



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Bachelor of International Relations Studies

Accredited A

SK BAN-PT No. 2579/SK/BAN-PT/AK-ISK/S/IV/2022

Presidential Character Analysis on Moon Jae In's
Tendencies in Exercising Public Diplomacy

Thesis

Submitted for Undergraduate-Level Thesis Defence

Bachelor of International Relations Studies

By

Razita Puti Syahzani

6091801076

Bandung

2023



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Bachelor of International Relations Studies

Accredited

SK BAN –PT NO: 2579/SK/BAN-PT/AK-ISK/S/IV/2022

Presidential Character Analysis on Moon Jae In's
Tendencies in Exercising Public Diplomacy

Undergraduate Thesis

By

Razita Puti Syahzani

6091801076

Supervisor

Sapta Dwikardana, Ph.D.

Bandung

2023

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
International Relations Department



Thesis Approval

Name : Razita Puti Syahzani
Student Number : 6091801076
Thesis Title : Presidential Character Analysis on Moon Jae In's Tendencies in Exercising Public Diplomacy During His Presidency

Approved to be filed for
Bachelor-level Thesis Defense

Supervisor

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sapta Dwikardana'.

Sapta Dwikardana, Ph.D.

Acknowledging,
Head of International Relation Studies Undergraduate Program

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Marshell Adi Putra'.

Marshell Adi Putra, S. IP., MA.

STATEMENT LETTER

I, who signed below

Name : Razita Puti Syahzani
Student ID : 6091801076
Department : International Relations
Title : Presidential Character Analysis on Moon Jae In's Tendencies in
Exercising Public Diplomacy During His Presidency

Hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own writing and is not a product of plagiarism from other academic writings by other parties. Other works and opinions that came from others beside myself are written and cited based on scientific method that apply.

I declare this statement with full responsibility and am willing to accept any consequences in accordance to any applied rules if later it is found and proven that this statement is untrue.

Bandung, June 12th, 2023



Razita Puti Syahzani

6091801076

ABSTRACT

Name : Razita Puti Syahzani
Student Number : 6091801076
Title : Presidential Character Analysis on Moon Jae In's
Tendencies in Exercising Public Diplomacy

Ever since he entered the presidential office, President Moon Jae In showed his tendencies in resorting to public diplomacy when addressing problems that affects South Korea's national interests. He leaned on public diplomacy when addressing threats to South Korea's good name as well as threats to the country's territorial and economic safety. His successful exercise of public diplomacy has been a well-studied subject in the field of International Relations, but not many has seen how it is linked to him as a person of politics, as a president. This research aims to answer the question; 'how does President Moon Jae In's Presidential Character explain his tendencies towards exercising successful public diplomacy?' by looking at South Korea's public diplomacy during Moon Jae In's presidential term from 2017 to 2022. Through a qualitative psychobiography research and by utilising James Barber's Presidential Character Analysis, this research goes through President Moon Jae In's childhood, early career, until his presidency to see what type of a president he is and how it reflects his constant resort to public diplomacy. This research found that President Moon Jae In falls into the passive-positive type of Presidential Character that explains his need of being loved and agreeable. This further explains his tendency to proceed with peaceful measures to achieve South Korea's national interests, reflected in how he addressed North Korea's nuclear threats by collaborating with Kim Jong Un on the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics in 2018 and other peaceful occasions, and how he addressed China's economic threats towards South Korea through similar peaceful measures. This research is written to contribute to the study of political psychology and see how the personality of political leaders affects the formulation of foreign policy.

Keywords: President Moon Jae In, Presidential Character, Public Diplomacy, Personality, National Interests.

ABSTRAK

Nama : Razita Puti Syahzani
NPM : 6091801076
Judul : Analisis Karakter Presidensial Moon Jae In Terhadap Kecenderungannya Dalam Mempraktikkan Diplomasi Publik

Sejak menduduki kursi kepresidenan, Presiden Moon Jae In menunjukkan kecenderungannya dalam menggunakan diplomasi publik dalam mengusut permasalahan yang mempengaruhi kepentingan nasional Korea Selatan. Ia cenderung mempraktikkan diplomasi publik ketika Korea Selatan menghadapi ancaman terhadap nama baiknya dan ancaman terhadap keamanan wilayah dan ekonominya. Pelaksanaan diplomasi publik yang sukses oleh Presiden Moon Jae In telah sering menjadi subjek penelitian dalam Hubungan Internasional. Namun, belum banyak yang mengaitkannya dengan Moon Jae In sebagai pelaku politik, yaitu seorang presiden. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian: 'bagaimana karakter presidensial Moon Jae In menjelaskan kecenderungannya dalam melaksanakan diplomasi publik secara sukses?' dengan mempelajari praktik diplomasi publik selama masa jabatan Moon Jae In dari 2017 hingga 2022. Dengan metode kualitatif psikobiografi dan menggunakan Analisis Karakter Kepresidenan oleh James Barber, penelitian ini akan melihat masa kecil, awal karir politik, hingga periode kepresidenan Presiden Moon Jae In untuk melihat tipe kepresidenannya and bagaimana tipe tersebut berdampak pada kecenderungannya dalam menggunakan diplomasi publik. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa Presiden Moon Jae In jatuh ke dalam tipe pasif-positif dari Karakter Presiden yang menjelaskan kebutuhannya untuk menjadi seseorang yang disukai dan disetujui oleh orang lain. Hal ini kemudian menjelaskan kecenderungannya dalam mengambil tindakan yang bersifat positif untuk mencapai kepentingan nasional Korea Selatan, seperti bagaimana ia menangani ancaman nuklir dari Korea Utara dengan membentuk beberapa kolaborasi dengan Kim Jong Un seperti pada upacara pembukaan Winter Olympics 2018 dan acara-acara damai lainnya. Selain itu juga dilihat dari bagaimana ia menangani ancaman dari Cina terhadap ekonomi Korea Selatan dengan memanfaatkan tindakan yang positif pula. penelitian ini ditulis untuk berkontribusi dalam studi psikologi politik dan melihat bagaimana kepribadian pemimpin politik mempengaruhi terbentuknya kebijakan luar negeri.

