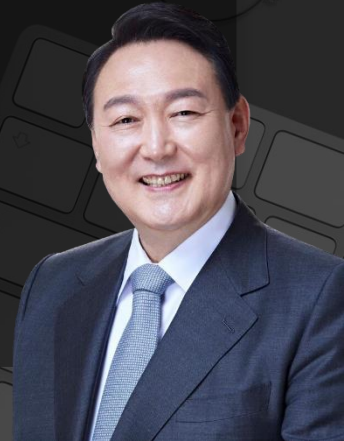
Purpose


Supplement plans
for tackling
nuclear proliferation
and unification

Yoon Seok Yeol administration (2022 ~)

20th president of
the Republic of Korea

Political party:
People's Power Party
(conservative)





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IV

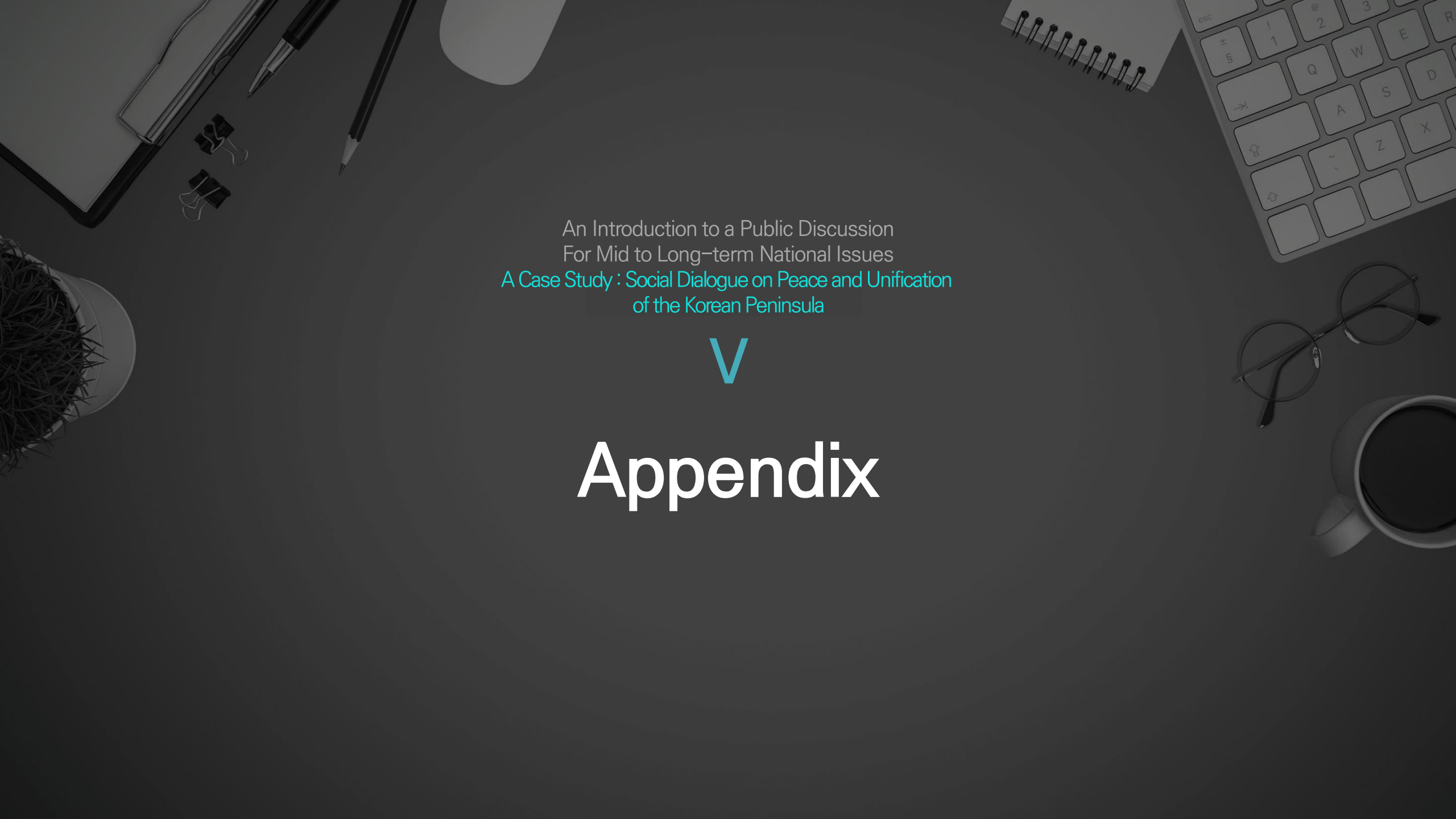
Implications and Challenges

Implication

- 01 Citizens participated directly in these social dialogues. This draft of a civil agreement was drawn up using a form of public discussion that sought unanimous support from all participants.
- 02 Ensuring the representativeness and deliberate nature of these dialogues are key elements to increasing the readiness and social acceptability of the results of these dialogues.
- 03 In order for this process based on citizen participation to work properly, the government should only support these efforts – not interfere in them. It is best for citizens to take the initiative and be the driving force behind these efforts.
- 04 Deriving an agreement based on citizen participation in public debates has had the effect of increasing the participants' own political efficacy, developing an understanding and tolerance of others, and increased trust in government and its policies.
- 05 This method of coming to a consensus with the participation of citizens can be further developed to tackle other mid to long-term national issues related to the daily lives of citizens. (i.e. ideological polarization, low national birth rate, etc.)

Challenges

- 01 In order for this consensus model based on citizen participation to become more established as a method for solving mid to long-term national issues, institutionalization is necessary.
- 02 In order for this consensus model based on citizen participation to become even more effective, the burden on citizens who wish to participate must be reduced. This means that participants should be given sufficient time to deliberate and must be compensated for their time and effort.
- 03 We attempted to involve the National Assembly in our Social Dialogues but the COVID-19 pandemic prevented that from happening.



