

**DISABILITY AND EMPLOYMENT
IN SOUTH KOREA**

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the development of social policy in south Korea since the 1960s focusing on the employment policy for disabled people. A brief historical survey of Korean social policy will be included in exploring the background and enacting process of 'The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990'.

This thesis presents an overview from a number of perspectives on social policy and addresses the relationship between them and the Korean situation. Democratic Socialism is employed as an appropriate framework within which to analyse the Korean system. The applicability of Democratic Socialism to the Korean situation is assessed theoretically and practically in terms of five criteria, namely, economic growth, state intervention, the role of the middle class, the increase in welfare expenditure and public participation, which are regarded as key elements of Democratic Socialism.

To grasp the reality and the problems of the current Korean system, this thesis adopts a qualitative methodology of in-depth interviewing, in which 100 people including 60 disabled people, some members of parliament and officials concerned with policy-making and employers were interviewed. Through interviews, the attitude of disabled people towards the current system and their real needs for change were identified. In this process, the Korean way of understanding concepts, such as, institutionalism, anti-institutionalism, integration, segregation and normalisation will become clear.

Problems of the current system and the basic needs of disabled people which emerged during the interviews are considered and addressed in terms of the principles of Democratic Socialism and it is argued that the consequent policy implications involve major government intervention and the development of a comprehensive policy for disability. The major experiences of policy in the disability terrain in European countries such as Britain, Sweden, Denmark, France and Germany which have retained the traces of Democratic Socialism or corporatism are referred to and discussed in the Korean context.

This thesis tentatively suggests that Democratic Socialism would provide an appropriate framework within which a rapid development in welfare policy could be achieved to match south Korea's amazing economic growth because the implication of a strongly interventionist government is a part of the cultural tradition. Furthermore, social democracy should provide a useful bridge between the different political systems of the North and South in the event of future unification offering a middle way between their social policy traditions.

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I dedicate this thesis to my mother and father who have telephoned me twice a month from Korea, and to all disabled people who are searching for work.

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Abbreviation

AA	Attendance Allowance
Ami	Vocational Assessment Rehabilitation Institute (France)
ASEA	Associations of Supported Employment Agency
BCODP	British Council of Organisations of Disabled People
CDTD	Distribution Centre for Home Work (France)
COTOREP	Vocational Guidance Committee (France)
DA	Disability Alliance
DPI	Disabled People's International
DSS	Department of Social Security
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
KEPAD	Korea Employment Promotion Agency for the Disabled
LEPD	Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled
MA	Mobility Allowance
MP	Member of Parliament
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPCS	Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys
PACT	Placing, Assessment and Counselling Team
RADAR	Royal Association of Disability and Rehabilitation
RNIB	Royal National Institute for the Blind
SEQR	Standard Employment Quota Rate (Korea)
SRH	Stiftung Rehabilitation Heidelberg (Germany)
SDA	Severe Disablement Allowance
TUC	Trade Union Congress
WHO	World Health Organisation

Introduction

Since the Korean War ended in 1953, the South Korean people have done their best to escape from its ruins. During the past four decades, they have concentrated all of their energy and endeavours on economic growth. Economic growth became the highest priority. And over this short period their achievements in these terms have been remarkable. South Korea is now the 10th largest trading country and 12th largest country in terms of GDP in the world (Bank of Korea, 1996). Moreover, it joined the 'rich countries club', OECD, in 1996.

However, the other aspects of South Korean society have failed to develop to balance economic growth. In particular, the area of social policy remains largely undeveloped. Government expenditure for social security amounts to 0.9 per cent of GDP which is even lower than the world average of 5.6 per cent (IMF, 1993).

It is against this background that the present study will analyse the development of social policy in South Korea since the 1960s focusing on employment policy for disabled people. The study originated in concern about the high level of exclusion of disabled people from participation in the economic growth process and harsh discrimination against them by the able-bodied society and discrimination within the disabled population itself.

This situation exists despite the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 which has been in force for 5 years : the unemployment rate for disabled people (27.4 %) is still more than ten times of that of the general population (2.4 % in 1994) (Korea Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1995, p.87). Indeed, the unemployment situation of disabled people appears to be getting worse since unemployment among them amounted to 27.0 per cent in 1990 when the Law was enacted.

So far, the way in which South Korea has developed its welfare programmes has followed the classical European route to the welfare state though the process has been substantially speeded up.

The first intervention by the state in social security was the establishment of the ex-service men's pension scheme to guarantee basic income for the war-injured people in 1950. This was extended to guarantee employment for the ex-servicemen or their families in 1956 (Korea, The Ex-service men Protection Act 1956, Article 19). This was followed by the Industrial Injuries Pension Act in 1963 (Korea, Labour Ministry, 1994, p. 12). These two schemes may be seen to share a common purpose in that they are intended to compensate the injured in the two different kinds of wars, namely, military war protecting the nation on the one hand, and the 'industrial war' for economic growth on the other. Recently, Disability Pension was introduced as part of the National Pension Scheme together with the Old Age Pension in 1988 (Son, J. G., 1993, pp. 143-149).

Direct European inspiration is apparent in that the Korean pension system has adopted Germany's corporatist tradition, the Old Age Pension being funded by contributions shared by the insured and employers.

However, this contributory system excludes many disabled people from the Disability Pension because the National Pension Scheme excludes those unemployed who are living in urban areas (one fifth of total population) : in other words, in practice this is a benefit for rural areas only (Jeong, B.J., 1995, p.109). Thus, the only payments available for disability in Korea are those made to the industrially injured, wherever they live, and to disabled people living in rural areas. It is a system which excludes most unemployed disabled people. In this context, the Disability Pension is regarded as an extension of the Industrial Injuries Pension (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1996a, pp.70-73).

Only those disabled who enjoy protection under the War and Industrial Injuries pension schemes may be regarded as enjoying membership of the 'preferred status' groups in terms of their job prospects and the relative stability of their income. The rest of the disabled, especially congenitally disabled people and those who were disabled before the law had been established or will be disabled in early life have no alternative but to wait for employment without being eligible for any social security benefits.

In this highly targeted social security environment, the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990, as we shall see, helps to create another kind of selectivity in

which a particular category of disabled people are able to take advantage of the services offered even though the original intention was to cover the full range of disabled people.

It is with this Law of 1990 that the present study is concerned. As such a number of questions are posed. What do disabled people think about their current system of employment services ? Are there aspects of the current system which fails to satisfy disabled people, and if so, why ? What can be done to change the situation to satisfy them ? These questions raise the issue of the kind of framework within which current social policy should be analysed. What role should the state play in making social policy, who should determine future policy development and how should services be paid for ?

The intention is not only to explore experience of the way in which the current system works, but also to use it as a case study to explore broad issues of social policy which are of immediate concern in Korea today.

As far as the appropriate framework is concerned, an attempt is made to explore a variety of perspectives on social policy at a general level. Such an approach is a response to the Korean situation in which there has been no substantial development of social policy. In this situation, it is pointless to respond to the shortcomings of particular pieces of legislation in an ad hoc way : what is needed is some agreement on a framework for policy so that principles and criteria according to which existing policies may be analysed and new ones developed may be agreed.

In other words, Korea needs to determine in socio-political terms the framework or principles of its social policy first before it tries to change detailed practical programmes which might lose their sense of direction for systematic development. This is why this study begins by considering the debates on seemingly grand perspectives, namely, Liberalism, Democratic Socialism, Marxism, Feminism, Greenism, on social policies rather than approaches concerned specifically with disability policies such as the concepts of the social as opposed to the medical model, or normalisation. This thesis focuses particularly on Democratic Socialism.

The discussion is developed over seven chapters. In the first chapter, the major social policy perspectives are discussed. In the second chapter, there is an exploration of Korean

social policy as well as aspects of the country's political and economic affairs in terms of a number of key aspects of Democratic Socialism. In the third chapter the employment system for disabled people in Korea is described and explained. This includes an analysis of the socio-political context in which the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 was introduced, and the process of its enactment is discussed. How disabled people in Korea perceive their own needs is the subject of chapter four. The material is derived from empirical research which also provides the evidence for an attempt to identify the varying needs of different categories of disabled people. On the basis of the earlier theoretical discussion as well as survey material, an attempt is made in chapter five to identify some principles which might be considered to be appropriate for the future development of social policy-making in Korea. Finally, the conclusion summarises the findings of the research and discusses the possibility of a consistent frame-work for social policy in the context of the likelihood of reunification of the Korean peninsular.

An important aspect of this study is that it seeks to broaden our understanding of social policy by exploring one of the East Asian countries about which little is known in the field of social policy, which tends to be dominated by discussion about and research conducted in western countries. This study is of special importance in that Korea has social and cultural characteristics which are different to those of other East Asian countries, especially Japan and Taiwan, and which are likely as a consequence to give rise to distinctive problems when subject to the application of foreign models of social policy, and which may also be the source of welfare strategies peculiar to Korea itself. In fact, Korea has so far merely been regarded as one of the embryonic welfare states which are emerging in East Asia and South America (Esping-Andersen, 1996, pp. 20-27, Goodman and Peng, 1995, 1996), the idiosyncratic characteristics of which remain unexplored.

A second important dimension of this thesis is the weight it attaches to the applicability of Democratic Socialism, which was born and bred in the western countries such as Britain, to the Korean situation. This may seem strange in view of the debates about the 'crisis of the welfare state' which have been taking place in western countries from the 1970s. However, in relation to these debates on 'crisis', it may be argued that Korea, unlike western

countries, is increasingly facing a 'crisis arising from the absence of welfare' because it lacks welfare state.

Thirdly, specifically in the context of social policy in the field of disability it is becoming clear that it is inappropriate to apply the North American concept of normalisation used in support of the argument for deinstitutionalisation to the Korean situation in much the same way as the idea of the crisis of welfare state is remote from the Korean reality.

Finally, it is important to note that disability issues, unlike much of the recent work undertaken in the disability field, the present study does not wholly adhere to the 'social model' of disability. Because of the reality of the Korean situation it has been necessary to retain some categorisation based on clinical condition. In particular, it has been essential to isolate people with cerebral palsy as a separate and discrete category because their problems within Korean culture are significantly distinctive. The typology which has been used reflects the needs of specific groups as they emerged from the research, which could have been obscured by the adoption of the catch-all category of 'disabled people' as required by the social model.

Terminology

As Asa Briggs and Titmuss argued, the term 'welfare state' is very ambiguous and often used as a political catch-word (Briggs, A., 1961, pp. 221-222, Titmuss, R., 1963). Moreover, there have been various typologies of the welfare state from Titmuss to Esping-Andersen (Esping-Andersen, 1990) and the term 'welfare' itself has varied meanings (Glennester, H., 1992, p.3). On the other hand some people are sceptical in simply classifying welfare states (Bolderson, H. and Mabbett, D., 1992). This thesis uses the term 'welfare state' to mean ' A state with substantial government intervention to ensure a decent minimum of provision for all citizens, whatever their condition, on the model adopted by developed western countries'.

This thesis, also, uses the terms 'Korea', 'South Korea' and 'North Korea'. The official name of South Korea is the Republic of Korea while that of North Korea is Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The way in which the terms South and North Korea are used in

the thesis is intended to facilitate the acknowledgment of the divided nature of the Korean peninsular. However, for most of the time, Korea refers to South Korea in this study.

The terms 'the Korean system' and 'the current system' refer to the social policy system concerned with the employment of the disabled people under the Law for Employment of the Disabled 1990.

Finally, throughout this thesis the term 'disabled people' is used rather than 'people with disabilities' or 'people with impairment'. This does not reflect acceptance of the agreements of the supporters of the 'social model' who regard disability to be an outcome of the nature of society, but to respond to the fact that, in Korea, much disability is the result of the failure to develop appropriate policies and services.

Methodology

There is a wide range of methods on which a researcher may draw when undertaking a study. Choice is usually determined partly by the nature of the subject to be studied, but also by the circumstances in which the researcher has to operate. The subject to be addressed and the chosen methodology interact with each other during the research. Moreover, on occasion the methodology may cause a change in the direction of the original research plan.

The purpose of this study is to seek to understand how Korean social policy has been developed and implemented until the present time, and the most appropriate options for its future development, using the employment system for disabled people in Korea as a case study. To pursue this objective effectively, it is important to develop a framework or perspective within which the system may be described and analysed, and likely future developments anticipated .

The search for an appropriate perspective has involved a review of certain aspects of the literature in the social policy field. In addition, it has been essential to collect a wide variety of information relating to the political, economic and social situation in Korea. To this extent, the method adopted is unexceptional and follows a well-trodden research path.

While the literature review is a basic , and essential part of most social policy research for many purposes it is not in itself enough. In particular, it is often necessary to combine this approach with the collection of quantitative and qualitative data. In view of the resource constraints on the present research and the absence of satisfactory statistics in Korea, a statistical approach was ruled out. Indeed, anyone attempting to undertake a statistical study in this area would face considerable difficulties : there are no reliable and representative registers or other lists of disabled people from which samples may be drawn.

Part of the reason for Korea not being rich in materials and previous research in this field is because of its short history of welfare policy. Even though some quantitative research has been done, it was not satisfactory for the present study. Moreover, the dearth of information about the lives of disabled people is such that a qualitative study seemed to be essential as starting point (Robson, C., 1993, pp. 306-308). In the course of designing this study, it became apparent that the collection of qualitative data was necessary. Qualitative data may be collected in a number of ways, but the method which appeared to be most appropriate to the present study was that of "semi-structured in-depth interviewing". The reasons for this are discussed below.

1. In-depth interviewing

Together with "participant observation" semi-structured in-depth interviewing is a leading qualitative method. In this thesis in-depth interviewing is defined as semi-structured interviewing which can be used to explore more clearly than is possible with any other method what informants are really thinking. The method is more likely to bring to the surface people's real feelings, than would be possible with quantitative methodology (Deutscher, I., 1973).

Based on responses to well-structured questionnaires, and analysed statistically, quantitative research is useful for drawing broad generalisation but provides no hint of the human side of social life (Taylor, S. and Bogdan, R., 1984, P.83). By listening carefully, it is possible to discern what is on people's minds, to obtain first-hand knowledge of social life and in the case of officials in some measure to get at the real intentions behind the policies

unfiltered through concepts, operational definitions, and rating scales. Part of the importance of this research lies in the fact that it is the first study to attempt in-depth interviewing in the field of social policy in Korea.

Furthermore, on the question of power and the oppression of disabled people by non-disabled interviewers about which so much has been written in the British context by Oliver and others, it is important to stress that part of the motivation in undertaking the research is my own disability.

An important aspect of the study is the amount of knowledge which is brought to it through general knowledge of the field, acquired through five years working experience as a general manager of the Korea Employment Promotion Agency for the Disabled since it was established in 1990. KEPAD is the only single professional organisation dealing with employment for the disabled. The work has ensured experience of almost all of the functions of the KEPAD from counseling to planning and budgeting. In a sense, therefore, it could be argued that much participant observation had been completed even though it had been done as an internal member of the KEPAD, rather than as a disinterested researcher. Nevertheless, despite its limitations even this type of participant observation has ensured a grasp of the basic features of this field. A pre-existing understanding of the settings to which entry had to be gained and the people with whom it was important to meet, helped to progress the study in many respects. Previous work experience ensured access to a wide variety of settings and to people and was essential for obtaining the requirements for a satisfactory range of in-depth interviews. Thus previous work experience provides the basic substructure for the evidence collected from the interviews.

Although social science may be described as a "soft" science and the strategies adopted for the purpose of the present research may be accused of being at the softest end of the spectrum, considerable attempts have been made to ensure a substantial degree of objectivity. By utilising the triangulation approach to data collection, involving in this case existing statistics and background material, semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation, it is hoped that subjectivity has been reduced to a minimum (Robson, C., 1993, p. 290, 404). Furthermore, an important tool for reducing bias and

subjectivity in the case of interviews with people working within KEPAD was the use of someone outside the organisation to conduct prior interviews parallel to my own : any areas where there were disagreements between the two sets of interviews were excluded from consideration.

As described above, there was a need to hold back from the setting in which it was possible to lose impartiality as a researcher. As well as asking someone else to meet and listen to informants within KEPAD on my behalf, I had the records or draft reports of interviews reviewed by the informants themselves to check my understanding and to avoid providing misleading information.

The names of disabled people who were interviewed have been changed in the interest of confidentiality. Furthermore, in the case of interviews conducted with people associated with organisations for and of disabled people in Germany and Britain, the same rule has been applied. In the case of Korean politicians, officials, professionals and employers, the original names have been retained because they felt no anxiety about confidentiality.

The time spent on each interview varied according to the type of disability involved and the complexity and importance to the study of the activities of interviewees. In the case of physically disabled people interviews were relatively straightforward and on average took about three hours. In contrast, those with hearing impairment took more than five hours and in the case of some deaf people, more than one interview was required. Indeed, in the case of the latter group, in order to establish good relationship in a relaxed atmosphere, interviews took place at a deaf people's summer camp. Interviews with MPs, government officials and social workers took only two hours ; however, in Remploy's case, seven visits to the headquarters and a factory were required in order to ensure a thorough grasp of that organisation's activities.

2. Nature and Number of Settings and informants

The research involved over one hundred of in-depth interviews with concerned informants who range from government officials to disabled people. In this thesis the informants are drawn from five categories in Korea: the Labour Ministry and the Ministry of Health and

Welfare; KEPAD; the National Assembly; the Employers' Federation; and disabled people.

The first four categories are settings which are commonly concerned with employment of the disabled but are different in nature (see Appendix).

In addition, visits to Germany, Scotland, Salisbury and a number of locations in the environs of London were undertaken both to observe particular aspects of the way in which the different employment policies for disabled people are implemented and interview sixteen of the people responsible at policy and practice level in this field in the two countries. The objective was to use the material as a foil against which the Korean situation could be considered (see Appendix).

1) The Labour Ministry and the Ministry of Health and Welfare

Both high and low level officials were interviewed to obtain not just a long-term blue print for policy but also the hidden story behind the formal documents and the frank opinions of policy implementators. Because there is very little published material about the genesis of policy-making, listening to them provided the basis for understanding the role of government in establishing the Korean system of employment for the disabled.

2) KEPAD

KEPAD is the most important organisation performing practical functions relating to employment of the disabled. It is impossible for a researcher to understand employment systems for disabled people in Korea without grasping these functions, ranging from suggestions for policy-making to vocational training and job-placement. Membership of the KEPAD had advantages and drawbacks for the research. It provided quick and easy access to people and information.

As a internal member, however, there is the possibility of bias in the analysis and assessment of the work of the KEPAD, which might seriously harm the validity of the research. To overcome this limitation, some one outside the KEPAD, Mr. G.H. Jeong, a social worker, was asked to conduct interviews with the prospective informants and

thereafter these were followed up by interviews conducted by myself and the results compared.

The front-desk officials who deal with daily job-counseling and job-placement were considered as important informants because their knowledge lends importance to their views on where and what the problems are and how policies and practice ought to be changed in the future. The views of high level officials, especially the president, are also very important to anticipate the direction the KEPAD is likely to take in the future.

3) The National Assembly

The National Assembly is not directly related to policy implementation. However, The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled which is the basis of the Korean system was established by passing through the National Assembly. The National Assembly is allowed the right to inspect government policy by the constitution. Therefore, the attitude and interests of the National Assemblymen (the Korean version of MPs) concerned would be an influence on social policy. It was important, therefore, to interview a number of Assemblymen and Assemblywomen to elicit their opinions as representatives of the people and as lawmakers.

4) The Employers' Federation

Employers are strongly opposed to the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled. The employers seem to consider the law as regulations that merely disturb their business management. They have complained about the law's regulatory feature often and have attempted to change it. Their attitude is also very important to the disabled employees. However, it is hard to avoid the fact that to decide whom to meet among so many employers is very difficult. An appropriate approach seemed to be to interview the representatives of the Employers' Federation.

5) Disabled people

To interview a representative sample of disabled people would not be easy. Each disabled person has his or her own characteristics depending in part on the kind and extent of the

disability concerned. All of them want welfare policies which respond to their own needs. Owing to this difficulty, concentrating on one kind of disability was considered at the first stage of research design. In the event, however, in the interest of balance and representativeness, all kinds of disabilities are included which reflects the intention of the Law 1990 which is the subject of the study.

Disabled people were divided into five categories: the physically disabled; people with learning disabilities; those with cerebral palsy; the hearing impaired; the visually impaired. People with cerebral palsy are dealt with as a separate category out of consideration of the fact that they are more seriously stigmatised or discriminated against than physically disabled people generally in Korea. In the case of people with learning disabilities, where there were substantial difficulties of communication, their parents or other family members were interviewed on their behalf. This is clearly unsatisfactory, but in the event it seemed better to adopt this strategy than omit the problems of a significant number of members of this group.

These five types of disabled people will each be divided according to three criteria; whether the extent of the disability is severe or slight; being employed or not; male or female. The total number of the disabled who were interviewed amounted to 60 persons (12 persons per category).

It was hoped that from them, their feelings about current institutions and their real needs and demands could be elicited. A central tenet of the thesis is the conventional and commonplace view point that social policy is more meaningful when it can meet the client's needs. From this point of view, interviewing disabled people would play a very important role in identifying problems and planning a desirable future for the Korean system.

An unanticipated outcome of the study was the tremendous emotional shock of hearing about disabled people's lives, particularly those of the women, since no such evidence had been made available in Korea previously and consequently the disastrous situation in which many people find themselves had been unknown.

On a different dimension, some representatives of the associations of or for the disabled were interviewed and their statements were very useful to achieving an

understanding of their activities in attempting to improve their social rights or influencing policy-making (see Appendix).

6) European Institutions for disabled people

To understand the European systems more clearly, this study conducted interviews with 16 Europeans concerned with employment of disabled people. Those institutions visited comprise Action for Blind People in London and Salisbury, the head office and factory of Remploy in London, Disabled People's International in Britain, the Royal Association for Disability & Rehabilitation, the Royal National Institute for the Blind, Blindcraft in Scotland, the Placing Assessment & Counselling Team in Scotland, the Heidelberg Rehabilitation Center in Germany (see Appendix). Those institutions were visited to obtain a clear picture of their programmes, and provide alternative models against which Korean policy and practice could be analysed.

Chapter 1

Perspectives of social policy

1. Introduction

Recently enormous changes have been taking place in the international, political and economic situation. This has an effect on the academic community, including that segment of it interested in social policy, imposing substantial change in terms of ideas. In the developed welfare states, social scientists have been discussing the crisis of, and are looking beyond the welfare state. This effort is very important and essential for the development of academic ideas. But this kind of discussion tends to exclude all but that minority of countries with developed welfare states.

South Korea is on the edge of turning its attention to welfare policy on the basis of considerable economic growth. On the other side of the world, however, the welfare state which Korea is seeking to emulate is being criticised in many respects. In this context of international flux, what path should Korea pursue in seeking to progress towards a welfare state? How should it proceed? Which direction should it take? These are the main questions to be addressed in this chapter.

To address these questions the various perspectives of social policy will be examined. Those perspectives are categorised into 5 groups; Liberalism; Democratic Socialism; Marxism; Feminism; Greenism. Each perspective will be investigated on the basis of a number of criteria including state intervention, the attitude towards the welfare state and social policy.

After that, the relationship between disability and social policy will be delineated. The problem of disability was chosen because it is complicated enough to represent a serious challenge to modern social policy. The problem of unemployment of the disabled, especially, is associated with so many difficulties such as, poverty, discrimination, the economic situation, etc.

At the same time an overview of the prominent features of Korean politics, administration and economy will be provided. Once we understand Korean historical and cultural characteristics, it will be possible to assess their differences from those of a western country such as Great Britain.

Through reassessing the perspectives, however, it is possible to argue that Democratic Socialism is the most relevant for analysing the Korean system. The detailed analysis will be undertaken in the next chapter. In this chapter, some of the features, which provide useful points of reference in the main arguments of Democratic Socialism for analysing the Korean system, are drawn together.

2. Perspectives and typologies on social policy

To analyse a certain society or policy, we need a proper frame of evaluation which is called ideology. As human history develops, so many ideologies, which have expressed the contemporary political and social situation, have been produced and modified. All ideologies, are historically bound and reflect particular value systems. The behaviour of individuals, governments and organisations involved is hard to understand without reference to ideology.

The term "ideology" was first used in 1797 in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution to counter the dominance of custom, tradition, the supernatural and mystical religion in government policies. For some people, ideology was the objective and impartial

gathering of ideas gained through experience - it was the science of ideas, a rational new way of gathering information to inform government decisions for the betterment of society (Vic George & Paul Wilding, 1994, pp.1-14).

Ideology has been developed by many social scientists including Marx, Mannheim, Parsons etc. They defined ideology in their own way. Definitions of ideology differ according to their systems of value and the situations in which they lived. At times, they debated hotly on the meaning of ideology and how ideology is formed and transmitted. To consider briefly the nature of ideology, we can draw a general conclusion from a variety of opinion that it is, 'a set of values and thoughts and beliefs held by individuals, groups and societies that affects their conduct'. This is a very broad definition but one which embraces all viewpoints.

With this brief discussion of ideology, let us now consider the area of welfare policy or social policy. Even though there are a variety of ideas about the definition of social policy, this study will use a commonly accepted preexisting definition. Myrdal said that the principle of equality is fundamental to social policy and can be summarised as compassion (Myrdal, 1972-1994). He placed great emphasis on value. Horton, also, argued that the explanation of social problems must involve value judgments about society (Horton, 1966, P. 713). Moreover Weber argued more concretely for the relationship between social policy and values. He said that the normative values can be or should be the purpose of debate (M. Weber, 1949, pp. 56-57). Such writers agree that values can be an essential part of social policy. But some social scientists, such as Pinker and Durkheim, have disagreed with this point of view. They believe that normative social theory should be different from non-normative social theory. They point out that the attitude which considers normative social policy as being scientific is dangerous (Pinker, 1971, P. 98). However, most social scientists seem to believe that social policy should not and cannot be value-free. The various perspectives of social policy, in fact, are concerned with the very value judgments about what the welfare state is and how it is formed and maintained.

The debates about these perspectives began to increase from the mid 1970s when the crisis of the welfare state began to be identified and discussed. From that time many social scientists who were studying social policy began to worry about the decline of the acceptance of the welfare state. They came to develop welfare models by rearranging existing welfare models or developing new concepts to respond to or take account of the anti-welfare state argument. It was in this context that for the most part, the various perspectives on social policies were developed.

Now, how can we classify these perspectives? What are the differences between the perspectives? What is the meaning of the difference between them? The best way to address these questions is by describing and explaining the conflicts between the perspectives. This study will consider the reason for and origins of conflicts between these perspectives on its own terms. It is possible to identify five major sources of conflict which derive from the arguments of the different social scientists concerned. Firstly, they differ as to their underlying social values. Some writers are concerned with freedom, individualism and the market economy. Others place emphasis on equality and fraternity. Secondly, they differ from each other in terms of their ideas on the state intervention in the delivery of social services. On the one hand, there is an argument which insists on minimisation of the role of the state through selectivity. On the other hand others insist that the role of the state should be enlarged to encompass the idea of universalism. A third conflict concerns differences regarding the concept of poverty. There are different kinds of argument which support the concepts of absolute poverty and relative poverty respectively. Fourthly, there are differences concerning the problems of allocation and distribution. Those who emphasise the importance of economic growth argue that public expenditure should be reduced and greater investment made in the market place. But there are others who put emphasis on the social development through enlargement of social services or public expenditure. Fifthly, another conflict revolves around the debate about the national budget or national resources. Some people argue that social security is a waste of resources which results in laziness.

The oldest welfare model among those in use today is the two-division model which is analysed by Wilensky and Lebeaux. They set up two types of welfare performance comprising the residual model and institutional model (Wilensky, H. and Lebeaux, C., 1958, PP. 138-140). In the view of supporters of the residual model social welfare is confined to playing a subordinate role to the market. But the institutional model argues that welfare service is the most important thing in the modern industrialised society

In relation to this, Pinker suggests that the residualists support economic growth and convergence theory and that social services should be delivered according to the principle of selectivism. On the other hand, institutionalists put emphasis on the poverty which remains even in present-day prosperous society (Pinker, 1971, PP.97-104).

Donnison rephrased the terminology used to identify these two schools as 'the tough-minded economically oriented right' instead of 'residualists' and 'the tender-minded socially oriented left' instead of 'institutionalists'.

With regard to the former, he argued that, firstly, its adherents think of economic growth as the most important thing. Secondly, the distribution of economic growth should be made through the private market. Thirdly, redistribution should be confined to the victims produced in the process of economic growth. Fourthly, social equality may be desirable in view of morality, but it will result in economic decline.

With regard to the latter, important features are firstly, it puts emphasis on the equality of income and living standards. Secondly, it believes that the more society becomes equal the more society becomes civilized, and the more the relationship between people becomes fraternal. Thirdly, social services should be the main instrument of income redistribution. Fourthly, economic growth may be worthless unless it contributes to social equality and the enlargement of social service. Fifthly, the basic things needed to live had better be provided free (Donnison, 1972, PP.108-110).

Titmuss broke this tradition which divides welfare into two models. He added one more model to the past two models - residual, and institutional redistributive - namely that of industrial achievement-performance. The strongpoint of his three-division-model was that it could overcome the weak points arising from the over-simplification of the ideological division which had been made. The industrial achievement-performance model is concerned with productivity performance, while the institutional redistributive model emphasises the principle of equality (Titmuss, 1974, PP. 30-31).

His three-division model was followed by Parker. ^{She}~~He~~ also divided welfare states into three models - laissez-faire, liberal and socialist. The laissez-faire was based on individualism, while the socialist approach put emphasis on equality, political rights, social rights and economic rights, arguing that freedom means the 'freedom to live as a human being' not 'the freedom from intervention of other people'. The liberal approach steered a course between the laissez-faire and socialist approach emphasising the importance of equality of the opportunity and freedom of the individual at one and the same time (Parker, 1975, PP. 4-5).

Furthermore, Esping-Anderson defines 'capitalist' regimes as 'liberal', 'corporatist' and 'social democratic'-moving from the least to the most committed position in relation to welfare (Esping-Anderson, 1990). According to this typology, the United States, Canada and Australia belong to 'liberal' and Austria, France, Germany and Italy fall into 'corporatist' regimes, while Scandinavian countries are regarded as belonging to 'social democratic' regimes.

As described above, the three-division approaches attempted to overcome the demerits of the two-division approach ; however, they did not take the tradition of Marxism into consideration. This limitation of the three-division approach emerged from the middle of the 1970s. The western economy which had been expanding after the second World War began to falter from the middle of the 1960s and was under serious crisis after the oil-shock in 1973. Among the social scientists, especially those of Europe and the United States, some began to develop a critique of capitalism. Moreover, it was in this context that the neo-Marxists developed their arguments.

Among the first to set out their arguments were Vic George and Paul Wilding. They initiated a four-division approach for the first time, identified as, anti-collectivist, reluctant-collectivist, Fabian socialist and Marxist. The strongpoint of this approach is in the possibility of drawing a dividing line between the middle left and middle right. According to Marxists poverty and inequality cannot be removed by the welfare state but only by radical political change (George and Wilding, 1976, PP. 103-104).

The importance of Marxism was emphasised again by Mishra in 1977. He divided the welfare models into three, namely, normative, institutional and residual models. But he divided the institutional model into liberal and social democratic models resulting in four-division approach. Room also explained welfare states by three models - market liberal, liberal and neo-Marxist. And he divided the liberal model into political liberal and social democrat resulting in four-division approach like that of Mishra (Room, 1979, Chp.3).

Recently George and Wilding developed their previous view of welfare further and divided the welfare model into six perspectives, namely the new right, the middle way, democratic socialism, Marxism, feminism, Greenism. It is a feature of their approach that they developed their former approach by adding feminism and Greenism (George and Wilding, 1994).

Having briefly considered the process of the development of various perspectives of welfare and social policy, we considered only how the social policy was categorised according to various typologies.

Let us now analyse the perspectives in more detail to understand the viewpoint and main arguments of their advocates. For convenience, in this study the various perspectives will be divided into five groups - Liberalism, Democratic Socialism, Marxism, Feminism, Greenism, as a basis for developing a model suitable for providing a framework for the present study. The division of perspectives of social policy adopted in this study stems from the arguments which have been accumulated over a period of time by a number of social

scientists. Each perspective will be described focusing on a number of aspects, especially society, and ideas about the welfare state and its future.

1) Liberalism

The term Liberalism means here the very broad range of liberal thought from the traditional liberalism to the New Right. In this study liberalism will be described broadly to embrace a wide variety of opinions or ideas. Here, liberalism is explained in terms of three categories - market liberals, political liberals and the New Right. The reason why the New Right is embraced within liberalism is that even though the argument of the New Right overlaps that of market or political liberals, it has its own meaning as a political or social movement after the middle of the 1970s.

(1) Market liberals

The arguments of the market liberals are close to the views of the market society developed by traditional liberals. The competitive private market is the main road to prosperity for the individual and family and the nation. The market principle based on the cash nexus will promote capital accumulation and its reinvestment. They put emphasis on freedom and individualism as a social value. This freedom is the individual's 'freedom to make the most of his capacities and opportunities according to his own lights'; it therefore entails an equality of opportunity. It does not, however, necessarily entail a 'material equality or equality of outcome' (Friedman, 1962, PP.121-95).

These writers take a negative view of social policy. They have no choice but to draw the role of social policy from market principles. Naturally, social policy should not disturb or restrict market principles, but support and stimulate the activity of the market system. To the extent that our society departs from a capitalist market organisation, the freedom of the individual as celebrated in the classical liberal tradition, is put seriously at risk. Among these departures is the growth of state social policies (Room, 1979, P.79, P.50).

As we know well, Hayek saw the growing range of state activity as steps along a 'road to serfdom'; for 'only within...a competitive system based on free disposal over private property... is democracy possible' (Hayek,1944, P.52).

It is also argued that, social policies that divorce access to life chances from labour market rewards tend to reduce work incentives and hence prosperity. Moreover, they reduce the bread-winner's individual responsibility for his family's well-being and for the pursuit of independence they substitute permanent mutual dependence as the much more fragile base of mutual respect (Bremner,1968, PP.52-3).

In short, they argue that the range of social policy implies the very restriction of creative individual activities resulting in the reduction of market function. For them, extensive social policy means a high level of burden on the individual. To take one example, the high level of taxation obviously reduces the enthusiasm for hard work in the private market.

Then what do they think the welfare state or social policy should be like? They argue that state intervention through social policies should be confined to a minimum range or safety-net. According to them the government can and should provide minimum education vouchers, minimum income etc., through minimum taxation.

(2) Political Liberals

While the argument of market liberals is based on the free market system, political liberals stress free access to the political market place by a plurality of competing interest groups. It is assumed that such free access will ensure distributive justice among the various interest groups involved and that, since such an arrangement cannot but commend itself to the parties concerned, social harmony is also assured. Through these multiple group affiliations the individuals then obtain just treatment (Wolff,1968, P.133).

Evaluating the process of industrialisation, the political liberals believed in the merits of industrialisation. They tried to draw a certain principle from the process. For them the

potential benefits to the individual worker nearly everywhere appear to transcend the negative consequences of industrialism (Kerr, 1964, PP. 185).

In the argument for the existence of a 'logic of industrialism', there were two streams of advocates. The one was the convergence theories represented by Kerr and Galbraith. The other was the neo-evolutionism of Parsons and the structural-functionalists.

To define convergence theory briefly, Mishra said that as societies become more advanced industrially there is a progressive narrowing of differences. The 'logic' of industrialism constrains advanced industrial societies towards a common institutional pattern (Mishra, 1977, P.36). At early stages of industrialisation, societies are dominated by the principle of elite or social classes and their ideology. But, in the advanced industrialised societies, the policies have a tendency to be similar to each other. To put it in another way, convergence theory sees industrial society, including changes in the system of social stratification, as being determined by technological changes. Therefore we can describe it as a pluralistic technological determinism. Moreover, the logic of industrialism is leading to a more meritocratic and harmonious social structure, enjoying no greater concentrations of power but rather a pluralism of competing interests. Naturally, the ideal cannot be specified in detail but its basic feature has been characterised as that of pluralistic industrialism (Kerr, 1973, P.270).

At this point, it is appropriate to consider structural-functionalism. Social scientists who are the advocates of structural-functionalism have attempted to delineate the 'functional prerequisites' of an advanced industrial society. These include social services, viewed as a mechanism evolved by society in response to certain objective social needs, such as the need to tame the violence of the market, the need to protect the labour force from the social dislocation consequent upon industrialisation and the need to discourage unrest among the working class. These advocates have sought to incorporate the notion of social change into

their functionalist theory by employing an evolutionary scheme, by analogy with the evolution of biological species (Room, P.54).

In fact, to describe the functionalist view in more detail, we need to consider classical functionalists such as Montesquieu, Comte, Spencer, Durkheim. Durkheim argued that as society becomes complex, the modern social structure requires a correspondingly large amount of coordination and regulation. This tends to develop the central organ of society that is the state (Durkheim 1964, P. 221). As modern functionalists, we can select sociologists such as Parsons, Merton, and Smelser. Parsons argued that there are four functional requirements for society to survive, namely adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern-maintenance. Adaptation refers broadly to the economic task ; goal attainment to political ones; integration is concerned with maintaining harmony and solidarity; and pattern-maintenance with the continuation of the basic value pattern. For him these four are the basic functional elements(sub-systems) of a society (Parsons, 1956, PP. 18-19).

In relation to social welfare, we should consider integration in more detail. For more perfect integration two kinds of integration should be combined. The one is system integration which means the integration of institutions in terms of instrumental collectivity with efficiency. The other is social integration which means the integration of social groups in terms of morale and cohesiveness. Moreover, in the process of structural differentiation from an undifferentiated society to a highly differentiated society, various kinds of imbalance and malintegration are produced. This condition usually requires new forms of integration and this new integration comes to produce more specialised structures. Smelser explained this process as the 'contrapuntal interplay between differentiation and integration (Smelser, 1964).

By and large, this functionalism which has the conception of society as a system like an organism implies value-free adaptation and evolution in the area of social policy. It leaves little or no role for purposive political action by the state, which cannot therefore make a genuine choice among various possible future developments of the society. Rather, actions by the state have an essentially instrumental character and 'the crucial questions are defined as

ones which require special expertise for their proper comprehension' (Goldthorpe, 1971, P.275).

(3) The New Right

The New Right is a movement which emerged on the grounds of economic difficulties in the 1970s. The movement was led by the people who worried about not only the uncertainty of an economic situation run on the principle of Keynesian demand management but also excessive state expenditure. In a sense the movement was criticising reluctant collectivism and democratic socialism. Democratic socialism will be described in more detail later.

What is the main argument of reluctant collectivists against the New Right? Keynes and Beveridge who were pre-eminent among the reluctant collectivists believed in the importance of the free market. Moreover they followed the argument of classical liberals that the minimisation of state intervention can maximise the freedom of the individual and hence political freedom, economic efficiency and social variety. Keynes, like the classical economists, wanted to restrict the role of the state to the provision of the conditions under which the free market could work efficiently. However, he disagreed with the classical economists in his judgment of what those conditions were. He argued that the market was no longer self-regulating and that state intervention was unavoidable to correct deficient or excess demand in the economy. Of course he stressed that once the state had performed that task, then the market should be left to function freely.

Beveridge also argued that political freedom meant freedom not just from the arbitrary power of government, but also from 'economic servitude to want and squalor'. The state alone could guarantee this freedom for everyone. Moreover he acknowledged, were governments to permit economic waste and social inequality to continue, parliamentary democracy might be brought into disrepute and political stability threatened (Beveridge, 1945, P. 9).

In short, for the reluctant collectivist the market is conceived as the best practical mechanism for ensuring individual initiative and hence political freedom, economic efficiency and social justice; but its flaws are recognised and this is the need for a judicious degree of state intervention.

To go back to the New Right, the followers of the movement have influenced government policy substantially especially in the UK and USA. Through this process they could be recognised as a political force after 1973 in many countries. Their conclusion was that it was better not to manipulate demand but exercise a tight control over money supply. The market was the best long term guarantor of economic efficiency, social justice and political freedom, not the state. Sir Keith Joseph argued that 'the blind, unplanned, uncoordinated wisdom of the market... is overwhelmingly superior to the well-researched, rational, systematic, well-meaning, cooperative, science-based, forward looking, statistically respectable plans of government' (Joseph, 1976, P. 57).

Their philosophical base identifies as crucial values to society ,freedom, justice, and individualism of which they regard freedom as the most important. They lay great stress on individualism. As regards justice, however, the New Right regard the concept as one which of its very nature is impossible to define. They argue that the consequences of economic and social behaviour cannot be defined as just or unjust, because they are unintended. For the New Right, only processes and procedures can properly be described as just or unjust. Social outcomes may, indeed, not be intended but they are often predictable and our collective response to them can reasonably be defined as just or unjust (Plant, 1990, P. 18). Even with regard to economic inequality, they say that it is essentially the consequence of scarce resources which the market, through encouraging economic efficiency, is best able to remedy.

The implications of their ideas for social policy are that state intervention through social service or state planning not only restricts the freedom of individual and economic growth resulting in self sufficiency but also disturbs the spontaneous development of society.

2) Democratic Socialism

It is the purpose of the present study to consider the term Democratic Socialism in its broadest interpretation. Included within this are a variety of views identified as democratic socialism or social democracy as well as aspects of conventional 'corporatist' and 'social democratic' features, though this does not mean the acceptance of Esping-Anderson's typology. The aim is to elicit the general characteristics of Democratic Socialism at the theoretical and practical level rather than to define it in terms of one of the welfare-state regimes categorised above.

In fact, social democracy was the political economy of societies in which middle-class divisiveness and working-class coherence subverted liberal stabilisation and modernity and mass mobilisation precluded traditional dictatorship. Social democratic political economy constituted a fundamental break with liberal political economy in several vital respects; the political hegemony of working-class parties; the participation of trade unions in governance as semisovereign entities: the subordination of markets to politics, especially in wage determination; and the more radical break with liberal economic orthodoxy in response to the depression of the 1930s. The foundation of social democratic hegemony was provided by the political alliance that was formed in the 1930s between urban and rural workers. (Gregory, 1991, P.267)

In the field of social policy Democratic Socialism has developed practically in European and Scandinavian countries and it influenced the welfare policies of governments, especially Labour governments in the case of Britain. Moreover it provided a certain sense of direction to successive Conservative governments.

Democratic Socialists argued that the unregulated market is not democratic because it concentrates economic, and thus effective political power in a few hands. In another sense it is socially unjust because it fails to reward people according to needs. Moreover, it is unethical because it encourages self-interest and greed.

Marshall argued that British citizens gained their civil rights between 1650 and 1832, their political rights between 1832 and 1918 and their social rights thereafter. The latter

entailed the right to social services which, by increasing both the recipient's real income and the services that could be universally enjoyed (such as the health service), effectively minimised the inequality of living standards and 'legitimate' expectations which would otherwise have resulted from differences in money income. Thereby all citizens despite their unequal money income, enjoyed equal status and an 'equal social worth'. The welfare state by institutionalising these social rights, raised society onto a higher plane where the sense of community, which had been fleetingly experienced in the war, might become permanent (Marshall, 1950, PP. 40-84).

