How to transfer knowledge to reunifying Korea?

(DRAFT – NOT FOR CITATION)

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Contents

1. Introduction

Even if the prospects for a Korean unification might look utterly bleak and unfeasible in the moment, "reunification" (*t'ongil*) remains a most central concept in the political discourses of both Korean states. It is the declared wish and aim of both Korean states according to their constitutions [1] and history has repeatedly provided surprises and sudden changes of the situation. Thus, apart from “seeking” or “striving” for reunification, as the South and the North Korean constitutions put it, preparing for it poses a national task, too. Instead of searching a path on its own, real-world examples of reunifications might bring good ideas. Although reunifications and divisions of states happened several times within the last decades, the German case was by far the most discussed one: This is mostly due to the similarity to the Korean case. Both cases deal with highly industrialized countries with a high level of bureaucratic organization, and moreover, both cases are pairings of a socialist state and a capitalist state. Thus, the German reunification rekindled the wish for a peaceful reunification in 1990, although soon its negative "aftereffects" (*t'ongil-ui huyujŭng*) began to dominate the discussions in Korea. Yet, unrelated from the public discourses the German case was always seen as real-world experiment (*silhŏm*) from a scholarly perspective, whose findings would provide lessons - or de facto for most of the time – cautionary examples (Han 2009: 9, Lee 2013, Lee 2007: 10ff., Kim 1992: 210f., Kim 2013: 157f.). And although since 1992 a mostly negative image about the German reunification was dominant in Korea, even a “cautionary example” can offer a good base for drawing lessons (Rose 1991: 4). So on the one hand there is a great interest in Korea for knowledge – just the debates often remain quite general, not issue-specific and often quite biased by the political intentions (Han 2009: 2ff.).

This paper aims to cope with this shortcoming, and its goal is to device a methodological framework to translate knowledge from Germany. It does not aim to transfer policies one to one, but rather to highlight indications of problems that arise in transformation processes and have been evaluated in long-term, empirical research about Germany and Eastern Europe. as a first step. In other words, indications of problems shall be tested for their transferability to Korea. The actual transfer would be the second step, but instead of a simple transfer a *translation* in its broader sense is necessary and it requires a specific methodology. These two steps shall be presented in the next section.

2. What is to be translated? – Positioning this research

For the first step, we can luckily draw already on an extremely ample pool of research about transformation processes in Germany and in Eastern Europe. There is a plenty of research about the transformation after the reunification to be found, as well as numerous analyses based on quantitative data. For example, the annual report of the Federal Government offers

[1] The Constitution of the Republic of Korea (1987): Preamble and Chapter I, Art. 4.
Constitution of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (2012): Preamble and Chapter I, Art. 9.

exhaustive collections of data for a wide range of topics, from labor market, science, health until energy (Bundesministerium des Inneren 2013).

One especially extensive research project is the CRC 580 (*Collaborative research centre 580, Social developments after structural change. Discontinuity, Tradition, Structure building*", funded by the DFG/ German Research Foundation between 2001 and 2012). It offers a wide variety of research material about transformation processes from different disciplines. It applied a challenge-response model where historical changes are explained with the decisions of actors dealing with challenges, rather than with larger teleological laws. This tool helped to explain cyclical, stagnant, reverse or multilinear developments which often appear in transformation processes. It proved useful for the research dealing with sociological and economical questions, but also for those dealing with psychological questions (Best 2004: 10ff.). Furthermore, this knowledge does not exclusively deal with the German reunification: The findings have been tested, compared or co-analyses with cases from Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Italy (because of the disparate development of Southern Italy, the Mezzogiorno), as well as other European countries (cf. Best 2004: 20ff.).

Now the target of this research is to make this cornucopia of knowledge useful for a possibly reunifying Korea. Or as written before, the second step is to "translate" it. How this knowledge about transformation processes in Eastern Germany and in Eastern Europe can be translated to Korea and what role this knowledge could take in order to prepare a possible reunification? One the one hand this makes it fit squarely into the general research field of "*Circulation of knowledge and the dynamics of transformation*". On the other hand, while the other contributors in this volume were mostly able to look on it from a historical perspective and know already the results of this transfer, we are in a seemingly disadvantageous position: The "circulation of knowledge and the dynamics of transformation" have not come to pass yet. Thus, we cannot analyze how knowledge has been altered and modified when it was transferred to a different location. Rather, our task implies a major change of roles for us as scientists, as we actively have to induce a process of "circulation of knowledge" and prepare the "dynamics of transformation". This requires a thorough methodology designed for this specific task and a sound choice of knowledge to be translated. This shall be explained in the next section.

