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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

The Role of the Civil Sector in Immigrants Policy

**- Could German Experience Be applied
for the Settlement Policy for
North Korean Defectors? –**

서독의 동독이민자 지원정책과
한국의 북한이탈주민 지원정책의
정부-민간 간 거버넌스 비교

February 2021

**Graduate School of Public Administration
Seoul National University
Global Public Administration Major**

Lee Hyeryoun

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Academic Advisor Choi, Tae Hyon

Submitting a master's thesis of Public Administration

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**Graduate School of Public Administration
Seoul National University
Global Public Administration Major**

Lee Hyeryoun

November 2020

Chair Hong, JoonHyung (Seal)

Vice Chair Lee, Soo-Young (Seal)

Examiner Choi, Tae Hyon (Seal)

Abstract

The ROK as set a target of expanding its partnership with the private sector in its settlement policy for North Korean defectors. Since the enactment of the 'North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Act' in 1991, it has been making efforts to effectively organize various private resources. Faced with its own refugee challenges, West Germany (GDR) was quite successful in settling 4 million East-German immigrants until the reunification of 1990. It is widely believed that a robust civil society and community foundation were major factors in its success.

This study compares the governance of South Korea and West Germany. It analyzes i) the context of governance, ii) the shape of governance, iii) the outcome of governance to determine what type of governance each policy is based on. It finds that South Korea has implemented 'state-centered governance' under its government-led developmental path. On the other hand, Germany instituted 'civil society-centered governance' based on a strong community foundation.

The approaches to refugee settlement in Korea and the former GDR differ in terms of the context of governance formation. While Germany had a long history of public-private partnerships in social service provision, South Korea has a relatively short history of civil society. Second, they differ in respect to the form of governance. While the private sector in Germany had considerable financial, organizational, and operational capacity, the private sector in Korea is still in the initial stages of developing its capacity. German private agencies play a broad range of roles in all phases of the policy process, while Korean private agencies' role is limited to delegated tasks with little autonomy. Third, despite the different types of governance, both policies have produced good results. The success of these two different approaches proves that each type of governance was effective in

the context of each society. However, the lack of public support for South Korea's refugee settlement policies and social division are matters of concern. Based on analysis of the West German and Korean cases, this study makes several policy suggestions aimed at empowering the private sector and promoting social integration.

Keyword: North Korean defector, East German immigrants, civil participation, governance, public-private relationship, the Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare of Germany (BAGFW)

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Since the ‘North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act’ was enacted in 1997, a total of 33,000 North Koreans has settled in the South as of the end of March 2019.¹ The Korean government has the principle of accepting all North Korean refugees without conditions and provides comprehensive lifetime protection and support for North Korean defectors, including politics, economy, society, and culture.²

As a result of 20 years of continuous efforts, the social status of North Korea has been improving a great deal. For example, the average monthly income of North Korean defectors in 2020 was about 1,702 dollars, an increase of 556 dollars since 2012, constituting an annual increase of 6 % in real terms. The employment rate also increased to 56.9% of the total economically active population among North Korean defectors in 2018 compared to 45.7% in 2011.

However, there is an increasing “social distance” between North Korean defectors and South Korean people. First of all, most North Korean defectors face social prejudice from their neighbors. South Korean people tend to feel uncomfortable interacting with North Korean defectors, and some people look down upon them. Some parents don’t even allow their children to hang out with the

¹ A total of 947 people arrived in the South until 1998, but the number of North Korean defectors increased sharply with 2,914 people arriving annually in the South in 2008, with the accumulated number of North Korean defectors exceeding 20,000 in 2010 and over 30,000 in 2016. By age group, the economically active population in their 30s and 40s accounts for 56 percent of all defectors. More than 80 percent of those who have entered the country since 2015 are women. (Website of Ministry of Unification)

² Article 1 of the Act on the Protection and Settlement of North Korean Refugees (Act No. 16223)

kids from North Korea. In addition, public support for the policy has deteriorated. According to the ‘unification perception survey’ conducted in 2017 by the Institute For Peace and Unification Studies of Seoul National University, in 2016 only 33.8% agreed that the South Korean government should accept all North Korean defectors, while 52% had agreed in 2007.

Many experts have pointed out that the government-oriented support system should be blamed for policy failure. Even though the governments are partnering with private organizations, their roles are usually limited to delegated works, with little autonomy or responsibility. It has been only 10 years since private entities have been engaged in this work, and they are still relatively weak in organization and capacity³. This means that the government is failing to mobilize diverse social resources and to coordinate various needs on the ground. Moreover, North Korean defectors who have weak relationships with the private sector often have difficulties adapting to their communities.

Therefore, the ROK government set a target of expanding its partnership with the private sector in its settlement support policy for North Korean defectors. This initiative is based on the belief that the more people who have direct contact with North Korean defectors, the more chance there is that they will understand them, which will help the North Koreans integrate into South Korean society. It is also useful in terms of preparing for the reunification of the two Koreas in the future. In other words, empowering the private sector in settlement policy is in line with long-term political goals.

³ It was in late 2000 when the number of North Korean defectors increased to around 5,000, in a year when the South Korean government tried to mobilize civilian resources to cope with the situation. It established the ‘North Korean Refugees Support Foundation (so-called ‘Hana Foundation’), which networks with private organizations and has designated a total of twenty-one experienced private organizations (so-called ‘the Hana Centers’) to help North Korean defectors settle in residential areas.

Against this backdrop, this study aims to examine South Korea's governance failures. It focuses on non-governmental actors to find out whether they are effectively partnering with private actors in supporting North Korean defectors. This is based on the belief that a governance with various social resources in society will be more advantageous in terms of social integration. The analysis compares the Korean efforts with West Germany's similar efforts to support East German immigrants from the time of the German division until reunification in 1990. The significance of the German case in our policy will be explained in detail in Chapter 3. In sum, this study attempts to answer the following policy questions.

- How can the public-private relation in settlement policy for North Korean defectors be characterized? In what context was this type of governance formed? What was the outcome of that governance?
- What about the German experience in settling East German immigrants? How had the German government been partnering with private actors and were its policies successful?
- Based on the German experience with using civil society organizations to settle East German immigrants, should South Korea consider increasing the involvement of private organizations in its resettlement policy for North Korean defectors?
- If so, how could the ROK government do so in practice?

1.2. Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is two-fold. **First, it aims to diagnose our governance with a focus on non-government organizations.** Specifically, it describes the role of private organizations, the characteristics of private organizations, and the capacity and resources they have.

Second, it compares our governance with that of Germany. There are good reasons why Germany was chosen for this study. Germany has expertise based on its experience in settlement support for East German migrants. More than 4 million East German residents moved to West Germany before the reunification in 1990, and it was quite successful in dealing with this situation. Besides, Germany has a robust civil society and community foundation which have been the main driving forces of policy.

Ultimately, it tries to identify feasible ways to develop quality relations with the private sector based on German experiences. Analyzing the German experience will provide a useful perspective on the structure of our governance.

1.3. Research Method

First, this study takes comparative analysis. It will compare the West German government's policy for East German immigrants and settlement support policy for North Korean defectors of South Korea. Particularly, it will focus on how the East German government has been successfully utilizing civil society networks, especially with Non-statutory Welfare of Germany (BAGFW).

Second, it takes literature research methods. It reviews a wide range of prior studies about governance frameworks as well as the settlement support policy for North Korean defectors in South Korea, and support policy for East-German immigrants.

1.4. Structure of this study

This study is structured as follows. **Chapter 2 reviews precedent studies.** It covers a wide range of prior studies about i) North Korean defector policy, ii) The

German government's policy for East-German immigrants, and iii) governance analysis.

Chapter 3 is to outlines the overall framework of the settlement policy for East German immigrants. In specific, it reviews a brief history of East-West immigration. It looks at the trend of immigration by periods from the end of the war until 1990, when the Berlin Wall collapsed. Then it briefly overviews German policy including the following issues: i) Settlement process, ii) Related law, iii) major support and programs, and iv) involving stakeholders.

Chapter 4 is to compare two policies with a focus on the role of civil society. Particularly, it will analyze the following issues.; i) history of civic involvement in both countries, ii) the mandate of civil organizations, iii) experience and competency of staff, and resource mobilization. Therefore, such comparative analysis should help clarify the problems faced by South Korea and help find a supplementary way to reach a desirable solution.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background and Literature

Review

2.1. Theoretical Background

2.1.1. The Concept of Governance

Governance is a term derived from the Greek word “kubernao”, which means "steering" or "steering," but there is no academic consensus on the definition of governance. This conceptual confusion can also be found in various translations of governance, which can be translated by scholars into 'national management', or 'national management system', 'governance style', 'co-governing', 'control', and 'fairness'. (Lee Myung-seok, 2002)

Lee Myung-seok (2002) divided the term governance into the broadest sense of governance, a broad sense of governance, and a narrow sense of governance. First of all, governance in the broadest sense can be defined as 'a variety of ways to solve problems related to an organization, a social system, or a national system.' Related to this, Rhodes (1998) regarded the government's operating system, corporate governance, and international relations as all governance. That is, governance in its broadest sense means all mechanisms for solving the problems faced by members of society. Meanwhile, governance in a broad sense is defined as a mechanism for limiting the concept to the public sector and for solving public problems. Finally, governance, in its narrowest sense, is often referred to as new governance as an alternative coordination mechanism that has emerged to overcome bureaucratic or market anarchy, and networks among fluid beings are key elements of it.

2.1.2. The History of Governance

Researchers are explaining the emergence of governance in three ways. First of all, the current interest in governance owes much to public sector reforms of the late twentieth century.⁴ In the context of government failures, such as the economic downturn caused by the oil shock in the 1970s, people became to have a negative perception of the government providing public services exclusively. Therefore, the informal authority of markets and networks have emerged as the main players in the provision of public services.

Second, some explain that governance emerged in the process of recognizing the limitations of the traditional administrative paradigm. According to Kim Seok-jun (2000), the existing representative democracy has been failed to meet the needs of citizens, and governance has emerged as an alternative to it.

Third, scholars such as Koominan (2000) explain that governance has emerged as a result of globalization, informatization, and the spread of neo-liberalism. That is, as globalization and progresses, the nation no longer has all the resources, information, and capabilities needed to solve the problem on its own, and has no choice but to work together with various actors to solve the problem. In other words, the nation's single party governing style has been transformed into a pluralistic decentralized style that emphasizes autonomy, cooperation, coordination, and plurality.

2.1.3. The Type of Governance

The types of governance are also classified in various ways by scholars. First, Peters (1996) classified governance as a market model, participation model, expansion model, and deregulated government model, and Pierre (1999) classified

⁴ Bevir, 2009, *The Key Concepts in Governance*, Sage, London, pp 16.

governance as managerial governance based on the new public management and corporatism governance based on the participation of various interest groups. Kim Seok-jun (2000) was also classified it as state-centered governance, market-oriented governance, and civil society-centered governance based on three different governance structures: hierarchical, market, and network. (Lee Myung-seok, 2017)

According to this classification of Kim Seok-jun (2000), Let's give a brief look at the type of governance which is state-centered, market-oriented, and civil society-centered governance.

2.1.3.1. State-Centered Governance

State-centered governance holds the idea that the government takes the initiative in managing the market and civil society. In other words, even though the government cannot solve the social problem alone anymore in globalization and decentralization, but it still believes that government should play a key role in setting goals, prioritizing, and coordinating.

However, state-centered governance is different from the vertical governance of the past. That is, unlike past vertical hierarchical governance, which uses control, command, and regulation as a means, state-centered governance emphasizes relatively horizontal networks and partnerships. Besides, while the discussion of market-oriented governance, which has emerged as neo-liberalism, points to the harmful effects of existing bureaucracy, national governance believes that the cause of the problem lies in mismanagement rather than bureaucracy itself, and aims to reform state administration through the introduction of private techniques or the transfer of authority under the existing bureaucracy. (Jang Ji-ho, 2010) In other words, state-centered governance can be defined as the national social coordination ability that emerges from the interaction and partnership between government and society that is distinct from the traditional government's top-down control. (Lee Joo-ha, 2013)

The theory of state-centered governance has been presented in various forms, depending on scholars, such as New Public Management, entrepreneurial government, Good governance, flexible government models, non-regulatory government models, competitive state theories, and so on.