Titmuss said that the purpose of the welfare state was to provide social justice, by providing compensation for the increasing social costs of economic change, for example illness arising from environmental pollution or unemployment arising from technological redundancy, which fell disproportionately on the poor and which traditionally went uncorrected by the market. It was also to elevate society by institutionalising a deeper sense of community and mutual care (Abel-Smith and Titmuss (eds.), 1987, PP. 14-20).

Crosland took a more theoretical position in arguing that during the period before the Second World War, economic and political power were concentrated and as a consequence the whole society was effectively controlled by a capitalist ruling-class which held all or most of the important levers of power (Crosland, 1956, P. 5). His ideal was to create a 'classless society' in which greater equality and fraternity would prove their economic worth - in contrast to the 'material inefficiency of capitalism' - by minimising both the waste of talent and the social antagonism which lay behind Britain's poor growth record and poor industrial relations (Crosland, 1956, PP, 63, 194, 518).

We now turn our eyes to the theoretical value base of Democratic Socialism. On this there is substantial agreement. Though so many writers emphasised their own ideas we can identify three, equality, liberty and fraternity as the underlying value base. The value of equality has very important practical implications for both economic and social policy for it implies a substantial role for governments in public affairs and justification of inequality rather than taking them as natural, beneficial and inevitable.

To confront the criticism from the New Right that the policy on equality would destroy freedom, Hattersley argued that Liberty is our aim and equality is the way in which it can truly be achieved' (Hattersley, 1987, P. 23).

Finally, fraternity implies love for one's neighbour; a free gift for the stranger; altruism as well as self-interest; the good of the community as well as individual interest. It is essential to the idea of socialism because without it socialism loses its communitarian appeal that distinguishes it so clearly from capitalism (George and Wilding 1994, P. 99). Crick summed up the relation between these three values as follows: Fraternity without liberty is a nightmare, liberty without fraternity is competitive cruelty, but fraternity with liberty is humanity's greatest dream (Crick, 1984, P. 23).

Defending the welfare state strongly, Democratic Socialists have supported an interventionist social policy and social services. We can sum up their attitude towards the welfare state as follows : the welfare state should involve the elimination of suffering and want in society; social services act as a stimulus to the economy and hence represent an investment in the country's economic prosperity; the welfare state can promote altruism and social integration in society; the welfare state would reduce both horizontal and vertical inequality.

In short Democratic Socialists believed that the welfare state can achieve the above three basic values through broad social services.

3) Marxism

After the collapse of the USSR and East European countries, Marxism has been losing its strength in theoretical debates. The more the world becomes conservative the less Marxism will be referred to in practical policy. In fact Marxism has had little direct impact on the development of welfare policy in western countries including Britain and indeed was rejected as obsolete by Crosland (Crosland, 1956, Ch.1). It has however underpinned both

the fundamentalist beliefs of the left wing of the Labour Party and many academic critiques of the welfare state. It takes its position as a significant critical point of view.

Marxist arguments about the welfare state stem from its analysis of how capitalism as an economic system functions. Marxists believe that capitalistic society is in eternal conflict between the ruling class or the bourgeoisie and the working class. The capitalist mode of production is both exploitative and conflict-ridden. It is exploitative because the means of production are owned by a small minority which naturally tries to maximise for itself the profit generated by the production system. Even though the degree and the nature of exploitation and conflict vary according to the situation this class conflict and exploitation are the natural and inevitable results of private ownership. The social unrest resulting from this conflict has a creative side because it propels capitalism further along the road to the inevitable goal of socialism and communism. Marx and Engels acknowledged that there were other forms of conflict in society, such as of religion, nationality, gender or other sectional interests, but these were better understood as variants of the class conflict.

Gramsci explained the continuing dominance of capitalist value, despite conflicts within the ruling elite and the relative autonomy of the state, by admitting that the ruling class is fragmented (between for instance industrialists and financiers); and by arguing that capitalist 'hegemony' is maintained by a series of alliances forged - through the agency of the state - between the dominant 'fraction' of the elite and the other groups in society. By this means, the short-sighted resistance to reform of certain fractions within the ruling class, which might eventually provoke unrest, can be overcome while capitalism's long-term interests are secured. In this situation the creation of the welfare state can be represented as a 'passive revolution' (Hall, 1988).

O'Connor and Gough classified welfare expenditure in capitalist societies as either social capital, for example, the infrastructure or social expense. They argue that a time when the cost of social expenditure starts to undermine the process of capital accumulation will inevitably come. To reduce it, however, is impossible because it risks the exposure of

capitalist exploitation and thus social unrest (O'Connor 1973, Gough, 1979). Offe said the contradiction is that while capitalism cannot co-exist with the welfare state neither can it exist without the welfare state (Offe, 1982, P. 11).

To judge from the above description of Marxism the term 'welfare state' is misleading because it misleadingly presents a caring face of capitalism and thus distorts the real functions of state welfare in society. For Gough the welfare state is nothing but 'a constituent feature of modern capitalist societies' (Gough, 1979. P3); for Offe the welfare state in no way represents a structural change in capitalist society (Offe, 1972. P481). Naturally for Marxists, social policy or social services is a small concession by the ruling class to damp down radical or revolutionary movements of the working class to maintain the capitalist mode of production.

4) Feminism

Throughout social science many analysts have diagnosed and prescribed the class conflict as described above. They, however, did not consider the gender problem as a obvious variant of discussion until the late 1960s. Beginning to pay attention to the welfare state, some analysed the role of women in the welfare state very intensively. Their argument on the relationship between the welfare state and the position of women can be categorised into several groups.

Their attitudes towards the welfare state and social policy vary according to the focus they adopt. However, for the purpose of the present research, it is unnecessary to explore the different strands of feminist ideas : all that is required is to understand their common views and criticism of the welfare state.

They argued that women have contributed to the development of welfare states. Lewis said that women in and around the Labour party played an important part in the

construction of the social policy which made up the post Second World War welfare state (Lewis, 1991, P. 93). But she maintained that 'The welfare state has rarely prioritised women's welfare'(Lewis, 1991, P. 112)

Wilson criticised the Beveridge Report in that it rather than being a blue print for beneficent reform, is seen as 'one of the most crudely ideological documents of its kind ever written (Wilson, 1977, P. 148). Recently Siim argued that the state has used its social policies to support the home-making role of women and ' in this way the state in Britain became a major obstacle to the integration of women in the public sphere' (Siim, 1990, P. 95).

Some feminists argued that women are also a 'reserve army' of cheap labour to be welcomed into employment in periods of labour shortage but to be dismissed first in a recession. Moreover for the feminist the NHS itself seemed to make women subject to man. They argued not only that the majority of women nurses are under the directive of men doctors but also that women's health and most personal needs are under the control of predominantly male doctors.

In short, feminists remark that the main goal or role of the welfare state has been to reinforce the dominance of men over women in the long run. The social services themselves also obliged women to enter the inferior position whether it was intended or not. Feminism, highlighting the sense of balance in policymaking by taking the gender problem into account, stress that social policy for women is very important because those events in their lives such as birth or childbearing and the engagement in paid employment are very important for them and the human race. They do not just illuminate the position of women; they throw light on the very nature of welfare state.

5) Greenism

It is widely assumed that the first time people turned their attention to the problem of environment was the period of the Industrial Revolution. During that time there were many

tracts and pamphlets which warned against the destruction of the environment, the blind exploitation of human and physical resources, the high rates of population growth and the wretchedness of the populace.

However, these warnings were not taken seriously by governments until the 1980s when the Club of Rome and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment published their reports. Meadows, who was a writer of the Club of Rome, argued that 'if the present growth trends in world population, industrialisation, pollution, food production and resource depletion continue unchanged, limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next hundred years' (Meadows, 1972, P. 4). He meant, in the above statement, that there are 'limits to growth'. These limits to growth became the trade mark of Greenism from that time.

The most important single idea accepted by all of the Greens is that the powerful combination of industrial technology and public craving for constantly rising rates of economic growth has been the main driving force behind the major political and economic changes of industrial societies. However, Weston adopted a different approach, arguing that 'it is time that Greens accepted that it is capitalism rather than industrialism per se which is at the heart of the problems they address' (Weston, 1986, P. 5). Whether they attributed the environmental crisis to that kind of combination of factors or to capitalism their discussion emphasised the necessity of putting 'limits to growth'.

In conclusion, Greenism takes a different attitude towards economic growth from other perspectives. The latter considers economic growth, whether through the private market place or through public social services, as the way to promote welfare, while the former sees growth as the great diswelfare. The Greens think of the free market system as a body of values leading to the destruction of the individual and society. They argue that the government has a major role to play in promoting the welfare of people and society but that government should not commit the serious mistake of short-term gain at the cost of long-term disaster.

3. Disability and Social policy

This brief discussion has indicated that there seem to be as many different views regarding the nature of social policy as well as its scope and objectives, as there are specialists who write about it.

Let us now consider disability. What is disability, and what should be the response to it in the context of social policy ?

In 1974 Titmuss remarked. 'An essential background for the study of social policy is a knowledge of population changes, past and present and predicted for the future; the family as an institution and the position of women; social stratification and the concepts of class, caste, status and mobility, social change and the effect of industrialisation, urbanisation and social condition; the political structure; the work ethic and the sociology of industrial relations; minority groups and social prejudice; social control, conformity, deviance and the use of sociology to maintain the political status quo' (Titmuss, 1974, P. 15). It is striking that he did not mention 'disability' or 'the disabled', though it is fair to say that he might have included disabled people within his category 'minority groups' and disability would have been subsumed within deviance.

In fact, disability was ignored for a long time, unrecognised as a significant social problem. At that time, disability was seen as part of the more general and broader problem of poverty. It is only during the past twenty years that the social security system has recognised disability as such as a particular subject for consideration. In the past, disabled people could claim disability benefits in so far as they were injured at work or through service in the armed forces. Otherwise, they were eligible only for ordinary benefits in the same way as those who were unemployed, sick or retired, without reference to their disabling conditions. Although Britain's Disabled Person's(Employment) Act recognised that disabled people had a right to work in 1944, we cannot accept it as a meaningful start of legislation, because this act was a by-product of a policy of full-employment. During the 1970s, however, a series of mainstream social security benefits were introduced specifically for the

disabled person; thus the concept of compensation for injury began to give way to the objective of meeting needs.

In the case of Britain, it was estimated that there were about 6,560,000 people with disability in 1985 (Office of Population Censuses and Survey, 1988). According to Fry a recent MORI poll in Britain found that 9% of the public considered themselves to be disabled and 27% said that another member of their family was disabled(Fry, 1987). The World Health Organization showed that 10% of world population was estimated as having a disability (WHO, 1980).

Recently, high-technology and environmental pollution are producing various new kinds of disability, though this is mitigated to some degree by technological developments which have helped to prevent disabilities. Yet, to take just one example in South Korea there are about 50,000 new disabled persons a year purely through car-accidents and industrial injuries. In this situation, how can disabled people remain a problem on the periphery of social policy, and not a major subject?

1) Definition of disability

In policy making the most significant stage is the very definition of the problem. How can the problem be expressed? What is disability? This question should be the first step towards policy making. Traditionally, disability has been characterised by its "stigma" like poverty.

In some oriental countries like Korea people consider disability as a punishment for the sins of former life. The disabled come to be discriminated against by virtue of the nature of disability in these societies. In such countries, disabled people are viewed differently from other categories like elderly people and women whose general position though low is not held to be the result of punishment for former sins.

To provide an overview of the definition of disability in a historical sense, we can point out three kinds of definition. Firstly, the development of a medical definition can be seen as first step for deciding the career path of the disabled person. The medical profession

are the first who offer to the patient a diagnosis and prognosis and name and legitimise a condition involving physical impairment.

Blaxter remarked that because of the aura of authority which is attached in society to medical specialists and to medical certificates, the clinical label is one of the most important categorisations which follows the client from one agency to the next (Blaxter, 1976, P. 9). In fact, their treatment and advice are crucial in structuring the client's view of the past, present and probable future. As much as to the extent that their medical definition is important, their misdiagnosis or false treatment may result in crucial danger. Their definitions or categorisations are often different from the self-definition devised by the disabled themselves. Moreover, when the medical definition loses coherence from time to time and from hospital to general practitioner, the disabled become confused.

Secondly, in social policy the administrative definition is also very important. The administrative definition usually decides the scope of social services provided for disabled people. But the administrative definition is usually influenced by the medical definition or clinical certification. In particular when the government decides the range of eligibility, it tends to follow the clinical categorisation of the disabled of medical specialists. In another sense, the attitude of government towards the disabled may influence the definition of disability. We can take one example from John Moore's speech, who was the Minister for Health and Social Services in Britain. He said that "under the guise of compassion people were encouraged to see themselves as victims of circumstance, mere putty in the grip of giant forces beyond their control. Rather than being seen as individuals, people were categorised into groups and given labels that enshrined their dependent status: 'unemployed', 'single parent', 'handicapped'. Thus their confidence and will to help themselves was subtly undermined, and they were taught to think only government action could affect their lives" (Moore, 1988). At that time the government considered the disabled as a "burden on society". Consequently the government saw the disabled in terms of the notion of dependency.

Finally, there are the sociological and political definitions of disability. The advocates of this definition criticized the former two definitions, especially that of the clinicians. They

argued that the medical definition was devised only in the orbit of medical specialists without consideration of the position of the disabled person and that the social theory of disability which was based on medical or individual value must be rejected. They emphasised the importance of the direct experience of disabled people. According to this view the medical definition has been unable to distinguish between illness and disability. Oliver has argued that social science in general and social policy in particular have moved towards rejecting individualistic theories and have begun to construct a range of social alternatives which should eclipse personal tragedy theory, and have begun to develop a more adequate social (oppression) theory of disability (Oliver, 1989, P.11). He has maintained that the problem of disability must become a political issue by shaking off the shackles of methodological individualism. Moreover he suggests that disabled people actively participate in the political process itself through a dynamic disability movement. Just as women and black people have discovered that they must write their own histories, so too with disabled people. He predicted that the rise of the disability movement as part of the broader phenomenon of new social movements will characterise capitalism in the late twentieth century (Oliver, 1989, P.1).

In fact there are two kinds of disability movement. The first is that of the so called 'reformers', who focus on improving current policies and introducing new ones which are based on 'realistic' appraisals of what may or may not be possible. They tend to adopt strategies of persuasion through lobbying, campaigning and research. The second are 'radicals', who see the social world as the force which disables people, and seek to change that world rather than fight for improvements within an unchanging wider environment. They favour the term 'disabled people'. For them their impairments are regarded as limitations on their physical (or mental) functioning and they are only then disabled if society imposes constraints upon their social function (Dalley, 1991, pp. 3-7).

2) Disability, employment and social integration

For most people, having a job is very important because it not only provides financial support but also may provide a structure of social relationships. Discrimination against

disabled people, however, is more prominent in employment than any other area. The OPCS survey shows that in Britain the proportion of people who say they are permanently unable to work rises at higher levels of disability from one fifth in severity categories 1 and 2, to three-quarters in categories 9 and 10. Only 5 per cent of the most severely disabled men and women of working age are in employment. The survey shows that disabled workers earned less than other workers, even when hours were taken into account. Disabled men earned 3.80 pound per hour, compared with 4.50 pound per hour among the population at large (OPCS, 1988). If we now turn to consider the East Asian area about 40 percent of disabled people are unemployed in south Korea.

Both in western countries and East Asian countries the seriousness of unemployment among disabled people has been recognised by government. But to establish programmes to ensure employment has not been easy, because the problem is a complex one involving both economic and political commitment. Moreover the programme also demands a considerable extent of professionalism.

Looking at the various kinds of programmes or institutions for encouraging the employment of disabled people, the following three strategies may be discerned. Firstly, disabled people may be offered training and rehabilitation to improve their employment prospects. Secondly, sheltered employment may be made available to people who are unable to undertake ordinary work. Thirdly, employers are required to maintain a quota of registered disabled workers (Dalley, 1991, P.15). In Britain, recently, the supported employment system was introduced.

However, employment legislation itself is not so important as the way in which the government decides to implement it. The area is a very complex one in which it is difficult to anticipate the effect of government action. And while a policy may be successful in one particular context, it can not be assumed that it will have similar results in another (Oliver, 1990, P. 87). Therefore, a country like Korea would be unwise to borrow uncritically a policy from another country.

In particular it is not enough merely for the government alone to intervene in employment. There are three factors which are important to the solution of the problem of the employment for disabled people; government; the employer; the disabled person. It is not a matter of merely the government providing a direct service. The attitude of the employers toward the disabled is very crucial in this problem. Moreover, devising a method by which the government can persuade employers to employ the disabled is not simple. How much incentive should be given to them and how strongly should they be coerced? The definition and understanding of the disability is also important. Some people have estimated that for every 1 pound spent on rehabilitating one disabled person, that person will repay the community by paying 25 pounds in tax (Reagles and Wright,1971). However, others have argued that disabled people should be recognised as good consumers because they spend around seven billion pounds a year (George and Wilding, 1984). Thus as tax payers and consumers, then, disabled people are integrated successfully into the mainstream of society. But without employment that social integration will only be half achieved. The objectives of policies for disabled persons have come to be perceived as the promotion of the right of everyone to enjoy a normal life (Sainsbury, S., 1993, P. 13).

4. Korea and the Welfare state

Let us describe the characteristics of Korean society at a macro level to help to understand the position of the country with regard to social policy more easily. A broad overview will be presented focused on three areas namely, administration, economy and politics.

1) Administration

Independence (1945) from Japan and the establishment of government(1948) made Korea take fresh steps towards its future. However, immediately after Independence there was considerable confusion and disorder in Korea. Accordingly, the first purpose of the Korean government was to maintain its order through strong initiative and control by

government. This strong central government control was reinforced by the outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950. In Korea, the extension of state intervention meant the strengthening of the government to enable it to prosecute war and national security more effectively. Thus the situation was very different from that of wartime Britain. Unlike Britain in the second world war, the Korean government excluded from its area of concern as part of the national defense the social welfare of the people.

After the student revolution in 1960, the government began to recognize a sense of responsibility for meeting popular demands. The government's choice was economic growth. From that time economic growth was the number one priority of government policies. The government set up the national plan for economic growth which was implemented from 1962. As will be described in more detail later, economic growth became the first cause for state intervention from that time. This trend was continued in the 1970s when government concentrated on military industry and heavy-chemical industry.

In 1980s the national goal was extended to include justice, and welfare. However, there was no prominent change in the area of welfare even if there was a small turning point in social policy as will be described later.

In short, from the establishment of the nation Korea has focused on state intervention through the function of maintenance of national security and national order and through the implementation of the economic plan. Recently, however, it has overtly acknowledged that another premise of state intervention is the distribution and coordination of the conflict between the classes, and regions.

2) Economy

As described above, Korea achieved remarkable economic growth by implementing a strong national plan by state intervention. This kind of state intervention was similar to that undertaken in Japan and Taiwan (Park Dong-Seo, 1984, p. 96). Despite this broad

similarity, however, there is considerable difference between these countries in the detail of government intervention. Japan and Taiwan also have supported middle and small scale industries to increase their competition potential like Korea. The result, however, was somewhat different. In the former two countries the state intervened with relatively little corruption. Unfortunately, in Korea state intervention for stimulating the growth of the national economy resulted in the corrupt connection between the group in political power and the company owners.

Professor Ahn has argued that this connection between a few big company owners and the group in political power tightened and made Korean enterprise low in competition potential and resulted in unnecessary waste within the Korean economy (Ahn Byung-Man, 1985, PP. 327-328). Professor Park has remarked that the reason for this immoral connection resulting in corruption was that the succeeding military power groups who were weak in responsibility and authority mobilised huge amounts of political money to maintain their power (Park, Dong-seo, 1984, P. 98)

In Short, Korean economic growth has two faces. One is the remarkably rapid growth. The other is the distortion of the market caused by the connection between the military political group and enterprise owners resulting in the production of a few privileged big conglomerates and an unbalanced economy. This type of state intervention has been characteristic of the Korean economy for a long time and may continue for some time in the future. To see the Korean economy in terms of British market principle makes the nature of its character more apparent.

3) Politics

As described above, the Korean power group failed to obtain the confidence of the people. For a long time Korean people have not respected their political leaders so much as feared them. Korean political leaders, the so called presidents, have been the leaders of political parties. Once, however, they were elected as presidents their attention was concentrated on ruling the people, not on the democratic political procedure. In Korean

political history, there has been no rule or order underpinning succeeding political powers. Whenever a new president has come to power, there has been another political party organised by him (see Chapter 2). The history of political parties can be described only by the political characteristics of the president at that time. Thus there has been no political situation in which a two-party system could be established on the British model.

Many political scientists assess Korean politics in terms of monopoly power rather than democracy, and centralisation rather than decentralisation or regionlisation. They argue that the state is always superior to society (Korea Political Academy, 1986, PP. 229-231).

Professor Park explains the causes of this phenomenon in terms of the agricultural tradition, a power-oriented culture, confucianism, the Lee dynasty, the Korean war, the Japanese occupation, the existence of the military power group and the development of economic growth through strong state control (Park, Dong-Seo, 1984, PP. 90-102).

4) Social policy

In this political and economic situation, Korea is now launching its plan to change itself into a more balanced country. From the 1980s it moved slowly to the direction of developing a welfare state which is already outdated. It has applied some welfare principles which had been borrowed from Japan with which it has been associated historically and with which it has a close geographical connection. The Japanese welfare system, however, has already been Japanised (Hyun, Oae-Seong, 1992, pp. 263-315). The Korean people have become aware of the difference between the Korean and Japanese systems. Korea needs some other appropriate perspective and point of reference against which it may chart its social development in the future.

5. Korea and Democratic Socialism

At first glance Korea and Democratic Socialism do not fit each other. The political, economic and cultural backgrounds which constitute Korean history, as described above and will be described in more detail later, are different from those of Britain and other European countries. It is true that this study's brief survey of the history of Korean development has not been balanced by any detailed description of British historical characteristics. However, even a brief sketch of Korea's past and present is enough to discern the difference between the two countries.

Democratic Socialism is one of the perspectives which has informed the social policy of developed countries especially Great Britain. It has been developed through the competition between conservative liberalism and change-oriented social scientists and politicians. However, of necessity, therefore, its main arena has been confined to only a few developed countries.

Korea apparently, has a different face from that of Britain. If, however, we look into Korea in more detail we can find the fact that there are similarities between Korea and Britain, and the fact that Democratic Socialism can be employed as a perspective to evaluate Korean present and predict the future.

Through describing Korean characteristics, certain factors embodied in Korean policy making in the political, economic, administrative structure become apparent. Among them we must include the strong state intervention in every part of decision making as a most prominent characteristic. We cannot discuss Korea without considering its history of strong state intervention.

Another feature which can be identified is its hope for a welfare state which started to emerge from the late 1980s. This welfare state is the very direction in which Korea now wants to go even if there has been almost no prominent result as yet. Almost all Korean people including policy-makers now believe that the various social problems which the

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country is now experiencing have stemmed from the one sided rapid economic growth controlled by the government. Moreover they think that state intervention is necessary to solve the problem because it was the very cause of those problems. Korea, now in its first stage towards the development of a welfare state, is eager for the government to take further appropriate steps. In this situation it is important to determine the direction of future social policy.

Now, let us consider those aspects of social policy relating to state intervention, welfare state-orientation and their implications for future social policy.

Firstly, we can turn back to Liberalism including the New Right. Broadly speaking Liberalism and the New Right see state intervention as a burden for the individual and the market place resulting in discouraging private enterprise. They think of broad social service provision as another face of high taxation. Accordingly, Liberals see the welfare state as an unbelievable force demolishing human well-being. They argue that welfare states not only increase a dependency culture but also enhance the level of expectation of people towards the government. When, however, the government cannot meet the expectation its authority will be injured (George and Wilding, 1994, PP. 15-41). Together with the crisis of financial capacity, they worry that the future of the welfare state is very uncertain and undesirable. This principle of liberalism is far from those which underpin Korean policy-making and its implementation.

There will be some who argue that because economic growth made Korea turn its eye to the problem of social policy, this seems to confirm convergence theory. Convergence theory, however, is a technical determinism which sees the welfare system as a product of industrialism. It is true that according to the level of industrialisation social policy may vary. But it is not enough to address how one country achieves industrialisation. Moreover, convergence theory lacks a group action perspective and plays down the role of ideologies and belief as well as of conflicts. Therefore, it offers no guide to action (Mishra, 1977, PP.

33-42). It has nothing to do with social policy which is and will be planned by government. It is also inappropriate for explaining the Korean system which is already creating the expectation of a fully fledged welfare state.

Others may suggest one should apply the functionalists view in the Korean situation. But, as Merton pointed out it cannot explain the trade-off relationship between the "manifest and latent function" or "intended and unintended consequences" of social action (Merton, PP. 80-105). It is, also, a value-free approach and it cannot be helpful in the critical evaluation of social institutions. By its very nature, it limits the use of the theory from the standpoint of the evaluation and formulation of social policy (Mishra, 1977. PP. 54-60).

In the case of reluctant collectivism, those who follow this view recognise the role of state intervention more positively than liberals. But they also have the view that the market principle is the best practical mechanism for society. They believe that the government's policy can intervene only to compensate for the flaws in the self- regulating economy. It is possible to discern that this view is also too weak to explain and predict the future path of Korean social policy. The Korean government has been in the forefront of all the effort to develop Korea.

Secondly, Marxism constantly considers the welfare state as an aspect of capitalism which is seeking to maintain the system. Social services are considered as concessions or present provision for preventing serious resistance from the lower-classes. For Marxists the driving force to change society is not the welfare state but the conflicts between classes and the fiscal crisis.

Glennester has summarised the problems with Marxism as follows : the failure of its predictions; the concept of class in a modern economy; the concept of the state; the lack of any alternative to the market; the underplaying of gains from social policy; the failure to cope with gender(Glennester, 1994).

In addition to these kinds of problems, Marxism is not an appropriate tool for analysing South Korean policy because it is the basis on which North Korea has chosen to act for a long time. These two nations differ substantially and most South Korean people regard Marxism as the main cause of their tragedy, the Korean War.

Thirdly, feminism focuses on the problem of gender whilst Marxism concentrates on the conflicts between classes. The feminists have pleaded for the discussion of social policy to be balanced by including the gender problem. However, it cannot be regarded as a good perspective for analysing social policy as a whole; it has its uses when it forces analysts to consider the importance of gender to certain aspects policy making. The argument is a persuasive one and this study will take the gender problem into consideration in researching the issue of disability, because disabled women face the double jeopardy of discrimination as women and as disabled people.

Fourthly, Greenism offered another kind of reason for restraint in policymaking. It argues that individualistic industrialism was the main factor which destroyed the environment. Greens believe that relentless economic growth results in the serious pollution and waste of resources. They believe in the importance of state intervention in reconsidering the development or improvement in every respect. However, this belief, also, is inadequate as a framework for understanding the Korean system. While it is important as a supplementary set of ideas, it is not sufficient in itself.

Finally, let us reassess Democratic Socialism. According to this point of view, state intervention through social policy may be considered as a stabiliser or stimulator of the national economy. For the democratic socialists a considerable degree of state intervention can be justified, if less than the Marxists. They believe that in any sense state provision is better than private provision. They argue that private provision will increase existing inequalities in society and by doing so they also undermine social integration : Titmuss

argued of supporters of the private market 'their whole tendency at present is to divide loyalties, to nourish privilege and to narrow the social conscience' (Titmuss, 1958, P. 55).

Democratic Socialists also see the welfare state as a base camp from which to climb higher towards a further developed country. They emphasise the changing nature of society. Titmuss wrote, 'the concept of policy is only meaningful if we... believe we can effect change' (Titmuss, 1974, PP. 23-4). The Korean style of policy-making may be understood within this framework. The strong state intervention and the value of change for the future underpinning the various arguments of democratic socialists fits the Korean situation well.

However it is important at this stage to avoid becoming one sided, by introducing some criticism of this point of view. Even though so many social democrats believe in the importance of welfare state and social service there is also a critical view. Le Grand summed up his findings on this issue in the early 1980s as follows ; 'public expenditure on the social services has not achieved equality in any of its interpretations. Public expenditure on health care, education, housing and transport systematically favours the better off, and thereby contributes to inequality in the final outcome' (Le Grand, 1982, P. 137). But the result may vary from time to time and from country to country. Moreover, in another area of social expenditure, for example that of disability, the result may be different.

Secondly, let us consider a new viewpoint, according to which there is a need to refine certain aspects of Democratic Socialism such as its support for centralised, bureaucratically-run, uniform social services. This view puts emphasis instead on the usefulness of public participation and consumer choice. Plant argues that 'Whilst the communitarian socialist will emphasise the legal enforcement of rights through uniform services for all the libertarian socialist will stress the placing of more power by way of strict entitlements into the hands of the consumers' (Plant, 1988, P.13). Both approaches envisage improvements in the standards of social provision and reductions of inequalities but they set about achieving their objectives differently. The latter seems a very important view which can make Democratic Socialism more relevant in current circumstances.

So far, I have reassessed the different perspectives of social policy in terms of their possible applicability to the Korean system. As a result Democratic Socialism has emerged as the most reliable perspective among them to be taken into account when considering the issue of state intervention, welfare state-orientation and policy implications for the future.

In conclusion, some factors, according to which the Korean situation will be assessed in more detail in the next chapters, will be drawn out. These factors will be selected from the various arguments developed by those whose view can be categorised as democratic socialist. Having considered the theoretical aspects of the analysis, it is now possible to proceed towards the application of the principles of Democratic Socialism to the Korean situation. In this endeavour, David Donnison's work regarding Britain provides a helpful frame of reference (Donnison, D., 1982, pp. 20-21).

1) The growth of the economy and the population will continue. That, by itself will not solve any problems; but it provides an optimistic setting for debate. The pursuit of social justice may be carried forward by engines of economic growth which would produce the resources to create a fairer society without anyone suffering on the way.

2) Although inequalities in incomes are likely to persist, their harsher effects could be gradually softened by a 'social wage'(consisting of social services distributed with greater concern for human needs) and by the growing burden of progressive taxes, taking more from the rich than the poor, which are required to finance the social services.

3) Despite fierce conflicts about important issues(comprehensive schools, pensions, rent controls and so on) the people with middling skills and incomes-'middle England'-would eventually support equalising social policies and programmes of this kind. Trade unions and the Labour movement would usually provide the political cutting edge for reform; and the Conservative governments which followed them would accept most of its results.

4) Therefore governments and their social services, accountable to this central consensus, were the natural vehicles of progress. Among their generally trusted

instruments were the doctors, teachers, town planners, nurses, social workers and other public service professions. The pretensions and powers of these professions should be critically watched but progressive governments were expected to recruit more of these people...

5) Although economic crises, political accidents and sheer ineptitude would often compel governments temporarily to abandon these aims, over the longer run they would all try to increase industrial investment and improve Britain's lagging productivity, to secure some broad agreement about the distribution of incomes, to get unemployed people back into jobs, to free poorer people from means tests by giving them adequate benefits as of right, to give children a better start in life and more equal opportunities for the future, and to provide better care and support for the most vulnerable people and for families living on low or modest incomes. 'Middle England', we assumed, would not tolerate any radical departure from those aims. A government which allowed-let alone encouraged-a return to the high unemployment, the social conflicts and means tests of the 1930s could not survive.

This study modifies his summary and simplifies his expression into the following principles or elements: continuous economic growth; state intervention; the importance of the role of the middle class; the ratchet effect of welfare expenditure. The term "Middle England" is interpreted as "Middle Class" to secure for it a universal meaning. Moreover, Democratic Socialism needs to be extended to embrace the direct experience or need of the client. That is why a new aspect namely that of emphasising public participation was introduced. Now, we can define the final list of factors, by which the Korean system is analysed, as the following;

1. Economic growth
2. State intervention
3. The role of middle class
4. Ratchet effect of welfare expenditure
5. Public participation.

Chapter 2

Analysis of the Korean System

1. Economic growth

Before discussing "economic growth", per se, let us consider the relationship between economic growth and welfare. Does economic growth necessarily contribute to welfare? Is there a consensus on the matter? These questions are addressed to lay the foundation of this chapter.

In Chapter 1 various perspectives on social policy were reviewed and their differences were explored. There was some mention of economic aspects of social policy but the relationship between the two factors has not been explored to any degree.

While the various arguments about social policy do not reject the importance of economic growth itself, they differ widely on the question of economic growth and distribution.

Liberalism broadly views economic growth as the driving force behind welfare. For its supporters economic growth, as George and Wilding say, is a rising tide which raises all boats (George, V. and Wilding, P., 1994. p. 196). They believe in the value of economic growth because it is the product of the market principle from which their arguments originate. In particular, the Convergence Theory argues that economic growth is a very important factor which plays a significant role in policy-making including social policy. In this theory the level to which a society is industrialised is a main determinant of social policy.

On the other hand, the Greens focus on the sustainability of mankind rather than economic growth. Their main ideas are based fundamentally on maintaining the national and international balance in development and distribution. This view, however, does not seem to

reject the impact of economic growth on social policy if public policy keeps the environmental balance.

Finally, Democratic Socialists view economic growth as crucial and desirable. On this point alone, there is little difference between the arguments of the Liberals and the Democratic Socialists. The arguments of the Democratic Socialists, however, do not stop here. They continue arguing that economic growth is essential but its use for social purposes is crucial to welfare. Moreover, as described in chapter 1, D. Donnison argues that the pursuit of social justice can be carried forward by engines of economic growth. He says that economic growth can produce the resources to create a fairer society without anyone suffering along the way (Donnison, D., 1982, p.20). It seems clear that economic growth is an essential precondition of an expansive state social policy.

However, in Korea, some disagree with the argument that economic growth is important to social policy. They argue that rapid economic growth can be achieved only by sacrificing welfare in Korea. They argue that economic growth has produced numerous social problems, for instance pollution, the huge gap between poor and rich, social isolation etc. rather than stimulated welfare (Jeong, J. G., 1989, P. 104). At first glance this view seems to be opposed entirely to the notion of the positive impact of economic growth on welfare. If we look closer at this view the truth is rather different. They concentrate mostly on the process by which and the way in which economic growth has been achieved. Far from considering economic wealth an evil, they regret that social problems have not been embraced in the process of economic growth.

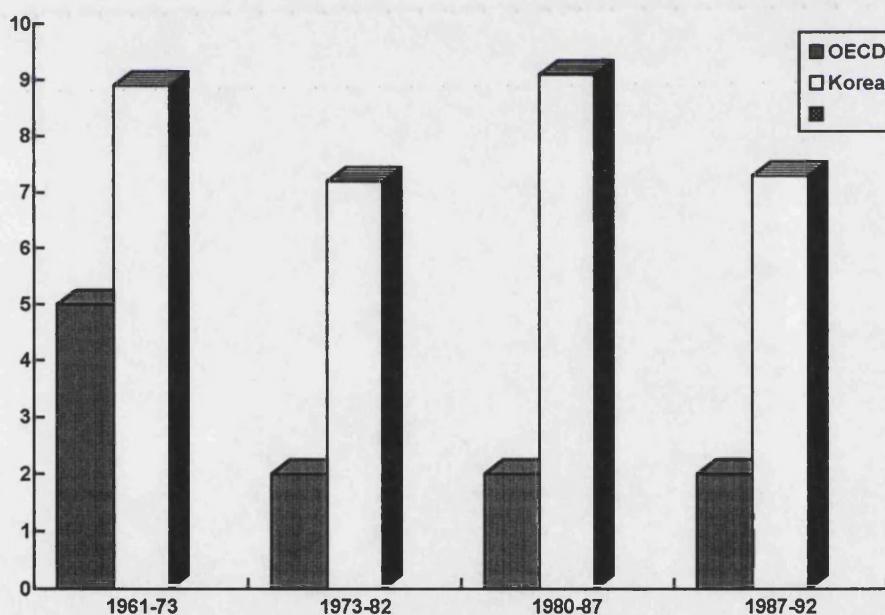
Professor Jeong, a supporter of this point of view, said, when I meet him at the Seoul National University in July 1995, that: 'the very miracle of Korea is economic growth. Korea is getting rich enough to solve the social problems derived from rapid economic growth. We have another era of development in front of us, the era of welfare development'.

So far, we have examined some of the arguments about the relationship between economic growth and welfare or social policy. On balance, it seems to be the case that it is arguable that economic growth may positively impact on social policy. Let us now turn to the history of Korea's economic growth and consider its future.

1). The drama of economic growth

Three decades ago the average Korean earned around \$100 a year, less than the average Indian or Ghanaian. Today South Korea's GNP per head is over \$ 10,000, thirty times India's and twenty times Ghana's. Korea has achieved this amazing result despite the absolute devastation of the Korean War (1950-53) which destroyed almost two-thirds of all productive capacity.

Diagram 1. GDP Growth in Korea and the OECD
% Annual average percentage change



Source : OECD; IMF (1994)

During the period of reconstruction after the war, Korea reached 4 to 5 per cent of GNP growth per year. A dramatic economic take-off did not occur until President Park came into power in 1961. During the following 30 years, the average annual GDP growth rate of 8.4

per cent was one of the highest in the world. Even if there were slight fluctuations in the economy, GDP growth never fell below 7 per cent in any of the periods shown in Diagram 1.

Let us consider Korea's economic growth across these periods of time: the period of the export-drive (1961-72), that of intensive investment in heavy and chemical industry (1973-79) and the period of liberal reforms (1980-1992).

(1). Period of the export drive (1961-72)

Scarcity of natural resources and the small size of the internal market drove Korea (with a population of 44 million) to focus its efforts on developing an external market. President Park understood the situation in which Korea was confined and tried to find an exit towards economic growth by expanding exports. The economic reforms introduced in 1964 by President Park, notably unification and devaluation of the exchange rate and tariff exemption for exporters, together with the fiscal reforms introduced in the second half of the 1960s, laid the foundations for a period of exceptionally rapid growth. Between 1963 and 1973, real GDP rose by almost 140 per cent and per capita GDP almost doubled(World Bank, 1987,1993, Kwack, 1986. pp. 104-107).

(2). The period of intense investment in heavy and chemical industry (1973-79)

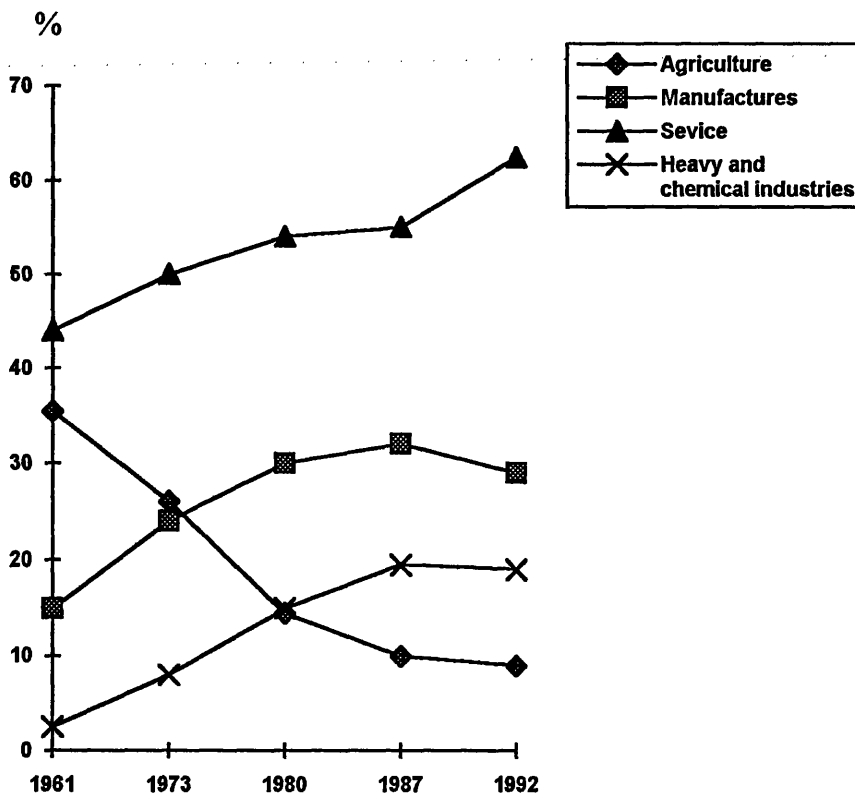
In 1972, President Park changed the constitution to strengthen his position. The fourth republic, the so called Yushin system even removed the limitation in re-election of the President. He became the most powerful president in Korean history. He used his power to transfer the national economic strategy from export expansion to concentrate on the development of heavy and chemical industry.

At around the same time, he had to take into account two political and economic developments. On the one hand he had to prepare to compensate for a reduction in military forces because the U.S.A. was reducing its military presence in Korea. On the other hand he had to maintain Korea's comparative advantage among the rising developing countries by

upgrading Korea's industrial structure. These two political and economic problems were regarded as almost impossible to solve without strong and decisive government leadership.

The government developed specific industries such as iron & steel, non-ferrous metals, shipbuilding, machinery & chemical industries and stimulated import-substitution through the allocation of credit to favoured industries. Bank loans to the chemical, basic metals & fabricated metal and equipment industries rose from one-third in 1973-74 to about 60 per cent in 1975-77. This kind of sector-specific policy resulted in double the average rate of capital formation in this sector compared with that of light industry during this period. Yet, there had been almost no difference in the rate of capital formation between the two industries during the 1960s (Yu, J. H., 1990).

Diagram 2. Industrial composition of GDP in Korea



Source : Sa, G.I.(1993), Yu, J.H.(1992)

The heavy and chemical industries increased their share of manufacturing output from about one-fourth in 1961 to two-thirds by 1992. It grew most rapidly in the seven years before 1980, more than doubling its share in GDP as shown in diagram 2 (Sa, G. I.,1993, Yu, J. H.,1992).

(3) The period of liberal reforms (1980-1992)

President Chun who took office in 1980 faced serious economic problems such as high inflation, adverse terms-of-trade stemming from the second oil shock, and over-investment and low profitability in the heavy and chemical industries coupled with political unrest as a result of the assassination of the former President Park. This political and economic turmoil forced President Chun to reassess the current economic policy. He introduced a macroeconomic stabilisation plan accompanied by a liberalization of structural policies. Preferential credit and tax concessions were reduced to limit credit expansion and the budgetary imbalance. The government played a more neutral role in controlling industries. This stabilisation programme worked, resulting in increased output by over 110 per cent since 1973 and per capita output by over 80 per cent.

The succeeding president Rho, who was narrowly elected by the population in December 1987, continued economic reforms. After 'the 6.29 declaration' in favour of democratic reforms in June 29, 1987, President Rho, when he was a presidential candidate, had to contend with a sharp rise in labour union membership as well as a corresponding rise in labour disputes and strikes as shown in Table 1.