3. How to transfer knowledge, policies? The methodology

The task to translate this kind of knowledge to Korea goes far beyond a mere, literal translation, because this knowledge is drawn from policy decisions and it is meant to be used for policy decision in future (Lendvai and Stubbs 2007: 4ff., Lee 2014: 40). Basically, we can draw on two strands of theoretic literature: There is a rich body of literature about translation theories, which was originally a purely linguist discourse, as well as a far thinner body of literature about policy transfer. Lendvai and Stubbs (2007: 13ff.) use a similar distinction between "mainstream policy transfer literature" and "sociology of translation approach", where the latter one can ultimately be seen as an extension of the linguist translation theory strand (Freeman 2009: 439). In the following both strands shall be quickly described with a focus on their shortcomings, why they cannot be applied directly for our research project.

3.1 From theories of translation to sociology of translation

The fundamental problem around which translation theories evolved appears to be the problem of translatability (*Übersetzbarkeit*) (cf. Freeman 2009: 433). Already Wilhelm von Humboldt (1816: XVf.) already formulated this problem like this:

> "Man hat schon öfter bemerkt, und die Untersuchung sowohl, als die Erfahrung bestätigen es, daß, so wie man von den Ausdrücken absieht, die bloß körperliche Gegenstände bezeichnen, kein Wort einer Sprache vollkommen einem in einer andren gleich ist. Verschiedene Sprachen sind in dieser Hinsicht nur ebensoviel Synonymieen, jede drückt den Begriff etwas andres, mit dieser oder jener Nebenbestimmung, eine Stufe höher oder tiefer auf der Leiter der Empfindungen aus."[2]

This problem of *words* conveying a different meaning in different languages and different setting remains the basic conflict of this strand of literature from Humboldt and Schleiermacher until today. In the 1920es the term "cultural translation" was coined by Walter Benjamin dealing with exactly the same problem of translatability (*Übersetzbarkeit*), as translated words would veil their content in a "royal garment in wide folds", not as tight as an "eggshell" (Benjamin 1923: 15)[3]. He defined the task of the translator in a different way: He has to find the *intention* (idea) of the original text and transfer it actively into the setting of

[2] Translation by Sharon Sloan from Schulte, Rainer and Biguenet, John (ed.). 1992. Theories of Translation. An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida, Chicago: University Press, p. 55.
"It has repeatedly been observed and verified by both experience and research that no word in one language is completely equivalent to a word in another, if one disregards those expressions that designate purely physical objects. In this respect, languages are synonymic; each language expresses a concept somewhat differently, placing the nuance in each instance one step higher or lower on the ladder of perceptions."

[3] „so umgibt die Sprache der Übersetzung ihren Gehalt wie ein Königsmantel in weiten Falten" (Benjamin 1923: 15)

the target language (Benjamin 1923: 16). He uses the term "*Sinnwiedergabe*" (rendering the meaning/ intention) (Benjamin 1923: 17). This implies a thorough understanding of the culture, the historical situation, the way of talking (the discourses) of the target country. Indeed, this strand of theory is very helpful in equipping us with cultural sensitivity and with the notion of a necessary intentionality of a translation, as this is also necessary for a policy transfer (Lee 2014: 28ff.).

A few years before Benjamin published his ideas of a translation, Ferdinand de Saussure elaborated the traditional problem of *words* denoting the same thing with a different nuance to a much more scientific model. In the well-known sign model of Saussure a sign (not just "word" anymore) was cut into the abstract concept (signified) and its sound-image (signifier), whose relationship was merely arbitrary (Lee 2014: 39), and according to Derrida later even floating, instable and uncertain. This made the translator's task even more difficult, as he has to re-connect signified and signifier in a creative way. This is also neatly described by Freeman (2009: 439f.). Freeman is one of the representatives of this rather new field of "sociology of translation", where the now floating, signifier-signified relationship is re-applied to the world of policies. His approach is supported Lendvai and Stubbs (2007: 28):

"By reconsidering our understanding of the policy transfer process from the point of view of translation we would argue instead that the policy transfer process should be seen as one of continuous transformation, negotiation, and enactment on the one hand and as a politically infused process of dislocation and displacement ('unfit to fit'), on the other hand. Emphasizing processes of formation, transformation and contestation implies that policy transfer is never an automatic or unproblematic, taken-for-granted, process. Rather, it suggests the need to pay attention to the ways in which policies and their schemes, content, technologies and instruments are constantly changing according to sites, meanings and agencies."