Kata Kunci: Presiden Moon Jae In, Karakter Kepresidenan, Diplomasi Publik, Kepribadian, Kebijakan Luar Negeri.

PREFACE

Praise to Allah as I have completed my research for this thesis with the title *Presidential Character Analysis on Moon Jae In's Tendencies in Exercising Public Diplomacy During His Presidency*, to complete my undergraduate studies in Parahyangan Catholic University's International Relations Department.

This research was conducted to understand how Moon Jae In's personality plays a role in his constant reliance on public diplomacy. It is hoped that this thesis could shed some light onto South Korea's foreign policy and how it is or could be affected by its former and future leaders. It is also upon my prayers that this thesis will be able to contribute to the study of personality, political psychology, and how it correlates to foreign policy.

It has been quite a lengthy journey for me to complete this thesis. This thesis is the proof of me facing all kinds of discouragement and obstacles since I began to write it. It is far from perfect and I do believe there are ways in which I can improve my writing. But all the meanwhile, I hope this thesis could be useful for others who reads it.

Bandung, 9 June 2023

Razita Puti Syahzani

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be an utter lie to say I did it all by myself. Although I am to be accounted 100% on everything written throughout this thesis, many people are accountable for keeping me motivated, sane, and feeling highly supported. I honestly will not think that I will make it through college without the constant cheer of these beloved people;

1. To Mr. Irfan Jasri and Mrs. Nuning Yuanasary, my dad and mom who has PATIENTLY supported me throughout my journey in completing university (I'm sorry I took too long). Nay, you guys have supported me my whole life. No matter what I want to pursue in life, music, crocheting, baking, gaming... you guys are always behind me and make me feel safe no matter which direction I go.
2. To my one and only sister, Kalista Rahil Anjali, who has given me a strong motivation to achieve great things because I want you to be proud of me. Thank you for sticking by my side and never get sick of me talking about thesis this and thesis that.
3. To Muhammad Fadhli, the man whose existence in my life is enough to make me feel loved, motivated, and strong. Thank you for making everything okay when you witnessed my panics, stresses, headaches, and hectics during my thesis journey. You managed to help me get through all of it. No matter what happen to us in the future, you were here with me, and I thank you so much for it.
4. To my uni best friends, Sarah Ferindita, Kezia Natalia Wattie, Annisa Aqilah Harnel, Valencia, and Nabila Zulfa Zakiani (Almh.) who sticked with me throughout my five years of university even though I am filled with flaws. The fact that we kept each other sane throughout campus life

is amazing. And the fact that we have each-others' backs no matter when makes me eternally grateful for our friendship.

5. To my high school best friends, Adita Suci Ramadhan, Muhamad Afif Akbar, Muhammad Ichsan Pratama, and the rest of you guys in our group (which we don't have an actual name of), who have been there for me for the last 9 years, but somehow never got sick of me. Thank you for giving me joy that keeps me boosted throughout my university years.
6. To Muhammad Ikhlas, Nabila Tuffahati, and Zidan, for helping me fulfil my dreams of becoming a person in music, allowing me to achieve things whilst pursuing university. I endlessly thank you guys for understanding me not writing any music for the past year to finish this thesis. I will work on this as soon as I walk out of the thesis defence room so we can harvest more money
7. To Ezra Permana, Felix Jonathan Pamenan, Muhammad Aviv, Fadli Julistia and many others who has been an awesome music team for me. You guys helped me realising my dream and passion of writing, producing, and performing my own music.
8. To Timmy, Otam, Taenggoo, and especially Becky, my four cats that, although they can't say a word, them being near me is enough to make me feel warm and accompanied every time. I'm doing this to get a degree, a job, and eventually money for buying you guys cat food.
9. Last but definitely not least, my greatest gratitude to Mas Saptia Dwikardana, Ph.D. who has guided me throughout my thesis journey and has been very nurturing, patient, and insightful throughout the process. I just hope you haven't got bored of seeing my face these past three semesters.

