

5. AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF KOREAN STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICA: THE CASES OF MEXICO, CHILE AND ARGENTINA

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INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to analyze the development of Korean studies in the Latin American region between the 1960s and the 2010s, taking as representative countries Mexico in North America, and Chile and Argentina in South America. Korean studies shall be understood as those academic activities of the different disciplines of social sciences and humanities (history, politics, economics, anthropology, sociology, religion, etc.) within East Asian studies that have as their object of study the Korean peninsula as well as the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), encompassing not only internal and external aspects, but also relations between both countries. Now, in fact there is a sharp concentration of them in South Korea, for several reasons ranging from the economic support that this country provides to the promotion of Korean studies to the important presence of communities of South Koreans in Latin America, hence the specific attention that will be paid to this country in relation to Korean Studies.

The proposed analysis will be carried out from an institutional perspective. This is based on the fact that the individual work of the scholars has an institutional framework, becoming in this way the university in the main

institutional anchor where Korean studies are carried out. Among other variables, attention will be paid to the formation and development of university spaces for Korean studies, their membership or that of their authorities in networks that promote academic cooperation in Korean studies, the funding of this spaces by the South Korean government through agencies that promote Korean studies abroad, such as the Korea Foundation (KF), the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS), and the King Sejong Institute, and participation of the universities in paradiplomatic mechanisms to promote the relations of the governments of the aforementioned Latin American countries with South Korea. In this way, attention will focus on how Latin American universities not only improve academic knowledge about South Korea in the region, but also help strengthen ties with South Korea, by means of the adaptation of the international academic cooperation as an aspect of the international insertion carried out by the respective governments.

The analysis will be based on a comparative method. In the first place, it will seek to identify the several academic initiatives on Korean studies in each of the mentioned Latin American countries, which will be done by reviewing specialized bibliography and surveying the respective official websites, using keywords such as study center, department of language, Latin American or Korean syllabus, among others, in Spanish and English. This will be complemented by sending a questionnaire by email to the authorities of the academic initiatives to consult in greater depth its development. Once the data is obtained, they will be compared. From this analysis, it is considered possible to account for the institutional status of Korean studies in the Latin American countries studied.

The paper will consist of a first section where the theoretical framework from which the analysis will be carried out will be presented, followed by another section where the situation on academic papers that address the history of Korean studies in Latin American in general and in the mentioned countries in particular will be addressed. Next, the institutional status of Korean studies in Mexico, Chile and Argentina will be developed, raising in another section the challenges they face and some suggestions to overcome them in order to continue deepening the development of this study area in Latin America.

Theoretical framework: Korean Studies as University Internationalization

The proposed analysis on the institutional status of Korean Studies will be carried out from the renewed formulations of the autonomy theory of international relations. In this regard, the contributions made by Myriam Colacrai on paradiplomacy as an aspect of her concept of regional autonomy will be considered, complemented by those of Oregioni on intra-regional university internationalization. These will be reinterpreted according to Dosch's perspective on inter-regionalism.

According to Colacrai, states no longer have the exclusive exercise of sovereignty in the centralized conduct of international relations. (Colacrai, 2015, p. 116) This is one more manifestation of the disintegration of the univocal power of the State and is another notable sign of the extreme complexity of actors, forces, loyalties and values that characterizes the present moment. (Colacrai, 2000, p. 61) Thus, in recent decades, different actors, such as state agencies for international cooperation, national legislatures, sub-national or non-central governments, among others, with the capacity to act internationally have gained greater prominence, establishing social, economic, cultural, and technical relationships with other foreign "peer" actors. These relationships are configured as necessary channels in the interweaving of relationships between countries and are one more expression of the characteristic porosity of interdependence. Colacrai thus proposes the consolidation of this dimension of international relations, a kind of non-traditional "parallel diplomacy", which accounted for the external actions carried out by these actors, which contribute to and complement the traditional diplomacy initiatives pursued by the state bodies in charge of the central government in its relation with foreign counterparts, which she called "paradiplomacy". (Colacrai, 2015, pp. 116-121)

Among these actors, universities are included. They establish links with their foreign counterparts through international academic cooperation as a product of "epistemic (knowledge) communities" (Colacrai, 2006, p. 384) and "knowledge production and dissemination networks" (Oregioni, 2015, p. 9) among academics. Oregioni understands these networks as a flexible structure that enables the exchange of knowledge flows between students, professors and researchers, by means of international physical and virtual mobility programs. (Oregioni, 2015, p. 9) These constitute an instrument of university internationalization. (Oregioni, 2017, p. 2) The government can support and guide the internationalization process of country's universities by setting public educational policies and the instrumentalization of

direct or indirect promotion mechanisms through different dependencies state, among them programs that promote the creation of international networks between universities. (Oregioni, 2015, p. 11; Oregioni, 2018, p. 26) another mechanism can be spaces where specific foreign policy issues or policy coordination are discussed including academic participation. The strategy of Internationalization of Higher Education cannot be different from the strategy of international insertion carried out by a country. Consequently, it seeks to strengthen the relations of the universities with those of other countries that are priority or strategic for the foreign policy of that country. Thus, the State is considered as the agent of university internationalization, while universities are the actors of internationalization. (Oregioni, 2015, p. 12)

Oregioni identifies two processes of university internationalization in Latin America. She defines the first as hegemonic internationalization, based on a north-south relationship, characterized by the commercial profile and competitive dynamics of educational-academic activities of the neoliberal model, considering Higher Education as a service, while she defines the second as counter-hegemonic internationalization, based on a south-south cooperation, characterized by a sense of solidarity and cooperation assigned to educational-academic activities of the model post-liberal, which understands Higher Education as a right. Regarding the last, it aims to generate relevant knowledge in interaction with other actors in order to satisfy needs of the societies. (Oregioni, 2015, pp. 4-6, Oregioni, 2018, p. 19) When the State politically chooses to promote non-hegemonic internationalization, it will be working on the basis of a national project that favors self-determination and relative autonomy. (Oregioni, 2018, p. 34)

Taking what Colacrai and Oregioni have said, the importance of the link between the State and the universities will be highlighted, but applied not to the process of intra-regional integration, but to that of inter-regional linkage according to Dosch, which we consider can also work to generate greater autonomy, in this case between East Asia and Latin America. Inter-regionalism emerges as a response to the increasing complexity of the international system. Hence, in light of a perceived erosion process of nation-states' steering mechanisms in the era of globalization, inter-regionalism just as regionalism appears to offer state actors new action corridors and a tool to explore and to regain (lost) political steering competencies. Inter-regionalism serves as a political vehicle for the deepening of interdependence, the mutual increase of material and nonmaterial resources, and the resolution of conflicts

through the use of accompanying measures and additional cooperation between governmental and nongovernmental actors. It contributes to multilateral institution and identity building in international relations (Dosch, 2012, pp. 135-136) Regarding inter-regional relations between East Asia and Latin America, the main forum for dialogue and mutual understanding is the Forum for Latin America-East Asia Cooperation (FEALAC). Paraphrasing what Gibson said regarding ASEM, within FEALAC two coherent and externally differentiated bodies position themselves one in front of the other. Paradoxically, this inter-regional dialogue can serve more effectively to increase intra-regional cooperation, because it can more clearly articulate explicitly the presence of an East Asia in the face of a Latin America. As a result, this mechanism can even induce the creation of an East Asian and Latin America regional identity respectively. (Gilson, 1999, p. 749 en Altemani de Oliveita, 2002, p. 123)

Using this theoretical framework, we will seek to analyze the role of Korean studies not only as a deepening of academic knowledge about South Korea in particular and, due to its links, East Asia in general, but also as an aspect of the internationalization of the universities of Mexico, Chile and Argentina towards South Korea and its use by the governments of the respective countries to strengthen the bilateral ties within East Asia and Latin America inter-regional relations, having in mind the framework of FEALAC.

