



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Non-Governmental Organizations and Their Role in Policy Making: The Case of South Korea and its North Korea Policy

Asiamah Toku, Grace

Citation

Asiamah Toku, G. (2023). *Non-Governmental Organizations and Their Role in Policy Making: The Case of South Korea and its North Korea Policy*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [License to inclusion and publication of a Bachelor or Master Thesis, 2023](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3641140>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

**Non-Governmental Organizations and Their Role in
Policy Making:
The Case of South Korea and its North Korea Policy**

Thesis by Grace Oforiwah Asiamah Toku

Student number: 

Professor: Dr. E. Veldkamp

Course: MA Thesis (Politics, Society and Economy of Asia) – Leiden University

Word count: 14.209

Date: May 14, 2023

Table of Contents

Introduction – Non-Governmental Organizations and Foreign Policy	1	
Method	4	
Chapter 1	Decoding Policy Shifts in South Korea: Exploring Determinants of Change	6
1.1	Defining the Policy Making Process	7
1.2	Characteristics of the Policy Making Process Within South Korean Politics	8
1.3	Unraveling the United States’ Impact on the North Korea Policy	10
1.4	Public Opinion and Political Change	11
1.5	Determinants of Change	12
Chapter 2	Non-Governmental Organizations – A Definition and Historic Background	14
2.1	What is a Non-Governmental Organization?	14
2.2	The Emergence of Non-Governmental Organizations	17
2.3	Non-Governmental Organizations in South Korea	20
Chapter 3	The Impact of Non-Governmental Organizations on Foreign Policy in Europe	23
3.1	Non-Governmental Organizations as Partners	23
3.2	Evaluating Non-Governmental Organizations’ Influence in European Policy Formation	24
Chapter 4	Non-Governmental Organizations as a Determinant of Change In South Korean Foreign Policy	27
4.1	The Impact of Non-Governmental Organizations on Foreign Policy in South Korea	28
4.2	Non-Governmental Organizations’ Challenges in Influencing the North Korea Policy	30
Discussion and Conclusion		34
Limitations and Future Research		37
Bibliography		38
Appendix		43

Non-Governmental Organizations and Foreign Policy

In the summer of 1995, North Korea made a plea for assistance to the world community due to ongoing food shortages and severe flooding. A number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from Europe, the United States, South Korea, China, Japan, Canada and Australia joined the effort to meet North Korea's humanitarian needs in addition to the response of national governments and international organizations like the United Nations' World Food Program.¹ Although on a lower scale than the efforts of the big international humanitarian- and development organizations, the NGOs quickly got involved in a wide range of activities, from offering agricultural assistance to providing energy and medicine.²

Initially, the scope of activities that South Korean NGOs could organize to advocate for and facilitate humanitarian aid was very limited. This was due to the policy in place that made the South Korean National Red Cross the only official channel through which aid was to be provided to North Korea – the government enforced a strict policy that prohibited any other organizations from establishing points of contact with the North.³

As highlighted by Stengel and Baumann, national institutions such as governments and foreign ministries are increasingly embracing a trend of actively involving non-state actors like NGOs. This engagement extends beyond only providing aid like the Red Cross, encompassing NGOs participation in the foreign policy making process as well.⁴ The objectives of these non-state actors may coincide with the objectives of governments, but they may also be at odds with them. Non-state actors can therefore be useful partners, yet can also hinder the implementation of foreign policy or, in extreme circumstances, force governments to change their policy.⁵

There are four different types of involvement of non-state actors in foreign policy making: indirect, direct, formal and informal involvement. The direct/indirect component concerns whether non-state actors are involved in the formalized procedures of formulating foreign

¹ Scott Snyder, "The NGO Experience in North Korea," in *Paved with Good Intentions: The NGO Experience in North Korea*, ed. L. Gordon Flake and Scott Snyder (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 4.

² L. Gordon Flake, "Preface," in *Paved with Good Intentions: The NGO Experience in North Korea*, ed. L. Gordon Flake and Scott Snyder (Westport: Praeger, 2003), vii.

³ "Background on South Korean NGO Activities in North Korea," The National Committee on North Korea, last updated April 19, 2013, https://www.ncnk.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/publications/ROK_NGO_Issue_Brief.pdf.

⁴ Frank A. Stengel and Rainer Baumann, "Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, ed. Cameron Thies (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2017), 2.

⁵ *Ibid*, 4.

policy.⁶ An example of direct involvement is NGOs attending cabinet meetings, whereas for indirect involvement it can refer to activities such as lobbying or advocacy that are taken outside the formal decision-making process.

One refers to formal involvement between state and non-state actors when interaction occurs in a setting that is officially designated for it, such as hearings in congress or meetings with a government advisory board. Informal involvement can be defined as interaction taking place outside official settings; for example, when a lobbyist and a decision-maker in government meet together to have lunch.⁷

Generally, the influence non-state actors can exert on (foreign) policy has been on the rise. To what extent is this growing impact true for NGOs in South Korea in regards to the North Korea policy? The purpose of this research is to look into that matter by focusing on the question “What factors define the amount of impact of NGOs in South Korea’s policy making process regarding North Korea?” This policy in question relates to how South Korea interacts with North Korea, which relates to, for example, the willingness to engage, communicate, and offer financial and humanitarian assistance.

This research is an extension of a study I previously conducted on three possible determinants of change in the content of South Korea’s North Korea policy (see chapter 1), with a focus on the presidential periods of Kim Dae-jung (1998 – 2003), Roh Moo-hyun (2003 – 2008), Lee Myung-bak (2008 – 2013) and Park Geun-hye (2013 – 2017). There is a decent amount of research on the influence South Korean NGOs have on national policies. However, the amount of research on foreign policy, specifically with regard to South Korea’s North Korea policy, is limited. Therefore, this topic is worth investigating.

Understanding the factors that affect the influence of South Korean NGOs on the North Korea policy is important, since it helps us comprehend the role of non-state actors in shaping foreign policy and provides insights into the effectiveness and limitations of these NGOs. By studying these factors, it is possible to develop strategies to enhance their impact and contribute to better inter-Korean relations. By illuminating yet another potential determinant of change, this

⁶ Stengel and Baumann, “Non-State Actors,” 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*

research can help to improve understanding of the South Korean government's policy making process regarding North Korea.

In contrast to my previous research, the focus of this thesis will not specifically be on the presidential periods of Kim Dae-jung to Park Geun-hye per se, but will look at the roles of South Korean NGOs with regards to the North Korea policy in general. The first chapter of this paper consists of an overview of my previous research which will assist in placing this current research into context. This will be followed by chapter 2 in which the definition and historical background of NGOs will be discussed. Within chapter 3 another central question to this research will be focused on; namely, to what extent do NGOs in Europe have an impact on the foreign policy making process? Information regarding this question is being included in order to compare the impact of South Korean NGOs with European NGOs on the content of foreign policies.

The choice to narrow the scope of chapter 3 to Europe exclusively, rather than delving into the overall impact of NGOs on foreign policy globally, was made for two reasons: to accommodate personal interest and to maintain a manageable size for the present study. Chapter 4 contains the analysis of NGOs as a possible determinant of change within South Korea's North Korea policy. The end of this paper consists of the discussion and conclusion, followed by the limitations of this research and prospects for future research.

Method

The main research method was that of a literary review. (Primary) sources have been collected through the use of multiple databases (the catalogue of Leiden University, DBpia and Google Scholar) and by analyzing the bibliographies and foot/endnotes of selected literature, where available. Additionally, information on any NGO-government relationship has also been searched for at the website of the South Korean Ministry of Unification. The following concepts, sometimes in combination with each other, have been used within the search engines in order to find relevant sources: *Inter-Korean Relations, North Korea, South Korea, ROK, DPRK, Engagement, North Korea Policy, Modern Korea, Unification, Administration, Europe, European Union, Partnership, Politics, NGO, Non-governmental Organization, Government, Support, Oppose, Impact, Influence, Role, Policy Making Process, Change, Ministry of Unification, NKnet; (사)북한민주화네트워크, NKHR; 사단법인북한인권시민연합, Liberty in North Korea; LiNK, PSCORE; People for Successful COrean Reunification; 성공적인 통일을 만들어가는 사람들.*

The literature review played a fundamental role in establishing the foundation for my own research, namely a survey. By examining existing scholarly works and studies related to the topic, the literature review provided valuable insights, theoretical frameworks, and that guided the design and implementation of the survey. It helped to refine the research questions and ensure the survey's relevance.

Representatives of four NGOs relevant to this topic have been contacted and requested to complete the survey. The selection criteria for these NGOs included whether they were involved with North Korea, the availability of information about them online (e.g., their own websites), personal interest, and by recommendations of Dr. C.K. Green. Two out of four NGOs responded and their input will be discussed in chapter 4.1. The survey was designed using the Qualtrics Survey Software and the questions were provided both in English and Korean. The respondents were given the option to choose their preferred language to answer the questions. The goal of the survey was to get a better understanding of the relationships between South Korean NGOs and the government with regards to the country's North Korea policy. To familiarize the respondents with the topic, a series of questions were posed concerning their personal background and experiences related to working for an NGO. These inquiries aimed to gather relevant information and provide context for further discussion on the subject matter.

The decision to mostly use open-ended questions was based on the fact that these allow for more detailed and nuanced responses - unlike close-ended questions with predetermined response options – which will eventually provide the specific data needed for this research. It also allows for new insights to be delivered, and there are no limits to the response. The survey layout and questions can be found in the Appendix.

Chapter 1

Decoding Policy Shifts in South Korea: Exploring Determinants of Change

After the Korean peninsula split into two different entities as a result of the Korean War (1950 – 1953), the relationship between the two newly formed countries has shifted several times; there have been periods of antagonism, coexistence and engagement.⁸ Not only did the relationship between North- and South Korea transform through time, so did the policies both countries had towards each other.

The focus of a previous study I conducted was what caused changes to occur within South Korea's policy towards North Korea. The research question was as follows: What factors contributed to changes in the content of South Korea's policy towards North Korea? An answer to this question was searched for by looking at several potential determinants of change. These determinants included the presidents' personal agenda, U.S. influence, and public opinion among South Koreans. This research was executed with a focal point on the presidential periods of Kim Dae-jung (1998 – 2003), Roh Moo-hyun (2003 – 2008), Lee Myung-bak (2008 – 2013) and Park Geun-hye (2013 – 2017)⁹.