For all my friends from campus, high school, organisations, music scheme, and anywhere else who is in every part of the world that I cannot mention one by one, thank you. No matter how small or big our interactions are it led me here and I am grateful for it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INDICATOR OF APPROVAL	III
STATEMENT LETTER.....	IV
ABSTRACT	V
ABSTRAK.....	VI
PREFACE	VII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	VIII
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	XI
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 RESEARCH BACKGROUND.....	1
1.2 PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION.....	3
1.2.1 <i>Research Question</i>	7
1.3 RESEARCH PURPOSE	8
1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	15
1.6 RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION METHOD	21
1.6.1 <i>Research Method</i>	21
1.6.2 <i>Data Collection Method</i>	22
CHAPTER 2 SOUTH KOREA’S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY UNDER MOON JAE IN’S PRESIDENCY	24
2.1 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN SOUTH KOREA	24
2.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES UNDER MOON JAE IN	28
2.3 SOUTH KOREA’S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP	34
2.3.1 <i>North Korea</i>	34
2.3.2 <i>China</i>	36
2.3.3 <i>The United States</i>	39
2.3.4 <i>Southeast Asia</i>	42
2.4 SOUTH KOREA’S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY UNDER MOON JAE IN: ANALYSIS THROUGH MARK LEONARDS’ THREE DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	45
CHAPTER 3 PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTER ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT MOON JAE IN	54
3.1 WHAT SHAPES MOON JAE IN TODAY.....	54
3.2 MOON JAE IN IN POLITICS.....	58
3.2.1 <i>Early Presidency: 2017</i>	59
3.2.2 <i>Mid Presidency: 2018-2020</i>	62
3.2.3 <i>Late Presidency: 2021-2022</i>	66
3.2.4 <i>Post-Presidency</i>	70
3.3 COMPONENTS OF MOON JAE IN’S PERSONALITY	71
3.4 DYNAMIC OF THE COMPONENTS	80

3.5 MOON JAE IN'S PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTER.....87
CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSION98

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

In 2017 South Korea was faced a dramatic political shift by a corruption scandal involving Park Geun Hye, the previous president in office.¹ Not only does the scandal involved Park's close friend who utilised their friendship for her and her daughter's benefit, it also involved Lee Jae Yong, the head of Samsung, one of South Korea's biggest conglomerate and Ewha Woman's University, one of the biggest and oldest university in the country. As this scandal arose, not only did it harm the people's trust towards the government and *chaebols* or conglomerates, but it had also cost South Korea their reputation internationally as one of the established powerful economies in Asia, tracing back to the 1990s.² After a series of candlelight protests by South Korean citizens from late 2016 to early 2017, the Constitutional Court finally had Park Geun Hye impeached under the parliament vote shortly after her indictment in March 2017.³

Park Geun Hye left office, leaving South Korea under not only a crisis of trust between citizens and the government, but also an external threat

¹ BBC News Service, "South Korea's Presidential Scandal," *BBC News*, April 6, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37971085>.

² Seung-Ho Kwon and Joseph Kim, "The Cultural Industry Policies of the Korean Government and the Korean Wave," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 20, no. 4 (August 29, 2013): 422–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2013.829052>.

³ Reuters Staff, "Timeline: South Korea's Impeached President Park Geun-Hye," *Reuters*, March 10, 2017, sec. Emerging Markets, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-politics-timeline-idUSKBN16H09W>.

coming from North Korea who declared that they were initiating tests on their intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) in late 2016, despite harsh sanctions dropped by the Park Geun Hye administration.⁴ This has raised South Korea's urgency to increase national security and to neutralise South Korea and North Korea's relationship to minimise the probability of further nuclear tests, all while under a domestic political crisis.

As if the internal and external pressure were not enough to test the early stage of President Moon's term, China came to add into the number of issues for South Korea to handle. When President Moon decided to collaborate with the United States in installing a defence system against possible nuclear missiles from North Korea called Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD),⁵ China expressed their disapproval towards the installation of the defence system and let out an economically-harming reaction towards South Korea.

These points above have become some of the biggest initial homework to be tackled by Moon Jae-In as the subsequently-appointed president, who was immediately inaugurated in May 2017, right after the indictment of Park Geun Hye. These issues bear an urgency to tackle issues that have affected South Korea's reputation, economic stability, and *could* affect its territorial integrity. These points have dragged President Moon to work out a diplomatic

⁴ Ankit Panda, "North Korea Threatens Nuclear Warhead, Ballistic Missile Testing," *The Diplomat*, March 15, 2016, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/03/north-korea-threatens-nuclear-warhead-ballistic-missile-testing/>.

⁵ Echo Huang, "China Inflicted a World of Pain on South Korea in 2017," *Quartz*, December 21, 2017, <https://qz.com/1149663/china-south-korea-relations-in-2017-thaad-backlash-and-the-effect-on-tourism>.

effort in order to restore South Korea's reputation as a state with integrity, as well as to maintain its territory, and economic stability.