ACADEMIC PAPERS ABOUT KOREAN STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Few are the papers that address the development of Korean studies in Latin America in a holistic way. First, mention should be made of the article by Samuel Velarde “Korean Studies in Latin America”, published in 2015. Here he approached the academic status of Korean studies in Latin America, although without paying deeper attention into the institutional issue. In the same year, the article “A Short History of the Ups and Downs of Korean Studies in Latin America: Newcomers Meeting the Challenges” by Wonjung Min was published. In this, she proposed a deeper approach to Korean studies in the Latin American region, with greater attention to the institutional issue, but with certain imbalances in the treatment, highlighting their status of the

same in Chile over that of other countries in the region. A third article to mention is the one written by Oscar Mora Garduño, Yun Sang Cheol, and María del Carmen Hernández Cueto "Analysis of research about Korean studies in Latin America", published in 2018, in which the issue was addressed from the perspective of researchers, where only some institutional problems were mentioned generically.

Then there are papers that address the developments of Korean studies in specific countries. Among them the most important are the article by Wonjung Min "Outlook for Korean Studies in Chile" published in 2006, the article by Won-ho Kim "Korean Studies in Mexico: A Survey and Recommendations" published in 2009, and the article by Alfredo Romero Castilla "The Korean Studies in Mexico" published in 2018. Finally, sometime later, it is possible to find the paper by Bárbara Bavoleo and Luciano Bolinaga "Korean studies in the Argentine Republic. Trajectory and perspectives" published in 2017. These papers mainly propose a historical analysis of the academic development of Korean studies in the mentioned Latin American countries, highlighting the founding role of some scholars and the significant importance of several texts, but only mention institutional problems without much specification.

In general terms, it can be affirmed that, although they are important contributions if taken together to understand in general the development of Korean studies in Latin American, and in some Latin American countries in particular, their focus is put in highlighting academic milestones in a more or less coherent historical description depending on the cases, but where the institutional perspective is relegated. Hence, this paper seeks to change the focus to approach the development of Korean studies considering the role of the academic institutions, specifically universities, dedicated to them.

INSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF KOREAN STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES: THE CASES OF MEXICO, CHILE AND ARGENTINA

A first stimulus to Korean studies in Latin America can be identified in the 1960s, owing to the Major Project for the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures undertaken by UNESCO in 1957, better known as the

East-West Major Project, which main objective was to promote inter-cultural dialogue to generate a better understanding of the main features of the life of the different peoples of the East and West. This fostered the establishment of the first academic centers dedicated to the studies of Asian peoples in Latin American universities. It was during this decade that diplomatic relations were also established between South Korea and several Latin American countries. In this way, as there was a new interest from the Latin American states to establish diplomatic relations with the new independent states of Asia and Africa, as a result of the decolonization process and the search for their place in the international stage, which would be reflected in the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement and the more generic Third World in the Cold War order, there was also an academic interest in expanding the traditional borders of knowledge towards these new peoples and countries.

Among the causes that motivated Korean studies in Latin America in the following decades is that Latin American academics became interested in the political and economic development processes of South Korea, linking their research on South Korea in a comparative way with the situation in their respective countries. Several similar processes were taking place simultaneously both in South Korea and several Latin American countries during the 1970s and 1980s, such as industrialization, military authoritarianism and the democratic transition, civil-military relations, among others. In this regard, several Latin American universities incorporated Korean issues in the syllabus of the courses dedicated to East Asian studies, such as Bachelor's Degree in History or other social sciences. Also it is important to add the issue of migration and Korean communities in Latin America, which involves socio-cultural studies. (Garduño, Cheol and Hernández Cueto, 2018; Min, 2015; Velarde, 2015) Between the 1960s and 1970s, more than 100,000 Koreans arrived to Latin America. (Chacon Morales, 2009)

Beginning the 1990s, a new impetus for Korean studies took place, with the consolidation of multilateral forums for trans-regional cooperation in the Pacific Ocean basin, such as the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and, especially, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC), where South Korea deepened its ties not only with the government but also with other actors of the Asia-Pacific countries, including some Latin American countries, allowing more frequent political, diplomatic, and commercial contacts, in addition to academic and cultural ones. In 1993, study centers in universities of countries members of APEC began to be established, followed by

the creation of APEC university consortiums. At the end of this decade, in 1999 the Forum for East Asia Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) was created, a bi-regional forum to promote intergovernmental relations between the countries of East Asia and of Latin America, but it lacks an institutional mechanism to incorporate universities, hence university participation is very sporadic. In South Korea the Office for Latin American and Caribbean Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was established in the 1990s. (Kim, 1998, p. 18; Uk Heo and Roehrig, 2014, p. 151) The Korean Council on Latin America and the Caribbean (KCLAC) was also created in 1996, which brought together businessmen and academics. (Kim, 1998, p. 17) It was from this decade that new academic centers were established and academic networks were deepened, which strengthened Korean studies from a political and economic sciences perspective, especially international relations.

In the 2000s, a greater interest in the international geopolitical issues was generated, based on North Korea's nuclear development and the quest of South Korea as a middle power on the international stage. But, in the case of Latin America, geo-economic-commercial issues were the ones which basically became in the main axis on which relations between South Korea and the countries of the region would be sustained and developed, since there were no military or strategic issues affecting relations. Several trade agreements were signed with Latin American countries. Academic interest shifted in the same orientation. In July 2007, after the signing of a cooperation agreement, the United Nations Economic and Social Council authorized the incorporation of South Korea as a member state of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). In August 2015, South Korea was chosen as one of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)'s five extra-regional strategic partners. This showed that the link between South Korea and Latin America has intensified in the last decade, assuming even greater importance. In the last decade, studies on the process of technological modernization in different sectors of Korean society and the internationalization of its popular culture were incorporated in Latin America. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; Garduño, Cheol and Hernández Cueto, 2018; Kim, 2009; Velarde, 2015)

In addition to the stimulus to East Asian studies provided by the UNESCO and to Asia-Pacific studies provided by PECC and, specially, APEC, South Korea generated its own stimulus to promote Korean Studies abroad, with the creation of the KF in 1991 and the King Sejong Institute in 2007,

complementing the programs of the AKS that was established in 1978. Owing to it, in the early 2000s Korean studies assumed greater academic relevance in Latin America. During the 2010s it is possible to see that a shift in the axis of economic assistance of academic initiatives from the KF to the AKS is taking place. This motivated the formation of networks of scholars dedicated specifically to Korean Studies in several Latin American countries. Also, with the economic support from the KF, the first Meeting of Korean Studies in Latin America (EECAL) was held in 2003 in Argentina. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; Min, 2015; Velarde, 2015)

Taking into consideration this development, within the group of Latin American universities that have research centers and undergraduate and postgraduate courses on issues of East Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin, there are some that have centers and courses dedicated specifically to Korean studies. In this regard, it is clarified that the following survey does not intend to be exhaustive of all the universities with relations with Asian counterparts or dedicated to East Asian studies, but rather those within these that are dedicated more specifically to Korean studies. In order to identify them, consideration was given not to having carried out an isolated or sporadic activity, but having maintained a set of items regularly over time, such as having a specialized research center, an undergraduate or graduate academic syllabus dedicated to Korean studies, a Korean language teaching course, agreements signed with Korean universities, hosted a national or international conferences on the subject, having received economic assistance from the KF and / or the AKS, among others. Inter-regional or trans-regional profiles will be defined considering the academic orientation of the study center of the university, its participation in academic-public cooperation mechanisms, or in regional university networks, among other factors. Specifically, attention will be paid to the institutional status of Korean studies at universities in Mexico, Chile and Argentina. At the beginning of the section of each country, a brief presentation of the bilateral and multilateral inter-governmental relations between South Korea and each of the mentioned Latin American countries is included, with focus on cultural-academic issues. At the end of the paper there is an annex where the list of the universities of Mexico, Chile and Argentina dedicated to Korean studies is found.