This chapter presents a further developed version of my previous research on the determinants of policy change.¹⁰ This is important as it will create better understanding of this current research paper and help place the newly acquired information into context; it allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the topic and provides a foundation for analyzing the dynamic interplay between NGOs and the South Korean government. First, an account will be given on what policy-making entails. Second, the procedural components used for the North Korea policy by South Korea will be discussed. Third, the impact of the United States will be discussed followed by an analysis of public opinion in relation to political change. Lastly, the conclusion

⁸ Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, "Inter-Korean Relations: Confrontation, Economic Exchanges, and the Nuclear Crisis," in *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power, and Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 28.

⁹ For a detailed description of their individual policies, please refer to Scott Snyder, "Kim Dae-jung and the Sunshine Policy," in *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers* (New York: Columbia University, 2018): 88 – 113; Hong Nack Kim, "The Roh Moo-Hyun Government's Policy toward North Korea: Problems and Prospects," *Korean Unification Studies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 43 – 61; Hong Nack Kim, "The Lee Myung-bak Government's North Korea Policy and the Prospects for Inter-Korean Relations," *International Journal of Korean Studies* 12, no. 1 (2008): 1 – 24; Park Geun-hye, "A new Kind of Korea: Building Trust Between Seoul and Pyongyang," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 5 (2011): 13 – 18.

from my previous research will be addressed. The sections on defining the policy making process and the characteristics of the policy making process within South Korean politics are new additions, and were not part of my previous study.

1.1 DEFINING THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

Policies are an essential part of any organization or institution. They serve as a road map for daily operations, ensure adherence to rules and regulations, provide direction for decision-making, and simplify the procedure toward the goal that the policy is intended to achieve. However, before a policy can be used, it needs to be created.

The development of a policy entails a sequence of steps intended to address a specific topic or problem. Initiation of this process can happen through, for example, a problem such as a growing nuclear threat from abroad. This can be referred to as the first stage, or agenda setting. Once an issue has been identified, specific approaches are discussed and, if the situation allows, actors involved try to promote their favored solution; this stage is also known as policy formation.¹¹ Within the third stage, decision making, formal actors of government decide upon which path to take. A (long-term) political strategy is developed with the intention of ending it once its objective has been met (e.g., elimination of the nuclear threat).¹²

Policy implementation, the fourth stage, concerns the actions that are undertaken in order to achieve the goal that has been formulated within the policy formation stage. The fifth stage of the policy making process deals with evaluating the policy and the results it has brought about.¹³ From this point, the actors involved have the choice to move into different directions: Either the goal is achieved and the policy can be lifted, or adjustments need to be made and one goes back a few steps to one of the previous stages, or the policy remains in place in pursuance of upholding the newly achieved goal.

Although the notion that policy making consists of a series of connected stages gives us a framework for comprehending the process in which a policy develops, the process is not as

¹¹ Michael Howlett and Sarah Giest, "Policy Cycle," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, ed. James D. Wright (London: Elsevier, 2015), 288.

¹² Eric J. Ballbach, "Authoritarian Continuity or Democratic Change? Assessing the Democratic Quality of South Korea's North Korea Policy-Making Process," in *The Quality of Democracy in Korea: Three Decades after Democratization*, ed. Hannes B. Mosler, Eun-Jeung Lee, and Hak-Jae Kim (Springer International Publishing, 2017), 278 -279.

¹³ Howlett and Giest, "Cycle," 288.

structured and linear as this five-stage model might imply. In reality the stages are frequently compressed, omitted, or occur in a different order.¹⁴

1.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS WITHIN SOUTH KOREAN POLITICS

During the era of authoritarian rule in South Korea (1961 – 1987), the responsibility of forming of policies lay in the hands of the president and his close advisors. The president and his advisors could act without much, if any, influences from external forces and rivalry inside the government. This was due to the political nature of the authoritarian regime and the historically powerful position of the presidents in South Korea.¹⁵ Up until the first round of inter-Korean talks in the early 1970s, the Intelligence Agency and the Blue House, both of which controlled information and intelligence about North Korea, had dominated South Korea's formulation of its North Korea policy. Other government branches, such as the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, did not get engaged in determining the North Korea policy until the inter-Korean dialogue began in the 1970s.¹⁶

However, although the number of other governmental actors involved with the North Korea policy making process increased, the influence and power they had remained limited. In the end, the president and his advisors still held the ultimate authority to decide whom to listen to and which arguments and suggestions by others were to be taken into account.¹⁷ This is reflected in how the National Unification Board (NUB) was not able to impose one of its main goals, namely of maintaining dialogue between North- and South Korea.

An ever-growing number of actors/institutions (e.g., National Assembly, Ministry of Unification, National Intelligence Agency, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) attempted to have an impact on the content of the North Korea policy since the formal democratization of South Korea in the late 1980s. Nonetheless, the amount of influence they could exert varied; most actors had a low amount of control, whereas others had more power. This also depended on who was in power. For example, under Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-hyun the Ministry of

¹⁴ Howlett and Giest, "Cycle," 288.

¹⁵ Ballbach, "Policy-Making Process," 284.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Unification played a greater role in the policy making process compared to when Lee Myung-bak was in power.¹⁸

The general low impact of other institutions can be explained by the fact that South Korea's North Korea policy is unique and very complex due to the history between the two countries, security concerns, and the geopolitical context involving major powers like the United States, China, Japan, and Russia. In addition, the policy formulation process is also highly vertical, which Ballbach describes as being a deficit in democratic quality.¹⁹ There are differences between a vertical and horizontal policy-making process in terms of how much authority is shared at each level or transferred from one to the next. When departments or individuals within a single body work together to achieve a common objective, this is referred to as horizontal policy-making. All parties involved bear some responsibility and have an equal opportunity to express their individual viewpoints. By doing this, everyone is given the opportunity to influence the formulation of policies and, consequently, their specific content.²⁰

When a policy-making process is vertical, just a few institutions are involved in the overall process, and the content of a policy is largely decided from above. The lower levels are typically expected to conform and are unable to directly affect policy. The highest ranks make the final judgments and convey them to the lower tiers. Thus, a vertical policy making process is far less deliberative than a horizontal one. For many decades, the content of South Korea's North Korea policy has been structured based on a vastly vertical formulation process.²¹ In essence, this means that, as the head of the government, the presidents had direct control over the content of the North Korea policy throughout the whole process. This is also reflected in Article 72 in the Constitution of the Republic of Korea where it states that "the President may submit important policies relating to diplomacy, national defense, unification and other matters relating to the national destiny to a national referendum if he deems it necessary.", and Article 73 in which it is stated that "the President shall conclude and ratify treaties; accredit, receive or dispatch diplomatic envoys; and declare war and conclude peace."²²

¹⁸ Ballbach, "Policy-Making Process," 293.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 297-298.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² "대한민국헌법" (Taehanmin'guk'õnbõp; Constitution of the Republic of Korea), 국가법령정보센터 (kukkabõmnyõngjõngbo sent'õ; National Legal Information Center), accessed November 13, 2022, <https://www.law.go.kr/LSW/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=61603&lsId=001444&chrClsCd=010202&urlMode=lsInfoP&viewCls=lsInfoP&efYd=19880225&vSct=&ancYnChk=undefined#J72:0>.

Before they were elected, the presidents had their plans in place; portions of those plans were made public during their speeches while running for office. They did this in an effort to win over voters by outlining their individual strategies for dealing with North Korea. Overall, the content of South Korea's North Korea policy was thus largely created in accordance with the presidents' (personal) thoughts and ideas, as decisions were made in a highly centralized and personalized manner. Based on this information, it is evident that the former presidents Kim Dae-jung, Roh Moo-hyun, Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye had a direct and significant impact on the content of their North Korea policies.

1.3 UNRAVELING THE UNITED STATES' IMPACT ON THE NORTH KOREA POLICY

With its alliance tracing back to the Korean war, the United States and South Korea have been important allies to each other. At first, the main source of protection and financial assistance for South Korea came from the United States, making it difficult for South Korea to defy any request made by the United States – afraid to lose not only economic but also military support; something the new state so very much needed after the turbulent years during and after the Korean war.²³ The first few decades of this relationship can thus be characterized as unbalanced, patron versus client. This relationship changed as South Korea's economy started expanding considerably and the power dynamics between the two nations transformed into that of equal partnership, beyond being a security-related military alliance.²⁴

South Korea's growing economic power translated into being able to gain more autonomy politically. This also applied to its approach on how to deal with North Korea. During the presidential periods of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun, both the United States and South Korea attempted to persuade one another to alter their North Korea policies when they disagreed on its content. When Bill Clinton (1993 – 2001) and George W. Bush (2001 – 2009) urged South Korea to adopt a harsh stance against the North, both Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun refused to give in to this pressure; they continued engaging with the North and made no adjustments to their policies.²⁵ However, as provocations from the North became more frequent, Roh Moo-hyun was forced to start applying some pressure. This change in policy appears to be more of a reaction to North Korea's behavior than a result of influence by the United States. It

²³ Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, "South Korea and the United States: From Dependency to Partnership," in *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power, and Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 38.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

²⁵ Kim, "The Roh Moo-Hyun Government's Policy toward North Korea," 55-56; Snyder, "The Sunshine Policy," 98.

seems doubtful that Roh Moo-hyun's policy would have altered without a surge in North Korean provocations.

The content of the North Korea policies of Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye matched more with the plans of Bush and Barack Obama (2009 – 2017). As there was not much to disagree on, there were no attempts by the United States to change South Korea's policy towards the North.²⁶

Using this knowledge, I concluded that the United States had little to no impact on the content of South Korea's North Korea policy. Occasionally its implementation was hindered as a result of disagreements on the policy's content, but overall, the United States was unable to exert enough influence to bring about change to the content of South Korea's policy towards the North.

1.4 PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The relationship between public opinion and political change has been an interesting and widely discussed research topic. It is also very much of current relevance. This is, for example, in regards to women's voting rights, the influence (or absence thereof) of ethnic minorities et cetera. When public opinion is not taken into account with regards to policies, this can lead to serious trouble such as violent protests, which is currently visible in The Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the Mahsa Amini protests that started September 16, 2022.²⁷

In the United States, a great deal of study has been done to determine if policies reflect public sentiment. Overall, policy outcomes were in line with popular preferences, showing that politicians and/or policy makers take the general public's views into account.²⁸ This is in contrast with South Korea before its democratization in 1987, as the general public was not engaged with politics and its voice was largely absent.²⁹

²⁶ Scott Snyder, "Park Geun-hye's Asian Paradox," in *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers* (New York: Columbia University, 2018): 187; Scott Snyder, "Lee Myung-bak's Global Korea Policy," in *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers* (New York: Columbia University, 2018): 144.

²⁷ Rana Rahimpour, "Fury in Iran as Young Woman dies Following Morality Police Arrest," *BBC News*, September 16, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-62930425>.