Even in this situation, his reform-policy managed to reduce barriers to trade. Tariff rates on manufactured imports were reduced to levels comparable to those in the OECD area in 1989. Regulations on current-account transactions were dismantled in 1988 when Korea accepted the obligations under Article VII of the IMF's articles of agreement (Yu, J. H.,1990).

Despite this large scale of economic reforms Korea maintained a high rate of growth (about 7.5 per cent) during the period from 1987 to 1992 even if it was not as high as that of the previous period (see diagram 1).

Table 1. Unionisation and Labour Disputes in Korea

Year	Number of unions	Union membership	Labour disputes
1963	2,150	224	89
1970	3,500	473	88
1980	2,635	948	407
1985	2,551	1,004	265
1987	4,103	1,267	3,749
1988	6,164	1,707	1,873
1989	7,883	1,932	1,616
1990	7,698	1,886	322
1991	7,656	1,803	234
1992	7,527	1,734	235
1993	-	-	144

Note: Unit of Union Membership is thousands

Source: Korea Labour Institute, *KLI Labour Statistics*, 1994 : *Quarterly Labour Review*, 8(1), 1995.

2) The current situation and the future

Economic reforms carried out by the two previous Presidents were continued by President Kim in 1993. Kim was a dissident and is the first Korean President without a military background. He established the new five-year economic plan for the period 1993 to 1997. The major goal of this plan is to reduce regulations on business activities, including those governing land use, environmental protection and industrial safety. It also includes policies to promote the autonomy of financial institutions and allow the use of more indirect instruments to control the money supply. According to the plan Korea is expected to reach an average growth of 7 per cent raising per capita income to \$14,000 by 1998 (Ministry of Finance and Economy 1995).

No one can predict accurately the result of this plan, but many predict a positive future for the Korean economy. They point out that political stability, economic globalisation including the removal of various barriers to international trade, steady investment in infrastructure etc. will promote continuous economic growth.

Im, MuSong, a deputy-director of the Labour Ministry said " Labour disputes have come into a very stable phase after experiencing the turmoil in 1987-89. Now there are small conflicts between the official trade unions and informal trade unions, but it will not influence the wage rate "(Im, M. S. 1995).

Song, InChang, another deputy-director of the Ministry of Finance and Economy researching Korean economic problems at LSE predicted:" After the settlement of the Uruguay Round and the birth of the WTO, Korea has been trying to adopt international trade customs based on liberal trade. Moreover its internal market is getting more democratic and competitive. I do not think the Korean economy could now retreat. It will maintain its present growth rate and make a soft-landing in a worst-case scenario " (Song, I. C., 1995).

2. State intervention

The relationship between state intervention and perspectives on social policy has been addressed in the previous chapter. There the importance of the role of the state for democratic socialists in general was demonstrated. Let us now consider the particular case of state intervention in Korea.

State intervention does not need to be carried out in the same way everywhere. It varies from area to area and from policy to policy. Therefore it is very difficult to investigate the extent or level to which the state intervenes in the various sectors. In the case of Korea, the economy seems an appropriate sector to be used as an example for explaining the state's role in the process of national development compared with other sectors, in that Korea has

concentrated its effort on economic growth producing many examples of state intervention in the economic field.

1). Growth-orientation

So far the Korean economy has been examined in terms of "growth" alone without any attempt to articulate the causal factors of that growth. From this point, it is important to try to address what made it possible for the Korean economy to grow so rapidly and ,apparently, successfully to an extent that many students studying developing countries want to take it as a model. Even if the causal factors stem largely from a Korean national tradition in response to the international political and economic environment, the main factor to be discussed here will be state intervention. However, although the main focus will be the matter of state intervention, we shall also be concerned with an analysis of other supplementary factors.

The fact that Korean economic growth was achieved through strong state initiative could hardly be denied. During the periods of the export-drive(1961-73) and intensive investment in heavy and chemical industries(1973-79), the regulative governmental instruments to formulate and control the market such as trade restrictions, subsidies and credit allocation were recognised as key factors which contributed to the high rate of economic growth. In particular, the governmental policy which shifted the economic strategy from import-substitution to export-drive has been considered as decisive in pushing the economy towards further development beyond the point where it could be compared with Latin American countries despite the scarcity of natural resources.

At this point in the development of the argument, it is difficult to make progress without providing an overview of the vivid discussion occurring around Korean economic growth. The various arguments can be sorted out into three trends. The first trend is the neo-classical viewpoint which is very similar to the Liberals' point of view in the social policy area. The second one is the revisionist interpretation which ,in the context of perspectives of social policy, could be regarded as an equivalent of Democratic Socialism. The last group consists

of those who are searching for the causal factor of Korean economic growth outside Korean economic policy.

To begin with the neo-classical theory, this puts emphasis on the importance of getting the economic fundamentals right. For neo-classical economists, Korea's outstanding performance comes from its high level of investment, its sound fiscal policies, its heavy investment in education and its relatively high degree of openness to world markets. For them, politicians and government officials are inclined to seek their own individual interests in the name of public policy rather than to work for the real public purpose of the nation. In this assumption they argue that state intervention will serve the interest of a small number of people who hold power. Because of the interference of the state in the market, business people pursue political favours, instead of following market signals (Kruger,A., 1974). Through this process of distortion of the market system, state intervention comes to lose its original sense of direction and balance.

If this is so, how could Korea achieve its amazing economic growth? To address this question the neo-classical economists argue that a selective and mild state interference can be acceptable. Ian Little argues, discussing the experience and the cause of rapid labour intensive development in Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, that the state should provide adequate infrastructure to enable industry to function effectively and profitably with minimum interference (Little,I., 1979). To add one more point of view, some people argue that the driving force of the Korean economy lies in the export-drive strategy. They say that Korean businesses and industries had to face a highly competitive international market because economic growth was heavily dependent on exports. Through exposure to such intense competition, private enterprises made themselves efficient and profitable (Balassa,B., 1981, P. 8).

Secondly, the revisionists like Amsden(1989) and Wade(1990) have argued that the government had clear industrial priorities and it did not hesitate to intervene (through subsidies, trade restrictions, administrative guidance, public enterprises or credit allocation) to improve comparative advantage, resulting in rising incomes, investment, savings and productivity. In other words, the government was able to improve the market outcome and

accelerate economic growth by deliberately distorting prices and incentives. Amsden, in particular, considers state intervention as a general phenomenon of modern states (Amsden, 1989. p. 14).

Chang examines the governmental instruments which were used in manipulating or distorting the market system in more detail. According to him, the Korean state imposed performance standards on private firms. Once private firms met the standard, the state provided various kinds of subsidies such as low interest rate capital, a license which allows these businesses to enter new markets and gain recognition of monopoly status. On the other hand, for those who failed to meet the standard, the state did not supply either subsidies or extra capital to rescue them in the case of financial difficulties (Chang, H. J., 1994. pp. 115-116).

In a situation in which some industries, especially chemicals and allied areas, have had difficulties in becoming internationally competitive and were in need of more support, state intervention through various tools, seems to have had a significant impact on economic growth in Korea. Some commentators have therefore described Korean policies as an example of successful intervention to promote infant-industries (Westphal, L. E., 1982).

Finally, those who turn their focus beyond Korea to search for the reasons for high rates of economic growth, focus on the international economic, political and geo-political environment rather than on the internal market or state intervention. Bruce Cumings who has been a leading proponent of this point of view argues that the analysis of the economy in East Asia can be understood only if the international political and economic structures of the region are taken into consideration. He criticises the attitude in some studies which seeks to find unique causal factors in each country in East Asia. He warns that the emphasis on uniqueness might often turn out to be misleading because it could ignore the dynamism of the international economy. Furthermore, he argues that the hegemony in this region had shifted from the United States to Japan. The nations in this region, particularly Japan, Korea and Taiwan, formed an economic constellation, the so-called 'Yen Bloc'. As a leading country, Japan managed the economic dynamism in this region (Cumings, B., 1987).

Recently, Goodman and Peng have suggested a 'Japan-focused East Asian model' which is very similar to Cumings's 'the Yen Bloc' but slightly different in that the former is derived from the historical and religious context while the latter from an economic context (Goodman, R. and Peng, I., 1995). They argue that Korea and Taiwan have been strongly influenced on various policies including in the economic sector by colonial occupation. They mention that the Japan-focused model could be more easily produced because each country in this region has a common heritage of Confucianism.

This kind of regional bloc-theory, however, has been confronted by strong criticism evoked by those who put an emphasis on traditional Korean characteristics which differ from Japan. Janelli argues that the difference in orientation and attitude of workers towards their employers between the two countries results in a significantly different business culture and econo-social situation (Janelli, R., 1993). According to him, the Japan-focused regional model could be a premature generalisation ignoring the specific factors of Korean culture. As we shall see in more detail later, S. G. Kim, has criticised the bloc-theory in very similar terms to those advanced by Janelli (S. G. Kim, 1987).

These, then, are the three broad perspectives on the phenomenon of Korean growth. They each have their own focus such as market principle, state intervention and external environments respectively. It is true that the supporters of each have been trying to clarify their points of view by concentrating their emphasis on one of the three aspects. However, their attitudes towards the relationship between state intervention and economic growth in Korea are very ambivalent.

In the case of neo-classical theory, the supporters of it do not deny the importance of state intervention by admitting the concept of minimum interference or selective intervention as described earlier. Moreover, while evaluating Korea's export-driven strategy which strengthened the competitiveness of business enterprises in the highly competitive international market, they have recognised the importance of state intervention. In other words, the neo-classical and the revisionist accounts converge on the importance of export-oriented strategy in having disciplined firms and enhanced productivity growth (Rodrik, D., 1995).

Now, if we turn back to Cumings's view, we find that his view also embraces a considerable understanding of the role of the state in the process of economic growth even if he is still stressing the international environment. He describes the Korean and Taiwanese states by the term, "Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Industrialising Regimes". He continues by arguing that these two states are ubiquitous in economy and society : penetrating, comprehensive, highly articulated and relatively autonomous of particular groups and classes (Cumings, B.,1987. p.70). In his term Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regime, it is not difficult for us to presume that he takes into account the role of the state.

Goodman and Peng are not exceptions in emphasising the importance of state intervention. They argue that the high status enjoyed by bureaucrats in East Asian societies mean that they are normally given the task of carrying out reforms. They also mention that bureaucrats in these countries are permitted to implement policy which elsewhere might be considered more fitting to the private rather than the public domain (Goodman, R., and Peng, I., 1995. pp. 52-53). For them, the central government, especially central bureaucracies, have been seen as key in co-ordinating industrial policy and economic growth.

The above discussion about the role of the state in policy procedures, especially in economic policy, shows that there is an apparent consensus on the importance of state intervention among the three trends. It means that there is wide agreement that state intervention is a very crucial factor which all the three trends of approach find common in their study of Korean economic growth.

How, then, can we assess the level of state intervention in Korea? In fact there has been no one who has calculated the weight or level of severity of the state's intervention. Instead, Kwon tries to sort out the types of state intervention. He identifies three types: market-maintainer, provider and regulator types. He is on the side of the regulator-type (Kwon, H. J., 1995. PP. 119-124). It could be argued that the term "regulator- type" is the most appropriate in explaining the dynamic activity of the Korean government in promoting economic growth for the past three decades, but only if it is recognised that that activity is characterised as belonging to an extreme version which may be defined by the term "the strongest regulator-type".

2). Dodging state intervention

As described above, the Korean government has taken strong initiatives and intervened at large in the process of economic growth. Now, how has the Korean government intervened in the area of social policy? Is there any relation between economic policy and social policy in Korea? What will the further prospect of state intervention in the social policy of Korea be? To address these kinds of questions let us look at Korea again with regard to social policy.

Compared to developed western countries, Korea failed to keep a balance between economic growth and social policy development.

In other words, the fruits of economic growth have been accumulated and mostly reinvested only for further growth without equal distribution. There are, however, some who argue that Korea is one of the few developing countries in which the household income is distributed most equally (Sa, G. I., 1993). According to this point of view, there was some decline in inequality (Gini coefficient has dropped from 0.344 in 1965 to 0.332 in 1970) despite the "growth-first" strategy during that period. This fact is in contrast with the conventional wisdom which argues that income inequality rises during take-off periods. His argument, however, does not take into account the effect of the sharp increase in real estate prices. Even if the extent to which real estate prices have risen according to regions, real land prices rose threefold during the period between 1975 to 1988. If the fact that the top 5 per cent of landowners own about two-thirds of the privately owned land is taken into consideration, the degree of income inequality is predictable.

In this situation of inequality Korea still remains negative towards social policy. To compare Korea with other East Asian countries which are well-known for their low state expenditure, the amount of the country's governmental expenditure is the least of all, even though defense expenditure (about 5 per cent of GDP) is included in these amounts. While Japan and Taiwan spent 27.8 per cent of GNP in 1991 and 33.0 per cent of it in 1992 respectively, Korea spent only 16.2 per cent of GNP in 1987 (Goodman, R., and Pen, I.,

1995. p.11). If compared with OECD countries, of which Korea became a member from 1996, Korea has less government expenditure than even the country with the least of government expenditure among them. In 1992, the minimum government expenditure among the 24 OECD countries amounted to 32.2 per cent of GDP, while Korea's government expenditure was marked 24.5 per cent of GDP (OECD, 1994. P.41).

Ironically, the huge amount of economic surplus during the past three decades seems to derive from the serious deficit of state intervention in social provision in Korea. The government has tried to extract more wealth by concentrating its efforts on economic growth. The term "economic growth" has been enough to be an excuse for avoiding welfare provisions. Even state intervention has been intensified in the effort for economic growth while leaving the social welfare area lacking.

This imbalance in state intervention found acceptance among the population generally through the strong government's initiative on the importance of "growth-first". The political and military situation confronting Korea with the belligerent North Korea has been used as a good excuse while the government has been trying to formulate the national consensus on the importance of "growth-first" strategy while sacrificing welfare programmes relevant to the level of economic performance.

As Cumings, Goodman and Peng argue above, the authoritarian government based on traditional Confucianism could only perform such an unbalanced state intervention policy by strong regulative strategies (Cumings, B. 1987. P.70, Goodman, R. and Peng, I., 1995. pp.5-11). Goodman and Peng in particular argue that the characteristics of Confucianism such as filial piety, the group before the individual and paternal benevolence, shared by Korea, Japan and Taiwan, made it possible for the government to attribute responsibility for welfare provisions to the family, company or neighbour. This similarity of the three countries, they say, results in the formation of company welfare programmes such as pensions, housing and health care. Their historical analysis of the peculiarity of the East Asian welfare system seems to have some validity. However, as regards their emphasis on the Japan-focused company welfare system they are confronted by a range of critics.

Scholars like Janelli (1993), Y.U. Kim (1981), G.G. Lee(1979), argue that the company welfare systems of Korea and Japan are so different that it is difficult to bridge the gap between them. They say that Japan has a vertical society while Korea has a relatively horizontal one. The origin of Japan's vertical society stems from Japanese traditional relationships between oyabung(a boss) and kobung(followers). Literally "oya" and "ko" means parent and son respectively. G.G. Lee argues that this "oya-ko" relationship was purely applied to the owner-employee relationship. According to him, owners always feel responsible for their employee's welfare as strongly as parents feel responsible for their children's welfare. The employees, in turn, consider their bosses as parents. This familial relationship can be sustained for a long time by the life-long employment system (G.G. Lee, 1979., p.156). In contrast, the attitude of owners towards their employees is relatively dry and formal in Korea. They think that their first priority of duty is to expand their business rather than spend money for their workers' welfare. Unlike the case of Japan, workers also do not expect to be employed by the same firm for their whole life. They think that they can be owners if they set up their own businesses. Moreover, when the owners are under pressure to expand welfare expenditure they tend to feel like 'bong(scapegoats)' (Choi, J. M., 1984.).

Recently, on August 15, 1995 the Korean government removed the building of a Central Museum which seemed to be a symbol of the past occupation by Japan. The event could be an example of how difficult it is for cultural affinity of the two countries to be publicly acknowledged, partly because of the colonial dimension, but mainly because that affinity is only partial. The company welfare system must be considered in the same context.

Korean social policy seems to go on its own way in its relationship with economic policy. The two policies have been posed as a trade-off relationship until now. Korea is trying to transfer it from trade-off to a parallel relationship. To do this, Korea might have no alternative but to keep the balance of state intervention in both economic and social policy.

The Minister of Health and Welfare, S.H. Lee, said in April, 1995: 'The Korean government has co-ordinated and manipulated policy to achieve amazing economic

growth, by-passing the side effects of it. The national wealth accumulated by this strong state intervention may have to be distributed by state. In this sense, I am laying out a long-term plan to expand welfare expenditure'.

A strong expectation for positive state intervention in the social welfare area can be found among the National Assemblymen. They scolded the government for avoiding its duty to take an initiative in planning and providing welfare programmes.

Gu, CheonSeo, National Assemblyman of the ruling Democratic Liberal Party, and a member of the standing committee of Labour and Environment, said that: 'It is the government who should take charge of the weak people, for instance the workers, the elderly and the disabled. Increasingly nuclearising families and individualising neighbours can not and probably will not take care of the weak. Unfortunately, however, I can not help doubting the government's will to accomplish its duty for them. To take an example, there is no disabled person working in the Blue House (the president's office). Where is the law?'

Gang, BuJA, a popular actress and also National Assemblywoman of the opposition United Liberal Democrats, another member of the standing committee of Labour and Environment, said: 'Korean government has been sleeping on the various social problems in the name of economic growth and defense. During its sleep the problem of discrimination and isolation of women and the disabled has been maximised. The private companies can not solve the problem. They can only employ a small proportion of women and the disabled very selectively. The eventual solution should be extracted from government policy.'

The disabled people's confidence in the government is apparently ambiguous. On the one hand, they are fed up with the bureaucrats' authoritarian and laid-back attitude towards them. On the other hand, they prefer the government-run institution to private agencies. They tend

to doubt the original purpose of private agencies, which still remind them of the past when foreign aid, some from Japan, but in the main from the USA after the Korean War, was used corruptly by private agencies working in their own interests, not those of disabled people.

Kwon, I.T., a 28 year old man with a severe disability of both legs who is working for a large bank said: 'I have never been to a private institution. I have heard that there were some private institutions teaching employment skills. During the period of unemployment I considered going to the private institution but I did not go there. Some friends of mine told me that they had been exploited rather than helped by the private institutions. The government-run institutions or organisations have so many problems, but they are better than private institutions.'

In Korea, many different kinds of people such as lawmakers, Ministers and the disabled commonly expect welfare provisions to be guaranteed by the government. The voice of the disabled people's pressure group longing for government intervention is, of course, getting louder. This will be one of the crucial points in assuming increased state intervention in the social policy area including the disability problem in the future.

3. The role of the middle class

The concept of the "middle class" is very difficult to define in a single dimension. It carries economic, historical, social and cultural meaning simultaneously. Moreover, the question "how can the dividing line between the middle and non-middle class be drawn?" seems even more difficult to answer. The dividing line can be drawn by both absolute and relative standards. This kind of discussion is very fundamental and important in the area of sociology. However, the main purpose of this research is not in articulating the subject of the middle class as such but in examining the possibility of expanding welfare provisions in Korea. Here, let us concentrate on how the citizen's consciousness is increasing and how it

affects the social consensus on welfare. In this process, we will leave the fundamental research about the middle class itself to the sociologists.

Instead, we will take Donnison's simple and broad definition of middle class : "the people with middling skills and incomes who would eventually support equalising social policies and programmes" (Donnison, D., 1982. P.20).

1). Growing consciousness

The strongly guided social consensus on "growth-first" has been pervasive during the past three decades under the rule of military elites. During that period, the issues of democracy and welfare have always been hidden behind the veil of economic growth. Anyone who advocated the importance of welfare provisions was regarded as a dissident trying to break that social consensus.

Yet even if the need for social welfare programmes has been suppressed by the government, it could not root out the spirit of citizenship. The development of citizenship in Korea can be seen through two historical moments namely, the so called, "4.19 revolution" and the "6.29 declaration".

The "4.19 revolution" was a very fierce nationwide students' demonstration erupting against the serious corruption among government officials and ruling politicians and repression by the police on the 19th of April 1960. This student uprising was strong enough to force President Rhee and his government to resign on 26 April. Professor Park described it as a big event which had shown the possibility of citizen's consciousness to secure their rights and freedom (Park, D. S., 1989, p.694).

The "6.29 declaration" also came out from the turbulent and politically oppressive climate in 1987. At that time, the majority of the people wanted to choose the President by direct election. The ruling Democratic Justice Party, however, favoured a system centered on a powerful Prime Minister, elected by the National Assembly, with greater responsibility to be accorded to the State Council, while the role of the President would be mainly ceremonial. The Korean people suspected that the ruling party would attempt to prolong its power by ensuring its own secret candidate, Mr. Rho, was elected as President through this

indirect election process. This suspected move by the ruling party evoked a furious student anti-government demonstration. The government suppressed the demonstration with force. In November 1986, more than 1,000 students were arrested in Seoul (Ministry of Home Affairs, 1987). In January 1987 the death of a university student, after having allegedly been tortured by the police, led to a new wave of anti-government rallies and to the dismissal by President Chun of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Chief of Police. However, mass demonstrations continued to result in violent confrontations in the streets. From June 1987 the young white-collar workers joined the demonstrations supporting the voice of the students. At first, they supported the students only during lunch time in central Seoul but their participation in demonstrations enlarged in the sense of time and area. On 29 June 1987, Mr. Rho, the ruling party's nominated presidential candidate, informed President Chun that he would relinquish both the ruling party's chairmanship and his presidential candidature if the main demands of the people for direct elections were not met. Before long President Chun acceded to this suggestion, and negotiations for a new constitutional framework including direct presidential elections were announced.

Let us point out a peculiarity of the "6.29 declaration" which marked it out as being different to the "4.19 revolution". In both of these historical events, students played a major role. However, in terms of citizens' attitude there was a big difference between the two events. During the "4.19 revolution" citizens tended to keep silent even if they agreed with the students movement. Moreover, they felt great sympathy for resigning President Rhee. Things changed in about two decades in that white-collar workers joined the students movement voluntarily. Traditionally the blue-collar workers have occasionally cooperated with the students for political purposes while the white-collar workers were very negative towards the trade union movement. However, it was the white-collar protest that made a significant impact on the rulers at that time in Korea.

Mrs. Cha, M.G., who was a general manager of the ruling Democratic Justice Party said: 'It was unexpected that the working class took part in the anti-government demonstrations. Anti-government activities has been the job of the opposition

politicians and the students for a while. This stereotype was broken from that moment. It was a shock for our party. Our party leaders seriously discussed the meaning and the effect of it.'

How can we interpret the meaning of the demonstrations? Demonstrations can be categorised according to criteria such as, Who does what? and For what do they do it?. The demonstrations led by the opposition party leaders usually aim at obtaining political power while the trade unions seek their own interests by industrial activities. The students' demonstrations have been regarded as not only a courageous fight against corruption and dictatorship but also as political rallies controlled by politicians. In fact the leaders of the opposition parties have tended to try to control the students' movement by being friendly with the leaders of student unions of major universities in Korea. This kind of symbiosis has been apparent when the leaders of students became National Assemblymen fresh after graduation. Finally, pure citizens' demonstrations are trying to promote the consciousness of human rights and justice in the society. The demonstrations by the white-collar workers could be grouped into the last case. The white-collar workers are much inclined to be cynical about politics itself and show little interest in becoming politicians. They put emphasis on their own liberty and rights. This is why their demonstrations are different from those of students or trade unions.

Jeong, I. Y., a 39 year old man who was one of the leading persons at that moment and is still working as a financier in Sam Sung conglomerate said: 'As one of the people, I could not pass by the fighting against long standing authoritarianism. I was afraid I would loose my job if I joined the demonstrations. So many of my colleagues thought in the same way as I did. However, we concluded that our fundamental rights were more important than our jobs in this repressive political situation. We did and we won. At that time we were very serious.'

2). Towards welfare

Having considered the development of citizen consciousness regarding fundamental rights through a comparison of two historical incidents, let us now consider how the generality of people think of themselves in terms of the middle class and welfare. For this purpose, a medium-sized city, that of Bucheon, has been selected for a case study. The major reason for selecting Bucheon is its alleged representativeness of Korea in general. It has been industrialised to the extent of the country as a whole. About 20 per cent of its population is agricultural very close to population of those in agriculture generally. And its income distribution is close to the average (City of Bucheon, 1992). All these factors considered, it could be assumed that research based in Bucheon would be representative of Korea as a whole.

According to the research done by The Catholic University of Korea, about 80 per cent of the total residents in the City of Bucheon believe themselves to be middle class. Of course, it was admitted that the lower part of the high class and the top of the low class were included within the 80 per cent. Thus the majority of people felt middle class, an important factor since middle class status implies the possibility of being benevolent (The Catholic University of Korea, 1992). This argument was supported by the answers citizens gave to the question, What do you want your city to be like in 10 years?. The majority answer was that they wanted to live in a comfortable environment free from corruption and crime in Bucheon(54 per cent). Only 12 per cent (the second largest category) said that they wanted to be rich in Bucheon. Thus it is arguable that the social consensus is transferring from economic growth to social welfare in Korea.

Another trend towards welfare emanates from the trade unions : it is interesting to reflect that Donnison said that trade unions and labour movements would usually provide the political cutting edge for reform (Donnison, D., 1982, P. 20).

As shown in table 1 above, after 6.29 declaration in 1987, the number of labour disputes sharply increased (from 265 in 1985 to 3,749 in 1987). This industrial unrest continued until 1989. During this period, the nominal wage nearly doubled. The Korean people were afraid

of economic uncertainty including inflation. Fortunately, the period of labour disputes turned into a stable phase from 1990. The density and the number of unions have steadily been declining. The significant thing was that the main issues for the labour movement were changing from a concern with wages to a focus on welfare (Im, M. S., 1995). Recently, trade unions have increasingly demanded a high quality working environment including the expansion of retraining opportunities rather than wage increases. This trend, also, seems to promote a consciousness of the importance of welfare.

What would the influence of this trend towards welfare be on the area of disability in Korea? According to the research done by the Korea Gallop Research Centre sponsored by the KEPAD in 1995, 90.8 per cent of Korean people thought that the Korean welfare system for the disabled should improve, and regarded employment (78.5 %) and a living allowance (11.9 %) as the most urgent and important things for the disabled. To solve the problem of unemployment, they suggested, the government should strongly intervene in the process of ensuring employment of the disabled. Another important question was posed by the research: What do you think about working alongside disabled people? Nearly half (48.3 per cent) of the Korean people questioned replied it was desirable and 41.8 per cent of them answered that even if there were some problems, it was something which should happen in the long run (KEPAD. 1995a).

These results are very significant in that they suggest evidence to support the argument that there is an increasing class consciousness among the middle class and that this is providing a social foundation or consensus for the expansion of social welfare including the employment policy for the disabled in Korea. The fact that the mainstream of the middle class recognise and are in favour of welfare policy is an apparent deterrence to employers openly trying to abolish the Law of Employment Promotion for the Disabled.

4. The ratchet effect of welfare expenditure

No government in the world has ever easily reduced the government expenditure for social welfare without resistance. Social welfare provisions usually tend to maintain the status quo or steadily increase. Originally the concept of the ratchet effect was used among economists to explain the situation in which consumers are unlikely to reduce their consumption even when their incomes are being reduced. Even if the economic situation becomes worse and the government is compelled to reduce its welfare programmes, the government is unlikely to be able to act in this way without solid social consensus. As Donnison says, a government which allows a return to high unemployment, cannot survive the social conflicts which are bound to ensue (Donnison, D. 1982. P.21).

While it is true that British governments of the periods 1921 - 39 and 1975 to the present, have managed to maintain political stability despite high levels of unemployment, it may be argued that they have done so precisely because of the availability of relatively generous assistance payments. In this, the British experience has been in marked contrast to, say, that of Germany from the 1920s to 1934.

Korea is no exception. Even though a positive trend towards social welfare is emerging in Korea the stereotype of the "growth-first" strategy is vividly present at the same time. Occasionally the conservative and bureaucratic ideas based on that strategy would appear in policy-making procedure. However, this negative approach can not dominate social policy. Its supporters have come up against strong resistance from the people affected. In fact, in certain instances governmental attempts at cutbacks have been frustrated and the implementation of the plans cancelled. Let us now consider the difficulties the Korean government faces whenever it attempts to reduce welfare programmes, by analysing two particular cases.

To begin with the first case, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (now Ministry of Health and Welfare) attempted to stop recruiting social workers in 1993. The original plan was that the government would recruit a huge number of social workers and allocate them to all the local government offices of which there are about 4,800, year by year until the year

2000. Their role is to deliver direct services especially for the poor, the elderly and the disabled. It required about US\$ 20 billion to pay their wages. At that time, the government thought that the cost was too high that it could not be afforded as President Kim called on the people for more restraint and thrift to move to another stage of national development. The government tried to cancel the original plan to transfer the budget for it to another plan.

This news spread very rapidly among the people working in the social welfare area and the people who were eligible for the welfare programmes. In October 1993, they gathered at the biggest room of the Research centre for Health and Social Affairs, one of the government funded organisations, to discuss a response to the governmental attempt. In this process, they organised a federation consisting of various organisations and institutions to speak in unison against the government's decision. The federation included the Association of professors of Social Policy and Social Work Departments, the United Union of Students Studying Social Welfare, the Association of Social Workers, the Association of Institutions of Social Welfare.

They held six large scale meetings berating the government for its anti-welfare decision. They, also, had outdoor demonstrations circulating universities in Seoul. Besides the direct action against the government, they received signatures from supporters and got up a petition. They sent this letter to many influential figures in Korea, including President Kim, the Minister of Health and Social Affairs and the National Assemblymen concerned. In this petition they argued for the cancellation of the proposed governmental move. Instead, they argued that social work jobs should be guaranteed, and suggested that an independent government ministry focusing on social welfare should be established to deliver welfare provisions systematically. Thus the establishment of a welfare programme had created an important middle class interest group which will effectively mobilise opposition when threatened.

Before long, the government answered their demand. The attempt to cut down the welfare budget was cancelled. Moreover, the legal status of the social workers working in the government was transferred from 'officials in special service' to 'officials in general service'. The change of their status had a very important meaning in that the way to

promotion was opened up. A fresh pilot programme was introduced to systemise service delivery. Until then, social workers had been working in the local offices under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs despite the fact that their roles were concerned to welfare programmes. This had always been a major cause of conflict in the process of service delivery between the Ministry of Home Affairs and Health and Social Affairs. To remove this problem the government started a new programme in which the social workers worked in the local health centres under the direction of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. At an initial stage, the programme started to be applied to the six local health centres. It is possible to see this as a case in which the government went for wool and came home shorn.

The second case concerns employment for the disabled, and involved both the ruling Democratic Liberal Party and the Ministry of Trade and Industry under pressure from employers in the summer of 1994. At that time the Ministry of Trade and Industry was trying to change the special Act for Relaxation of Regulations on the Business Activities to strengthen the competitive power of firms in Korea. The government wanted to reduce the "standard employment quota rate" from the current 2 per cent to 1 per cent in the amendment bill designed to reduce the burden on employers. This news was broken to disabled people when the bill was submitted to the Joint Committee of the ruling party and the Ministry of Trade and Industry which was to take place on 2 September 1995 (the Ministry of Trade and Industry, 1995).

As a consequence, disabled people defined the government as anti-welfarist. First, they issued statements condemning the government and the ruling party respectively (on 19 August; Korea Association for Persons with Physical Disabilities, Association of Disability Familyship, on 24 August; The Research Centre for the Disabled Friends, on 26 August; Busan Disabled people's Federation). As time went on their movement became more systematic and radical. On 27 August, 12 Associations or Institutions concerned with disability gathered together and decided to fight against the government and the ruling party. The young disabled people's groups held hostile demonstrations in front of the headquarters of the ruling party and started abstaining from food inside the headquarters of the opposition

Korea Democratic Party. On 30 August, the representatives of the Federation of Associations and Institutions visited the ruling party, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Labour one by one to show their anger at the governmental attempt. The representatives were able to extract a promise from each that the amendment bill would be reconsidered.

It was early October 1994 that disabled people were informed that the article cutting the "standard employment quota rate" had been removed in the amendment bill. The disabled had succeeded in keeping their opportunities for employment at their existing level. On the other hand, it meant another failure on the part of the government in its attempt to cut down on welfare benefits.

As far as employers were concerned, they kept quiet during the turbulence and avoided making their move public even though they had lobbied for the article to be inserted in the bill. Although they were keen for a reduction in the "quota rate", they knew that public opinion was not on their side. This is evidence of the ambivalence of employers as described earlier.

These two cases were significant in the history of Korean social policy. In the first case, the change in attitudes of social workers became clear. For a long time social workers have thought of their jobs as providing a kind of basic charity to people out of luck. They also, thought they should be more benevolent and generous towards people in adversity rather than seek to promote their own interests. They even felt shame when asking for a raise in wages. They had been inclined to think of themselves as benevolent generalists with benevolent attitudes towards needy persons rather than professionals or specialists in the departments in which they worked. However, the first case showed that their attitudes towards themselves have been altered. It was clear that they now regarded themselves as professionals working in the area of social welfare at a professional level, and in the long term as career-specialists. In this sense, the first case could be interpreted as an event in which an emergent professional group defeated the bureaucratic stereotype.

Professor Kim, Y. I., convenor of department of social welfare at The Catholic University of Korea, said when I met him during the demonstration; 'I have never seen

the social workers and the students being positive about maintaining their job area with such affect during the past two decades. Usually, they have been very mild and never demanded that the government should do something for them because they did not have any passion. Today I could see their strong interests not only in themselves but also in their clients. This demonstration seemed the biggest one in the history of social policy in Korea'.

The second case, also, has its own meaning. As to be described in chapter 3, the disability movement grew out of many separate small groups. Unfortunately, Korean disabled people do not have a single well-organised pressure group. There is even some conflict between the associations of and for the disabled. However, with the second case as an impetus, they seemed sure of organising a substantial federation. The more powerful the federation of the disabled becomes the more likely it is that the ratchet effect of welfare expenditure will persist.

Even when President Kim asked the people to live austere lives when he came to the power in 1993, he could not cut down the welfare expenditure. The central government expenditure for social security and welfare has been increasing persistently by an average of about 30 per cent a year for the past decade regardless of economic fluctuations (Korea, 1992., The Ministry of Finance and Economy, 1995). This increasing rate is much higher than the economic growth rate even if the proportion of welfare expenditure in the total government expenditure is very small. Moreover, the Korean government showed firmness of purpose regarding welfare while it was restructuring its organisation in December 1994. President Kim wanted to make his government small and efficient. It was one of his innovative programmes. He reduced two government departments by combining two ministries into one (The Economic Planning Board and The Ministry of Finance were combined into The Ministry of Finance and Economy, The Ministry of Construction and The Ministry of Transportation were combined into The Ministry of Construction and Transportation). During this process 1,002 government officials were sacked including two Ministers. However, The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs was renamed as The Ministry

of Health and Welfare. This meant that the department would be able to focus more on the welfare policy than before. While other departments were being reduced, the department responsible for welfare solidified its position (Dong Ah Daily News, December 4, 1994).

A similar thing happened, also, in the area of disability. After establishing the KEPAD in 1990, there had been criticism that the cost was too expensive compared with its output. For the critics, the output of the KEPAD was the number of the disabled being employed by its agents. They argued that the KEPAD spent about 22 million pounds to get about 1,700 disabled people employed (about 13 thousand pounds per disabled person employed) in 1994 (KEPAD, 1994a). This kind of criticism was very persuasive to the policy makers longing for a slimmed-down government. As a result, the Board of Audit and Inspection inspected the KEPAD for about one month during the summer in 1995. Its purpose was to check if there was real ground for criticism. At first, the members of the Board were very tough and demanding towards the staff of the KEAPD. However, as time went by, they recognised that output could not be assessed only by the numbers of disabled people employed. Advertising, job training, and other programmes of the KEPAD were regarded as very important parts of the process involved in successfully getting people into employment. They also began to realise how important employment was to the disabled by coming into contact with people inside and outside the KEPAD. They did not reduce the KEPAD nor combine it to other organisation. Instead, the KEPAD established two more branch offices after the inspection. Now, the KEPAD is planning to establish a huge employment promotion centre consisting of a research institute and a programme-developing department (KEPAD., 1995b).

5. Public participation

No one can deny that the most basic idea of Democratic Socialism has been removing poverty, reducing inequality and improving the quality of life. As far as inequality is concerned, most Democratic Socialists have described it in economic terms. They argue that inequality could be reduced by the redistribution system and welfare provisions provided by

the state. In this process, they admit and even emphasise, the desirability of uniform social services run by centralised bureaucrats. From their point of view, most of the means essential to produce welfare provision belonged to the government.

Recently, however, some have argued that the one-sided production and distribution system of welfare should be mitigated : the traditional Democratic Socialist policy model had no means of dealing with the drawbacks of a single and bureaucratic administration. As Plant argues, the traditional approach would not meet the mood of the times of a consumer-oriented society (Plant, 1988, p. 13), which is likely to put emphasis on the usefulness of public participation and consumer choice to reduce power inequality between individuals (George and Wilding, 1994, p. 100).

This development is steadily emerging in Korea in academic circles and professionals in the field. To begin with, considering recent developments with the disability movement, professor Jo, H. S. argued that disabled people should recognise two different concepts : the one is a dignified requirement of society to guarantee their fundamental right to live as a human beings : the other is a determination on the part of disabled people to be independent . According to him, the main driving force of development in the history of social welfare has been the fight of the disabled themselves against diswelfare (Jo, H. S., 1994). Similarly, professor Lee, I. S. has suggested that welfare provisions should be directed towards strengthening the social role of the disabled. They began the process whereby welfare is beginning to be recognised as a human right rather than charity. These arguments imply that disabled people themselves should try to acquire social and political rights.

Furthermore, the disabled people's movement is becoming a reality in Korea. It has been created by a variety of groups which differ according to their membership and objectives. To illustrate this point let us now consider some of these in more detail.

1). Political movement

June 27 1995 was a historic day in Korea. There was an election for the governors and assemblymen of the local government. The election constituted the resurrection of local autonomy after 30 years.

That day, also, had great meaning for disabled people : through that election 27 of their numbers were chosen as governors or assemblymen. In fact, for some years the disabled had tried to obtain a political base in the National Assembly, but it was not easy. In 1994 there were no disabled National Assemblyman. They had experienced many heartbreaking situations in their attempts to get a welfare programme introduced because lawmakers showed little interest in the subject. Things were same at local level. That was why about 60 disabled people ran for elections on that day. The disabled themselves campaigned enthusiastically for these candidates. The president of the Association of People with Physical Disabilities, Mr. Jang, visited all the disabled candidates to encourage them. Although more than half of their candidates failed to get elected, it was a big harvest for disabled people. Afterwards, they gathered to organise informal but regular meetings to discuss the disability problem including employment.

On the other side, another kind of campaign was progressing. From September 1995, disabled people began a signature-collecting drive. This campaign demanded at least 2 per cent of 299 seats of the National Assembly to be occupied by disabled people in the next year's national election. They were planning to send the petition to the political parties.

Mr. Jang, president of the Association of People with Physical Disability, who was leading the campaign said, 'We succeeded in securing some places at policy-making level in the local area. From now on, we are trying to argue for some seats in the National Assembly. Each party should concede at least 2 per cent of its seats in the National Assembly to the Disabled. Our movement will continue. We strongly believe that to get political power is to obtain a short-cut to policy-making'

2). Youth movement

Younger disabled people had moved more quickly than those who were older and they continued to protest their right to welfare and tried to persuade the government and society to recognise their adverse situation. During the political season, they were in the habit of

holding public forums to discuss welfare policy for disabled people. In 1992, when there were competitive campaigns for the presidential election, they held three public forums and invited three presidential candidates to listen to their opinions on welfare for the disabled (on the 17th of October Mr. Kim, DaeJung from the Korea Democratic Party, on the 27th of October Mr. Kim, YoungSam from the Democratic Liberal Party, on the 6th of November Mr. Jeong, JuYoung from the Korea People's Party were invited respectively). Even though the candidates did not understand the problems of the disabled people their participation itself had considerable news-value.

They were also playing the role of watchdog. They held many small informal forums to discuss current issues such as employment, special education and women with disabilities. They recruited opinions from those attending and categorised them according to subject, using them as evidence against the government. For example, they sent an official letter to the KEPAD on 8 March 1995, warning that if the KEPAD refused to work harder in their interest they would take action to publicise the problems they were experiencing. They pointed to problems within the KEPAD such as the prevalence of bureaucratic attitudes, an apparent incapacity to address effectively the employment problems of severely disabled people as well as problems associated with the training programme (KEPAD., 1995c). The problems pointed out by them were not new; their purpose was to remind the KEPAD of its responsibility in the matter.

Another kind of activity of young disabled people was to organise international networks. Traditionally, Korean representatives in international conferences have been government officials or former officials working in the institutions for the disabled. Usually they kept the information learned from abroad to themselves without making the rest of society aware of what they know. Now disabled people wanted to attend these international conferences themselves, but they could not afford to do so. However, they succeeded in sending their own representative Ms. Kim, M. Y., to the 4th International Women's Conference in Peking in 1995 (Korea Association of Persons with Disabilities, 1995).

3). Coalition

From time to time, the younger generation suggested a coalition to the adult leaders of the association of the disabled people. Until the '80s the senior group tended to reject or avoid this suggestion even if they agreed with them. They had no choice but to do so because the conservative government financed them, and there was nowhere else to look for resources. However, as we have seen, they had shown courage in fighting the government's attempt to reduce the "employment quota rate" and it was at that point that they effectively abandoned their position as government stooges.

On the other hand, young disabled people often participated in the demonstrations led by the progressive citizens' movement groups such as the United Citizens' Association for Economic Justice, the Association of Consumers and various religious societies. Some of them argued that they were also good consumers who wanted to purchase specific goods, namely welfare goods. They demanded that their special needs, as well as those of non-disabled people, should be satisfied by access to special goods (Kim, S. A., 1995, pp. 74-81).

Almost all the movements described here were led by the unemployed disabled. Usually the employed disabled tended not to participate once they found work, and there are two reasons why this should be so. First, there was the fact that the employers disliked such activity. And second, they themselves were too busy over-producing to mitigate the stigma they encountered in their work place. Only after being recognised as superior workers is stigma weakened. However, even here, some movement began to take place : a group wanted to organise disabled workers into a network called, the Working Disabled Person's Association, and to strengthen their power, they sought to join in coalition with other groups of organised workers.

Lee, J. G., a 30 year old man working at a insurance company said: 'I have five year's working experience at this company. All the persons working together are very good personally. However, there are some problems for me nobody among them can solve even if they are all kind to me. Kindness is different from understanding. That is why we are having meetings now. We are considering cooperating with the Korean Trade

Union. In coalition with the trade union, I expect, we will not only be integrated with other union members well in the working place but also cope with the employers as workers rather than as disabled employees. We will help the Ministry of Labour and the KEPAD in terms of promoting substantial employment, however, we will criticise them if they do not meet our expectation'.