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V

Appendix

1. Detailed timeline of our Social Dialogues (2019–2022)

	Program Participants (Recruiting Target)	Form of Deliberation	Partner
2018	200 Korean citizens (national, 4 mega-regions)	* Deliberative poll (pilot dialogue)	Ministry of Unification
	200 activists of conservative, centrist and progressive orientation (national, 4 mega-regions)	△ Deliberative poll (pilot dialogue)	
	80 youth (Seoul capital area)	* Deliberative poll (pilot dialogue)	
2019	1,000 grassroots activists and community religious leaders (national, 15 regions)	△ Deliberative poll	Ministry of Unification
	800 Korean citizens (national, 4 mega-regions)	* Deliberative poll	
	Consensus-building on humanitarian assistance to North Korea (150 participants) x 2 days	* Consensus model (pilot dialogue)	
	1,200 grassroots activists and community religious leaders (national, 15 regions)	△ Deliberative poll	
	Overseas Koreans living in Seattle and Los Angeles, USA (200 participants)	△ Deliberative poll	
2020	320 delegates of overseas Korean associations	△ Deliberative poll	Overseas Koreans Foundation
	680 Seoul residents	* Deliberative poll	Seoul Metropolitan Government
	300 Korean citizens (national, 4 mega-regions)	* Consensus model (National Consensus on Unification)	Ministry of Unification
	100 Korean citizens (selected from 300 citizens, national) x 4 days	* Consensus model (National Consensus on Unification)	
	1,000 Seoul residents	* Deliberative poll	Seoul Metropolitan Government
	60 teachers in Seoul	△ Deliberative poll	
	240 undergraduate students in Seoul	* Deliberative poll	
	100 Incheon residents	* Semi-consensus model	Incheon Metropolitan Government
	100 residents of Gangwon Province (Kangwon National University)	* Deliberative poll	Kangwon National University
	2021	100 Korean citizens (national) x 4 days	* Consensus model (National Consensus on Unification)
800 Seoul residents		* Deliberative poll	Seoul Metropolitan Government
300 undergraduate students (Korean and non-Korean) living in Seoul		* Semi-consensus model	
100 teachers in Seoul		* Deliberative poll	
100 residents of Gangwon Province		* Semi-consensus model	Gangwon Provincial Government