1.2 Problem Identification

As several issues came on top of his table at the beginning of his presidency, President Moon resorted to public diplomacy, exercising it to resolve said issues. To address the strained trust between citizens and the government, President Moon managed to establish an image of himself as the president of the people. On the first year of his term, he joined a crowd of South Korean citizens at a national cemetery where about 10.000 people who were killed for protesting against Chun Doo Hwan's dictatorship in 1980 were buried.⁶ He joined thousands of South Korean citizens sang an iconic song of protest, "March for the Beloved", against conservative rule that his liberal presidency ended once President Moon came into office. On the same year, he also set out a plan for his presidential office to be moved from the Blue House, to Gwanghwamun, a district where South Korea's embassies and The Seoul Government Complex is located.⁷ He had established this plan to strengthen his dream to create a government that is close to its people, as he would be working close to governmental personnel and civilian citizens that works within the district. As a result, President Moon garnered favourable rating from his citizens reaching to 84% for his approval rating in 2017 and

⁶ Cynthia Kim, "South Korea's Moon Joins Protest Song at Commemoration in Nod to Liberal Values," *Reuters*, May 18, 2017, sec. Emerging Markets, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-politics-liberals-idUSKCN18E0BZ>.

⁷ Joyce Lee, "Moon's Aim to Move South Korean Presidential Office a Security 'Headache,'" *Reuters*, May 10, 2017, sec. Emerging Markets, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-election-moon-bluehouse-idUSKBN18615D>.

83% in 2018.⁸ This marks a significant recovery of South Korean citizens' trust towards the government.

He exercised public diplomacy also in handling South Korea's relationship with North Korea. During the heightened tension of possible nuclear tests by North Korea, President Moon managed to form a collaboration together with Kim Jong Un, North Korea's supreme leader, in hosting the Winter Olympics in 2018.⁹ Afterwards, President Moon managed to hold a concert stage he initiated in collaboration with Kim Jong Un, held in North Korean grounds, to promote cultural diplomacy towards North Korean government and civilians.¹⁰ During this event, President Moon introduced South Korea's *Hallyu* by sending South Korean girl group, Red Velvet, as a cultural envoy.

This public diplomacy effort bear fruit that is harvested by the Moon administration. President Moon managed to hold a friendly face-to-face bilateral meeting with Kim Jong Un where he got the North Korean leader to sign a declaration on the denuclearisation of North Korea.¹¹ This is a great step enabled by the South Korean government under President Moon and no other state leader could achieve this before. This progress was enabled by

⁸ Katharina Buccholz, "Infographic: President Moon's Approval Rating Is in Free Fall," Statista Infographics, May 29, 2019, <https://www.statista.com/chart/18207/president-moon-jae-in-approval-rating-south-korea/>.

⁹ Gi-Wook Shin and Joyce Lee, "Moon's Bet on the Olympics: What Comes Next?" East Asia Forum, February 18, 2018, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/02/18/moons-bet-on-the-olympics-what-comes-next/>.

¹⁰ Motoko Rich and Su-Hyun Lee, "Can North Korea Handle a K-Pop Invasion? (Published 2018)," *The New York Times*, March 30, 2018, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/30/world/asia/north-korea-k-pop-red-velvet.html>.

¹¹ Michael Ray, "Moon Jae-in | Biography, Policies, & Presidency," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Moon-Jae-In>.

President Moon's elaborate public diplomacy practice that establish a friendly relationship with North Korea, creating a much more conducive atmosphere between the two countries for any peace to upturn within the Korean Peninsula.

Besides his handling of South Korea's relationship with North Korea, President Moon also had to face China during the beginning of his presidency. When President Moon collaborated with the United States in installing a defence system against North Korea's possible nuclear missiles,¹² China saw it as a threat to their own development of nuclear weapons, and thus their territory. The Xi Jinping administration uphold sanctions and travel ban against South Korea, delivering a blow towards South Korea's economy.

In addressing this issue, too, did President Moon resorted to public diplomacy. President Moon and Xi Jinping held a bilateral talk in late 2017 where they discuss the lifting of the sanctions China imposed towards South Korea.¹³ During this talk, President Moon had brought along South Korea's K-Drama actress and one of their K-Pop groups to Beijing as a part of his public diplomacy mission to capture a positive perception from Chinese citizens and government. President Moon's effort successfully encouraged China to lift their sanctions and restore the travel ban they inflicted towards South Korea, allowing to restore South Korea's relationship with China and also the harm towards South Korea's tourism.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ankit Panda, "South Korea's Moon Jae-in to Visit China next Week," The Diplomat, December 8, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/south-koreas-moon-jae-in-to-visit-china-next-week/>.

The issue of restoring the distrust between the citizens towards the government of South Korea is a matter that, conventionally, is addressed through an image-mending measure such as public diplomacy. But on the other issues such as nuclear threats from North Korea or economic sanctions that China imposed; some might argue that aggressive measures would be necessary to protect South Korea's interests. After all, the former threatens South Korea's territorial integrity and safety, while the former threatens South Korea's economy, as Chinese citizens make up 46% of tourists in South Korea.