²⁸ Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," *The American Political Science Review* 57, no. 1 (1998): 56; Alan D. Monroe, "Public Opinion and Public Policy 1980-1993," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (1998): 6; James A. Stimson, Michael B. Mackuen and Robert S. Erikson, "Dynamic Representation," *The American Political Science Review* 89, no. 3 (September 1995), 559.

²⁹ Ballbach, Policy-Making Process," 280.

The process of developing foreign policy, and thereby also the policy on North Korea, during the authoritarian era was dominated by the president and his advisors, with little input from the general populace. Although people were allowed to express their thoughts and ideas in regards to how to deal with North Korea, not a lot has changed after democratization as to having actual impact on how the North Korea policy is formulated. This applies to the rule of Kim Dae-jung to Park Geun-hye.³⁰

The highly vertical nature of South Korea's policy making process could be one explanation for the absence of the representation of public opinion. The complexity of foreign policy making and the sensitivity of the North Korea issue can serve as another explanation. Although they could not exert direct influence, the Korean people indirectly had an impact on the North Korea policy. By electing a president whose approach to North Korea was consistent with their personal views, the Korean people have made it possible to switch between different strategies. It is important to keep in mind that South Korea is not the only country whose people have little influence on foreign policy. When compared to local or national policies, foreign policy making could be said to be one of the least democratic procedures overall.

1.5 DETERMINANTS OF CHANGE

Investigating the factors influencing changes in South Korea's policy towards North Korea during the administrations of Kim Dae-jung to Park Geun-hye, has revealed a key finding: the presidents' perspective on how to handle North Korea, along with their administrative authority, played a significant role in shaping the content of South Korea's policy towards North Korea. Despite numerous attempts, the United States was unable to use its authority to change the actual content of the North Korea policy, although disagreements did make implementation for South Korea more difficult. In general, however, the United States had little to say in the construction of South Korea's policy. Regarding the effect of public opinion, it did not directly trigger changes in the North Korea policy. There were (and still are) are no formal channels through which the people can express their opinions or call for adjustments, and thus have a direct say in the content of the policy. They did however, have an indirect impact through presidential elections.

³⁰ Ballbach, "Policy-Making Process," 288 – 292; Yangmo Ku, "Privatized Foreign Policy? Explaining the Park Geun-hye Administration's Decision-making Process," *Korea Journal* 59, no. 1 (2019): 107.

Why is it crucial to carry out this research and pay attention to NGOs? First, for the effective functioning of civil society and governance it is important to understand the interaction between NGOs and the government. The ability of NGOs to effectively advocate for the needs and rights of marginalized populations can be impacted by their connection with the government. Second, NGOs and the government frequently collaborate on projects like environmental protection, health care reform, and poverty reduction. We can learn more about how these partnerships are functioning and spot areas for improvement by looking at how NGOs and the government interact. Lastly, policymakers and other stakeholders can benefit from understanding how NGOs and the government interact. They can use it to develop policies and programs that facilitate productive cooperation between NGOs and the government and to better understand the opportunities and difficulties that are present in this relationship.

Chapter 2

Non-Governmental Organizations – A Definition and Historic Background

In order to fully comprehend the remaining part of this paper, it is important to look into what an NGO actually is. Doing so establishes a shared understanding and clarity regarding the term ‘NGO’ as used in this paper. This will also assist in understanding the unique characteristics, strengths, and limitations of NGOs in advocating for and influencing policy. Therefore, the focus of this chapter will be on defining what an NGO is, the different types that exist, and the roles they fulfill. This will be followed by a description of the historic background of NGOs in general and specifically with regard to South Korea.

2.1 WHAT IS A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION?

The term ‘non-governmental organization’ and its abbreviation ‘NGO’ are nowadays commonly used, not only among professionals and activists, but also by ordinary citizens. An explanation for this can be found in the fact that NGOs and their work are now frequently represented in the media.³¹ Using (social) media is one of the many ways NGOs reach out to the public in an attempt to educate the people and gather funds.

But what exactly is an NGO? As of today, there actually is no generally accepted definition of an NGO, and the term is used in a variety of ways depending on the different connotations it can have in various contexts.³² Since private schools and hospitals are not connected to the government, some believe those institutions to be NGOs. Others would use the absence of a clear-cut definition to the extreme and add terrorist organizations to this list because of their independence of government.³³

Nonetheless, private schools, hospitals, and terrorist organizations are not considered as NGOs due to three commonly accepted criteria. Firstly, an NGO cannot function as a political party. Secondly, it must not operate for profit. Thirdly, it cannot be a criminal group, and violence

³¹ David Lewis, Nazneen Kanji and Nuno S. Themudo, *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 2.

³² Thomas Davies, “Introducing NGOs and International Relations,” in *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*, ed. Thomas Davies (London: Routledge, 2019), 2.

³³ Youngwan Kim, “The Unveiled Power of NGOs: How NGOs Influence States’ Foreign Policy Behaviors,” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2011), 11.

cannot be one of its goals.³⁴ However, the most crucial characteristic of an NGO is its independence from direct government control. For the purposes of this paper, an NGO is defined as a group that operates autonomously from any government, is non-profit, and pursues social and/or political objectives.

There are two types of NGOs, namely, operational and advocacy NGOs. The main purpose of operational NGOs is designing and implementing projects related to development. Advocacy NGOs, on the other hand, defend and promote a specific cause and seek to influence policies and practices.³⁵ Additionally, NGOs are engaged in more specific tasks, such as “emergency response, democracy building, conflict resolution, human rights work, cultural preservation, environmental activism, policy analysis, research and information provision.”³⁶ The majority of NGOs start out on a small scale and develop through time into larger, more complicated organizations. In order to address a certain issue, either one person takes action or a group of people with equivalent viewpoints get together. As time progresses, an organizational structure is created.³⁷

NGOs can have a variety of structures: small, big, formal, informal, bureaucratic, flexible. Many are sponsored by external parties, whereas others have to rely on locally generated resources. While some NGOs mainly rely on volunteers, members, and supporters, others have staff with a highly professionalized background. Regarding values, NGOs can act based on different motives. Where some have a religious background, others are secular; some NGOs may have a humanitarian and paternalistic stance, others may strive to adopt radical or "empowerment-based" strategies; they can be liberal or conservative; some promote change, whereas others strive to uphold current social and political systems.³⁸

Although NGOs are non-governmental by name, this can slightly change due to their dependency on government funds, since this provides more security and is more predictable compared to private donor funding. Interaction between NGOs and governments can thus lead to interdependency that is not always favorable, since it could jeopardize NGOs' legitimacy and impair their autonomy. For example, government funding fosters a type of ‘resource

³⁴ Davies, “Introducing NGOs,” 2.

³⁵ Carmen Malena, *Working with NGOs: A Practical Guide to Operational Collaboration Between the World Bank and Non-Governmental Organizations* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1995), 14.

³⁶ Lewis, Kanji and Themudo, “*Development*,” 1.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 15.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 4.

dependence', which can cause beneficiaries to limit their criticism of governmental institutions, or to change their attitudes in order to align with the prevailing political viewpoints. Additionally, government funding can also favor specific sectors of civil society over others, either on purpose when driven by a certain agenda, or inadvertently.³⁹

Broadly speaking, NGOs can fulfill three roles: implementers, catalysts, and partners. The mobilization of resources to deliver products and services to those in need regards the implementer role. This service delivery entails a large variety of activities carried out by NGOs in sectors as healthcare, finance, agriculture and emergency relief. NGOs are often hired by governments and donors to carry out such tasks in exchange for payment.⁴⁰ The role NGOs play in direct emergency relief (e.g., in case of a natural disaster or conflict) has gained attention. This has led to NGOs not only implementing their work directly at the source, but also indirectly through offering services to thank thanks or by providing training to those who will execute the actual fieldwork.⁴¹

The catalyst role entails the ability of an NGO to motivate, assist, and put forward ideas and initiatives that promote change – as the definition of 'catalyst' already implies, namely, someone/something that brings about change. This change can be intended for individuals, local communities, or other actors that are engaged in change such as governments, businesses or donors. It can include social mobilization, lobbying and advocacy, and advertise research findings and initiatives to influence policy-making. As NGOs often, if not always, work together with other institutions, they all fulfill the role of being a partner. The landscape that they function in may include governments, donors, the private sector, other NGOs, volunteer organizations and the people/communities that they work for.⁴²

Most NGOs combine all three types of roles, although they do so in varying ways. The primary focus of an advocacy NGO lies in catalysis, but is also likely to look for opportunities to collaborate with other organizations that share its values. According to Lewis, Kanji and Themudo, "high-catalysis organizations seek to reshape power structures and address structural change, while high-partnership organizations seek to build alliances and movements."⁴³ Since

³⁹ Gerald M. Steinberg, "EU Foreign Policy and the Role of NGOs: The Arab-Israeli Conflict as a Case Study," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 21, no. 2 (2016): 255.

⁴⁰ Lewis, Kanji and Themudo, "Development," 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 15.

NGOs have adaptive structures, they may gradually switch their emphasis between the various roles as circumstances and opportunities also evolve. Which roles South Korean NGOs assume will be further discussed in chapter 4.1.

NGOs utilize a variety of politics to carry out these three different functions: information-, symbolic-, leverage-, and accountability politics. NGOs can effectively influence a government and society by using information politics as a tactical tool; knowledge is power. The NGOs' field experience and issue-specific expertise are key factors in their ability to quickly produce highly trustworthy information and apply it in a timely manner.⁴⁴ Additionally, NGOs use symbolic politics in order to frame incidents, problems, or events in an effort to influence and/or change the general view of the government and society on a particular issue. With leverage politics, on the other hand, NGOs focus on the sensitivities of a certain group (e.g., the government) in order to achieve the change they seek. For instance, developed countries are sensitive to social principles like democracy and human rights, whilst developing countries are sensitive to economic development. Leverage politics entails the strategy of holding a government accountable; NGOs exert pressure on a government to comply with a declaration, an officially made agreement, international treaty, or a universal norm.⁴⁵

2.2 THE EMERGENCE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

In 1945 the United Nations was founded. Its principles were documented in its charter which was signed on June 26, 1945, in San Francisco, and it went into effect on October 24, 1945.⁴⁶ Within this charter the term 'non-governmental organization' was introduced in Article 71 of Chapter 10. Here it states that "the Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned."⁴⁷

Although this was the first time the term was coined, this type of organization had already existed for some time. Documentation of organizations similar to how we would define NGOs

⁴⁴ Kyungyon Moon, "The Influence of South Korean NGOs on State Aid Policy," *Asian Perspective* 40, no. 2 (2016): 275.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ "United Nations Charter," United Nations, accessed November 17, 2022, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>.