2. Topics of the Social Dialogue on Peace and Unification (2018–2019)

Category	Topic	Focus Question
Vision for the future of peace and unification of the Korean Peninsula	1 Peace and unification system of the Korean Peninsula	A single unified system vs. coexistence of two systems
	2 View of North Korea	An enemy to be confronted and subdued vs. a partner to be respected and work with
	3 Focus of the unification education	Value of liberal democracy and sound view of national security vs. mutual respect for different systems and peaceful conflict resolution
	4 Cost of unification v. benefit	Benefit is larger vs. cost is larger
	5 Expected effect of peace and unification	A revitalized economy and higher income : Reduced military threats and greater social safety net : greater political and social stability, and greater respect for differences
Path toward a peace regime and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula	6 Path toward and priority in a peace regime and denuclearization	Denuclearization first : peace regime first : simultaneous pursuit of both
	7 International relations that must be strengthened for peace and unification	Strengthen the Korea–U.S. alliance vs. strengthen balanced diplomatic relations
	8 Capabilities required for peace and unification	Consideration of the political & military situation vs. separation from the political & military situation
Humanitarian assistance and exchange and cooperation	9 Conditions for humanitarian assistance to North Korea	Reinforce North Korea’s repressive regime and abused for nuclear development vs. revitalize inter–Korean economy and contribute to reducing tensions
	10 Effect of inter–Korean economic cooperation	Separation of politics and economy, diversification of communication channels vs. government regulation and integration of channels
	11 Principles and subject of inter–Korean exchange and cooperation	Separation of politics and economy, diversification of communication channels vs. government regulation and integration of channels
Peace and unification & democracy	12 Political leaders and citizens	Leader’s decision and initiative are more important vs. citizens’ participation and consensus are more important
	Peace and unification & human rights	Prioritize North Korean human rights vs. prioritize easing of hostile relations

3. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : Korean

통일국민협약안

통일국민협약은 남과 북의 대결과 갈등을 평화적으로 해결하고 바람직한 한반도의 미래를 함께 설계하고 만들어가기 위한 사회적 협약이다.

해방 이후 한반도는 남북으로 갈라져 끝내 전쟁까지 치렀다. 그 후에도 불안정한 휴전상태에서 남과 북은 대결과 적대를 계속해 왔다. 한반도의 주민들이 치러야 했던 고통과 사회적 비용은 막대하다. 분단상황과 남북관계는 한반도 주민들의 삶에 중대한 영향을 미치고 있지만 이에 관한 정책 결정은 정권과 밀접한 소수의 전유물이었다. 정작 당사자인 국민들이 소외되고 사회적 합의 기반이 부족한 상태에서 정책이 결정되고 집행되었다. 그럴수록 더욱더 한반도 문제는 국민들의 실질적 요구나 일상의 삶과 동떨어진 정쟁거리로 전락하게 되었다. 특히 정권이 바뀔 때마다 대북정책이 일관성 없이 흔들렸다. 그 결과 남북관계에서는 혼신과 협상력 약화가 초래되고 사회구성원 사이에는 '남남갈등'이라 불리는 소모적인 사회적·정치적 갈등이 발생하였다.