President Moon has resorted to public diplomacy in addressing issues that are highly endangering South Korea's territory and economy. Why did he not resort to more aggressive measures to defend South Korea's national interests? Previous South Korean presidents had no hesitation in resorting to aggressive actions towards North Korea in the past. When North Korea launched a torpedo that attacked South Korea's navy ship and killed 46 sailors in 2010, President Lee Myung Bak was quick to cut ties of trades between South Korea and North Korea,¹⁴ imposing a harsh sanction towards the country. Park Geun Hye's administration replied to several armed aggressions from North Korea by ordering South Korea's army to unwaveringly respond to North Korea provocations which led to several gunfire exchange within the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) (with no casualties) and attempts of delivering propaganda towards North Korean citizens, delivered by Park Geun Hye's

¹⁴ Rebecca Bowring, "Seoul Hits Pyongyang with Sanctions, Vows UN Action," France 24, May 24, 2010, <https://www.france24.com/en/20100524-seoul-self-defence-pyongyang-torpedo-attack-un-sanctions>.

administration through loudspeakers in the DMZ and flying banner balloons into North Korean territory.¹⁵

As aggression towards North Korea's threat has been seen historically by South Korea's previous presidents, it means that such measures have been taken and is a probable measure that could help South Korea protect its territorial integrity. But President Moon Jae In has refrained from resorting to the same aggressive measure and decided to resort to public diplomacy instead. Something within himself has led him to approach North Korea (and other national issues) in such a peaceful manner, avoiding escalated tensions and possible exchanges of military advances.

This thesis will research about psychological reasonings behind President Moon's tendencies in resorting to the (successful) exercise of public diplomacy measures and peaceful approaches during his term.

1.2.1 Research Question

This research is conducted for answering the following question: *How does President Moon Jae In's Presidential Character explain his tendencies towards exercising successful public diplomacy?*

1.2.2 Research Limitations

This research will only be examining President Moon's public diplomacy approach during his presidential term that lasted from 2017 to 2022. Although in later chapters, this thesis will trace back into his

¹⁵ Eric Talmadge, "Tensions Rise in Korea as Shells Fired over DMZ," The Jakarta Post, August 21, 2015, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/08/21/tensions-rise-korea-shells-fired-over-dmz.html>.

childhood and early political career, it is done so as a part of the psychoanalysis conducted to conclude the whole research in determining the reasoning behind President Moon's approach to public diplomacy. This thesis will still focus on explaining his presidential tendencies that lasted between the year 2017 and 2022.

1.3 Research Purpose

This thesis is written for the purpose of further examining how one's personal character builds their presidential character that is reflected in certain presidents' governing character. This research is hoped to contribute to the topic of political psychology and the study of presidential character and how it affects the governed state.

1.4 Literature Review

In order to gain insights for the research regarding Moon Jae In's presidential character and leadership qualities, several literature surrounding the topic of presidents' personality and how it affects leadership style and foreign policy has been reviewed. These literatures were chosen as they assessed a president's leadership qualities and presidential styles from different approaches, ranging from a quantitative to a qualitative method and also descriptive to psycho-biographical approach.

The reviewed literature features the research on the personalities and leadership styles of The United States' former president, Donald Trump, South Korea's Park Geun Hye, and Turkey's current president, Recep Erdoğan. These writings explores how each of these presidents' personalities

play a role in their approach towards the state's foreign policy, domestic affairs, and specific issue their respective states faced during their respective terms. It is hoped that through these literatures, it can be seen how different approaches on presidential personalities can affect the findings on the president's leadership styles.

On the first literature, Houssein A. Al Malla (2021) dived into the personality of former US president, Donald Trump, to see how his personality plays into his decision-making process in the context of the US' relations with Iran.¹⁶ On his last year as president, Donald Trump planned an attack against Iran's nuclear facility, and pulled The United States back from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), an agreement between the US under Obama and several other states to lift sanctions against Iran for their nuclear activities. Trump, instead, re-imposed said sanctions towards the Iranian government. This led to an escalated military aggression between the US and Iran. Al Malla, in his research built his analysis based on Immelman and Griebie's Leadership Trait Analysis.¹⁷ It was found that Trump's leadership style to be; **dominant** (closed-minded, lack objectivity, bigoted, prejudiced, and inflexible), reflected in how he went against the advices of his people to pull out from the JCPOA. **Dauntless** (tend to avoid compromise, backed by self-confidence, defiant). reflected by his action in increasing military aggression towards. **Ambitious** (extraordinarily confident, distorting the truth to deflect the facts, self-glorifying), reflected by how he insisted that the

¹⁶Houssein Al Malla, "Personality and Foreign Policy: Can Leadership Trait Analysis Explain Trump's Iran Decisions?," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3952188>.

¹⁷ Ibid,

JCPOA has helped Iran's military advancement by giving USD\$150 billion to Iran as a pay-out when the truth is that Iran took hold of funds that were frozen due to sanctions that were lifted from the JCPOA. **Outgoing** (unreflective, superficial, lacks introspective thoughts, flawed decision-making), reflected in how he blamed the Obama administration for signing the JCPOA in the first place which allowed Iran to gain a large sum of money that allowed Iran to proceed with an attack against the US' military base in Iran when in fact, it was Trump's decision in marking the IRCG as a terrorist group that provoked the military aggression. Al Malla's research concluded that personality traits **does** play a role in Trump's decision in regards to the US' relations to Iran.¹⁸ In Trump's case, his personality was quite distinctive and easy to spot when going through the US' foreign policy against Iran. His research concluded that personality studies have its relevance in the study of foreign policy.