6. Summary

Until now, the Korean social policy system has been analysed with the focus on the employment for the disabled, in terms of five points which are essential features of Democratic Socialism as defined for the purpose of this study.

Korean economic growth which has been established by an unprecedentedly strong policy of state initiative and regulation continues at a high rate. Even if economic policy itself is moving towards liberalisation in response to changing international circumstances, Korean industries seem to absorb the shock of change well. In a sense then, the resources available for welfare provisions will be secure.

In this situation, the Korean government is confronting a huge demand from people in need, including the disabled, for turning the intervention strategy to the social welfare area. The steady increase of consciousness of the middle class and labour unions is creating a springboard for welfare expansion.

The government, however, wishes to maintain its stereotype of being reluctant to increase welfare expenditure. It has even attempted to cut down the benefits, but they failed because of resistance from angry disabled people and social workers. As a group, disabled people are becoming more powerful. They are demanding more effective policies to ensure their access to employment.

In view of the dynamics of the disabled persons' movements and the benevolent attitude of the middle class the ratchet effect of welfare expenditure seems likely to be sustained for a long time in the area of employment for the disabled. This is important because employers

are continuously trying to abolish or at least reduce the compulsory "quota rate". In Korea the employers think they are the scapegoats of the government which is avoiding its responsibility for welfare provision. This is why Korea has no choice but to expand government expenditure : the circumstances which obtain in Japan, where employers accept a large measure of responsibility, are not present in Korea.

However, in the area of public participation, Korea seems to have a long way to go, because Korean people are not familiar with a culture of political debate as is the case with western countries, even if some political movement is emerging. In this sense, it may seem somewhat premature to try to apply the new trend of Democratic Socialism with its emphasis on the importance of public participation and consumer choice to the Korean situation.

Chapter 3

The employment system for disabled People in Korea

1. Introduction

Since the Korean war began in 1950, Korea has done its best to reconstruct the economy and the nation. The Korean people have shown their potential abilities to achieve economic growth effectively and successfully during the past 40 years. No one in the world thinks that the Korean people are lazy and lacking in diligence.

Korea is now the 10th largest trading country and 12th largest country in GDP in the world (Bank of Korea, 1996). It joined OECD from 1996. Korea has driven its car, named 'economic growth', at full speed without looking at the rear view mirror. The government has made industry and the economy a priority after the Korean war. To the government it seemed to be extravagant and wasteful to turn its eyes to the welfare of the disabled.

But from the late 1980s this social situation has changed. A number of people have argued that the government should also consider the quality of the nation. They have been supported by large numbers of disabled people and by the elderly. Many well informed people have suggested that Korea should be not only rich economically but also prosperous in terms of social justice.

To describe the attention paid by the Korean government to welfare policy historically, the political and economical situation of Korea from 1960s will be surveyed in this chapter.

There are two significant reasons for beginning the research on disability policy since the 1960s. Firstly, before 1960 Korea was in the midst of chaos of war and its aftermath, and as a consequence there was little evidence of any attempt at a systematic welfare policy.

Secondly, the important national plan ,called the "five-year national plan for economic growth", began in 1962.

This study will divide the period under consideration into four : the 1960s , the 1970s , the 1980s and the 1990s.

For Korea, the decade of the 1960s could be defined as a "*period of cooperation between military elites and a few professors*". After coming to power through a military coup d'état on May 16, 1961, president Park Chung-Hee had much to do to be well thought of by the people. He wanted to demonstrate his achievement to the Korean people quickly. There was, however, almost no experience in establishing a national plan in the Korean political system. The government officials became so complacent and arrogant that they felt under no obligation to do anything about the welfare of the general public or in particular the disabled population.

What was worse, people no longer believed in them. They seemed to be so corrupt that they used their status and power only in pursue of their own private interests. This led President Park to depend on professors outside the government. To maintain his own popularity he had no choice but to do so.

To put it another way, at that time the Korean people were full of expectation of substantial democracy after the student revolution which took place against the dictatorship of president Lee Seung-Man on April 19, 1960. President Park could not neglect the social atmosphere eager for democratic government.

Under this kind of pressure from the people, including the students, President Park organised an "advisory committee of specialists" in order to utilise their specific experience and knowledge in setting up various kinds of national plans. For Park, this seemed the best way in which to show to the people his vision of national development and democratic policy.

At this time, the area of welfare policy was not familiar to Korean officials, because they had little prior experience with that kind of policy-making. Therefore it was natural that

President Park and the military elites should accept the advice from the professors or experts, more often in this area compared with other areas.

In that situation, the "advisory committee of specialists" played a very important role in framing the public policy related to social welfare.

Fortunately, most of the members of the committee were highly educated and welfare-oriented. They believed that "economic growth is not the end of the nation". They pursued a balance of economic and social development systematically, and followed policies advocated by the United Nations, according to which economic development should guarantee economic growth and social change at the same time(UNDP, 1972). These ideas emerged from the understanding that the social conflicts produced during the industrial revolution were due to the imbalance between social development and economic growth.

The professors were free to explore any social problems they wished and to make proposals for policy change. Furthermore, they undertook basic research to determine an appropriate basis for policy-making (Son Jun-Gyu, 1993). However, this was not a secret process, for they undertook a consultation exercise with the people and the organisations concerned the better to understand the problems to be addressed. As a result of this process, they were able to recommend a number of welfare strategies to the government.

President Park accepted part of their suggestions and enacted The Social Security Act and two social insurance acts- one was The Insurance Act for Industrially Injured persons and the other was The Medical Insurance Act.

In the 1960s, the Korean government could maintain its confidence with the people by establishing these policies while emphasising the importance of economic growth.

Relatively speaking, social policy-formation in the 1960s was more democratic, independent, and positive than that of 1970s, though in both decades, government was essentially absolute.

Now let us consider Korea in the 1970s. It can be defined as the "*period of bureaucratic authority*".

President Park evaluated the past 10 years' of economic growth, which had been led by economic bureaucrats, as a satisfying success. He came to believe in their abilities.

On the other hand, there was a big political turning point in 1972. President Park was anxious to retain power indefinitely, and he declared martial law in October, 1972. From that time the so called Yusin regime began.

All criticisms of the political regime were prohibited. The freedom of the press was also seriously restricted. So, many professors and specialists had to keep their mouths shut. There was almost no open conversation about democracy and national development.

The government decided its national goal would be " economic growth and military security ". President Park, emphasising Korea in crisis because of the danger of invasion from North Korea, used military security to suppress discontent.

President Park, during this period, depended on government officials, instead of the group of specialists, to implement his plan for economic growth. To be more precise, he had no choice but to use government bureaucrats to achieve economic growth efficiently, without which his dictatorship could not be sustained.

Unfortunately, the government officials became complacent, being confident of the support of president Park because they were responsible for the previous ten years' achievement of high economic growth reaching nearly 10 percent a year (Son, Jun-Gyu, 1993). Their overconfidence combined with their traditional authority made them more arrogant.

They failed to consider the needs of the people and ignored the opinion and the advice of specialists. The advisory committee suggested on a number of occasions that more welfare policies should be developed, but their advice was not accepted.

They were interested only in dealing with such problems as emanated from the President or the other influential persons around the President. Such social research as was undertaken tended to support non-interference, and there was almost no basic investigation prior to policy-making. It was impossible for specialists to take part in policy procedure, and therefore policy-making was swift. The simplicity of policy-making, however, did not mean

that there were many policy changes in the 1970s. They, habitually, hid the welfare problems behind economic growth and national military security.

As a result, they enacted only one new act, the "National Welfare Pension Act", in 1973, in the area of welfare(though of course some laws were revised). This act, however, could not be implemented and was suspended for 15 years because of the lack of the means for putting it into practice, and because it was inapplicable to the Korean condition. In particular, economic slump arising from the oil-shock in 1973 offered the government a good excuse for delaying the implementation of the act.

In short, the 1970s may be termed as "*a period of darkness for welfare policy*". This is evident when the period is compared with the 1960s when the three very important acts were established under such difficult circumstances at the beginning of the first national plan. In contrast to those of the 1960s, the policies of the 1970s were not popular with the general public. According to Dror's seven stages of meta-policy, policymakers ignored the "processing value" and the "processing reality" (Dror, 1968).

Finally, let us survey briefly the political and social situation from the 1980s to the present.

In 1979, President Park was assassinated unexpectedly by Mr. Kim who was a chairman of the Korea Central Intelligence Agency appointed by the President. His death gave rise to political and social confusion, and this confusion was passed on to the new military government in 1980s. After the overthrow of his dictatorship, the Korean people hoped to elect their president from among the civilian politicians who had been fighting against dictatorship for a long time.

In contrast to the people's will, because of the system of indirect election General Chun Doo-Hwan, the leader of another military elite was elected as a new President in 1981. There were popular demonstrations on a huge scale against the new government. Korean society became seriously unstable and uncertain.

In the National Assembly, the lawmakers were concerned only about the struggle for political power. They had no interest in social or welfare policy.

The former policy of arguing that economic growth must be prior to the distribution of resources was maintained. Even if "welfare development" was one of the national goals, severe political struggle and social confusion prevented policymakers from spending time researching and establishing welfare policy. "Welfare development" was no more, of necessity, than an empty political slogan.

In the early 1980s, faced with economic problems like high inflation, heavy foreign debt and rising unemployment, the new government tried to get out of their difficulties by means of conservative stabilisation policies: the repression of wage increases, the rationalisation of heavy chemical industrialisation projects, fiscal austerity, the liberalisation of trade and financial markets.

The rate of increase in the government budget dropped from 21.9 percent in 1981 to zero in 1984, while the rate of increase during 1962 - 1969 and during 1970 - 1979 were 28.9 and 28.1 percent respectively (Im , 1989).

The Korean economy began to recover from 1983. In addition to inflation being controlled (28.7 per cent in 1980 to 3.4 per cent in 1983), the budget deficit was turned into a budget surplus, and both current and trade balances of payment were substantially improved.

As the national economy recovered, the National Welfare Pension Act of 1973 was redrawn and renamed the National Pension Act in 1986 and was put into effect from January 1, 1988. Besides it, the Child Welfare Act was revised in 1984, and the Social Welfare Act was revised in 1983.

As mentioned above, the 1980s were not productive in terms of welfare policy because President Chun's political proclivity was so similar to that of former President Park.

On the generally sterile ground of the 1980s, however, there was a delightful green sprout, namely "The Welfare Act for the Physically and Mentally Handicapped" which was enacted in 1981 and revised in 1984.

Taking the current political and economical situation of 1981 into consideration, the act was unexpected. There were, however, very important influences from abroad. The United Nations declared 1981 as "the year for the disabled". Even though it was in a deep

economic recession, Korea followed the movement of welfare for the disabled. An important explanatory factor was an aspect of Korean culture which put emphasis on saving face and cause in the context of international relations.

In the meantime, the '88 Paralympic was due to be held in Seoul. That big event caused the Korean government to reassess its welfare system.

Consequently, the succeeding President Rho promised to solve the problem of high unemployment among the disabled. The Presidential promise was put into effect by pushing the "Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled"(hereinafter referred to LEPD) to be passed through the National Assembly in 1989.

As a result of this brief analysis, it seems appropriate to define the 1980s as the "*dawn of welfare for the disabled*".

As Korea enacted the Act of Employment Insurance in 1994, it took a big step toward becoming a so called welfare state. The formal and superficial systems of welfare-related acts, however, does not mean that Korea is one of the welfare states. It is important for Korea now to assess its past carefully, and its future direction in order to establish an appropriate welfare system which includes provision for the care of disabled people.

2. Background

We described the Korean political and economic situation from which its social policy, including the employment system for the disabled, stemmed. Usually, the political and economic situation are very important in the sense they create the environment of social policy.

There appeared to be no significant difference between the 1970s and the 1980s as far as general social policy was concerned. Indeed, it could be argued that there was a retreat during the period from the 1970s to the 1980s.

However, the 1980s has a very important meaning in the development of welfare policy for the disabled. During that decade, the Welfare Act for the Physically and Mentally

Handicapped and the LEPD were enacted. This meant that, at least in theory, disabled persons could be provided with welfare services ranging from the basic income need to the need for a job. The basic need means the minimum demands which are expected to be met to ensure decent life at least as a human being. Employment helps disabled people to live normal lives economically and socially. For disabled people in Korea, work is an important aspect of integration.

From now on, let us concentrate on the LEPD envisaging real integration. We can not help recognising the fact that the '88 Seoul Paralympic had a significant influence on social policy of Korea. In fact, the disabled had constantly demanded at least a modicum of welfare service after the Korean war. But the government paid no attention to their demands.

Dr.Hwang Yeon-Dai who is a member of "presidential committee for welfare policy" said ; 'We should not think that there was no demand or expression of needs from the people with disabilities before the 1980s. I can remember that I did suggest and several times tried to establish institutions for the disabled by myself or together with other representatives from 1960s. But the government turned an deaf ear to our advice'.

Dr. Hwang is called 'the godmother of the disabled' in Korea. She, as a physically disabled person herself, has devoted herself to advocate the development of the disabled for 30 years. She was a harbinger of welfare of the disabled, and now she is a living witness of the Korean history of the disabled. She continued :

'I could feel the change in the attitude of the government officials from late 1980s. I was often invited to attend small advisory meetings. Sometimes a few of them visited me in my office or home for advice. About the time when the United Nations declared "the year for the disabled" in 1981, they begged my advice more frequently, in that year they enacted the Welfare Act for the Physically and Mentally Disabled. In the meanwhile, it was decided to hold the '88 Paralympic in Seoul, Korea January,

1984. From that time I began to be busy again advising and expressing my opinion mostly about the problem of unemployment among the disabled'.

Actually, the Korean government apparently started paying attention to the problem of unemployment from 1984. The Minister of Health and Social Affairs ordered positive action for employing the disabled on October 20, 1984. Furthermore, the Minister of Health and Social Affairs planned the programme to modernise the organisations for the disabled and spend more budget doing so. The budget increased about 300 per cent from 1984 to 1985. It was a sharp increase compared with the 80 per cent increase from 1982 to 1983 (the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 1987)

In fact, 2.27 per cent of the population were alleged to be disabled in Korea (the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 1985). Among them, 30 per cent were estimated to be able to work. Their unemployment rate was about 45 per cent which was far higher than the general unemployment rate of about 4 per cent. What made matters worse, about 40 thousand disabled people were produced a year by car accidents and industrial injuries (the Labour Ministry, 1987).

Being influenced by the international trend, the Korean government came to recognise the unemployment of the disabled as a serious social problem. Politicians also took it on as an issue and inserted it into the campaigns for the Presidential election.

3. Enacting process of the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled

As described before, it was from the 1980s that the Korean government, influenced by the UN's declaration of the "year of the disabled" in 1981 and the coming '88 Paralympic, began to take the problem of disabled people's unemployment into consideration.

On the other hand disabled people also argued more openly and strongly that their human rights and a normal living must be secured. This movement of the disabled was not

enough on its own to force the government to take action. However, nobody could deny the fact that they stimulated the government and helped to give momentum to the process of persuasion. Let us now consider this process in more detail.

Firstly, it is important to recognise the activities of the disabled in that process. In practice the disabled in Korea were not well-organised, their power was not sufficient to move the government to shift its attitude towards them, and the problems of the disabled bored most politicians, except for a few fresh new entrants into the profession.

A number of associations according to the kind of disability such as "Korea Polio center", "Korea Association for Persons with Physical disabilities", "Korea Association for the deaf and dumb", "Korea Association for the Blind", "Korea Association for the Mentally-retarded", "Korea association for the Cerebral Palsy" (the Ministry of health and social affairs, 1988) were established and formally recognised and certified by the government.

However, they could not provoke the government into undertaking the development of welfare policies in their interest, nor was it possible for them to criticise the policy from the bottom. Their actions were constrained by their dependence on the government for a major part of their budget. In most cases, from 80 per cent to 100 per cent of their expenses were supplied by the government (Seoul City, 1989).

What they could do was to do their best to maintain their organisations. If they wanted to have an organisation to fight the government, they had to tolerate the situation. Actually, there have never been radical massive protests against the government by these associations. Even when the arguments about the employment system for the disabled were emerging, they approached the policymakers in a spirit of defense.

On the other hand, there were a few small informal groups of young disabled people such as "Walking Together", "The Echo", "Student Union of the Disabled", "Dark Horse", "Blue Spring" (the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 1988). They very often had meetings voluntarily and informally. They could act because they did not have jobs and they had plenty of time available. Some of them were highly educated. Even though they graduated from popular and highly-recognised universities with good records they usually

failed to get jobs. From the 1980s they spent their time researching the employment systems for the disabled which were in practice in advanced countries. Mostly, they interpreted the books about the systems and drew up blue prints based on those systems.

As a next step, they decided to make their opinions public. To attract public attention effectively, they illegally occupied the offices of 4 political parties for some days in 1988 (Newspaper for the disabled, 1988). The four political parties, including the ruling Democratic Justice Party, promised to try to introduce legislation regarding the employment for the disabled and the young disabled people went back to their home spontaneously. None of the protesters was arrested for their illegal occupation. The four parties and the police had taken notice of the growing atmosphere of interest in the problem of the disabled evident in the nation at large.

Throughout these activities, the four political parties began to try to draw up their own draft bills respectively. They turned in those drafts to the National Assembly in late 1988.

Now let us have a look at the four drafts which were submitted to the National Assembly. The four political parties which had promised to try to establish the employment system for the disabled competed with one another to keep their promise.

An opposition Peace and Democratic Party submitted a scheme on December 2nd, 1988 through the proposal of 84 national assemblymen including Lee Chul-Yong. The ruling Democratic Justice Party did so through 62 national assemblymen including Yang Kyeong-Ja, Jang Yeong-Cheol, Jang Kyeong-Woo, December 7th, 1988. Another opposition Democratic Republic Party did it through 35 national assemblymen including Lee Byeong-Hee December 8th, 1988. The other opposition Korea Democratic Party followed them through 58 national assemblymen including Lee In-Jae December 12th, 1988 (Korea National Assembly, 1989).

To describe their contents in more detail, they were each concerned to identify the following: the duty of the employers, the standard size of the company to which the law was

to be applied, the levy to be exacted for not employing the disabled, the standard employment quota rate, etc.

There was little significant difference between them except in the case of the "standard employment quota rate". On that point, differences emerged. The suggested quota rate varied from, at least, 2 per cent (Democratic Republic Party), and 3 per cent (Democratic Justice Party, Korea Democratic Party), to 5 per cent (Peace and Democratic Party) of the regular employees, respectively.

There appeared to be no reasons for the adoption of any one of these suggested quota rates. In an interview Mr. Yu Ki-Seong who was a member of the Democratic Republic Party and joined actively in setting up the party's draft said,

'We had almost no evidence about the employment of the disabled and we did not have much time. I came to know the fact that the small group of young disabled people had some data about it by chance. I can remember that their material was very useful to me. Maybe, those who did this kind of work in other parties would do it in the same way I did'.

The expectation of substantial difference between the four drafts was wrong from the outset.

In fact, in Korea, the political parties do not have specialists for specific policy fields. Most of the members of the parties are politics-oriented generalists. Usually they do not have their own specialties or major interests. Their interests are always the political struggle itself, not research or policy making. What is worse is that even in the opposition parties, they habitually depend on the government for evidence on which to base policies. They modify the evidence and use it according to their own viewpoint. Their position of dependence means that they cannot act as effective critics of the government.

The way in which they prepared the drafts about the employment system for the disabled was not exceptional. It can be said that Korean government officials are generalists, and the members of political parties are far behind the officials in competency regarding policy-making. For politicians policy-making is, therefore, a matter of gathering evidence

from the government or interests groups and combining it in a plausible way without exercising much original thought on their own part.

Thirdly, immediately after the '88 Seoul Paralympic (from Oct. 15 to Oct. 24) the 144th regular session of the National Assembly started in December, 1988. It was to this Assembly that the four political parties submitted their drafts about the employment for the disabled, all of which were formally accepted by the National Assembly.

Next, the substantial discussion about these drafts started from the 145th session of the National Assembly which was held on February 20, 1989. There were presentations about the reasons why the drafts had been handed in. After that, the drafts were devolved to a subcommittee which was organised by the standing committee of labour for more discussion. The subcommittee, led by Lee Sang-Soo, discussed it about 8 times from May 20, 1989 to December 1, 1989. The subcommittee decided to abolish the four drafts and submit a new revised draft to the plenary session of the National Assembly (the National Assembly, 1989).

The new draft was what was noteworthy. The revised final draft, in fact, was largely a creation of the Labour Ministry. Because the national assemblymen had no idea about such a specific field as employment for the disabled they had no choice but to depend on the government especially the Ministry of Labour. This was explained in an interview with Mr. Lee Chae-Phil, an official of the Labour Ministry who had an important role in making the draft. He is now serving as a chief of the branch office of the Labour Ministry. He said,

'Actually, it was made by the Labour Ministry even if it was suggested by the national assemblymen. For about three years I was busy enough to forget my wedding day. Now, I am very proud of doing it for the disabled even if it was a duty of government'.

Let us have a look at the way in which the National Assembly works. One national assemblyman is supported by five assistants, including a driver. All of them are paid by the government. The national assemblyman usually uses one of them as an assistant who follows

him anywhere anytime to confirm his schedule and as a protection against terror. Another, usually the chief secretary, plays a very important role in managing the constituency and other political activities. Sometimes, he takes part in certain political meetings on behalf of the national assemblyman. Among the rest are two secretaries, one of them a typist. Unfortunately only one secretary can help the national assemblyman in analysing evidence and researching for policy making or legislation. Therefore the secretary is always so busy and overworked that he can not concentrate on researching the basic problems of current institutions and determine appropriate prescriptions for the needs of the people, including the disabled.

Even if one national assemblyman is a member of one standing committee, it is structurally impossible for him to be a specialist unless he acquired specialist knowledge before he entered the national assembly.

It is now possible to see why the national assemblymen relied on the Labour Ministry in the later stages of discussing the draft laws.

Anyway, the final draft which had been deeply coloured and refined by the Labour Ministry was passed unanimously December 16th, 1989.

The outcome of this complicated procedure was "The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled".

4. Main points of the Korean employment system for disabled people

Let us describe the Korean employment system for disabled people, based on the LEPD. To explain it more clearly, it seems to be useful to introduce not only the law itself but also the enforcement decree and the enforcement regulation of the law.

Furthermore, the regulations which govern the Korea Employment Promotion Agency for the Disabled (hereinafter referred to as KEPAD) can also help us to understand the Korean system in more detail.

It will be useful to quote at length in part some of the enforcement decrees or regulations, as becomes necessary to clarify the situation.

The LEPD consists of six main chapters and one addenda. Let us consider the main points in each chapter.

Chapter 1 is about general provisions. It defines the purpose of the LEPD as "to strive for the employment promotion, vocational rehabilitation and employment security of the disabled in order that they may live a decent life through work suited to their ability". "To live a decent life" means that the state has to guarantee the right to work through which the disabled can secure a stable job and participate in society. This meaning is in tune with that of human rights in the Korean Constitution and the other general laws related to the rights of workers. It imposes some duties on the state and local government, on the employers and on the disabled to achieve its purpose.

It says that the state and local governments should, together with enlightening the people in general including employers on the employment of the disabled, endeavor effectively to promote the measures necessary for the employment security of the disabled.

It also stresses that the employers should, with respect to employment of the disabled, offer them employment opportunities and carry out proper employment management. At the same time, they should not discriminate against workers based on physical or mental handicap in managing personnel, promotion, transfer to another position, education and training, etc.

For the disabled, it advises that they should exert themselves to become self-supporting as capable workers through being aware of themselves as working persons, striving for the development and improvement of their capabilities.

In addition, it sustains some duties of the Minister of Labour such as : 1) the Minister of Labour should establish the basic plan for promoting employment of the disabled ; 2) The Minister of Labour must give the disabled vocational guidance to enable them to obtain jobs suitable to their abilities ; 3) The Minister of Labour should endeavour to promote measures of vocational training for the disabled ; 4) The Minister of Labour should carry out the

adjustment training for the disabled job applicants for the purpose of enabling them to adapt more readily to their working environment, and in such cases a training allowance may be supplied to the disabled undergoing adjustment training ; 5) The Minister of Labour should not only give disabled workers guidance after being employed to adjust themselves to working environment, but also provide employers with information about the disabled.

Chapter 2 has some articles about the Korea Employment Promotion Agency for the Disabled. The law compels the state to establish a special organisation carrying out the service relating to employment of the disabled people effectively. The KEPAD was established in 1990 according to that clause. The KEPAD is playing a very important role in employment promotion for the disabled, because the Labour Ministry commits various kinds of practical functions to the KEPAD like: 1) Collecting, analysing and offering employment information and placement services for the disabled ; 2) Surveys and research concerning employment promotion and vocational rehabilitation of the disabled ; 3) Adjustment training for the disabled and training for the disabled person's working life counselor ; 4) Guidance aid concerning technical matters relating to vocational rehabilitation and employment management of the disabled for the employers and organisations concerned ; 5) Aptitude tests, vocational guidance, the teaching and examination of knowledge and skill, etc. necessary for the occupation of the disabled ; 6) Operation of the vocational training institute and the assessment centre which simulates the conditions operating in sheltered workshops ; 7) Publicity and education concerning the promotion of the employment of the disabled and services concerned with this such as the competition in which disabled people compete with each other to test their work skills, etc. ; 8) Other services necessary for promoting employment of the disabled and delegated by the Minister of Labour or the head of the central administrative agency.

Among those clauses relating to administrative matters, a special mention needs to be made of the appointment and dismissal of officers. The law says that " Among both full-time and part time directors, one third or more of each class of Directors should consist of disabled persons", who are expected to observe and investigate the needs of the disabled and

ensure that they are reflected in the business of KEPAD. In this sense, it is unique compared with other similar organisations under the direction of the Government.

There are 400 members and 12 branch offices and one vocational training institute in KEPAD in 1997.

Chapter 3 is about promoting employment among the disabled. This chapter describes the obligations of the State and local government and the employers more concretely than chapter 1, which is declarative and abstract. These obligations are connected to the levy and allowance system and are an important characteristic of the Korean system.

It compels the State to employ the disabled in numbers not less than 2% of the total number of their regular personnel. This clause was made with the intention that the State should take the lead in employing the disabled and stimulate Korean society to follow the law.

According to this chapter, the State and local government should hold examinations so that the disabled, totaling not less than 2% of employed personnel, can be employed.

One of the most important points of the law is in this chapter. This is the obligation of employers. Under the regulations, the Minister may set the quota rate at any thing between 1 and 5 per cent. However, in the case of times where a substantial number of jobs are regarded as unsuitable for disabled employees, the Minister gives dispensation from the quota at specific rates.

The Presidential Decree fixed the "standard employment quota rate" as 1 per cent in 1991, 1.6 per cent in 1992, 2 per cent in 1993, where it now remains. This quota rate has been the main point of argument between the employers and the disabled. Regarding the size or scale of the company to which the law should be applied, the Presidential Decree decided on "the employers who are employing not less than 300 hundred workers". To put it in another way, at enterprises where more than 300 workers are employed, the disabled should amount to not less than 2 per cent of the workforce.

Employers employing fewer disabled persons than the SEQR should pay a levy for not employing the disabled (hereinafter referred to as a "levy") every year to the Minister of

Labour as stated in the Presidential Decree. The basic amount of the levy is fixed at not less than 60 per cent of the minimum annual wage set by the Economic Planning Board. To decide the basic sum of the levy the Minister of Labour should take into consideration the following: 1) expenses necessary for the establishment or repair of facilities or equipment for employing the disabled; 2) expenses necessary to measures for proper employment management of the disabled; and 3) any other special expenses necessary for employing the disabled.

In contrast, the Minister of Labour may, when the employers employ the disabled beyond the SEQR pay them an employment allowance (hereinafter referred to as an "allowance") in proportion to the excess number of the disabled employed above the quota. The Minister of Labour shall fix the allowance considering the basic amount of the annual levy. The Ministry of Labour may also supply subsidies within the limit of the employment allowance to the employers who are employing many disabled persons even if they have no duties to employ them. These subsidies are also fixed annually by the Minister of Labour. These allowances and subsidies have been decided at around 50 per cent of the levy, but now the Minister of Labour is considering the possibility of upgrading them to give more incentive to the employers.

Chapter 4 describes the Employment Promotion Fund for the disabled. The Minister of Labour should establish an Employment Promotion Fund for the Disabled(hereinafter referred to as a "Fund") in order to conduct the business of promoting employment for the disabled such as running the KEPAD, granting allowances and subsidies, etc. The Fund consists of resources from : 1) Contributions or donations from the government or non governmental organisations and persons; 2) Levies from employers; 3) Profits from the operation of the Fund and other revenues; 4) Loans from international organisations, foreign nations and foreigners.

In turn, the Fund can be used for various payments such as : 1) Expenses needed to conduct the business of the agency; 2) Allowances and subsidies which are described above; 3) Financing and supporting the employers with the expenses necessary for the establishment

or repair of facilities or equipment for employing the disabled and expenses necessary for measures for administering employment of the disabled; 4) Grant-in-aid to agencies carrying on education or training for the disabled; 5) Other expenses necessary for the businesses provided in the Presidential Decree for promoting employment of the disabled, and expenses, incidental to conducting the business. The Fund is now operated and managed by the Minister of Labour.

Chapter 5 is about the Supplementary Provisions. Employers who employ disabled workers in numbers not fewer than fixed in the Presidential Decree shall select and appoint a Counselor who can give counseling services and guidance concerning the working life of the disabled. The Counselors should be qualified by the Ministry of Labour. The Presidential Decree says that the employers who are employing more than 10 disabled persons must appoint such a Counselor. Moreover, employers should, when they dismiss any disabled worker report this fact to the Minister of Labour within 7 days.

According to this chapter, the Minister of Labour may delegate some part of the power, given by this law, to the mayors of Seoul Special City or other Direct Cities, to governors of provinces or may entrust the KEPAD with such powers.

Chapter 6 contains the penalties or fines which can be imposed on the employers if they should fail in meeting their duties under this law. Finally, the Addenda says that this act shall come into force on January 1st, 1990.

5. Characteristics of the Korean System at Policy Level

In the process of the survey of the Korean welfare policy focusing on the employment system for the disabled, we could not help but pick up some characteristics which looked unique to Korea. They seemed to stem from the very background of history and culture, including political and administrative dynamics which differ from those of other countries. I would like

to enumerate these characteristics in relation to policy-formation, policy-implementation and policy-evaluation.

1) The policy-formation stage

As we have seen, Korea has a confucianistic tradition that has made Korea very different from other countries. It was the thought of Confucianism that determined Korean people to continue to emphasise saving face in the outside world. The strong state intervention also originated from Confucianism.

It is important to remember this when trying to understand the impact from international events such as the UN Declaration of the year of the disabled in 1981 and the '88 Seoul Olympic Games accompanied by the '88 Seoul Paralympic. It was because of the confucianist tradition that the origin of the law lay as much in international trends as in the internal needs of the country or demands from the disabled. Of course, demand for jobs from the disabled had been a constant theme, but had not been strong enough to move policy-makers. It is evident that the two international events evidently had the decisive influence on enacting the LEPD (Lee, I. S., 1990).

What is the merit in tracing the origin of legislation in this way? Being pushed by outside events, policy-makers were not ready for the system. They did not have enough time to prepare for it but the '88 Seoul Paralympic was inexorably approaching. Even though the 4 political parties had promised to produce a law for the disabled, they failed even to hold a conference open to the public on the employment of the disabled. They did not have time to undertake research into such fundamental policy questions as the needs of the disabled and the opinions of the employers. As a result, they had to rely on the voice of an informal small group of young disabled. In the long run, they had to concede the role of actually drawing up legislation to the Ministry of Labour. If the politicians had anticipated the demand for change they would have been in a position to respond with a more effective bill.

Secondly, as we have seen, strong state intervention is one of the characteristics of the Korean system of policymaking. After the Korean war, Korea achieved high economic growth under the leadership of a succession of strong Presidents, who orchestrated the

successful export-oriented industrialisation. With less state intervention, the labour movement might have strengthened and supported the employment rights of disabled people. But in practice, the labour movement has been repressed as all effort has been concentrated on economic growth.

Chalmers Johnson identified the Korea of that period as an "authoritarian developmental state" (C.Johnson, 1988). Strong state intervention has characterised all fields of policy including the welfare domain. In the process of formulating the LEPD, the government had hardly bothered to collect public support from the various groups. In the preparation of the law, the government applied the same strategy it used to secure economic growth. Even the definition of disability has not been formulated in terms of disabled people's needs. There was only imitation and quotation of the definitions which had been developed in other countries. The combination of an authoritarian state and the lack of expertise in the government ensured its distance from the needs of the disabled. There was only policy output : the process of policy-making hardly existed (Son Jun-Gyu, 1993).

2) The policy-implementation stage

As was natural in the agricultural and confucianist society of Korea people could be classified into 4 classes: government officers, farmers, factory workers and engineers, businessmen. Among them government officers had the highest status. They were not civil servants : government officers had traditionally ruled the people and had acquired the habit of expecting people to show deference to them.

However, Korea is now becoming rapidly urbanised and agriculture accounts for less than 20 per cent of industrial output. Moreover, per capita GNP has risen to over 10,000 US\$. Yet, the old habits of government officials persist.

Within KEPAD there are many members from government, most of whom are elderly and adhere to the old administrative stereotypes which are unlikely to be changed : 13 out of 16 general managers are from the government (in 1996). KEPAD was established to provide a special service for the disabled, but it "is occupied" by the old officials. They have no interest in meeting the needs expressed by the disabled. The mass media reveal that

many disabled persons complain about the authoritarian attitude of the Ministry of Labour and the KEPAD (see, The Newspaper of the Welfare of the Disabled, 1994). The rigid attitude of government officials in delivering welfare services has contributed to the fact that the gap between the government and the disabled is becoming bigger and bigger. The disabled have criticised the KEPAD accusing it of merely creating new jobs for government officers (Walking Together, 1992).

3) The policy-evaluation stage

Existing policies inevitably combine negative and positive aspects. As such, ideally, policies need to be monitored and modified in order to achieve something nearer to their ultimate goal. Korea has had 5 years experience of the LEPD, but there has been no attempt to evaluate it. In order to help to remedy this situation, this study has as a major objective, the exploration of the implementation of the law from four different perspectives : pressure groups, functions of political parties, public opinion, the position of front-line officers.

(1) Pressure groups

Many policies in the social sphere have been implemented or revised by the lobbying of pressure groups advocating certain interests. In Korea, however, as we have seen, almost all the associations of the disabled are financially supported by the government to a considerable extent. Therefore, they experience serious limitations in criticising government policy at the outset. The weakness of pressure groups results from the frailty of their power to criticise.

(2) Political parties

In Korea the only formal organisation that can check the government is the National Assembly. It has the constitutional right to inspect and monitor what the government does. In fact, this ability of the National Assembly depends on how many experts it has in any particular field. The Korean National Assembly has been occupied mostly by people who do not have knowledge of any particular profession. They are not policy-oriented but politics-

oriented. Unfortunately, Korean political history is such that they have been encouraged to concentrate on political struggle. After the Korean war, whenever a new man came into power he organised a new political party to support him. As a consequence, the stable development of the two-party system has been impossible, and politicians have been forced to change their parties from time to time. It has been impossible for them to develop a political culture through the process of checks-and-balances to guarantee stable competition (Ahn HaiGyun, 1986).

(3) Public opinion

It might be expected that the mass media would play a substantial role in enlightening the general population with regard to the difficulties of the disabled. In highly industrialised societies the mass media usually plays an important role in developing the national consensus on such issues. However, Korean journalism has a strong tendency to cling to the special events that attract people's attention. Analysing the attitude of Korean newspapers, it has become clear that they have little interest in the field of the welfare of the disabled, except on the 20th, April, which is "Korea's day for the disabled" (KEPAD, 1992).

(4) Position of the front-line officers

Among government officials, people are recognised and evaluated by their status, not by their personality or qualities. If a person in a lower position were to express his opinion strongly his senior usually considers this to be a slight on his dignity. Senior officials usually want blind loyalty from their followers. Professor Park Dong-Seo described this phenomenon of bureaucracy as "personalism". He said that senior officials could not distinguish the public sector from the private sector emotionally and rationally (Park Dong-Seo, 1984).

In the case of KEPAD, most of the senior officials are from the government while the persons in lower positions are well educated with regard to welfare problems. Thus there is unavoidable conflict between senior officers and those in lower grades. In any client-oriented service the opinion of the front-line employees could better reflect the needs of the clients,

but under the existing system, they do not expect any notice to be taken of their opinion. However, the main point is that in reality their opinions represent the hidden potential for desirable change to improve the system.

6. Problems in Operating the current Korean System in Practice

Korea has over 5 years of experience in implementing the employment system for the disabled. Most employers, however, do not take it seriously. In a survey conducted by KEPAD on July 8, 1994, it was learned that the standard employment quota rate of 2% is only fulfilled by less than 1% of employers, most of whom prefer to pay the levy than to employ the disabled.

People with disabilities were in high expectation of getting jobs in 1989 when the law was passed. Most of them are now unemployed and in deep despair. They are angry with the government and KEPAD. They believe that they have been made fun of by a law with no power to put them into the workplace.

On the other hand, the employers are also complaining about the heavy cost of having to revitalise their companies in the long recession. They think that the law is an obvious obstacle on the way to developing their companies and that it is another type of intervention by the government restricting private competition. Moreover, the employers allege that the law is the product of collectivism with no heed being paid to the impact on them.

As a first step towards considering possible alternatives, let us begin to consider some of the problems which have emerged in the course of the first five years of the implementation of the disability employment law.

There are tremendous difficulties involved in finding out what the problems are. There is little reliable evidence, especially in documentary form related to the Korean system of the employment for the disabled. Although some critical material has been produced by

the Ministry of Labour and the KEPAD, these agencies tend to be reluctant to analyse and criticise their own system. Self-criticism usually limits responsibility for failure.

Thus, there was no choice but to trace the problems through five years' of work experience in the KEPAD as a general manager since its establishment in 1990. In addition to this personal experience, reference was also made to the view of other members of the KEPAD. From this internal review, seven problem areas emerged.

1) Lack of expertise

There are only a few experts who are serving as counselors whose job it is to try to help meet the basic needs of the clients in Korea. The officers concerned in the Labour Ministry are generalists who define the meaning of disability in terms of their own administrative views and usually want to transfer to another position which holds greater prospects for them.

In the case of KEPAD, the main organisation implementing the law and supplying daily direct services to the clients, most of the top positions are occupied by officers who have retired from the government. They know little about, still less how to meet the special needs of desperate disabled people, nor are they much interested in doing so.

They normally ignore the better informed and more creative opinions of younger colleagues in lower positions. Everyday the senior officers decide each case according to bureaucratic rules : they continuously travel within their own orbit without consideration for the disabled.

2) No co-ordination committee

In Korea, responsibility for the welfare services for the disabled is distributed through a number of government departments. The Education Ministry is in charge of special education. The Ministry of Health and Welfare is responsible for fundamental rehabilitation including medical services and sports, while the Labour Ministry is in charge of vocational rehabilitation.

The problem is that these functions are conducted without any cross-departmental communications between the departments concerned. They are separate and have no connection through which clients can be referred appropriately. The client, therefore, could obtain the same service from two or three departments and occasionally, could be rejected by every department. This can happen because the separate functions of each department are not clear. This characteristic of the Korean welfare service delivery system which operates from separate and discrete agencies with overlapping responsibilities makes it impossible for the disabled to receive service from the hospital to the job centre in a logical and coherent manner.

This system of policy implementation ensures that at the individual level services may fail to meet their objectives because account has not been taken of difficulties elsewhere. For example, barriers and obstacles on the road, difficulties in using the bus and tube result in the disabled person staying at home. These problems cannot be solved without close cooperation and coordination between the governmental organisations.

3) Inequity among the disabled

Many disabled people feel isolated because they suffer from inequalities which have arisen within the disabled population. The truth is that people who have severe difficulties are unlikely to be helped by vocational welfare services such as the rehabilitation system supplied by the government. They have no choice but to remain languishing in their rooms. In such circumstances it is unlikely that their expectation of obtaining work can remain high for very long. They perceive the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled as excluding them. The law can help only those with slight disabilities, the group favoured by employers.

Inequity between different categories of disability also exists. Blind people often spend the whole day at home. However much they want appropriate work, they are unlikely to find a job outside a massage parlor, even if they are highly educated. But at least they

have massage as a reserved occupation. The situation is worse for people with learning disability, for whom no jobs are reserved.

4) No voluntary society

Recently, some disabled people have argued for services allocated on the basis of their own assessment of their needs, without intrusion into the process from government bureaucrats. They get tired of the impersonal and indifferent attitude of government officials. Although many would favour help from volunteers, there are few volunteer groups or societies in Korea for disabled people. In fact, it is difficult to join a voluntary society to help the disabled in Korea because any one doing so would be misunderstood by the rest of society, where such an action would be considered to be symptomatic of idleness. Yet, in the field of employment, the officials of the Labour Ministry and the KEPAD can not cover the full range of needs of the disabled. If there were a few well-organised voluntary societies, they could help the government to deliver a more flexible and humane service for the disabled.

5) Traditional view of disability

The Korean traditional view of disability has had a negative influence on the development of employment of the disabled. In Korea, many think that "disability is a stigma for a misdeed in a former life". This belief is held by many employers around the age of 56 years (see, a survey on the attitude to the disabled, KEPAD , March 1992a). This misconception has disrupted the normal progress of the development of the employment system for the disabled in Korea and is likely to dominate the thought of Koreans, especially elderly people for some time to come.

6) Maximum punishment and small award : the problem for employers

Korean employers seem to pay all the costs of implementing the law. They are obliged to bear the burden of the levy if they do not meet the standard employment quota rate. They, in turn, can receive an allowance and subsidies if they employ disabled persons beyond the quota rate. The allowance and the subsidies, however, are too small to act significantly as a carrot.

It seems unlikely that employers would accept the concept of social integration unless the government develops incentives such as a tax deduction to reflect the numbers of disabled people employed.

7). Dual- system

At the moment of administration, the Korean system is implemented by both the Labour Ministry and the KEPAD. Collecting the levy and managing the fund are in the charge of the Labour Ministry, while counseling and investigative processes involved in managing the fund are carried out by the KEPAD. This dual system produced many complaints from the disabled and the employers.

So far, the negative attitudes of the Korean government towards welfare policy have been described, and the background and enacting process of the LEPD has been explored. We have also considered the main points of the current Korean employment system for disabled people and the general characteristics and problems of the system at policy and practice level.

Thus a system of employment services which was introduced in response to external pressure and owed nothing to the ideas of disabled people themselves has proved to be difficult to implement effectively.

Let us now consider how the system is experienced by disabled people.

Chapter 4

How do disabled people in Korea perceive their own need?