⁴⁷ "United Nations Charter, Chapter X: The Economic and Social Council," United Nations, accessed November 17, 2022, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-10>.

now date back to end of the eighteenth century, but existence of civic organizations in general date back to the eleventh century. A few examples are the Order of St John (founded in 1099), Academia Secretorum Naturae (founded in 1560) and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded in 1689).⁴⁸ There was not as much variety in the type of NGOs as we know now, as most were religious orders, charities, missionary societies, merchant associations, fraternal groups and scientific organizations.⁴⁹

The variety of different types of NGOs greatly increased from the mid eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. These include anti-slavery, art, communication, communism, education, exploration, imperial trading, indigenous rights, lifesaving, peace, prison reform, republicanism, standardization, vaccination and women's emancipation.⁵⁰ The anti-slavery movement, first initiated in Philadelphia by the 'Society for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage' which was founded in 1775, was a very significant and influential organization. Through this NGO, a network of moral activists was formed, which grew into a movement that had an impact on a number of international conferences. By the middle of the nineteenth century, their efforts had successfully ended the Atlantic slave trade. In addition, they also contributed to the creation of the British Slave Trade Act of 1807.⁵¹

A lot of these organizations did not last long. The absence of good infrastructural facilities, such as an efficient public transportation network, also limited the geographical range they could reach. As a result, it was very challenging for NGOs, especially International NGOs (INGOs) to accomplish their goals and bring about actual change.⁵² However, these early NGOs did lay the foundation for the next to come.

At the end of the nineteenth century the geographical reach of NGOs had grown substantially and they could operate more sufficiently on an intercontinental level, besides the local and national levels. The destruction that World War I (1914 – 1918) brought along first resulted in a decline of NGOs, but as it also brought a lot of new opportunities (e.g., post-war reconstruction) this conflict was followed by a sharp rise in the number of NGOs.⁵³ For

⁴⁸ Thomas Davies, *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2013): 20.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20-23.

⁵⁰ Davies, *A New History*, 23-27.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; Ryan Irwin, "Non-Governmental Organizations," *History Faculty Scholarship* 1, no. 19 (2015): 2.

⁵² Davies, *A New History*, 177.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

example, Save the Children was founded in 1919 in response to the devastation of the war.⁵⁴ Most of these new NGOs focused on practical action and can thus be defined as being operational NGOs.

Another result of World War I was the prominent presence of NGOs in the League of Nations, as members acknowledged citizen-based organizations as important sources of information and expertise.⁵⁵ Within the League, NGOs were mostly active in regards to labor rights. However, when mounting political tensions in Europe led to war once again, resulting in the League of Nations becoming less active, NGO activity in international politics began to wane.⁵⁶

As mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, the United Nations formalized NGO involvement in its Economic and Social Council in 1945. In the late twentieth century, many non-state actors started to voice their dissatisfaction to, according to them, their marginalized position since they were excluded from the General Assembly and Security Council. In efforts to gain more impact, anti-apartheid NGOs during the 1960s fought for and eventually acquired a voice at the United Nations at both the Assembly and Council. Since then, other organizations have used the United Nations to legitimize political claims in order to gain more influence in international diplomacy and so undermine the monopoly held by nation states.⁵⁷

Other NGOs, on the other hand, found the United Nations unsuitable as the main body for non-governmental activities. Amnesty International, for instance, believed the United Nations to be inefficient as working with the organization brought along a lot of constraints. Therefore, from the 1970s onwards Amnesty International decided to concentrate its efforts directly on legislators and the public, and inform them about issues in the hope it would stir people to demand change and policies to be adjusted.⁵⁸

The growth of the NGO sector and its increasing involvement in global agendas since the early 1980s, have been remarkable.⁵⁹ An indicator of the importance of NGOs is their growing participation in international summits and conferences. They also played a role in the

⁵⁴ David Lewis, "Non-Governmental Organizations: Definition and History," *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, 41, no. 6 (2010): 1058.

⁵⁵ Irwin, "Organizations," 3.

⁵⁶ Lewis, "Definition and History," 1059.

⁵⁷ Irwin, "Organizations," 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Lewis, "Definition and History," 1056.

development of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. By the end of the nineteenth century the number of (international) NGOs was 100 times larger than it had been 100 years earlier.⁶⁰

2.3 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH KOREA

The existence of NGOs in South Korea can be traced back to the latter half of the twentieth century.⁶¹ Several historic events can provide an explanation for the relatively brief history of NGOs in Korea, compared to the Western world. There were attempts to establish civil society organizations prior to the twentieth century, but the initiatives were suppressed by the ruling elites and later by the Japanese colonial administration. After the Korean peninsula was left divided after the war, the situation for civil organizations did not improve; Korea was controlled by directive governmental action, which left little room for citizen-driven organizational growth.⁶² From 1961 onwards, consecutive authoritarian governments had a monopoly on decision-making and any basic democratic rights and freedoms were absent, so as to promote fast economic growth.⁶³

Following South Korea's transition into democracy after the pro-democracy movement, which eventually resulted in Roh Tae Woo getting democratically elected as president (1988 – 1993), the number of NGOs rapidly increased. According to Kim this proves that the establishment of NGOs is highly correlated to the political democratization of South Korea in 1987 – there were around 34 NGOs prior to 1960, and by the year 2000, the number had increased to 843.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Davies, *A New History*, 178.

⁶¹ It is important to note, however, that even though they are not labeled as such, there might have been organizations similar to NGOs well before the twentieth century. In addition, it was difficult to find relevant sources to this topic showing a bias towards researching the West more compared to (South) Korea.

⁶² Hyuk-Rae Kim and David K. McNeal, "From State-Centric to Negotiated Governance: NGOs as Policy Entrepreneurs in South Korea," in *Civil Life, Globalization, and Political Change in Asia*, ed. Robert P. Weller (London: Routledge, 2005): 98.

⁶³ Hyuk-Rae Kim, "The State and Civil Society in Transition: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in South Korea," *The Pacific Review* 13, no. 4 (2000): 599-600.

⁶⁴ Kim, "The State and Civil Society in Transition," 603; Kim and McNeal, "From State-Centric to Negotiated Governance," 100.

After democratization, the state's authority substantially decreased; the government's bureaucratic elitism persisted, but the state was no longer immune to the impact of civil society, including that of NGOs.⁶⁵ State repression of civil society resurfaced during the Roh administration, but reduced again when Kim Young Sam was elected (1993 – 1998).⁶⁶

From the 1990s onwards, the South Korean state started investing in the NGO sector in order for it to grow more. This happened through a couple of law amendments governing the creation and operation of civil organizations. For instance, the law requiring civic organizations to register when they were established was initially intended to suppress their oppositional activities when it was installed in 1963.⁶⁷ This restriction was repealed in 1994 and allowed NGOs and other civic organizations to register themselves right after they were founded. The appointment of board members was also no longer subject to government approval.⁶⁸

When Kim Dae-jung took office, he negotiated a bill that would provide financial assistance to NGOs as well as other unique privileges. NGOs could now compete for funding by presenting project plans to a screening committee. The bill also gave them free leases on buildings and offices, tax benefits for donations, and other benefits, all of which enabled NGOs to expand their activities.⁶⁹

In a news article published in 2016, it was revealed that South Korea is home to a significant number of NGOs engaged with North Korea, totaling 341. These NGOs undertake diverse activities, including providing humanitarian aid, offering medical assistance, supporting defectors in their settlement process, advocating for security and peace (with some aspiring towards reunification), conducting academic research, and delivering educational services.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Doowon Suh and Andrew K. Linkhart, “Korean NGOs in Historicizing Foreign Affairs and Democratizing Foreign Policies: Agenda Setting and Discourse Framing in the Dokdo/Takeshima Conflict between Korea and Japan, 2005~2008,” *국제관계연구* (Kukchegwang'gyeyōn'gu; Journal of International Politics) 16, no. 2 (2011): 174.

⁶⁶ Kim and McNeal, “From State-Centric to Negotiated Governance,” 99.

⁶⁷ Kim, “The State and Civil Society in Transition,” 601.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 602.

⁶⁹ Kim and McNeal, “From State-Centric to Negotiated Governance,” 101.

⁷⁰ Kim, Chae-chung 김재중, “Kungnae puk'an kwallyōn NGOñun ch'ong 341kae, haoenün 292kae” 국내 북한 관련 NGO 는 총 341 개, 해외는 292 개 [A Total of 341 NGOs Related to North Korea in Korea and 292 Overseas], *Kyōnghyang shinmun 경향신문* [Kyungnyang newspaper], July 3, 2016, <https://m.khan.co.kr/politics/politics-general/article/201603071658371>.

Thus, NGOs in South Korea, as elsewhere, are more prevalent than ever as they continue to bloom in places where governments lack the resources or flexibility to act effectively. These NGOs actively participate in a wide range of endeavors, spanning from human rights initiatives to sustainable development efforts, operating at regional, national, and global scales.

Since the political, economic, and cultural environments in South Korea and Europe are very different from one another, these differences have an impact on how NGOs function there. We can better understand the factors that contribute to the success or failure of NGOs in influencing foreign policy by comparing the influence of NGOs in both regions. The following two chapters will thus look into the impact of NGOs in Europe and South Korea respectively.

Chapter 3

The Impact of Non-Governmental Organizations on Foreign Policy in Europe

NGOs in Europe have actively been working together with structures/institutions within the European Union with regards to foreign policy for a few decades now.⁷¹ Whether they exert direct influence on the content of foreign policies or, for example, simply assist in the implementation of these policies, will be further analyzed in this chapter. Looking into the European context allows us to draw comparisons and lessons that can be applied to the analysis of South Korean NGOs' impact on the North Korea policy.

3.1 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AS PARTNERS

The European Union experiences difficulty in developing and implementing foreign policies as they lack a sufficient resource base.⁷² This weakness within the European Union's structure has continued even with the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in 2011. The EEAS is an institution of the European Union that carries out the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).⁷³ The CFSP contributes to the European Union's objectives of "preserving peace, strengthening international security, promoting international cooperation, developing and consolidating democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."⁷⁴ NGOs are frequently used to fill up the gaps left by the above mentioned shortcoming, not only because they possess the data needed for policy formation, but also because their participation in policy- and decision-making is considered as essential and a requirement of the democratic system.⁷⁵

Structures/institutions of the European Union (e.g., EEAS and the Council of Ministers) frequently consult with NGOs operating directly within fields such as democracy building, rule of law, good governance, and human rights. These NGOs offer reports with their observations,

⁷¹ For more information on the European Union and its principles and values, please refer to https://european-union.europa.eu/index_en.

⁷² Steinberg, "EU Foreign Policy," 251-252.

⁷³ "About the European External Action Service," The Diplomatic Service of the European Union, last modified August 18, 2021, https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/about-european-external-action-service_en.