통일국민협약은 남북관계와 한반도의 미래에 관한 정책 결정과 집행이 민주적으로 일관되게 이루어지도록 정파와 이념을 넘어선 공통의 합의기반을 도출하려는 노력의 일환이다. 통일국민협약안을 도출하기 위한 사회적 대화에는 보수·중도·진보 시민사회단체와 7대 종교가 균형 있게 두루 참여했다. 2018년 이래 지난 4년간 전국에서 수천명의 시민과 활동가, 교사 and 시민들이 평화와 통일에 관한 새로운 숙의민주주의를 경험했다. 의제개발, 발제, 질의응답과 자문에 다양한 입장의 전문가들이 동참했다. 통일국민협약안은 신뢰할 만한 여론조사기구를 통해 선정된 국민들이 오랜 시간의 숙의를 통하여 스스로 마련했다.

통일국민협약안은 국회와 정부가 국민의 숙의 결과를 존중하는 바탕 위에서 공식협약으로 발전시킬 때 비로소 온전한 사회협약으로 완성된다. 통일국민협약은 선포되는 것에 그치지 않고 한반도 주변 환경 변화와 사회구성원의 인식 변화를

반영하여 보완되고 발전해야 한다. 평화와 통일에 관한 사회적 대화는 지속되어야 하고 제도화 및 문화로 정착되어야 한다. 궁극적으로는 북한과 주변국의 정부와 인간의 대화와 합의로 확장되어야 한다.

통일부의 요청에 따라 평화-통일 비전 사회적 대화 전국시민회의가 주최한 <통일 국민협약안 채택 사회적 대화>에 참가한 전국의 시민참여단은 2020년 7월 6일부터 2021년 6월 26일까지 4개 권역별 예비 대화와 총 8일간의 전국 종합대화를 통해 한반도의 바람직한 미래상과 이를 실현할 과정과 방법에 관해 숙의하여 다음의 협약안을 채택한다.

제1장 한반도의 바람직한 미래상

우리가 바라는 미래의 한반도는,
군사적 위협이 없는 평화로운 한반도다.
평화적으로 비핵화된 한반도다.
인권과 삶의 다양성이 보장되는 한반도다.
남북한 주민 모두가 잘 사는 복지국가다.
공정한 사회체제가 정착된 한반도다.
언론의 자유가 보장되는 한반도다.
사회적 합의로 갈등이 해소되는 한반도다.
자유로운 이동과 여행이 가능한 한반도다.
다양한 문화교류가 활발한 한반도다.
남북철도 연결로 세계여행이 자유로운 한반도다.
세계가 찾는 문화의 중심지 한반도다.
남북한 경제 교류와 협력으로 발전된 한반도다.
기술과 자원을 공동개발하는 한반도다.
세계 물류의 중심이 된 한반도다.
남북 상호간 인도적 지원협력이 이루어지는 한반도다.
국제사회와 인도적 지원협력이 이루어지는 한반도다.
남북한 주민은 정부와 더불어 통일 과정의 주체가 되고,
한반도는 평화-통일의 모범이 된다.

제2장 한반도 미래상 실현의 과정과 방법

국민 참여와 합의형성

통일에 대한 국민합의를 도출한다.
통일에 대한 국민의 공감과 지지를 얻을 수 있도록 홍보한다.
남북한 주민이 함께 평화-통일 정책 수립에 참여한다.

대북 통일정책 일관성 확보

통일 사업을 중단없이 추진한다.
수립된 통일 정책을 실현하고 유지한다.
통일을 위한 법안을 제·개정하고 체계를 정비한다.
남북한 대화를 정례화한다.
남북공동의 대화와 합의 채널을 운영한다.
남북한이 신뢰를 바탕으로 대화를 지속한다.

한반도 군사갈등 해소와 비핵화

군사적 위협이 해소된 평화협력 체계를 정착시킨다.
한반도 주변국의 군축 협력을 이끌어낸다.

주변국 관계

남북과 주변국의 외교적 관계를 개선한다.
통일의 당위성을 국제사회에 홍보한다.
남북이 통일에 대해 주변국의 협력과 지지를 이끌어낸다.

인도지원협력과 개발협력

이산가족 교류를 활성화한다.
이산가족간 양해를 자유롭게 한다.
남북한이 사람과 동·식물의 전염병에 대한 대책과 방역에 협력한다.
한반도의 자연생태계를 남북 상호 협력하여 관리·보존한다.

3. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : Korean

사회·문화 교류협력

남북이 지속적으로 문화 교류를 한다.
비정치적 분야의 협력과 교류를 활성화한다.
남북한 공동체의 회복을 위해 언어·역사·문화를 공동으로 연구한다.
남북한이 공동으로 역사 인식 회복을 위해 노력한다.
남북간의 자유로운 이동과 여행이 가능하도록 한다.
남북한이 언론을 개방하고 정보를 교류한다.
남북한의 실상을 투명하게 보도한다.

경제협력과 남북균형발전

남북한의 상호체제 존중과 경제협력으로 신뢰관계를 구축한다.
남북한이 경제·자원 통합을 구체화한다.
남북한 공동으로 교통시설을 연결하고 정비한다.

평화·통일 교육

남북이 통일에 대한 공통교육을 실시한다.

2021. 6. 26.
통일국민협약안 채택 사회적 대화 시민참여단
평화·통일 비전 사회적 대화 전국시민회의

김인성
김경민
정강진
이강산

평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화의 지속과 발전을 위한 권고

평화·통일 비전 사회적 대화 전국시민회의가 주최한 <통일국민협약안 채택 사회적 대화>에 참가하여 통일국민협약안을 채택한 시민참여단은 이후 평화·통일 비전 사회적 대화를 지속적으로 발전시켜 나갈 방향에 대해 숙의하여 정부와 국회, 비정부기구와 국민들에게 다음과 같이 권고한다.

정부와 지방자치단체에 대한 권고

정부는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 확대실행한다.
정부는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화 결과물을 정책에 반영한다.
정부는 통일국민협약안에 따라 일관된 통일정책을 수립한다.
정부와 지방자치단체는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 지속할 수 있는 정책과 예산을 수립하고 집행한다.
정부와 지방자치단체는 규모와 계층을 다양화한 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 성례화한다.
정부는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화 상설기구를 만든다.
정부는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화의 활성화를 위해 홍보를 확대한다.
정부는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 할 수 있는 다양한 창구를 마련한다.
통일부는 국민 의견이 반영되는 과정과 결과를 볼 수 있도록 국민 참여의 플랫폼을 만든다.
통일부는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화에 대한 정확한 매뉴얼을 작성한다.
정부는 통일에 대한 다양한 의견을 수렴하고 각종 소통창구를 마련한다.
정부는 국민들에게 통일에 대한 정보를 충분히 제공한다.
정부는 통일 교육 기회를 제공한다.

국회에 대한 권고

국회는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 지원하는 법률을 만든다.
국회는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화 결과물을 정책에 반영한다.
국회는 통일국민협약안에 따라 일관된 통일정책을 수립한다.

비정부기구에 대한 권고

비정부기구는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 확대실행한다.
시민단체는 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화에서 다양한 입장과 주제를 다룬다.
비정부기구는 국민들에게 통일에 대한 정보를 충분히 제공한다.

국민에게 드리는 권고

국민은 통일 교육과 평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화에 적극 참여한다.
국민은 통일국민협약안이 잘 반영되는지 감시한다.
국민은 북한 주민들에 대해 객관적으로 인식한다.

남북간 대화로의 발전에 관한 권고

평화·통일에 관한 사회적 대화를 남북간의 대화로 발전시킨다.

2021. 6. 26.
통일국민협약안 채택 사회적 대화 시민참여단
평화·통일 비전 사회적 대화 전국시민회의

김인성
김경민
정강진
이강산

4. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : English

Preamble

The National Social Pact on Unification (NSPU) is a social pact for peaceful resolution of inter-Korean confrontation and conflict and for production together of a future vision for the Korean Peninsula.

