The (Un)wavering Echo of Patriotism: South Korean Identity and Political Legitimacy in President Yoon's 69th Memorial Day Speech

Ali Maksum
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

South Korea's national identity is closely shaped by historical memory and the unresolved conflict on the Korean Peninsula. Yet, presidential speeches remain underexplored as sites where national identity and political legitimacy are actively constructed. Using discourse analysis, this article examines President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech at the 69th Memorial Day in 2024. It argues that while Yoon mobilized historical narratives and patriotic rhetoric to reinforce nationalism, his emotive appeal failed to alleviate domestic political criticism. Instead, the speech exposed the limits of nationalist rhetoric, contributing to Yoon's early transition into a "lame duck" presidency despite substantial remaining time in office.

Keywords: Yoon Suk Yeol, South Korea, identity, speech, discourse

Introduction

The existing literature has extensively discussed the formation of South Korea's identity as a sovereign and independent nation. Numerous studies have attempted to analyze how South Korea's identity was shaped, articulated, and maintained, enabling the country to navigate both domestic and global political complexities. For instance, in terms of history, Japanese colonization served as a critical anchor in the construction of South Korea's national identity. While Japanese colonization incited anti-Japanese sentiment, it was also effectively capitalized upon as a powerful tool for unifying the Korean people.[1] Despite the negative sentiment towards Japan, a close ally of the United States, this anti-Japanese fervor became a vigorous catalyst in igniting South Korean nationalism. In a cabinet meeting, for example, former President Moon Jae-in once made a provocative statement with anti-Japanese overtones, declaring, "We will never again lose to Japan."[2] The slogan "No Japan" can be seen as a manifestation of frustration with Japan's actions, which are often perceived as problematic by South Korea. Although the context is no longer rooted in political or military conflicts,

it continues to have a significant impact on trade relations between the two countries, which have fluctuated over time.[3]

North Korea, meanwhile, has undeniably played a critical role in shaping South Korea's national identity. Positioned as South Korea's antagonist, embodying "otherness" and communism, North Korea is consistently perceived as a looming threat that could strike at any moment.[4] The presence of a hostile neighbor, coupled with its advancing nuclear program, has forced South Korea to remain vigilant, constantly aware of the serious threat posed not only to its own security but also to the broader international community. North Korea's nuclear ambitions, in particular, have heightened tensions and reinforced the perception of North Korea as an unpredictable adversary.[5] As a result, rather than fostering any sense of kinship with North Korea, the persistent threat from the North has paradoxically drawn South Korea closer to global powers like the United States (U.S.) and, to some extent, China.[6] The ever-present danger from North Korea has deepened South Korea's reliance on its strategic alliances, particularly with the U.S., while simultaneously shaping a distinct South Korean identity that views the North as an enduring external threat rather than a shared cultural or historical entity.

Indeed, the historical experiences and the division of the Korean Peninsula created a sense of cultural discontinuity, leading South Korean policymakers to prioritize the restoration and reinforcement of national identity through cultural policies. At the heart of South Korea's identity is the concept of *Han minjok*, the idea of a unified Korean nation, which has remained a strong source of cultural nationalism despite the peninsula's division. This sense of unity was mobilized to counter the influence of Japanese colonialism and the perceived threat of Western cultural hegemony, which surged after the Korean War. In response, the South Korean government's cultural policies have focused on both preserving traditional Confucian values, such as morality, propriety, and social harmony, and fostering the growth of the country's cultural industries. From the 1970s onward, successive governments have worked to align cultural policies with broader national goals, such as economic development and political legitimacy. These efforts include promoting the arts, safeguarding Korean heritage, and supporting regional and international cultural exchanges.[7] Since the 1990s, South Korea has also embraced globalization by encouraging the export of Korean culture through the Korean Wave *(Hallyu)*, while simultaneously protecting domestic cultural industries from foreign dominance. In essence, South

Korea's cultural policy serves as both a means of defending and promoting its unique national identity in an increasingly interconnected world.[8] Additionally, the South Korean government has also reinforced nationalism on a massive scale through the glorification of Park Chung-hee, a figure memorialized in various monuments and inscriptions. Despite the numerous controversies surrounding his authoritarian rule, Park is often regarded as a symbol of Korean nationalism due to his pivotal role in the country's rapid economic development and modernization. These commemorations serve not only to highlight his contributions but also to solidify a narrative of national pride and unity, embedding his legacy deeply into the collective consciousness of the nation.[9]

The South Korean government also maintains its national identity through a robust education system and curriculum that emphasizes traditional values, history, and national pride. Schools incorporate key historical events, such as Japanese colonization and the Korean War, into the curriculum to instill a sense of resilience and patriotism. Confucian values like respect for elders, loyalty, and social harmony are also taught, reinforcing Korea's cultural heritage. This educational approach fosters a collective national consciousness, promoting unity and ensuring that future generations retain a strong sense of national identity.[10] The South Korean government has also used its education system to reinforce national identity by incorporating ideological content, particularly anti-communist teachings, during the Cold War. This curriculum aimed to promote unity and national pride by highlighting liberal democracy's values and framing North Korea as a threat. The long-term impact of this approach has been the fostering of collective national identity, although in some cases it has led to shifts in individual political views, showing the complex interaction between education and national ideology.[11]

Certainly, studying South Korea's national identity from a historical perspective is undoubtedly crucial, as is analyzing it through cultural and educational lenses. However, what has often been overlooked is how national identity is strategically articulated through political rhetoric, particularly by presidents. Politicians deliberately use historical memory to evoke nationalism, which in turn is mobilized for broader political purposes. Yoon Suk Yeol's need to emphasize patriotism and foster nationalism during his 69th Memorial Day speech is deeply tied to his political legitimacy. Like many South Korean presidents, Yoon used historical memory and the sacrifices of national heroes to connect emotionally with the public and reinforce a sense of unity, especially in

response to the ongoing threat from North Korea. His strong focus on national security, particularly through the U.S.-ROK alliance, distinguished his leadership in a way that aligned with past presidents but addressed current geopolitical challenges.[12] The question is: "How did President Yoon Suk Yeol use historical narratives and patriotic rhetoric during the 69th Memorial Day speech to reinforce South Korea's identity and political legitimacy?" Therefore, by answering the question, this study aims to fill that gap by critically exploring how South Korean national identity is expressed through presidential speeches, offering a fresh and necessary approach to understanding this complex issue in contemporary Korea. Thus, it is pivotal to understand the national identity discourse and how it influences politics and the country's foreign policy.

Discourse on National Identity

A national identity is shaped by various factors such as values, historical background, religion, ethnicity, and culture. These elements not only form the foundation of a country's identity but also significantly influence its worldview, political system, and even foreign policy decisions. National identity, grounded in shared experiences and cultural traditions, impacts how a nation perceives its role globally and how it interacts with other states. This dynamic reflects the broader interconnection between internal values and a country's external political behavior.[13] In this context, national identity is essentially a constructed concept, shaped by ideas that are later propagated by politicians to consolidate the people.[14] This means that political mobilization is driven by certain sentiments and shared characteristics that form the basis of identity. As a result, what Benedict Anderson refers to as an "imagined community" emerges, where people who have never met each other share a collective identity, unified by common values, history, and experiences. This constructed identity serves to foster national cohesion and collective purpose.[15]

Some countries have their national identity shaped by a combination of ethnic and nationalist sentiments. In nations that tend to be ethnically homogenous, the population can more easily form a cohesive identity due to shared values, customs, and cultural practices. The sense of unity is often stronger in such societies, as people identify with common ethnic roots, traditions, and a collective historical narrative, which fosters a natural bond among citizens and strengthens the sense of national identity and solidarity. Japan is an example of how ethnic homogeneity and

nationalism have served as crucial catalysts for national consolidation, both during wartime and in the post-war era. The concept of *"Kokutai,"* which translates to the "uniqueness of the Japanese people," played a significant role in fostering national pride and unity. This ideology emphasized the distinct ethnic and cultural characteristics of the Japanese, strengthening a sense of belonging and loyalty to the nation. The *Kokutai* doctrine became instrumental in mobilizing the population under a shared national identity, whether during or after the war.[16] Interestingly, Japan's neighbors, China and South Korea, exhibit a similar tendency where ethnic sentiment fuels nationalist fervor, particularly with an anti-Japanese tone. Both countries, having been subjected to Japanese imperialism, have effectively capitalized on anti-imperialist sentiments to drive their nationalist movements. In both China and South Korea, historical grievances stemming from Japanese colonization have been transformed into a unifying narrative, solidifying national identity, fostering internal cohesion, and reinforcing a shared memory of resistance against foreign domination.[17]