This chapter concerns the experience of discrimination, response to the current system and special needs of five categories of disabled people : visually impaired people, the hearing impaired, people with learning disability, those with cerebral palsy and physically disabled people. Through interviews with 60 disabled people on which this chapter is mainly based, it is possible to see how disabled people in Korea perceive their own needs. Their experience has been analysed in terms of type of disability, severity of disability, gender and employment status.

In considering the responses of disabled people to the system of employment services set up in accordance with the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled, it is important to do so in such a way as to reflect the very real differences between the various categories of disabled people in terms of their experience of Korean society. As we have seen, sensory impairments are viewed differently as between those with visual and hearing loss, while people with cerebral palsy have to be considered separately from the general area of physically disabled people. And those with learning disability are in a class of their own in terms of the type and degree of discrimination they suffer. It is important to note that mentally ill people have been excluded from consideration here, because it has been and continues to be the custom in Korea not to number such people among the disabled population. These differences will be explored more fully in the following analyses.

1. Visually impaired people

It is important at the outset to understand the categorisation of visually impaired people into two groups which has been adopted for the purpose of this study. In practice, a variety of methods of categorisation are used in Korea. For example, in ophthalmology they are usually divided into three groups, namely the completely blind, semi-blind and partially-sighted. In the field of special education, they are segregated into the two groups of blind children and partially-sighted children. To take another example, most policy-makers concerned with disability in Korea tend to divide them into two groups: severely blind people who are placed along a continuum of severity of impairment from level 1 to 3 and slightly blind people who belong to level 4 to 6 as is the case under the Welfare Act for People with Disability 1989.

In practice, however, the evidence of the present study suggests that none of these ways of grouping visually impaired people are useful in the context of employment. In other words, their working capacities appear to owe little to their degree of disability as measured by the medical profession. As a consequence, for the purpose of the present study, a different categorisation to those which are currently used, has been devised, though the practice of dividing people into two groups and using the descriptive labels of blind and partially sighted has been followed. However, in this case the labels refer to capacity to work, and the method of assessment and classification has been devised with the assistance of Mr. J.Kim, specialist in job analysis and assessment of working capacities of disabled people, who is working in the KEPAD. In practice, the assessment was a combination of the subjective derived from working experience and a standard functional measure of a broad kind related primarily to mobility. The result, though crude, was useful.

1). The experience of discrimination

Traditionally, in Korea, blind people have been recognised as objects of pity, or as a burden and as fair game for cheats. These views of blind people have been deeply rooted in the minds of Korean people through a famous fable called "Simchungjeon" (Simchung's story) in which a blind person(Simchung's father) is described as being continuously cheated and deprived of his belongings by able-bodied people. Korean people have been accustomed

to describing blind people as "Bongsa" which means a foolish person who has no power to defend himself even when he is assaulted and swindled.

This humiliating idea of blind people still prevails and influences the overall discrimination against them. To take an example to show the seriousness of the extent of discrimination, a famous blind singer, Y.B.Lee, has never sung on morning programmes on TV because people think that they will be out of luck all day if they see a blind person in the morning. Furthermore, blind people are very often excluded from the basic amenities of daily life such as restaurants, shops and taxis.

A 35 year old masseur, G.L.Park, who was blind said : 'When I went to a restaurant to have a lunch they treated me as a beggar. They gave me some change and pushed me out of the door. The other day I spent about 2 hours in the street trying to catch a taxi.'

This serious discrimination discourages blind people from hoping for open employment. In fact, all the 12 blind people interviewed said they had had experience of being rejected for such jobs regardless of their level of disability. As a result, blind people can realistically apply for only a narrow range of jobs. According to the official statistics, there are about 60,000 blind people in Korea. Of these, only 6 per cent work as masseur or masseuse(1,300 people), acupuncturists(850), teachers of blind children(75), clergymen(104), fortunetellers(650), piano tuners(34), etc. (Korea Association of Blind people, 1990). The seriousness of the situation for blind people is indicated by the fact that the majority of those who work as masseurs and masseuses are in practice working in occupations specifically reserved for the blind.

Even though massage is reserved for blind people, the system cannot guarantee a stable life for them. Their income is absolutely dependent on the number of customers they attract regardless of their will and capacity. Therefore, there are big differences in income between masseurs and masseuses. Generally speaking, masseurs can earn only half of masseuses' earnings. This is because massage is usually enjoyed by male customers who

prefer female to male practitioners. In this case sexual discrimination is the reverse from that which is generally experienced.

Mr. Park continued : 'We are usually picked up in the absence of female colleagues. I earn on average about 700 pounds(evaluated in 1995) per month. It is not enough to cover the basic expenses of my substance. I am very anxious about my future.

Massaging becomes more difficult as we get older, physically and economically. I want to have a job with good prospects, but I have no information, no money.'

In contrast, Mrs. S.S.Kim, a 27 year old part-time masseuse said : 'I am working only during the day time because I am married. I earn about 1,500 pounds per month. I guess I can earn more if I work all day. I am satisfied with my income.'

The reserved system seems to be working for female blind people in terms of their income.

However, it has serious problems in the context of human rights. Masseurs and masseuses tend to be treated as servants by customers not as a independent human beings. Masseuses are especially liable to suffer from insults and sexual harassment from male customers.

However, they cannot complain of the contemptuous attitudes which are so prevalent, because if they do customers usually call the manager and ask for a different masseuse. Then, they are regarded as being very impolite towards customers and scolded by their employers who are interested only in their income. Usually, more than two thirds of the money paid by customers is taken by employers. Masseuses can take only one third of the money they earn at the price of being deprived of their human dignity.

Mrs. S.S.Kim continued : 'It depends on customers, but because the massage is always done in a private room in which a masseuse and a customer are alone together the possibility of sexual harassment is very high. The room is designed only for customers' privacy without consideration of human rights. I also had that kind of experience and used to feel very sceptical about my job. However, I have no choice but to do massage.'

This deprivation of human rights is enforced by lack of choice of occupation. To take an example, piano tuning is regarded as a very appropriate job for the blind, but there are very few musical instrument companies in Korea. Furthermore, to be tuners they have to go through a 2 years' course without any financial support, and on becoming tuners they become anxious about their future because there is no opportunity for promotion into a managerial position.

Mr.S.G.Kho, a 28 year old partially-sighted person, who works as a tuner in a piano manufacturing company said : 'I enjoy working here. My colleagues are very kind to me at the workplace whether they have disabilities or not. Even if my income is less than that of masseurs I am happy with my job. However, I do not know how long I should do this same work day in day out without the prospect of promotion to a managerial post.'

Clerical and managerial posts which blind people look for can be found easily only within their own associations or other similar organisations established for them. Therefore, these posts are highly competitive. Indeed, such jobs are very popular among highly educated blind people. In a sense, only these positions are open to all the blind people on the same basis that jobs are open to all able-bodied persons.

Mis.G.H.Lee, a 34 year old severely blind person who worked at an association of blind people said: 'Now, I can say I am working for myself because this association is delivering services for blind people including myself. I tried to get a job for a long time, but I was rejected at the application stage. I was not even given an opportunity of being interviewed. In my office, I guess, I might be less discriminated against compared with other disabled people working at a general workplace.'

Another partially-sighted woman, E.G.Lee, 28 year old, who worked as a counselor at the KEPAD said : 'Even if I had a master's degree in social welfare, it would be very difficult for me to get a job in other welfare areas such as work with the elderly and women. That is why I applied for my job here. I want to study more to have a Ph.D. degree, but it is impossible in Korea because universities can not afford the facilities for disabled students including the blind. I am planning to go abroad to study more.'

To become a fortuneteller, also, is not easy for blind people because the books concerned with the job are rarely available in Braille. Those who want to acquire the basic knowledge, for instance that contained in the Chu Book of Changes(a Chinese classic on divination), usually study it by audio or through fortuneteller's lectures. In so doing, they can not grasp all the complex cases because of the inaccessibility of much of the learning material.

A 37 year old severely blind man, S.H.Jang, who has been a fortuneteller for seven years said : 'It is true that we blind people are good at meditation for divination. The meditation is very important but it is not everything. Fortunetelling, I can say, consists of three parts - experience, meditation and first impression about customers. We do that without the advantage of having a first impression obtained by looking at them. That is why most famous fortunetellers are people without visual impairment. Accordingly, our income is less than that of able-bodied fortunetellers.'

Fortunetelling in Korea is not part of the entertainment industry and a feature of the seaside pier as it is in Britain, but is, in fact, a serious part of every day life. Early in the morning queues form outside the offices of fortunetellers in Korea and those who are famous attract huge numbers of clients. Most towns in Korea have fortune tellers, but in Seoul a whole neighbourhood is given over to the offices of particularly famous and important fortune tellers. Therefore, an important aspect of discrimination is exclusion from this part of the labour market.

2). Response to the current system

As we saw above, over 90 per cent of blind people are unemployed: more precisely, there is no job available for them. Even those who have jobs have to live with a high degree of discrimination from their employers and customers, to the point where they may have to give up their expectation of human dignity to maintain subsistence.

In this situation, they are disappointed with government policy for their employment. Moreover, they feel considerable hostility to the government. At the outset, enactment of the LEDP and the establishment of the KEPAD in 1990, was expected to provide some help. However, they soon discovered that the LEDP and the KEPAD were far from meeting their real needs. They do not expect the current system to help them in getting a job. In fact, the KEPAD has succeeded in getting only about 10 people with visual impairment employed during the past 5 years!

For visually impaired people, the current quota system makes no sense because the quota rate(2 per cent) operates in open employment where they are rejected. The establishment of the quota system has made no difference to the numbers of employees with visual impairment. They think that the main reason for the failure of the system is lack of governmental will to enforce the system. For them, even the arrogant and non-professional attitude of counselors of the KEPAD is regarded as a part of its failure.

A severely blind man, B.H. Yun, 52 years old, who had no work experience said : 'I was very impressed when I heard the KEPAD had been established, because I thought that I could end my lifelong unemployment. However, while I was interviewed by a counselor I was very surprised at his lack of knowledge about the blind and his rude attitude towards me. He did not even know the most basic things about the blind. He did not understand what the "white walking-stick" means. Moreover, his attitude was so authoritarian that I felt I was being interrogated. I have been waiting for a job offer for five years. I am exhausted.'

Another blind man, G.S.Bark, 42 year old, who had also never been employed said:
'There is no difference between the attitudes of the officials of local government and the staff of the KEPAD. I want a disabled official or counselor. I think I can open my mind without hesitation to the disabled counselor as a peer. However, I did not meet any disabled people working at the KEPAD.'

Some people complain of lack of information about the welfare provisions. Most people whose visual impairment resulting from an accident have serious difficulties in getting in touch with information and advice, such as for instance, where to go to learn Braille, what kind of job training is appropriate for them, where to go for the job training, etc. Their bitter wait for change has been in vain. A quarter of the blind people interviewed did not know about even the existence of the KEPAD. Only two of them had a good working knowledge about the programmes of the KEPAD.

A 41 year old woman, D.Y.Yu, who had become severely blind due to a traffic accident ten years ago, said : 'I lost everything after the accident. Before long after onset of my disability, my husband left me for another able-bodied woman. I have been in my home for ten years. I could not go out any where by myself. I did not know how I could earn money even though I had to cope with the expense of my family. If I had proper information at the time of the onset of my disability, I could have escaped my ordeal.'

A 50 year old man, D.S.Bark, who had become partially-sighted by falling down from a tree when he was 13 year old said : 'Now I am learning walking-skills, Braille type and massage. However, I do not know how long I can use them. Active advertisement about welfare services would have saved my time.'

One more important problem is the inconsistency of welfare policies. In case of acupuncture, it is illegal for people with visual impairment to become practitioners. However, it is ironic

that in the curriculum of special schools for blind people acupuncture is taught. Special school teachers who are teaching acupuncture know for a fact that blind people cannot use the skill legally. They are keeping it in the curriculum in the expectation that the situation might change in future. However, the government strategy is still strongly against them. Officials of the Ministry of Health and Welfare have grave doubts about safety of allowing acupuncture to be practiced by blind people. They do not believe that blind people can identify exactly the spots to be acupunctured on the human body. They even seem to think it can be dangerous for customers.

However, blind people beg to differ. They argue that because they have to develop more sensitive feeling at the end of their fingers than ordinary people they can acupuncture more accurately. They deny the officials' opinion that their acupuncturing can be dangerous by pointing out that there have been almost no complaints of undesirable side-effects as a result of their practice from the customers as evidence. Furthermore, they argue that customers tend to prefer blind acupuncturists to the partially-sighted.

There are approximately 850 blind people who are practicing acupuncture informally and illegally (Korea Association of Blind People, 1990). They are doing it together with acupressure under the signboard of "semi-massage centres", not "acupuncture centres" to avoid the regulations. They are in constant fear of inspection by government officials, because they could lose their jobs. At any time and in any place they may find themselves at the mercy of government officials.

A 25 year old blind man , Y.G. Jung, who has been an acupuncturist for 4 years said: 'There is a big difference between education and reality. I worked hard to learn it as a skill for my career. I do not want to violate the law, but I have no choice but to do so to maintain my subsistence. The Ministry of Education has the strategy of teaching acupuncture while the Ministry of Health and Welfare is prohibiting blind people from using it. Is it possible within the same government? In reality, the government is tacitly approving the employment of blind people as acupuncturists. I do not know why the government does not change the regulations concerned.'

They think that the government is on the horns of a dilemma because of a strong lobby from the Oriental Medical Doctors who are authorised to practice acupuncture and do not want their vested interests to be diluted by allowing visually impaired people to become practitioners.

He continued : 'I want to be an authorised acupuncturist. We want to take an examination for qualification in competition with the Oriental Medical Doctors.

However, now we have no rights to compete with them. They are very rich and influential socially and politically. The government seems to be under the control of them as far as this matter concerned.'

3). Special needs

Thus, visually impaired people have little expectation of being employed on the open labour market. They find the long struggle of challenging the rampant discrimination in employment debilitating. Instead, they have to take whatever means they can to subsist. It is particularly difficult for the adventitiously blind, especially those whose onset of visual impairment occurred in adulthood, because they find themselves excluded from the society of which they have been a part, and indeed even from their families, as in the case of Mrs.D.Y.Yu. It is not easy at all for such people to readapt themselves to the society which now regards them with hostility. To make matters worse, they cannot become masseurs or masseuses unless they have a certificate equivalent to at least graduation from middle school. And then they have to spend much time and effort, coping with poor educational facilities to pass the qualifying examination prior to being masseurs or masseuses.

This evidence suggests that a number of needs specific to blind people may be identified, which cluster around particular issues.

Firstly, they want some kind of collective form of large-scale workshop or factory appropriate for their use. They desperately want to stop being a burden on the family. The

establishment of a complex in which they could live together, could be provided with occupation, leisure activities, and even training, which would enable them to enjoy their own culture and social relationships even if they are apart from the main society. At the moment, mainstream society has no meaning for them except in the negative sense that it is the origin of the discrimination they suffer. On the other hand, they expect that such a centre could create a bridge to open employment by offering an opportunity for them to learn a variety of skills and simulating the conditions of the workplace.

President of Korea Association of Blind People, Young-Gwan, Ji, who was blind, said: 'we need large scale sheltered workshops to solve the problem of serious unemployment and imprisonment in the home. As a first stage, we need to decarcerate blind people from their home. We have asked and suggested that the government should take this strategy, but there was no answer. We have tried to contact private enterprises to establish a workshop, but could find no private firm which had an interest in the programme. Our conclusion is that it is a matter for the government not the private sector.'

Mr. Yun said : 'There are no training centre or sheltered workshops to accommodate me. I do not know what the government means by leaving us at home without anything to do. Government officials do not recognise it as a social problem.'

Most visually impaired people argue that if the government understood the seriousness of the problem this programme could become reality because the fund accumulated by the levy from the employers who fail to meet the quota rate raises enough money to meet the cost. In fact, the government is raising from this source about 5 million pounds as a fund for the promotion of employment of disabled people(KEPAD, 1995d).

Secondly, some visually impaired people would like to manage some of the small booths selling lottery tickets and vending machines selling coffee or drinks which are located

in public places. They want the government to give them priority in obtaining the rights to the ownership and operation of these booths and vending machines. There are some cases in which ex-servicemen are operating machines, but they have acquired priority for this informally, not through statutory forms or regulations. The decision by government to establish this sort of formal priority would help them in maintaining at least some kind of independent livelihood.

Mrs. Yu continued : 'After my husband left me, I had to be responsible for my two children with my blind eyes for ten years. Our financial situation has been getting worse and is the worst. The government even stopped the small house holding allowance (about 40 pounds per month) after my son went to university without any kind of financial support for him. We need more money to cope with him, however, the government thinks that his entering university means that we are rich now.

Everyone knows that it is very hard for Korean people to get jobs without graduation from the university. I decided to let him go to the university to ensure he could get a job not because I am rich. I have to do something to feed my children. I gave up being employed a long time ago, but I think I can manage a vending machine.'

As Mrs. Yu states above, the third issue can be a problem of financial support for visually impaired people. This is especially so for a visually impaired man who has dependents - their lives are so miserable. The expenditure required to maintain his family is far beyond his capacity. In fact, his capacity is far below the standard to cope with his family because he is barred from entering ordinary social activities including employment. Such people need to receive a number of different kinds of financial help. Some people want what they call a disability living allowance or disability working allowance. Others want a more indirect form of support, for instance the guarantee of employment for their family members who are looking after them financially.

Mr. G.S.Bark continued : 'My children are likely to be caught up in my tragedy because they will be poorly educated. I cannot afford to keep myself, in this situation,

how can I afford their educational costs? They need to be supported by some kind of financial allowance for them to have the same opportunity as their friends.'

Finally, most visually impaired people complain of the pure lack of information regarding the help that is available. They consider that lack of information leads them to spend more time and effort in trying to adjust to the circumstances they are facing than is necessary.

Therefore, they emphasise the importance of an information system as much as the service programmes themselves.

Miss. G.H.Lee added : 'The information net-work is very important in protecting, discovering disability and in guiding disabled people to proper services. However, we have no information centre whose major role is to help the people with disability by introducing various organisations and programmes according to the extent and kind of disability. In the long run, this information system can include research on various kind of jobs appropriate to the people with visual impairment.'

2. The hearing impaired

In dividing the hearing impaired into the two groups of those with severe hearing loss and people with mild hearing impairment, the capacity to communicate in the work place was focused on instead of medical assessments of levels of disability. In this process I was helped by two experts in this area. One is Mr. J.Kim who was involved with the assessment of visual loss, the other is Mr. G.H.Jung who is a social worker working for the Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb. Generally speaking, the people who cannot hear loud speech with a hearing-aid and can not understand sign language are likely to be categorised as severely hearing impaired regardless of their level of disability as defined by medical doctors.

1). The experience of discrimination

In all, about 13.6 per cent of the disabled population in Korea are hearing impaired and about 12 per cent of disabled employees belong to that category. In practice, the unemployment rate among those with a hearing loss is the same as for the disabled population in general, and the concomitant discrimination is on an identical scale (KEPAD, 1992b, p. 5).

Even if they are employed at the same rate as disabled people generally, it is important to understand why they experience this level of discrimination. All the unemployed people with hearing impairment whom I met said they had looked for job for a long time but had failed. They gave striking autobiographical accounts of their experiences before and after interviews.

A 21 year old man with slight hearing impairment, I.G.Gang, said : 'I tried 12 times to get my job. Usually, I picked out a company which I wanted to go to for interview by reading newspapers carrying recruitment advertisements. For example, I went for interview with my hearing friend to get a job at a small sewing factory, but I was rejected while my friend was accepted. I was reminded of the fact that I was a disabled person again at that point.'

In the case of women with hearing impairment, the traditional expectation about the role of women encourages them to give up their hopes of a job easily. Usually, they are expected to take care of household affairs regardless of whether they have disabilities or not. Especially, because women with hearing impairment need less help in doing routine house work than those with other kinds of disabilities, they are likely to be consigned to the role of an unpaid house maid.

A 21 year old unmarried woman with slight hearing impairment, called Y.S.Jung, said:
'I tried to get myself a job because I wanted to work outside the home. I applied three

times for a job, but no one accepted me. I am cooking, washing clothes and dishes, and cleaning the house every day. I hate it, but I have no other choice.'

Even if they have jobs, the range of work available to them is very narrow. It has been estimated that they are to be found in 53 kinds of work ; however, most of those jobs are low-paid and routine. More than half of them are working in the area of assembly(20.6 %), sewing(17.6 %), shoe-making(8.1 %) and embroidery(5.1 %). Their average wage is only about half that of the national average (Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb, 1992, p. 31, KEPAD, 1994b, pp. 183-7).

Thus, underemployment is a serious problem for the hearing impaired. It causes much conflict between employers and hearing impaired employees. The most usual reason for leaving is low payment and employers' betrayal of their promise to increase wages.

According to recent research, 95.1 per cent of the hearing impaired who had job experience transferred their job to another company more than once during the 5 years from 1984. The main reason for this frequent staff turnover was bad working conditions including low wages and the way in which employers broke their promise to protect hearing impaired people's dignity, and create a sense of security for them (S.G.Jung and S.S.Kim, 1988, pp. 89-100). Other research has supported these findings by showing that 71.4 per cent of the hearing impaired leave their jobs within 3 years of being employed. This compares with a much lower turnover among physically handicapped workers, of whom 38.1 per cent left jobs (KEPAD, 1994c, P. 90).

A 33 year old man with severe hearing impairment, J.G.Bark, who was working at a sewing factory said : 'While I was working at a woodworking plant, my employer broke his promise to increase my salary within 6 months. For a long time I did not know there was a big difference in wage between the hearing impaired and ordinary workers. Moreover, ordinary workers' salary was increased regularly. I felt betrayed. I had hoped I would not be so discriminated against in this job.'

A 29 year old man, S.W.Joo, who had slight hearing impairment said : 'There had been no increase in my wage and no promotion in my status. If I complained about it, they usually said "wait for a while" but the promise never achieved reality. During that time other hearing colleagues who, I thought, were worse at those jobs than me, were promoted. I could not keep my position in that situation. That is why I transferred 9 times.'

In reality, the attitudes of hearing people towards the hearing impaired at the workplace is very negative. Generally speaking, those who rely on sign have been treated as idiots in Korea, though recently the poor perception of them has began to disappear. However, there remains considerable inertia about reevaluating them positively and the workplace is no exception. In fact, it is very important for the hearing impaired to be helped by their hearing colleagues on some occasions, if only to receive instruction in work processes. For this to happen, they have to maintain good relationships with their colleagues. In this sense, the hearing impaired who have jobs experience considerable difficulties at work.

Mr. Joo continued : 'Once, my colleagues made a fool of me mimicking my way of speaking with sign language. I was very angry and I pushed one of them. Later on, I was scolded for my violent action by my boss. He seemed to think that I hit him hard. I tried to explain the situation, but he did not believe me. I hate hearing people.'

A woman with severe hearing impairment, B.H.Jung, who worked at a small cloth-making company said : 'Even the colleagues younger than me treat me as their assistant. They send me on errands from time to time. They are accustomed to ignore me whenever I try to say something.'

It is a long standing tradition that younger people are supposed to respect their seniors or older people in Korea. It is the context of this tradition which gives significant meaning to Miss. Jung's statements.

To make matters worse, some hearing people cheat the hearing impaired, taking advantage of their lack of information about the detailed structure of law and society.

A 32 year old man with severe hearing impairment, T.G.Kim, said : ' After giving up my efforts to find a job through the mainstream labour market, I have been a shoeshine boy for 13 years in front of a church. A hearing man wanted to buy my place. I sold it for about 400 pounds. Later on, he asked me to go back to the status quo. I gave him the money I had received from him. However, he did not give me the place back. He cheated me, but I could not fight him because the place was not mine legally. I was just permitted to use the place by the church. I tried to explain how the dispute progressed, but the church manager did not listen to me. He repeated that I sold the place. I do not believe hearing people. They are all the same.'

As a consequence, there is an unconquerable barrier between the hearing and the hearing impaired in the workplace. This barrier produces a grudge among the hearing impaired against hearing people. The hearing impaired tend not to believe their hearing colleagues at work. They trust only themselves. That is why they tend to operate in groups, and to leave their jobs collectively. They tend to think of their friends' unhappiness as their own tragedy. They usually take their side without considering the rightness or falsity of hearing people's behavior.

A 27 year old woman with slight hearing impairment, I.S.Lee, who worked in the ironing department of a small company said : 'I want to work only with the hearing impaired. Even if I am not a severely disabled person, I can feel very uncomfortable with hearing people because they understand me in their own way. I tell only my deaf colleague about my predicament.'

A part of this serious conflict between hearing people and the hearing impaired seems to be caused by the process of communication. Usually there is no one who can use sign language

fluently in the companies which employ hearing impaired people. Therefore, they instruct these employees in writing. Among employees handwriting is regarded as more appropriate method to communicate meaning precisely than sign language because many hearing impaired workers find it difficult to understand the hearing instructor's sign language. However, the reality is different. In practice, the hearing impaired usually have difficulty in understanding hearing people's written communication. Amazingly, none of the severely hearing impaired people interviewed for the present study, who had graduated from a special high school for them could understand the detail of the instructions they received from managers.

Mr. Bark continued : 'I do not understand my boss's sign language. I do not repeat questions to clarify the meaning of his orders because he loses his temper very quickly. Occasionally, he gives me order in his handwriting, but it is more difficult to understand.'

According to one expert, J.S.Lee, who is the director of the Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb, the present special education system fails to develop them educationally through improving their cognitive ability. He argues that the absence of an appropriate education method for them is preventing them from interacting with the outside world which is essential for the progression of intellectual growth.

He said : 'Their perception improves normally while they are infants. However, as they grow up their perceptive capacity becomes retarded compared with hearing people. A major reason for it seems to be the fact that the methods of education and intelligence testing have been developed for hearing people not for the hearing impaired. We should develop proper education methods for the hearing impaired themselves. It seems a precondition of education and employment. Without this development, discrimination against them will be reinforced.'

Another cause of misunderstanding in communication resulting in conflict is the lack of a standard sign language. Because sign language varies according to regions and groups of the hearing impaired, they can not understand each other sometimes. In other words, the low diglossic or vernacular sign differs between groups of the hearing impaired.

A counselor for disabled people's working life, J.H.Bark, who worked at a cloth-making company with about 21 employees with hearing impairment said : 'There are about 3 groups of workers with hearing impairment ; they each use a different kind of sign language. I have difficulty in understanding them. They seem to have some difficulties in communication between themselves.'

Some people with hearing impairment want self-employment to reduce their experience of discrimination. However, most of them are anxious about their lack of capital to invest and information. It is very difficult for them to accumulate enough money to set up their own business in the reality of underemployment. A third of interviewees expressed their vague hope of owning their own business, but had no detailed plan to achieve this.

A 26 year old woman with severe hearing impairment, M.S.Lee, said : 'I am learning to embroider. I started doing it to set up my own business, but I am not sure I can do that because of my lack of information to predict the future of the market and money.'

On very rare occasions, some people with hearing impairment run their own businesses very successfully. However, they usually have helpers among their relatives.

A 34 year old man with slight hearing impairment, S.J.Jho, who was running a kitchen-set manufacturing company said : ' After several times failing to keep a job, I found employment at my uncle's company. I have learnt skills for 4 years and set up my own company with my younger brother. We employ 7 people with severe hearing

impairment now. I am in charge of the inside work of our company including managing them and supervising production procedure, while my brother is covering outside business such as marketing and management of customers. I am happy with my job.'

2). Response to the current system

Thus a major problem for hearing impaired people in Korea is the difficulty they face in acquiring information. Because of the shortcomings of the education system, their level of literacy and general education are low. It is not surprising, then, to find that less than 1 per cent of the students who leave special schools for the hearing impaired enter university (Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb, 1994). As a consequence, it is understandable that few of them have any knowledge or understanding of the government policies which affect them.

As many as three quarters of those interviewed did not even know of the existence of the KEPAD, including those who were interested in employment. Most people with hearing impairment who want a job go to the Korea Association of the Deaf and the Dumb for help. Most employed deaf people have got their jobs through the association or through introductions arranged by their friends, not through the KEPAD. They tend to feel more comfortable in the association than the KEPAD. They point out that there are no deaf people working in the KEPAD, while the association consists of deaf people, their relatives and some experts.

A 21 year old woman with severe hearing impairment, H.J.Gang, said ; 'The staff counseling me were not good at sign language. They did not understand me. I like the Korea Association of the Deaf and the Dumb better than the KEPAD.'

In the circumstances, it is very natural for them not to know about the quota, levy and grant systems. Indeed, some of them do not even know about sex.

A 26 year old woman with severe hearing impairment, B.H.Jung, who had graduated from special high school said : 'I came to know the meaning of sexual life just a year ago.'

3). Special needs

Because of their serious dearth of information and poor education, most hearing impaired people experience cognitive underdevelopment. It is very difficult for them to understand the current system of social policy devised to help them and to discern the merits as well as the drawbacks of the system. Their dissatisfaction with the environment is more a symptom of the problem they face in their daily lives than about employment itself. For them, there are so many basic things which need to be taken into account before employment can be a reality.

Firstly, they want to communicate with each other and with hearing people. They can not use the current telephone system designed for hearing people. All the interviewees wanted facsimile as a tool for communication. However, most of them cannot afford it.

Mr. T.G. Kim continued : 'Every time I have something to say to somebody, I have to go to him or her to say it. On most occasions, I do not do it because it takes a very long time. As an unemployed person, I cannot afford it.

Mr.J.G.Bark also put emphasis on the facilities for communication as an employed person : 'When my company got special orders from buyers my boss called to every worker to ask them to come to work earlier next day, only I and some colleagues with hearing impairment could not receive the phone call. My boss said that he had tried so many times but there was no answer. Usually a member of my family receives phonecalls and relays the message to me, however, nobody was at home at that time except for me. I was excluded from participating in the extra work very much against

my will. I need a facsimile for keeping my place at work, but it is so expensive. I hope the government will help me to buy it.'

Secondly, all employed people with hearing impairment other than the self-employed, specify their need for someone who understands the difficulties of their situation to negotiate with employers on their behalf. In this regard, the counselor or mediator needs to appreciate fully the interests of employers and hearing impaired workers. According to the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled, employers who employ more than 10 disabled persons should appoint a counselor to help disabled people with life at work and the KEPAD trains the counselors (KEPAD, 1993. P.64). However, the training course is so short(2 weeks) that they are able to acquire superficial knowledge of the area and they are unable to grasp even the basis of sign language. In this situation, the hearing impaired have no one to depend on when they want to discuss their considerable difficulties. Consequently their problems are likely to remain unsolved. For example, under Korean law, working women are allowed one day a month paid leave for menstruation. However, not all hearing impaired women working have access to this information.

Miss. I.S.Lee continued : 'I have never had a monthly leave for menstruation because I did not know about the system. I want to ask some one about that, but there is no one to discuss it with in my workplace. It is very humiliating to have to ask my male colleague.'

Mr. Choi said : 'The working environment of my job is very bad. It is so hot and dusty in the summer that I can not stand it. However, I do not want to ask my boss to improve the working environment for me because I am afraid of being sacked. It is a pity that there is nobody to understand me.'

Thirdly, in addition to the shortcomings of the special education system resulting in severe social disadvantage for hearing impaired people, there is also a complete absence of any

attempt to provide training to help them to cope with the transition from life in special schools to that of mainstream society after graduation. If the current education system were working well a special course to prepare people for adult mainstream society would be unnecessary. As it is, however, youngsters leave their special school without a clear picture of the society facing them. They do not know how to establish and maintain appropriate relationships with their seniors and boss in the employment hierarchy. Not only do they not understand the general structure of their society, but they are also unaware of welfare provisions intended to help them. If job training services were well-established, the pre-employment course could be taken over partly in the job training centres. However, because the job training facilities are so scarce and of poor quality, it is impossible to expect them to carry out the role of socialising the hearing impaired. According to recent research less than 5 per cent of the hearing impaired leaving their special schools are making use of the job training service, while about 95 per cent of them go directly into employment (Korea Association of the Deaf and the Dumb, 1994). It seems likely that the establishment of a course to prepare them for transition into adult mainstream society would do much to tackle the high job turnover among hearing impaired employees.

Miss.B.H.Jung continued : 'I do not know the way of life of hearing people which, I think, is different from that of mine. Sometimes, I was regarded as a very strange person, but I did not know why. When I first started my job in this company, I did not know anything about the positions, status and the various sectors of the working process. Even now I have only a vague understanding about that. If there were some programmes to teach the basic knowledge, I could save time in adapting myself to my new life.'

Fourthly, the transportation problem is very serious for the hearing impaired. For them buses can not be a transportation tool because they are likely to miss the bus stop. The signboard of the bus stop is so small and unclear that they can not recognise it. Occasionally, the bus skips their stops because they cannot ask where they are of other passengers who do not

understand sign language. Therefore they prefer the underground to the bus. However, the factories where they work tend to be located in suburban areas beyond the range of the underground. The journey to and from work tends to be long and exhausting. As a result, they try to move to firms with either a workplace near a station or a hostel for them. Thus their employment is determined by the transportation situation and location of workplaces.

Mr.I.G.Gang continued : 'Now, I am an unemployed man because I stopped commuting, as my workplace was far from my home and underground station. I want a workplace with living accommodation for me.'

Another problem concerns the driving license. To get a license, drivers have to pass both the written and practical examinations in Korea. The practical examination is not difficult for the hearing impaired to pass. However, in the case of the written examination, it is very difficult for them even to understand the meaning of the questions because they relate to confusing concepts of law and hearing impaired people tend to have low levels of literacy. As a result, there is a growing demand for a change to the examination system for the hearing impaired.

Mr. S.W.Joo said : 'The car is essential for us to commute or to operate our own shops. However, I cannot understand the meaning of the words in a book concerned with the written examination. I failed several times and I am not sure about the next examination.'

Finally, despite their lack of information about welfare programmes for them, to the extent that most of them do not even know of the existence of the KEPAD, their determination to lead stable and normal lives is strong. Rather than experience the serious discrimination encountered in open employment, some of the hearing impaired want to manage their own small business as a means of providing a livelihood. However, it is rare for them to have the necessary capital because they have usually experienced the disadvantages of unemployment

or underemployment for long periods of time. As a result, they are beginning to demand special help for themselves such as a special loan system for the disabled.

Mr. T.G.Kim continued : 'I can not borrow any money from the bank because nobody wants to be my guarantor for the money loan for me even among my relatives and friends. Who can believe in my promising future without bankruptcy in view of my past period of extended unemployment. I desperately want the government to help me with guaranteeing me a special loan.'

3. People with learning disability

People with learning disability, as was the case with other groups of disabled people, may also with difficulty be divided into two groups. In categorising them in this way for the purpose of the present study enormous help was given by an expert in assessing them according to working ability. Usually, in Korea, people with learning disabilities are divided into four groups, namely the light, mild, severe and most severe retardation (KEPAD, 1991, PP.128-129). These divisions are based on the intelligence quotient. Yet within each of these groups there is considerable variety in the ability of people to work. There seems to be little correlation between working ability and the level of disability as measured by the I.Q. test. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, it was decided to divide people with learning disabilities into two groups, namely those who are slightly and those who are severely disabled, in terms of their capacities for work. Generally speaking, people were categorised as slightly disabled if their level of communication made it possible for them to understand a job or job training regardless of their level of disability and I.Q. as defined by a clinician or psychiatrist.

In considering the following analysis, it is important to bear in mind that in practice interviewing people with learning disabilities proved so difficult that there was often little choice but to interview members of their family, especially mothers, to identify factors of

significance in terms of employment. An attempt was always made initially to try to communicate directly with the mentally retarded, but on most occasions this proved to be impossible. Those who could communicate were automatically categorised as being slightly disabled.

1) The experience of discrimination in employment.

The discrimination experienced by people with learning disability is different from that of any other category of disabled persons. Unlike other types of disabled people, people with learning disability are usually not regarded as competitors by able-bodied people in the labour market. Most employers seem to consider the working people with learning disability not so much as employees but as people requiring their protection. Most employers do not expect them to produce at the same rate as able-bodied workers. They seem to adopt a philanthropic and paternalistic approach, rarely seeing their role as providing more than token employment.

It is beyond the bounds of learning disabled people in reality to discuss the mainstream employment of people with learning disability in Korea because there is no evidence of or statistics about their employment. Even though they occupy 7.4 per cent of all disabled people in Korea, they take only about 1 per cent of places occupied by all disabled people in employment (KEPAD, 1994, P.45). To make matters worse, the so-called, employees find themselves in a highly insecure situation. According to a small scale research study, all of the employed mentally retarded change their job within 3 years(KEPAD. 1994, P.90). Furthermore, 87.6 per cent of them work in small-sized companies which have less than 100 workers(Korea Association for the Mentally Retarded, 1991).

However, parents of the mentally retarded are not surprised at this low employment rate, because they understand the difficulties of both employers and the employees with learning difficulties in satisfying their respective interests. Parents are familiar with the tendency among non-disabled people to oversimplify and assume the prevalence of very low levels of ability among learning disabled people. They know that even if their children have

certain ability, it has long been ignored and will be so for a long time to come. That is why parents do not rush to press employers to employ their children.

The mother of a 21 year old man with severe learning disability, named S.M.Jho, said:

'When I and my son got in a lift in a department store, a female university student was surprised at my son and got out of the lift shrieking loudly. University students are recognised as somewhat intelligent people in Korea. In this situation how can I expect employers to employ my son under the same condition as able-bodied people?

Another thing which shows the attitude of the able-bodied is the fact that most special schools are located on the top of the small mountain or the end of the village far from the residential area in spite of their mobility difficulties.'

This hostile atmosphere surrounding the mentally disabled forces families to hide the fact that they have in their midst a member with a serious disability. Indeed, their presence may even have repercussions on the marriage expectations of other members of the family, because families which include a person with learning disability are usually regarded as being inferior by nature.

The mother of a 18 year old woman, G.W.Lee, with severe mental retardation said :

'Her brother does not invite his friends at home even on his birthday.'

Another woman who has a 26 year old son, H.W.Lee, with severe learning disability said: 'Marriage is a big problem for him and his sister. I want him to marry, but who would want to marry him? Furthermore, I am afraid my daughter would be hurt in relation to marriage because of him.'

In this situation, some parents who have daughters with mental retardation face another problem. They are reluctant to let their daughters go out of the home because they worry about sexual harassment and rape. They do not consider most long-stay institutions to be

safe. In fact, sexual harassment and rape takes place especially frequently in institutions for the mentally retarded. As a consequence, parents accompany their daughters everywhere they go.

It is common for employers to provide their workers with accommodation in hostels, which are very popular with employees who prefer to live there rather than commute long distances. However, such provision is not regarded as suitable for, particularly women with learning disability, by their parents. None of the women employees interviewed lived in the company hostels. Another problem worries parents. Because their daughters cannot cope alone with menstruation, they occasionally make a mess at work. It is a problem which prevents parents feeling at ease while their daughters are absent.

The mother of an 18 year old woman, Y.G.Sho, with severe learning disability said: 'It is very difficult for me to keep control during her monthly periods. I cannot think about the possibility of employment for her before this problem is solved. I have even thought about an operation to remove the womb.'

Another mother of a 22 year old woman, S.J.Ha, who was working at a small workshop with light learning disability said : 'If the workshop had a hostel for employees, I would not want to let her stay there. I have heard so much about sexual harassment in that kind of accommodation. If she were a man I would not mind her staying there.'

2). Response to the current system

The parents of the mentally retarded are very much interested in the welfare provisions for their children compared with other categories of disabled people or their parents. Most of them are well informed about the programme of the KEPAD. However, they complain of KEPAD's lack of any programme for their children. They think that most of the programmes are aimed at physically disabled people, rather than those with learning disability. They feel

they have been discriminated against once more by the development of programmes focusing on a specific area of disability.

The mother of a 31 year old man, H.Lee, with slight learning disability said : 'The KEPAD is giving another advantage only to physically disabled people who are better-off already compared with the mentally retarded. The KEPAD has no appropriate service for them. There is no one studying the problem of the mentally retarded.'

They think that the quota system also has nothing to do with their children, because employers tend to give priority to the physically disabled.

However, they express great interest in the fund accumulated by the levy from the employers who fail to meet the quota rate which they expect to be used for the benefit of the mentally retarded to compensate for the lack of a programme of employment.

The mother of a 26 year old man, J.M.Yu, with slight learning disability said : 'The mentally retarded are isolated even among the disabled. They are suffering significant discrimination without recognition. The quota system has nothing to do with my son. My son should benefit in other ways. The fund for the promotion of employment is for all the disabled. It should include my son.'

Another thing focused on by the parents is the "linkage-employment system" newly established by the Korean government. The system means that employers who provide a vocational rehabilitation institution for the disabled with a contract or sub-contract can be exempted from the levy. It requires the institutions or facilities to employ at least 70 per cent of disabled people including more than 30 per cent of severely disabled persons. In such a case, the number of disabled people working at the vocational rehabilitation facilities are included in the number required by quota system (Ministry of Labour, 1996). The aim is to promote employment among severely disabled people. However, some professionals and

disabled people, especially the physically disabled, are critical of its assumed effect of isolating the disabled from the society.

However, the response of the mentally retarded and their parents to this debatable system is very positive. They argue that this kind of policy will stimulate the increase of places for the mentally retarded who are excluded from the mainstream labour market. They think of this indirect employment system as a second best solution for their sons and daughters.

The mother of a 31 year old man, H.Lee, who had slight learning disability said :

'Some physically disabled people are talking high and mighty. I do not understand their arguments, because they are far from my son's position. The mentally retarded including my son have very few places to go or stay except their home. Any policy to provide them with something to do will be welcomed by them.'

3). Special needs

The mentally retarded and their parents express demands which go well beyond employment. They are concerned with question such as: "Who will take care of the mentally retarded after their parents' death?" It is difficult for them to see employment in isolation from other problems concerning their lives. Generally speaking, their parents do not expect them to live totally independent lives and it is this which creates anxiety about what is to happen to their children after their death. For them, this is a crucial question, and the government's failure to provide a satisfactory answer creates widespread disappointment.

First of all, they want institutions or other facilities for the mentally retarded to be expanded and improved. In this context, the term institution is interpreted broadly to include a variety of different types of sheltered-workshop. According to statistics, only one per cent of disabled people live in long-stay institutions in Korea. There are 160 such institutions run by the government(Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1995). However, each one of them has a long waiting list of applicants. The 49 institutions for people with learning disability are not

enough to accommodate the many people waiting at home for an offer of a place. Besides the scarcity of places in institutions, the quality of services which they provide is miserable. Usually, one nurse is in charge of more than 15 mentally retarded persons. The heavy workload of nurses combined with their low rate of pay result in high staff turnover.

Despite this scarcity of and miserable situation in the institutions, the government is reluctant to increase and improve them. Some scholars and specialists provide good excuses for governmental reluctance to undertake improvements. In recent years, some academics have begun to argue for the abolition of long-stay institutions, in pursuit of normalisation and social integration (J.D.Kim, 1989, p.32, D.S.Na, 1992, p.21, I.S.Lee, 1990, pp.102-103). Some disabled people, especially young physically disabled persons, are enthusiastic about normalisation and social integration in promulgating their welfare rights (J.L.Kim, 1995, pp.62-65). They consider the long-stay institutions for the disabled to be examples of resistance to normalisation and social integration.