2.1.3.2. Civil Society-Centered Governance

Meanwhile, civil society-centered governance starts with the perception that the existing representative democracy system, is not effectively addressing social problems. Thus, civil society-centered governance aims at 'participationism' and 'commonitarianism' to implement direct democracy through greater civic engagement. (Jang Ji-ho, 2010)

Here, "participationism" is aimed at strengthening direct democracy by having policy-targeted groups or ordinary citizens participate in the policymaking process and "commonitarianism" is the argument that public problems should be solved on their own with the direct participation of members of society by building a cohesive community. If the public problem is solved by itself, it will reduce the number of administrative officials and can monitor corruption by political or bureaucratic organizations. (Kim Seok-jun et al., 2002) Communism is divided into the "volunteerism" of the new right and the "civilism" of the new left. First, "volunteerism" thinks that the altruistic volunteer work of community members can efficiently share national functions and improve their effectiveness. On the other hand, 'civilism' assumes that selfish humans tend to avoid participation, which is public property, so the ideal of communalism can be realized only when the government takes the initiative and fosters altruistic and dedicated citizens. (Jeong Jeong-gil, 2000; 515-523)

However, civil society-centered governance poses a risk that the interests of certain groups in superior positions in various information, resources, and organizations will undermine the public interest. Also, if civic groups have factional and

exclusive tendencies under civil society-centered governance, they will undermine fair participation, which may make it difficult to secure political accountability. (Steffek, 2010; Jang Ji-ho; 2010) This is related to the problem of "mismatch of control and responsibility" that Petters & Pirre (1998) mentioned, which raises the question of whether a political leader should take full responsibility for public services even though he can exercise limited governing power.

2.1.3.3. Market-Oriented Governance

Market-oriented governance spread in the 1980s along with the strengthening of neoliberalism, and it emerges mainly in Anglo-American countries such as the United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Market-oriented governance, first, criticizes the inefficiency of the government system, while considering the market as the most efficient mechanism for resource allocation and policy decisions. Second, assuming that private administration is similar to public administration, it emphasizes resource allocation based on price, the principle of competition, and customer centeredness in service supply. Third, in allocating public authority, such as public services, it prefers a "privatization" or "contracting out" method that determines the winning bidder through competition among private contractors. According to Le Grand & Robinson (1984), 'privatization' is a concept encompassing the privatization of state-owned enterprises as well as the reduction of state supply or national subsidies and deregulation in the provision of services, while a 'contracting out' means that services are provided by the private sector. Rhodes (1997) also argued that this could result in "governing without government" running state affairs without the direct involvement of the state.

The theory of market-oriented governance includes a 'market-oriented government model' and a 'minimum state theory'. A 'market-oriented government mode' defines the role of government as administrative work. In other words, the theory argues that the public sector can be streamlined through the introduction of private

management techniques, separation of policy decisions and enforcement, and the transfer of public service supply functions, as the public management system, is insensitive to market signals and results in inefficiency with hierarchical control. Meanwhile, the minimum national theory is to minimize the scope and form of public intervention: first, small government dealing with fewer problems, secondly, government with international vision and flexibility, third, responsible government, and fourth fair government.

2.1.3.4. The Context of Governance

While continental countries have traditionally formed state-centered governance, North European countries have formed civil-society-centered governance with a high degree of autonomy in civil society, and Anglo-American countries such as Britain, New Zealand, and Australia have been reformed themselves by market-driven governance that emphasizes the functioning of the market. (Namgung Geun, Kim Sang-mook, 2006)

However, it is necessary to consider that the type of governance in a society is the result of its historical path, political dynamics, and social, cultural, and economic background. That is, understanding a country's governance requires an understanding of its political, economic, social, and cultural background. From this point of view, we cannot say for sure that only North European governance, which values networks with citizens, is justifiable, nor can we affirm that type of governance fits our situation. Ultimately, when seeking to change the governance design, we need to consider various things such as the value that society seeks, the context surrounding the governance, and the existing path dependence.

2.2. Prior Study Review

2.2.1. Settlement Support Policy of South Korea

Choi Dae-Seok and Park Young-ja (2009) give a comprehensive analysis of the research trends regarding North Korean defector policy. According to the study, as the number of North Korean refugees arriving in South Korea has increased since the mid-1990s, various studies on North Korean defectors have been conducted and they have gradually diversified in terms of timing, content, and methodology.

First, in terms of content, research in the 1990s was mainly focused on the analysis of the overall adaptation and problems of North Korean defectors, but after 2000, more detailed studies on such issues as workplace life, vocational training, education, language, employment support system, vocational training methods, and psychology were carried out. Second, in terms of the research point of view, various kinds of views have been developed such as sociocultural, social welfare, labor economic, anthropological, psychological, clinical, educational, cultural, human rights and international political views. Finally, from a methodological perspective, the focus on phenomenological qualitative research using in-depth interviews and literature surveys has gradually evolved to quantitative research using technical statistical techniques. (Choi Dae-seok & Park Young-ja, 2009)

Meanwhile, some researchers have been working on North Korean defector policy governance since around 2010. First of all, Kim Yeon-hee (2010), Kim Sun-hwa (2010), and Park Young-ja (2010) studied the role of a regional adaptation center for North Korean defectors (hereinafter referred to as the "Hana center") as a service delivery system. Kim Yeon-hee (2010) evaluated the effectiveness of the the Hana Center, which was first introduced in 2009 on a trial basis, and Kim Sun-hwa (2010) argued that the Hana Center needed to enhance its functions as a hub of civilian activity during the settlement stage of the residence, while Park Young-ja (2010) examined the settlement process of North Korean defectors in four stages

and emphasized the need for central government-level support for settlement in the community.

Yoo Gil-sang, Kim Hwa-soon (2007), and Seo Chang-rok (2010) focus on governance in the job support area. First of all, Yoo Gil-sang and Kim Hwa-soon (2007) emphasized employment as a key issue in resettlement and argued that the government should be restructured with an emphasis on employment issues. Specifically, it argued that regional unit partnerships should be established around the employment support center of the Ministry of Employment and Labor. Seo Chang-rok (2010) pointed out that governance supporting the job area is currently weak, specifically pointing to the lack of participation by NGOs, the lack of coordination by the central government, and lack of expertise and downward delivery system. It also argued that the government should be changed into a managed governance that plays a coordinating management role to encourage collaborative relationships among social actors.

On the other hand, several studies have called for expanding civilian roles. First of all, Park Jeong-ran (2009) analyzed the case of West Germany's support for East German residents and argued that we should also expand the role of the private sector, such as the Hana center and churches, in the North Korean defector support policy. Choi Dae-seok and Park Young-ja (2009) suggested further research on the subject of North Korean defectors. First, they raised the need to study how to establish an international cooperation system, including the United Nations, and secondly, how to establish regional governance. In particular, the study noted that in West Germany, states other than the federal government played a central role in supporting East German migrants, and it argued that our government needs to be reorganized so that local governments can play a central role in supporting North Korean defectors. In another study (2011), Choi Dae-Seok and Park Young-Ja conducted interviews with those in charge of the governance of North Korean defectors (the Unification Ministry, the North Korean defectors support

Foundation, North Korean defectors, local governance members, etc.) about who should be in charge of delivering services. They found that there was a significant difference among participants and concluded that further discussions were needed in the future.

In short, research on the governance of North Korean defector policy has emerged as a new research concern since 2010, but the scope of the research has been focused on governance in specific areas, such as employment support, or on the role of the "Hana center" as a service delivery system. Meanwhile, there has been no comprehensive analysis of North Korean policy governance so far. Therefore, this study aims to conduct a basic analysis of the governance of North Korean defector policy, noting how relevant laws stipulate the relationship between government and civil participants.

2.2.2. Settlement Support Policy of Germany

There are not many domestic studies comparing the settlement policy for East German immigrants and that of Korea. Kim Young-Yoon (2012) and Kim Do-hyeop (2012) elaborate on West Germany's support system for East German immigrants. It provides basic statistics and explains the main support program, the settlement process, and the legal system. Heo Jun-young's research (2011) focuses on the historical context. It explains that policy has changed as the historical situation has developed between World War II and the "Fall of the Berlin Wall." Meanwhile, Jo Min-hee (2019) focuses on integration through employment policy, pointing out that Germany's favorable economic environment and cooperative governance with private organizations were the main drivers of policy success. Kim Taesoo (2011) compares the two countries' policies from six perspectives: i) the legal status of immigrants, ii) the political attitude toward immigrants, iii) policy consistency and systematicity, iv) international circumstances, v) the two countries' economic and social status in the international community, and vi) the

depth and intensity of the division through history. Meanwhile, Hur Joon-Young (2010, 2011) describes the context of German immigrant support policy for each period and analyzes governance between the federal government, the state government, and the private sector in each context.

2.2.3. Governance Analysis Frame

Governance has many different concepts, so the framework for analyzing governance has yet to be established. However, a lot of efforts have been made to present an analysis framework for governance. First, Chung Eui-young's study (2011) presented an analysis framework for good governance on the local level. The study presented four elements for governance analysis; i) governance objectives, ii) policies and strategies for achieving goals, iii) governance capabilities, and iv) contextual and environmental factors that affect the success or failure of governance. The study also identified subcategories within the four categories to present the analysis frame shown in the table below.

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Table 1. Chung Eui-young's (2011) governance analysis frame

Main category	Sub-category	Remarks (detailed indicators or assumptions)
The objective of governance	Participation	Quality and quantity of participation
	Decentralization	Power and influence of residents
	Accountability	Taking responsibility
	Efficiency and effectiveness	Whether it is more efficient compared to hierarchy or market
The strategy of governance	Citizen	Autonomous role of residents The role of the countervailing force
	Government	Regulatory role Sponsoring/cooperative role
The capacity of governance	Social capital of the community	Trust, reciprocity
	Institutional capital of the regional government	Leadership, resources
	Community's reforming capability	Presence of countervailing force
The context of governance	Size of area	The smaller and the more homogeneous the area is, the easier it is to achieve good governance.
	The characteristics of the issue	The more practical the issue is, the easier it is to achieve good governance, and the more contentious and the more professional the issue is, the more difficult it is to realize good governance.
	Political opportunity structure	Changes in the political landscape in favor of the governance paradigm leads to good governance.
	Economic condition	Economic boom correlates with good governance

Meanwhile, Kim Soon-Eun's study (2012) analyzed governance by dividing it into i) governance as a structure and ii) governance as a procedure.

Lee Myung-Seok's study (2009) presented the analysis frame of governance largely divided into two aspects: i) the design aspects of governance and ii) the management aspects of governance. First of all, the design aspect of governance includes:

1. Whether the government is clearly defining what public value it wants to achieve and whether it is deviating from existing practices boldly to implement the most efficient governance for achieving public value (Goldsmith and Burke, 2009)
2. Whether it is utilizing creative methods to mobilize various resources (Aranoff and McGuire, 2003)
3. Whether it choose appropriate participants in reviewing the 'cultural harmonization' among potential participants, 'occupational performance' such as holding resources, and 'civil proximity' to help communication between the government and civil society (dyer and Singh, 1998; Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002) among various kinds of governance
4. Whether the most appropriate network is being explored to maximize public value (Lee Myung-seok, 2009)
5. Whether appropriate integrated managers are being selected to manage the network (Milward and Provan, 2006).

Next, with the regard to the management aspects of governance, it proposed i) establishing communication channels, ii) coordinating work between participants iii) maintaining a strong network and sustainable relationship among the participants, and iv) securing responsibilities suitable for cooperative governance.

Meanwhile, Lee Ju-ha (2013) said that state-centered governance played a major role in the development of East Asian countries, so identifying government-social

interactions would require two levels of access: the 'input-oriented' and 'output-oriented' aspects of governance. 'Input-oriented aspects of governance' relate to whether the opportunity to engage in binding decision making is guaranteed to members of society; that is to say, whether they have access to public authority or procedural democracy. He then pointed out that the 'output-oriented aspects of governance' relate to the exercise of power and to the quality-of-life discourse. The study described the status of governance by country as shown in the table below, assuming that type I represents African developing countries, type II East Asian countries before democratization, type III represents South American countries, and type IV represents Western advanced welfare capitalism.