⁷⁴ "Common Foreign and Security Policy," European Commission, accessed November 24, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/find-funding/eu-funding-programmes/common-foreign-and-security-policy_en.

⁷⁵ Julian Lee and Rwanda Kigali, "Comparing NGO Influence in the EU and the U.S.," published September, 2006, <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/25102/ngoinfluenceinuandusa.pdf>.

analyses, and advice.⁷⁶ They interact with officials of the European Union (e.g., parliament members) locally or in Brussels and take part in evaluations and discussions of policy.⁷⁷ The development of foreign policies heavily relies on the data that NGOs provide. NGO lobbying efforts and reports often serve to either reinforce current policies or as a source of recommendations for the formation of new policies.⁷⁸

3.2 EVALUATING NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS' INFLUENCE IN EUROPEAN POLICY FORMATION

There have been several studies regarding NGOs' influence on European policy formation that prove that NGOs play a role in EU foreign policy making. For example, NGOs have participated in the creation of the European Code of Conduct of 1998. This political agreement lay down common rules for the regulation of exporting weapons and military technology and eventually developed into the Common Position on Arms Export, which turned the Code from a non-committal arrangement into a legally binding framework in 2008.⁷⁹ According to research by Joachim and Dembinski, the NGOs Saferworld, Amnesty International, BASIC, and the World Development Organization composed a draft of the Code of Conduct together with a group of international lawyers. They also exerted pressure on governments to adopt the code, and were active in its implementation.⁸⁰ Observers and experts in the field of arms control acknowledge that the adoption of the EU Code of Conduct would have taken longer and most likely looked quite different without the pressure and suggestions of NGOs.⁸¹

Eising has shown that there is a significant relationship between resources and the lobbying success of interest groups; interest groups with higher economic resources are able to influence policies better than those with less resources, highlighting the necessity to have enough funding for EU lobbying.⁸² This would imply that the impact NGOs can exert increases with the number of resources they have. In addition, reputation of the interest groups is enhanced by the capacity

⁷⁶ Steinberg, "EU Foreign Policy," 254; For more information on the Council of Ministers, also known as the Council of the European Union, please refer to https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/institutions-and-bodies-profiles/council-european-union_en.

⁷⁷ Steinberg, "EU Foreign Policy," 256-257.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 257.

⁷⁹ Jutta Joachim and Matthias Dembinski, "A Contradiction in Terms? NGOs, Democracy, and European Foreign and Security Policy," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18, no. 8 (2011): 1152; Beatrix Immenkamp, "EU Rules on Control of Arms Exports," published November, 2018,

[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/628317/EPRS_ATA\(2018\)628317_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/628317/EPRS_ATA(2018)628317_EN.pdf).

⁸⁰ Joachim and Dembinski, "A Contradiction in Terms?" 1152, 1156-1159.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1164.

⁸² Rainer Eising, "Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices: Explaining Interest Group Access in the European Union," *European Union Politics* 8, no. 3 (2007): 356.

to supply information needed for policy formation. Thus, organizations with these characteristics have a higher chance of influencing EU policies.⁸³ Klüver's empirical analysis of interest groups, in which she included NGOs, is in line with these results; their ability to successfully lobby the European Commission (the executive body of the European Union) depends on their economic power, in addition to citizen support, information they can provide, and whether other interest groups and stakeholders that try to exert influence share the same goal.⁸⁴

By conducting two surveys – one pertaining NGO influence as perceived by NGO representatives, and the other NGO influence as perceived by officials of the European Union – with regards to the influence of human rights NGOs on the EU's human rights promotion in the post-Soviet era, Bossuyt came to the conclusion that human rights NGOs have a moderate degree of influence on this particular policy.⁸⁵ However, within this study perceived influence was measured rather than actual influence. One way of determining actual influence is by comparing statements issued by institutions of the European Union and input provided by NGOs, and analyze the degree of similarity.⁸⁶

The research method mentioned above was used by Steinberg in his study on the development of EU policy on the issues on the Arab-Israeli conflict and dialogue on peace. According to his research the European Union closely collaborates with and funds a number of political advocacy NGOs that are connected to this issue.⁸⁷ The Foreign Affairs Council (FAC, made up of the Foreign Ministers) and the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (Vice President of EEAS) base many of their policy decisions regarding the Arab-Israeli issue on reports provided by the "Heads of Mission" (HoMs) The Maghreb-Mashreq (MaMa) group, which is led by the EEAS, is tasked with reviewing the HoMs drafts and providing recommendations. The group's findings are then forwarded to the FAC for evaluation and approval.⁸⁸

⁸³ Eising, "Institutional Context," 357.

⁸⁴ Heike Klüver, "Lobbying as a Collective Enterprise: Winners and Losers of Policy Formulation in the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 20, no. 1 (2013): 73.

⁸⁵ Fabienne Bossuyt, "The Influence of Interest Groups on the EU's Foreign Policy: Assessing and Explaining the Influence of Human Rights NGOs on the EU's Human Rights Promotion in the Post-Soviet Space," *Contemporary Politics* 72, no. 3 (2021): 359.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 366.

⁸⁷ Steinberg, "EU Foreign Policy," 265.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 258-259.

EU officials have confirmed that information provided by NGOs has been utilized in the reports of the HoMs. In addition, detailed examination of EU reports and their recommendations has shown that political advocacy NGOs are regarded as reliable and legitimate information sources. Since the contents and analysis of the HoMs' reports are key determinants in EU foreign policy, this demonstrates how NGOs can have an impact on the formulation of these policies.⁸⁹ For instance, the data included in the EU HoMs reports on Jerusalem from 2010, 2011, and 2012—which include specific policy recommendations—was primarily given by a small number of the numerous NGOs.⁹⁰

As previous research illustrates, NGOs can play a significant role in constructing foreign policies within the European Union – although the reach of their impact is dependent on the specific policy area. The results of these studies should thus not be generalized to all foreign policies, but they should be looked at within the context of the studies themselves.

The following chapter will examine the extent to which NGOs in South Korea can exert influence on foreign policy concerning North Korea. This analysis aims to shed light on the potential role of NGOs in shaping foreign policy outcomes and the various factors that can contribute to or limit their impact. The chapter will explore the challenges and opportunities faced by NGOs in the South Korean context and the implications of their involvement in foreign policy decision-making processes.

⁸⁹ Steinberg, "EU Foreign Policy," 259, 266.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 261-262.

Chapter 4

Non-Governmental Organizations as a Determinant of Change in South Korean Foreign Policy

As the presence of South Korean NGOs has grown over time, they have attained a status that allows them to play a critical role in strategizing national public policies. According to Kim and McNeal, by suggesting and aiding in the creation and execution of, in this case, national policies, NGOs are increasingly taking on the role of so-called policy entrepreneurs. Policy entrepreneurs have the ability to identify issues, are willing to take risks to advance novel ways of problem-solving, and have the capacity to lead people to help transform policy ideas into actual policies.⁹¹

Whether this is also the case with regards to South Korean foreign policy, and in particular its policy towards North Korea, will be the focus of this chapter. We will dive more into the relationship of NGOs with the South Korean government, see what impact NGOs have, and thereby attempt to lay the foundation to pinpoint factors that influence the role of NGOs in the North Korea policy making process.

Having reached out to several NGOs, two representatives expressed their willingness to partake in my survey. This chapter will thus also present the perspectives of two experts who possess firsthand experience working within an NGO, namely a representative of NKnet (Network for North Korean Democracy and Human Rights; (사)북한민주화네트워크; (Sa)puk'anminjuhwa net'üwök'ü), and another of NKHR (Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights; 사단법인북한인권시민연합; Sadanböbinbuk'anin'gwönshiminyönham). The survey is aimed to gather comprehensive information about the relationship between the South Korean government, NGOs, and the North Korea policy making process. This valuable data serves as a significant addition to the information obtained from other sources used in this research.

The primary objectives of both NKnet and NKHR are comparable, and can be combined into the following overarching goals: (1) promoting human rights in North Korea through various means such as advocacy, awareness-raising, and providing support to North Korean refugees; (2) building towards a more democratic and civil society in North Korea, with the aim of

⁹¹ Kim and McNeal, "From State-Centric to Negotiated Governance," 96 - 97.

empowering its citizens, and promoting freedom of expression and association; (3) conducting research and investigations to monitor and document human rights abuses in North Korea, with the aim of holding perpetrators accountable and advocating for justice; (4) providing humanitarian assistance to North Korean refugees and other vulnerable groups, such as defectors, and women and children; (5) promoting international cooperation by collaborating with other NGOs, governments, and international organizations to promote human rights, democracy, and peace on the Korean Peninsula.⁹²

Both respondents possess significant professional backgrounds within their respective NGOs and have provided valuable insights and opinions. To safeguard their anonymity, their names and positions within the organizations will not be disclosed. Instead, the representative of NKnet will be referred to as “respondent X” (or “X”), and the representative of NKHR as “respondent Y” (or “Y”).

4.1 THE IMPACT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTH KOREA

The extent of NGO influence on a government is dependent on several factors. To be effective, NGOs need to be able to frame their issues and promote them at the right time, with the necessary expertise and information. Competency in influencing or being involved in various stages of government policy-making is also crucial, as is the ability to build and use various networks. NGOs must prioritize accountability and transparency in their operations and organizational management to maintain their influence on both government and civil society, and secure support from these actors. This can also be achieved by keeping up research and providing education. Lastly, the sustainability of NGO influence on government policy relies on stable funding which can be achieved by creating reliable and diversified funding sources, rather than relying solely on the government's provision of institutional mechanisms and financial support.⁹³

During the Kim Young Sam administration, advocacy movements were unable to bring about any significant changes in the government's policy on humanitarian aid to North Korea. On the

⁹² “주요활동” (chuyohwaltong; Major activities), NKnet, accessed March, 2023, <http://nknet.org/sub1g.php>; “About NKHR,” Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights (NKHR), accessed March, 2023, <https://www.nkhr.or.kr/en/about-nkhr/about-us/>.