After liberation, the Korean Peninsula was divided into South and North and experienced war. Since the end of that war, confrontation and hostility have continued between South and North amidst the instability of the Armistice. This caused enormous suffering and social costs for the people on the Korean Peninsula, whose lives are greatly impacted by national division and inter-Korean relations. However, policy-making on this issue has been controlled by a small number of people with close ties to the government. Policies have been created and implemented without sufficient social consensus, marginalizing those directly affected and oversimplifying the issues as mere “political strife,” removed from the meaningful demands and everyday lives of the people. Policies toward the North have oscillated following changes of government, with little consistency. This has led to confusion and less strength in inter-Korean negotiations and meaningless social and political conflict in society, often described as “South-South conflict.”

The NSPU is part of the efforts to establish a consensus across political orientations and ideologies so that policies on the future of inter-Korean relations and the Korean Peninsula are created and implemented in a democratic and consistent manner. The social dialogue to formulate the National Consensus on Unification, or the draft NSPU involved balanced participation of representatives of conservative, centrist, and progressive civil society organizations and 7 major religions of South Korea. Since 2018, thousands of people, including activists and teachers, have participated in “deliberative democracy” on peace and unification. Experts with varying perspectives also took part in the process of developing the agenda, making presentations, asking questions and giving answers, and providing advice. The National Consensus on Unification was prepared by people, selected by a trusted public survey organization, after a lengthy process of deliberation.

The National Consensus on Unification becomes a genuine social pact when the National Assembly and the government develop it into an official pact based on respect for the outcome of the people’s deliberation. The NSPU shouldn’t simply be a declaration. It should continue to evolve with the political environment on the Korean Peninsula and in public perception. The social dialogue on peace and unification needs to continue and be established institutionally and culturally. Eventually, it needs to be expanded to dialogue and consensus among the governments and civil societies of North Korea and neighboring countries.

4. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : English

Main Text

Participants in the Social Dialogue on the National Social Pact on Unification, organized by the Social Dialogue for Peace and Unification Building of Korea upon request from the Ministry of Unification, adopt the following National Consensus on Unification based on deliberations on the vision for the future of the Korean Peninsula and process and means of realizing that vision, in four regional preliminary conversations and an 8-day national plenary conversation that took place between July 6, 2020 and June 26, 2021.

Chapter I. Vision of the Future for the Korean Peninsula

The Korean Peninsula we desire in the future is:

peaceful Korean Peninsula without military threats;
Korean Peninsula denuclearized in a peaceful manner;
Korean Peninsula where human rights and diversity of life are guaranteed;
Korean Peninsula of welfare states that ensure prosperity for all people in the South and the North;
Korean Peninsula with fairness established in the social system;
Korean Peninsula with freedom of the press;
Korean Peninsula where conflicts are resolved through social consensus;
Korean Peninsula with freedom of travel and tourism;
Korean Peninsula with active and diverse cultural exchanges;
Korean Peninsula where people can travel out to the world on an inter-Korean railroad;
Korean Peninsula that attracts the world as a center for culture;

Korean Peninsula developed through inter-Korean economic exchange and cooperation;

Korean Peninsula where the development of technology and resources are joint endeavors;

Korean Peninsula as a center for global logistics;

Korean Peninsula where the South and the North provide mutual humanitarian assistance; and

Korean Peninsula that engages in humanitarian assistance and in cooperation with the international community.

People of South and North Korea, along with the government, become agents in the unification process, and the Korean Peninsula becomes a model for peace and unification.

4. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : English

Chapter II. Process and Means of Realizing the Vision of the Future for the Korean Peninsular

People's participation and consensus-building

Reach a national consensus on unification

Promote unification to gain public acceptance and support

Ensure participation of the people of South and North Korea in the policy-making process on peace and unification

Consistency in unification policy toward North Korea

Implement unification programs continuously

Realize and maintain the established unification policy

Introduce and reform laws and systems for unification

Hold regular inter-Korean dialogue

Operate inter-Korean channels for dialogue and consultation

Continue inter-Korean dialogue based on trust

Ending military confrontation on and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula

Establish a cooperative system for peace without military threat

Convince neighboring countries to cooperate towards disarmament

Relations with neighboring countries

Improve diplomatic relations between the South and the North and their neighboring countries

Promote the necessity of unification in the international community

The South and the North gain cooperation and support of neighboring countries for unification

4. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : English

Chapter II. Process and Means of Realizing the Vision of the Future for the Korean Peninsular

Humanitarian assistance and development cooperation

Promote exchanges between separated families

Allow free visits between separated families

Ensure inter-Korean cooperation for quarantine efforts regarding contagious human and animal diseases

Manage and preserve the natural ecosystem of the Korean Peninsula through inter-Korean cooperation

Social and cultural exchange and cooperation

Ensure continuous inter-Korean cultural exchange

Promote exchange and cooperation in non-political areas

Conduct joint research on language, history and culture to restore the inter-Korean community

Engage in joint efforts to restore historical understanding

Guarantee freedom of travel and tourism between the South and the North

Ensure that the South and the North are open to each other's media and exchanges of information

Ensure transparent journalism on realities of the South and the North

Economic cooperation and balanced inter-Korean development

Establish trust in inter-Korean relations based on respect for each other's system and economic cooperation

Develop concrete plans for integration of the economy and resources of the South and the North

Connect and maintain transportation facilities through inter-Korean cooperation

Education on peace and unification

The South and the North to conduct common education on unification

June 26, 2021

Participants in the Social Dialogue on the National Social Pact on Unification Social Dialogue for Peace and Unification Building of Korea

4. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : English

Recommendations for the Continuation and Development of Social Dialogue on Peace and Unification

Participants in the Social Dialogue on the NSPU, organized by Social Dialogue for Peace and Unification Building of Korea, adopt the following recommendations for the government, the National Assembly, NGOs and the people based on the deliberation on ways to continuously develop social dialogue on the vision of peace and unification.

Recommendations to the central and local governments

The central government expands social dialogue on peace and unification.

The central government integrates the outcome of social dialogue on peace and unification into policy.

The central government establishes a consistent unification policy based on the NSPU.

The central and local governments establish the necessary policy and budgets to continue social dialogue on peace and unification.

The central and local governments implement regular social dialogue on peace and unification of diverse scales and with participants from diverse backgrounds.

The central government establishes a permanent institution for the social dialogue on peace and unification.

The central government extends the promotion of social dialogue on peace and unification for more active participation.

The central government creates diverse channels for the social dialogue on peace and unification.

The Ministry of Unification establishes a platform for people to participate that opens the process and outcome of participant deliberation.

The Ministry of Unification prepares an accurate manual for the social dialogue on peace and unification.

The central government listens to diverse opinions on unification and creates a variety of communication channels.

The central government provides adequate information on unification for the people. The central government creates opportunities for education on unification.

Recommendations to the National Assembly

The National Assembly introduces law that supports the social dialogue on peace and unification.

The National Assembly integrates the outcome of the social dialogue on peace and unification into policy.

The National Assembly establishes a consistent unification policy based on the NSPU.

4. Draft National Consensus on the Unification(2021) : English

Recommendations for the Continuation and Development of Social Dialogue on Peace and Unification

Recommendations to NGOs

NGOs expand the social dialogue on peace and unification.

Civil society organizations deal with diverse perspectives and themes in the social dialogue on peace and unification.

NGOs provide adequate information on unification for the people.

Recommendations to the people

People actively participate in unification education and the social dialogue on peace and unification.

People monitor whether the NSPU is adequately integrated into government policy.

People develop an objective understanding of North Koreans.

Recommendations for evolution into inter-Korean dialogue

Develop the social dialogue on peace and unification into inter-Korean dialogue.

June 26, 2021

Participants in the Social Dialogue on the NSPU

Social Dialogue for Peace and Unification Building of Korea

THANK YOU

감사합니다

For any questions, please contact us.

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