Meanwhile, John Mearsheimer argues that nationalism is the strongest ideology on the planet because it taps into people's deep emotional attachment to their nation.[18] Nationalism binds individuals to a collective identity based on shared history, culture, and territory, fostering a sense of belonging and loyalty. Unlike ideologies like communism or liberalism, which may appeal to broader, more abstract ideas, nationalism is rooted in tangible and often personal experiences of identity. It has the power to mobilize populations, drive political movements, and sustain states even in difficult times.[19] On the other hand, strong nationalist sentiments can become disastrous when not properly managed. The outbreak of World War I was largely triggered by extreme nationalism, fueled by political and historical grievances. Similarly, in Southeast Asia, Sukarno's excessive nationalism led to aggressive actions toward Malaysia, ultimately contributing to his downfall. This highlights the potential dangers of unbridled nationalism, which, when left unchecked, can drive nations toward conflict and instability, as seen in both European and Southeast Asian contexts. Excessive nationalism, aimed at asserting national identity, is often articulated through slogans that captivate the public and rally support for governmental actions. For example, phrases like *"For King and Country"* (used in Britain),[20] *"Deutschland über alles"* ("Germany above all," in Germany)[21] during World War I and *"Ganyang Malaysia"* ("Crush Malaysia!" in Indonesia) during Indonesia's

confrontation against Malaysia,[22] were widely employed. These slogans stirred public sentiment and drove aggressive nationalistic policies during pivotal historical moments.

The discourse of such slogans tends to be employed by presidents primarily for agitation and propaganda, aiming to capture public attention and garner support for their policies. These slogans resonate because they reflect the prevailing sentiments of the time.[23] Additionally, leaders often invoke historical memories to remind citizens of past struggles, motivating and mobilizing them to continuously support the nation.[24] In times of war, leaders strive to make the public feel the urgency of the national crisis.[25] For example, the U.S. government has consistently emphasized the necessity of military involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and more recently, Ukraine.[26] In Ukraine, leaders like Presidents Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yushchenko have also invoked the country's involvement in World War II during Victory Day to revive nationalistic pride and highlight Ukraine's strong ties with Europe vis-à-vis Russian threats.[27] Conversely, Russia, through speeches by President Vladimir Putin, has continuously propagated the notion of a real Western threat, a message echoed across the entire Russian government apparatus.[28]

National commemorations are important occasions for strengthening national ideology and identity. They provide opportunities for nations to reflect on shared values and collective goals.[29] A national leader's speech on such an occasion becomes especially significant, as it is an opportunity to address and unite all elements of the nation. Through their words, the president reinforces national pride, commemorates past sacrifices, and mobilizes the public toward future aspirations. Such speeches play a key role in shaping the national consciousness and reinforcing unity. On that day, the president becomes the center of attention and may even be welcomed like a hero.[30] National commemorations also provide a stage for political power where not only the president but also their political party gains popularity and recognition among both their constituents and potential voters. This is evident in national commemorations in various countries, such as the United Kingdom,[31] Singapore,[32] Bangladesh,[33] Thailand,[34] and India,[35] among others. Indeed, these events serve as opportunities for political leadership to showcase their achievements and reinforce their public image.

Discourse on national identity in speeches delivered at national commemorations often focuses on the challenges a country faces. These challenges can include internal and external threats,[36] natural disasters,

and humanitarian crises.[37] For example, several European leaders have expressed their concerns through various speeches regarding the Syrian refugee crisis. These leaders used narratives to emphasize the humanitarian, social, and political challenges posed by the influx of refugees. They highlighted issues such as integration difficulties, the strain on public services, and the need for solidarity among EU member states.[38] During the COVID-19 pandemic, many leaders used speeches at national commemorations to address the public health crisis, economic fallout, and the need for national unity.[39] Several countries, such as Indonesia, have used presidential speeches to address the public's concerns during the pandemic. In particular, President Joko Widodo urged the people to share in the national worry over the pandemic's impact, while also expressing his own uncertainty about the effects of COVID-19 on his ambitious mega projects.[40] This means that through their national speeches, leaders aim to rally all elements of society to participate in and support the country's policies, whether during times of peace, disaster, or even war.

There are five key strategies that a nation employs to preserve and maintain its national identity. First, it is essential to continually narrate a shared history and cultural heritage, emphasizing the common threads that bind the nation together. Second, the use of unifying symbols—such as flags, anthems, and monuments—is crucial for creating a sense of collective belonging across all segments of society. Third, defining the rights and responsibilities of citizens in terms of economic, political, legal, and social welfare is necessary to ensure that everyone understands their role within the national framework. Fourth, the creation of a common enemy, whether real or perceived, often serves as a unifying force in times of internal political division. Lastly, civic education is vital for the people to comprehend the nation's identity, encompassing symbols, values, traditions, history, and even the concept of a common enemy.[41] Simultaneously, a people's understanding of its history and national identity greatly influences the depth of its nationalism. However, history is frequently shaped and narrated by politicians and national leaders, who may, at times, be manipulative.[42] Additionally, the use of foreign policy issues by national leaders is not new, particularly when they are faced with challenging domestic situations. When a leader is politically cornered and weakened at home, leveraging foreign policy becomes a strategic exit, offering a way to gain political support or, at the very least, divert the public's attention from internal political crises. This maneuver often serves as a means of reshaping public discourse and shifting the focus from

domestic shortcomings to external engagements.[43] Nonetheless, the narrative of such history is crucial for influencing the people and maintaining national identity.[44] Therefore, analyzing a leader's speeches—such as South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol's address during the 69th Memorial Day—becomes an essential exercise in understanding how a nation's identity is constructed and reinforced. Through such commemorations, leaders are able to frame the nation's identity around patriotism, shared sacrifice, and collective memory, thus shaping how the people perceive their place in history and their unity in the present.

Indeed, existing work reveals a recurring narrative in which heads of state often use key moments to deliver speeches to secure public support for their policies, including foreign policy. However, research on the speeches of South Korean presidents, particularly during 69th Memorial Day events, appears to be limited. Therefore, this study offers an alternative approach to critically understanding and analyzing South Korea's national identity through the lens of presidential speeches delivered during Memorial Day celebrations.

Research Design and Methods

This study critically analyzes South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech delivered on June 6, 2024, during the 69th Memorial Day commemoration. Memorial Day is a significant event for South Korea, as it honors the sacrifices of those who defended the nation's freedom, particularly during the Korean War (1950–1953) and other conflicts, including the Vietnam War. It serves as a moment to commemorate fallen soldiers and reinforce national unity, collective memory, and patriotism while underscoring the ongoing importance of national security.[45] However, this moment becomes significant as it is preceded and followed by several events that should be considered when understanding the importance of this analysis in revealing the deeper meaning behind President Yoon's speech. Therefore, the following timeline is presented for context as per Figure 1.