Table 2. Lee Ju-ha's (2013) governance analysis frame

Governance		Output-oriented legitimacy	
		Ineffective	effective
Input-oriented legitimacy	authoritarian	I	II
	democratic	III	IV

Also, there have been attempts to classify governance into 'state-centered governance' and 'civil society-centered governance', presenting the characteristics of each form of governance. Several previous studies can be summarized as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. The characteristics of 'state-centered governance' and 'society-centered governance'

	State-centered governance	Society-centered governance
Main actor	State or government	Policy-network
Mechanism for solving problems	State's capacity of steering	Public-private interaction Coordination and co-governing
Means of	Command and	Reciprocal benefit

communication	supervision	
----------------------	-------------	--

Meanwhile, Rhodes (1999) classified the types of governance as market, hierarchy, and network, presenting the characteristics of each type, as seen in Table 4. Each type of governance can be described as follows:

Table 4. Comparison of markets, hierarchies, and networks (Rhodes, 1999)

	Market	Hierarchy	Network
Basis of a relationship	Contract and private property rights	Employment	Sharing of resources
Degree of interdependence	Independent	Dependent	Inter-dependent
Medium of exchange	Price	Authority	Trust
Means of resolving conflict	Exchange and judiciary	Rules and command	Diplomacy reciprocity
Culture	Competition	Obedience	Inter-dependence

- *Hierarchy*: The actors involved are defined by their employer/employee relationships, which create a stable and reliable work environment. However, due to contractual constraints, their flexibility and independence are limited. Authority, rules, and commands are the main mechanisms for communicating and resolving conflicts.
- *Network*: The networks are characterized by interdependence between organizations (Rhodes, 1999). There are continual interactions between members due to the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes (Rhodes, 1999). Networks have a significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organizing (Rhodes, 1999). When it comes to the medium of exchange, trust is the central mechanism in the same way that authority and price are the key mechanisms for hierarchical and market governance, respectively.

- *Market:* Market governance is characterized by competition and incentives. The main factors governing interactions are contracts or private rights where each party is highly incentivized to act in their best interest. It can be changed or renegotiated at minimal cost. Conflict is usually resolved by exchange or by courts.

Chapter 3. Frame of Analysis

3.1. The Significance of German Case

There are many good reasons why Germany was chosen for comparison. Some of them include i) its abundant experience in migration, ii) the similarity of its policy goals and objectives to Korea's, and iii) its long history of strong civil partnerships in social service provision.

First, Germany has abundant experience in supporting foreign immigrants.

Since the mid-1950s, Germany has become one of the most important destination countries for immigrants (Oezcan, 2004). According to the International Organization for Migration (IMO), Germany is the second top destination for migrants, accepting a total of 13.1 million migrants in 2019.

Second, Germany has experience in supporting ethnic Germans in search of reunification.

In terms of the number of migrants, it is the United States of America that has been the top destination for international migrants since 1970. However, Germany's support for East German immigrants differs from the US policy. While the US refugee policy is focused on achieving 'social integration' by accepting a variety of refugees from different nationalities, ethnicities, and religious backgrounds into the US society, Germany's support for East German migrants is intended for migrants of the same ethnic background. In this regard, the German case is more relevant than that of the US in studying best practices for our policy.

Third, Germany's strong community foundation sets a good example.

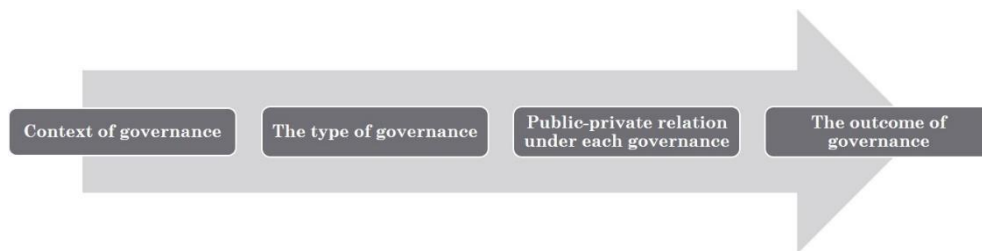
Germany has a long history of partnering with civil organizations in social work. In particular, the 'Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare' (BAGFW: Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege) were given official duties

in supporting East German migrants, which was known to be the backbone of this policy.

3.2. Frame of Analysis

Based on the review of various previous studies, this study takes the following analysis framework. As described in Figure 1. it analyzes i) the context of each governance, ii) the public-private relation, and iii) the outcome of governance. First, many previous studies have emphasized the importance of the context in governance formation. Among them, Chung Eui Young's study (2011) makes good frameworks for the context of governance. Second, in analyzing public-private relationship, this study utilizes the frameworks of Rhode (1999), which categorized the types of governance into market, hierarchy, and network. Third, analyzing the outcome of governance has been highlighted by researchers such as Lee Ju-ha (2013). By putting these studies together, this study compares the case of Korea and Germany with the framework presented in Table 6.

Figure 1. Research framework



First, it analyzes the context of each policy. As a previous study indicates, the governance of ones' society is a historical product. So, to understand its governance, we need to look at its political, economic, social, and cultural background. Therefore, this study will trace the history and background of the current governance system of the two countries' policies, which have been shaped by their historical, social, and cultural contexts. Also, in aiming for desirable

governance, we need to consider various things such as the value that the society seeks, the context surrounding the governance, and the existing path dependence.

Second, it analyzes the relationship between the government and the private sectors in the two policies. In general, it is widely believed that Germany has formed ‘civil society-centered governance’ based on the voluntary participation of various civic groups, while South Korea has established ‘state-centered governance’ from its historical context of government-led growth. Therefore, this study analyzes whether such a general belief is true or not. A total of five criteria are intended to be used in the comparison. It compares; i) the basis of relationship, ii) the degree of interdependence, iii) the medium of exchange, iv) the means of resolving conflicts, and v) the culture. These five criteria are based on the characteristics of each type of governance presented by Rhodes (1999). He categorized the types of governance into three categories: market, hierarchy, and network, and presented the characteristics of each form of governance according to the five criteria above.

Table 5. Comparison of markets, hierarchies, and networks (Rhodes, 1999)

	Market	Hierarchy	Network
Basis of relationship	Contract and private property rights	Employment	Sharing of resources
Degree of interdependence	Independent	Dependent	Inter-dependent
Medium of exchange	Price	Authority	Trust
Means of resolving conflict	Exchange and judiciary	Rules and command	Diplomacy
Culture	Competition	Obedience	Inter-dependence

Third, it compares the results of each approach to governance. In other words, it will look at how each form of governance lead to policy outcomes and what

problems arise from them. Then, this study makes suggestions as to how South Korea's governance can achieve its policy goals. The framework of these studies is summarized in Figure 1.

3.3. Scope of Analysis

Among various private actors, this study focuses on the following private organizations; **in terms of Germany, it focuses on the six organizations that established the 'Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare' (BAGFW: Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege) in 1924 and have provided welfare services to immigrants.** (Jo, 2019). It includes; i) The Worker Welfare Association (The Arbeiterwohlfahrt), ii) The Caritas Germany (The Deutscher Caritasverband), iii) The German Red Cross (The Deutsche Rote Kreuz), iv) The Central Association of Independent Welfare Care in Germany (The Deutsche Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband), v) The Diakonie Germany (Diakonische Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland), and vi) The Central Welfare Office for Jews in Germany (The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland). They were established based on religion, humanitarian or political belief, which were believed to be a backbone of German policy.

When it comes to the Korean case, the 'North Korean Refugee Support Foundation' ('Hana Foundation') and a total of twenty-one 'Regional Adaptation Centers' ('Hana Centers') are the points of focus. The 'Hana Foundation' was established in late 2000 and is responsible for networking with private organizations. ■ 'Hana Center' is a private corporation with previous experience providing social welfare services. Since 2000, the government has designated a total of twenty-one centers nationwide to support the initial settlement of North Korean refugees in local communities.

3.4. Method of Analysis

3.4.1. The Context of Governance

In analyzing the context of governance formation, this study focuses on four sub-issues. It defines i) the policy target, and analyzes ii) the purpose of the policy, iii) the scope of the policy, and iv) the political, social, economic context.

It looks at the related law to clarify the policy target (issue 1) and its purpose (issue 2). For Germany, various related laws can be investigated including German Basic Law (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland), The Act on the Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet)', The Act on Emergency Assistance for Migrants (Flüchtlings-Notleistungsgesetz), and others. For Korea, 'The North Korean Refugee Settlement Support Act' (hereafter 'North Korean Refugee Act')' is the basis for the policy.

In terms of the scope of the policy target (issue 3), it examines the size of the policy target, which can be investigated by looking at the official statistics of each of the government authorities. To find the political, social, and economic context (issue 4), it reviews the prior studies on the German refugee policy from World War II until the fall of the Berlin Wall.

3.4.2. The Public-Private Relationship

Based on the context of governance, it describes what type of governance each policy falls into. In analyzing each governance, it applies the criteria of three types of governance suggested by Rhodes (1999). The five criteria include i) the basis of a relationship, ii) the degree of interdependence, iii) the medium of exchange, iv) means of solving conflicts, and v) culture. It aims at demonstrating whether each

policy falls on the category of ‘state-centered governance’ or ‘civil society-centered governance’

In analyzing the basis of a relationship (criteria 1), it examines the history of each organization and the legal basis for private involvement. To figure out the degree of interdependence (criteria 2), it analyzes the capacity of the private organization in terms of finance, organization, and competence. We can infer that organizations with a strong capacity are more independent. When it comes to the medium of exchange (criteria 3), it analyzes the range of roles each organization has performed and the mode of interaction between government and private actors. To figure out the means of solving conflicts (criteria 4), it examines related law dealing with the situations where the two entities have different interests. Culture (criteria 5) is excluded from the analysis given that it is a broad concept that encompasses the other criteria. Prior studies in Germany and Korea are the main references for this section and related laws, bylaws of private organizations and the other materials about the financial, organization, and personnel features of the private entities are investigated.

3.4.3. The Outcome of Governance

Comparing the outcome of governance is another important issue to be considered. Given that governance is a product of a historical and social context, governance, which is generally considered good, may not produce the intended results in a particular society. Therefore, comparing outcomes is crucial for the assessment of governance.

This study takes objective and subjective indicators to assess the performance of a policy. **'Employment rates' are chosen for an objective indicator and the 'satisfaction of immigrants' is chosen for a subjective indicator.** Both indicators can be found in the survey data published by the government. The South Korean

government, for example, has been conducting a settlement survey every year by law. It also publishes survey data on the satisfaction of North Korean defectors in South Korea. When it comes to Germany, the employment rate can be found in government data, and data on immigrant satisfaction can be obtained from related research in Germany.

Table 4 summarizes the framework of this study along with the main issues of analysis and research materials.

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Table 6. Framework and main issues

	Issue of Analysis	Research Material
1. Context of governance		
	1.1. policy target	Related law <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Act on the Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet)', etc.- 'North Korean Refugee Settlement Support Act', etc.
	1.2. purpose of policy	
	1.3. the size of policy target	Official statistics of each government authority Previous studies
	1.4. political, social, economic context	Previous studies
2. Public-private relationship		
	2.1. the basis of the relationship	Related laws Bylaws of private organizations Website of private organizations <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Budget- Organization- Personnel
	2.2. degree of interdependence	
	2.3. medium of exchange	
	2.4. means of solving conflict	
	2.5. culture	Previous studies
3. Outcome of governance		
	3.1. employment rate	Official data of each government authority
	3.2. satisfaction rate	Annual survey data Previous studies

Chapter 4. A Comparison of Two Policies: Germany and ROK

4.1. The Context of Governance

4.1.1. Definition of Terms

4.1.1.1. The East German Immigrants

East German immigrants can be divided into two categories (KimYoungYoon, 2003): i) legal immigrants, and ii) illegal immigrants. The ‘legal immigrants (Ubersiedler)’ are those who received permission from the East German authorities. Among them were *the people who have families in the West* or the *old-age pensioner* who is believed to be no longer able to contribute to the East German economy. In addition, some of them were *political prisoners* detained in East Germany, and the FRG paid for their release and moved them to West Germany.

Meanwhile, ‘illegal immigrants (Fluhtlinge, Sperrbrecher)’ are those who have migrated without permission. Some of them had visited West Germany for travel and ended up staying West permanently. An average of 20,000 East German people escaped from East Germany every year before the reunification (KimYoungYoon, 2003).

Table 7. Types of Immigrants

Legal immigrants	Illegal immigrants
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ People who have families in West Germany▪ Old-age pensioners▪ Political prisoners (Politiche Haftlinge)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ People who didn't return home after a legal trip to the West (visiting relatives, family event)▪ People who risked escaping from East Germany during a massive escape in 1989 (Sperrbrecher)

4.1.1.2. North Korean Residents Escaping from North Korea

The ‘North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act’ (Hereafter ‘North Korean Refugees Act’) defines the term “North Korean residents escaping from North Korea (Hereafter ‘North Korean defectors’)” as people who have their residences, lineal ascendants and descendants, spouses, workplaces, etc. in the area north of the Military Demarcation Line (hereinafter referred to as "North Korea"), and who have not acquired any foreign nationality after escaping from North Korea. This definition consists of three criteria.: i) people who have their residence in North Korea, ii) people who escape from North Korea, iii) people who have not acquired foreign nationality after escaping from North Korea (Ministry of Unification , 2020).