⁹³ Moon, “State Aid Policy,” 276, 278.

contrary, the government took measures to restrict the activities of NGOs, eventually permitting only the Korean Red Cross to provide aid to North Korea. This meant that NGOs were left behind in the North Korea policy making process, as collaboration with the government was non-existent. Despite their attempts to exert influence, these efforts were unsuccessful in effecting any meaningful changes.⁹⁴

This changed during the presidential periods of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun. NGOs, and South Korean civil society in general, had the opportunity to begin serious efforts to engage with North Korea; a shift occurred in the role of NGOs as they became collaborators instead of bystanders. This was made possible because of the presidents' preference towards engagement with the North, in contrast to having an antagonist stance towards the country. This preference was also included into their respective North Korea policies and allowed for several channels of contact. Through these channels, NGOs were enabled to provide food aid, health supplies, medical assistance, and disaster relief and prevention.⁹⁵

Throughout this period, NGOs were used by the two governments as a means to deliver aid to North Korea. Furthermore, they played a crucial role in nurturing a perception of North Korea as an integral part of a unified Korea, and as a partner for exchange, thus paving the way for eventual unification.⁹⁶ The collaborative partnership was facilitated by the similarity between the political objectives of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun and the plans of the NGOs, enabling the latter to exert direct influence on North Korea policy through institutional mechanisms like the Civil-Public Council for Policies on Aid to North Korea. This partnership facilitated the implementation of policies by creating a favorable domestic environment. The reason behind such an environment was the substantial role played by the NGOs in shaping it through advocacy and education of the public. As a result, the policies of the two administrations were implemented with greater ease.⁹⁷

As inter-Korean ties deteriorated as a result of North Korea's several military provocations in 2006, the ease with which NGOs could interact with North Korea declined. This was due to the fact that interaction was hard to promote under these circumstances. NGO-North Korea

⁹⁴ Moon, "State Aid Policy," 280-281.

⁹⁵ Dean Ouellette, "Building Trust on the Margins of Inter-Korean Relations: Revitalizing the Role of South Korean NGOs," *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies* 22, no. 2. (2013): 126.

⁹⁶ Moon, "State Aid Policy," 281-282.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 282-284.

interaction declined even more when Lee Myung-bak became the new president; compared to his two predecessors, he had more conservative ideas on how to deal with North Korea and was of the opinion that previous engagement policies were to be reversed. This effectively brought an end to NGO visits to North Korea and humanitarian assistance initiatives such as the delivery of food and fertilizer.⁹⁸ Additionally, it did not help that the provocations by the North continued (e.g., a South Korean tourist was shot to death in July 2008, a nuclear test was conducted in May 2009, and a navy ship was sunk in March 2010), resulting in heavily restricted interaction between NGOs and North Korea.⁹⁹ These actions led the Lee Myung-bak government to maintain its policy reversal.¹⁰⁰

4.2 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS' CHALLENGES IN INFLUENCING THE NORTH KOREA POLICY

As emphasized earlier in this chapter, NGOs have to prioritize accountability and transparency in their aid operations and organizational management as a means to maintain their influence on both the government and civil society. During the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun period the respective governments and NGOs failed to exhibit transparency and accountability in managing previous aid operations, which can thus serve as another explanation for the reduced impact of NGOs. During these administrations, monitoring of aid delivery to North Korea was very minimal, which did not convince the political opposition and civil society in South Korea that the aid reached the intended target populations.¹⁰¹ Moreover, NGOs were unable to ensure transparency in their distribution of aid and relief efforts. As a result, both the government and NGOs failed to demonstrate how their assistance improved the lives of North Koreans. However, it should be noted that North Korea's strong resistance to aid monitoring was also a contributing factor to this issue.¹⁰²

Furthermore, during the Kim and Roh administrations, advocacy efforts were not much required as the government was aligned with the NGOs' objectives. Therefore, the NGOs focused primarily on providing services, and when the need for advocacy arose again, they faced difficulties in resuming this role. The inadequacy of NGOs in conducting advocacy activities resulted in a loss of their influence over both the government and civil society. Their

⁹⁸ Ouellette, "Revitalizing the Role of South Korean NGOs," 126-127.

⁹⁹ It is also possible that North Korea's provocations escalated as a result of South Korea's policy stance or actions.

¹⁰⁰ Ouellette, "Revitalizing the Role of South Korean NGOs," 127.

¹⁰¹ Moon, "State Aid Policy," 287.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

inability to present compelling arguments for continuing aid to North Korea made it difficult for them to counter conservative opposition and gain the support of the broader public.¹⁰³

The effectiveness of NGOs working in North Korea has been constrained by insufficient and unstable funding, as well as issues with transparency, accountability, and advocacy. Since government funding has been largely reliant on the government's preferences and policies, it has left NGOs with inadequate and unreliable resources. According to Moon, the fundamental reason why NGOs have had less effect on government aid policy for North Korea since 2008 is because of the failure to address these constraints and problems.¹⁰⁴

The policy towards North Korea contains branches into multiple other policies and is, for example, intertwined with rules and regulations regarding North Korean refugees. In order to manage the refugee flow of North Koreans, a large resettlement sector has emerged, consisting of NGOs and government agencies that have been established in order to facilitate the resettlement procedure. Here, NGOs serve as the state's disciplinary agents by supporting it in assimilating refugees as new national subjects.¹⁰⁵ The resettlement project has been constructed by the Ministry of Unification and provides policy directions that NGOs have to adhere to; it is a policy that has been created through a top-down process, initiated by the state. In exchange for funding, NGOs work to implement the policy objectives in their resettlement programs.¹⁰⁶ In this case, NGOs assist in the implementation of the policy and are not included in deciding the content of it.

Respondent X argues that the most effective mode of interaction between NGOs and the government is this top-down approach, wherein the government provides funding and, in return, the NGOs align their actions with the government's objectives. X contends that, realistically, there is no superior alternative for the government to engage with NGOs, except by financially supporting their initiatives through the Ministry of Unification. However, X acknowledges that various factors influence the extent of NGOs' impact and the roles they can assume. These factors include North Korea's closed authoritarian regime and its isolation from the international community, inconsistent North Korea policies, limited attention from the United States

¹⁰³ Moon, "State Aid Policy," 287-289.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 289-290.

¹⁰⁵ Jung-Eun Lee, "Disciplinary Citizenship in South Korean NGOs' Narratives of Resettlement for North Korean Refugees," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, no. 5 (2015): 2690.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 2694.

regarding North Korean human rights issues, and a general lack of understanding about North Korea.

When asked about how NGOs interact and debate foreign policy with the South Korean government, X noted that the government typically does not pay attention to the views of NGOs. X believes that the North Korea policy is largely shaped by the interests of the presidents, making it difficult to establish a consistent policy towards North Korea. As a result, long-term change and further development of North Korea cannot be accomplished. While X believes that NGOs should be more involved in the policy-making process, there should be limits to their involvement, since simply engaging civil society does not necessarily lead to better policies. In X's opinion, expert intellectuals could provide a better balance. While X did not explicitly refer to these experts as NGO staff, they could be considered as such.

According to respondent Y, NGOs attempt to influence South Korean foreign policy by maintaining contacts with personnel on different levels in ministries, with South Korean embassy staff in key countries where advocacy takes place, and with key members of parliament who may influence adoption of laws or ask questions to the relevant ministers. NGOs also work with domestic media to set the agenda.

However, Y also pointed out that South Korea lacks a culture of consultation with NGOs, which is present in other democratic countries. As a result, interactions between civil society and the government are very limited and bureaucratic. NGOs in South Korea have a low social status, unlike in other countries where important NGOs have public support and can influence policy changes or block harmful developments. Although civil society is vibrant in South Korea, it mostly operates at the margins of the state. Additionally, remnants of authoritarian policies in South Korea require every NGO to register under the ministry relevant to its type of work. This can allow governments that are not favorable to the North Korean human rights movement to interfere in NGOs' work, especially regarding highly sensitive North Korean issues.

Respondent Y stated that NGOs in South Korea have an impact on the North Korea policy, but only to a limited extent. The North Korea policy primarily focuses on security issues, and human rights concerns are often not prioritized. When administrations are not interested in engaging with North Korea, interactions between North Korean human rights organizations and the government are almost non-existent. Therefore, NGOs can only attempt to prevent certain

policies that are perceived as harmful, as direct channels of communication do not work in such cases. In essence, the impact of NGOs on the North Korea policy is restricted to their ability to oppose or block specific policies, rather than to influence the broader policy agenda.

Factors that influence the amount of impact NGOs can have and which affect the role they can assume are, according to Y, the dependency on North Korea to make positive reforms in the country, the domestic division and politicization of North Korean human rights by both political camps (conservatives vs. liberals), inter-Korean relations that are considered "special" and do not allow for objective policy-making, and the subservient attitude toward China and how it may react. Referring back to the various roles of NGOs as discussed in chapter 2.1, it appears that South Korean NGOs primarily act as implementers rather than catalysts or partners. However, it is worth noting that this role may vary depending on the governing authorities at a given time.

Discussion and Conclusion

The preceding chapters have presented an exploration of what NGOs are, their history and their role in shaping foreign policy, with particular attention paid to the case of South Korea and its policy towards North Korea. By drawing on a range of academic sources and the information gained from insights of two respondents to my survey, this thesis has sought to shed light on the various factors influencing the impact of NGOs on foreign policy outcomes.

The central argument posited is that the level of influence exerted by NGOs on a government is dependent upon the political context within the country. The political context includes how power is distributed in the government's policy-making process. When a government has a centralized policy-making mechanism¹⁰⁷ (this can be compared to the vertical policy-making process as discussed in chapter 1.2) and the administration has more power than the legislative body, NGOs may have less influence. Conversely, when a government is receptive to NGO participation and has mechanisms in place to encourage it, NGOs can more easily engage in policy making and have a greater impact.¹⁰⁸ This would lead us to think that the amount of impact NGOs have is thus first and foremost depended on the government structure and the government's view on NGOs (e.g., whether they view them as helpful and meaningful partners, or as simply assistants for policy implementation). This notion is confirmed by Moon's research where he concludes that the level of influence that NGOs, engaged in providing aid to North Korea, had on the government's aid policy towards the North depends upon the specific administration in power.¹⁰⁹ This is also aligning with the experiences of respondent X and Y.

Despite sharing a common democratic system of governance, the EU member states and South Korea exhibit distinct variations in their respective political structures, including variations in the distribution and exercise of power. As a result, NGOs in the EU are afforded greater liberty, thus enabling them to exert a more substantial influence on foreign policy. Nevertheless, the extent of their impact may vary depending on the particular policy domain in question. The latter is also the case for South Korea; research by Kim and McNeal, Sook-Jong Lee and Celeste Arrington has shown that Korean NGOs are particularly visible in national politics, in contrast

¹⁰⁷ A centralized policy-making mechanism is one in which both executive and legislative power is concentrated centrally at the higher levels of the government, rather than being dispersed across different levels. This means that decisions and actions are primarily made by the central government, as opposed to being shared among various lower-level governments.

¹⁰⁸ Moon, "State Aid Policy," 276.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 279.

to foreign policy. They are visible mostly in regard to advocating for (democratic) political and economic reforms, women's rights, and the environment.¹¹⁰

Although political factors may offer a plausible explanation for the varying degrees of NGO impact observed in the EU and South Korea, other contextual factors may include economic conditions, historical legacies, and cultural norms as exerting a significant influence on this outcome. These other factors could interact and possibly change the political dynamics controlling NGO engagement in foreign policy.