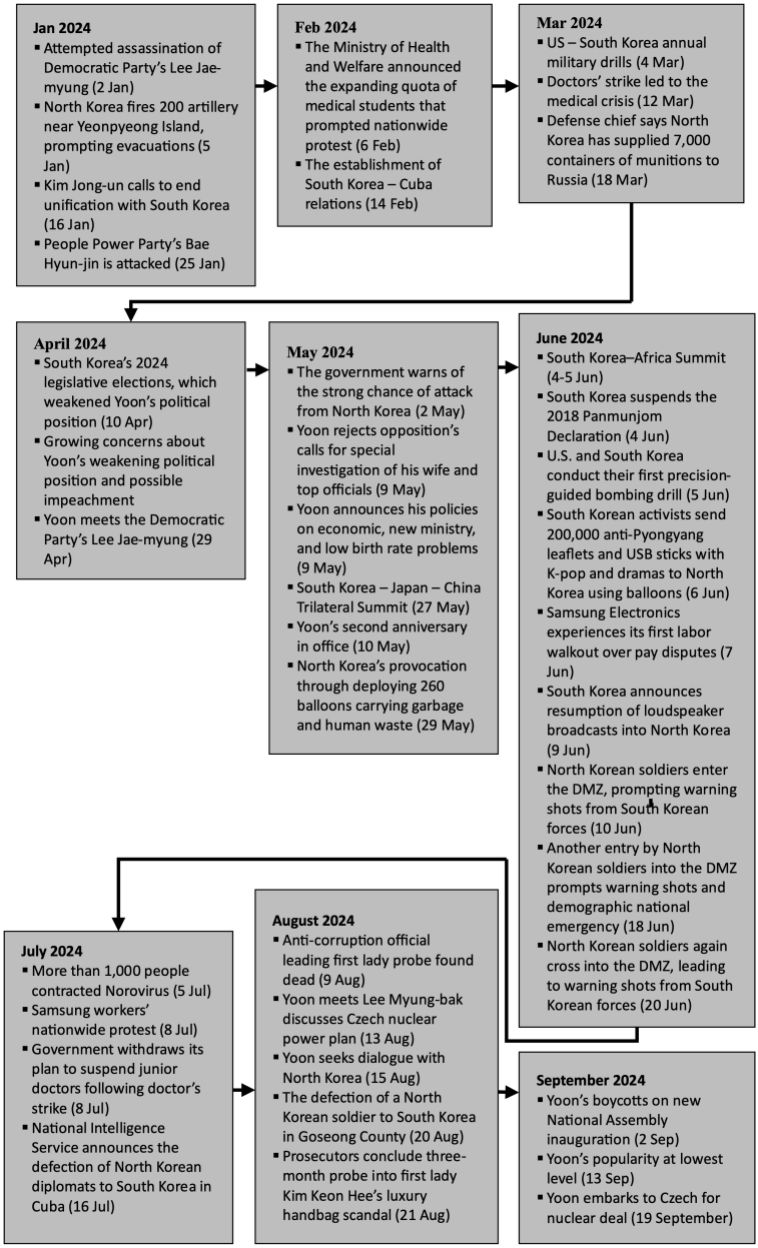


Figure 1. Timeline of key events surrounding President Yoon Suk Yeol's 69th Memorial Day Speech

To examine South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech, the study adopted a qualitative approach, with discourse analysis as the primary method for interpreting the data. This method is suitable for examining the linguistic patterns, rhetorical techniques, and ideological meanings embedded in the speech and its broader sociopolitical context.[46] Simply put, van Dijk offers guidance that by presenting quotes or excerpts, one can uncover the context surrounding a statement, particularly within a speech.[47] This method allows for a deeper understanding of the underlying message and the circumstances in which it was delivered.[48]

The main data source was the speech transcript, accessible online from the Office of the President of the Republic of Korea. Unlike quantitative methods that require large datasets, this qualitative approach centers on a more focused, in-depth analysis[49] of President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech. Although the speech was delivered in Korean, the study analyzed the 812-word English translation provided on the presidential website.[50] To enhance systematic analysis, the study utilizes NVivo 12 Plus (Burlington, Massachusetts), a qualitative research software designed to manage, organize, and analyze unstructured data such as text, video, and social media. NVivo 12 Plus offers several features like coding, querying, and data visualization. However, NVivo 12 Plus software has limitations, such as relying solely on algorithms and the text input it receives, which limits its ability to interpret complex symbols, and implicit meanings often present in political speeches. Additionally, NVivo is expensive and most effective for processing English-language texts, restricting its broader application in multi-lingual research contexts. Therefore, discourse analysis complements NVivo's findings by uncovering the deeper meaning within the speech, offering a more comprehensive understanding. At the very least, NVivo's results help structure the analysis, making it more organized and systematic.[51]

In this research, three key features were applied to analyze speech text: Sentiment Analysis, Word Frequency, and Text Search Query. These tools helped identify patterns, themes, and sentiments in speech data. The findings are presented in two parts: (1) visualizations generated by NVivo 12 Plus, including sentiment analysis, word frequency, and text search query, and (2) a discourse analysis that focuses on key quotes from President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech, examining their implicit meanings. The combined use of these methods is expected to offer deeper insights into the national identity discourse in South Korea. The procedure of data analysis can be depicted in Figure 2.

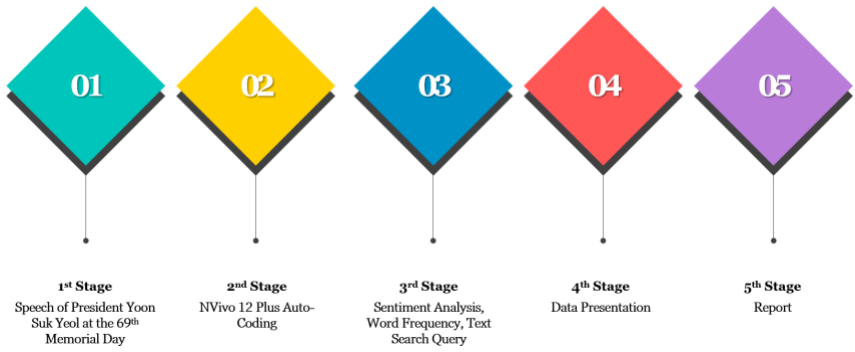


Figure 2. Five-stage procedure for analyzing President Yoon Suk Yeol's 69th Memorial Day speech using NVivo 12 Plus

Analysis and Findings

Analysis of President Yoon's Speech Using NVivo 12 Plus

This section presents the results of three analytical features conducted using NVivo 12 Plus: sentiment analysis, word frequency, and text search query applied to President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech delivered at the 69th Memorial Day commemoration. Sentiment analysis provides analysis of the emotional tone and attitude expressed in the speech, while word frequency highlights key terms that appear most often, revealing core themes and messages. The text search query helps identify specific phrases or topics discussed, offering a more focused exploration of the speech's content. First, sentiment analysis reveals a nuanced emotional tone. As shown in Figure 3, the most prominent sentiment is moderately positive, at 39.61%, indicating an overall hopeful and constructive message. Moderately negative sentiment follows at 31.37%, reflecting underlying concerns or critiques. Additionally, very negative sentiments account for 16.08%, representing stronger expressions of caution or unease. Lastly, very positive sentiments make up 12.94%, highlighting moments of optimism or encouragement. When totaled, the positive sentiments dominate at 52.55%, while the negative ones make up 47.45%. This indicates that despite the speech being delivered in a solemn atmosphere of honoring the fallen heroes who sacrificed on the front lines defending South Korea, the choice of words is marked by a cautious tone. Thus, the

patriotic fervor that President Yoon seeks to ignite is largely expressed with positive undertones, although the significant 47.45% negative sentiment underscores the weight of the concerns and challenges at hand.

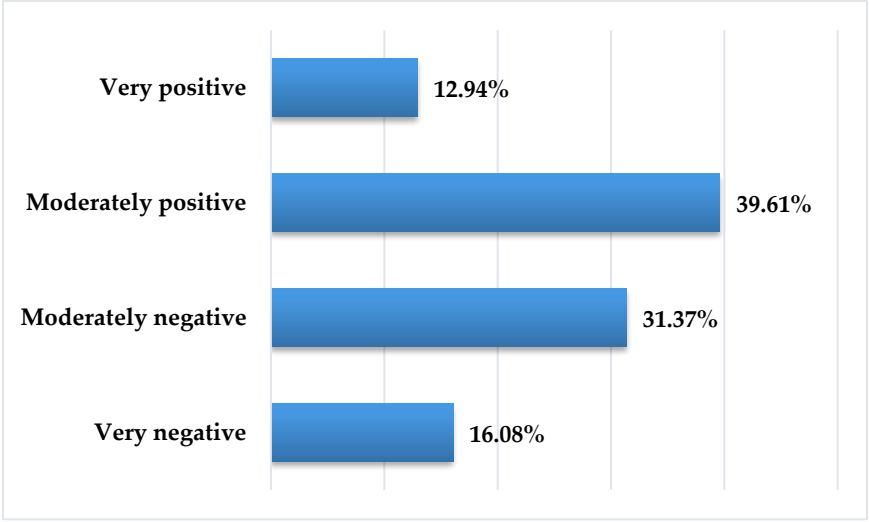


Figure 3. Sentiment analysis of President Yoon's speech

The second is word frequency analysis. As shown in Figure 4, word frequency analysis underscores several key elements of President Yoon Suk Yeol's 69th Memorial Day speech. The five dominant words — "country," "lives," "heroes," "Korea," and "defended" — carry deep symbolic weight within President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech, revealing layers of implicit meaning. "Country" evokes a sense of collective identity, uniting the people under a shared national destiny. "Lives" and "heroes" emphasize the human cost of defending that identity, paying homage to the fallen as embodiments of sacrifice. "Korea" stands as a beacon of sovereignty, while "defended" signals not only past struggles but the ongoing vigilance required to protect the nation's freedom and future. Each word, though direct, resonates with historical echoes, calling the nation to remember its trials and inspire collective resilience. Smaller, yet significant words like "republic," "Korean," "patriots," "north," "rights," and "people" serve as reinforcing elements, subtly strengthening the narrative of unity, perceived threats, and the collective struggle of the nation. The remaining, less prominent words act as subtle undertones,

fortifying the central narrative of honoring heroes who bravely stood at the forefront to defend South Korea's sovereignty and future. Indeed, these terms embody the speech's core themes of patriotism, sacrifice, and national pride.