Under the first of these criteria, those who had migrated abroad from North Korea during the Korean War and don’t have an address, workplace, or descendants in North Korea at the time of migration, don't fall into the category of North Korean defectors. The 'Korean ethnic minority group' living in China or 'Chosun residents in Japan' are among the examples. Also, the third criterion excludes the people who have already acquired nationality or legitimate resident status in other countries such as China or the United States from support by the law.

4.1.2. The Purpose of Policy

4.1.2.1. Germany

The purpose of German policy is two-fold. It was to promote ‘quick resettlement of East German residents’ and at the same time, it aimed at facilitating 'integration with East Germany’ (Kim, Young-yoon 2003). It is incorporated in the ‘German Basic Law (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland)’, and ‘Act on the

Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet).’

After the establishment of the East and West German governments in 1949, as East German residents continued to escape, managing this situation was a critical issue for the security of West Germany. Therefore, it enacted the ‘Act on the Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet)’ in 1950 (KimYoungYoon, 2003). The ultimate purpose of this law was to control and manage the excessive inflow of immigrants and distribute the burden among the states (KimYoungYoon, 2003). It provided limited admission to immigrants with reasons stipulated by the law. East German immigrants needed to prove that their escape fell under one of the following categories (KimYoungYoon, 2003): i) their escape is to meet and reunite with their family members living in the West, ii) jobs and housing are guaranteed in West Germany, iii) they're forced to flee well-founded fear of persecution for political beliefs, iv) they are unable to return to their country for fear of danger.

However, it seems that these legal provisions were far from reality. First, even those who did not receive residence permits for one of the four reasons above were not driven out states (Kim, Young-yoon 2003). Also, religious organizations and social welfare agencies supported their stay in West Germany. The German Basic Law (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland) was the basis for these measures. Article 116 includes East-German as a definition of "German" ⁵ and Article 11 ensures the right to move for all Germans.⁶ Also, Article 1 stipulates the

⁵ Unless otherwise provided by law, a German within the meaning of this Basic Law is a person who possesses German citizenship or who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the boundaries of December 31, 1937, as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such person. (The Article 116 of the German Basic Law)

⁶ “All German shall have the right to move freely throughout the federal territory.” (Article 11 of the German Basic Law)

obligation of the state authority to respect and protect human dignity⁷. These three Articles form the foundation for the protection of East German immigrants. As a result, the revision of the ‘Act on the Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet)’ in 1961 significantly eased the requirements for migration by allowing 'self-reporting' instead of 'limited permission' (KimYoungYoon, 2003).

Since the establishment of the Berlin Wall, no application of German residents has been denied and the permit itself became insignificant for their residence (Kim, Young-yoon 2003). As a result, any East German residents could claim their rights as citizens under the German Basic Law. This history clearly shows that the purpose of the policy was to facilitate unification as well as to protect human rights.

4.1.2.2. The ROK

The same goes true for the settlement support policy for North Korean defectors. It aims at: i) promoting quick resettlement of North Korean defectors and ii) preparing future integration with North Korea.

First, the ‘North Korean Refugees Act’ states its purpose as follows: The purpose of this Act is to provide for matters relating to protection and support as are necessary to help North Korean residents escaping from the area north of the Military Demarcation Line who desire to be protected by the Republic of Korea as swiftly as possible to adapt themselves to, and settle down in, all spheres of their lives, including political, economic, social and cultural spheres. Therefore, the primary purpose of this law is to help the North Korean defectors to settle in our society as soon as possible.

⁷ shall be inviolable. To respect and protect it shall be the duty of all state authority. (The Article 1 of the German Basic Law)

Meanwhile, the ultimate purpose of this policy is in preparation for reunification. The comprehensive support for North Korean refugees is derived from the motivation that we will live together with North Korean people after the reunification of the two Koreas. In this regard, the ROK government refers to the resident from North Korea to “unification who have arrived earlier”. In other words, the process of helping North Korean defectors settle in the South itself is a process of preparing for reunification.

The history of the laws and government authorities who have been responsible for this policy also proves this. Table 8 shows the Ministry in charge of this task and the history of related law. In conclusion, the purpose of this policy has changed in different periods. In the 1960s-1970s, when there was a ‘regime competition’ with North Korea, support for North Korean defectors also reflected this political environment. It aimed at providing honorable treatment for so-called ‘defectors’ in terms of systemic competition, and the military or intelligence agencies were responsible for these measures. In the 1990s, support was given as part of welfare policy, which was done by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. However, by enacting the ‘North Korean Refugees Act’ in 1997, the ROK clearly declares that supporting North Korean defectors is intended to prepare for future unification. The Ministry of Unification is the department of primary responsibility.

Table 8. The history of related law and Ministry (MOU, 2020)

	Law	Ministry in charge⁸
-1962	Act on the honorable treatment of persons of distinguished service to the state and North Korean defectors	Defense Security Command, National Intelligence Service
1962-1978	Act on Special Compensation for Returned Soldiers to the South	Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs (MPVA)
1993-1997	Act on the Protection of North Korean	Ministry of Health and

⁸ It is the current name of each Ministry.

	Repatriates	Welfare (MOHW)
1997-	North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act	Ministry of Unification (MOU)

4.1.3. The Size of Policy Target

4.1.3.1. Germany

In terms of the size of the policy area, Germany has an overwhelmingly larger policy target than Korea. In Germany, from the end of the war to June 30, 1990, approximately 4.6 million East Germans have moved to West Germany. This was an annual average of 100,000 people (KimYoungYoon, 2003).

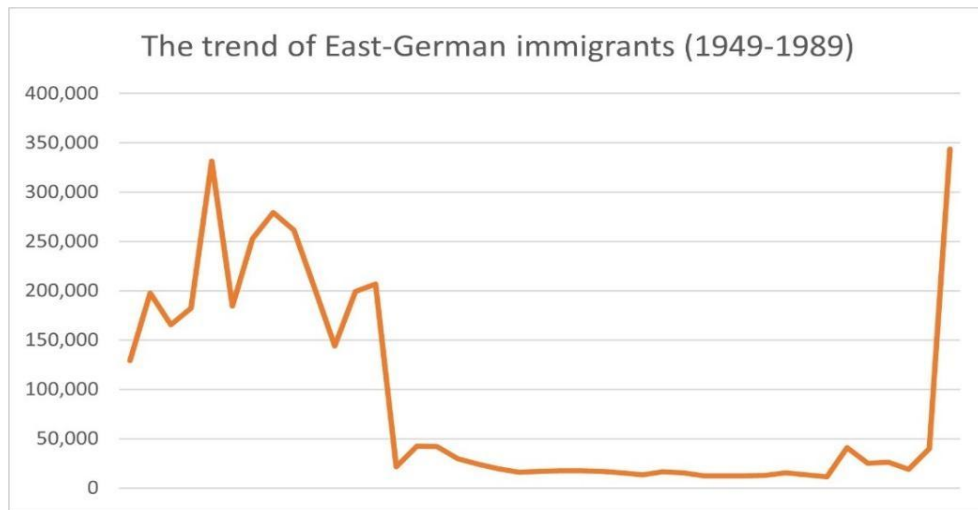
Table 9. Number of East German Immigrants by periods (KimYoungYoon, 2003)

Period	Number of immigrants			Annual average
	Legal immigrants	Illegal immigrants	Total number	
After war~1961.8.12	-	3,419,042	3,419,042	201,120
1961.8.13~1988.12	381,376	234,684	616,060	22,002
1989.1~1990.6.30	101,947	480,291	582,238	388,159
Total	483,323	4,134,017	4,617,340	100,377

Immigration from the East to the West took place in waves (Bangel, et al., 2019). Figure 2 shows the long history of migration between East Germany (the German Democratic Republic, or GDR) and the West (The Federal Republic of Germany, or FRG). The first wave starts with its founding, when millions of East Germans fled for the West. Residents of the former Soviet territory fled from dictatorship. However, the communist regime erected the Berlin Wall in 1961 to stop the mass exodus. The second wave is from the time the Berlin Wall was installed until the

wall fell, which led to the mass exodus in August 1989. During this period, the East German government partially allowed legal immigration to the West for fear of criticism international criticism over the installation of the Berlin Wall. The third wave came with the opening of East Germany's borders in 1989 and continued until July 1, 1990, when East-West German monetary, economic, and social integration took effect. During this period, large-scale migration to West Germany took place. Around 800,000 people left the East in 1989 and 1990.

Figure 2. German migration, 1987-2006 (Source: German Federal Statistical Office)



4.1.3.2. The ROK

Meanwhile, Korea has accepted a total of 33,000 North Korean refugees from the enforcement of the Act in 1997 to the present in 2020 (MOU 2020). By period, since the enactment of the law in 1997, the number of arrivals has steadily increased, reaching its highest peak from 2007 through 2009, when the annual arrivals were nearly 3,000. Social anxiety after Kim Il-Sung's death as well as the food shortage caused by famine were known to be the main cause of the increase in escape. But in 2010, the number showed a decreasing trend, with around 1,000 entering annually. The main reason for the decrease in the number was the result of

strengthened ‘border control’ after Kim-Jong-Un’s rule. Several news reports and private organizations that work in the border area say that the North has strengthened its security control by building electric fences along the Tuman River marking the border to China⁹.

Table 8. The Annual Entry of North Korean Residents (MOU, 2020)

Year(s)	Male	Female	Sum^(Yr)	Year(s)	Male	Female	Sum^(Yr)
~1998	831	116	947	2011	795	1,911	2,706
~2001	565	478	1,043	2012	404	1,098	1,502
2002	510	632	1,142	2013	369	1,145	1,514
2003	474	811	1,285	2014	305	1,092	1,397
2004	626	1,272	1,898	2015	251	1,024	1,275
2005	424	960	1,384	2016	302	1,116	1,418
2006	515	1,513	2,028	2017	188	939	1,127
2007	573	1,981	2,554	2018	168	969	1,137
2008	608	2,195	2,803	2019	202	845	1,047
2009	662	2,252	2,914	2020.9	64	131`	195
2010	591	1,811	2,402	Total	9,427	24,291	33,718

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⁹ According to a report by UPI (July 12, 2017), “North Korea, has installed high-voltage electric fencing at its border with China, posing even more challenges for people seeking to leave the country or smuggle goods in from the outside world”

Figure 3. The Annual Entry of North Korean Residents (MOU, 2020)



4.1.4. Political, Social, Economic Context

4.1.4.1. Germany

The political context of German immigrant policy had changed through history.

1) Konrad Adenauer and his successors (1949-1969)

West Germany, as a defeated country in the Second World War, was at the center of the confrontation between the allied powers in Western Europe and the victorious countries in Eastern Europe. At that time, the major interest of Prime Minister Adenauer was recovering its sovereignty through integration with Western countries. Restoring the economy and accommodating the immigrants from neighboring countries were the main challenges of this period (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). The West German government was able to successfully address these challenges because of an economic boom, the so-called "Miracle on the Rhine (Das Wirtschaftswunder am Rhein und Ruhr)"

2) Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt (1969-1982)

This period is characterized by the transition from 'confrontation' to 'reconciliation'. These transitions took place both in foreign policy and inter-German relations. First of all, it sought reconciliation with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, with which had previously been hostile or competitive. The so-called "New Eastern Policy" ("Ostpolitik") allowed them to expand their scope for action and its role in international politics. Against this backdrop, it also tried to reconcile with East Germany. The motto of "change through rapprochement" ("Wandel durch Annäherung") guided the policy of inter-German relations. Under the Basic Treaty of 1972 ("Grundlagenvertrag"), the two Germanys recognized each other as sovereign states for the first time, and West Germany abandoned the Hallstein Doctrine.

However, the economic situation deteriorated rapidly. Germany entered a period of economic recession, fueled in part by the oil crisis in 1973. Social welfare expenditures nearly doubled between 1970 and 1975 (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). Economic depression also affected people's perceptions and especially hindered social integration. As the unemployment rate increased, West Germany considered migrants competitors who took their jobs, and the social division deepened.

3) Helmut Kohl (1982-reunification)

Kohl took several innovative policy measures to overcome economic hardship caused by two oil crises. He facilitated economic liberalization and labor market flexibility, reduced social welfare, and strengthened West Germany's relationships with the US and the Soviet Union (Hur, Joon-Young, 2011). The reform achieved successes. An increase in exports and domestic demand strengthened the national government. Despite the ups and downs of the economic situation, the Kohl administration was consistent in inter-German relations (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). However, the unemployment rate and income gap were still serious, which led to

social anxiety and social division.