KOREAN STUDIES AT MEXICAN UNIVERSITIES

Mexico and South Korea established diplomatic relations in 1962, opening the South Korean government its embassy in the Latin American country that same year, while the Mexican government established its embassy in Japan as a concurrent in South Korea in 1967, opening its embassy in the Asian country in 1978. (Romero Castilla, 2012) Both countries signed a trade agreement in 1966, and one on economic cooperation in 1989. There are currently negotiations between both governments to conclude a free trade agreement. Also in 1966, Mexico and South Korea signed an agreement on cultural cooperation, which includes academic cooperation. (Licón Michel and Rangel Delgado, 2012) In 2012 the Embassy of South Korea established the Korean Cultural Center, the second in Latin America, where not only cultural events but also academic activities and Korean language courses were organized. (Korean Cultural Center in Mexico) Furthermore, Mexico became a member of PECC in 1991, for which it created the Mexican National Committee for the Asia-Pacific (MXCPEC), and of APEC in 1993, for which it established in 2004 the Mexican APEC Study Centers Consortium (CONMEX-CEAPEC). (CONMEX-CEAPEC; Mackintosh Ramírez, 2005; Ramírez Bonilla, 2016) In 1999 it joined FEALAC as a founding member. In this context, Korean studies were developed in Mexico, becoming one of the academic epicenters of Korean studies in Latin America.

First, it is important to highlight the creation of two institutions, which could be motivated by UNESCO's East-West Major Project. On the one hand, the Center for Asian and African Studies (CEAA) of the Colegio de México (COLMEX), created in 1964. In 1964 it created the Master's Degree in Asian and African Studies, and in 1997 it established the PhD's Degree in Asian and African Studies, which was active for some years. Between 1996 and 2006 it had an APEC Study Center. In 1994 it created a Department of Korean Studies with the support of the KF, being the first institution in Latin America of its kind, having during the late 1990s and 2000s a specialization on Korean Studies in the mentioned Master's Degree. In 2005, it organized the second Meeting of Korean Studies in Latin America. In 2017 the Permanent Seminar on Korean Studies was inaugurated. (Baños Martínez and Barreto Canales, 2017; CEAA; Kim, 2009; Min, 2015; Ramírez Bonilla, 2016; Romero, 2018) On the other hand, the Center for Oriental Studies (CEO) of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National Autonomous University of Mexico

(UNAM), created in 1966. In 1967 it created the Bachelor's and Master's Degree in Oriental Studies. In 1974 the CEO was closed and its courses were canceled, being reopened in the early 2010s. In parallel, in 1969, the course on Issues of Asia and the Far East was established in the Bachelor's Degree in International Relations of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. In 2013 the University Program in Asian and African Studies was established, a multi and interdisciplinary academic proposal, in which the Faculties of Philosophy and Letters, Economics, Political and Social Sciences participate, in addition to several research institutes. In 2015, the Diploma of Asian Studies was launched, which has a group of classes on Korea, in addition to organizing in 2019 a course on the Challenges of South Korea Globalization. In 2016, it organized what would be the first of the Korean Culture Days. It participates together with South Korean universities in the Association of Universities of the Pacific Ocean Basin (APRU), established in 1997. Moreover, it provides Korean language course at the Teaching Center for Foreign Language. (Kim, 2009; PUEAA; Ramírez Bonilla, 2016; Romero, 2018)

In addition to the previous institutions, it is important to mention others, whose establishment was related to Mexico's participation in the Asia-Pacific multilateral forums. First, the University Center for Studies and Research on the Pacific Rim (CUEICP) of the Faculty of Economics of University of Colima (UCOL), created in 1989. It has an APEC Study Center. In 1994 it established the Master's Degree in International Economic Relations with a specialization in Pacific Rim Studies, becoming later the basis on which in 1999 it began to offer a PhD's Degree in Transpacific Relations. In 2005, it established the Korean Studies Program, with support from the KF. Besides, there are two compulsory seminars on the Asia-Pacific region within the courses of the Bachelor's Degree in International Relations of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. (CUEICP; Kim, 2009; Ramírez Bonilla, 2016) Second, the University Center for Social Sciences and Humanities (CUCSH) of University of Guadalajara (UDG), which has the Department of Pacific Studies (DEP), established in 1990. Since 1994, it has been in charge of the Specialization in International and Pacific Studies of the Master's Degree in Social Sciences, and in 2020 it launched the Master's Degree in Global Policies and Trans-Pacific Studies, where issues on the Korean peninsula are studied. It has an APEC Study Center. (DEP; Falck, 2010; Gonzalez, 2015; Kim, 2009; Ramírez Bonilla, 2016)

More recently, with greater focus, it is necessary to highlight the University Center for Social Sciences and Humanities (CUCSH) of the Autonomous University of Nayarit (UAN), in which, owing to a Study and Research Program about the Pacific and the establishment for the first time in Mexico, also in Latin America, of the King Sejong Institute thanks to an agreement signed in 2012 with the embassy of the Republic of Korea, the Bachelor's Degree in Korean Studies, unique in America Latina, was created in 2013, with support of the KF. It has subjects about Korean history, culture, religion, thought and literature, along with economy, politics, international relations of South Korea, as well as Korean language. It is possible for its students to attend courses in South Korean universities, as well as do professional internships in South Korean companies. It is currently undergoing a restructuring process. (CUCSH; Embassy of the Republic of Korea, 2014; Kim, 2009; Korean Cultural Center in Mexico, 2016; UAN, 2012-a; UAN, 2012-b) Moreover, it is important to consider the Center for Asian Studies (CEA) of the Autonomous University of Nuevo León (UANL) was constituted in 2006. In 2014 it became the headquarters of the E-school Program for Latin America of the Korea Foundation, after being at the University of California in the United States, assuming the coordination of this online program on Korean Studies to overcome temporal, linguistic, and administrative difficulties. From a virtual classroom, courses are offered on different aspects of South Korea, covering issues of history, culture, religion and society, besides others such as South Korean business and economic development, domestic politics and international relations, which are possible to articulate within the syllabus of the courses offered by the participating universities. It is a founding member of a network of Latin American universities participating in the program, among which are 19 from Mexico, including all the previously mentioned universities, 3 from Chile, 3 from Argentina, among other Latin American ones. Within these universities, there is a group that established a consortium. Since 2015 it organizes the International Workshop of the E-School Program, supported with scholarships, and since 2016 it organizes the Essay Contest of the E-School Program. In turn, since 2014 it has the only King Sejong Institute in Mexico. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; CEA, 2015; KFAL; Min, 2015)

Regarding networking, it is important to mention in the first place that CEAA-COLMEX promoted, with the support of UNESCO, the constitution in 1976 of the Latin American Association for Asian and African Studies (ALADAA), the main association of Latin American scholars dedicated to

study African and Asians peoples and countries, in which Korean studies have been present in the several of its international conferences. (ALADAA) Also that UNAM, UCOL, UDG, together with the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education, the Veracruzana University, the Michoacan University of San Nicolas of Hidalgo, and the Autonomous University of Baja California Sur, are members of CONMEX-CEAPEC. Regarding Korean studies, in 2009 the Mexican Academy of Korean Studies was established, (Garduño, Cheol y Hernández Cueto, 2018; Min, 2015; Velarde, 2015) initiative of a network of Mexican scholars interested in Korea, with the support of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Mexico and of the KF. It had the first Conference on Korean Studies at COLMEX in 2008, the second at the University of Colima in 2009 (Kim, 2009). It was resumed later in 2015 by the Circle Mexican for Korean Studies (CMEC) emerged within the framework of the seventh edition of EECAL organized at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco. (Chakana, 2018) This academic organization has organized, together with the support of several universities, the first Korea Forum in 2016, being organized the second in 2017 with the Iberoamerican University, the third in 2018 with the Colegio de México, and the fourth in 2019 with the National Museum of World Cultures. The second International Workshop on Korea Studies, coordinated by CEAA-COLMEX, was also organized in 2017. (Baños Martínez and Barreto Canales, 2017) There are several Mexican universities dedicated to Korean studies that participate together with South Korean universities in the Consortium for North American Higher Education Collaboration (CONAHEC), established in 1991, and in University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific Program (UMAP), established in 1993.