Figure 4. Word frequency analysis of President Yoon's speech

The third feature is the text search query. Based on the results of the word frequency analysis (Figure 4), five words stand out as the most dominant in President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech during the 69th Memorial Day commemoration: "country," "lives," "heroes," "Korea," and "defended." Upon closer examination, the text search query feature in NVivo 12 Plus, which produces a "word tree" visualization as per Figure 5, reveals an interesting relationship between these five words and other related terms. This connection offers a deeper insight into the deep meaning behind the selection of these particular words, suggesting layers of significance in how they are woven into the broader narrative of national identity, sacrifice, and resilience. The term "country" connects

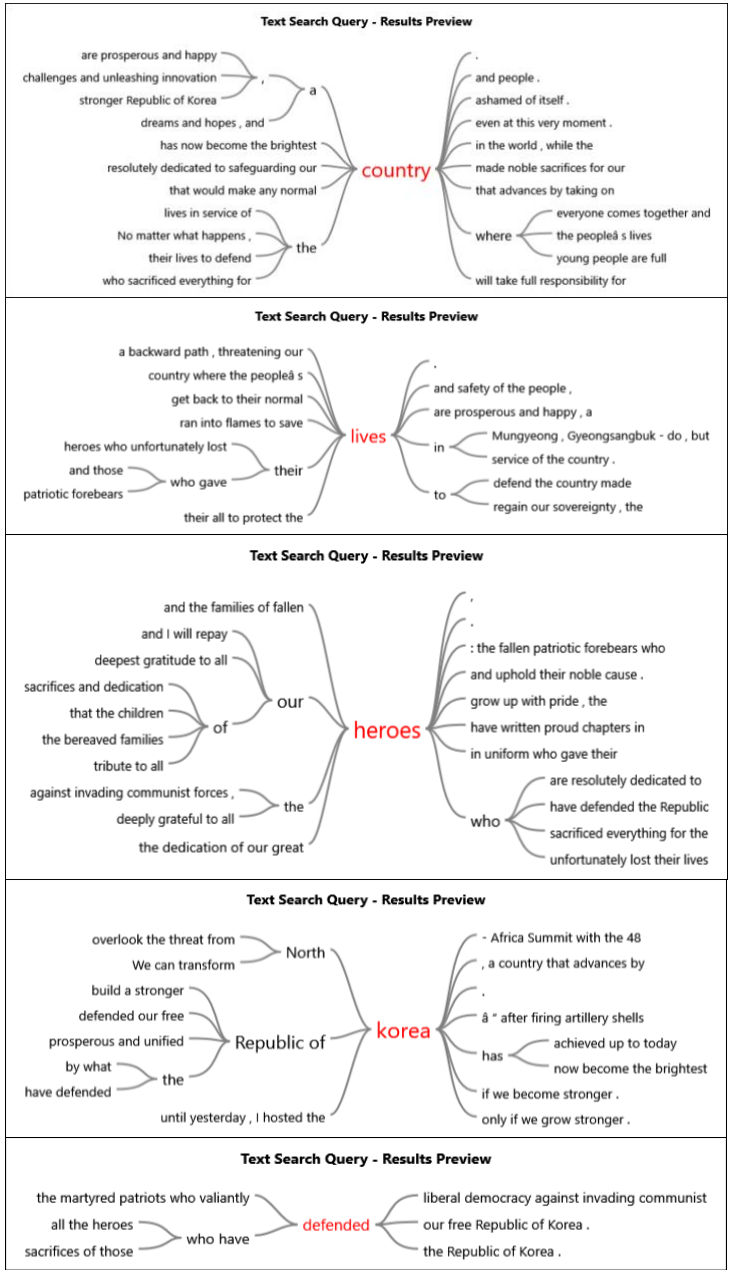


Figure 5. Text search query analysis President Yoon's speech

with ideas of national progress and collective security, emphasizing prosperity and responsibility. "Lives" highlights the sacrifices made by individuals to protect South Korea's sovereignty, while "heroes" underscores gratitude for fallen patriots and their families, positioning them as central to the nation's identity. "Korea" portrays the nation's resilience and strength in the face of external threats, particularly from North Korea, while "defended" focuses on the act of safeguarding the Republic's liberal democracy. Together, these terms create a narrative centered on patriotism, sacrifice, and the ongoing effort to protect and strengthen the country.

Discourse analysis of President Yoon's 69th Memorial Day Speech

This section critically analyzes President Yoon Suk Yeol's speech. Key excerpts are selected and explored based on previous findings to uncover deeper meanings behind them. This approach aims to give readers an implicit understanding of the speech's intent, which aligns with the paper's central theme: understanding South Korea's national identity in the context of the 69th Memorial Day. The speech is arguably infused with patriotic fervor, wrapped in the rhetoric of nationalism, stressing political sentiment grounded in hardline ideals.

> *Excerpt 1:* "We are gathered here to remember and honor the noble sacrifices of those who have defended our free Republic of Korea. With the utmost reverence, I pay heartfelt tribute to all of our heroes: the fallen patriotic forebears who gave their lives to regain our sovereignty, the martyred patriots who valiantly defended liberal democracy against invading communist forces, the heroes in uniform who gave their all to protect the lives and safety of the people, and the United Nations Forces who fought alongside us during the Korean War to defend the Republic of Korea's freedom. I also express my deepest sympathy to the bereaved families who have lived with grief in their hearts."

Excerpt 1 shows how language is utilized to reinforce national identity, evoke collective memory, and enhance political legitimacy. President Yoon's tribute to various groups—fallen soldiers, martyred patriots, and international allies such as the United Nations Forces—serves to construct a national identity rooted in resilience and sacrifice. Through

acknowledging the contributions of both domestic heroes and international forces, the speech positions South Korea not just as a solitary nation but as part of a global community that has fought to uphold freedom and democracy. This blending of domestic and international sacrifice strengthens the nation's identity as one of perseverance, aligning the current political leadership with the values of sovereignty, democracy, and freedom. The speech also leverages emotionally charged language—such as "noble sacrifices" and "heartfelt tribute"—to evoke collective memory and stir feelings of reverence among the audience. The references to "fallen patriotic forebears" and "martyred patriots" tap into South Korea's historical memory of conflict, particularly the Korean War and the fight against communism. These phrases remind citizens of the historical struggles that shaped the nation's identity and encourage continued unity and vigilance. The framing of sacrifices as noble and heroic demonstrates that the speech not only honored the past but also implicitly reinforced the political legitimacy of President Yoon's leadership, positioning it as the protector of these hard-won freedoms. This rhetorical strategy reinforces a sense of collective duty to maintain the nation's identity and sovereignty.

> *Excerpt 2:* "From June 3 until yesterday, I hosted the Korea-Africa Summit with the 48 African countries with which we have diplomatic relations. Among the countries in attendance were several nations that helped us during the Korean War. The African leaders and representatives participating in the summit were amazed by what the Republic of Korea has achieved up to today and expressed their interest in learning from our experiences. Indeed, our past 70 years in themselves represent a miraculous history. And at the foundation of this accomplishment lies the dedication of our great heroes."