4.1.4.2. The ROK

1) Park Chung-Hee (1963~1979)

This period is characterized by the military dictatorship by President Park Chung-hee. Political opponents were constantly repressed, and dissent was punished by the state in the name of anti-communism. Park had complete control of the whole society, including its economy, politics, media, and military, and his rule had lasted for 18 years until his assassination. Civil society in this period was characterized by pro-government or governmentalized social groups such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), Korea Employer's Federation (KEF), and Federation of Korean Industries (FKI) which seriously lacked organizational autonomy from the state (KimSunhyuk & JeongJong-Ho, 2017). Their leaders were not self-elected but selected by the government, and their management was closely monitored and supervised by the state (KimSunhyuk & JeongJong-Ho, 2017).

In terms of economy, it implemented a series of economic policies that brought rapid economic growth and industrialization, which eventually led to the 'Miracle on the Han River'. As a result, South Korea became one of the fastest-growing nations during the 1960s and 1970s. The most significant factor in its rapid industrialization was the adoption of an outward-looking strategy together with labor-intensive manufactured exports (KohJae Myong, 2018). Government initiatives played a key role in this process.

When it comes to inter-Korean relations, it competed with North Korea. This period was characterized by a zero-sum game of mutual antagonism (Armstrong, 2005). The two Koreas each saw the very existence of its rival as a threat to its own existence and had the explicit goal of eliminating the other (Armstrong, 2005). Against this backdrop, the Park administration introduced a support policy for

North Korean defectors in order to induce North Korean residents to leave the regime. The support policy for North Korean defectors was also part of the competition with the regime.

2) Roh Tae-Woo (1979~1997)

The top three policy priorities of this period can be summarized as 'democratization of politics', 'economic growth with equity', and 'national reunification.' The Roh administration publicly stated these three priorities frequently. First and foremost, the most important milestone in this period was the 'transition into a democracy' in 1987, which was the first peaceful transfer of power in South Korean history. After his inauguration, President Roh announced a program of constitutional reforms that would restore the democratic institutions and basic civil rights that had been usurped under military rule. Meanwhile, new civil society groups substantially increased in number and influence under the Roh government. Among the most prominent civil groups were the Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice (CCEJ) which was founded on July 7, 1989, and the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), which was created in 1994 (KimSunhyuk & JeongJong-Ho, 2017).

While re-establishing democracy, the Roh government launched its so-called 'Northern Diplomacy (Nordpolitik).' These efforts brought about the establishment of diplomatic ties with Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia in 1989 and with the Soviet Union in 1990. Moreover, South Korea established full diplomatic ties with China in 1992. Based on this aggressive foreign policy initiative, it also tried to reestablish inter-Korean relations. The two Koreas adopted 'the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement' in 1991, which clarified inter-Korean relations as "a special relation formed tentatively in the process of orienting unification rather than an international relation." It was a great change in position considering the past stance of not recognizing North Korea as a state. In addition, its international status was

strengthened. It hosted the Olympic Games in 1988, which was a significant boost for South Korea's global image and economy, and it became a member of the United Nations in 1991.

Meanwhile, in terms of economy, Korea achieved overall good performance with an average annual growth of 8.5 percent from 1980 to 1997 (LeeJe-Min, 2015). It promoted export-driven industrialization in favorable conditions such as the emergence of neo-liberalism, the expansion of free trade, and the opening of the U.S. manufactured goods market (LeeJe-Min, 2015).

3) Kim Dae-Jung, Noh Moo-Hyun (1997~)

The progressive party took office for 10 years and promoted reforms to deepen democracy, including the elimination of authoritarianism, expansion of freedom of the press, and the abolition of outdated laws. During the Kim Dae-jung government (1998-2003), PSPD emerged as the most influential NGO in Korea. In particular, they released a list of personalities who should not be nominated by parties to run for the upcoming elections and campaigned against them, which was known as the Nakcheon movement. This movement demonstrated great efficacy, gaining widespread public support. For example, in the general elections on April 13, 2000, 59 out of 86 candidates on CSGE's banned list were not elected (KimSunhyuk & JeongJong-Ho, 2017). Also, the democratic governments accommodated civil society's demands and gave them support, as well. In summary, it took only twenty years for the civil sector to become major actors in the political arena.

In terms of the economy, the Asian financial crisis hit South Korea in 1997. It vigorously pushed economic reforms recommended by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the process significantly altered the landscape of the South Korean economy. The economy moved away from the centrally planned, government-directed investment model toward a more market-oriented one.

Inter-Korean relations in this period were characterized by the "Sunshine Policy", which pursued a more peaceful relationships with North Korea. It held North-South summits in June 2000 and 2007 which allowed them to implement various kinds of projects to facilitate economic, social, and humanitarian cooperation. However, there were continuing concerns about North Korea's nuclear weapons, which made the next two conservative governments formally abandon the sunshine policy, and inter-Korean relations turned hostile. Meanwhile, the entry of North Korean defectors reached its highest peak in the late 1990s with three thousand refugees annually, and the ROK tried to reorganize its support system by strengthening public-private partnerships. Even in an unfavorable economic environment, it continuously supports North Korean defectors.

4.2 The Public-Private Relationship

4.2.1. The Basis of a Relationship

4.2.1.1. Summary

The private sector in Germany is "voluntarily" established agencies with more than a century of experience in supporting refugees. Therefore, the German government just utilizes the existing organization by establishing the Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare (BAGFW) in its welfare services. Meanwhile, the private agencies in Korea are "deliberately" chosen by the government, which plays a major role in implementing settlement support policy. The government's designation is crucial for the mandate. In summary, the mandate of Germany was derived from their aspirations to realize the ideal of a welfare society, while that of Korea has been rooted in the employer-employee relationship which is initiated by the government.

4.2.1.2. Germany

1) The history of the private organization

The private sector in Germany is "voluntarily" established agencies with more than a century of experience in supporting refugees. Each of them was established based on religious, political, and humanitarian beliefs, and its history dates back to the mid-19th century. For example, the 'Diakonie Germany' (Diakonische Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland), the 'Protestant Social Work', was established in 1848, Caritas Germany (The Deutscher Caritasverband), rooted in Catholic, was established in the 19th century. 'The Worker Welfare Association (The Arbeiterwohlfahrt)' emerged in the early 20th century based on the labor movement. The German Red Cross (The Deutsche Rote Kreuz), and the Central Welfare Office for Jews in Germany (The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland) were founded after World War I. Therefore, the private entity in Germany that supported East German immigrants had a long history and a tradition of more than two centuries.

2) The basis for their mandate

Founded in the 19th century from various interests, these private organizations formed the 'Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare' (BAGFW: Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege) in 1924. The original purpose of the BAGFW was to represent the interests of private welfare organizations for the government (Hur JoonYoung, 2010). So, they evolved themselves autonomously to realize their ideals in social welfare.

It was later that the West German government recognized them as official entities that performed welfare services. The BAGFW was mandated by the government to carry out welfare services and to advise the government on welfare legislation or specific policies (Boeßenecker, 1995: 17). The Six representative welfare

organizations discussed major issues and exchanged information through twenty-nine specialized committees and voted at the general meeting to make decisions (Hur JoonYoung, 2011). Although the governments approved their activities by law and supported eighty percent of the costs of supporting East German migrants, they were not passively driven by the government mandate. Rather, they played an active role in areas beyond the reach of the government and led the German welfare policy. Therefore, their mandate was derived from their aspirations to realize the ideal of a welfare state without government's approval.

4.2.1.3. The ROK

1) The history of the private organization

While German agencies voluntarily evolved, the private agencies in Korea are "deliberately" chosen by the ROK government. It was in late 2000 when the South Korean government tried to mobilize civilian resources to deal with the situation when the number of North Korean defectors increased to around 5,000 a year. The ROK government established the 'North Korean Refugees Support Foundation ('Hana Foundation')', which is responsible for networking with private organizations and has established a total of twenty-one regional adaptation centers ('the Hana Center') to provide initial support for North Korean residents. Therefore, the private actors in Korea have only ten years of history.

2) The basis for their mandate

'North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act' stipulates that the Ministry of Unification (MOU) can designate the 'Local Adaptation Center' ('the Hana Center') in consultation with the head of the local government and provide grants to manage the delegated responsibilities. They were originally welfare

facilities that provided welfare services to vulnerable people in society. Some of them have experience in supporting North Korean residents, while others do not.

Unlike the German case, the Korean government's selection is crucial for the mandate of the private agencies. It is the government that takes the initiative in the establishment of organization. Unlike the German case of utilizing private organizations with experience and expertise, the Korean government establishes private agencies, expecting them to acquire experience and expertise through the delegated work. Even though they are chosen by the "public procurement process" every four years, the lack of experienced organizations sometimes limits the government's choice. Public procurement is a mere formality, and the government usually select agencies once they meet minimal criteria, which include i) being social welfare corporations under 'the Social Welfare Services Act', having ii) experienced staff, iii) basic facilities for education and counseling, iv) financial integrity and capacity. As a result, many of the agencies with insufficient capacity find difficulties in carrying out their work without the government's support. While German agencies are self-sustaining organization, agencies in Korea cannot be sustained without the government's support. In summary, their mandate is rooted in the employer-employee relationship, which is initiated by the government.

4.2.2. The Degree of Interdependence

4.2.2.1. Summary

The private actors in Germany have secured considerable independence from the government based on considerable financial, organizational, and operational capacity. In contrast, private organizations in Korea depend on the government a great deal. They are not as mature as German actors in terms of financial, organizational, and operational capacity due to their relatively short history and limited experience.

4.2.2.2. Germany

First, Germany organization had a strong financial capacity from collected *church taxes* (Kirchensteuer), which allowed them to play an active role in supporting migrants. Based on the church taxes, the West church provided a total of 2.8 billion DM in support to the East churches from 1957 to 1990 (KimTaesoo, 2011). It also provided welcome money to immigrants, which was used for their initial settlement.

Second, private agencies also have a strong organizational capacity with enormous workforces. For example, the ‘Caritas Germany’, rooted in the Catholic church, has more than one million paid employees and volunteers in their 25,000 centers and institutions nationwide (Caritas-Germany, 2018). The ‘Diakonie’, a social work organization operated by the Protestant churches, have more than 450,000 full-time or part-time staff members (Diakonie Bayern). Therefore, the German government can depend heavily on these agencies for its policy implementation.

Third, private organizations played a major role in politically sensitive matters. For example, the ‘Diakonie’ played a facilitating role in mediating the “Freikauf” project, which was an informal, secret series of trades of East German political prisoners between 1962 and 1989. Over this period, nearly 34,000 East German political prisoners were ransomed, and West Germany was known to have paid East Germany an average of approximately 40,000 Deutsche Marks per person (KimYoungYoon, 2003). It is widely believed that the long years of success of politically sensitive projects like “Freikauf” can be attributed to the organizational and operational capacity of the Diakonie.

4.2.2.3. The ROK

First, private agencies in the ROK depend on the government for their budgets. Of the 85-million-dollar budget for the North Korean refugee settlement policy, about

5.7 million goes to the local adaptation center (Ministry of Unification budget plan 2019). These centers also get donations from citizens and religious groups, though, it is a small amount of their total budgets. For example, the Hana Foundation raised a total of \$610,000 in private donations in 2019 (The North Korean Refugees Foundation, 2020), which is only 0.2 percent of their total annual budget¹⁰.

Second, private agencies also lack organizational and operational capacity. The shortage of staff is the most demanding problem. On average, there are four to five staff members in each of the Hana Center (ChoiSungil , 2012). Given that the head of the center also serves as the head of welfare corporation, all the workload falls on three or four staffs. Compared to the Diakonie, which have more than 450,000 employees and volunteer workers, a great burden is placed on small organizations in Korea.

They depend on the government for information. They have no access to refugees' case records, which are classified confidential. Very few agencies, including the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the Ministry of Unification (MOU), have detailed personal information about each refugee. Private agencies only get brief biographical information such as name, age, and family relation, and they have no choice but to go through the private interview from scratch to provide customized services. It is quite demanding given that there are only three or four staff in charge of North Korean refugees in each of the Hana Center.

¹⁰ The budget of the Hana Foundation is 2019 is about 30 billion won which is equivalent to \$27,120,000,000 with the exchange rate of November 17, 2020.

4.2.3. The Medium of Exchange

4.2.3.1. Summary

While the German private agencies play a broad range of roles in all phases of the policy process, the role of Korean private agencies is limited to delegated tasks with little autonomy. They also have little influence on the policy planning or evaluation stage, which is different from German agencies. The interaction in Germany is characterized by ‘mutual trust’, while that of Korea is based on ‘authority’.