In the paper titled '**The First Female President in South Korea: Park Geun Hye's Leadership and South Korean Democracy**', Sung Deuk Hahm and Uk Heo (2017) conducted a qualitative psycho-biographical analysis on Park Geun Hye, South Korea's president before Moon Jae In, to understand her leadership qualities and how she maintained a high approval rating throughout her presidency.¹⁹ Sung and Uk built their theory on

¹⁸ Malla, "Personality and Foreign Policy: Can Leadership Trait Analysis Explain Trump's Iran Decisions?"

¹⁹ Deuk Hahm Sung and Heo Uk, "The First Female President in South Korea: Park Geun-Hye's Leadership and South Korean Democracy," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 53, no. 5 (August 10, 2017): 649–65, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909617722376>.

leadership qualities from three theories from Richard Neustadt (1960), Erwin Hargrove (1995), and Fred Greenstein (2000) regarding necessary leadership traits for successful presidency.²⁰ The three theories overlapped on three main points; **effective communication, negotiation abilities towards opposition leaders, and organisational capabilities.** Utilising these points to analyse Park Geun Hye's presidency, it was seen that she lacked all three of the leadership qualities that makes up a successful presidency. Sung and Uk then questioned how she maintained high approval ratings even until the end of her presidency. Sung and Uk emphasized on how Park Geun Hye is the daughter of Park Chung Hee, South Korea's leader in 1952 that, although he led an authoritarian rule, he successfully built South Korea's economy and infrastructure during his reign. South Korea's economy annual growth rate reached 10% during his administration and South Korea managed to feel constant growth initiated by Park Chung Hee's administration even until the 1990s. This helped shine the light towards Park Geun Hye, as conservatives had a great sentiment towards her as they associate her with her father and his success in building South Korea's economy. Sung and Uk research concluded that Park Geun Hye managed to gain constantly-high approval rating due to the similarities of her persona with her father, which many conservatives missed, especially after the financial crisis that hit South Korea in 1997. On the down side, besides the legacy left by Park Chung Hee, Park Geun Hye also inherited his method of leadership, the poor qualities that was analysed throughout Sung and Uk's paper. Those qualities worked for Park Chung Hee

²⁰ Ibid.

on his authoritative leadership. But Park Geun Hye was elected under a democratic system, which requires a much more inclusive decision-making process. Adding to the issue was South Korea's democracy that was still in its development process that caused it to be constantly challenged due to the country's history of authoritarianism. Sung and Uk concluded their writings with how the impeachment of Park Geun Hye through non-violent candlelight protests reflected that her presidency is a part of growing pains that South Korea had to go through for a much more mature democracy in the country.

On the third paper titled '**Turkey's Erdoğan: Leadership Style and Foreign Policy Audiences**', Barış Kesgin dived into Turkey's President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and see how his leadership style shifts depending on the audience he addresses.²¹ Kesgin conducted correlational-quantitative research by looking at Erdoğan's public and analyse it through Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA), a method developed by Margaret Hermann. This research was conducted to better understand how Erdoğan's leadership style differs when he addresses domestic audiences (home) and foreign audiences (away). Kesgin goes through interviews that President Erdoğan went through with domestic media in Turkey and media from other countries. He then processed the data to calculate the score of each of the attributes (based on Hermann's LTA) that makes up Erdoğan's leadership style home and away. The results that Kesgin pulls out from this research showed that, domestically, Erdoğan tends to challenge obstacles in foreign policy. But he is more likely

²¹ Barış Kesgin, "Turkey's Erdoğan: Leadership Style and Foreign Policy Audiences," *Turkish Studies* 21, no. 1 (February 9, 2019): 1–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2019.1575735>.

to respect obstacles abroad and more likely to work within the set parameters to achieve his foreign policy agendas. He is more open to new information and more open-minded when talking to foreign audience but much close-minded when talking to Turkish-media. Erdoğan seem to be more focused to problem solving when it comes to domestic media but more focused on preserving relationships abroad. Kesgin argues that the reasoning to why Erdoğan exhibits differing leadership styles at home and abroad is the result of his background.²² Erdoğan grew up in a Muslim environment and has been in Turkish politics since 1994 when he joined Necmettin Erbakan's National Salvation Party which enabled him to become the mayor of Istanbul. This has birthed a political issue that caused him to be temporarily banned from politics after citing a Islamist poem, going against Turkey's secular politics. Erdoğan has built a separate identity that is his Muslim identity and a secular identity that he needs to maintain in order to pursue his political career.

The three reviewed literatures concluded that personality *does*, in fact, affect a president's leadership style and thus, how they approach foreign policy and domestic affairs. Personal background and personality does not only affect, but leaves traces of said personality aspects that can be analysed as all three literatures showed.