In Excerpt 2, President Yoon strategically connects South Korea's present-day achievements with both historical memory and international diplomacy. Referring to the Korea-Africa Summit, President Yoon skillfully weaves past alliances and current global standing together, invoking the participation of African countries that aided South Korea during the Korean War. This creates a narrative of gratitude and mutual respect, reinforcing South Korea's diplomatic relations and exposing how the nation has transformed from a war-torn country into an economic and political success. The phrase "amazed by what the Republic of Korea has

achieved" elevates South Korea's status on the global stage, implying that the nation's development is an example for other countries to follow. Moreover, Yoon frames this progress within a miraculous historical context, attributing it not solely to economic efforts, but to the dedication of great heroes—those who sacrificed for the country's freedom. This framing serves two purposes: first, it underscores the importance of collective national effort and sacrifice, reinforcing the theme of patriotism and national unity; second, it ties South Korea's current accomplishments back to its foundational struggles, emphasizing a strong link and continuity between past sacrifices and present successes. Through this discourse, Yoon elevates the nation's identity, situating it as both a global role model and a product of historical endurance and resilience.

> *Excerpt 3:* "Our fallen patriots and those who gave their lives to defend the country made noble sacrifices for our nation and people, and their sacrifices continue to be passed down generation after generation. On January 31, Fire Sergeant Kim Soo-kwang and Senior Firefighter Park Soo-hoon ran into flames to save lives in Mungyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do, but never returned to their loved ones. In March, a heartbreaking tragedy occurred; Navy Master Chief Petty Officer Han Jin-ho lost his life during a maritime drill for the protection of our waters. Once again, I pray for the repose of their souls and extend my deepest gratitude to all our heroes who are resolutely dedicated to safeguarding our country even at this very moment. With the utmost respect, the government and I will repay our heroes who sacrificed everything for the country and people. By innovating welfare services for patriots and veterans, we will improve medical care and expand rehabilitation support for persons of national merit. This will provide meticulous assistance to ensure that those injured in the line of duty can get back to their normal lives. No matter what happens, the country will take full responsibility for the bereaved families of our heroes who unfortunately lost their lives in service of the country. To ensure that the children of our heroes grow up with pride, the nation will become their loving and supportive family. We will further expand the "Heroes Family Program" that was initiated last year and take care of each and every child as if they were our own."

In Excerpt 3, President Yoon connects personal sacrifice to national duty, making an emotional appeal and highlighting the state's moral responsibility to honor its heroes. The narrative begins by honoring the sacrifices of fallen patriots, extending this legacy to contemporary examples, such as the tragic losses of Fire Sergeant Kim Soo-kwang, Senior Firefighter Park Soo-hoon, and Navy Master Chief Petty Officer Han Jin-ho. President Yoon attempts to humanize the cost of national security and make abstract notions of heroism tangible, by personalizing these sacrifices. This appeal to pathos not only honors the individuals but also reinforces a collective narrative of duty, suggesting that the sacrifices of past and present heroes are part of a continuing legacy that must be remembered and honored. The President emphasizes the intergenerational transmission of sacrifice, stating that it is passed down from one generation to the next, thus framing national identity as something sustained by ongoing acts of service and sacrifice. Furthermore, Yoon integrates policy commitments into the emotional narrative, promising expanded welfare services, medical care, and rehabilitation support for patriots and veterans. This establishes a direct connection between the sacrifices of heroes and the state's responsibility to care for them and their families, reinforcing a social contract where the government is positioned as a guardian of those who defend the nation. By stating that the nation will become a "loving and supportive family" for the children of fallen heroes, Yoon uses familial imagery to strengthen the sense of national solidarity, portraying the government as not merely an institution but as a moral and protective entity. This reinforces the idea that South Korea is a country that honors its heroes both symbolically and practically, ensuring their sacrifices are neither forgotten nor in vain. Through this discourse, Yoon constructs a vision of South Korean identity rooted in patriotism, sacrifice, and collective responsibility.

> *Excerpt 4:* "The Republic of Korea has now become the brightest country in the world, while the land north of the Military Demarcation Line remains the darkest in the world. Just around 50 kilometers away from here, our compatriots are suffering from starvation with their freedom and human rights brutally deprived. The North Korean regime refuses to accept the progress of history and instead remains on a backward path, threatening our lives. North Korea – after firing artillery shells into the West Sea and launching missiles – recently carried out a despicable provocation

> that would make any normal country ashamed of itself. The government will never overlook the threat from North Korea. We will maintain an ironclad readiness posture and respond to provocations resolutely and overwhelmingly. Building upon the more robust ROK-U.S. alliance and cooperation with the international community, we will firmly safeguard our people's freedom and safety."

In Excerpt 4, President Yoon employs discourse strategies that create a sharp contrast between South Korea and North Korea, both ideologically and morally, emphasizing the polarization between the two nations. By describing South Korea as "the brightest country in the world" and North Korea as the "darkest," Yoon constructs a binary narrative that elevates South Korea's progress and moral standing while simultaneously denouncing the North as a repressive regime trapped in a backward trajectory. This stark dichotomy serves multiple purposes: it reinforces a sense of national pride in South Korea's achievements, freedom, and human rights while invoking a sense of moral urgency regarding the plight of North Korean citizens, depicted as victims of a regime that brutally deprives them of their rights. Yoon's use of emotionally charged language such as "suffering from starvation" and "brutally deprived" taps into collective empathy, encouraging South Koreans to view their Northern counterparts as compatriots in need of liberation. This positions South Korea as not only a beacon of freedom but also a moral protector. Additionally, Yoon frames North Korea's recent military actions as "despicable provocations," invoking righteous indignation and the notion that such actions are unacceptable by global standards, thereby justifying the need for a strong military posture. By emphasizing the ROK-U.S. alliance and international cooperation, Yoon connects South Korea's defense strategy to broader global efforts, portraying it as part of a larger geopolitical framework aimed at maintaining peace and stability. Meanwhile, the phrase "ironclad readiness posture" emphasizes strength and resilience, assuring the South Korean public that the government is prepared to protect their freedoms against North Korean threats. In this discourse, Yoon not only reinforces national security but also elevates South Korea's role as a moral and strategic leader within the international community, highlighting the obvious contrast with its northern neighbor to further cement the nation's identity as a beacon of democracy and human rights.

Excerpt 5: "Peace is maintained through strength, not through submission. We can transform North Korea only if we grow stronger. Ultimately, we will only be able to restore the North Korean people's freedom and human rights and move forward toward a free, prosperous and unified Republic of Korea if we become stronger. We will build a stronger Republic of Korea, a country that advances by taking on challenges and unleashing innovation, a country where the people's lives are prosperous and happy, a country where young people are full of dreams and hopes, and a country where everyone comes together and moves forward into the future. I believe that this is the right way to properly remember the sacrifices and dedication of our heroes and uphold their noble cause. Our great heroes have written proud chapters in our history. The government and I – together with the people – will continue to add to their record. Once more, I am deeply grateful to all the heroes who have defended the Republic of Korea."

Finally, in Excerpt 5, President Yoon uses discourse strategies to present a vision of national strength as a prerequisite for peace, linking it directly to both the unification of Korea and the preservation of freedom and human rights. The statement "peace is maintained through strength, not through submission" sets a firm tone, positioning strength as the ultimate tool for transformation, particularly regarding North Korea. Yoon suggests that only by building a stronger South Korea—one capable of defending its values and fostering innovation—can the nation hope to restore the freedoms and rights of the North Korean people. This idea aligns with the broader discourse of resilience and progress, wherein the country's future is depicted as a prosperous, unified Korea, fueled by the hard-earned lessons of past struggles. Yoon's focus on youth and innovation—terms like "dreams," "hopes," and "advances by taking on challenges"—frames South Korea's strength not merely in military terms, but also in terms of its ability to innovate and ensure a prosperous, happy future for its citizens. This narrative of growth and resilience underscores a national identity deeply connected to progress and collective effort. Furthermore, by stating that this progress is the "right way to properly remember the sacrifices and dedication of our heroes," Yoon ties the country's future success to its historical legacy. The heroes who have

defended South Korea are seen as having paved the way for this strength, and continuing to build a strong, prosperous nation is framed as a way of honoring their sacrifice. The emphasis on collective responsibility— "the government and I, together with the people, will continue to add to their record"—reinforces a sense of national unity in achieving these goals. Yoon uses the discourse of gratitude and duty toward the fallen heroes as a rallying call for national cohesion, suggesting that the future of South Korea depends on its ability to come together as a nation. This discourse places sacrifice, strength, and innovation at the heart of South Korea's path forward, constructing a narrative that blends historical reverence with future ambition.