Table 10. Comparison of the main roles at each stage

Stage	Main Role	Germany	ROK
Planning	Policy Planning	O	X
Implementation	Reception & Orientation	O	O
	Employment Support & Job Training	O	O
	Education	O	O
	Social Welfare	O	O
Evaluation	Feedback	O	X

4.2.3.2. Germany

1) Range of roles

The six organizations played a broad range of roles in all phases of the policy process. Their responsibilities included policy planning, implementation, and

evaluation. First of all, the private agencies provided basic guidance for the East German immigrants who arrived at the federal camps (KimYoungYoon, 2003). A total of four federal camps were located in the border region, where background checks and medical check-ups were conducted. During their stay for two or three days, private organizations provided them basic settlement guidance. It covered information about the region they would be settled in, job counseling, and welfare guidance. Hur Joon-Young (2011) indicated that the social benefit program for the immigrants was so complex at that time that the guidance was crucial for their successful settlement. For example, financial support was given to the immigrants who had worked at least 150 days before migration (KimYoungYoon, 2003). The FRG government evaluated their previous income, which was divided into five grades, and paid them 63 percent of the income of each grade (KimYoungYoon, 2003). Social insurance such as i) health insurance, ii) pension insurance, iii) unemployment insurance and iv) occupational health and safety insurance were also included. They provided customized guidance about what types of benefits each migrant could claim.

In addition, they were also major actors in the policy planning stage (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). As representatives of the BAGFW, they participated in the annual planning process for the settlement of migrants. Their experience and know-how in the field were crucial for policy planning (Hur Joon-Young, 2011).

2) Mode of interaction

The FRG and private agencies cooperated based on mutual trust. It has been a long tradition in German history that the government and the private sector have shared roles in social service provision (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). 'The Principle of Subsidiary (subsidiäre Präjudizierungen)' which is incorporated in article 72(2) of German Basic Law, is the foundation of the social services system in Germany. It requires that the federal government intervene only when its action will be more

effective than actions taken at the regional or local level (Taylor, 2009). It clearly shows the relationship between the German government and civil society. No other countries have defined the shared roles of the public and private sectors in their constitutions (Hur Joon Young, 2011).

Furthermore, the government and the private sector treated each other as equal entities, and one sector did not control or supervise the other. Rather, all work of private agencies was given full independence (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). The project of releasing political prisoners ("Freikauf") makes a good example. It was a responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the German agencies are known to have had considerable discretion in negotiations for releasing prisoners (KimTaesoo, 2011). The Federal Bank of Germany once estimated that the West German government paid East Germany a total of 3.46 billion DM for the release of political prisoners from 1953-1990 (KimTaesoo, 2011), which were responsibility of civic agencies.

Also, in some cases, civil activity led to changes in government policy. The amendment of 'the Act on the Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet)' in 1961 was a typical example. It was enacted on August 22, 1950 and had been the basis of the support system for East German immigrants until its abolition on July 1, 1990. Originally, it allowed limited permission for a small number of East German people with special reasons stipulated by the law ('selective permission') (KimYoungYoon, 2003). It intended to restrict the rapid migration from East Germany. However, private organizations with humanitarian motivation had continued to support immigrants who did not fall under the reasons specified in the law, which eventually led to the amendment of the law. The revision of 'the Act on the Emergency Acceptance of Germans in the Federal Territories (Gesetz über die Notaufnahme von Deutschen in das Bundesgebiet)' in 1961 significantly eased the

requirements for migration by allowing 'self-reporting' instead of the 'selective permission.' (Hur JoonYoung, 2011)

Given all the facts presented above, the interaction between public and private actors in Germany was characterized by 'mutual trust'. Each of them had different resources and range of operations, which created a need for continuous interaction. They shared purposes which was neither one-sided nor non-negotiable. Private entities were able to influence the government's policy, and they could even change the 'rules of game', as the requirements for migration changed from the system of 'selective permission' to 'self-reporting'.

4.2.3.3. The ROK

1) Range of roles

Overall, private agencies of the ROK share similar responsibilities with German agencies. They are expected to provide the following services to refugees: reception upon arrival; basic needs support including furnishings, food, and clothing; community orientation; referral to social service providers (including health care, employment, etc.); and case management and tracking for the initial settlement stage.

However, Korean agencies mostly focus on delegated tasks. While the 'subsidiary principle' has allowed German agencies to initiate intervention on behalf of immigrants, Korean agencies are expected to provide services to refugees with little autonomy. They also have little influence on the policy planning or evaluation stages. While the BAGFW has the legal status to participate in policy planning as well as its implementation, Korean agencies are not legally guaranteed a role in planning. The 'North Korean Refugees Act' allows the Hana Foundation to carry

out projects related to developing policies¹¹, but it is only in the form of a research, surveys or policy suggestions which are not legally binding. When it comes to the Hana Center, there is no space for them to intervene in policy planning. Their roles are limited to their delegated responsibilities, such as adaptation education at the place of residence, psychological and career counselling, employment and social services guidance, and the provision of information for a living.¹²

2) Mode of interaction

While the interaction in Germany is characterized by ‘exchange and cooperation’ based on a ‘mutual trust’, that of Korea is characterized by ‘authority’. The ‘North

¹¹ Article 30 (Foundation of Support for Residents Escaping from North Korea)

(4) The Foundation shall conduct the following projects:

1. Projects to support life stabilization and adaptation to society of residents escaping from North Korea.
2. Projects to support employment of residents escaping from North Korea.
3. Projects necessary for vocational training of residents escaping from North Korea.
4. Projects to grant scholarship to residents escaping from North Korea.
5. Projects related to training professional counselling staff and professional counselling services for residents escaping from North Korea.
6. Cooperative projects with private organizations relating to residents escaping from North Korea.
7. Projects related to developing policies to support residents escaping from North Korea and relevant survey and research.
8. Projects related to a survey of actual status and construction of statistics with respect to residents escaping from North Korea.
- 8-2. Projects to support farming settlement of residents escaping from North Korea.
9. Other projects entrusted by the Minister of Unification to the Foundation which is deemed necessary for protection and settlement support of residents escaping from North Korea.

¹² Article 15-2 (Designation of Local Adaptation Centers)(1) The Minister of Unification may designate and manage a professional institution, organization, or facility as a local adaptation center to provide comprehensive services, such as adaptation education at the place of residence referred to in Article 15 (2), counselling of psychology and career in consideration of the characteristics of residents escaping from North Korea, provision of living information, guidance of employment services, social services, in consultation with the head of a local government having jurisdiction over the place of residence of a person eligible for protection

Korean Refugee Act’ and ‘The Enforcement Decree of the North Korean Refugee Act’ show that their relationship is deeply rooted in ‘authority’.

First, the Ministry of Unification exerts great influence on the Hana Foundation. Matters related to organization, personnel, remuneration of employees, and managing funds must get the approval of the MOU¹³. Second, the Hana Center is under the control and supervision of the government. It must review programs and work manuals disseminated by the Hana Foundation, and the foundation’s operation status is under regular review¹⁴. This involvement is justifiable to some extent given that they are performing delegated work and receiving subsidies. However, it is also true that there is no description of the mutual relationship other than authority or supervision.

¹³ Article 48-3 (Operation of Foundation) (1) Where the Foundation intends to establish or amend its articles of association or by-laws concerning any of the following matters, it shall obtain approval from the Minister of Unification:

1. Matters related to the organization and personnel of the Foundation.
 2. Matters related to the remuneration and service of executive officers and employees.
 3. Matters related to operating and managing funds.
 4. Other important matters related to operating the Foundation.
- (2) Matters necessary for managing the provision and execution of contributions or subsidies provided for in Article 30 (7) of the Act shall be determined by the Minister of Unification.

¹⁴ Article 49 (Delegation and Entrustment of Authority or Affairs) (4) The Minister of Unification shall entrust the following projects to the Foundation under Article 31 (2) of the Act: 1. The following projects related to the operation of local adaptation centers under Article 15-2 of the Act:

- (a) Development and dissemination of programs and work manuals for local adaptation centers.
- (b) Supplementary education for employees of local adaptation centers.
- (c) Check-up of actual status of operation of, and security in, local adaptation centers.

4.2.4. Means of Resolving Conflict

4.2.4.1. Summary

While the public-private interaction in Germany is characterized by “exchange and cooperation”, that of Korea is close to the form of “rules and command”. While, the BAGFW cooperates with the government backed by a democratic and responsible internal decision-making system, Korean agencies are rather passive, under multi-layered supervision, and performing only delegated duties. While the German BAGFW are ‘self-regulating’, Korean agencies are accountable to the state.

4.2.4.2. Germany

The interaction among stakeholders in German policy was characterized by ‘exchange and cooperation’. First, German law guaranteed the involvement of the BAGFW in making policy decisions. The law empowered the BAGFW by allowing them to express a consolidated position on welfare issues. For example, they were involved in a discussion about financial support plan for private organizations with the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge: BAMF) (Hur JoonYoung, 2011). The BAMF and BAGFW attended the negotiations to discuss the size of the budget and the targets of the support (Hur JoonYoung, 2011).

The bylaws of the BAGFW also show that its representation is official and legally effective. Hur JoonYoung (2011) explains the internal decision-making process of BAGFW as follows; i) The organization's bylaws stipulated that the executive board of BAGFW consist of representatives from member organizations and must be replaced regularly. ii) The BAGFW only represented agreed interests to the government. iii) Every decision, in principle, is based on unanimous agreement. iv)

All member organizations, regardless of their size, had only one vote. This shows that the BAGFW prioritized maintaining representativeness and accountability when expressing its opinions to the government, and the interactions among private actors were democratic.

4.2.4.3. The ROK

While the public-private interaction is characterized by “exchange and cooperation”, that of Korea is close to “rules and command”. ‘Hana Center’ is under multi-layered supervision. They are obligated to make reports twice a year for the Hana Foundation, which is in charge of managing all twenty-one of the Hana Centers. It is also under the control of local governments that subsidize various integration program. Ultimately, the Ministry of Unification (MOU) holds them accountable for the settlement of North Korean refugees in the region.

Second, if the private organization fails to perform its duties, the government has the right to withdraw its mandate. The MOU re-designates the Hana Center every four years, and if they cannot complete delegated tasks, the MOU withdraws its mandate and excludes them from selection at the next procurement.

4.2.5. Culture

There is much difference in a detailed mechanism, though, the public-private relationship in the former FRG and the ROK are characterized by interdependence. In Germany, the cooperative relationship was deeply rooted in its history, which had established strong civic engagement. Korea is also in its pursuit of cooperation with the private sector. While the private actors depend on the government for their budgets, guidelines, and information, the government depends on the private agencies for their fieldwork. As frontline workers, they provide services that cannot be provided by the government itself.

4.2.6. Summary of Analysis: Type of Governance

The settlement policy of the FRG shows every aspect of a ‘civil society-centered governance’ by the classification of Rhodes (1999). The governance of Germany is characterized by ‘interdependence’ between public and private entities. There are continuing interactions between them, caused by the need to exchange resources and shared purposes. The BAGWF has a significant degree of ‘autonomy’ from the state. It was ‘self-regulating’ rather than accountable to the state. They resolved conflicts by ‘exchange and cooperation’ based on ‘mutual trust’.

On the other hand, **the ROK policy is ‘state-centered governance’** under Rhodes’ (1999) classification. The actors involved are in ‘employer-employee’ relationships. Contractual constraints limit the flexibility and independence of private actors, and they depend on the government for most of the resources needed. They cannot maintain their mandate without the government’s approval. In this regard, they are not self-sustained bodies, like those in the former FRG. They rely on authority, rules, and commands in communicating and resolving conflicts. Table 11 below summarizes the arguments so far.

Table 11. The Governance Comparison of two Policies

	South Korea	Germany
The basis of a relationship	Contract or Employment	Employment
Degree of interdependence	Dependent	Inter-dependent
Medium of exchange	Authority	Mutual trust
Means of resolving conflicts	Rules and command	Exchange and cooperation
Culture	Inter-dependent	Inter-dependent

4.3. The Outcome of Governance

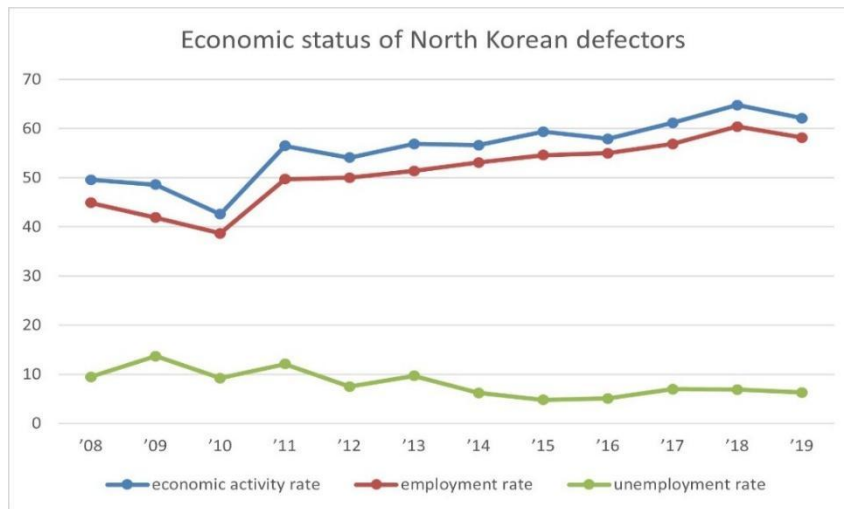
4.3.1. Employment Rate as an Objective Indicator

West Germany had a favorable environment for the East German immigrants.