KOREAN STUDIES IN CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES

Chile and South Korea established diplomatic relations in 1962, opening the South Korean government its embassy in the Latin American country shortly thereafter, while the Chilean government opened its embassy in the Asian country in 1969. (Ortega, 2012) Both governments signed an agreement on trade in 1977, and on economic cooperation in 1968. (BCN, 2012) In 2003 they signed a free trade agreement, the first between a Latin American and an Asian country, entering into force in 2004. In 1984, Chile and South Korea signed an agreement on cultural cooperation, which considers academic cooperation. Furthermore, Chile became a member of PECC in 1991,

for which it created the Chilean National Committee for the Asia-Pacific (CHILPEC), and of APEC in 1994. Now, while Mexico opted for a university consortium, Chile advanced with the establishment of a public-private foundation, the Chilean Pacific Foundation, created in 1994 that has an APEC Study Center, as well as is CHILPEC headquarters. It was one of the founding countries of FEALAC in 1999, as it pushed for the establishment of the forum together with Singapore. (Fundación Chilena del Pacífico; Ramírez Bonilla, 2016) In this context Korean studies were developed in Chile.

In first place, it is important to highlight that the establishment of several study center was related to Chile's participation in the Asia-Pacific multilateral forums. The Asia Pacific Center (CAP) was established in 2002 at the Institute of International Studies of the University of Chile (UCHILE), university that had a specialization in Asia and the Pacific in the Master's Degree in International Studies in the 1970s. It has the Korean Studies Program established in 2006, with support of the KF, that it awards scholarships to fund undergraduate and postgraduate thesis. Also it has carried out research projects with funding from the AKS. In 2009, he organized the fourth edition of the Meeting of Korean Studies in Latin America. UCHILE is another university that participates together with South Korean universities in the APRU. (BCN, 2013; BCN, 2017; IEI, 2006; IEI, 2010; Rodríguez Guarachi, 2006; Sparks, 1999) The Center for Asian Studies (CEA) of the Faculty of History, Geography and Political Science of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile (UC), established in 2002. In 2008 it established the Diploma in Asian Studies, where issues on the Korean peninsula are studied, which was complemented in 2019 with the Diploma in Asian Thought and Cultures by the Institute of Aesthetics. It organizes annually the Korea Essay Contest since 2007, with the support of the KF. And the International Seminar on Korean Studies since 2008, with support from the KF in the early years and the AKS recently. Moreover, it has carried out several research projects, one of them in 2011 with funding from the AKS. There is also the section on Korean studies of the Department of History. (BCN, 2008; BCN, 2009; BCN, 2010; BCN, 2011; BCN, 2012; BCN, 2013; BCN, 2013; BCN, 2016; CEA; Garduño, Cheol and Hernández Cueto, 2018; Min, 2012; Min, 2013; Min, 2015) In addition to the two previous institutions, it is necessary to include the Asia Pacific Center (CEAP) of the Faculty of Economics and Business of the Diego Portales University (UDP), established in 2007, which had for the first time the King Sejong Institute in Chile owing to the signing of an agreement with the embassy of the

Republic of Korea in 2012, (Asia Pacific Center; BCN, 2012; BCN, 2013; BCN, 2017) the Institute for Pacific and Indian Studies (IEPI) of the Gabriela Mistral University (UGM) established in 1982, now deactivated, but it had the course on the Pacific and Indian Basin, where issues on the Korean peninsula were studied and received assistance from the KF, (BCN, 2013; IEPI, 2011; Min, 2015) and the Asia-Pacific Program of the Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences of the Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaíso (PUCV), established in 2008, which had a Diploma in Asia-Pacific Studies, where issues on the Korean peninsula were discussed. (BCN, 2013; BCN, 2018; Min, 2015; PAP, 2016; PAP, 2016; PAP, 2018)

More recently, with greater detail, it is important to highlight the Institute for Advanced Studies (IDEA) of the University of Santiago de Chile (USaCh), which has the Chilean-Korean Study Center Program (CHKSCP) since 2014, with the support of the Seed Program of the AKS that has organized several seminars on Korea. It also offers an essay contest to promote researches with funding from the AKS. It had during some time a Diploma in Regional Studies, with a specialization in Asia-Pacific. It participates together with South Korean universities in CONAHEC. (BCN, 2014; BCN, 2013; CHKSCP; Fernández y Fuentes, 2019; VIDI, 2018) Also the initiative of the Central University of Chile (UCENTRAL) that in 2014 created the Korean Studies Program, and in 2018 established the Master's Degree in Korean Studies, unique in Latin America, with the support of the Seed Program of the AKS. It has subjects about Korean history, culture, religion, and thought, along with economy, politics, international relations of South Korea, as well as Korean language. It is possible for its students to do professional internships in South Korean companies. It participates in the E-school Program of the Korea Foundation. In 2019 it signed an agreement with the embassy of the Republic of Korea, relocating the King Sejong Institute. That same year, the Korea's Center for Comparative Studies was also created, and the first Latin American Cycle of Korean Studies was organized. (Chakana, 2018; BCN, 2019; BCN, 2019; UCENTRAL; UCENTRAL, 2019)

Regarding networking, it is important to mention that the Chilean section of ALADAA was established in the mid-2010s, the first International Congress of the Association was held in this country in 2016, while in 2019 it was organized the First National Congress. (ALADAA) On the other hand, the UCHILE and the UC participate in the Chilean Pacific Foundation. Regarding

Korean studies, in 2012 the Korean Studies Network was established. (Red de Estudios Coreanos en Chile)

KOREAN STUDIES AT ARGENTINE UNIVERSITIES

Finally, the situation in Argentina has to be taken into account. Argentina and South Korea established diplomatic relations in 1962, opening the South Korean government its embassy in the Latin American country in 1963, while the Argentine government opened its embassy in the Asian country in 1966. Both countries signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation in 2004. Also in 1968, Argentina and South Korea signed a cultural cooperation agreement, which considers academic cooperation. (Paz Iriberri, 2001) In 2004 they signed a cultural and educational cooperation agreement. (Oviedo, 2016) In 2006 the Embassy of South Korea established the Korean Cultural Center, the first in Latin America, where not only cultural events but also academic activities and Korean language courses were organized, and where the only King Sejong Institute is. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; Rubio, 2015) Argentina sought to participate in PECC, for which it created the Argentine National Committee for the Asia-Pacific (CONAPAC) in 1992. But by 2002, CONAPAC was deactivated, being reactivated in 2016, under a new modality, which prioritizes the government role over tripartite participation of diplomats, businessmen and scholars. In 1999 it joined FEALAC as a founding member. Hence, unlike Mexico and Chile, Asian studies in Argentina were not articulated appropriately with the participation of the government in the regional multilateral forums, such as PECC, APEC and FEALAC. In this context Korean studies were developed in Argentina, that, together with Chile, became another academic epicenter of Korean studies in Latin America.

It is possible to identify the creation of one institution, which could be motivated by UNESCO's East-West Major Project. The "Rev. Ismael Quiles S.J." School of Oriental Studies (EEO) of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Oriental Studies of University of Salvador(USAL) was established in 1967. That same year it established the Bachelor's Degree in Oriental Studies that nowadays it has the courses on History of Korean Culture and Contemporary History of Asia-Pacific. Besides, at the Institute for Social Sciences Researches (IDICSO) of the Faculty of Social Sciences, the project of an Online Diploma in

Korean Studies is being carried out since 2016, with support of the Seed Program of the AKS. Also there is the seminar Integration Processes in Asia-pacific. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; Min, 2015; USAL 2019) Another significant institution is the School of History of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the National University of Córdoba (UNC), which offers the course Contemporary History of Asia and Africa since 1987, and the Contemporary Korean and Northeast Asian Studies Program since 1993. Besides, it has the Center for Advanced Studies (CEA) at the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities that established the East Asian Studies Program in 2003, followed in 2005 by the Specialization in East Asian Studies. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; Buffa, 2008; UNC, 2010; Molina and Silbert, 2007) It is necessary to mention too the following institutions that have classes and other academic activities on the Korean peninsula: the Department of Geography of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Tucumán (UNT), which has the Bachelor's Degree in Geography that has the courses Geography of World Spaces and Political Geography and International Relations, as well as the Center for Asian and African Studies (CEAA), established in 1992, (Araoz, 2017; Naessens, 2010), the "Dr. Carlos S. Nino" Research Institute of the Faculty of Law of the National University of Mar del Plata (UNMDP), which has the Center for Korean and Chinese Studies (CECCHI) established in 1998, (CECCHI) and the Department of History of the Faculty of Humanities of the National University of Comahue (UNCOMA), which has the course Afro-Asian World. (Buffa, 2008; Trincheri, 2007; Trincheri, 2011; UNCOMA)