Thus, drawing on both the content of this current research and the results of my bachelor thesis, I have arrived at the conclusion that there are several factors that define the amount of impact of NGOs in South Korea's policy making process regarding North Korea. The most significant determinant being the presidents and their respective governments; their beliefs on how to engage with North Korea and their executive power influences the extent to which NGOs are included into the policy making process. Other factors are an NGOs' advocacy, expertise, accountability, transparency, and stable funding resources.

Should NGOs in South Korea be more involved in the (North Korea) policy making process? Based on the findings of this research, yes. By working more closely together with NGOs, South Korea can increase its democratization: "As a society moves toward a better democratic political system, one finds more citizen participation, more open and transparent policy-making processes, as well as more collaborative relationships in policy communities."¹¹¹ NGOs can be regarded as having expert knowledge, this can be highly useful for governments in constructing their foreign policies; which is often seen in Europe. Certain issues might be seen as too sensitive or complex for NGOs, or civil society in general, to deal with. However, consulting them, at the very least, could lead to breakthroughs that would otherwise not have been achieved.

This is in line with one of the comments made by respondent Y: "NGOs have accumulated significant knowledge about how the North Korean system works, as well as documented instances of violations occurring on the ground. Consequently, any policies pertaining to economic projects, development initiatives, humanitarian aid, or trade must involve

¹¹⁰ Sook-Jong Lee and Celeste Arrington, "The Politics of NGOs and Democratic Governance in South Korea and Japan," *Pacific Focus* 23, no. 1 (2008): 76, 81.

¹¹¹ Pan S. Kim and M. Jae Moon, "NGOs as Incubator of Participative Democracy in South Korea: Political, Voluntary, and Policy Participation," *International Journal of Public Administration* 26, no.5 (2003): 550.

consultations with human rights NGOs in order to design programs and policies that are not detrimental to the well-being of the North Korean people. Furthermore, NGOs possess data that is not typically available to governments or the United Nations, and thus can offer valuable perspectives on how particular policies may impact the people.”

All in all, through their knowledge NGOs have the potential to alter foreign policy for the better – as long as they are given the power to do so. Their diligent efforts to, for example, draw attention to violations of human rights, promoting democratic ideals, and fighting for the rights of oppressed people, serve as a reminder that today's global issues demand global solutions and that civil society is a vital force for progress.

Limitations and Future Research

An important limitation to consider regarding the present research is the initial expectation of greater access to people with field experience, which resulted into a limited number of survey respondents. This has, however, been partly compensated for by analyzing previous research and other sources. Although the insights and knowledge provided by the two respondents were highly informative, it is possible that a larger sample size of NGOs could have yielded a more extensive and varied range of perspectives. By widening the scope of the survey to include additional NGOs, the likelihood of obtaining a more substantial number of respondents would have been enhanced, thereby further enriching the findings of the study.

An additional limitation relates to the comparability of research on the role of NGOs in the EU and South Korea. Specifically, while the focus of the research conducted in South Korea was directed towards a single foreign policy area, namely, the policy regarding North Korea, the analysis of the EU's NGOs impact was conducted with respect to several foreign policy domains/foreign policy in general. Hence, it is not entirely feasible to compare the outcomes on the relative influence of NGOs in the EU versus South Korea. It is possible that NGOs in South Korea may possess an impact on other foreign policies as well. This area could be a promising avenue for future research.

NGOs are able to construct the narrative on North Korea to the public (e.g., through campaigns, media, advocacy work); they educate the people, create awareness et cetera. By doing so, NGOs have the ability to change people's minds on certain issues, and thus can (directly/indirectly) influence voting behavior. Whether this is true, and if so, to what extent, could be the focus of future research. Another important notion is that more research is needed to determine the actual impact of NGOs instead of perceived impact by conducting more interviews with government institutions (e.g., officials from the Ministry of Unification) and NGOs, eventually comparing NGO advice with policy outcomes. In this way we can also ascertain the causality of the relationship between NGOs and government with regards to changes in policy.

Bibliography

- Ballbach, Eric J. "Authoritarian Continuity or Democratic Change? Assessing the Democratic Quality of South Korea's North Korea Policy-Making Process." In *The Quality of Democracy in Korea: Three Decades after Democratization*, edited by Hannes B. Mosler, Eun-Jeung Lee, and Hak-Jae Kim, 277-304. Springer International Publishing, 2017.
- Bossuyt, Fabienne. "The Influence of Interest Groups on the EU's Foreign Policy: Assessing and Explaining the Influence of Human Rights NGOs on the EU's Human Rights Promotion in the Post-Soviet Space." *Contemporary Politics* 72, no. 3 (2021): 356-370.
- Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights (NKHR). "About NKHR." Accessed March, 2023. <https://www.nkhr.or.kr/en/about-nkhr/about-us/>.
- Davies, Thomas. "Introducing NGOs and International Relations." In *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*, edited by Thomas Davies, 1-16. London: Routledge, 2019.
- Davies, Thomas. *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*. London: C. Hurst & Co, 2013.
- Eising, Rainer. "Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices: Explaining Interest Group Access in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 8, no. 3 (2007): 329-362.
- European Commission. "Common Foreign and Security Policy." Accessed November 24, 2022. https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/find-funding/eu-funding-programmes/common-foreign-and-security-policy_en.
- Flake, L. Gordon. "Preface." In *Paved with Good Intentions: The NGO Experience in North Korea*, edited by L. Gordon Flake and Scott Snyder, vii-viii. Westport: Praeger, 2003.
- 국가법령정보센터 (Kukkabömyöngjöngbo sent'ö; National Legal Information Center). "대한민국헌법" (Taehanmin'guk'önbö; Constitution of the Republic of Korea). Accessed November 13, 2022, <https://www.law.go.kr/LSW/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=61603&lsId=001444&chrClsCd=010202&urlMode=lsInfoP&viewCls=lsInfoP&efYd=19880225&vSct=&ancYnChk=undefined#J72:0>.
- Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. "Inter-Korean Relations: Confrontation, Economic Exchanges, and the Nuclear Crisis." In *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power, and Foreign Relations*, 28-49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

- Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. "South Korea and the United States: From Dependency to Partnership." In *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power, and Foreign Relations*, 50-66. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Howlett, Michael and Sarah Giest. "Policy Cycle." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 288 – 292. London: Elsevier, 2015.
- Immenkamp, Beatrix. "EU Rules on Control of Arms Exports." Published November, 2018. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/628317/EPRS_ATA\(2018\)628317_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/628317/EPRS_ATA(2018)628317_EN.pdf).
- Irwin, Ryan. "Non-Governmental Organizations." *History Faculty Scholarship* 1, no. 19 (2015): 1-4.
- Joachim, Jutta and Matthias Dembinski. "A Contradiction in Terms? NGOs, Democracy, and European Foreign and Security Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18, no. 8 (2011): 1151-1168.
- Kim, Chae-chung 김재중. "국내 북한 관련 NGO 는 총 341 개, 해외는 292 개" (Kungnae puk'an kwallyŏn NGOnŭn ch'ong 341kae, haeoenŭn 292kae; A Total of 341 NGOs Related to North Korea in Korea and 292 Overseas). *경향신문(Kyŏnghyang shinmun; Kyunghyang newspaper)*. July 3, 2016. <https://m.khan.co.kr/politics/politics-general/article/20160301658371>.
- Kim, Hong Nack. "The Roh Moo-hyun Government's Policy Toward North Korea: Problems and Prospects." *Korean Unification Studies* 10, no.1 (2006): 43-61.
- Kim, Hong Nack. "The Lee Myung-bak Government's North Korea Policy and the Prospects for Inter-Korean Relations." *International Journal of Korean Studies* 12, no. 1 (2008): 1-24.
- Kim, Hyuk-Rae. "The State and Civil Society in Transition: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in South Korea." *The Pacific Review* 13, no. 4 (2000): 595-613.
- Kim, Hyuk-Rae and David K. McNeal. "From State-Centric to Negotiated Governance: NGOs as Policy Entrepreneurs in South Korea." In *Civil Life, Globalization, and Political Change in Asia*, edited by Robert P. Weller, 95-109. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Kim, Pan S, and M. Jae Moon. "NGOs as Incubator of Participative Democracy in South Korea: Political, Voluntary, and Policy Participation." *International Journal of Public Administration* 26, no 5 (2003): 549-567.

- Kim, Youngwan. "The Unveiled Power of NGOs: How NGOs Influence States' Foreign Policy Behaviors." PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2011.
- Klüver, Heike. "Lobbying as a Collective Enterprise: Winners and Losers of Policy Formulation in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20, no. 1 (2013): 59-76.
- Ku, Yangmo. "Privatized Foreign Policy? Explaining the Park Geun-hye Administration's Decision-making Process." *Korea Journal* 59, no. 1 (2019): 106-34.
- Lee, Julian and Rwanda Kigali. "Comparing NGO Influence in the EU and the U.S." Published September, 2006.
<https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/25102/ngoinfluenceinuandusa.pdf>.
- Lee, Jung-Eun. "Disciplinary Citizenship in South Korean NGOs' Narratives of Resettlement for North Korean Refugees." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, no. 5 (2015): 2688-2704.
- Lee, Sook-Jong, and Celeste Arrington. "The Politics of NGOs and Democratic Governance in South Korea and Japan." *Pacific Focus* 23, no. 1 (2008): 75 – 96.
- Lewis, David. "Non-Governmental Organizations: Definition and History." *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, 41, no. 6 (2010): 1056-1062.
- Lewis, David, Nazneen Kanji and Nuno S. Themedo. *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Malena, Carmen. *Working with NGOs: A Practical Guide to Operational Collaboration Between the World Bank and Non-Governmental Organizations*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1995.
- Miller, Warren E, and Donald E. Stokes. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *The American Political Science Review* 57, no. 1 (1963): 45-56.
- Monroe, Alan D. "Public Opinion and Public Policy, 1980-1993." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (1998): 6-28.
- Moon, Kyungyon. "The influence of South Korean NGOs on State aid Policy." *Asian Perspective* 40, no. 2 (2016): 271-297.
- NKnet. "주요활동" (Chuyohwalgong; Major activities. Accessed March, 2023.
<http://nknet.org/sub1g.php>.
- Ouellette, Dean. "Building Trust on the Margins of Inter-Korean Relations: Revitalizing the Role of South Korean NGOs." *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies* 22, no. 2. (2013): 115 – 142.