The response of the mentally retarded and their parents to this current trend is very critical. They argue that the real problem is the absence of good institutions which can provide high quality of services. Unfortunately, in their view, there is no institution to satisfy their basic needs. They urgently require the present institutions to be improved and new institutions to be established. Most parents of people with learning disability regard government run institutions as a last resort for their sons and daughters after their death. They do not want their present sacrifice for their children to be continued into the next generation.

The mother of a 20 year old man, H.J.Lee, with severe learning disability said : 'I want to let him stay in an institution if the service provided is reliable. However, there is no service, no programme and no professional staff in institutions in Korea. Mentally retarded people are kept like animals rather than taken care of as human beings. That is why I can not let him stay there. I can not do anything but look after him. In a sense I am a member of the disabled population with serious mental stress.'

A brother of an 18 year old woman, S.H. Lee, with severe learning disability said :
'What a punishment for a family! We can not do anything with my sister being at home. Taking care of her is obviously beyond my family's capacity financially and physically. I think the government should take over this burden on a family, but there is no provision for it. We are eager for a good quality institution.'

While their parents do not want to send them to existing institutions, the mentally retarded themselves tend to prefer institutions to their homes in spite of the low level services, because they find it easy to establish friendships among their peer group within the institution. General wisdom says that they like the institutions because of lack of their discernment. However, interviews suggested that in practice some of them were sensitive enough to express clearly why they preferred institutional living.

A 30 year old man, J.W.Kim, with slight learning disability said : 'I commute from home to a small workshop by walking. When I walk, I feel very uncomfortable because people look at me very strangely on the street. I feel most comfortable when I am with my friends in the workshop. I want to stay at the hostel attached to the workshop, but my parents do not allow me to do so. Occasional outings from the hostel seems better than everyday commuting with being looked at by passersby.'

The sensitivity of people with learning disability to the behaviour of so-called normal people is illustrated by a general manager, S.T.An, of a famous shoe factory.

He said : 'Our factory employed a man with severe mental retardation six months ago. About two months after his being employed, there was a big upheaval in the factory. He attempted suicide on the roof of the factory. He said he did this because other workers were pulling his leg. Everyone in the factory failed to recognise the fact that he felt very uncomfortable at the behaviour of his colleagues until the event. I instructed his colleagues in basic etiquette for the disabled person at the same time I tried to communicate with him every day. Now, I can understand him.'

Secondly, people with learning disability and their families want the government to expand the so-called "group-homes". At present, there are 6 group-homes run by the City of Seoul as a pilot programme. Each of them consists of four people with learning disability and one nurse(City of Seoul, 1995). Most people staying at the group-home have very slight learning disability.

The mentally retarded and their families complain of the narrow scope of this programme and would like it to be expanded to include people with severe learning disability.

The mother of J.M. Yu said : 'I understand the phase-in periods of this programme, but the government seems to be too complacent to carry out next step. The people with severe mental retardation also should have equal opportunity to stay at the group-home.'

On the other hand, most parents of the mentally retarded have doubts about the ability of group-home nurses to look after their children. All of the nurses are in their twenties. The parents are argue that they are too young to take on their children with the love and passion of motherhood.

Mrs. Yang, mother of H.Lee, continued : 'Even if the nurses studied social work at university, they are all unmarried young women. They are frequently absent from the caring room on their private business. Our children need professionals like surrogate mothers as the main carers. Anyway, the number of the staff should be increased.'

One thing which can not be by-passed is the fact that most of the parents are willing to raise money if it is necessary to establish more group-homes : the group home linked with a sheltered-workshop is perceived as the most reliable form of residence for people with learning disability. In reality, there are example where some parents have set up their own work-shop and group-home through private investment.

The mother of J.W.Kim, who is one of the founding members of a work-shop called SeongJi, said : 'Basically it is duty of the government not mine. However, I cannot wait any more. That is why I persuaded some parents and set up SeongJi. I want SeongJi to be a catalyst in creating a boom in the establishment of group-homes. I also want the government to take over at least the operational cost from now.'

The mother of a 21 year old woman, S.H. Bark with slight learning disability, who worked at a hospital said : 'At first, I did not want her to stay at a group-home, because I have heard that the service is not good there. However, she is fond of being there despite its horrible environment. Now, I can recognize that there is something that parents can not give to their children. The group-home can give her what I can not give her. The government can give my daughter something she wants through establishing and improving the service of the group-home.'

Thirdly, some people with learning disability and their families suggest a reserved system in certain job areas appropriate to them. They argue that a job such as a porter could be reserved for people with learning disability as massage is reserved for the visually impaired.

The mother of Mr. J.M.Yu continued : 'People with learning disability have almost nothing available to do in the mainstream labour market. However, in certain areas they can work with a near normal performance. That area should be identified and reserved for them.'

Finally, many parents of people with learning disability want the government to adopt the supported employment and wage support system, especially the parents of people with slight learning disability who see it as a way to secure the possibility of their children's participation in mainstream employment.

The mother of Mr. J.W.Kim continued : 'I want my son to work at a normal workplace ultimately. To do so, some kind of support at the workplace will be essential for him. Moreover, some financial support compensating for the low payment is also very important for him to achieve an independent life.'

4. People with cerebral palsy

People with cerebral palsy can be categorised into two groups. This is less difficult than categorising deaf people or the mentally retarded. Their mobility and physical actions can provide clearer clues as to their working ability as opposed to the sign language and lip-reading of deaf people and intelligence quotient of people with learning disability. In broad terms, J.J. Kim, an expert in assessing working ability considered people who have to use aids, for instance, wheel-chairs and walking aids, for moving around and working as severely disabled. Moreover, people with cerebral palsy who have secondary disability are categorised as severe cases. According to an official statistic, 64.29 per cent of people with cerebral palsy have more than one disabling condition(Korea Association for People with Cerebral Palsy, 1992, p. 80). Among those with multiple disabilities, people whose learning disability is more severe than their cerebral palsy are classified as people with learning disability.

1). The experience of discrimination

Most people afflicted by cerebral palsy believe that their situation is the worst experienced by any group of disabled people. They consider themselves to be discriminated against by able-bodied people as well as other disabled people. Over half the interviewees describe being ignored even by other physically disabled people, especially by those disabled by poliomyelitis. During the interviews it became apparent that as a group their emotions were very different from those of other physically disabled people and it is for this reason that

it seemed appropriate to deal with their problems separately. However, from the outset the lack of evidence and statistics was a problem. It is a surprising fact that there is no available information on or research concerning the number of people with cerebral palsy in Korea : such information is available only for physically disabled people in general. This implies that by definition there has been no attempt to develop specialist services in response to their particular needs. They argue that this negative attitude of the government towards them reflects societal discrimination against them. However, it was possible to find out the number of people with cerebral palsy applying for jobs to the KEPAD. According to these statistics, about 12 per cent of physically disabled people who are registered as job-seekers have cerebral palsy(KEPAD, 1995e). According to a staff-member, MiWha Lim, a vocational counselor in the KEPAD, the proportion of people with cerebral palsy is increasing.

It is in employment that they experience the most serious discrimination. What distresses them most is the fact that people compare them with the mentally retarded. People in Korea, including employers, tend to identify them as mentally retarded. Stereotyping of this kind helps to explain why employers tend to turn down people with cerebral palsy, especially if they have been given a poor impression of their capacity during job interviews with people who combine physical disfigurement with clumsy speech.

Miss. J.E. Bang, a 26 year old woman with mild cerebral palsy said : 'I have been rejected 12 times. Now I can predict the result by just watching a interviewer's face. One day, I had an interview together with five other disabled people; two deaf people and three polioes. All of them were accepted except me. They said that they would let me know soon, but there was no answer and no offer. I understand my position correctly from the experience: they enlightened me to the fact that I am inferior to other disabled people.'

Mr. D.S. Kim, a 29 year old man with severe cerebral palsy said : 'We are rejected even by the sheltered-workshop run on government subsidy. I learned electronics in a vocational rehabilitation center for one year. There were 34 disabled people in my

class including 6 persons with cerebral palsy. After finishing our course, we tried to get jobs. Not one with cerebral palsy could get jobs while most other disabled people were employed. Our last resort was the sheltered-workshop, but there was no place for us.'

They also face considerable barriers to getting jobs in the public sector. The effect of this is to prevent their access to power. In fact, other physically disabled people, especially those disabled by polio, tend to be employed by the government by passing the entrance test, though the numbers are very small. These government officials with disabilities can have an influence on policies for other disabled people like themselves. In this sense, people with cerebral palsy have a relatively weak position from which to represent their interests to the government. In some cases, people with cerebral palsy who were rejected by the government took legal action. However, because legal action is lengthy and expensive most disabled people never start the legal process.

Mr. I.G. Choi, 33 year old man with mild cerebral palsy said : 'After graduating from the university I wanted to enter the government or some kind of public organisation. I tried five times and I was rejected five times. I was rejected by the government even though I had passed the examination. I was very depressed. However, I made up my mind to fight against the decision of the government and I sued. I won the legal struggle which has taken almost a year. I am exhausted with the game, but I am happy now. I am now working in the computer room of the Office of Military Manpower Administration.'

Mr. Choi's case is very rare in Korea. He is widely known because he is the first person with cerebral palsy to work for government. He seems to be employed only because he is a computer operator. If he had applied to the general field of administration, the result would be different.

Another problem is that some parents of those with cerebral palsy still tend to hide the fact they have disabled children. They do not want their disabled children to go outside the home for education or to learn skills. They feel ashamed for their disabled children. This tendency seems to be stronger in the case of parents who have daughters with cerebral palsy.

G.H. Kim, a 26 year old woman with severe cerebral palsy said : 'I had been kept inside my house up to the age of 10. I started my walking-training when I was 13 years old. My parents did not want me to do anything outside home. They did not allow me to go to school. I cried for three days without eating any food asking my parents to let me go to school. I entered primary school only when I was 14 years old.'

W.S. Choi, a 28 year old woman with severe cerebral palsy said : 'My parents do not want me to have any job training. They do not take me when they visit relatives. I am a kind of disabled maid.'

The experience of being discriminated against is more bitter for women with cerebral palsy. On the one hand, they usually have greater difficulty in getting jobs than men. It was very hard to find women with severe cerebral palsy who were employed though there were a few men who had jobs. All the employed women interviewed were only mildly disabled. In all three women with cerebral palsy were classified as employed, but only one of them could be regarded as having a genuine job. One was working for the association for people with cerebral palsy and another was employed by her father's company. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that few women with cerebral palsy could meet the demands they would normally face in the workplace. Among the tasks which would commonly be demanded of them are preparing tea for male colleagues or guests and washing all the tables in the office. The existence of this kind of secondary work, which has been the traditional lot of women in Korea, has often become a source of conflict between disabled and non-disabled women. Able-bodied women usually feel more exploited because disabled women cannot participate

in their traditional tasks in the office. It is a situation which creates particular stress for the women employees with cerebral palsy.

M.W. Oh, a 33 year old woman with mild cerebral palsy who was working for the Korea Association for People with Cerebral Palsy said : 'Every morning I am stressed when I am on my chair watching able-bodied women colleagues preparing tea. They are not kind when they deliver tea to me. I cannot enjoy the tea at all. I usually think about what I can do for them but there is almost nothing I can do for them. They seem to consider me as an irritating guest and not as one of their colleagues. Tea service in the morning should disappear. It is a problem not only for women but also for the disabled. When women's rights become equal to men's rights I shall feel comfortable in my office.'

Some of the women with cerebral palsy also suffer from sexual harassment. Their lack of power to protect themselves seems to invite unwelcome attention.

Miss. W.S. Choi continued : 'One day I took the underground. The train was a bit crowded. A man felt my breast and bottom. I tried to resist but my disabled hands did not move according to my mind. I shouted. However, my voice and unclear pronunciation seemed to sound strange to all the passengers. Nobody in the train understood what I meant. The man who harassed me got off at the next stop.'

E.H. Choi, a 22 year old woman with severe cerebral palsy said : 'One day I was playing on the small mountain near my home. Suddenly a man who was living in my village came and took me to a dim corner of the mountain. I could not run away. He raped me. After that, I had my hair cut like a man.'

2). Response to the current system

People with cerebral palsy, in general, regard the current employment system as something remote from their own needs and expectation. Most of them know of and understand the detailed programmes provided for them even though they think these provisions are designed with no perception of the realities of their situation. All the interviewees except one were well informed about the KEPAD and its programmes.

Their complaints begin with the attitudes of counselors of the KEPAD. They think that even the counselors working in the KEPAD are strongly influenced by distaste for their appearance and language problems and that the counselors are not in a position to assess their vocational abilities correctly: the assessment methods are primitive, insulting and pointless.

Mr. J.H. Jung, a 25 year old man with severe cerebral palsy who was working as a computer programmer in a small company said : 'I was very disappointed with a counselor at the KEPAD. After listening to all I said, he gave me parts of a ball-point pen and asked me to assemble them in front of him. During counselling I mentioned several times the fact that I was an expert in computer programming, but he seemed not to believe in me. He did not require any kind of certificate. He seemed to assess my functional sensitivity of my fingers and wanted to send me to an assembly factory. From that moment I did not go to the KEPAD any more.'

S.H. Gwon, a 29 year old man with mild cerebral palsy said : 'The most clear answer we get from the KEPAD is "wait more". I have been waiting for three years. I have never got a job offer or any other suggestion from the KEPAD. The KEPAD is doing nothing for me but confusing me.'

Secondly, almost every one with cerebral palsy thought that the current level of levy which is decided within the minimum wage determined by the Ministry of Finance and Economics every year is too low to force the employer to meet the quota. They believe that if the level

of the levy were raised employers would try to take on more disabled people including them. They view the quota system and the levy in similar ways.

Mr. D.S. Kim said: 'The government and the law and the KEPAD have nothing to do with us. The levy system is like a paper tiger. No employer seems to be afraid of paying the levy. Something which employers are afraid of should be imposed on them. I think the most effective method to pressure them is to raise the level of the levy to the extent that they seek another solution instead of paying it. This other solution should include people with cerebral palsy.'

Mr. I.G. Choi explained : 'The KEPAD is nothing but a job centre for us. There is no programme provided by the KEPAD appropriate for people with cerebral palsy. If the KEPAD want to have some meaning for us it has to develop a job-training course relevant to us and guarantee trainee employment by raising the quota rate.'

3). Special needs

The special needs of people with cerebral palsy arise from the fact that they are discriminated against by both the able-bodied and other disabled people : it is a situation which arouses great strength of feeling among them. Even though they are classified as physically disabled, in practice they feel more devalued than other physically disabled people. They argue that the lack of research on and information about the characteristics of people with cerebral palsy ensures that they continue to be regarded as mentally retarded or in some other way as inferior.

As far as they are concerned, publicity about their real abilities is needed at a national level to improve their employment prospect by disabusing employers of the misconceptions they have, in particular their tendency to judge by appearances.

D.Y. Jung, a 23 year old man with severe cerebral palsy said : 'I was employed at a small welding factory in summer. It was very hot in the work place. I was sweating during work. My boss looked at me. He said to me " This work is beyond your ability". I argued I could do that work but he did not believe in me. He was unnecessarily concerned about me. I was sacked. Everyone in the factory was sweating.'

Mr. J.H. Jung continued : 'For about three months my boss and colleagues seemed to suspect my ability. At that stage I was misunderstood because of my clumsy speech. Sometimes senior colleagues seemed embarrassed by my speech. They often replied to me " Are you sleepy now?" or " Are you teasing me?". On some occasions they hung up the telephone abruptly. However, they are very friendly to me now. I recognised the fact that people need some time to understand the characteristics of people with cerebral palsy. Any kind of programme for improving the understanding of employers and able-bodied colleagues about us is needed. The programme will shorten the transitional period.'

They see the answer to their problems in an expansion of job training and the introduction of greater variety in the training programme. As they point out, there are not enough places for them.

Mr. J.H. Jung continued : 'The job training institute run by the KEPAD should establish a proper job training course for people with cerebral palsy because it is the last resort as far as we are concerned. Most programmes are designed for other categories of disabled people and for people with very mild cerebral palsy.'

Another problem is that the choice range available to them is very narrow even if they are employed. Most well-paid people are doing computer-related jobs. In practice they are forced into this field regardless of their aptitude : the attraction of computer-related jobs is

that they can do these jobs without moving around much. However, some people who know the limits on promotion in that area are anxious about their development. It is for this reason that they want the government to develop a variety of job options for them.

J.Y. Choi, a 28 year old man with mild cerebral palsy who was working as a computer programmer in Hyundai conglomerate said : 'I am very happy with my work now. I am very highly paid compared to other friends with cerebral palsy. However, I am very anxious about my future. There is no managerial position for a computer programmer. Other friends who have similar jobs have the same anxiety.'

Recently, their demand for opportunities for self-employment has increased. They expect the government to start pilot programmes for them to operate small shops. They think that to be employed through the open labour market is something but not everything. To have small shops can be the second best choice (in a sense the first choice) for them. They need financial support and information for their ambitions to become a reality.

Miss. M.W. Oh continued : 'As a social worker with cerebral palsy, I have come across many people who have been unemployed until they are over the age of 35 years. They cannot expect to be employed in any thing promising because of their disabilities and lack of job experience. However, they could manage small shops, for instance video-shops, if the government helps them a little.'

Finally, it needs to be reiterated that people with cerebral palsy are uncomfortable with the prospect of having to mix with other kinds of physically disabled people. Nor do they want to be compared with the mentally retarded. They want a place of their own where they can communicate with each other and work together.

Mr. D.S. Kim said : 'There is no work-shop solely for people with cerebral palsy. We are excluded from all the work-shops if we have severe disabilities. We need our own

space designed with our physical condition and emotions in mind. There is nowhere outside the home, or even within it, which is convenient as far as I am concerned.'

5. Physically disabled people

To categorise physically disabled people into two groups according to the degree of their disabilities is not so difficult as it is in the case of people with cerebral palsy. Here, the term "physically disabled" is used to cover everyone with physical disabilities except those with cerebral palsy. For the most part their capacity is more predictable because their movements are not erratic as those of so many people with cerebral palsy. Mobility is the main criterion in determining the degree of disabilities because there are still so many kinds of barriers preventing their movement on the street, as well as inside and outside buildings.

Generally speaking, people using wheel-chairs or two walking sticks are classified as severely disabled. In practice, however, this measure is often too crude ; therefore J.J. Kim, an expert in assessing working ability, and I took various other factors into consideration in this classification process. For example, we classified a man as a slightly disabled person even though he had been using two walking-sticks because he could climb a mountain and stairs fairly easily.

1). The experience of discrimination

Physically disabled people occupying about 48 per cent(including people with cerebral palsy) of the disabled population are regarded as a privileged group among the disabled population (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1992). This is apparent in the number of physically disabled people who get employment. According to official statistics, 63.6 per cent(excluding those with cerebral palsy) of disabled people who are employed through the intervention of the KEPAD are physically disabled(KEPAD, 1995).

However, to use the term "privileged" in this context must be regarded as cynical. Even though they do somewhat better in employment than other categories of disabled people, it is still very difficult for them to find and hold a job. Other statistics show that among 3766 physically disabled people applying to the KEPAD for jobs only 1557 people(41.34 per cent) were employed in 1994(KEPAD, 1995). If those who give up seeking work are taken into consideration, the employment rate of physically disabled people would become worse. Thus discrimination against physically disabled people remains important.

None of the people interviewed were without the experience of being rejected by the company he or she wanted to work for. Nobody gained employment before or soon after graduation while most able-bodied students usually find jobs before their graduation. In the case of those who were lucky enough to be employed, it took on average four years to get a job.

Even in the domestic setting, the experience of discrimination is profound. Parents feel ashamed of their physically disabled children and confine them to their homes without any effort to give them opportunities for rehabilitation or education.

O.S. Yu, a 38 year old woman with severe disability in both legs said : 'I was kept indoors at home until I was 25 years old. I did not know what was happening outside the house. I did not know about school until my younger brother and sister started going to school. I learned the Korean alphabet by myself. After my mothers death, I started going outside. I have great difficulty in socialising with other people. I have no hope being employed. I have tried to kill myself but failed. I am very anxious about my old age.'

The employment structure of the physically disabled is another problem. Over 60 per cent of them (excluding those with cerebral palsy) who want jobs are offered very simple and low-paid work regardless of their academic achievement or previous work experience(KEPAD, 1995, p. 81).

H.M. Gong, a 34 year old man with a slight disability in his legs said : 'After graduating from my college, I was wandering about for 3 years without anything to do. I was employed at an assembly factory for electronic goods for a while. I am working as a typist for a public corporation run by the government now. I studied electronics at college. I am a kind of "a page boy". I cannot be promoted to a managerial position.'

Another 33 year old man working at an insurance company, J.G. Lee, who is slightly disabled as a result of a knee condition said : 'I am happy with my job in my company. I changed my job four times in three years until I got this job. During that period I was very unstable. Many of my disabled friends are still enduring that kind of instability.'

Many employed people with physical disability face an additional problem, that of transportation. Few underground and train stations have facilities to accommodate them. Buses are very crowded and the steps are too high for the physically disabled to climb. Many disabled employees have to quit their jobs because of this problem of commuting every day. They cannot solve this problem by buying their own cars because car parks are very expensive. There is no financial support such as that provided by the British Disability Mobility Allowance for them to commute to their jobs. More than 28 per cent of disabled employees quit their jobs because of environmental barriers including public transportation and various disabling facilities inside or outside buildings and work places(KEPAD. 1995, PP. 79-80).

I.T. Gwon, a 30 year old man who is a severely physically disabled person working for a bank said : 'I like my job. However, my car which is essential for keeping my job costs too much. About two thirds of my salary is spent maintaining my car. In reality, I can say I am low-paid. My company employed me but it did not give me a parking

lot and there is no financial support from the government. My car is like one of my legs. I have very extravagant legs.'

J.H. Han, a 30 year old woman with slight physical disability who was working at a finance-related company said : 'I have my own car. However, I cannot use it to commute. It costs me too much. I have serious difficulties in going to work every day.'

To turn the focus on women with physical disabilities, another kind of discrimination emerges. Disabled women find it very difficult to get married compared with disabled men in Korea. Traditionally Korean people think that to marry a disabled woman is to be inferior in social terms while women are likely to get married to disabled men if they feel love. This tradition seems to produce the serious problem of single disabled women.

M.Y. Byeon, a 30 year old woman with severe physical disability said : 'It was not long after I graduated from the University. I was sleeping with my friends that night. There was a robber in our room. The robber tried to rape me. I resisted with all my power and shouted. The robber stabbed me in the back with a dagger. From that moment I can not move the lower half of my body. My marriage ceremony had been arranged and everything was ready but my fiancé left me. I waited for him in the hospital, but he did not come back.'

Employed women with physical disabilities have their own problems in managing on a day to day basis in their jobs. These problems are slightly different from those of people with cerebral palsy. However, the stress imposed on them is similar.

Miss.J.H. Jeong continued : 'Every morning I prepare morning tea with my female colleagues. I like to do so with them and I can. However, senior colleagues who are served tea by me do not seem to be comfortable. I can do so ,but they seem not to be

happy. It is a kind of stress for me. I envy my male colleagues whether they have disabilities or not.'

2). Response to the current system

Physically disabled people, like the other categories of people interviewed complained loudly about the present employment service programme. In general they seemed to be better informed about the law and the services provided for them, than any other category of disabled persons. In many ways, their response to these services is different from that of people with cerebral palsy. For example, they have no complaint about the expertise of counselors of the KEPAD while people with cerebral palsy are deeply disappointed with it, which suggests that services provided by the KEPAD cannot cover some needs beyond the basic level required by physically disabled people.

However, the bureaucratic attitude of most of the staff of the KEPAD is their main object of complaint.

Miss. Byeon continued : 'My first impression of the KEPAD was not good. It was located in central Seoul but I had many difficulties in finding out and accessing it. While I was coming in the building through a turnstile I fell forward with my walking sticks. A door-man said to me "Be careful! You nearly broke the door. It is so expensive." His attitude embarrassed me so much. I can imagine what able-bodied people think about disabled people.'

Mr. Gwon said : 'The toilet of the KEPAD is too narrow to take my wheelchair. I have complained several times but it still remains unchanged. They think they are experts in the area of disability. That is their view not ours.'

They argue that the KEPAD even generates conflicts between disabled people and their employers by implementing their programmes in an unthinking fashion. They are highly critical of the KEPAD's after-care programme which is intended to help newly employed people with disabilities to adjust quickly to their jobs. While they appreciate the original purpose of the programme and agree that after-care is very useful, they argue that the way it is implemented is not always helpful.

Miss. J.H. Han said : 'One day, a staff-member of the KEPAD came to my company without any notice. He wanted to meet and ask me some questions. I went to my general manager to ask for some free time to meet him. My general manager was not willing to allow me to meet the staff-member of the KEPAD.'

M.S. Kim, a 24 year old woman with mild physical disability said : 'I have been with my company for over a year by now. Able-bodied colleagues and I are friendly with each other. I forget the fact that I am a disabled person in my office. My boss and other senior colleagues seem to forget the fact, too. We have no problems in our office. However, the after-care programme reminded my boss of the fact that there is one disabled person in our office. Staff-members of the KEPAD, in a sense, are disturbing my normal life in the office.'

As far as the quota and the levy are concerned, physically disabled people are generally of the opinion that they are rarely effective. Like other groups affected, such as those with cerebral palsy, they feel that the quota level and the levy should be raised. As far as they can judge, the failure of employers to meet their quota obligations is becoming the norm : if the government fails to raise the level of the quota and the levy, they will be guilty of endorsing this behaviour. In this respect, people with severe physical disabilities are of the same mind as those with cerebral palsy : only the raising of the level of the quota and the levy will ensure that they have access to work opportunities.

S.W. Bark, a 34 year old man with severe physical disability said : 'This current employment system can offer me nothing. This system is unfair. As far as the quota rate and the levy system is concerned, I think the employer's ability to pay makes their avoidance of their obligation just piece of cake. The government is reinforcing the prejudice against disabled people by enabling employers to avoid employing disabled people.'

J.B. Kim, a 54 year old man with slight physical disability said : 'Because the prejudice against disabled people is still prevalent, the Acts concerned need to be strengthened. In this sense, the quota rate and the levy payment should be raised to the extent that it influences the decision-making of employers. To expand the governmental subsidy to the employers who meet the quota is another dimension of the matter.'

3). Special needs

As described in the cases of Mr. I.T. Gwon and Miss. J.H.Han, transportation is a serious problem. Far so long as it remains unsolved, it is useless to expect the legislation on employment of the disabled to be implemented satisfactorily. Physically disabled people argue that transportation is, in fact, a precondition of their employment and should be included as part of the package of provisions available to them in the employment field. For them, ownership of a car carries a very different meaning as compared with able-bodied people in that they have no alternative. As a consequence, an essential element in the employment strategy has to be financial provisions to help them maintain their cars and enable them to park.

Furthermore, substantial numbers of physically disabled people want to be with their peers, either in sheltered workshops or in long-stay special homes. Generally speaking, it is people with severe physical disabilities who want specialist group living. Their needs look very similar to those of people with cerebral palsy.

Mr. S.W. Bark said : 'Our employment policy fails to secure equality of service among disabled people. It focuses on just a small number of slightly disabled people. People with severe disabilities have nothing to do and nowhere to live outside the home. We are getting older, too. I am very anxious about that. The government have to establish some kind of residences in which we can work and stay in our own way.'

Miss. O.S. Yu shared this opinion: 'If what I am looking for existed at the moment I would move there right now. However, there is nothing suitable. Every residence I have seen is very poor in facilities and dirty. I do not want to be a burden on my family any more and I am very happy being with disabled friends, but I have no choice.'

However, this demand for some kind of long-stay residence is not restricted to people with severe physical disabilities : some of those with slight physical disabilities have a similar longing to be with their peers.

Mr. H.M. Gong said : 'I am more comfortable with my disabled friends than the colleagues in my company. I cannot be relaxed with able-bodied people. I meet my disabled friends at least three times a week. We are planning to have our own place, work-shop, something like that.'

Finally, among people with severe physical disabilities there are many who expect the government to make available loans at low interest rate to help them set up their own business. For them self-employment seems a better prospect than having to compete for jobs in the highly competitive open labour market. Again, in this they are at one with people with cerebral palsy. However, these two groups differ slightly in that physically disabled people are able to contemplate the possibility of engaging in a broader range of business.

6. What determines disabled people's experience in the labour market?

Generally speaking, as indicated above, disabled people experience serious discrimination in education, employment and day-to-day living in Korea. Up to now, this chapter has been concerned with general attitudes of Koreans towards disabled people and disabled people's response to the current employment system. Needs were identified and analysed within broad categories of disability. This approach was adopted to explore the specific and particular needs of disabled people with different types and degrees of disabilities.

Of course, some commenters like M. Oliver and J. Morris are critical of this approach. Oliver argues that an individual model in which a whole range of issues are encompassed and addressed by the 'personal tragedy of disability' is limited in solving the problems of those who experience disability. According to Oliver, it is society that has to change not individuals. He even denies the role of social policy in changing society by saying " This change will come about as part of a process of political empowerment of disabled people as a group and not through social policies and programmes delivered by establishment politicians and policy makers nor through individualised treatments and interventions provided by the medical and para-medical professions"(M. Oliver, 1996, pp 31-42). Morris seems to accept the value of Oliver's so-called 'social model' by arguing that such a perspective is a crucial part of disabled people's demand for their needs to be treated as a civil rights issue. However, she criticises this perspective in that "there is a tendency within the social model of disability to deny the experience of our own bodies, insisting that our physical differences and restrictions are entirely socially created" (J. Morris, 1991, p. 10).

In this study, the failure at the policy making-level in establishing the current employment system without consideration of the variety of experiences and needs of disabled people with different kinds and degrees of disabilities is examined. To that extent, the appropriateness of Morris's criticism of the social model is acknowledged. Moreover, the emphasis given to the importance of strong state intervention, underpinned by proposals for the adoption of a Democratic Socialist framework, is fundamentally at variance with Oliver's

social model. Such fundamental differences are dependent on value-judgments about the appropriate ideological framework for exploring and meeting disabled people's needs. In the context of the Korean situation, as has been always argued, it is the Social Democratic approach, rather than Oliver's social model, which seems the most likely to advance the interests of disabled people.

The following section provides a synthesis of interview responses collected in the course of this study analysed in terms of type of disability, degree of disability, gender and employment status.

1). Type of disability

Throughout the interviews with disabled people, it became evident that no employment programme could meet the variety of needs of the full range of disabled people. Disabled people's complaints seem to stem from a significant lack of welfare provisions for them. In this situation, the level and strength of their complaints vary according to the kinds of disabilities they are suffering from. The different complaints of and attitudes towards the current employment system often create conflict between disabled people themselves. Because they have no expectation of extracting greater resources from a powerful and conservative government, the different groups of disabled people - the blind, the hearing impaired, people with cerebral palsy, mentally retarded and the physically disabled - concentrate on competing for a greater share of the existing resources and will openly quarrel with each other before government ministers in the process.

The extent to which the current employment system has influenced disabled people varies significantly according to the type of disability in question. The current system emphasised by the quota scheme does not take into account provisions for the hearing impaired, the visually impaired, the mentally retarded and people with cerebral palsy. The system seems to be working just for a relatively small segment of physically disabled people.

The hearing impaired are found to suffer from a lack of pre-vocational programmes including the educational system and the absence of established standard sign language. As a

result, they lack the capacity even to acquire knowledge of the government's disability policies. This is evident from the fact that 9 of the 12 interviewees did not even know of the existence of the KEPAD. Lack of communication facilities such as fax machines makes their situation worse. Even if they gain jobs, they tend to obtain them through an informal network such as their own association or relatives and friends rather than through the formal organisational system of the Labour Ministry and the KEPAD.

These are not exceptional cases. In Britain, the manualism which for almost half a century has been dismissed outright in many schools for the deaf by oralists is now increasingly adopted. As a result, sign language is increasingly preferred to lip-reading. However, the limitation of British Sign Language is that so few hearing people understand it (S. Sainsbury, 1986, pp. 59-107). According to Sainsbury's research, communication difficulties between signers and the hearing community generally prevented deaf people from offsetting their disadvantage in the labour market with the help of the skilled placement services from the Royal National Institute for Deaf People or the Department of Employment. Between a quarter and a third had relied entirely on their own initiatives, while another fifth had received help from the informal network of family and friends(S. Sainsbury, 1986, p.257).

Their frequent change of jobs reflect the serious problem of underemployment of the hearing impaired in Korea and Britain. Over 70 per cent of the hearing impaired leave their jobs within three years of being employed in Korea, while almost three-fifths had been in their present jobs for no more than five years, and indeed, the majority of these for two years or less in Britain(S. Sainsbury, 1986, p.261).

Secondly, the visually impaired in practice are far from eligible in the labour market. The reserved employment scheme in which massage is reserved for them is helpful for a minority (about 1,300 out of 60,000 visually impaired people). In total, about 6 per cent of visually impaired people are working ; however, employment opportunities are very narrow relatively both in national and international terms. Over two-thirds of them are masseurs or masseuse, acupuncturists and fortunetellers. This is very different from the western tradition. In Britain, no job is reserved for the visually impaired but some blind people do find

employment in similar occupation, such as the women who work as aroma therapists at sport centers or their own homes (Action for Blind People, 1996). As far as fortunetelling is concerned, as described above, Korea's fortunetelling market is larger than that of Britain. However, the employment rate of visually impaired people is higher in Britain than in Korea. According to a survey carried out by the Royal National Institute for the Blind (RNIB), 25 per cent of visually impaired people are in work (RNIB, 1991, P. 235). The survey shows that the occupational structure of visually impaired people in Britain is very different from that of Korea, in that jobs vary from those of the unskilled to professionals. Surprisingly, the job profile of visually impaired people in Britain has some similarities with that of the disabled population as a whole. The main difference is in the professional category, where 14 per cent of visually impaired people, 25 per cent of disabled people in general and 34 per cent of the general population are found (RNIB, 1991, PP. 242-3). In Italy, even though it adopts the reserved scheme for visually impaired people like Korea, the system and its impact are very different from those of Korea. Italy reserves a certain proportion of jobs as telephonists, masseurs and physiotherapists and teachers for blind and partially sighted people under the law passed in 29 March 1985(Lheureux, 1991. in N.Lunt et al. 1993, p. 66). A significant difference is that over 70 per cent of visually impaired people who are employed under the reserved system are telephone operators in Italy, while there are almost no telephonists with visual impairment in Korea. Furthermore, the Italian reserved system is said to fully achieve its aim; so much so that unemployment has virtually disappeared(Galanti, 1990, in N.Lunt et al. 1993, p.66).

Thirdly, people with learning disability are the poorest in terms of mainstream employment in Korea. Almost all of them remain as a burden on their families. At least one family member has to remain at home to act as carer. However, there is no allowance or benefit for the supporter from the government, and only 1 per cent of people with learning disability are in work. Their families often give up trying to get them into open employment. Instead, they demand that the government establish proper programmes for their children. Group-homes, sheltered work-shops, supported employment and wage support schemes are usually regarded as the appropriate type of provision. In particular, they strongly emphasise

the importance of supported employment and wage support as well as the group-home and sheltered workshop, while deaf people, people with cerebral palsy and physically disabled people would prefer financial support to set up their own businesses. As far as the sheltered workshops are concerned, Korea has no specialist form of it appropriate to people with learning disability even if there are some tentative and experimental workshops attached to specialist day-care centers, special schools and long-stay accommodation. This is very different from Britain, where of about 8,000 disabled employees of Remploy, the government-established sheltered workplace for all kinds of disabled people, 40 per cent are people with mental and nervous disabilities (Remploy, 1995).

Fourthly, Korean people with cerebral palsy suffer from the sense of being isolated by able-bodied people as well as other disabled people, especially people afflicted by poliomyelitis. They complain loudly of the attitude of society towards them. Some of them say they are regarded as mentally retarded or idiots even by one of the counselors in the KEPAD. Most of them are well aware of the current employment system. Thus people with cerebral palsy shared with other members of the disabled population that the current system was remote from their own needs. Furthermore, because they know about the poor provisions of the current system, they are much more disappointed when it fails to meet their expectations than is the case to the mentally retarded or the hearing impaired, who lack that knowledge. To judge from my own experience and other experts' statements in the KEPAD, the level of awareness of and the level of services for them are far behind their actual needs. According to a senior counselor of the KEPAD placing the people with cerebral palsy in employment is one of the trickiest of jobs. She says " Their intellectual level is very high and their expectation is also very high. However, employers' attitudes towards the capacity of the people with cerebral palsy remains unchanged. Employers are still impressed by the disfigurement of people with cerebral palsy rather than the KEPAD's statements of their job-capacity. This is why it is more difficult for them to get jobs than other physically disabled people. We cannot bridge the gap between their expectations and employers' impression of them" (J.L. Jo, 1996). Generally speaking, the current quota scheme does not encourage any increase in the employment rate of people with cerebral palsy.

Another problem for people with cerebral palsy is that their job-opportunities are very narrow compared with those of other physically disabled people. Most employees with cerebral palsy are placed in jobs concerned with computer- programming for which there is almost no managerial post in the future. Most people with cerebral palsy working in the computer-room have some anxiety for their future behind the pleasure of being employed.

Finally, physically disabled people seem to be a very prestigious group among disabled people generally under the current employment system. The job structure for them is the most similar to that of the general population compared with other kinds of disabled people. The employment rate among them is the highest among disabled people. Moreover, some work as judges, university professors, medical doctors and government officers where they act as opinion leaders. At the same time, among the disability movement group the voice of physically disabled people is usually strongest because they can see, hear and speak relatively well. This is why the current system came to focus on the employment promotion of the physically disabled. In fact, the key people who were involved in establishing the current system in 1990 were largely restricted to physically disabled people. Even if they did not intend to take account of only their own interests in policy-making, their lack of knowledge and understanding of other categories of disabled people would make it difficult to strike a fair balance between the interests of the different groups.

However, they can be regarded as prestigious group only while they are compared with other categories of disabled people, not with the non-disabled. In 1994, only 41 per cent of job-seekers with physical disabilities were employed(KEPAD, 1995). Furthermore, all the interviewees described their experiences of being rejected at least once by the companies they wanted to work for. Over 60 per cent of physically disabled job-seekers were offered simple and low-paid jobs regardless of their academic achievement or previous work experience. They also faced considerable access problems which prevented them from commuting to their work-place.

They feel relatively comfortable with the services provided by the counselors of the KEPAD even if they are critical of the bureaucratic attitude of most of those who staff it. However, their response to the current quota scheme is very negative. For them employers'

failure to meet the quota rate results from the low level of the levy exacted from those who do not comply with the law. They want the government to raise the quota rate and the level of the levy. They argue that the current system is too weak to force employers to fulfill their duty. From this point of view, the physically disabled are in a agreement with people with cerebral palsy who believe that a tougher law will enable them to find and keep employment. This is also the response of disabled people in general towards the quota system. In Britain, for example, most disabled people, especially the physically disabled, are disappointed with the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 by which the quota scheme was abolished. They regarded the quota system as a safety-net. Mrs. R who is president of the Disabled People's International said in front of the House of Commons during a demonstration against the government in the winter of 1995 "Any one would be better than this conservative government. This government is establishing an act to justify the discrimination against us. The abolishment of the quota scheme is an example of it".

2). Severity of disability

The more severely disabled people are the harsher the discrimination they experience in recruitment and wages. In the case of people with cerebral palsy, among six severely disabled interviewees just one man was employed. However, this man obtained work only after being ignored by the counselor of the KEPAD and rejected several times by companies he wanted to work for, even though he was an expert in computer-programming.

Other kinds of severely disabled people have similar difficulties in getting jobs. Even for the physically disabled to get employment in the open labour market is almost impossible if they use wheelchairs. There are few public and private buildings accessible for them and no public transport is available without considerable help from other people. Even if the practical codes about constructing the facilities for disabled people which were established in 1995 intended to adjust buildings and public transport for their accessibility, those codes are not effective because of lack of any methods of enforcement.

For the severely hearing impaired, the problem is slightly different in that they cannot use all types of public transport even if they can access any building and train stations by walking. They do not want to go anywhere strange by bus because they are likely to miss the bus stop, being unable to communicate well enough to find out where to get off. It is more likely to be so if the bus is crowded because they cannot see outside. In contrast, they can count the number of underground stations before they get in and out. As a result, they are unable to accept job offers from companies at a distance from underground stations.

As far as people with learning disability are concerned, just two of six interviewees with severe mental retardation were engaged in a sheltered workshop not employed through open market. The rest of them remained as financial and care burdens on their family. Only a few people with slight mental retardation find employment, and then under appalling conditions. The word 'employment' has little meaning at the moment for mentally retarded people. To make matters worse, the quality of their home life is very poor. Most seek places within the protection of long-stay residences, but these are few in number, the queue of applicants is long, and the quality of provision is low. As a consequence, the major preoccupation of mentally retarded people is not finding a job, but seeking a safe and protected place in which to live. People with severe mental retardation are rejected by all group-homes even now, because they need more support than it is possible for present staff in group homes to provide.

However, the situation is quite different for visually impaired people. In the massage centres, people with severe visual impairment are preferred because by tradition Korean customers do not want to expose their naked bodies. This is why blind people are much more popular than partially sighted people as employees in the massage centre. But this phenomenon is restricted to the massage centre.

Generally speaking, about 56 per cent of all disabled employees are occupied in manual work rather than clerical or professional work (KEPAD, 1994, P.56). Most severely disabled people fall into the former category. Moreover, the wages of manual workers are 11 per cent lower than those of clerical or professional workers (S.B. Eor, 1996, p.15).

3). Gender

This study has found that disabled women have more difficulties in getting jobs than disabled men. This seems to result from the traditional stereotypes of Korean society regarding women's role. They have been expected to do additional jobs such as preparing tea for the guest or even male colleagues and cleaning the workplaces as well as their main jobs for many years. Employers usually take account of those additional jobs when they are recruiting. Even after being employed, disabled women are often very embarrassed because senior colleagues and customers tend to feel awkward when they are serving tea, while female colleagues feel relatively exploited if they cannot or do not do these additional jobs. This kind of conflict occurs frequently in professional or clerical grades. From this point of view, women with cerebral palsy seem to be in the worst situation. It is rare for women with this condition to be employed through the open labour market, and none were involved in this research. Indeed none of the women with severe cerebral palsy interviewed was employed. Their case seems more difficult than those of other kinds of disabled people because they can see and acknowledge the fact that they are discriminated against and excluded, while the mentally retarded who are similarly placed, lack this hurtful knowledge.