However, all three of the literatures shows differences in assessing each president's presidential styles. Houssein A. Al Malla explained Donald Trumps' decision in pulling the United States back from the Joint

²² Ibid.

Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) by going through his personality that was observed through the decision itself, not by going through his background that precedes this phenomenon to see his personal traits. Sung Deuk Hahm and Uk Heo explained Park Geun Hye's constant high approval rating despite lacking leadership qualities by directly linking her performance as a legacy from her father's leadership style and how it is infused into her personality, resulting into her specific presidential style that she exhibited during her term. Lastly, Barış Kesgin approached Recep Erdoğan's leadership style and how it differs across audiences by analysing his personality directly from examples of him exercising his presidential duties, specifically interviews he has with domestic and foreign media. But this quantitative research factors not much of Erdoğan's personal background other than the fact that he grew up within a Muslim environment which affects the dynamic of his Muslim personality and Turkey's and foreign states' secular politics.

Thus, this thesis is written to see how the extensive personality traits of a president (in this case Moon Jae In) plays a role in the president's decision-making in regards to foreign policy, instead of just one single aspect of their personalities and apply it to a single occurrence during their presidential term. This way, it is hoped that we can see how different personality attributes that was gained throughout a president's (or other leaders') life plays a role in different forms of a state's foreign and domestic affairs.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

This research dives into the analysis of President Moon's successful exercise of public diplomacy during his term and also how his presidential personality and psychology plays a part in his decision-making process.

Before diving into the psychological reasoning behind President Moon's decision in constantly exercising public diplomacy, this thesis will first go through the execution of public diplomacy. **Mark Leonard (2002)** formulated a **three-dimensional analysis of public diplomacy** exercise which will be the theoretical framework used to analyse South Korea's public diplomacy under President Moon.

Leonard explained that public diplomacy is not only about understanding the needs of partnering countries along with their culture and the people, it is also about communicating the sending country's points of view while also aligning the receiving country's conceptions regarding the sending country and finding common ground between the two.²³ It differs from traditional diplomacy in a way that public diplomacy involves a much broader group of people, including their broad sets of interests, going beyond the respective countries' governments. It utilises the country's image and reputation as a form of public goods to establish a stable environment for carrying out public diplomacy practices.

²³ Mark Leonard, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing, *Public Diplomacy* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2002).

He broke down four impacts that successful public diplomacy can achieve²⁴:

1. The increase of foreign individuals' familiarity with one's country. These target individuals would think about the country, updating their knowledge regarding the country, and share information regarding the country while also correcting misinformation about it.
2. The increase of people's appreciation towards the country. This can be seen by how foreign individuals view global issues through the same perspective our countries have.
3. Engaging foreign individuals with the country through education and scientific co-operation, establishing an image to see the country as an attractive tourist destination, getting foreign individuals to purchase products from the country, and getting them to subscribe to the country's values.
4. Influencing people by getting foreign companies to invest, having foreign audiences to support the country's position, and foreign politicians to turn to the sending country as a favoured partner.

Leonard then developed a three-dimensional analysis of public diplomacy based on the **purpose** of the exercise of public diplomacy; political/military, economic, or societal/cultural and the form of public diplomacy measures taken based on the timeframe of its implementation;

²⁴ Ibid.

reactive (within hours and days), proactive (within weeks or months), and relationship building that takes years.²⁵ The relationship between the two axes that forms Leonard's three dimensions of public diplomacy can be seen within the following image;

Purpose	Reactive (hours and days)	Proactive (weeks and months)	Relationship building (years)
Political/Military			
Economic			
Societal/Cultural			

Figure 1. Three Dimensions of Public Diplomacy (Mark Leonard, 2002)

With Leonard's theory the second chapter of this research will analyse several public diplomacy measures exerted by President Moon's administration according to why such measures were taken (purpose), the timeframe of the exercise of said public diplomacy measures, and how it fulfils the four impacts that Leonard broke down as an indicator of a successful implementation of public diplomacy.

After the analysis of the Moon administration's public diplomacy and how it achieves its succession, this thesis will continue to dive into President Moon's presidential character analysis to fully understand the reasoning behind why he developed the tendency to resort to public diplomacy in addressing South Korea's national issues throughout his term. This analysis

²⁵ Ibid.

will refer to **James Barber's Presidential Character Analysis**²⁶ as its main framework.

Barber's Presidential Character Analysis goes deep into a president's (or presidential candidate's) personality. He first developed his analysis method as a way to see how previous American presidents' character and personality traits contribute to their decision-making process especially when it comes to foreign policy. He also aimed his theory to be used as an analysis method for voters to predict how presidential candidates would act if they were elected and make a much more informed decision when voting for presidents.

Barber's analysis goes through three factors that plays a role to a president's personality; **character, world view, and style**.²⁷ Character refers to values that the subject upholds and developed since childhood. It reflects the subject's orientation in life. World view refers to the subject's beliefs towards issues that can be related to politics. It talks about how they view moral conflicts and how they stand up for it. Lastly, style refers to their way in fulfilling their presidential duties. In his book, Barber elaborated on three types of work style a president can adopt in office. The rhetorical style that refers public mass through media, the intimate style where a president engages other politicians in a one-on-one talk or a brainstorm session, and the studying style where they spend time in analysing states they are in relation with and strategizing policies around it.