Owing to Argentine government's interest to participate in the Asia-Pacific multilateral forums, the creation of other institutions was encouraged, among them one it is possible to distinguish one. In 1991 the "Jorge Rafael Di Masi" Department of Asia and the Pacific (DAYP) of the Institute of International Relations of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the National University of La Plata (UNLP). It has a Master's Degree in International Relations, that for some years during 1990s it had a specialization in Asia-Pacific, which was followed later by the Training Program in Business with Asia-Pacific. In 1995, the Center for Korean Studies (CECOR) was created within the DAYP. Its members have carried several researches, some with the support of the KF and the AKS. It participates in the E-school Program of the Korea Foundation. Besides, there is a course of History of Asia and Africa in in the Bachelor's Degree in History of the Faculty of Humanities and Educational Sciences, established in the 1980s, where issues on the Korean peninsula are studied.

It organizes the Seminar on History of Asia and Africa since 2015, with a special session for Korean Studies. (Buffa, 2008, IRI) In 2013, it organized the sixth Meeting of Korean Studies in Latin America.

In addition to the previous institutions, it is necessary to include the Group for East Asian Studies (GEEA) of the “Gino Germani” Research Institute of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), created in 2001. In 2004 it established the course China, Korea and Japan, a historical, political, economic and cultural view of East Asia. Its members have carried several researches, some with the support of the KF. Besides, in 2005 it established the Korea Argentina Studies Center (CECA), with the support of the KF, currently inactive. Together with the Rector Ricardo Rojas Cultural Center, it has offered Korean language classes since 2005, also in the Laboratory of Languages of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, and in the University Center of Languages. In 2003, it organized the first Meeting of Korean Studies in Latin America. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; CECA; CUI; Garduño, Cheol and Hernández Cueto, 2018; GEEA; Velarde, 2015) Both study centers have collaborated with the South-South Academic Cooperation Program of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), established in 1967, also promoted by UNESCO, organizing academic activities on South Korea in the 2000s. (Bayle, 2015; CECA; CLACSO; GEEA) At the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations of the National University of Rosario (UNR), activities on Korean studies have also been carried out within the course Contemporary History of the International Relations.

More recently, the Center for Asia Pacific and India Studies (CEAPI) of the National University of Tres de Febrero (UNTREF) was created in 2012, which established the Specialization in Economics and Business with Asia Pacific and India in 2009, and the Master’s Degree in Economics and Business with Asia Pacific and India in 2019. (UNTREF, 2015) And the Center for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences of the Inter-American Open University (UAI), which in 2015 created the Group for Asia and Pacific Studies (GEAP). In 2017 it organized the First Seminar of the E-School Program for Latin America of Korea Foundation by Argentine students, the same year that it obtained funding for a research project from the KF. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; UAI, 2016; UAI, 2017)

Regarding networking, it is important to mention that the Argentine section of ALADAA was established in the mid-1980s, the first International

Congress of the Association was held in this country in 1987, while in 2004 it organized the First National Congress, which has continued to be organized regularly every two years thereafter. (ALADAA) On the other hand, as a result of the first Meeting of Korean Studies in Latin America in 2003, some of the aforementioned universities established in 2004 the Argentine Association of Korean Studies, and promoted the organization of the National Congress of Korean Studies, with the support of the KF. The first was held at the National University of Rosario in 2005, followed by the second at the National University of La Plata in 2006, the third at the National University of Tucumán in 2007, the fourth at the University of Salvador in 2008, the fifth at the National University of Córdoba in 2009, the sixth at the National University of Comahue in 2010, the seventh at the University of Buenos Aires in 2011, the eighth at the National University of Mar del Plata in 2012, the ninth at the Cultural Center for Cooperation "Floreal Gorini" by the UBA, UNLP and USAL in 2014, the tenth at the National University de Córdoba in 2016 and the eleventh at the Open Interamerican University in 2018. (Bavoleo and Bolinaga, 2017; Garduño, Cheol and Hernández Cueto, 2018; Min, 2015; Velarde, 2015)

INSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN SOUTH KOREAN UNIVERSITIES

In order to have a complete view, the status of Latin American Studies and Spanish Language in South Korea Universities should be also considered. It can be perceived that the greater interest in Latin American studies in South Korean universities arose from the initial stimulus of Hispanic studies, in the same way that in Latin American universities Korean studies began from the initial stimulus of Asia studies. The beginning of Latin American studies in South Korea date back to the mid-1950s, when the Korean University for Foreign Studies (KUFS), one of the leading South Korean universities dedicated to the study and teaching of foreign languages, was founded in 1954. In 1955, the Department of Spanish Language, the cradle of training of Spanish language teachers in South Korea, was created. Its students, after graduating, went to Spain or other Spanish-speaking countries in order to gain better experience in the language. Once they returned to South Korea, they were incorporated into other universities where they opened new Span-

ish language departments, what can be appreciated in the 1980s. It is possible to identify more than ten South Korean universities dedicated to the study and teaching of the Spanish language, among them it is worth mentioning the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, the University of Foreign Studies of Busan, the University of Korea, Seoul National University, Kyung Hee University, Daegu Catholic University, Chosun University, Dankook University, Ulsan National University, Paichai University, and Sunmoon University. (Kim, 2009; Park, 1999; SRE, 2005) These South Korean universities have several exchange, mobility and academic cooperation agreements signed with several universities in Mexico, lesser with universities in Chile and Argentina, mainly because their joint participation in CONAHEC and UMAP.

Regarding networking, the Korean Association of Hispanists was created in 1981, whose members are South Korean researchers and professors on Hispanic culture, as well as Spanish language and literature teachers of the different universities in the country. In 1985 the first Asian Hispanic Congress was organized in Seoul, which has continued to be organized regularly every three years thereafter. At that same meeting, promoted by South Korea, the Asian Association of Hispanists was created in order to deepen networking between Asian scholars dedicated to the studies of Hispanic culture, and Spanish language and literature. (Park, 1999) Finally, in 1986 the Korean Association for Latin American Studies was created. (LASAK)

SOME INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES OF KOREAN STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Based on the analysis of the institutional status of Korean studies in Latin America, taking the cases of Mexico, in the north of Latin America, and Chile and Argentina, in the south, it was possible to identify some challenges in these three countries, from which recommendations are proposed to overcome them and continue improving the study field.

First, it is possible to say that the academic initiatives dedicated exclusively to Korean studies seem to be more vulnerable in the current institutional framework, because they tend to isolate them from the broader academic initiatives of East Asian studies. An exclusive development served the

first institutions, when there was no competition, but we consider it counter-productive in the current context, where there are other university institutions, which compete for resources. An exclusive development of Korean studies without considering the framework of East Asian studies of the institution carries the potential risk of not relying on a previous institutional context, increasing dependence on external funds, and therefore undermining the viability of the proposal, hence its vulnerability. This reflects the fact that there are academic initiatives on Korean studies that are launched with the financial support of South Korean government agencies, such as the KF and the AKS, but tend to be deactivated once the aforementioned support ends and they lack their own human and economic resources to continue. An example of this is the recent situation of Korean Studies in the Autonomous University of Nayarit. The situation in the Autonomous University of Nuevo León would be the opposite case, which will be mentioned later. Special attention should be paid also to the current situation of Korean Studies in the Central University of Chile and the University of Salvador, and how they are dealing with this issue. East Asian studies in Latin American universities began formally just over sixty years ago, if the establishment of first institutions in the 1960s owing to the stimulus of the UNESCO's East-West Major Project is taken into account. However, it was only little less than thirty years ago that interest deepened, given the integration processes of the Pacific Ocean basin and the greater economic interdependence between the countries, appearing new centers in Latin American universities dedicated to Asia-Pacific Studies. The incentive from the South Korean government came almost at the same time. This means that, beyond the individual interest of scholars, institutional commitment of Korean Studies is relatively young, so it is important to take into consideration and take advantage of the institutional background.