From the 1950s to the mid-1970s, Germany was enjoying its best days in the economy, achieving 'full employment' in the 'miracle on the Rhine River (Wirtschaftswunder)' (JoMin-hee, 2019). Meanwhile, the **East German immigrants also contributed to the economic development of West Germany.** The East German immigrants provided a good labor force for West Germany, which was suffering from a labor shortage amid its economic development (JoMin-hee, 2019).

Meanwhile, the economic status of North Korean defectors has improved for the last decade. According to the settlement survey of North Korean defectors (Hana Foundation, 2019), both the average income and employment rate are on the rise. For example, the employment rate in 2018 was 60.4%, which represents a 21.7 % p increase from 38.7% in 2010.

Figure 4. The economic status of North Korean defectors (2019 The Settlement Survey, North Korean Refugee Foundation)

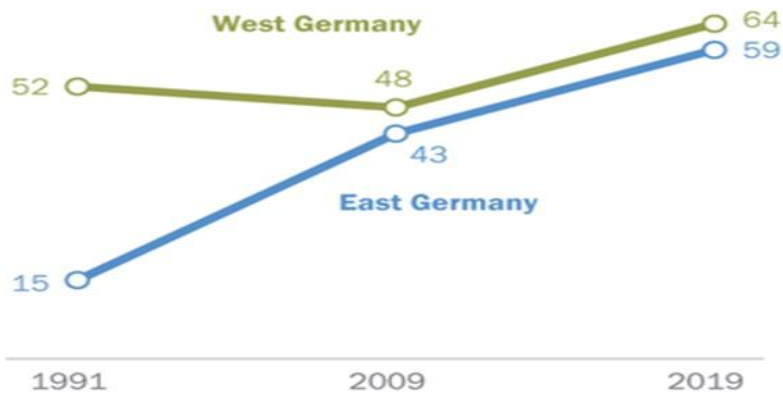


In summary, when it comes to the employment rate, both policies yield good results. This implies that, basically, each form of governance was effective in achieving the goals in each social context.

4.3.2. Satisfaction Rate as a Subjective Indicator

Today, people in Germany report increasing life satisfaction. This is particularly dramatic in the former East Germany, despite that region's lower economic success overall. A Pew Research Center survey (2019) found that the majorities in both the former East and the former West of the country now rate themselves at 7 or higher on a 10-point scale of life satisfaction, with 10 representing "the best possible life." Germans also overwhelmingly think that the reunification of their country 30 years ago was a positive development, despite the continued economic and political disparities between the two areas (Gramlich, 2019).

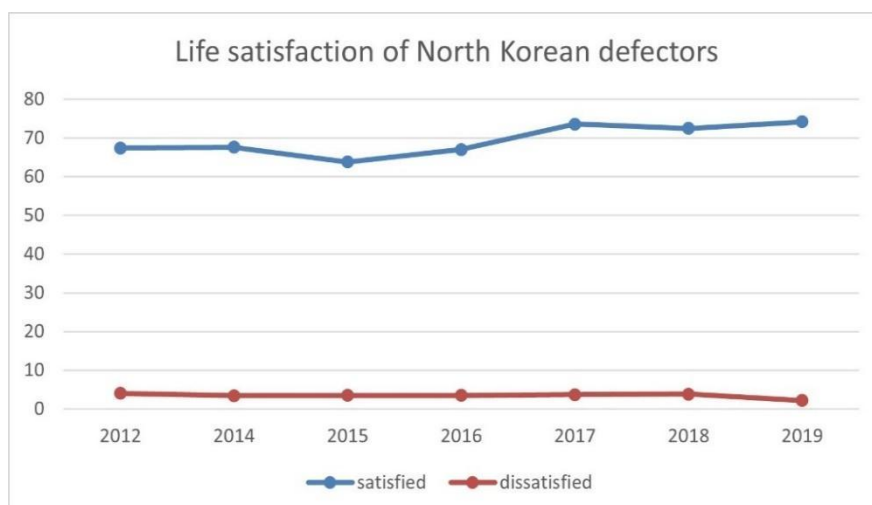
Figure 5. Life satisfaction of Germany: % who rate their lives at a 7 or higher on the



10-point ladder of life satisfaction (Pew Research Center 2019)

Meanwhile, the satisfaction of North Korean defectors also shows signs of policy success. Nearly 70% of North Korean defectors reports being satisfied with their lives, while only 3% of them report dissatisfaction (North Korean Refugee Foundation, 2020).

Figure 6. Life satisfaction of North Korean Defectors (2019 The Settlement



Survey, North Korean Refugee Foundation)

Figure 7. Main reasons for being satisfied with life (2019 The Settlement Survey, North Korean Refugee Foundation)

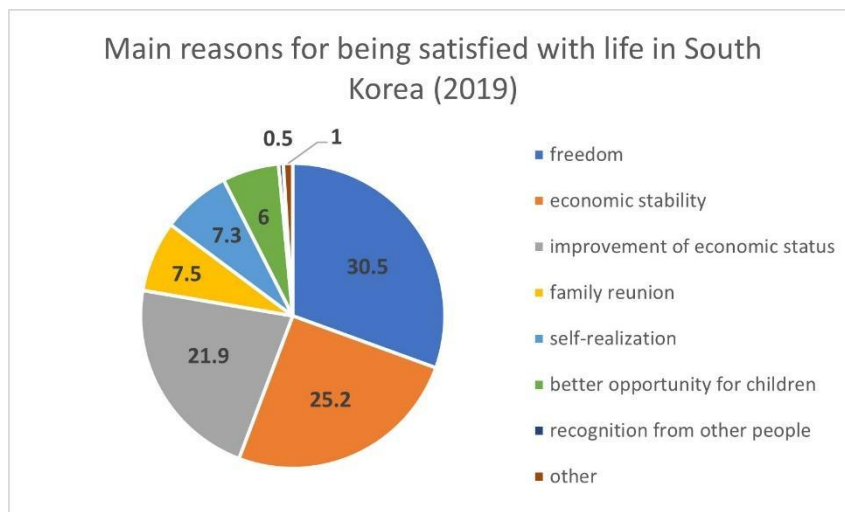
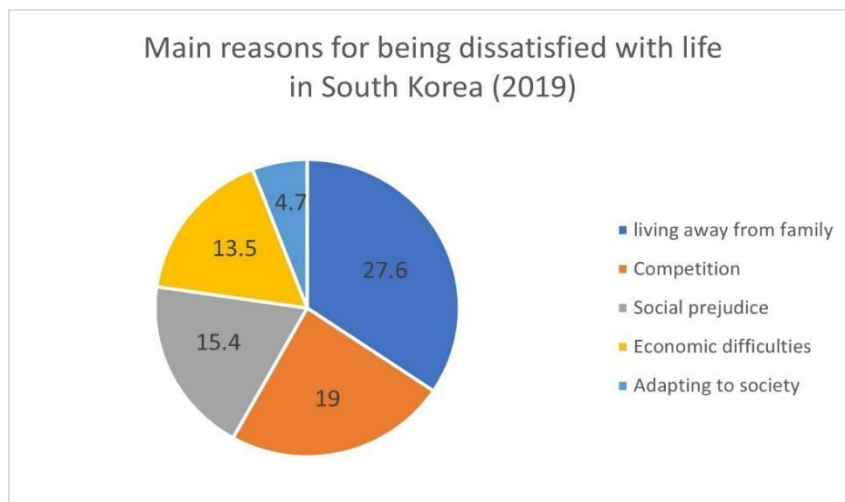


Figure 8. Main reasons for being dissatisfied with life (2019 The Settlement Survey, North Korean Refugee Foundation)

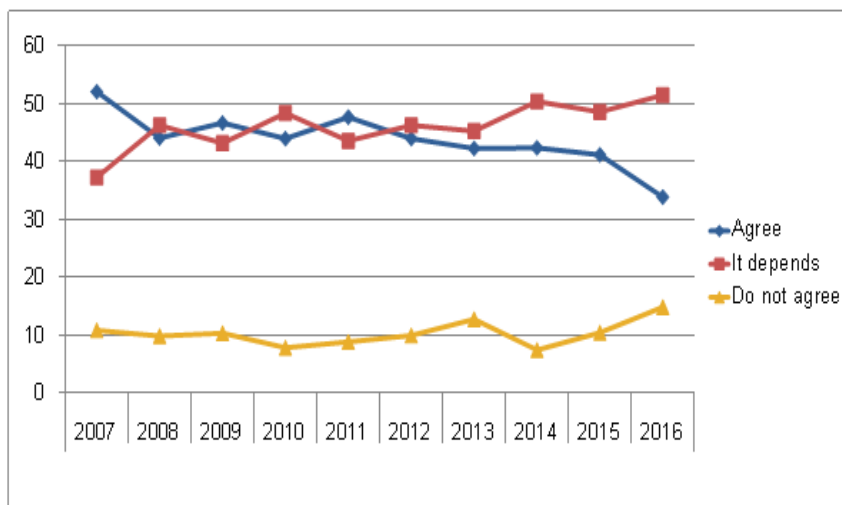


The main reasons for being satisfied with life in South Korea was ‘freedom,’ with 30.5%, followed by ‘economic independence’ and ‘improvement in economic status,’ with 25.2% and 21.9% respectively. ‘When it comes to the reasons for

being dissatisfied with their lives, ‘living away from their family’ is the top reason, with 27.6%, followed by the answer ‘too intensive competition’ and ‘social prejudice against North Korean refugees’. Figure 7 and 8 shows the reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

However, the deterioration of public support for the policy is a matter of concern. The ‘unification perception survey’ by Seoul National University, shows that in 2016 only 33.8% agreed that the South Korean government should accept all North Korean defectors, while 52% agreed in 2007.

Figure 9. Position on the acceptance of North Korean defectors (2017 Survey on the Perception of Unification, Seoul National University)



There are many explanations for this. First, as the economy worsens, people are not willing to provide support for others, given that additional support would be a burden for them (Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, 2020). A second possibility is that South Koreans’ negative attitude toward the North Korean regime is projected onto North Korean defectors. Repeated frustrations in inter-Korean relations, such as nuclear problems or broken promises, have led to negative perceptions of unification issues. According to the Unification Perception Survey,

74.5% of people replied that they had a negative perception of the North Korean regime (Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, 2020). Some find the explanation in the maladjustment of North Korean defectors, which has made them doubt the effectiveness of the support policy. In any case, increasing social distance is certainly a governance failure which calls for government action.

In summary, there are significant achievements in both policies in terms of the employment rate and life satisfaction. However, the lack of public support for this policy and social prejudice about North Korean defectors are matters of concern in South Korea and require government action.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5.1. Main Findings

The two policies share similar features. The purpose of each policy is i) to promote the resettlement of immigrants as quickly as possible and ii) to facilitate integration or reunification with the other part of their nation. This purpose was incorporated into the Constitution. German basic law (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland) and the Korean constitution ensured/ensures the protection of East German immigrants or North Korean residents. Each policy aims at reunification. However, they have a different type of governance that supported/supports the policy. This study analyzed i) the context of governance, ii) public-private partnership, and iii) the outcome of governance to figure the shape of each form of governance, and it found the following features.

Germany and South Korea have different contexts in governance formation.

Germany accepted an overwhelmingly larger number of immigrants than Korea did. While Germany accepted approximately 4.6 million East Germans before 1990, Korea has accepted 30 thousand North Korean residents in approximately the past twenty years. The countries' policies also differs in terms of their community foundations. While Germany had a long history of public-private partnerships in social service provision, South Korea has a relatively short history of civil society. It has been only ten years since the non-government actors began to participate in refugee resettlement.

Based their different contexts, each of them established their own type of governance. When it comes to the standards of Rhodes (1999), which describe the characteristics of three type of governance--market, hierarchy, and network--Germany shows every aspect of the 'civil society-centered governance' while Korea falls in the category of 'state-centered governance'.