Discussion

This study presents interesting findings, as reflected in the earlier analysis conducted using NVivo 12 Plus and through a detailed discourse analysis of President Yoon's speech. Firstly, by employing NVivo 12 Plus, the analysis reveals a complex and layered narrative. For instance, the sentiment analysis predominantly highlights a positive tone, balanced with elements of caution and optimism, reflecting both the gravity of national challenges and the desire for unity and resilience. The word frequency analysis further emphasizes key themes such as patriotism, sacrifice, and national identity, with dominant terms like "country," "lives," "heroes," "Korea," and "defended" pointing to the collective effort necessary to safeguard South Korea's sovereignty. Additionally, the text search query uncovers deeper insights into how these central terms are intricately tied to broader concepts of progress, responsibility, and security. Combined, these features construct a cohesive narrative of South Korea's identity, underscoring the importance of honoring past sacrifices while striving for a stronger and more unified future.

Secondly, the discourse analysis of President Yoon's speech highlights the deliberate rhetorical strategies and careful choice of diction. President Yoon clearly aims to encourage the people to reflect on the sacrifices of the martyrs, who gave their lives, blood, and tears for the Republic of Korea. At the same time, he calls upon the nation to be grateful for their achievements while looking forward to the essential values of unity and sacrifice, which have become deeply ingrained in the South Korean spirit. South Korea's prosperity and democracy are inseparable from the ongoing legacy of sacrifice, continued to this day. President Yoon also assures the public that his government remains committed to the

welfare of those who have served the nation and their families. Simultaneously, Yoon warns of the persistent threats from the North, which continue to provoke the South Korean people. However, he reaffirms that his government will not remain idle in the face of such threats. Confident in the nation's strength, bolstered by the solidarity of the people and its strong alliance with the US and the international security community, Yoon asserts that South Korea will successfully overcome these challenges.

In this context, President Yoon seeks to reaffirm South Korea's identity as an advanced nation whose progress is deeply rooted in the sacrifices of its martyrs and heroes. Yoon accomplishes this by invoking historical narratives, using them as a reflective tool to remind the South Korean people of the contributions of past heroes while also reigniting their sense of pride and patriotism.[52] Furthermore, Yoon employs provocative diction in his speech, such as "the darkest in the world" in reference to North Korea's plight, aligning with the strategies of other global leaders who utilize emotional narratives to mobilize support and stir collective sentiment.[53] For Yoon, the heroic and progressive identity of South Korea must be further sharpened by framing North Korea as a common enemy,[54] representing a life of darkness in stark contrast to South Korea's progress. Administratively, Yoon also emphasizes his responsibility in confronting these challenges before the South Korean public, portraying the Memorial Day as an important moment to strengthen national ideology and patriotism. At the same time, he seeks to position himself as a leader who shares the same sacrificial spirit as his predecessors, those willing to make ultimate sacrifices for the good of the nation.[55]

As political rhetoric, President Yoon's fiery speech warrants a deeper examination of its underlying narratives and political context. Domestically, Yoon was facing mounting pressure due to declining public approval. This erosion of public trust was driven by several controversial policies, including the expansion of medical school admissions, which contributed to prolonged tensions within the healthcare sector.[56] In addition, his administration faced growing political challenges arising from economic concerns and legislative deadlock, particularly in the context of an opposition-controlled National Assembly.[57] Furthermore, criticism of his administration's approach toward press freedom, especially regarding media coverage of the government and his family, appeared inconsistent with the democratic values and liberal freedoms that

he emphasized throughout his Memorial Day address. [58] Such discrepancies between rhetoric and practice complicated his political standing and weakened the credibility of his claims to democratic leadership.

Similarly, the speech's strong emphasis on resistance to North Korea reveals another important dimension of Yoon's political rhetoric. While North Korea has long occupied a central place in South Korean political discourse, Yoon's repeated portrayal of the North as an existential threat appears to contrast with previous administrations' efforts to pursue engagement and dialogue.[59] Influenced by the conservative orientation of his administration, this approach tends to prioritize deterrence over reconciliation and places less emphasis on the prospect of Korean unification.[60] Moreover, the symbolic construction of North Korea as a common enemy may also be interpreted as an attempt to direct public attention away from domestic challenges, including declining approval ratings and political controversies surrounding his administration. This interpretation should be considered in light of subsequent public opinion evidence. A survey published in October 2024 indicated that climate change was perceived as a threat comparable to North Korea's nuclear weapons.[61] By September 2024, Yoon's approval rating had fallen to 23 percent, [62] reflecting a substantial erosion of public confidence. In retrospect, this decline foreshadowed the deeper political crisis that would eventually engulf his presidency. In this sense, Yoon's invocation of external threats can be understood as part of a broader strategy to mobilize support and divert attention from domestic political difficulties. [63] Consequently, the speech functioned not only as an expression of collective memory and national identity but also as an instrument for maintaining political legitimacy amid growing vulnerability.

Subsequent political developments provide an important context for reassessing the significance of Yoon's 69th Memorial Day speech. When the speech was delivered in June 2024, President Yoon was already confronting political opposition, growing polarization, and challenges to his public standing. However, the situation deteriorated significantly in the months that followed. In December 2024, Yoon declared martial law, a move that generated intense domestic and international controversy and further deepened political divisions within South Korean society. The crisis eventually culminated in his impeachment by the National Assembly, his removal from office by the Constitutional Court, and subsequent legal proceedings, profoundly altering the trajectory of his presidency. Viewed

retrospectively, Yoon's repeated emphasis on patriotism, national sacrifice, liberal democracy, and external threats appears not merely as an effort to reinforce South Korean national identity but also as an attempt to bolster political legitimacy during a period of mounting political vulnerability. The eventual collapse of his presidency suggests that appeals to nationalism and historical memory, while symbolically powerful and emotionally resonant, were ultimately insufficient to prevent the erosion of his public trust and political support. Consequently, the speech can be interpreted as both a significant articulation of South Korean national identity and a revealing example of the limits of patriotic rhetoric as a strategy for sustaining political legitimacy in contemporary democratic politics.

Conclusion, Recommendations, and Implications

Theoretically, the construction of South Korea's national identity is deeply shaped by its colonial experience, the veneration of national heroes, and the prolonged conflict on the Korean Peninsula. The persistent perception of external threats has forced a strong sense of vigilance among South Koreans, reflected in compulsory military service, a robust security alliance with the United States, and a deeply embedded culture of nationalism passed down across generations. Consequently, narratives of sacrifice, patriotism, and national survival have become central components of South Korean political discourse and are frequently invoked during national commemorations such as Memorial Day. However, relatively few studies have examined how South Korean presidents employ such commemorative speeches to construct and reinforce national identity while simultaneously pursuing political legitimacy. By analyzing President Yoon Suk Yeol's 69th Memorial Day speech, this study demonstrates how historical narratives and patriotic rhetoric were strategically mobilized to strengthen national unity, reinforce collective memory, and legitimize political authority amid growing domestic challenges.

Viewed retrospectively, the speech gains additional significance when situated within the broader trajectory of Yoon's presidency. At the time of delivery, Yoon was already confronting declining approval ratings, economic pressures, legislative deadlock, and intensifying political opposition. Subsequent developments—including the declaration of martial law in December 2024, his impeachment by the National Assembly, removal from office, and subsequent legal consequences—

fundamentally altered the political context in which the speech is interpreted. These subsequent developments suggest that Yoon's appeals to patriotism, historical sacrifice, and external threats were insufficient to restore public confidence or sustain his political legitimacy. In hindsight, the speech may be understood not only as an expression of South Korean national identity but also as an effort to consolidate political authority during a period of mounting vulnerability. The end of Yoon's presidency highlights the limitations of nationalist rhetoric when it is not accompanied by effective governance and sustained public trust.

The study, nevertheless, has several limitations. First, it focuses exclusively on a single speech delivered during the 69th Memorial Day commemoration in 2024. Second, as a qualitative discourse analysis, it does not incorporate survey-based evidence that could further substantiate its findings. Third, the study relies primarily on English-language materials due to limitations in accessing and analyzing Korean-language sources. Future research would benefit from examining a broader range of presidential speeches, including those delivered by Yoon and his predecessors during different political contexts and national commemorations. Comparative analysis drawing upon government documents, press releases, media reports, public opinion surveys, and social media discourse could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the evolving relationship between nationalism, political legitimacy, and identity construction in South Korea. Such research would be particularly valuable in assessing how political rhetoric functions during periods of crisis, democratic contestation, and leadership transition in contemporary Korean politics.