Now, the risk of losing exclusivity should not be understood as a loss of centrality. Korean studies can and should assume centrality in the design of a course or in the establishment of a study center within an academic initiative dedicated to East Asian studies, articulating one with the others. In other words, develop East Asian studies from the central perspective of Korean studies, thus avoiding the first to be subsumed or blurred within the latter. Also, Korean studies should be considered within East Asian studies to ensure an institutional context of human and economic resources, which would allow it to last and be sustainable beyond external contributions, reducing

dependence on them. This would allow Korean studies to serve as an academic bridge between Latin American scholars interested in East Asian studies. Something similar occurs in South Korea where Latin American studies are framed within Hispanic studies.

Second, the centrality of Korean studies should incorporate networking between scholars as well as study centers to which they belong, to deepen the awareness of the community dedicated to Korean studies and to consolidate the ecosystem of institutions in Latin America. The Meetings of Korean Studies in Latin America should be an instance of general coordination, to then implement directives through the National Congresses on Korean Studies of the different Latin American countries, as well as to maintain relations with the Korean Association for Latin American Studies. In turn, it can establish cooperation with the International and National Congresses of the Latin American Association for Asian and African Studies, organizing specific sessions on Korean studies with mutual recognition of these organizations and coordinating the calendar of activities. But greater institutionalization is needed in these organizations, some of them still informal. This is the reason why universities with a track record in Korean studies should dedicate themselves not only to training and academic research, but also to academic cooperation. The main challenge is the mobility of scholars, lecturers or students and the high costs associated with the transfer. In this regard, the use of the Internet and new information and communication technologies provides an innovative solution to the traditional conception of mobility, especially if one considers the experience of South Korea in these sectors. Hence, the traditional use of resources for the mobility of scholars obtained from the financial support of South Korean government agencies should be complemented by investments in communications infrastructure and digital platforms for online education. Latin American universities should promote more actively this to boost academic cooperation in Korean studies intra-regionally as well as inter-regionally with their South Korea counterparts. Besides, the use of digital platforms for online education will allow, in a competitive context, to optimize the human and economic resources of the involved universities. This can improve the syllabus of courses and coordinate the field of study, as well as allow more interested students to access Korean studies. This would allow strengthening of knowledge exchange on several topics of Korean studies and Latin American Studies, and deepening mutual understanding among

the countries. The E-school Program for Latin America of the Korea Foundation coordinated by the Autonomous University of Nuevo León is a great achievement in the use of digital platforms for online education of Korean studies. Furthermore, the articulation of its seminars within the syllabus of the undergraduate and postgraduate courses of the participating universities stands out. However, it presents a geographic imbalance, with a clear participation of universities from the Latin American countries facing the Pacific Ocean, especially Mexico, Chile and Colombia, in sharp contrast to the ones facing the Atlantic. The incorporation of universities from the latter countries, such as Argentina, Uruguay, and, especially, Brazil, leading to overcome the challenge of the language barrier, should be promoted to achieve a more balance geographical distribution. Also in this area, it is worth noticing the proposal of the Diploma in Korean studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences of University of Salvador, although it is still pending to evaluate its articulation with other courses of East Asian studies at the university, or at Argentine universities.

Third, the centrality of Korean studies within East Asian studies and its academic cooperation should be adapted to the internationalization strategy of the universities towards the countries of that region. Financial support provided by South Korean government agencies, such as the KF and the AKS, should consider encourage the articulation of Korean study initiatives within the university's internationalization strategy, promoting the relations not only with other universities in Latin America dedicated to Korean studies, but also with South Korean universities. Here there is great difference between Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. In principle, it is considered that universities in Mexico have a balanced internationalization policy towards East Asia between inter-regionalism and trans-regionalism, where academic initiatives with a commercial profile and competitive dynamics coexists with others characterized by a sense of solidarity and cooperation, and participation in mobility networks is diversified. From this case, Chile and Argentina could be understood as two opposite extremes considering East Asia, where in Chile the internationalization of Higher Education is market-oriented and participation in mobility networks is highly individualized, with a trans-regionalism profile, in a context of trans-regionalism, while Argentina is designed to meet social needs, in a context of inter-regionalism.

Added to this is the use by the Latin American governments of internationalization strategy of universities towards East Asia as part of the orientation of the respective foreign policies towards this region, which is fundamental. It can be affirmed that the governments of Mexico and Chile have maintained a regular consideration of participation of the academic sector in their relations with the countries of that region, including South Korea. In Mexico, the main mechanisms for participation between the public sector and the academic sector in Asian issues is the Mexican APEC Study Centers Consortium, where several universities with Korean studies experience participate in, and the Mexican National Committee for the Asia-Pacific of PECC, together with the Latin American Association for Asian and African Studies. Several members of the Mexican Academy of Korean Studies / Circle Mexican for Korean Studies participate in these mechanisms, as well as of the network of Mexican Universities participating in the E-school Program for Latin America of the Korea Foundation. This shows a diversification in the relations between the government and the scholars dedicated to East Asian studies, including Korean studies, in Mexico. In Chile, on the contrary, the main mechanism is the Chilean Pacific Foundation as APEC Study Center, which includes the Chilean National Committee for the Asia-Pacific of PECC, and where only two universities participate in, and there is so far a minimal, although growing, consideration of academic associations for East Asian studies, as the Chilean section of ALADAA and the Korean Studies Network established both around the mid-2010s. It is possible to see a concentration in the relations between the government and the scholars dedicated to East Asian studies, including Korean studies, in Chile.

Meanwhile, in Argentina, university internationalization with respect to East Asian countries is aimed at meeting the needs of the social links between the actors. There are a variety of universities dedicated to East Asian studies, including those with experience in Korean studies, but they are considered irregularly by the government in its relations with Asian countries. Hence, there is no smooth coordination between public sector and the academic sector in this regard. Argentina participated in PECC in the 1990s for which it created CONAPAC, but it was deactivated in the early 2000s to be reactivated recently in the mid-2010s. But in that hiatus the country stop participating in PECC to begin doing so in FEALAC, which has its drawbacks because while CONAPAC is a mechanism designed for tripartite participation, incorporating the academic sector, FEALAC is an intergovernmental forum,

without a clear role for the participation of scholars. The Argentine section of ALADAA has tried to cooperate with CONAPAC in both periods, with inconclusive outcomes. This shows that the relations between the government and the scholars dedicated to East Asian studies, including Korean studies, in Argentina, are fragmented and disperse.

Hence, it is necessary to strengthen and deepen the cooperation between the academic sector and the public sector on Asian issues. South Korea and Korean studies could help the Latin American governments, specially Argentina, to recognize the role of universities as another actor in a context of increasing interdependence. It is necessary that international academic cooperation between South Korean and Latin American universities not only consider but also use by the governments as a tool to improve bilateral ties between countries. For instances, the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the mentioned countries could promote the organization of joint academic activities by the universities that participate in the academic-public cooperation mechanisms regarding Asian issues in order to present their outcomes to the government, or consider inviting an official representative of these mechanisms to participate in the proposed joint activities, encouraging networking in this way. Furthermore, there have been several proposals for university cooperation at FEALAC, but little success because it is an inter-governmental forum, with no formal participation of universities, and where a significant part of the Latin American diplomats have little knowledge about the real state of East Asian studies in general and of Korean studies in particular in their respective countries. Due to South Korea's interest in FEALAC, taking the idea of the APEC Study Center Consortium, a proposal can be made to create FEALAC Study Centers in the universities where there are Korean studies. In this way, the universities that center their East Asian studies programs and centers around Korean studies might also be actors in the strengthening of relations between the countries, as well as the rapprochement of the two regions.

CONCLUSION

South Korea can be a bridge between East Asia and Latin America by promoting cooperation between the countries of the two regions. Academic cooperation is one of the different types of cooperation that can be used by

the South Korean government. This makes Korean studies in Latin America, as well as Latin American studies in South Korea, an important factor, and the respective universities dedicated to them key actors in relations between countries.