Things are very different for visually impaired women. Masseuses are preferred to masseurs by the customer in the massage centre. In fact, massage centers have three functions, namely, massage, sauna and prostitution in Korea. The ordinary course for customers is to take sauna, take some massage from a masseuse and have sex with a prostitute. Usually massage and sex take place in the same private room. Customers who are usually men tend to be fond of being served by women, with the exception of some elderly people who want strong massage from a masseur. This is why masseuses' income is far higher than masseurs'.

Women, however, are exposed to the danger of being sexually harassed because massage takes place in private rooms where no protection is available. To make matters worse, they cannot complain about it or give up their jobs because their bosses concentrate on money rather than employees' rights and there are no other jobs appropriate to the woman

with severe visual impairment. Sexual harassment is not exclusive to them. Almost all female interviewees with disabilities were concerned about the matter and a number of them had experiences of being harassed or raped. Most harassment and rape seemed to take place because of their lack of mobility to escape. However, they are unlikely to take legal action because they do not want to be stigmatised publicly as 'women who lost their virginity'. In fact, Korean people tend to regard a woman who has lost her virginity as very impure and are unlikely to want to marry such a person.

As far as marriage is concerned, there are so many single women with disabilities in Korea who seek but cannot find a husband. Even men with disabilities tend to be proud of marrying non-disabled women. In this situation, single women with disabilities are far more numerous than disabled single men, though statistics are hard to come by. Recently the problem of single women with disabilities has begun to emerge as being as important as that of unemployment. Miss Jong-Lan, JO, one of the senior vocational counselors of the KEPAD, says, "So many women with disabilities express their hope of getting married and ask me to be a matchmaker informally. I can feel they are serious. I tried on a number of occasions but I did not succeed at all. Some disabled women like disabled men but few disabled men have any interest in disabled women".

With respect to the wage-levels of disabled women, another field of discrimination opens up. According to one researcher, male employees with disabilities receive a salary 36 per cent higher than female employees with the same disabilities (S.B. Eor, 1996, p.14). Thus while all disabled workers receive low wages compared with the non-disabled, women who are disabled experience the worst wages of all.

Thus the conclusion can be drawn that the disabled women are being seriously oppressed under the prevalent male-dominant tradition in Korea whether they are employed or not.

4). Difference between employed and unemployed disabled people

How people respond to the current system of employment provisions depends on whether or not they are employed. Because there is a considerable overlap between unemployment and severe disability, except in the case of blind people for whom there is work in massage centres, there is much similarity between the response of unemployed disabled people and those with severe disability towards the current provision.

For unemployed disabled people, the current system does not seem to work at policy level. Most of them think that the quota scheme and the levy system do not help to reduce the unemployment rate among them. They argue that the quota rate and the level of the levy should be raised in order to influence employers. Furthermore, they demand that the government should establish new programmes for them. Some want the government to set up or expand the sheltered workshops, others want some kind of financial support to set up their own businesses. In the case of the mentally retarded, they and their families desperately want the government to expand the group-home services to cover severe cases.

Employed disabled people respond to the current system in two ways. Some disabled people who are doing low-paid manual jobs tend to complain of the failure of current system because they think that their underemployment stems from a lack of enforcement and effectiveness of the current system. They also want the current system to be changed fundamentally. Others point to some inadequacies in the detailed running of services provided by the KEPAD. In particular, the after-care service provided without any consideration of the atmosphere of the work-place is considered to harm their position rather than help their integration into their companies.

A significant finding is that the bureaucratic attitude of the KEPAD's staffs and their lack of knowledge about disabilities are subjects of complaints of most disabled people whether they are employed or not.

Chapter 5

What ought Korea to do? : Policy implication for the 21st century

The history of social science could be explained as the process of argument between those emphasizing what is apparent in social action on the one hand, and those emphasizing the way of life actors ought to follow according to some moral norm. In other words, social scientists have struggled with the difficult relationship between the "is" and the "ought" in social action : i.e. between how we actually behave and the ethical principles according to which we should act. Democratic Socialism, within the framework of which Korean social policy has been analysed here, could fall into the latter category in that it emphasises universalism pursuing social equity through the state intervention.

Until now, this research has dealt with the matter of the "is" by addressing what has been happening in the employment system for disabled people in Korea and trying to identify what they feel they need. During this process, the background and the problems of Korea's current system have also been explored.

From now on, the matter of the "ought" is the main focus through the discussion about what Korea has to do to overcome the problems or drawbacks of the current system and to develop a more appropriate system which would operate in tune with disabled people's real need. In this context, the following section explores how Korea can reach beyond the uneven provision of the current system; how the different needs of different kinds of disabled people may be responded to appropriately ; what should happen with regard to the issue of 'normal life' in Korea; and how the Korean government can secure the effective compliance of employers. These issues will be considered within the framework of universalism and state intervention both of which are principles of Democratic Socialism. Moreover, to identify some likely future strategies for policy, disability policies in some European states where the vestiges of Democratic Socialism or corporatism remain, will be considered.

In a sense, in the following discussion both matters of "is" and "ought" will be considered combined rather than dealt with separately, in that the policy implication for a good society in the future ("ought") is considered which will meet the real needs of disabled people ("is").

1. Universalism and comprehensiveness

As described in the previous sections covering the background and the characteristics of the Korean current system, there is nothing in the way of a benefit programme for disabled people in general in Korea. The only benefit available to them is the so called disability allowance which is provided only to those entitled by virtue of their poverty and which is allocated on the basis of a household means test. Moreover, it is estimated that the disability allowance, at most, amounts to on average less than one-fifth of the cost of general impairment-related expenditure incurred in daily life in the current Korean situation(Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1996). Yet on the basis of British experience, even this assessment of the additional cost living with a disability appears to be a serious underestimate (see Thompson *et al.*, 1990). The majority of disabled people in Korea are likely to be exposed to poverty because they have almost no income while they have to spend more money than able-bodied people for day-to-day life. In a sense, employment is the only source of income in Korea, even if their wage level is, at best, about two-thirds of the average wage of able-bodied employees (S. B. Eor, 1996, pp. 15-18). To make matters worse, as we have seen, the unemployment rate of disabled people is ten times higher than that of Korean people in general.

On the face of it, the adoption of the principle of universalism would create a framework of policy provision through which the needs of disabled people in Korea could be met. Principles are concepts which are necessary to guide policy development as we attempt move from an unsatisfactory situation in the present to an ideal goal in the future. According to Helen Bolderson, principles are therefore powerful weapons with which to justify

provisions. They draw on contemporary beliefs, experiences and events and this make them acceptable and persuasive(Bolderson. H. 1980, pp. 183-186).

Disabled people, as became apparent from the interviews, are now struggling with the miserable discrimination against them and poverty in Korea. They cannot enjoy the basic level of amenities of daily life. In this situation, they expected the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 to help them to get jobs. However, more than half of them remain unemployed without any other income source(Labour Ministry, May, 1996, p. 5). Many of them can neither work nor enjoy their leisure. Their only recourse is to remain a burden on their family. Disabled people in Korea are urgently in need of some kind of financial support : they live life on the edge of destitution. Thus there is an urgent need for the government to establish some kind of benefit scheme to guarantee at least a minimum level of subsistence for disabled people.

A selective system which caters for the needs of only ex-service men and industrially injured people is too narrow leaving the serious financial problems of the majority of the disabled in Korea untouched. It now seems urgent that the Korean government should make provisions beyond those two schemes already available for all disabled people in need regardless of the cause of impairment or disability. Without universal provision to cover the barest essentials (the cost of food, clothing, fuel, light, household sundries and transportation), the current extraordinary situation in which employment is 'everything' while those unable to find work get virtually nothing will be perpetuated. Thus the experience of disabled people at the moment is to concentrate all their efforts on acquiring 'everything' that is available through employment, but they find themselves with nothing when they are rejected by employers. Korea needs a middle ground between the two extremes which could be guaranteed by the principle of universalism.

In pointing the way forward, the case of Britain may be helpful. In Britain, until the 1970s, state-funded disability benefits were also focused mainly on people who had acquired impairments due to war or industrial accident, and who had a qualifying record of National Insurance contributions (Department of Social Security, 1990). The general expansion of disability benefits during the 1970s made it possible for disabled people to get out of means-

tested assistance towards some form of compensatory benefits. In 1971 a long-term benefit to replace earnings, the Invalidity Benefit, was introduced. This was followed in 1975 by its counterpart for people who had not paid enough National Insurance contributions to qualify for the Invalid Benefit. Originally known as the Non Contributory Invalidity Pension, it is now referred to as the Severe Disablement Allowance (Disability Alliance, 1990). In 1970, 1973 and 1976 respectively, the higher and lower rate Attendance Allowance and the Mobility Allowance were introduced. The Mobility allowance was designed to assist disabled people with the additional costs of transport, replacing the provision of the invalid vehicle service, while the aim of the Attendance Allowance was to provide funds to cover impairment-related expenses with the need for 'attendance' serving as a means of identifying the most severely disabled people, those considered most in need. In 1975 the Invalid Care Allowance was introduced. The purpose of this benefit is to pay people of working age who act as personal assistants to disabled people in receipt of Attendance Allowance (Disability Alliance, 1990).

In 1992, two new benefits called Disability Living Allowance and Disability Working Allowance were introduced as the Disability Working Allowance Act 1990 came into force. Disability Living Allowance is intended to provide benefit for individuals with disabilities who require care or who find it difficult to get about. It consists of three rates for the care component and two rates for the mobility component. Disability Working Allowance was aimed to encourage disabled people on benefit to take up employment. It basically tops up the wages of claimants in full time work. However, many claimants derive very little benefit from the Disability Working Allowance, while others actually lose out financially by claiming it: under the scheme, a person entering full-time employment, depending on their circumstances, could be giving up other benefits which are greater than the Disability Working Allowance. Moreover, as the scheme is means-tested, any earnings earned by the claimant through the therapeutic earnings rule cannot be paid in addition to the Allowance, but are counted as part of income within the means-test. Similarly any earnings from a partner are taken into consideration by the means-test (The Castlmilk Law Centre, *et al.*, 1994, pp.7-33).

During the development of the British benefit system for disabled people, the questions "To what extent can they receive?" and "On what ground should the benefit be calculated? Earnings-loss or compensation?" have been raised and debated repeatedly without a final answer. In relation to this kind of discussion, Helen Bolderson summarised the approaches towards the disability benefit schemes by identifying three types of payments:

1. Payments which are exclusively aimed at reducing loss of earnings consequent on disability.
2. Payments made regardless of conditions, namely, past work records or current wages *ect.*, but which attempt in some way to compensate for identifiable social or financial losses caused by disability, and are therefore personally merited.
3. Compensatory payments made as amendment or reparation to those suffering the condition of disability, regardless of what this might mean in terms of specific individual loss (Bolderson. H., 1974, p.194).

According to her, flat-rate and earnings-related sickness benefit, flat-rate invalidity benefit are included in the first group, while the Attendance Allowance belongs to the second group.

Finally, war pensions and disablement benefits provided under the Industrial Injuries scheme form the third group (Bolderson. H., 1974, pp. 195-196).

Although there are some criticisms of the serious delay in payments (Oliver *et al.*, 1988), and of the way the Invalid Care Allowance is made to personal assistance providers rather than giving the allowance to disabled people themselves (Barnes, C., 1991, P.107), the British disability benefit system has much to teach Korea where there is nothing even to criticise. In a sense, the British model provides an example of a shift from sectional liability to collective responsibility, as is the case in the workmen's compensation scheme in 1946. Indeed, the comparative history of welfare states suggests that workmen's compensation was usually the first incursion of emerging welfare states into social security provision, with the exception of Great Britain which of course already had the poor law. In this context, Korea seems to be following a similar pattern which could be extended to the victims of other 'diswelfares' (such as long-term sickness, and unemployment, redundancy or other consequences of the work selection process) which, as Titmuss has shown, similarly represent the cost and the risk of 'other people's progress in a dynamic and changing society' and which

were gradually recognised with the development of state welfare(Titmuss, R. M. 1963, p.3, quoted in Bolderson, H., 1974, P. 209).

Another important concept to be borne in mind is comprehensiveness. As shown in the previous chapter, the current system of Korea operates in a vacuum and fails to interact with other provisions relating to the employment of the disabled. One interpretation of comprehensiveness concerns the broad interaction between existing programmes to secure an effective operation of the current disability employment system. Indeed, it could be identified as a pre-condition of employment. Important among the factors which together create the necessary precondition for employment is the question of access. And another is the extension of the definition of employment from the current narrow interpretation of 'being employed' to include 'self-employment' and employment in sheltered-workshops.

To take the matter of access first, which includes the problem of transportation and physical barriers. It is the case that Korea has made provision in this area. For example, 'the Welfare Act for People with Disability 1989' contains a clause which requires the government to establish appropriate facilities for disabled people in public transportation and other public places (The Welfare Act for People with Disability 1989, Clause 33). However, no attempt has been made to enforce this measure. As a result, there is almost no train or underground transit station with appropriate facilities for the disabled to use. No disabled people in wheel-chairs can travel by train or underground transit by themselves. Nor can they travel on buses. Indeed, the difficulties of using buses has been illustrated by the experiences reported by the hearing impaired in the previous chapter.

The current Construction Act also tries to place a duty on building-owners to set up proper facilities for the disabled, including the elimination or avoidance of physical barriers (The Construction Act, 1995, Clause 27). This law also remains dormant without any effective means of enforcement, nor the governmental will to take appropriate action. There has not been a single case prosecuted under the law.

Naturally, disabled people cannot travel anywhere without their own cars and once they arrive at their destination, the chances are that they will not be able to get inside the building. In this situation, paradoxically, the government is proud of its decision to give

disabled people the use of the underground transit systems free of charge as well as free entry to the national park (The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1996). In the circumstances, how many disabled people can benefit from this programme?

The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 was enacted without taking into account the reality of the situation. This paradoxical nature of legal provisions makes the disabled confused. Some disabled people have no choice but to give up their jobs because of transportation problems even though those jobs were obtained through desperate efforts. This problem is especially serious for the physically disabled and hearing impaired. One effect of this problem, the difficulty in commuting, has been that disabled people tend to be confined to relatively low-paid jobs such as assembly factories with attached accommodation (see previous chapter for details). The current Korean system of provision for employing disabled people cannot function satisfactorily without solving this problem.

The removal of problems of transportation and physical barriers have to be recognised as a precondition for effective policy implementation in the field of employment for the disabled. Mobility of disabled people should be regarded as a minimum requirement for a society trying to guarantee appropriate forms of employment. The problems of the physical environment have to be solved as a precondition for the employment of disabled people. Generally speaking, how can the matter of employment in the open market be discussed in a society in which no car or accessible transit systems exists? In this respect, the fundamental debate about values - the trade-offs between equity and efficiency is a matter for the past, not the present, in Korea because they have been preempted by the decision taken to establish the employment provisions for disabled people. In other words, barrier-free transit should be a right , regardless of considerations of cost (Katzmann, R. A., 1986, pp. 1-14).

To reiterate the Korean situation, barrier-free mobility of disabled people could be regarded as a necessary precondition or minimum right to be secured prior to their employment. In this context, the legislative and administrative systems concerned with disabled people's access should be considered again in terms of employment as the existence of the disability employment policy seems to be sacrosanct. The current programme in which the government makes a loan to a disabled employee who wants to buy a car could be a

good, though insufficient, start. The amount loaned covers the cost of about half of the price of a small size car in Korea with nothing available for vehicle maintenance (The Labour Ministry, 1996). Without solving the problem of transportation and physical barriers, the current employment system for the disabled in practice is but a distant relation to the policy-maker's design.

Finally, the coverage of The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 should be extended to include those disabled people who want to set up their own business. At the moment, the law concentrates on programmes for those of the disabled who wish to get jobs in the open market. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter, many disabled people want to operate their business in which there is no discrimination against them and no commuting problem. Even before the law was enacted in 1990, the government had shown some interest in supporting the disabled who wish to be self-employed. According to The Welfare Act for the people with Disabilities 1989, the government had made loans to some disabled people (about 5,500 pounds to a disabled person who has less property than about 20,000 pounds and earns less than about 200 pounds a month) who wanted to set up in business on their own account (The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1994). Unfortunately, these loans were, and remain too small to set up a business in any realistic sense(indeed, they are too small even to pay for a small shop or an office). Most disabled people who borrow money under this scheme usually spend it on the necessities of daily life and struggle to pay it back over 5 years with 6 per cent interest per year. Even though this interest rate is very low compared with the general interest rate which is up to 13 per cent , it is hard for the disabled to pay it back because of their poverty (H. G., Oh, 1996, pp.1-11).

The Labour Ministry should take over this task from the Ministry of Health and Welfare in order to establish a more positive policy to help disabled people who are eager to have their own business with the object of working to make money rather than utilise it for some general notion of rehabilitation on which the Ministry of Health and Welfare has focused. Under the directives of the Labour Ministry, the money available for loans could be expanded and included in the package could be provision for consultation and advice

regarding the setting up of a new business : after all, the main purpose of the Labour Ministry is to make people work while medical rehabilitation is the main focus of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. To do so, the government has to extend its interest from just 'the disabled employee' towards 'disabled working people' to secure some degree of equity among disabled people themselves.

2. Individualisation

At a first glance, the concept of individualisation seems to contradict to that of universalism. In fact, some Marxists and critical theorists argue that policies under capitalism characteristically regard the rights and duties of all individuals as equal before the law which is impartial, and by so doing disguise the real structures of inequality (Pashunakis, E., 1987). Cotterell argues that in individualism's purest form, it takes no account of social or cultural factors that may remove the possibility of choice from individual actors (Cotterell, R., 1992, p. 119). Individualism's responses to the issue of differences between the individuals may be to ignore the differences themselves and continue to promote formal equality for the disadvantaged group that can benefit. Similarly, Oliver puts this 'individual model' at odds with the 'social model' of disability. He does not accept the individual model as a tool to improve social policy. In a sense, he denies the role of welfare provisions (M., Oliver, 1996, pp.31-42). On the contrary, some western critics argue that the above right-based model fails in addressing the deep structural inequalities and suggest that we should consider the negative aspects of the message of the rights discourse (C. Lawrence, 1987, p. 324, C. Gooding, 1994, pp.27-56).

For the purpose of this research, however, the two concepts do not contradict each other, rather they are implicitly combined in the context of the Korean situation. Universalism provides the minimum criterion which the welfare programmes should satisfy in the policy dimension, while individualisation is a practical concept to meet the different needs of the different groups of disabled people in the strategic dimension. In the previous chapter, the evidence of policy-failure resulting from the absence of detailed programmes to cope with

different kinds of demands arising from disabilities was described. The process of becoming disabled is an individual experience determined by a mix of personal factors, such as the nature of the disabling condition, age, sex, temperament, family, and their interaction with societal factors, such as the prevailing political ideology, the state of labour market, the economy, and the institutions to which these give rise, such as social security systems (Sainsbury, S., 1993, p.26). The more a policy embraces these complex variants, the more responsive it could become. The unidimensional nature of the current Korean system explains its failure, as the interviews make clear. According to these, the Korean system, at most, has a small amount of meaning for those people with slight physical disabilities. Therefore the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 has cynically become known as the "Law for Employment Promotion of People with Slight Physical Disabilities".

This research tries to indicate the range of differences between the needs of the different groups of disabled people even if all the variants suggested by Sainsbury are not considered. As shown in the previous chapter, their needs vary significantly according to the kind of disability, the severity of disability and gender. Let us now turn to consider what should be done to respond to the special needs of each group.

Firstly, in reviewing the problems of the current Korean system in terms of the category of disability, it becomes evident that there was a sense of isolation and alienation of amongst disabled people of all types with the exception of some of the physically disabled (see the previous chapter). It seems not to exaggerate the point to say that the current system only works for a small portion of physically disabled people, even though in its original design it was intended for all of the disabled population who can work or can be trained for work. In a sense, the current system is instigating an inequality among disabled people and producing a new privileged group, namely, a small group of physically disabled people.

To overcome this dysfunction of the system, the government has to invest more in identifying the special needs of different categories of disabled people. There is almost no systematic research which details the different needs of different categories of disabled people in Korea. This means that to this extent government officials struggle with the lack of information in their policy-making and implementation.

A government official, Mr. C. P., Lee, who played very important part in establishing the current system says : 'It was very hard for me to get a clear blue-print for this system. I met so many people relating to the disability area, so called specialists. However, I failed to obtain significant help from them. Some were too general and others were too partial. Even in the case of professors who were teaching and writing on the disability issue, disability was usually a secondary interest. I had to start studying for myself.'

The situation is the same now as at the moment of the establishment the current system. Nothing has changed. The lack of interest in Korean society in disability is reflected in the low level of funding available for disability research. Perhaps the answer is a government fund for disability research.

Another reason for the lack of specialists is the current education system for training social-workers. Anyone who has a first degree in the department of social work is qualified as a social worker without any further training. The education period for social workers is too short compared with western countries in which a second degree is usually required, though Britain is an exception here. In fact, the undergraduate-level of training, if any, seems too broad and general to cope with even the matter of disability to say nothing of the detailed needs of persons with different kinds of disability.

Yet, the employment of disabled people depends largely on social workers without help from other specialists concerned. In every regional office of the KEPAD, between 5 and 6 social workers are providing all the services for vocational rehabilitation service including counseling, vocational assessment, and job placement. All the social workers are dealing with the full range of disabled people.

In contrast, some other countries regard the employment of a battery of specialists as a precondition for the effective implementation of their employment services. For example, in Sweden, there are 81 Vocational Assessment Rehabilitation Institutes called Ami which are responsible for measures relating to vocational rehabilitation assessment and guidance. Ami

staff consist of employment counselors, psychologists, health care personnel, physiotherapists and social workers. Of the 80 Ami, 21 are called Ami-S which have more resources for certain categories disabled persons (N. Lunt, et al., 1993, p. 112). The stated aim of Ami-S institutions is '...to meet the needs for the visually disabled, the hearing impaired, the physically disabled, and persons with intellectual, mental and socio-medical occupational handicaps' (National Labour Board, 1987, p. 2, quoted in N. Lunt, et al., 1993, p. 112).

Let us now consider the programmes or provisions which need to be introduced to meet the needs of particular categories of disabled people. However, the interests of physically disabled people will be excluded because the problems of other kinds of disabled people are more serious.

For the hearing impaired the prime problem is communication : this should be understood as a problem of access to information. All hearing impaired people need to be provided with something like fax-machines which should be regarded as the counterpart of white walking-sticks for the visually impaired or wheel-chairs for the physically disabled. The Korean government already provides white walking-sticks and wheel-chairs free to those who need them but seems not to recognise the necessity for expanding this programme to communication facilities.

Another important objective is to train hearing signers and make them widely available to help the hearing impaired in socialising and at work. A prior requirement for this would be the establishment of a Standard Korean Sign Language. At present, there are two sign language dictionaries in Korea. One was published by Professor S. K. Kim under the sponsorship of the government and the other was published by the Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb. These two are slightly different from each other and also from the actual sign used by the hearing impaired. In this situation, interpreters use different sign languages according to where they have been taught. This inconsistency is not helped by the fact that there are about 150 small groups consisting of universities, churches and associations of and for disabled people where people learn sign language and interpretation skill informally. There are no standard criteria for assessing interpreters or certificate of qualification in Korea yet (The Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb, 1991, pp.567-613).

In relation to this matter, the Danish example is very impressive. There, an earmarked budget for spending on deaf people's needs pays for interpreters at staff meetings, training and study courses and at union and other work meetings. As a result, deaf people have equal opportunities, access to more responsible jobs and more involvement with their trade unions (Bergmann, 1993, p.29). Similarly, there is a 'principle of sector responsibility' in Denmark. Under this principle, technical aids are primarily supplied and financed by the sector in which they are needed, for example, education. Disabled people can receive whatever they need all the way from medical to employment rehabilitation, according to the nature of their disabilities (The Danish Centre, 1994, p.13).

As far as the visually impaired are concerned, the reserved occupation system for them covers, at most, less than 3 per cent of visually impaired people in Korea. It seems appropriate that something should be done to help the employment prospects of the rest. New areas of work appropriate for them in the Korean situation should be developed. The current regulation which prohibits them from employment in acupuncture could be abolished after setting up safety-facilities such as qualification examinations. As mentioned earlier, many visually impaired people are practicing acupuncture in reality. Moreover, Japanese success in permitting them to practice acupuncture provides a good model for Korea. In Japan, according to Mr. A., lecturer at the Gansai University, Chinese Medical Doctors, who had practiced acupuncture, were banned, thus leaving the field open to visually impaired people. But, in Korea, with so many practitioners of Chinese Medicine, acupuncture is an area with strong vested interests and this has meant effective lobbying against the visually impaired from entering the profession of acupuncture. The matter of whether acupuncture should be a permitted occupation for the visually disabled people seems more a matter of self-interest than the safety of customers in Korea.

Something else which is important for the visually impaired is the development of technology. There is no technology research centre in Korea. Even the voice-computer system is not developed in the Korean language, to say nothing of Braille-displaying personal computer systems. These kinds of technical development seem to be preconditions for extending job opportunities for the visually impaired beyond those in massage which are

reserved for them. For instance, in a German vocational rehabilitation centre, Stiftung Rehabilitation Heidelberg, about 50 visually impaired people are being trained in bookkeeping. Their curriculum focuses on how to operate computerised systems of bookkeeping and accounting (SRH-Gruppe, 1996). According to Mr. H., general manager of the rehabilitation centre, about 60 per cent of them usually get work in the open labour market. He says: 'High-tech facilities are fundamental tools for entering the labour market' (see Appendix).

Britain has also shown much interest in the field of technology development for the visually impaired. The Royal National Institute for the Blind has an Employment Development and Technology Unit. The unit is researching how new technology can help and offer information and assessment of the needs of the visually impaired (RNIB, 1996, P.11). In particular, the unit is providing individualised technical aids for the visually impaired through the 'Access to Work' programme. 'Access to Work' is for people who have a disability and are unemployed, in work or self-employed, who need to get a job, keep a job, or make progress in their career. In the area of visual disability, the unit of the RNIB is assessing needs and tailoring technical equipment or organising personal readers according to the different needs of the visually impaired in cooperation with the DEA (Disability Employment Advisor) who is part of a team of professional disability specialists known as the PACT (Placing, Assessment and Counseling Team) (Employment Department, 1994, pp.1-4). According to the manager of the unit at the RNIB, Ms. S., about 700 visually impaired people have been helped in their workplace or have obtained their jobs by the Access to Work scheme during the last two years (see Appendix).

The people with cerebral palsy, also, belong to one of the most excluded groups in terms of employment in Korea. As we have seen, they are regarded as having a form of mental retardation because so little is known about them. They feel they are relatively more disadvantaged because of their appearance. A proper strategy to solve this problem is to be derived from the problem itself. Positive action in raising awareness of the people with cerebral palsy could be taken on at governmental level. The fact that their appearance is very different from their intellectual ability should in the first instance be explained to counteract

the distortion of the media and employer perceptions. At present, there is only one-week's awareness raising campaign for the disabled in general around the National Day of the Disabled on 20th of April and after that period people forget about disability. Even the Korea Association for the People with Cerebral Palsy is, at best, concentrating on fundamental rehabilitation programmes rather than action to change the attitudes of people towards the condition (The Korea Association for the People with Cerebral Palsy, 1996). The western reality in which the concept of citizen advocacy was raised for the first time in 1966 by the parents for children with cerebral palsy in Pennsylvania, USA, is far from the Korean situation (D. Brandon, 1995, p.83). In Korea, people with cerebral palsy have relatively little power in any mixed conference involving all kinds of disabled people because of their speech difficulties. In a sense, the voice of people with cerebral palsy is smaller than that of people with learning disabilities because their parents usually participate and advocate their children's interests while the people with cerebral palsy are still stammering. In this situation, 'state advocacy' seems the best way for the people with cerebral palsy to make their needs known in the employment field, and ensure a positive government response to them.

For the learning disabled, Group-homes and the supported employment schemes are strongly demanded by their parents in Korea. As far as Group-homes are concerned, the present 6 simulation samples are being evaluated very positively even if some criticisms do arise (see the previous chapter). Moreover, their parents are very supportive of the governmental policy to the extent that many of them hope to contribute their property for Group-homes where their children can live in comfort. The government seems to be happy to expand the current Group-home scheme rapidly and easily with the parents' support. It can plan various kinds of Group-homes in the knowledge that it can rely on different financial sources such as parents' contributions to augment state expenditure for funding. However, in so doing, the government has to take account the fact that the current Group-homes scheme is of the most primitive form in which only one social worker is available for all the Group-home members (usually 5 to 6). More staff need to be trained and allocated to take care of

the people with learning disabilities in terms of psychology, health, socialising and employment.

The supported employment scheme is also in its infancy in Korea. At present, there are, at most, three agencies (The National Rehabilitation Centre, The Korea Rehabilitation Association for the People with Disabilities and Enpyeong Welfare Centre) which have been making provision under the supported employment scheme for the last 3 to 4 years (The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1996). Even the definition of supported employment is very obscure. Some define it very broadly to include sheltered workshops and wage support (U.H., Nha, 1996,pp.91-103) and others regard it as a kind of regular visiting service after employment has been obtained (D. M. Kim, a social worker in charge of the supported employment programme at the National Rehabilitation Centre, interviewed in 1995). No systematic research on supported employment in the Korean context has been conducted and only the agencies under the directives of the Ministry of Health and Welfare are involved in this programme. Again there is little or no Labour Ministry involvement. In fact, there has been no discussion on supported employment in the Labour Ministry or the KEPAD. As in the context in which the Labour Ministry takeover of the services for self-employment was suggested above, it can be suggested here that the Labour Ministry and the KEPAD should establish and maintain the supported employment scheme.

Great Britain also has only a very short history of providing a supported employment scheme. The British model of supported employment has been developed in a slightly different way from that of the USA in which the scheme originated. The British model seems to be narrower than American one in terms of coverage in that the British model concentrates on people with learning disabilities. However, recently the definition of supported employment has been extended to include other kinds of disabled people by the newly formed Association of Supported Employment Agencies (ASEA, 1992). Moreover, the components of the definition of supported employment are common to both countries : paid real jobs, integrated settings in which persons without disabilities are employed, individualised supports.

According to one British study, there are approximately 1600 people with disabilities, especially learning disabilities, within open employment and eighty agencies concerned with the supported employment scheme have been helping them. One interesting finding of this research is that many agencies reported few difficulties in finding suitable jobs for clients, even in areas of very high unemployment. There is good evidence that the supported employment package is attractive to employers (A. Pozner, 1993, pp.22-26). This evidence should encourage the Korean government to shift from the conventional work readiness approach to the supported employment scheme, in that its unemployment rate is only around 4 per cent and its economy continues to grow. On- the-job training schemes could, also, be included in the concept of supported employment.

Secondly, severity of disability operates like a crime record in Korea in that the more severe is the disability the more the disabled person is likely to be excluded from employment with the exception of some of blind people, as described in the previous chapter. In fact, most of the people with disabilities who have been employed under the current system would probably have got employment without the help of that system. Most of them did not need any special technical assistance or change of environment to be employed. They are usually just 'introduced to their employers' by the KEPAD and employed without any special extra action because their disabilities are slight.

Miss. J.H. Son, vocational counselor in the KEPAD said : 'To retrospect on the disabled people who have been employed, I counseled them and took them to their employers. That is all. The disabled who need special care and environmental modification have been rejected and are in a long queue for a job'.

In a sense, the current Korean system is wasting money and effort on those who do not need its help. Korea needs to turn its eye to the long queue. Many of those in the queue are known to want to have a job including, in some cases, a place in some kind of sheltered workshop.

We have already discussed the appropriateness of establishing a start-up grant to help those wanting to set up in self-employment on the Swedish model. Now let us survey the case of the sheltered workshop.

The majority of sheltered workshops are attached to long-stay institutions in Korea. Of 148 sheltered workshops 128 are attached to such institutions (The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1995), which are usually under the direction of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Therefore, their programmes focus on rehabilitating physical function rather than vocational rehabilitation with the components of both sides of industry. Recently, some change has been a possibility as KEPAD has been considering some system of financial support to a number of selected sheltered workshops.

In contrast to the Korean situation, most European countries have their own policy giving priority to severely disabled people through sheltered workshop schemes. Denmark has 120 sheltered workshops with 7664 employees under the Social Assistance Act 1974 (N. Lunt, 1993, p.41). To take another example, in France, severely disabled people are directed by the vocational guidance committee (COTOREP) to two types of sheltered work according to their assessed work capacity. The first type, comprising sheltered workshops and distribution centres for home work (CDTD), is intended for people whose work capacity is at least equal to one-third of normal capacity. The second type, the centre d'aide par le travail (CAT), is for those whose working capacity is less than one-third. In 1992 there were an estimated 76,800 workers in CAT and 11,600 in sheltered workshops while 500,000 disabled people are in ordinary employment (N. Lunt, et al., 1993, pp.137-141).

In Britain and Sweden, there are sheltered workplaces which are operated as general commercial companies : Remploy Limited and the SAMHALL. They attract attention in that they are trying to run their sheltered workplaces along the lines of general employment, including, in part, a merit system subject to the operations of the free market when selling its product even though they are designed for severely disabled people.

Remploy, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1995, is employing over 10,000 people in a range of industries and services, from contract manufacturing to lingerie, with 95 factories nation wide in Great Britain. To describe the operation in more detail, it includes

six groups : the creative group, furniture group, healthcare group, manufacturing services group, packaging group and the textile group. In all, 8,906 employees are disabled people and Remploy has a obligation to employ only disabled people in factory workplaces (Remploy 1995a, pp.1-3). It can employ only the disabled who have 30 to 80 per cent of normal working capacity determined through the assessment by the PACT (Placement, Assessment, Counseling Team). This indicates their intention in concentrating on severely disabled people and, in reality, it is said that 85 per cent of the disabled employees have severe disabilities (Mr. R., personnel Director at the Remploy, interviewed 1996).

The British government is still providing an annual grant; for example about 83 million pounds was provided in 1995 while turnover of Remploy was about 130 million pounds (Remploy, 1995b, pp. 10-20). However, the government no longer gives any priority in purchasing Remploy's products. Remploy has to work out its own marketing strategy under the free market principle.

Mr. R. said : ' We have to attract more customers to earn more money because the government declared to fix the annual grant. Priority supply of Remploy's goods are forbidden and we have no other choice'.

Another important scheme which is run by Remploy is the 'Inter Work' programme. The Inter Work programme includes three partners : companies, whatever the size, complexity or sector-type; Remploy as an agent; and Interworkers who are employed by Remploy but work for other companies. Companies provide the work, the workplace and all necessary equipment, protective clothing, training, the day-to-day supervision accorded to the Interworkers and normal health and safety procedures. Remploy undertakes assistance in the recruitment and selection, training support and Interworker development, employee support and welfare, maintenance of disciplinary and grievance procedures and the administration of the Interwork supported placement (Remploy, 1995c). Through the Inter Work programme Remploy is taking an important part in transferring the disabled from the sheltered workplace

to open employment. Among the disabled employee referred to above 1,472 people were working as 'Interworkers' outside Rempoy in 1995 (Rempoy, 1995a, p. 3).

SAMHALL could be called "Sweden's Rempoy". SAMHALL was established in 1980 and based on the Rempoy idea and from July 1992 it became a limited company. They still have a very close relationship with each other to the extent that they hold regular meetings at the director level to exchange information and discuss their future development (Mr. R., 1996). SAMHALL, even though it started later than the Rempoy, is much larger in terms of sales and number of employees. It employs about 32,000 people with about 700 factories and branches and among the employees about 28,000 people have disabilities. Among the disabled employees 1,180 people are members of priority groups (mental retardation, mental disorders and those with multiple disabilities) who are supposed to be over 40 per cent of the referrals to SAMHALL under government requirement. It tries to transfer disabled employees to open employment like the Rempoy, and in 1993 it succeeded in doing so for 948 disabled employees (SAMHALL, 1993).

These examples of Rempoy and SAMHALL suggest sheltered workplaces not only provide vocational job opportunities for severely disabled people but also result in significant numbers of them making the transition to open employment. These kinds of workplaces could provide good models for the Korean government in their search to solve the unemployment problem of severely disabled people.

Thirdly, the gender issue in terms of disability goes far beyond the matter of discrimination alone, as shown in the previous chapter. The problem of disabled women's unemployment and underemployment is in a complex way entangled with sexual abuse and harassment in Korea. In other words, the very narrow choice in jobs prevent disabled women from getting out of the sexually abusive workplace. The example of masseuses provides clear evidence of this type of case. Masseuses' relatively high income seems to include the payment for tolerating humiliating sexual abuse. Those involved do not enjoy this situation but have no other choice. There seems to be a need for state intervention.

As a first step, the Korean government needs to develop other kinds of job opportunities for women, as described in the Heidelberg case. Bookkeeping would seem to be suitable for women with mild visual impairment in the Korean situation too. For women with severe visual impairment, a specially designed sheltered workshop could be the answer. In relation to this, Britain has some other types of sheltered workshops apart from Remploy which might provide a model. An agency called Action for Blind People runs three sheltered factories in London, Norwich and Salisbury. These factories employ about 100 blind or partially sighted people and among them are some blind women and even deaf and blind people (especially in the London factory), who produce various goods ranging from stationery items (London) to metal components for the engineering market which require lathe, milling and drilling machinery skills (Salisbury) (Action for Blind People, 1996, see Appendix).

As the second step, the government could provide massage-centres with working-life counselors and pay them. The current system requires employers with more than 10 disabled employees to appoint a working-life counselor to deal with grievance procedures (The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990, Chapter.5, Clause.53). However, this clause is like the paper-tiger because the counselors are paid by their employers and have no power to advocate on behalf of the disabled employees exploited by employers or customers. If the government were to pay the counselors in the massage centres and allocate duties and rights in coping with the problem of infringement of human rights, they would avoid, or at least reduce, the conflict problem for the counselors and give teeth to the Clause.

For the serious discrimination experienced by women with cerebral palsy, the solution could be the creation of a 'state advocacy' policy and a commitment to the protection of women's rights in general.

3. Normal life

As described in the previous chapter, most severely disabled people in Korea want to have their own space in which there is no discrimination against them. They want to work and

also to talk about their common experiences or interests with each other. Even 'the privileged group', physically disabled people, say that they feel more comfortable and relaxed with their disabled colleagues than with their able-bodied workplace mates and that they go out to meet each other at least twice a week. On the other hand, the people with cerebral palsy who feel they are the most disadvantaged group of all the disabled demand a place for socialising and working designed exclusively for them because they do not want to be compared unfavourably with other kinds of physically disabled people, especially the disabled with poliomyelitis. In these circumstances, the parents of people with learning disabilities demand the present long-standing institutions should be refurbished and provided with more staff and that new institutions with good programmes should be established.

However, the atmosphere in academic circles and among disability activists is very different. Almost all academics argue that disabled people should be treated as equals with non-disabled people in all the situations of life and employment. They stress that all disabled people should live in mainstream society and call it social integration. They deny the acceptability of any kind of separation of disabled people from the mainstream society (J.D. Kim, 1989, pp.30-33, I.S. Lee, 1990, B.J. Ahn, 1991, D.S. Na, 1992a, pp.216). They regard normalisation and social integration as the ends to be pursued by welfare policies (D.S. Na, 1992b, p.21). In this context, they think of long-stay institutions as examples of anti-normalisation. They seem to accept the concept of normalisation and social integration as the newest semiconductor-chip to solve the problem of disabled people. They seem to want to replace old fashioned disability welfare provisions with new ones based on normalisation and integrationist principles.

It is not clear from whom and whence they imported the concept of normalisation. However, it is evident that they are strongly influenced by W. Wolfensberger's normalisation principle because their argument shows similarities to Wolfensberger's early idea. They seem to accept the idea that normalisation demands socially normal settings ; to walk with a normal gait ; to use normal movements and normal expressive behaviour patterns ; to dress like other persons of the same age ; diet to ensure normal weight (W. Wolfensberger, 1972, p.33). There is no discussion about the background and further development or

reformulation of Wolfensberger's argument. No other writers' arguments can be found which might contradict this normalisation concept. They seem to have imported Wolfensberger's early ideas and quickly closed the door on debate on the subject.

It is not over stating the case to assert that Korea is monopolised by Wolfensberger's normalisation principle. This one-way trend has had a significant influence on a number of disability activists. Almost all the leaders of the disability movement adopt normalisation as the slogan of their movement. They argue that all long-stay accommodation or institutions are against the principles of normalisation and social integration. They are even strongly against the plan for establishing new job-training centres for the people with disabilities (J.L, Kim, 1996, p.74). Moreover, as shown in the previous chapter, this results in serious conflicts with the parents of those with learning disabilities in relation to the matter of establishing sheltered workshops or long-stay accommodation.

Disability activists seem to regard all institutions for the disabled as 'total institutions' as described by Goffman. He defined a 'total institution' as 'a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life' (E.Goffman, 1961, P. xiii.). According to him, in the total institution an individual inmate has no freedom and are always managed by staff or officers, and, as a result, the managed exist in blind dependency, unable to control their own destinies (E. Goffman, 1961, pp. 5-10).

The problem is that Wolfensberger's normalisation principle and Goffman's total institution do not self evidently, necessarily reflect reality, nor are they immune to all criticism and are certainly not applicable in every situation. In fact, Wolfensberger's normalisation resulted from his efforts to North Americanise the Scandinavian version of normalisation. He reformulated Nirje's principle, namely, 'making available to the mentally retarded patterns of everyday life which are as close as possible to the norms and patterns of the mainstream of society' which was developed for people living in institutions(B. Nirje, 1969, p.181). The reformulation was aimed to satisfy North American social conditions and non-institutional settings by the " utilization of means which are as culturally normative as possible, in order to

establish and/or maintain personal behaviours and characteristics which are as culturally normative as possible" (W. Wolfensberger, 1972, p. 28).

Later on, the aims of normalisation were reformulated focusing on socially valued role rather than culturally normative practice and eventually he renamed normalisation as 'social role valorization', being defined as incorporating 'the most explicit and highest goal of normalization....the creation, support, and defense of valued social roles for people who are at risk of devaluation' (W. Wolfensberger, 1983, p. 234). In relation to this, he still insists that the most important thing is to enable devalued people to be integrated into the valued life of society. This means that devalued people have to be able to live in normative housing within the valued community, and with (not just near to) valued people ; be educated with their non-devalued peers ; work in the same facilities as ordinary people ; and be involved in a positive fashion in worship, recreation, shopping, and all the other activities in which members of society engage (Wolfensberger and Thomans, 1983, p.27).

Wolfensberger's normalisation principle, however, has been confronted by strong criticisms within the western academic circle, even if it is still dominant in Korea. Scull argues that the idea of integration into the community can result in bilateral confusions to the community members and those who are integrated into the community, that decarceration forms yet one more burden heaped on the backs of those who are most obviously the victims of society's inequities and that it places the deviant in those communities least able to care for or cope with him (A. Scull, 1977, p.2).