Notes:

[1] Jungmin Seo, "Diagnosing Korea–Japan Relations through Thick Description: Revisiting the National Identity Formation Process," *Third World Quarterly*, 45, no. 6 (April 12, 2024): 1106–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1937098; Ria Shibata, "The Construction of Cultural Identity: National Identity and Collective Forgetting in Japan-South Korea Relations," in *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building: The Changing Paradigms,* ed. Joseph Zajda and Suzanne Majhanovich (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2021), 107–22, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-2014-2_7.

[2] Chris Deacon, "(Re)Producing the 'History Problem': Memory, Identity and the Japan-South Korea Trade Dispute," *The Pacific Review*, 35, no. 5 (August 22, 2022): 789–820, https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2021.1897652; Jae-in Moon, "Opening Remarks by President Moon Jae-in at Emergency Cabinet Meeting," Presidential Speeches, 2019, https://www.korea.net/Government/Briefing-Room/Presidential-Speeches/view?articleId=173815&pageIndex=1#none.

[3] Jiyoung Ko and Sung Mi Kim, "'No Japan': Explaining Motivations behind Nationalist Boycotts in South Korea," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 23, no. 3 (September 1, 2023): 417–50, https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcac010.

[4] Paul Y. Chang and Gi-Wook Shin, "Democratization and the Evolution of Social Movements in Korea: Institutionalization and Diffusion," in *South Korean Social Movements: From Democracy to Civil Society*, ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Paul Y Chang (London: Routledge, 2011), 3–18.

[5] Victor D Cha, "Eyes Wide Open: Strategic Elite Views of South Korea's Nuclear Options," *The Washington Quarterly*, 47, no. 2 (April 2, 2024): 23–40, https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2024.2365031.

[6] Jonathan Cheng, "In South Korea, Reunification Call Misses the Jackpot," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 26, 2015, https://www.wsj.com/articles/BL-KRTB-7333.

[7] Haksoon Yim, "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 37–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630290032422.

[8] Kyong Yoon, "De/Constructing the Soft Power Discourse in Hallyu," *Communication Research and Practice*, 9, no. 3 (July 3, 2023): 341–57, https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2023.2237811.

[9] Guy Podoler, "'Who Was Park Chung-Hee?' The Memorial Landscape and National Identity Politics in South Korea," *East Asia*, 33, no. 4 (2016): 271–88, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-016-9261-y.

[10] Kyunghee So, Jungyun Kim, and Sunyoung Lee, "The Formation of the South Korean Identity through National Curriculum in the South Korean Historical Context: Conflicts and Challenges," *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32, no. 6 (2012): 797–804, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.11.005.

[11] Stephanie Kang, "Ideology Backlash: Anticommunist Education and Ideology in South Korea," SSRN, 2022, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4109000.

[12] Alexandra Hutzler, "Yoon Tells Congress the US-South Korea Alliance Is 'Stronger than Ever,'" *ABC News*, April 27, 2023, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/south-koreas-yoon-address-joint-meting-congress-amid/story?id=98839882.

[13] Bhikhu Parekh, "The Concept of National Identity," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 21, no. 2 (April 1, 1995): 255–68, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1995.9976489; Qiang Liu and David Turner, "Identity and National Identity," *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 50, no. 12 (October 15, 2018): 1080–88, https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2018.1434076.

[14] David Clampin, "Culture and Propaganda in World War II. Music, Film and the Battle for National Identity," *Contemporary British History*, 31, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 136–37, https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2017.1270910.

[15] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* Revised Edition (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

[16] Niklas Söderman, "Unifying State and Nation: Modern Myths and Narratives of Japanese Nationalism in Times of Social Change," *Japan Forum*, 35, no. 5 (October 20, 2023): 580–603, https://doi.org/10.1080/09555803.2022.2083213.

[17] Min Zhou and Hanning Wang, "Anti-Japanese Sentiment among Chinese University Students: The Influence of Contemporary Nationalist Propaganda," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs,* 46, no. 1 (April 1, 2017): 167–85, https://doi.org/10.1177/186810261704600107; Shin Seungyop, "Resembling the Opponent: Nationalist and Colonialist Historiographies in Modern Korea," *Acta Koreana,* 21, no. 2 (2018): 525–51, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/756429; Shogo Suzuki, "The Importance of 'Othering' in China's National Identity: Sino-Japanese Relations as a Stage of Identity Conflicts," *The Pacific Review*, 20, no. 1 (March 15, 2007): 23–47, https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740601133195.

[18] John J Mearsheimer, "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order," *International Security,* 43, no. 4 (April 1, 2019): 7–50, https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00342.

[19] Bart Bonikowski et al., "Populism and Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective: A Scholarly Exchange," *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 58–81, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12480.

[20] Heather Jones, For King and Country: *The British Monarchy and the First World War, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/9781108554619.

[21] Karen Painter, "Singing at Langemarck in the German Political Imaginary, 1914–1932," *Central European History,* 53, no. 4 (2020): 763–84, https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0008938920000424.

[22] Ali Maksum and Reevany Bustami, "The 1965 Coup and Reformasi 1998: Two Critical Moments in Indonesia-Malaysia Relations during and after the Cold War," *SpringerPlus,* 3, no. 1 (2014), https://doi.org/10.1186/2193-1801-3-45.

[23] Jian Xu and Qian Gong, "'Telling China's Story Well' as Propaganda Campaign Slogan: International, Domestic and the Pandemic," *Media, Culture & Society,* 46, no. 5 (March 13, 2024): 1064–74, https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437241237942; Cail Newsome, "The Use of Slogans in Political Rhetoric," *The Corinthian*, Vol. 4 , Article 3. 4, no. 3 (2002): 21–35, https://kb.gcsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1203&context=thecorinthian.

[24] Adam Kielman, "Sites and Sounds of National Memory: Performing the Nation in China's Decennial National Day Celebrations," *International Communication of Chinese Culture,* 7, no. 2 (2020): 147–68, https://doi.org/10.1007/s40636-020-00178-x;

Dalia Gavriely-Nuri, "Collective Memory as a Metaphor: The Case of Speeches by Israeli Prime Ministers 2001–2009," *Memory Studies,* 7, no. 1 (September 3, 2013): 46–60, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698013497953.

[25] Xing Zhang and Elmie Nekmat, "Retelling the Past Crisis: Crisis Memory and Its Influences on Organizational Reputation and Public Responses," *Public Relations Review,* 50, no. 5 (2024): 102493, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2024.102493.

[26] Chad W Seagren and David R Henderson, "Why We Fight: A Study of U.S. Government War-Making Propaganda," *The Independent Review,* 23, no. 1 (October 6, 2018): 69–90, http://www.jstor.org/stable/26591800; Olga Alexandrovna Solopova and Ksenia Naumova, "Just War: Critical Discourse Analysis of US Presidential Speeches," *International Journal of Arabic-English Studies,* 25, no. 1 (June 23, 2024), https://doi.org/10.33806/ijaes.v25i1.604.

[27] Lina Klymenko, "World War II or Great Patriotic War Remembrance? Crafting the Nation in Commemorative Speeches of Ukrainian Presidents," *National Identities*, 17, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 387–403, https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2014.990956.

[28] Anthony P. Rizzuto and Robert S. Hinck, "Putin's Propaganda Power: Examining Putin's Ukraine War Speeches," *Wild Blue Yonder*, 2023, https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Wild-Blue-Yonder/Articles/Article-Display/Article/3481905/putins-propaganda-power-examining-putins-ukraine-war-speeches/.

[29] Amir H Y Salama and Rania Fawzy, "Enchronic Cultural Discourse Analysis: A Semio-Cultural Study of National Identity Discourse of Saudi Founding Day," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses,* 18, no. 4 (October 2, 2023): 377–400, https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2024.2393160; Jim Macnamara and Robert Crawford, "The Construction of Australia Day: A Study of Public Relations as 'New Cultural Intermediaries,'" *Continuum*, 27, no. 2 (April 1, 2013): 294–310, https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2013.766311.

[30] Saša Babič and Jurij Fikfak, "Presidents and Their Speeches at National Commemorations," *Traditiones*, 45, no. 1 (June 15, 2016): 215–39, https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2016450110; Jurij Fikfak, "Leaders and Heroes of the Nation," *Traditiones,* 43, no. 1 (February 14, 2017): 7–11, https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2014430101.