- Park, Geun-hye. "A new Kind of Korea: Building Trust Between Seoul and Pyongyang." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 5 (2011): 13-18.
- Rahimpour, Rana. "Fury in Iran as Young Woman dies Following Morality Police Arrest." *BBC News*, September 16, 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-62930425>.
- Snyder, Scott A. "Kim Dae-jung and the Sunshine Policy." In *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers*, 83-113. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.
- Snyder, Scott A. "Lee Mung-bak's Global Korea Policy." In *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers*, 143-169. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.
- Snyder, Scott A. "Park Geun-hye's Asian Paradox." In *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers*, 170-191. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.
- Snyder, Scott A. "The NGO Experience in North Korea." In *Paved with Good Intentions: The NGO Experience in North Korea*, edited by L. Gordon Flake and Scott Snyder, 1-13. Westport: Praeger, 2003.
- Steinberg, Gerald M. "EU Foreign Policy and the Role of NGOs: The Arab-Israeli Conflict as a Case Study." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 21, no. 2 (2016): 251–268.
- Stengel, Frank A. and Rainer Baumann. "Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, edited by Cameron Thies: 1-33. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2017.
- Stimson, James A., Michael B. Mackuen, and Robert S. Erikson. "Dynamic Representation." *The American Political Science Review* 89, no. 3 (September 1995): 543-565.
- Suh, Doowon and Andrew K. Linkhart. "Korean NGOs in Historicizing Foreign Affairs and Democratizing Foreign Policies: Agenda Setting and Discourse Framing in the Dokdo/Takeshima Conflict between Korea and Japan, 2005~2008." *국제관계연구* (Kukchegwan'gyeyŏn'gu; Journal of International Politics) 16, no. 2 (2011): 165-204.
- The Diplomatic Service of the European Union. "About the European External Action Service." Last modified August 18, 2021. https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/about-european-external-action-service_en.
- The National Committee on North Korea. "'Background on South Korean NGO Activities in North Korea.'" Last updated April 19, 2013.

https://www.ncnk.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/publications/ROK_NGO_Issue_Brief.pdf.

United Nations. "United Nations Charter." Accessed November 17, 2022.

<https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>.

United Nations. "United Nations Charter, Chapter X: The Economic and Social Council."

Accessed November 17, 2022. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-10>.

Appendix

https://leidenuniv.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9BIEBYAWuqqug06?jfe=new
(The link to the online survey will be available until the 15th of May 2024).

English version of the survey

Q0 Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey; your input will be invaluable in completing my Master's Thesis.

The purpose of this survey is to acquire a better understanding of the relationship between NGOs and the South Korean government. Before starting this survey, the following points should be noted:

- **Please respond to each of these questions as thoroughly as possible.**
- **You are free to opt out at any time; please contact me if you do so.**
- **You may respond to the questions in either Korean or English.**
- **Your responses will stay anonymous.**
- **This survey's platform, Qualtrics, complies with European privacy regulations.**

If you have any further questions, feel free to contact me by sending an e-mail to: grace-a@live.nl or reach out to my thesis super visor Dr. E. Veldkamp e.veldkamp@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Q1 Please answer each question as elaborately as possible.

The following questions concerns personal information regarding your job at an NGO.

How did you come to the decision to work for an NGO?

Q2 For which NGO are you working/have you worked and why did you choose to work for this specific NGO?

Q3 How did you end up getting the job?

Q4 How long have you worked for this NGO?

Q5 What is/was your position within the NGO you work(ed) for?

Q6 Could you elaborate on the various tasks that come with this position?

Q7 If you had any different positions over the years, what were they?

Position 1 _____

Position 2 _____

Position 3 _____

Position 4 _____

Q8 Could you elaborate on the various tasks that come with this/these position(s)?

Q9 **The following questions are about the goals of the NGO you work(ed) for.**

Please name the general goals of the NGO.

Q10 Have you seen any progress with regards to these goals? (e.g., goal has been achieved, a compromise has been reached, goal has been adjusted).

Yes

No

Q11 If yes, which goals and what progress occurred?

Q12 If no, how come?

Q13 In the following section you will be asked questions on the relationship (or absence thereof) between NGOs and the South Korean government with regards to foreign policy.

Can you explain how NGOs interact and debate about foreign policy with the South Korean government? (e.g., through meetings, official institutions for collaboration, through ministries).

Q14 Do you have any personal experiences with working together with the South Korean government?

Yes

No

Q15 If yes, can you please elaborate on what your experiences are with working together with the South Korean government?

Q16 Could you elaborate on any stories about successful/unsuccessful NGO-Government interaction? (This answer does not have to relate to the NGO you work(ed) for per se).

Q17 What could the South Korean government do to facilitate collaboration/interaction with NGOs more?

Q18 The following questions concern the relationship (or absence thereof) between NGOs and the South Korean government with regards to the North Korea policy specifically.

1. From your experience, do South Korean NGOs have an impact on the North Korean policy? If your answer to this question is "no", please move on to the third question.

Yes

No

Q19 2. If yes, how do South Korean NGOs have an impact on the North Korea policy?

Q20 3. If not, what are, according to you, some of the obstacles for NGOs to exert an impact?

Q21 1. Do you think NGOs should be involved more in the North Korea policy making process? If your answer to this question is "no", please move on to the fourth question.

Yes

No

Q22 2. In what ways do you think NGOs should be incorporated (more) into the policy making process?

Q23 3. What would be the benefits of including NGOs more in the policy making process?

Q24 4. If not, please elaborate on why they should not be more involved.

Q25 If there is anything you would like to add regarding the topics discussed (your work at an NGO, the relationship between NGOs and the South Korean government with regards to foreign policy/North Korea policy), please feel free to do so here.

Any additional comments that would assist me in my research are also highly appreciated.

Korean version of the survey

Q0 시간을 내어 이 설문 조사를 완료해 주셔서 감사합니다. 귀하의 의견은 제 석사 논문을 완성하는데 매우 중요합니다.

이 설문조사의 목적은 NGO와 한국 정부의 관계를 더 잘 이해하는 것입니다. 이 조사를 시작하기 전에 다음 사항에 유의해야 합니다.

- 이러한 각 질문에 가능한 한 철저히하게 응답해 주십시오.
- 귀하는 언제든지 자유롭게 옵트아웃할 수 있습니다. 그렇게 하면 저에게 연락하십시오.
- 한국어 또는 영어로 질문에 응답할 수 있습니다.
- 귀하의 응답은 익명으로 유지됩니다.
- 이 설문조사의 플랫폼인 Qualtrics는 유럽 개인정보 보호 규정을 준수합니다.

추가 질문이 있는 경우 Grace-a@live.nl로 이메일을 보내 저에게 연락하거나 제 논문 감독자인 Dr. E. Veldkamp e.veldkamp@hum.leidenuniv.nl에게 연락하십시오.

Q1 각 질문에 최대한 상세하게 답변해 주십시오.

다음 질문은 NGO에서의 직업과 관련된 개인 정보에 관한 것입니다.

NGO에서 일하기로 결정하게 된 계기는 무엇인가요?

Q2 어떤 NGO를 위해 일하고 있거나 일한적 있습니까? 왜 이 특정 NGO에서 일하기로 선택했습니까?

Q3 어떻게 취직하게 되었나요?

Q4 이 NGO에서 얼마나 오래 일하셨습니다?

Q5 당신이 일했던 NGO 내에서 당신의 직위는 무엇이었습니까?

Q6 이 직책과 함께 제공되는 다양한 작업에 대해 자세히 설명해 주시겠습니까?

Q7 몇 년 동안 다른 직책을 가지고 있었다면 어떤 직책이었습니까?

위치 1 _____

위치 2 _____

위치 3 _____

위치 4 _____

Q8 이 직책에 따르는 다양한 작업에 대해 자세히 설명해 주시겠습니까?

Q9 다음 질문은 귀하가 일한 NGO의 목표에 관한 것입니다.

NGO의 일반적인 목표를 말하십시오.

Q10 이러한 목표와 관련하여 어떤 진전이 있었습니까? (예: 목표 달성, 타협 달성, 목표 조정).

예

아니요

Q11 있다면 어떤 목표와 어떤 진전이 있었습니까?

Q12 그렇지 않다면 어떻게 된 것입니까?

Q13 다음 섹션에서는 외교 정책과 관련하여 NGO와 한국 정부 간의 관계(또는 부재)에 대한 질문을 받게 됩니다.

NGO가 한국 정부와 외교 정책에 대해 어떻게 교류하고 토론하는지 설명해 주시겠습니까? (예: 회의, 협력을 위한 공식 기관, 사역을 통해).

Q14 한국 정부와 함께 일한 개인적인 경험이 있습니까?

- 예
- 아니요

Q15 그렇다면 한국 정부와 함께 일하면서 어떤 경험을 했는지 자세히 설명해 주시겠습니까?

Q16 성공적인/실패한 NGO-정부 상호 작용에 대한 이야기를 자세히 설명해 주시겠습니까? (이 답변은 귀하가 직접 참여한 NGO와 관련이 있을 필요는 없습니다).

Q17 NGO와의 협력/상호작용을 촉진하기 위해 한국 정부가 할 수 있는 일은 무엇입니까?

Q18 다음 질문은 구체적으로 대북 정책과 관련하여 NGO와 남한 정부 간의 관계(또는 부재)에 관한 것입니다.

1. 경험상 남한 NGO 가 대북정책에 영향을 미치는가? 이 질문에 대한 답변이 "아니요"인 경우 세 번째 질문으로 이동하십시오.

예

아니요

Q19 2. 그렇다면 한국 NGO 는 대북정책에 어떤 영향을 미치고 있습니까?

Q20 3. 그렇지 않다면, NGO 가 영향력을 행사하기 위한 장애물에는 어떤 것들이 있나요? NGO 들이 영향을 미치지 않는다고요?

Q21 1. NGO 가 대북 정책 입안 과정에 더 많이 참여해야 한다고 생각하십니까? 이 질문에 대한 답변이 "아니요"인 경우 네 번째 질문으로 이동하십시오.

예

아니요

Q22 2. 어떤 방식으로 NGO 가 정책 결정 과정에 통합되어야 한다고 생각하십니까?

Q23 3. NGO 를 정책 입안 과정에 더 많이 포함시키면 어떤 이점이 있습니까?

Q24 4. 그렇지 않다면 더 이상 관여해서는 안 되는 이유를 자세히 설명해 주십시오.

Q25 논의된 주제(NGO 에서의 업무, 대외정책/대북정책에 관한 NGO 와 한국 정부의 관계)에 대해 추가하고 싶은 사항이 있으면 여기에서 자유롭게 입력하십시오.

제 연구에 도움이 될 추가적인 사안들을 적어주셔도 좋습니다.