²⁶ James David Barber, *The Presidential Character : Predicting Performance in the White House*, 4th ed. (2009; repr., London: Routledge, 2016).

²⁷ Ibid.

These three factors above would work together and create a dynamic pattern that determines the president's personality and his overall leadership style. This pattern then would interact with real time **power-related situations** and will reveal how the president reacts to political occurrences.²⁸ Whether they face a political obstacle head-on or lay low and strategize to avoid mis-exploiting relevant power situations are all related to the dynamic formed by their character, world view, and style. The said pattern also interacts with the **climate of expectation** that comes from the country's people.²⁹ Barber illustrates the relationship between a president's performance and the country's expectations towards them as a two-way relationship where the people of the country would expect progress and visible actions from the president, especially regarding the people's aspirations. They would want to see the president as the one who sets the country in motion, taking charge, and acting for the people. The people will also see a president as a person with legitimacy that could shape the country's politics. On the other hand, the president also looks for reassurance from the country's people, relating to the political situation the country is in. Turbulent response from the citizens would inflict nervousness from the president itself and would be seen as a liability to the eyes of the people.

The analysis from the five factors (character, world view, style, power-related situations, and climate of expectation) to match the subject's

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

presidential personality according to the **four typologies** of presidential character, illustrated within Table 1.

This typology sees the subject's presidential character through their **activity or passivity** and their **positivity or negativity**. The former refers to the amount of energy a president channels to his presidential duties while the latter refers to how they feel about their job and how they seem to enjoy their political life as a president. This is the core of Barber's presidential character analysis and the tool used in this thesis to analyse President Moon Jae In's character as a president and how it explains his tendencies in resorting to public diplomacy throughout his term.

James Barber's Four Typology of Presidential Character		Energy channelled towards presidential duties	
		Active	Passive
Personal enjoyment of presidential duties	Positive	Values productivity and growth towards personal goal. Utilises logic in performing duties.	A compliant leader that seeks favourable opinions towards themselves. Fragile, as they need public affection to perform their duties well.
	Negative	Exert a great amount of effort but receive no personal satisfaction. Ambitious, but struggles to maintain power due to unstable energy within themselves.	Would tend to escape from conflict as they are neither enjoying their position nor do they channel energy towards their work.

Table 1 Source: James David Barber, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, 4th ed. (2009; repr., London: Routledge, 2016).

1.6 Research and Data Collection Method

1.6.1 Research Method

The research elaborated in this thesis is conducted through a qualitative psychobiography method. Jareño Gomez, Chiclana Actis, and Noriega García (2019) explained that psychobiography is used for analysts who are trying to understand an aspect of the analyzed subject's life.³⁰ Psychobiography form of qualitative research focuses on how the subject developed throughout their lives as a means to understand their psychology and to answer the underlying question that becomes the 'mystery' that is the question to be answered through the research. Gómez, et. al. further explained that psychobiography research is conducted by going through the subject's cultural information and background involving family history. The data required for such methodology are gathered from primary and secondary sources relating to the subject.

This thesis gathers existing data regarding South Korea's public diplomacy during Moon Jae In's presidency as well as personal and presidential characteristics of Moon Jae In. These data then are used to analyse how Moon Jae In's personality contributes to his presidential character and how it becomes the basis to his tendencies in exercising public diplomacy during his term.

³⁰ Jareno Gomez A, Chiclana Actis C, and Noriega Garcia C, "Qualitative Methodology: Psychobiography," *Psychology and Psychotherapy Research Study* 3, no. 1 (November 20, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.31031/pprs.2019.03.000555>.

1.6.2 Data Collection Method

Data collected for this research are from secondary sources such as journals, books, and articles relating to public diplomacy during Moon Jae In's presidency, the development of public diplomacy in South Korea, and theories in regards to public diplomacy and presidential character analysis.

1.7 Structure of the Study

This research is elaborated through four chapters as follows;

The **first chapter** elaborates on the background of the research, including problem identification, research question, its method and limitations, theoretical frameworks, along with reviews of several literatures relevant to the topic of the study.

On the **second chapter**, this thesis will explore the exercise of public diplomacy under Moon Jae In's presidency by firstly seeing how South Korea's public diplomacy develops prior to Moon Jae In's presidency to its implementation in regards to South Korea's relations to other states. This chapter will also analyse public diplomacy practices under Moon Jae In's presidency through Mark Leonard's theory of Three-Dimensional Public Diplomacy.

Then, on the **third chapter**, this thesis analyses Moon Jae In's presidential character through James Barber's theory of Presidential Character Analysis and determine the psychological factors to his tendencies in relying on public diplomacy in addressing national interests. This analysis will be conducted through exploring Moon Jae In's early life, to his early, middle, and post political career.

The **last chapter** will include the conclusion to the whole research.