Based on the brief historical analysis of the institutional development of Korean studies in three Latin American countries, Mexico, Chile and Argentina, it is possible to say that Korean studies emerged within East Asian studies in the early 1960s, due to the support of the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures of UNESCO. The first Latin American universities to establish programs and centers for East Asian studies were COLMEX's Center for Asian and African Studies, with its Master's Degree in Asian and African Studies, and the UNAM's Center for Oriental Studies, with its Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in Oriental Studies, in Mexico, and the USAL's School of Oriental Studies, with its Bachelor's Degree in Oriental Studies, in Argentina. During the 1980s, other universities continued to establish courses on History of East Asia or other topics related, such as those from UNLP, UNC, and UNCOMA in Argentina. It was in the nineties when the new impulse from International Relations studies, in the context of Asia and Pacific Studies, promoted the creation of new academic centers, where greater attention was given to Korean studies. The case of Master's Degree in International Studies with an specialization in Asia and the Pacific of the UCHILE in the 1970s is rather an exception. During this decade and the beginning of the 2000s, it is possible to mention the establishment of the University Center for Studies and Research on the Pacific Basin of UCOL and the Department of Pacific Studies of the UDG, in addition to the Department of Korean Studies of the Center for Asian and African Studies of COLMEX in Mexico, the Asia Pacific Center, with its Korean Studies Program, of UCHILE and the Asia-Pacific Program of PUCV in Chile, and the Department of Asia and the Pacific, with its Center for Korean Studies, of UNLP in Argentina. Later, other universities followed this trend. It was during the 2000s that Korean studies gained a clearer identity, as new initiatives emerged to improve networking between scholars and researchers in Korean studies. Plus the South Korean government began to play a greater role in the promotion of Korean Studies in Latin America by means of the KF, first, and the AKS, later. The first Meeting of the Korean Studies in Latin America was held in 2003 in Argentina, followed by the organization of the First National Congress of Korean

Studies of Argentina in 2005, organized by the Argentine Association of Korean Studies established a year earlier. It is important to mention the establishment of the Korea Argentina Studies Center of UBA in 2005 and the cooperation it has with CLASCO in Argentina. In Mexico, the First Conference of Korean Studies in Mexico was held in 2008 organized by the Mexican Academy of Korean Studies, established a year later. In Chile, UC has organized the International Seminar on Korean Studies since 2008 and the Korean Studies Network was established in 2012. All these initiatives had the support of the KF. Finally, in the 2010s, new academic programs on Korean Studies were created, such as the Bachelor's Degree in Korean Studies of UAN, the E-School Program for Latin America of UANL and the Permanent Seminar on Korean Studies of COLMEX in Mexico, the Korean Studies Program and the Master's Degree in Korean Studies of UCENTRAL in Chile, and the Online Diploma in Korean Studies of USAL in Argentina. Several of these academic initiatives, mainly those in Chile and Argentina, had the support of the AKS, while those in Mexico had significant support of the KF.

Analyzing the institutional development of Korean studies in Latin America was possible to identify some challenges. An exclusivist approach to Korean studies of some universities, without considering the institutional context of East Asian or Asia-Pacific studies, has the risk of undermining the sustainability of the initiative. While the external economic support from the KF and the AKS is strategic in the short term, not having other economic as well as human resources provided by the broader East Asian or Asia-Pacific studies will affect the continuity of Korean studies initiatives. In the long-term, once the aforementioned support ends. Second, while there is cooperation between scholars dedicated to Korean studies, networking between institutions with programs and centers for Korean studies in Latin America is underdeveloped. National associations of Korean studies in Mexico, Chile and Argentina, as well as the Meeting of the Korean Studies in Latin America should be more institutionalized. Also develop the cooperation between the different national associations of Korean studies in Latin America and the Association of Latin American Studies of Korea, in order to strengthen the exchange of knowledge on several topics, as well as facilitate facilitating the articulation and orientation of the study area.

However, the non-exclusivist approach should not be understood as a loss of centrality. Korean studies could take a central role in the design of

academic syllabus dedicated to East Asian or Asia-Pacific studies, that is, developing East Asian or Asia-Pacific studies from the central perspective of Korean studies. From an academic point of view, this could provide not only a national perspective of South Korea development but also an international outlook of the role of South Korean in regional issues and beyond. Moreover, a centralist approach of Korean studies would become an academic bridge for Latin American scholars interested in East Asian studies. From an economic point of view, this could ensure the sustainability of the initiatives.

Owing to distance that separates South Korean from Latin America, the use of Internet and digital platforms is an innovative alternative to the traditional academic mobility. South Korea should keep on promoting their use, as part of its foreign policy on ICT, to develop academic interconnectivity. The E-School Program for Latin America of the KF is good example, and once it overcomes the geographical bias of the current state of its university network, incorporating more universities from Latin American countries facing the Atlantic Ocean, its digital platform would become fully the structure of the Korean studies in Latin America. This would consolidate the academic ecosystem of the universities dedicated to Korean studies in Latin America.

Besides the previous challenges, probably the most important is the articulation of the different internationalization policies towards East Asian of the Mexican, Chilean and Argentina Universities. Of course, it is important that the universities should include their East Asian studies initiatives as part of their internationalization policies towards that region. But it is also important to generate a common ground for the universities of the mentioned Latin American countries to advance in some joint academic initiatives with their East Asian counterparts, including South Korea. An articulated academic network and university linkage can increase interactions between countries in a context of increasing interdependence. This intra-regional common ground can promote inter-regional cooperation that eventually could reduce asymmetries in the interdependence between the countries of both regions. And for this, it is necessary that the governments consider the internationalization policies of the universities as part of their international relations with the countries of East Asia. In this matter, now, there is a big difference between Mexico and Chile, on the one hand, and Argentina, on the other. While in the first two countries there is a regular and strong cooperation between diplomatic officials and scholars, as they do participate together in PECC and APEC, besides FEALAC, in the last country the mentioned

cooperation is weak and irregular, only participating in FEALAC. Due to South Korea's interest in FEALAC, one proposal could be the creation of FEALAC Study Centers in universities where there are Korean studies, as part of the proposal of the FEALAC Academic Network, not implemented so far. In addition, articulate the organization of national and regional congresses of Korean studies near the dates of APEC and FEALAC forums in Latin American countries. This could increase inter-regional academic cooperation. Moreover, the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the mentioned countries could promote the organization of joint academic activities by the universities that participate in the academic-public cooperation mechanisms regarding East Asian issues in order to present their outcomes to the government, or consider inviting an official representative of these mechanisms to participate in the proposed joint activities, or the national congresses of Korean Studies. In this way, South Korea could promote ever more interactions between academia and the public sector on East Asian issues in general, and South Korean issues in particular.

Considering these suggestions, among others, the universities that have developed their East Asian studies around Korean studies, incorporating them in their internationalization policy towards the East Asian region, and considering the role of these institutions in the public-academic mechanism, it would be possible not only to improve a better mutual understanding between the people of both regions, but also to bring the countries of the two regions closer, with South Korea and Korean Studies as a bridge.