In another context, Jones and Fowles convincingly argue that institutional living will continue in the western world on a considerable scale, despite the energetic efforts of many public authorities to reduce or abolish it. They think that institutions are changing, but they are not evaporating (Jones and Fowles, 1984, pp 1-5). As far as community care is concerned, they state that policy-makers advocated the programme because they thought it would be better and cheaper. However, they assert, the result of it is the fact that there is the problem of 'the mad' and 'the bad' in the cities (Jones and Fowles, 1984, p. vii).

Sainsbury also warns of a danger of the mono-culture society which can result from the blind pursuit of normalisation. She seems to argue that the culture of disabled people

should be accepted and respected as the equal of that of non-disabled people. Social integration, she seems to believe, might result in the obliteration of disability culture by the majority of non-disabled people. She argues that long-stay institutions may provide a setting within which all resident may participate in an inter-dependent community within the establishment, which, if it were found outside the walls of the home, would be regarded as an ideal by the supporters of the progressive orthodoxy (S. Sainsbury, 1989). She, also, casts doubt on the role of neighbours or friends, which is strongly assumed as a component of normalisation in community care. She argues that it is difficult to expect the role of neighbours and friends to extend beyond that of occasional helpers or drinking companions (S. Sainsbury, 1993, pp.126-143). In this context, she differs from Townsend's ideas of normality that everyone can find the centre of life in the three generation family and the only justification for removal to an institutional setting is the necessity for hospitalisation for the purpose of treatment. He emphasised the importance of the three generational family and neighbours and friends to live normal life in the non-institutional community (P. Townsend, 1957, 1962).

Sainsbury uses the term 'normal life' but the concept is very different from that of Townsend. Through studies in the field of Deafness, she found that there are groups of people living outside residential care for whom notions of "community" and 'integration" do not involve a close relationship with "normal" or mainstream society. For example, many of those who use sign language regard themselves as belonging to a community defined by language and culture which is separate from and different to that of society in general. While they integrate into their own Deaf community, they seek only such links with the hearing world as are necessary for daily living. In practice, they do the things which are regarded as part of normal life by the hearing community, but they do them "segregated" with other Deaf people, in a community which parallels that of the hearing (S.Sainsbury, 1986, 1990, p. 28, 1996).

In a sense, Sainsbury's concept of normal life is similar to that of Scandinavian normalisation in the 1980s in that they are very flexible in dealing with the matter of segregation and integration while Wolfensberger insists on integration. For Bank-Mikkelsen

normalisation is a matter of the right to equality to secure the same quality of life as non-disabled members of society and integration and segregation are simply working methods (Bank-Mikkelsen, 1980, p. 56). Similarly Nirje even suggested the benefit of integrating people with severe learning difficulties with groups of people with mild or moderate learning difficulties (B.Nirje, 1980). Their ideas of 'equal but segregate', 'integration by disabled people themselves' and Sainsbury's 'normal but segregated' are evidently raising doubt as to the general applicability of Wolfensberger's deinstitutionalisation-oriented normalisation principle.

As far as the "total institution" is concerned, Jones and Fowles argue that no institution is ever completely closed and if it were it would die off. They explain this by taking an example of a mental hospital or prison which imports staff, policy, material supplies and public reaction for the outside world while it exports staff on completion of the relevant contract, inmates on completion of stay or sentence and empirical material which may affect policy etc. (K. Jones and A. J. Fowles, 1984, p.12). For them the "total institution" seems not to fit any real-life institution exactly and to be a Weberian ideal type against which the practice of real-life institutions may be measured (K.Jones and A. J. Fowles, 1984, p.13).

Now, we need to turn to the Korean situation. Has Korea prepared for normalisation, deinstitutionalisation or decarceration, social integration and community care? Where can the disabled people go after being deinstitutionalised? How about their families? How about their neighbours? What can they live on?

As shown in the previous chapter, Korean parents with disabled children are very enthusiastic about taking care of their children when they are young. However, as they become older the parents become more and more afraid. They cannot answer the question how and who can take care of their disabled children after their death. There is a crucial changing point from which they start demanding government's active intervention in providing their children with reasonable accommodation or workshops. The parents do not want their other able-bodied children to have to embark on a life of care, because they know

its difficulties, the exhaustion and discomfort it brings, and the fact that it will make them poor. Their final resort is, as we have seen, the government.

Another major problem is the fact that the picture of the family is changing rapidly in Korea. The number of traditional three generational families in which there are some non-working family members to take care of the disabled is reducing very rapidly and nuclearised families are increasing. (I.S. Choi, 1995, p.45). This shift in family structure results in the increasing policy-demand for the elderly or the disabled to be cared for outside the home. Their neighbours are also in a nuclearised situation and it is difficult to expect them to help a disabled neighbour on a regular basis. Moreover, there is only one voluntary organisation, 'Bureumeijeonhwa' (Call for help), in the disability area, which focuses on helping visually impaired people and covers only a part of Seoul ; it is small in terms of the number of its staff and volunteers (Bureumeijeonhwa, 1996).

How about the social workers? At present, there is usually one social worker in each regional office who is in charge of all kinds of welfare-related tasks, for all needy groups, namely, the poor, the elderly, the disabled, the deviant etc.. The social worker is always under the pressure of work while the clients complain of the lack of services and doubt the social worker's professionalism(I.S. Choi, 1995, p.38).

In this situation, who can argue for deinstitutionalisation with confidence? In fact, there are few institutions to close in Korea. Korea has less than 200 long-stay institutions which, at most, accommodate less than one per cent of all disabled people. More than 99 per cent of disabled people remain as a burden on their family directly or indirectly (I.S. Lee, 1990, p.103). Many of them want to move to some kind of institutions if possible but at present there are no vacant places in Korea. Many of them demand that the government establish well-provisioned sheltered workshops. However, those Americanised academics and almost all disability activists who are strongly influenced by the academics are still alleging that long-stay institutions including training centres and sheltered workshops are evils and deinstitutionalisation is an angel. Yet in those countries where deinstitutionalisation has occurred, some critics describe the situation of those transferred from state facilities to private nursing homes, hostels and 'after-care' facilities, often of very dubious quality and

standard as "transinstitutionalisation" (Morrissey and Goldman, 1981, pp. 13-34).

Unfortunately, Korea does not have even these types of community institutions to allow "transinstitutionalisation". Rather there remains only 'total discrimination' against disabled people.

Korea urgently needs to establish its own version of normalisation, taking account of its reality and clients' needs, as Wolfensberger designed a North American model from Scandinavian ideas. It has to shift from their strong attachment to the rhetorical attraction of normalisation to the practical realities of the Korean situation. In doing so, the first step seems, paradoxically, to refurbish the existing long-stay institutions with proper programmes and professional staff and establish more institutions for those disabled people who need to be transferred from constant dependency on their families. Who can compensate them and their families if they have to live in that bleak and dismal situation in which there is only insuperable dependency and discrimination until they die?

4. Enforcement

The current employment system for disabled people only works within an extremely narrow area. To solve this problem and guarantee more employment for the disabled, a range of evaluation processes are needed. These may include complex conventional evaluation criteria in the policy-implementation area : the causal relationship between a policy and implementation, performance orientation, a focus on outputs and customers' views, efficiency and effectiveness, lean management and so on need to be considered. To some degree, the present study makes a contribution here in that much of the evidence relates to performance (employment rate of the disabled) and the view of customers (employers and the disabled). An important concern of the present study is the means by which government has attempted to ensure that employers meet their obligation under the current quota system. A major objective must be to identify measures which will force employers to take on more disabled people.

According to a recent statistics, the employment rate of disabled people of the companies targeted under the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled 1990 is around 0.4 per cent which is far less than the quota rate of 2 per cent in 1995 in Korea. The central and regional government and government-funded organisations reached 0.9 per cent and 0.8 per cent respectively during the same period (The Labour Ministry, 1996, p. 6). This low rate of employment among the disabled has been a subject of considerable dispute between the disabled and employers. The Korean government, playing politics, is taking neutral stance between them .

Almost all disabled people and their organisations think this low level of achievement in meeting the quota rate is due to the small amount of levy moneys paid by the employers who fail to met the quota rate. They think that the current levy money which is 60 per cent of the annual minimum wage determined by the Ministry of Finance and Economy makes an insignificant impact on the employers. They allege that the levy money is too small to force the employers to create jobs for the disabled; instead they end up paying the levy. Physically disabled people in particular tend to believe that raising the levy would result in increased employment of them.

In contrast, employers have a strong tendency to call for the abolition of the quota and levy system as shown through their lobby to reduce the quota rate in the name of increasing competitiveness. They argue that there are fewer disabled people who want to get employed than those who are wanted by employers. In response, disabled people argue that they give up registration for work because they know that employers usually offer low-paid routine jobs like assembly. In the last resort, employers put the blame for the current situation on the government, believing that the lack of qualified disabled people is due to the piecemeal policies in education and training. They want the government to reduce the quota rate or expand investment in training until the necessary skilled and qualified disabled people meet employers' requirements.

Mr. B.S. Lee, general manager of the Employers' Federation, said : 'It is natural that a company pursues its own interests. The company will try to get more benefits for

itself by employing more qualified people. That is why employers prefer able-bodied people to disabled people. The government should have produced more qualified disabled people with normal working capacity before it started the current employment system. Even if it is a little bit late, the government had better extend its training and educational function to ensure the disabled have more opportunities to get employed'.

This is typical of employers' attitudes towards the current system, and it seems it is unlikely to change for some time, and therefore will be projected into the future. How then can the government secure employers' conformity to the system? It is possible to draw on the experience of some European countries to indicate what might be done. German and French practices may be referred to for their utilisation of quota systems, whilst Swedish and Danish systems can be considered for their absence of any quota system.

Germany and France oblige employers to employ at least 6 per cent of disabled people and this obligation applied to the employers with more than 16 and 20 employees respectively in 1993. They maintain relatively high rates of actual employment among disabled people : an average of 4.9 per cent in German firms in 1988 and 3.8 per cent for those in France in 1991 (see German Severely Disabled Persons Act 1986 and French Disability Act 1987). As far as the correlation between achievement of the quota and size of firm is concerned, large firms with more than 10,000 employees were achieving the six per cent quota but very small firms with between 16 and 30 employees were employing on average only 2.7 per cent of disabled people in Germany in 1988. In France, on the contrary, the larger the firm the more likely it is to pay the money (the fund for the vocational integration of disabled people called AGEFIPH). According to a report, firms with 20 to 49 staff members achieved 41 per cent of the quota rate while firms with more than 500 staff members achieved 13 per cent of the rate in 1991 in France (N. Lunt et al., 1993, pp. 120-161). This French example is very similar to that of Korea in which the majority of disabled people are employed in small and medium-sized companies.

In France and Germany there are two kinds of methods of raising the employment rate of disabled people. The one is the levy system or contribution and the other is the supplementary programme for the employer and the disabled employees. In Germany, employers who fail to meet their obligation have to pay DM 200 per month for each unfilled compulsory place and an employer placing contracts with a sheltered workshop for the disabled people may deduct 30 per cent of the amount to pay (Severely Disabled Persons Act, 1986, section 55). In France, employers pay an annual amount for each disabled person they should have employed. By law the contribution should not exceed 500 times the hourly statutory minimum wage and is set according to the size of employing body (N.Lunt et al, 1993, p.128).

The impact of the levy money on employment has been controversial for a long time. To take a German example, the main umbrella group for disabled people's organisations (the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Hilfe für Behinderte) has consistently demanded a substantial rise in the levy, as Korean disabled people have been doing. However, about 70 per cent of employers say they will pay the compensation even if the amount is to double. In reality, the employment level decreased after the levy rose in 1986 (N. Lunt, et al., 1993. p. 155).

As far as supplementary programmes are concerned, Germany and France developed their own systems. In addition to individualised personal assistance to job seekers, they have a range of subsidies for disabled employees and employers to reduce their fear of financial loss in employing the disabled. The German Federal Employment Office pays up to 80 per cent of the wage paid to the severely disabled person and up to 100 per cent of the training allowance under the Severely Disabled Persons Act 1986. These subsidies enabled 10,350 severely disabled people, 900 of them trainees, to be integrated into working life in 1988 (N. Lunt, et al., 1993, p. 152). Another subsidy compensates employers for diminished performance - up to a maximum of DM 600 per month up to 2 years. This applies to disabled people already working for the firm rather than new employees (Seyfried, 1992, quoted in N.Lunt, 1993, p.153).

France, also, has various kinds of financial support programmes for employers and disabled people : a guarantee of financial means, an integration grant, a grant for adaptation

of the workplace, additional supervision costs and an apprenticeship award for employers and the grant for assistance for integration to be claimed by disabled workers entering open employment. All these grants are administrated by the Labour Ministry complemented by AGEFIPH for the purpose of encouraging employers to employ more disabled people as Germany does (Disability Act 1987).

On the other hand, Sweden and Denmark have no quota system such as those operating in Germany, France and some other Western European countries. They do not even have a general law for securing the rights of disabled people. They, unlike the USA or Australia, have no disabled people's charter or civil rights type legislation. They seem to want the disability problem to be solved through the principle of equality. They have only inserted paragraphs into the relevant enactments which make provisions for social security.

Swedish labour market policy is based on the fundamental principle of universal entitlement to work. Employment is not only regarded as providing material livelihood, but also regarded as providing necessary social experience and thereby caters to fundamental human needs for the development and enhancement of existence (SAMHALL, 1993). The fact that Swedish employment policy aims at 'employment for all' is well known. In relation to this, the Swedish Labour Market Administration has stated that ' active measures to provide work and training for the unemployed are the foundations of Swedish labour market policy. Passive measures in the form of cash handout are a last resort' (Swedish Labour Market Administration, 1992).

One thing which needs to be stressed is that Sweden is controlling the matter of employment of the disabled very strongly, even if it does not have the quota system. The government can use its power for the purpose of protecting the disabled and the elderly under the Law for Promotion of Employment 1974 and the Job Security Law 1974. For example, 24 County Labour Boards can instruct employers to employ more disabled people and give them an order to employ specific persons whom the Board refers. However, there has been no case in which the government has intervened between employers and the disabled by using the above enforceive tools. The implications are that the trade unions, the government and

employers have been in a very cooperative mood. In this context, it is possible to argue that the Swedish system is more coercive than a quota system (S. G. Kim, 1990, p.447).

In Denmark, the principle of equality between disabled and other citizens abolished almost all of the special legislation on services for disabled people and enacted the Social Assistance Act in 1974. There is, also, no quota type system in the provisions of the act. In particular, disabled people's organisations take the view that positive discrimination in favour of disabled people (notably, quota schemes) breaches the principles of equality and social integration : for them, therefore, registration as a disabled person would be unacceptable (N. Lunt et al, 1993, p 37).

The Danish way of promoting open employment for disabled people consists of preferential access to specified occupations and subsidised employment. The Social Assistance Act of 1974 stated that ' the Minister of Labour should make regulations providing for the preferential admission to certain publicly regulated occupations of people who by reason of disablement have difficulty in finding employment in open industry' (The Social Assistance Act 1974, section 30). As far as subsidy is concerned, people whose ability to work is reduced may be offered a job with the support of public funds. The local authorities pay 50 per cent of the minimum wage and the employer pays at least the remaining 50 per cent and sometimes more (Ministry of Social Affairs, 1995, p.10).

Thus it is clear from the experience of these four countries, the quota system is not the only way to encourage the employment rate of the disabled. Moreover, there appears to be no clear correlation between levy money and the employment rate of the disabled. Even the actual employment rate of each country cannot be compared because there are no separate statistics about the employment of the disabled.

In Britain, the quota scheme established in 1944 was abolished by the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 ("DDA 1995"). According to the new act, employers are no longer required to employ a quota (3 per cent) of registered disabled people (DDA 1995). As a consequence, in relation to this shift, the majority of disabled people's organisations are concerned that more disabled people will be excluded legally from the workplace (DPI, Rights Now campaign, 1995). They think that even though there was no attempt to enforce

the quota rate, as it was, it operated as a kind of psychological pressure on the employers to employ more disabled persons.

However, Bolderson as early as 1980 predicted the failure of British quota scheme in that the negotiations which shaped the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944 were informed by sectional interests which were detrimental to the interests of the disabled (see H. Bolderson, 1980, pp.169-186)

Another reason for the negative response of disabled people to the act 1995 concerned the creation of the National Disability Council. They argue that the Council will not be the powerful enforcement agency which is needed to police the new law (Rights Now, 1995, p.14). In fact, its members are appointed by the Secretary of State, and its role is solely to advise the Secretary of State on the operation of the Act and on the elimination of discrimination. In contrast to the Equal Opportunity Commission or the Commission for Racial Equality, the National Disability Council has no power to investigate, or to abolish, discriminatory practices. This is regarded as the single greatest weakness in the new law (C. Gooding, 1996, p.53).

Korea, also, has the Employment Promotion Committee for the Disabled chaired by the Vice-Minister of Labour (The Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled. 1990, Article 6). The committee consists of less than 20 representatives of trade unions, employers, disabled people and some officials concerned with disability services. The role of the committee is merely to discuss the basic plan for employment promotion of the disabled, the levy money and vocational rehabilitation programme including job-training. The committee, like the British National Council, has no power to investigate a case issued in relation to discrimination or give employers orders to stop discriminatory practices. In this sense, the Korean government has no enforcement tool with which it can control employers. Employers have only to choose one of the two obligations, namely employment or the levy money. There is no effective legal tool to force an employer who does not employ a disabled person if he or she pays the levy.

How then can the Korean government provide the disabled with more opportunities to get jobs in the open market? In Korea, there seems to be a consensus about the view that the

quota scheme is needed. In addition to the disabled people themselves, almost all of the academics prefer the quota scheme to the Swedish or Danish system (S. G. Kim, 1990, pp. 464-470, J.C. Lim, 1994, p.13). They commonly argue that the current system seems to provide at least a foundation for a solution to the problems of disabled people.

One salient view comes from some employers. They accept that the government seems to have no method other than the quota system to solve the disability problem as confronted in Korea. This opinion is very different from that of the Employers' Federation. These employers even regard the current quota rate as a bit on the low side to effectively secure any significant improvement in the employment of the disabled. They suggest that the current quota rate be raised up to at least European level. They seem to believe that Korean employers can tolerate governmental pressure better than their European counterparts because they have been adjusted to strong government intervention during the last 30 years.

Mr. H.Y. Jeong, owner of Giwon Electronic, said : 'Korean employers will adjust themselves very well to a higher rate of quota than the current one. They want to save their face with the government. Whatever the level of the quota they will employ disabled people in the same proportion as is currently employed under the present quota system. For example, an employer who achieves 1 per cent under the current 2 per cent of quota rate will achieve 2 per cent if the quota rate rise up to 4 per cent. If the government raise the quota it can give more disabled people opportunities to get jobs'.

Mr. G.D. Jin, working-life counselor for the disabled people at the Korea Broadcasting System, said : 'My employer does not seem to be nervous about the levy money at present. If the quota were to be raised he must pay much more. Then, I think he would consider employing more disabled people to save money. What it is apparent is that the current levy money is just a piece of cake for my employer'.

It is worth pointing out that quota rate at the European level is acceptable in Korea to judge from this evidence even if the Employers' Federation demand as a precondition to the quota system the provision of a body of highly skilled disabled people. Almost all disabled people, unlike those in Denmark, demand strong government intervention.

In this situation, a 'maximum incentive and maximum punishment' principle could be applied to raise the employment rate of disabled people in Korea. Firstly, to maximise incentives active governmental support in job-training, individual assistance programmes and subsidies for the employers and employees as exist in some European countries are required. The comprehensive service development, discussed above, can also be related to the effectiveness of the incentives. Secondly, the maximum punishment must include the raising of the quota rate and the empowerment of the Employment Promotion Committee for the Disabled, by giving it the right to investigate and correct examples of discriminating.

The Swedish example suggests how important organisations of disabled persons can be in influencing labour market affairs.

5. Participation

The participation of disabled people in the policy determination procedure is essential to establish the tradition of a client-oriented welfare service. Traditionally, Korean citizens have been excluded from the process because the government has taken the initiative in almost all areas. It is not surprising then, that disabled people too have always been outside the process of making the very policies which intimately effect them. As a result, they have not acquired the experience necessary to participate effectively in the process, and their absence from policy discussion is a major reason.

To develop a strong voice in the development of welfare provisions for them, disabled people have to cooperate with each other to reach objectives beyond the interests of specific kinds of disabilities, and avoid conflicts among the different groups with the same disability. It means that disabled people have to achieve their own integration before they can make

effective demands of government or employers. However, Korean disabled people do not have a single umbrella organisation which can represent them with a effective voice. For example, there are 4 organisations for the physically disabled and 3 for people with learning disability which struggle with each other for hegemony. Although their objectives are similar, namely carrying out programmes designed to help the disabled, they suffer from sectional interests when they try to increase the proportion of the budget they get from the government, and they make no attempt to research the real needs of the members of their association. This situation explains the short life of such embryonic umbrella organisations which have been set up from time to time. An example is the Federation of Associations for the Disabled which was established to encourage the effective participation of the disabled in the disabled people's day ceremony in 1988. The federation has 20 member associations for disabled people ; however, they have met only once or twice a year, and then mainly for ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, DPI Korea has no status in Korea as an umbrella organisation. It is run as an association for people with physical disabilities because it fails to attract the interest of other kinds of disabled people. In 1966, a new federation was established by a group of leaders of disabled people who find that existing federations do not meet their needs and want to establish their own umbrella organisation. However, their objectives are unclear and some associations of disabled people are reluctant to join them.

Dr. H.M. Kim, chair person of the Federation of Associations for the Disabled, said :

'We need one strong umbrella organisation to put our point of view in the policy formation process. Each association has to sacrifice their own small sectional interests for gaining the wider objectives of all disabled people. It is pity that every association is concerned with their own interests and that if a federation requires some sacrifice the associations usually leave the federation and organise another federation. It is a vicious circle'.

Another problem is that there is no established way for the disabled to participate in policymaking procedure even if they succeeded in organising their own representative

organisation; not only for the expansion of the employment of the disabled, but also for keeping current employment secure. Representatives of disabled people are needed to advocate in some way for job security. However, there is no way for the disabled to argue for their rights in employment from a position of equality with employers.

The Swedish example shows the extent to which influential organisations of disabled persons can have an impact on labour market affairs. Swedish organisations of disabled persons play their part as equal partners with employers in making decisions regarding hiring and firing. Even the SAMHALL has advisory committees at central and regional level with representatives of organisations of disabled persons (N. Lunt et al., 1993, pp.100-111).

If it is impossible to change the current role of the Employment Promotion Committee for Disabled People, which operates at policy level, Korea has to establish a regional level of the so-called 'Labour Affairs Committee' which should be in charge of solving the problem of discrimination against disabled people in employment. The committee could consist of delegations from the government, employers, organisations of disabled people and professionals concerned.

Conclusion

Shortcomings of the current system

During the past three decades, 'welfare policy' has been regarded as an accessory of economic growth which was necessary for the succeeding military regimes to gain political legitimacy in south Korea. As a consequence, welfare has developed as a patchwork of provision dependent on patronage without any frame-work or underpinning principle.

The current employment system for disabled people is no exception. Even though the system was born like a 'green sprout in the sterile soil of welfare' in 1990 under the Law for Employment Promotion of the Disabled, it failed to meet the widely differing needs of disabled people. According to official statistics, employers who are obliged to employ disabled people at the rate of more than 2 per cent of their employees, in general met only 22 per cent of their obligation in 1995(Labour Ministry 1995, p. 5). Excluding those with cerebral palsy the majority of physically disabled people who are employed (60 per cent) are only slightly disabled.

Korea's current quota scheme works only in the narrow area of people with slight physical disabilities who would be likely to find employment even without the scheme. Other kinds of disabled people, especially those with cerebral palsy and the hearing impaired, have felt a greater sense of exclusion and rejection since the scheme started.

What about the system of reserved-occupation? On the surface, the reserved-system seems to provide visually impaired people with considerable job opportunities and guarantee at least some kind of stable income for them. Moreover, Japanese people with visual impairment are jealous of the system because they have to compete with able-bodied masseurs or masseuses in Japan. In reality, while the system prohibits the entry of able-bodied people it absolutely fails to offer any ordinary sense of job opportunities to visually impaired people. One problem is that, even though massage is reserved only for the visually

impaired, their employment rate is less than 10 per cent of visually impaired people in general. More than 90 per cent of people with visual impairment are excluded or rejected from labour market, feeling themselves to be the modern counterparts of Simchung's Father who was continually ridiculed.

Furthermore, the nature of this particular reserved occupation creates problems concerned with the human rights of masseuses employed in the massage parlours. They are constantly exposed to the danger of sexual harassment because massage occurs in private rooms and almost all of the customers are men who are in favour of masseuses rather than masseurs. However, masseuses can rarely complain even though they are sexually abused or assaulted by the customers because their employers are usually afraid of loss of income and because of the constraints on job opportunities, they are unable to transfer to alternative work. The extraordinary phenomenon of a female's income being double that of a male occurs only at the cost of masseuses' human rights.

Needs and responsiveness

As described above, the two major schemes of the current Korean system, namely, the quota system and that of reserved-occupation, are not working because of the reluctance of employers to comply with the Law 1990. Instead, the current system plays a divisive role among disabled people rather than contributing to their integration either into their own communities or mainstream society through labour market. Why is this so, and what can be done about it?

Much of the evidence from the interviews shows that there are crucial problems within the current system. Let us summarise these problems and consider what policies can be developed to overcome them, and on what principles these should be based.

First, the current system was initiated without any consideration of other preexisting programmes which were necessarily concerned with employment. One of the most important problems which was not taken into consideration was that of accessibility. Many disabled people give up their jobs even though they like the work because of difficulties in commuting.

There is little public transportation which is usable by disabled people. Yet no financial support programme to help them maintain their own cars has been established.

Disabled people want the government to ensure that they can travel by public transport or their own cars and gain access to those buildings which play a role in their day-to-day lives. Essentially, they seek comprehensive services based on the principle of universalism to guarantee a satisfactory minimum level of daily life. A range of disability allowances and subsidies would be necessary components of these universal services. Moreover, they are critical of the way in which programmes designed for them operate as discrete entities without reference to other related services. Education, transportation, access, medical rehabilitation and employment issues are managed in an uncoordinated fashion by different government departments. At the very least, these services need to be coordinated by a committee at higher level to improve the functioning of the employment measures.

Second, the current system is irrational in that it assumes that the term "the disabled" refers to homogeneous group. As a result, there has been almost no attempt to devise differentiated strategies to meet the different needs of different categories of disabled people. The needs expressed by most interviewees varied according to the type and severity of their disabilities, their gender and their employment status. In contrast, the current system operates according to a vague concept of disability which ignores crucial details of difference such as these. This failure to individualise its programmes leads the current system to be considered to be remote from the real needs of the disabled, who feel that the system is operating in the interest of the Labour Ministry or the KEPAD rather than their own welfare. Most disabled people are dissatisfied with the attitudes of counselors or officers of the Labour Ministry and the KEPAD, and have considerable doubts about their expertise.

In relation to this individualisation issue, two questions need to be raised. One arises from the so-called 'social model' argued by M. Oliver (M. Oliver, 1983, 1996). The social model argues that individualised welfare programmes cannot solve the problems of the disabled but help them to be more dependent. In this model there is little room for reforming

social initiatives. The only real solution, for the adherents of the social model, is to change society to fit the disabled.

The social model, however, has encountered considerable criticism. As S. Peters argues, a positive personal identity is a precondition for political identity (S. Peters, 1996, p.215), the social model omits to take account of the value of individual effort in reaching a personal goal. Moreover, it fails to explain how vision might be turned into practice except by means of political conflict or direct action against the oppression. However, although political activity is important it is not sufficient in itself without a detailed programme of the types of policies which will be necessary. How can the required result be produced without the development of social policy and administration?

The other question is raised by the proponents of the 'Normalisation' principle as argued by Wolfensberger (Wolfensberger, 1972). Their position is that all long-stay institutions should be abolished and the residents / patients should be integrated into the mainstream society. This 'deinstitutionalisation' has already come to dominate policy discussion in Korea.

Yet surely this is to ignore the realities of Korean society. All kinds of institutions for the disabled are too scarce to accommodate the long queues of applicants on the waiting lists. Less than 1 per cent of the total disabled population can obtain a place in a long-stay institution. Moreover, the facilities and resources of these institutions are so poor that it is common for one nurse to be responsible for 10 people with severe learning disabilities, often without other support staff.

Another major problem is that there are almost no community-based services established for the disabled. Only a residual benefit system, no transportation, few social workers and voluntary organisation are available for the disabled in their towns. Moreover, family structure is changing rapidly, and the three generations are now less likely to live under one roof as the nuclear family becomes increasingly common. Recently, women have been increasingly entering the labour market (Esping-Andersen, 1996, p.24). This trend makes it more and more difficult for the family to look after its disabled members. In this

situation, who can take care of disabled people if they are to be 'decarcerated' from their residential accommodation into mainstream society?

Much of the evidence from the interviews argues against deinstitutionalisation and normalisation. Almost all severely disabled people want the sort of sheltered workshops which are designed with their disabilities in mind. Most of them say that they feel very comfortable when they work and live with their disabled friends, especially, those with the same disabilities. Even the employed people with slight physical disabilities want to work together with their similarly disabled peers.

As far as the matter of who provides welfare services is concerned, Korea's disabled people tend to prefer the government or government-run agencies to private agencies because they remember that in the recent past many corrupt owners of private agencies funded by voluntary foreign aid ran those agencies in their own interests rather than those of disabled people. As a consequence, parents with children with learning disabilities regard the government-run institutions, for example, group-homes, as the only possible last resort for their children.

However, considering the variety of mixed modes of finance and provision of welfare, what is needed is the development of a variety of services in cash and kind (see Glennester, H., 1992, pp. 3-45). In particular, if a general assistance scheme were to be developed, disabled people would want to be able to buy different services to suit their varying needs.

However, can the Korean government afford these services ? Even though this study does not follow the arguments of supporters of convergence theory, it is possible to consider the issue in comparative economic terms. If we compare Britain in 1970 at the point at which that country had a fully fledged welfare service including services for the disabled with Korea in 1996 in per capita GDP terms, it is clear that Korea is substantially richer than Britain was at that time (Britain's GDP per head in 1970 was 3, 912 pounds at 1990 price) (Economic Trends, 1996/97, p. 35). What matters seems to be will rather than budget.

In short, to take the real needs of the disabled into account, Korea needs to establish a variety of programmes including sheltered workshops, supported employment and financial support for the people who want self-employment, instead of pursuing the mirage of

deinstitutionalisation. Existing institutions, also, need to be refurbished in terms of their staff, programmes and physical surroundings. In a sense, the normalisation principle provides the government with a good excuse to avoid making any attempt to improve the current situation. In this respect, the normalisation principle is at odds with the tradition of strong government intervention in Korea.

As a matter of fact, sheltered workshops play a broader role than providing physically segregated workplaces for disabled people. There is, also, as described in the cases of Remploi in Britain and SAMHALL in Sweden, the function of providing a bridge for transferring disabled workers to the open labour market. They can integrate themselves into their own society first in institutions where they may enjoy their own culture. It depends entirely on them whether they want to then transfer to another parallel society with another culture through participation in the open labour market (S. Sainsbury, 1986, 1990).

Third, almost all of the disabled people interviewed thought that the current quota rate and levy money are pitched too low to force employers to employ more disabled people. According to some employers, if the quota rate were to rise to the European level (around 6 per cent) most employers would employ disabled people above the current quota level (2 per cent), because Korea's conglomerates have been accustomed to saving their faces with regard to the government which has been a major contributor to their growth. This aspect of the relationship between the government and large companies provides the opportunity to raise the quota rate in Korea if more positive policies, namely, financial subsidy or tax exemption, for the employers who employ relatively more disabled people are developed at the same time.

Lastly, the current system fails to leave room for disabled people to participate in policy-making except through the formal 'Employment Promotion Committee for the Disabled People' in the Labour Ministry. The Committee dose not seem to play any role in absorbing disabled people's opinion into the process of policy-making, because the Labour Minister appoints its members.

Recently, disabled people have been increasingly demanding that the Labour Ministry should appoint some of their number to represent them as members of the Committee.

However, they have failed to organise their own umbrella organisation from which to promote representation.

Frame work for an emerging welfare state?

The above findings based on the special needs of different categories of disabled people indicate the requirement for firmer and more comprehensive government intervention to meet their needs. Universalism, comprehensiveness, strong government intervention and strong enforcement which disabled people want the current system to employ constitute the principles of Democratic Socialism. In other words, the major principle of Democratic Socialism, namely, universalism based on strong government initiative can provide a frame work for policy development which would satisfy disabled people.

Before exploring the special needs of disabled people, this study addressed the question of the suitability of Democratic Socialism's application to the Korean socio-political situation. In this process, the applicability of Democratic Socialism to Korean situation was addressed in terms of economic growth, state intervention, the role of the middle class, the ratchet effect of welfare expenditure and public expenditure which are regarded as the main economic and socio-political elements of Democratic Socialism.

Korea's economic growth has been achieved through strong government market manipulation. The government has controlled the entry and exit of industry according to the 'National Economic Development Plan' or concentrated all national efforts on particular industries. Even though the market principle has been distorted by the government, the Korean economy has continually grown by an average of 6 per cent for three decades and still shows very good prospects. In Korea, per capita GNP amounted to \$ 10,000 in 1996 (Bank of Korea, 1996). However, Korea's economic growth has only been made possible by another kind of strong government intervention, namely, that of the 'welfare-absence strategy'.

As far as the middle class is concerned, the "6.29 declaration", which seeks to replace the electoral college with direct presidential elections, thus replacing a form of oligarchy with democracy, has had the effect of encouraging citizens of Korea to become politically mature.

Recently, the labour movement has also become stabilised. Trade unions are changing their strategies from the anti-government conflict of the past to fighting to raise the personal value of union members. It has to be understood that there are two types of unions in Korea : those which are formally recognised, of which blue collar workers are the predominant members, and which work in partnership with government (*Hangug Nochong*) ; in addition, there are a growing number of unofficial unions which are recruiting among the white collar middle class workers (*Minju Nochong*). It is the latter which have achieved growing importance recently. In this connection, the growth of the Korean middle class is of significance. To judge from a recent study which says that over 80 per cent of citizens in City of Bucheon believe themselves to be middle class (The Catholic University of Korea, 1992) , Korean people seem to 'support equalising social policies and programmes' (D. Donnison, 1982, p.20).

Due to the unequal response of state intervention as between the economic and social welfare spheres, the Korean government has maintained a relatively very low level of welfare expenditure. Government expenditure (in defense, education, social security, health care) itself is very low compared with its neighbours, Japan and Taiwan, and it was lower than that of the lowest level for OECD countries in 1994. However, recently there are increasing demands for the expansion of welfare expenditure in Korea. In reality, on a number of occasions, governmental attempts to cut the welfare budget have failed because of strong resistance from the recipient or citizens. Now, it seems unlikely that the government can think realistically in terms of reducing welfare expenditure. Instead, President Kim who emphasised the value of thrift and small government immediately after coming into power in 1993, renamed the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs as the Ministry of Health and Welfare to focus more on welfare than before in 1994. The ratchet effect of welfare expenditure seems set to continue.

Finally, there has been a trade-off between public participation in political life and strong state intervention in Korea. The government has speeded up planned economic growth by suppressing public debate about public policies in the name of efficiency. This is why Korean people are not yet familiar with the 'discussion-culture'. In this respect, Plant's

new trend of a 'consumer-oriented society' is not fully satisfied in the case of Korea.

However, since the '6.29 declaration' in 1987 the climate has been changing. Many civilian pressure-groups have been organised to actively advocate the interests of the disadvantaged in various way. It is even the case that both sides of industry have started to sit around the negotiation table in the name of the 'cooperation committee' in which both sides are involved in drawing up general guidelines about wage increases. Disabled people are, also, increasingly becoming knowledgeable about their political situation and are broadening their role from that of passive recipients to advocates of their welfare rights and watchdogs with regard to policy implementation.

By and large, this evidence suggests the high applicability of Democratic Socialism to the Korean situation because its key elements reflect Korea's socio-political characteristics, and its major principles are applicable to Korea's social policy needs, especially in relation to the employment policy for disabled people. Even though, in terms of the tradition of public participation, it looks a little early for Korea to adopt Plant's new mood of Democratic Socialism, recent changes occurring in the general society and in the disability communities suggest it may be a real prospect.

However, this is not to say that the western countries which have a long tradition of Democratic Socialism are the same as Korea. Even among the countries within the social democratic tradition, the form which it has taken in each country varies according to the relationship between the government and both sides of industry : Middlemas argues that these three groups could share the state's power if trade unions and employer associations were brought into a close relationship as was the case in Britain in the period 1916 to 1926 (K. Middlemas, 1979, p.372), while Schmitter analyses corporatism as a system of interest representation (P. Schmitter, 1974, pp.93-94).

Moreover, history suggests that the same ideology may give birth to different kinds of economic and political systems. How can we argue that British democracy and capitalism are the same as those of Korea ? As Titmuss argues, the development of social policy cannot be understood apart from the particular culture and society in which it takes place (P.

Wilding, 1995, p. 150). Korea needs to be understood in such a way that the possibility is recognised that it can create its own social democracy in ways which differ from that of western countries, but according to the same principles.

A commentator like Kwon argues that Korea belongs to the model of conservative welfare regimes rather than that of the social democratic welfare or the liberal welfare state. The main reasons for his argument are as follows : Korea's main emphasis is on maintaining rather than transforming the prevailing order and the initiative comes from those who have power rather than those who do not (H. J. Kwon, 1995, P. 219). This argument is persuasive in part in explaining the past military regimes, however, it misses the recent changes occurring in the development of the consciousness of the middle class and trade unions as described above on the one hand and Korea's political future on the other.

In fact, any social policy which fails to envisage the reunification of the Korean peninsula cannot be attractive because it is fundamental to the future of every aspect of life for every one in the country including the disabled. Furthermore, the reunification issue no longer seems to be avoidable if the recent Korean situation, in which North Korea's economy is threatening to collapse, is taken into account.

South Korea has adopted capitalism under the initiative of strong interventionist governments while its northern counterpart has been dominated by Kim's harsh dogmatic regime under a distorted form of communism since 1945. At the moment, there are unbridgable gaps between the two halves of Korea in terms of culture, socio-economy and politics, except that both are accustomed to strong government initiatives. The South Korean people are unlikely to accept the principles of the singular form of Marxist regime in North Korea, rather they are frightened by that regime, while the North is absolutely estranged from the market principle to which the South has been accustomed.

In this situation, a future reunited Korea could adopt Democratic Socialism as a middle way between the two extremes . In this process, German unification can provide a lesson to Korea. Even though the cultural and political gap between East and West Germany was not as large as that between the two sides of Korea, and Germany has the traditional corporatistic welfare system called 'social state' (*Sozialstaat*), the new Germany still has

considerable problems in the process of applying the West German system to the eastern areas. There has also been an intensification of conflict between economic and social policy, and relations between the social partners are tense (M.G. Schmidt, 1992, pp. 1-15). There is a more pessimistic view argued by Ganssmann who says 'the institutions of the old west German welfare state are not sufficient to manage the transformation of East Germany' (H. Ganssmann, 1993, p. 80). Harbermas summarised the German situation as one in which 'because of diswelfare, feelings of resentment are spreading in the East' (Harbermas, J. 1996, pp. 12-13).

These problems facing the German welfare system have implications for Korea because South Korea seems to play a similar role to that of West Germany in terms of economic and social policy. If so, South Korea needs, at least, to establish universal welfare programmes comprehensively to mitigate the shock to the North in transition to capitalism as a first step towards the unification.

Who knows but that the principles of Democratic Socialism may be the niche for social policy from which Korea can outdo the level of economic development which it has achieved during the past three decades. Is politics not the art of the possible?

Appendix List of Elite Interviewees

Korea

Name	Status / Occupation	Date
Mr. Bark, J.H.	Counselor for Disabled People's Working Life	July. 1995
Ms. Cha, MiGyung	General Manager / Democratic Justice Party	April. 1995
Ms. Gang BuJa	National Assemblywoman (MP)	July. 1995
Mr. Gu, CheonSeo	National Assemblyman (MP)	July. 1995
Dr. Hwang, Yeonda	Member of Presidential Committee for Welfare	Jan. 1995
Ms. Im, M. H.	Senior Counselor / KEPAD	Jan. 1995
Mr. Im, Musong	Deputy-Director / Labour Ministry	May. 1995
Mr. Jang, GiCheol	President / Korea Association of People with Physical Disability	April. 1995
Mr. Jeong, Hoyeon	Owner / Giwon Electronics (Ltd.)	Sept. 1995
Mr. Jeong, J.G.	Professor / Seoul National University	July. 1995
Mr. Jeong, IlYoung	Leader / Finance Trade Union	Sept. 1995
Mr. Jin, G. D.	President / Korea Association of Counselors of Disabled People's Working Life	Jan. 1995
Mr. Ji, YoungGwan	President / Korea Association of Blind People	July. 1995
Mr. Jo, J. L.	Senior Counselor / KEPAD	April. 1995
Dr. Kim, HagMook	President / Korea Association for People with Cerebral Palsy	July. 1995
Dr. Kim, YungIl	Professor / Korea Catholic University	Sept. 1995
Mr. Lee, B. S.	General Manager /Korea Employers' Federatio	July. 1995
Mr. Lee, ChaePhil	Deputy-Director / Labour Ministry	Jan. 1995

Mr. Lee, J. S.	Director / Korea Association of the Deaf and Dumb	April. 1995
Mr. Lee, SeongHo	Minister / Health and Welfare	July. 1995
Mr. Oh, M. W.	General Manager / Korea Association for People with Cerebral Palsy	July. 1996
Mr. Song, InChang	Deputy-Director / Ministry of Finance & Economy	April. 1995
Ms. Son, J. H.	Vocational Counselor / KEPAD	Jan. 1996
Mr. Yu, Kiseong	General Manager / Democratic Republic Party	Jan. 1995

Europe

Mr. F.	Personnel Director / Remploy	Jun. 1996
Ms. R	Researcher on Disability Issues	Jun. 1996
Mr. T.	Director / Action for Blind People	Feb. 1996
Dr. C.	Manager / Disability Law Service	Feb. 1996
Mr. H.	General Manager / SRH in Germany	Jun. 1996
Ms. S.	Manager / RNIB	Feb. 1996
Ms. R.	President / DPI in Britain	Dec. 1995
Mr. P.	General Manager / Action for Blind, Salisbury	Oct. 1996
Mr. B.	Director / RADAR	Dec. 1995
Mr. M.	General Manager / Blindcraft, Edinburgh	Oct. 1996
Mr. PA.	Manager / Scotland PACT	Oct. 1996
Dr. W.	Director / SRH in Germany	Jun. 1996
Mr. A.	Lecturer / Gansai University in Japan	Sept. 1996
Mr. TA.	Factory Manager / Remploy	Oct. 1996
Mr. TN	Chief Executive / Remploy	Oct. 1996
Mr. PY	Managing Director / Otto Bock in UK	Sept. 1996

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