[31] Philip Murphy, "Independence Day and the Crown," *The Round Table*, 97, no. 398 (October 1, 2008): 667–75, https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530802327852.

[32] Kenneth Paul Tan, "Singapore's National Day Rally Speech: A Site of Ideological Negotiation," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 37, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 292–308, https://doi.org/10.1080/00472330701408635.

[33] Mascha Schulz, "Performing the Party. National Holiday Events and Politics at a Public University Campus in Bangladesh," *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal,* no. 22 (2019), https://journals.openedition.org/samaj/6508#bibliography.

[34] Peera Charoenvattananukul, "The End of Compromise: Political Meanings of Thailand's First National Day Celebrations on 24 June 1939," *Asian Studies Review*, 46, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): 150–67, https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2021.1949579.

[35] Nicholas Owen, "'More than a Transfer of Power': Independence Day Ceremonies in India, 15 August 1947," *Contemporary Record,* 6, no. 3 (December 1, 1992): 415–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/13619469208581223.

[36] David Michael Green and Cynthia J Bogard, "The Making of Friends and Enemies," *Democracy and Security,* 8, no. 3 (October 6, 2012): 277–314, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48602818.

[37] Brad West and Philip Smith, "Natural Disasters and National Identity: Time, Space and Mythology," *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology,* 33, no. 2 (August 1, 1997): 205–15, https://doi.org/10.1177/144078339703300205.

[38] Clarke Rountree and Founi Tilli, *National Rhetorics in the Syrian Immigration Crisis,* ed. Clarke Rountree and Founi Tilli (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.14321/j.ctvj7wpdx.

[39] Pradeep Krishnatray and Sangeeta Shrivastava, "Coronavirus Pandemic: How National Leaders Framed Their Speeches to Fellow Citizens," *Asia Pacific Media Educator,* 31, no. 2 (October 31, 2021): 195–211, https://doi.org/10.1177/1326365X211048589.

[40] Greg Fealy, "Jokowi in the Covid-19 Era: Repressive Pluralism, Dynasticism and the Overbearing State," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies,* 56, no. 3 (September 1, 2020): 301–23, https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2020.1846482.

[41] Montserrat Guibernau, The Identity of Nations, The Identity of Nations (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007), https://books.google.co.kr/books?id=1VpawgEACAAJ; Tri Windari, "National Identity Attachment and Its Variables," *Journal of International Women's Studies,* 22, no. 3 (2021): 81–95, https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss3/9/.

[42] Haifeng Huang and Xinsheng Liu, "Historical Knowledge and National Identity: Evidence from China," *Research & Politics,* 5, no. 3 (July 1, 2018): 2053168018794352, https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168018794352.

[43] Scott S Boddery and Graig R Klein, "Presidential Use of Diversionary Drone Force and Public Support," *Research & Politics*, 8, no. 2 (April 1, 2021): 20531680211019904, https://doi.org/10.1177/20531680211019904; Mikael Blomdahl, "Diversionary Theory of War and the Case Study Design: President Clinton's Strikes on Iraq and Yugoslavia," *Armed Forces & Society,* 43, no. 3 (June 8, 2016): 545–65, https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X16651866.

[44] Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, "Explaining People: Narrative and the Study of Identity," *Storyworlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies,* 1 (2009): 25–41, https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/stw.0.0000; Mark Freeman, "From Substance to Story: Narrative, Identity, and the Construction of the Self," in *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*, ed. J Brockmeier and D A Carbaugh, Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001), 283–98, https://books.google.co.kr/books?id=YkfD9N47FdwC.

[45] Hong KAL, "Commemoration and the Construction of Nationalism: War Memorial Museums in Korea and Japan," *The Asia-Pacific Journal,* 6, no. 9 (2008), https://apjjf.org/hong-kal/2880/article.

[46] N. Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003); Norman Fairclough and Phil Graham, "Marx as a Critical

Discourse Analyst: The Genesis of a Critical Method and Its Relevance to the Critique of Global Capital," *Sociolinguistic Studies; Estudios de Sociolingüística 3.1 2002*, 3, no. 1 (2002): 185–229, https://journals.equinoxpub.com/SS/article/view/2466 %3C/div%3E; Teun A van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (New Jersey: Wiley, 2005), 349–71, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470753460.ch19.

[47] Teun A van Dijk, *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511481499.

[48] Murni Mahmud, *Doing Discourse Analysis: An Introduction* (Yogyakarta: Phoenix Publisher, 2017), chap. 2; Bingjuan Xiong and Jessica S Robles, "Functions of Quotation in Online Political Comments," *Discourse, Context & Media,* 55 (2023): 100717, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2023.100717.

[49] Udo Kuckartz, "Qualitative Text Analysis: A Systematic Approach," in *Compendium for Early Career Researchers in Mathematics Education*, ed. Gabriele Kaiser and Norma Presmeg (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 181–97, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15636-7_8; Alexus Bazen, Frances K Barg, and Junko Takeshita, "Research Techniques Made Simple: An Introduction to Qualitative Research," *Journal of Investigative Dermatology,* 141, no. 2 (2021): 241-247.e1, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jid.2020.11.029.

[50] Office of the President of the Republic of Korea, "Address by President Yoon Suk Yeol on the 69th Memorial Day," 2024, https://eng.president.go.kr/speeches/SU43WV4b.

[51] Laura Ann Chubb, "Me and the Machines: Possibilities and Pitfalls of Using Artificial Intelligence for Qualitative Data Analysis," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 22 (September 8, 2023): 16094069231193592, https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231193593; Syarifuddin Dollah, Amirullah Abduh, and Ms. Rosmaladewi, "Benefits and Drawbacks of NVivo QSR Application," in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Education, Science, and Technology (ICEST 2017)* (Atlantis Press, 2017), 61–63, https://doi.org/10.2991/icest-17.2017.21.

[52] Bonikowski et al., "Populism and Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective: A Scholarly Exchange."

[53] Xu and Gong, "'Telling China's Story Well' as Propaganda Campaign Slogan: International, Domestic and the Pandemic"; Newsome, "The Use of Slogans in Political Rhetoric."

[54] Guibernau, *The Identity of Nations*.

[55] Fikfak, "Leaders and Heroes of the Nation."

[56] Mitch Shin, "Why Is South Korea's President Yoon So Unpopular?," *The Diplomat,* 13 September, 2024, https://thediplomat.com/2024/09/why-is-south-koreas-president-yoon-so-unpopular/.

[57] Faris Al-Fadhat and Jin-Wook Choi, "Insights From The 2022 South Korean Presidential Election: Polarisation, Fractured Politics, Inequality, and Constraints on Power," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 53, no. 4 (August 8, 2023): 724–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2023.2164937.

[58] Shin, "Why Is South Korea's President Yoon So Unpopular?"

[59] Mitch Shin, "Has Moon Jae-in's North Korea Peace Process Failed?," *The Diplomat*, 4 May, 2022, https://thediplomat.com/2022/05/has-moon-jae-ins-north-korea-peace-process-failed/.

[60] S. Nathan Park, "South Korea's Conservatives Aren't Any Tougher on China or North Korea Than Liberals," *Foreign Policy*, 24 May, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/24/korea-yoon-china-north/.

[61] Ji-Eun Seo, "South Koreans Believe Climate Change an Equal Threat to North's Nukes: Survey," *Korea Joongang Daily*, 10 October, 2024, https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/2024-10-10/national/diplomacy/South-Koreans-believe-climate-change-an-equal-threat-to-Norths-nukes-Survey/2152075.

[62] Gallup Korea, "데일리 오피니언 제 595 호(2024 년 9 월 1 주) - 장래 정치 지도자 선호도, 의대 정원 확대[Daily Opinion No. 595 (Week 1, September 2024) - Future Political Leaders' Preferences, Expanding Medical School Quotas]," 2024, https://www.gallup.co.kr/gallupdb/reportContent.asp?seqNo=1507.

[63] Boddery and Klein, "Presidential Use of Diversionary Drone Force and Public Support"; Blomdahl, "Diversionary Theory of War and the Case Study Design: President Clinton's Strikes on Iraq and Yugoslavia"; Kilic B. Kanat, "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Authoritarian States: The Use of Multiple Diversionary Strategies by Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War," *Journal of Strategic Security,* 7, no. 1 (2013): 16–32, https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/jss/vol7/iss1/3/.