ANNEX

University - Mexico	Faculty and Division	Profile	Coop. Mech. Government - Academy	Asian Study Group, Center or Program (Year of creation)	Asian Studies Undergraduate or Postgraduate Courses (Year of establishment)	Korean Studies Center, Program or Course (Year of establishment)	Korean Language Course	South Korean Government Support	Agreements with South Korean Universities	Korean Studies National or International Meetings
Colegio de México - COLMEX		Inter-regional (UNESCO)	No	Center for Asian and African Studies (1964)	Master's Degree in Asian and African Studies (1964), PhD's Degree in Asian and African Studies (1997)	Department of Korean Studies (1994), Permanent Seminar on Korean Studies (2017)	Yes	KF (1994)	Yes	Yes (2008), Yes (2018), EECAL (2005)
National Autonomous University of Mexico - UNAM	Faculty of Philosophy and Letters	Inter-regional	No	Center for Oriental Studies (1966)	Bachelor's Degree and Master's Degree in Oriental Studies (1967), University Program in Asia and African Studies (2013), Diploma in Asian Studies (2015)	Several academic activities	Yes		Yes (CONA-HEC)	
	Faculty of Political and Social Sciences	Inter-regional			Course Issues of Asia and the Far East (1969)	Several academic activities				

University of Colima - UCOL	Faculty of Economics	Trans-regional AP	Yes (APEC Study Centers Consortium)	University Center for Studies and Research on the Pacific Rim (1989)	Master's Degree in International Economic Relations with a specialization in Pacific Rim Studies (1994), PhD's Degree in Transpacific Relations (1999)	Several academic activities	Yes		Yes (CONAHEC, UMAP)	Yes (2009)
	Faculty of Political and Social Sciences	Trans-regional AP			Seminars on the Asia-Pacific region	Several academic activities	Yes			
University of Guadalajara - UDG	University Center for Social Sciences and Humanities	Trans-regional AP		Department of Pacific Studies (1990)	Master's Degree in Social Sciences with a specialization in International and Pacific Studies (1994), Master's Degree in Global Policies and Trans-Pacific Studies (2020)	Several academic activities			Yes (CONAHEC, UMAP)	

Autonomous University of Nayarit - UAN	University Center for Social Sciences and Humanities	Inter-regional	No			Bachelor's Degree in Korean Studies (2013)	Yes	KF (2013)		
Autonomous University of Nuevo León - UANL		Trans-regional AP	Yes	Center for Asian Studies (2006)		E-School Program for Latin America of the Korea Foundation (2014), International Workshop of the E-School Program (2015)	Yes	KF (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)	Yes)	Yes (2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)
		(APEC Study Centers Consortium)					(Institute Rey Sejong)		(CONAHEC, UMAP)	

University - Chile	Faculty and Division	Profile	Coop. Mech. Government - Academy	Asian Study Group, Center or Program (Year of creation)	Asian Studies Undergraduate or Postgraduate Courses (Year of establishment)	Korean Studies Center, Program or Course (Year of establishment)	Korean Language Course	South Korean Government Support	Agreements with South Korean Universities	Korean Studies National or International Meetings
University of Chile - UCHILE	Institute of International Relations	Trans-regional AP	Yes	Asia Pacific Center (2002)	Master's Degree in International Studies with a specialization in Asia and the Pacific (1977)	Korean Studies Program (2006)	No	KF (2006), AKS (2010)	Yes (APRU)	EECAL (2009)
			(Pacific Foundation)							
Pontifical Catholic University of Chile - UC	Faculty of History, Geography and Political Science	Inter-regional	Yes	Center for Asian Studies (2002)	Diploma in Asian Studies (2008)	Korea Essay Contest (2007), International Seminar on Korean Studies (2008)	Yes	AKS	Yes	Yes (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014,
			(Pa-cific Founda-tion)					(2011, 2018)		
								KF		

								(2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)		2015, 2016, 2018)
Pontifical Catholic University of Chile - UC		Inter-regional				Section on Korean Studies	Yes			
Diego Portales University - UDP	Faculty of Economics and Business	Trans-regional AP	No	Asia Pacific Center (2007)		Several academic activities	Yes		Yes	
Gabriela Mistral University - UGM		Trans-regional AP	No	Institute for Pacific and Indian Ocean Basin Studies (1982)	Course the Pacific and Indian Ocean Basin	Several academic activities	No	KF	Yes	

Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaíso - PUCV	Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Trans-regional AP	No	Asia Pacific Program (2008)	Diploma in Asia-Pacific Studies	Several academic activities	Yes		Yes (UMAP)	
University of Santiago de Chile - USACH	Institute for Advanced Studies	Trans-regional AP	No		Diploma in Regional Studies with a specialization in Asia-Pacific	Chilean-Korean Study Center Program (2014)	No	AKS (2014, 2018)	Yes (CONA-HEC, UMAP)	
Central University of Chile - UCENTRAL		Inter-regional	No			Korean Studies Program (2014), Master's Degree in Korean Studies (2018), Korea's Center for Comparative Studies (2019), Latin American Cycle of Korean Studies (2019)	Yes (Institute Rey Se-jong)	AKS (2017)	Yes	

University - Argentina	Faculty and Division	Profile	Coop. Mech. Government - Acad-	Asian Study Group, Center or Program (Year of creation)	Asian Studies Undergraduate or Postgraduate Courses (Year of establishment)	Korean Studies Center, Program or Course (Year of establishment)	Korean Language Course	South Korean Government Support	Agreements with South Korean Universities	Korean Studies National or International Meetings
Salvador University - USAL	Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Oriental Studies	Inter-regional (UNESCO)	Yes (CONAPAC)	School of Oriental Studies (1967)	Bachelor's Degree in Oriental Studies (1967), Course Contemporary History of Asia-Pacific	Course History of Korean Culture	No	No	Yes	Yes (2008, 2014)
	Institute for Social Sciences Research, Faculty of Social Sciences	Inter-regional			Seminar on Integration Process in Asia-Pacific (2019)	Online Diploma in Korean Studies (2020)	No	AKS (2016, 2019)		
National University of La Plata - UNLP	Institute of International Relations, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences	Trans-regional AP	Yes (CONAPAC)	Department of Asia and the Pacific "Jorge Di Masi" (1991)	Master's Degree in International Relations with a specialization in Asia-Pacific (1990s), Training Program in Business with Asia-Pacific (2002)	Center for Korean Studies (1995)	Yes	AKS (2010, 2012), KF (2019)	Yes	Yes (2006, 2014), EECAL (2013)

	Faculty of Humanities and Educational Sciences	Inter-regional			Course History of Asia and Africa (1980s), Seminar on History of Asia and Africa (2015)	Several academic activities	Yes			
University of Buenos Aires - UBA	Research Institute "Gino Germani", Faculty of Social Sciences	Inter-regional	No	Group for East Asian Studies (2001)	Course China, Korea and Japan. A historical, political, economic and cultural view of East Asia (2004)	Korea Argentina Studies Center (2005)	Yes	KF (2004, 2005, 2006)	Yes	Yes (2011, 2014), EECAL (2003)
Latin American Council of Social Sciences -	South-South Academic Cooperation Program	Inter-regional (UNESCO)	No			Several academic activities	No		Yes	
National University of Córdoba - UNC	School of History, Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities	Inter-regional	Yes		Course Contemporary History of Asia and Africa (1987)	Contemporary Korean and Northeast Asian Studies Program (1993)			Yes	Yes (2009, 2016)
			(CONAPAC)							
	Center for Advanced Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities	Inter-regional		East Asian Studies Program (2003)	Specialization in East Asian Studies (2006)	Several academic activities				

National University of Tucumán -	Department of Geography, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters	Inter-regional	Si	Center for Asian and African Studies (1992)	Course Geography of World Spaces, and Political Geography and International Relations	Several academic activities	Yes		No	Yes (2007)
National University of Mar del Plata	Research Institute "Dr. Carlos S. Nino", Faculty of Law	Inter-regional	No	Center for Korean and Chinese Studies (1998)		Several academic activities	No		No	Yes (2012)
National University of Comahue -	Department of History, Faculty of Humanities	Inter-regional	No		Course Afro-Asian World (1980s)	Several academic activities	No		Yes	Yes (2010)
National University of Rosario - UNR	Center for International Relations Studies of Rosario, Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations	Inter-regional	Yes		Course Contemporary History of International Relations	Several academic activities	No		No	Yes (2005)
			(CONAPAC)							
National University of Tres de Febrero - UNTREF		Trans-regional AP	Yes	Institute of International Relations of Asia-Pacific (1993), Center for Asia-Pacific and India Studies (2012)	Specialization in Economics and Business with Asia-Pacific and India (2009), Master's Degree in Economics and Business with Asia-Pacific and India (2019)	Several academic activities	No		Yes	
			(CONAPAC)							

Inter-American University -	Center for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences	Trans-regional AP	No	Group for Asia and Pacific Studies (2015)		Seminar of the E-School Program for Latin America of the Korea Foundation by Argentine Students (2017)	No	KF (2017, 2018)	No	Yes (2018)
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