While the private sector in Germany "voluntarily" established agencies with more than a century of experience in supporting refugees, private agencies in Korea are "deliberately" chosen by the government, which has the strong voice in settlement support policy. From the earliest days of German history, civil organizations played a key role in protecting human rights and advancing human progress. Therefore, the German government just utilized such organizations, with more than a century of experience in supporting refugees. Through this process, the Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare (BAGFW) evolved the backbone of this policy.

While private actors in Germany secured independence from the government based on a considerable financial, organizational, and operational capacity, Korean organizations depend on the government a great deal. Under strong government direction, the Korean civil sector depends on the government for its budget, information, and guidance. They have a relatively short history and therefore possess limited financial, organizational, and operational capacity.

While German private agencies play a broad range of roles in all phases of the policy process, the role of Korean private agencies is limited to delegated tasks with little autonomy. They also have little influence on the policy planning or evaluation stage, which is different from German agencies.

While public-private interaction is characterized by “exchange and cooperation”, in Korea it is characterized by “rules and command”. German law guaranteed the involvement of the BAGFW in making policy decisions. The private actors were responsible for representing refugees’ interests, and there were well-equipped, democratic decision-making processes. In contrast, private agencies in Korea are under multi-layered supervision. They are obligated to report on their delegated tasks to the Ministry of Unification as well as the Hana Foundation and local government. If the private organization fails to perform its duties, the

government has the right to withdraw its mandate. It differs from the German case, which is more prone to self-regulating.

Despite the different types of governance, both policies yield good performance. Germany was quite successful in dealing with more than four million East German immigrants until the reunification of 1990, and people in Germany reported increased life satisfaction and a positive perception of reunification. The economic environment was favorable, with the miracle on the Rhine River, and experienced civil organizations played a significant role in settling immigrants. Meanwhile, the economic status of North Korean defectors has improved for the last decades, and their life satisfaction is also on the rise. However, the lack of public support for this policy and social prejudice toward North Korean defectors are matters of concern in South Korea.

5.2. Limitation

Even though Germany, which has a long history of civil society, has excellent private capabilities compared to Korea, this does not necessarily mean that Korea's governance is inferior to that of Germany. It should be noted that each of them has established their own type of governance based on a different context. Therefore, to learn from the German case, the following points should be considered.

First, the private sector of Korea has a relatively short history of providing refugee support. In fact, with the strong government initiative in economic development, the Korean civil sector has developed its capacity in a short period of time. Therefore, it is unreasonable to simply compare German organizations, which have more than 100 years of experience, with Korea's private sector, which is now only 20 years old.

Second, while the host population and NGOs in Germany had experience in hosting immigrants, South Korea has little experience supporting immigrants.

Integration involves two parties: the refugees (supply side) and the host population (demand side) and both need to adapt to each other. In Germany, this adaptation is facilitated by the number of potential hosts among the many ethnic groups that immigrated overtime. In contrast, in South Korea, most of the potential host populations do not have the experience of having been immigrant themselves, nor in hosting immigrants. Since Korean people have existed as a single ethnic group for over two thousand years, it can be difficult for them to accept and integrate others. Therefore, successful integration of North Korean defectors is a more challenging task for South Korea than for German volunteer agencies.

Third, as the policy supports North Korean immigrants who are settling in the South, explicit and active policies could be burdensome considering the North's sensitivity over the defector issue and its criticism of the South's support policy¹⁵. It becomes even more complicated considering the positions of the neighboring countries. For example, China have cooperated on a limited basis not to stimulate North Korea. Seoul's full pledged support for North Korea might irritate unnecessary tense between neighboring countries. Thus, supporting North Korean defectors should be done in an implicit manner.

5.3. Implications

First, given that Korea has developed its own type of governance based on its social and historical contexts, there is no need to rush pursuing drastic changes in the short term. Even though it has strong government influence its unique features have led to policy achievements. The employment rate and satisfaction indicators prove this. However, this does not mean that the current governance system can be maintained. Given that this policy is in line with the

¹⁵ Defectors are treated as traitors and turncoats in North Korea and they commonly feature in lectures for the general population. "Those who have left paradise on earth are all traitors, so they should be punished" or "They are harming the greatest dignity" are popular rhetoric adopted by North Korean authorities (JangSeul Gi, 2020).

preparation for unification, it should aim for governance that utilizes all available resources in our society, and the role of the private sector is essential. In this regard, the ROK government is already working to strengthen cooperation with the private sector. The establishment of the North Korean Refugee Foundation and the designation of a Regional Adaptation Center (the Hana Center) in 2010 are good examples of those efforts, which turned out to be successful.

Second, private organizations in South Korea should be given sufficient time and opportunities to develop. The current lack of capacity does not mean that they are incompetent or inefficient. It is just due to the short history and unique feature that has been established in the history of government-led development. Moreover, given that the entry of North Korean residents was originally a matter of national security during the Cold War, there was little room for private intervention. This means that private entities have not had enough opportunities to build capacity. Therefore, the Korean government should not expect the capacity of private organizations to increase at a rapid pace in the short term. Experience and know-how do not arise overnight, and they need enough time to be learned.

Third, efforts to empower private organizations should continue. The government should provide more power to private agencies including more funding, information, and human resources training. Specifically, the following suggestions can be considered.

- **The government should share the basic information** of each resident as early as possible. Given that the NIS and MOU already have information about each resident through the identification check-up, it is a waste of time and energy to let the Hana Center conduct interviews again. Except for sensitive information related to national security, all information from background checks should be shared with private organizations in the early stages of the process.

- **Pay also needs to be raised to the extent possible** so that the staff of private organizations can work with a greater sense of mission and passion. The MOU has been supporting a part of the labor costs of the Hana Centers staff, which is less than the wage guideline for welfare service workers (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2020). Low wages lead to high overturn of staffs, which hinders the accumulation of expertise.

- **Private agencies also need to develop their financial capacities.** German organizations had sufficient financial capacity based on church taxes, which allowed them considerable independence. It means a lot for Hana Foundation or the Hana Center. They should make efforts to increase their funding through donations. Additional resources raised by donations could foster private agencies' autonomy in the sense that they can use the money on the projects they want to do without being limited to projects delegated to them by the government. The more funds they raise, the greater the influence they have. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the fundraising itself is a process of gaining public consensus on supporting North Korean defectors.

- **Reorganizing overlapping supervision is also needed.** Overlapping management and supervision helps prevent illegal activities in the private sector, but it can be a burden for private organizations with insufficient personnel and weak organization. Therefore, mandated reporting should be abolished so that private organizations can save their resources for more productive work.

- **Private entities should be given the opportunity to participate in the policy planning process.** In the case of Germany, representatives of the BAGFW participated in the annual planning process for the settlement of migrants. The ROK government also consults with private agencies or collects opinions from them in policymaking, but this is not legally guaranteed, nor does it oblige the

government to accept their opinions. It should be institutionalized so that private organizations can officially make policy recommendations.

Forth, the government could create conditions for solidarity among private agencies. Six organizations in Germany allied to create the BAGFW based on common interest, while in Korea, the twenty-one Hana Centers individually support North Korean residents settling in their region without united organization. In encouraging solidarity among them, the government may consider the following suggestions.

- **It is not desirable for the government to enforce solidarity.** Rather, the government could create conditions for the private entities to unite autonomously. The Hana Foundation holds a conference once a year to build consensus among the Hana Centers and shares success stories. Sometimes government shares their policy goals and mission in this conference. Even though it is not an official meeting to consolidate their opinions, the conference could be a good start to develop further alliances.
- **The private agencies should be encouraged to develop their own decision-making system.** The BAGFW in Germany had an independent and democratic decision-making system, which has influenced government policy. In this sense, the private agencies should get opportunities to make policy recommendations starting from the policy planning stage. As the government reviews, adopts, and gives feedback on the decisions of the private coalition, they will have more responsibility for their own decisions, which will eventually encourage a democratic decision-making system within the coalition.
- **Empowering should be done in stages looking at the level of capacity development of the private coalition.** As our private alliance develops enough capacity, private agencies would be guaranteed stronger status by law.

Fifth, improving ‘social integration’ and reducing ‘social distance’ should be given top priority. It is very worrisome that public support for North Korean defectors is continuously declining. Given that helping North Korean defectors to settle in the South is a process of preparing for reunification, public support is essential for achieving its purpose. The following suggestions can be considered.

- **We can benchmark the ‘social integration programs’ of Germany.** Operating the ‘social integration program’ was one of the important responsibilities of private organizations in Germany. The government should increase the budgets of various organizations that can implement these programs. For example, private organizations can organize events where South Korean residents and North Korean defectors can get along through sports, music, and various fairs. They can have better understanding about each other through these programs.
- **‘Social distance’ can be overcome gradually over time.** Germany also experienced ‘social division’ during its economic recession. People considered East Germans competitors in the job market, which led to negative perceptions of East German immigrants. They faced social discrimination even though they belonged to the lower class economically. However, they had to cope with their harsh environment by lowering their expectations or improving their qualifications through education and training (Hur Joon-Young, 2011). The ‘social integration program’ mentioned earlier would have also played a role. As a result, Germans overwhelmingly think that the reunification of their country was a positive development, despite the continued economic and political disparities between the two areas (Gramlich, 2019). This is encouraging for Korea, which is about to go through integration, as Germany did. Ultimately, we should deal with the social distance, and it surely can be overcome.

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국문 초록

서독의 동독이민자 지원정책과 한국의 북한이탈주민 지원정책의 정부-민간 간 거버넌스 비교

서울대학교 행정대학원

글로벌행정전공

이혜련

현 정부는 북한이탈주민 지원 정책에서 민간과의 협력관계 확대를 정책 방향으로 삼았다. 1997년 ‘북한이탈주민의 보호 및 정착지원에 관한 법률’ 이 제정된 이래로, 정부는 우리 사회 내의 다양한 자원을 효과적으로 조직하고 활용하기 위한 노력을 기울여왔다. 한편, 독일은 1990년 통일을 맞이할 때까지 동독을 이탈하여 서독으로 이주해온 약 4백만명의 동독이탈주민을 성공적으로 지원해온 경험이 있다. 정부와 시민단체 간 상호신뢰를 바탕으로 한 협력이 독일 정책의 주요 성공요인으로 알려져 있다.

이러한 배경 하, 이 연구는 한국의 북한이탈주민 지원 정책과 독일의 동독이주민 지원 정책을 비교하고자 한다. 이를 위해 i) 양 정책의 거버넌스가 어떠한 맥락 하에서 형성되었는지, ii) 거버넌스가 현실에서 구체적으로 어떠한 형태로 나타나고 있는지, iii) 결과적으로 거버넌스가

어떠한 성과를 얻었는지를 분석한다. 분석 결과 한국은 국가 중심적 경제 발전을 이루어 온 역사적 맥락 하에서 ‘국가 중심 거버넌스’를 형성해왔고, 독일의 경우 굳건한 시민사회의 전통을 바탕으로 ‘시민사회 중심 거버넌스’를 형성해 왔음을 알 수 있다.

구체적으로, 첫째, 두 정책은 거버넌스 형성 맥락이 다르다. 독일의 민간 영역은 복지업무 수행에 있어 정부와 협력하여 주도적 역할을 수행해온 오랜 전통이 있지만, 한국의 민간 영역은 상대적으로 그 역사가 짧다. 둘째, 거버넌스는 정책 현장에서 각기 다른 형태로 나타난다. 독일의 민간단체가 상당한 재정적, 조직적, 운영적 역량을 바탕으로 정책 전 단계에서 광범위한 역할을 수행함에 비해, 한국의 민간단체는 아직 재정적, 조직적 역량을 갖추지 못한 상태로 정부로부터 위임받은 업무에 그 역할이 한정된다. 셋째, 비록 두 정책의 거버넌스 형태는 다르지만 양자는 모두 객관적, 주관적 준거로 볼 때 정책 성과를 거두었고, 이는 각 거버넌스가 각 사회의 맥락에서 효과적으로 기능했음을 의미한다. 다만, 한국의 경우 정책에 대한 지지가 떨어지고, 북한이탈주민에 대한 사회적 거리감이 증가하고 있는 것은 우려할 만한 상황이다. 이러한 분석을 바탕으로 이 연구는 북한이탈주민 정책에서 민간의 역할을 보다 강화하고 사회적 통합을 증진시키기 위한 정책방안을 도출해본다.

키워드: 북한이탈주민, 동독이탈주민, 시민참여, 거버넌스, 정부-민간 관계, 독일복지단체총연합회(BAGFW)

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