It is indeed useful to take in account the fluidity of policies in their constructive understanding according to the situations where they are actually implemented (be they transferred or not). Yet, at this time this framework is still too vague and too detached from the practical needs of a translation team like us, requested to "translate" a certain body of knowledge to Korea.

3.2 Theories of policy transfer

For this reason, a view on the political science literature on policy transfer as a second strand of theory literature is very useful. Although policy transfer has been done since ever and some cases like Japan in the Meiji era have been researched extensively (e. g. Westney 1987), literature dealing with this field in general or from a more theoretical perspective is rather sparse. Similar to Westney (1987), Rose (1991: 7f.) emphasized the creative element of policy transfer, here called "*lesson-drawing*":

"Because a lesson derives from the experience of another government, it is not an innovation per se. An innovation is a completely novel programme. A lesson is seen as a short cut, utilizing available experience elsewhere to devise a programme that it new to the agency adopting it and attractive because of evidence that is has been effective elsewhere. In the process of attempted imitation, greater or lesser innovations can occur, through selectivity in emulation, or unintentionally."

Furthermore, he devices a scheme to follow in order to induce policy transfer. As a precondition for any search for knowledge abroad he defines dissatisfaction: Only if decision-makers cannot longer use a routine program, they will start to look for new solutions (Rose 1991: 10ff.). Indeed, this fits to the challenge-response-model the knowledge base CRC 580 used. In the framework "*recursion to available, external problem-solving modi*"[4] is one the possible response patters to challenges, which only comes to pass when a certain level of pressure is existent (Holtmann 2012: 5). When this precondition of dissatisfaction is reached, policy transfer can be undertaken according to the following scheme: (1) "*Scanning programmes elsewhere*", (2) "*Produce a conceptual model of the programme*" – In this step a rather general model of the source program shall be done. (3) "*Compare models of foreign practice with a model of the programme causing dissatisfaction at home*".

After this preliminary research is done, his scheme continues with (4) "*Creating a new programme*", which has to undergo a (5) "*prospective evaluation across time and space*" as a reality-chek. For the creation of a new program, he defines five types of "translation", as we would put it in our case", which need a different level of creativity: (a) Copying, (b) Emulation, (c) Hybridization, (d) Synthesis and (e) Inspiration (Rose 1991: 19-24)

This model is feasible, but it fails to explain in which case which level of creativity, of imagination has to be used, and also if the setting (culture) matters. A similar problem occurs in the other framework of policy that has been devised by David Dolowitz and David Marsh (1996, 2000). The following chart summarizes their approach:

[4] „Rekurs auf verfügbare externe Lösungsmodi", aus Holtmann 2012: 5.

Chart 1 (Source: Dolowitz and Marsh 2000: 9)

TABLE 1
A Policy Transfer Framework

Why Transfer? Continuum Want To..		. . . . Have To	Who Is Involved in Transfer?	What Is Transferred?	From Where			Degrees of Transfer	Constraints on Transfer	How To Demonstrate Policy Transfer	How Transfer leads to Policy Failure
Voluntary	Mixtures	Coercive			Past	Within-a Nation	Cross-National				
Lesson Drawing (Perfect Rationality)	Lesson Drawing (Bounded Rationality)	Direct Imposition	Elected Officials	Policies (Goals) (content) (instruments)	Internal	State Governments	International Organizations	Copying	Policy Complexity (Newspaper) (Magazine) (TV) (Radio)	Media	Uniformed Transfer
	International Pressures		Bureaucrats Civil Servants	Programs	Global	City Governments	Regional State Local Governments	Emulation	Past Policies	Reports	Incomplete Transfer
	(Image) (Consensus) (Perceptions)									(Commissioned) (uncommissioned)	
	Externalities	Pressure Groups	Institutions			Local Authorities		Mixtures	Structural Institutional	Conferences	Inappropriate Transfer
	Conditionality	Political Parties	Ideologies					Inspiration	Feasibility	Meetings/ Visits	
	(Loans) (Conditions Attached to Business Activity)								(Ideology) (cultural proximity) (technology) (economic) (bureaucratic)		
	Obligations	Policy Entrepreneurs/ Experts	Attitudes/ Cultural Values						Language	Statements (written) (verbal)	
			Consultants Think Tanks Transnational Corporations Supranational Institutions	Negative Lessons			Past Relations				

This framework adds easy-to-track questions to any instance of policy transfer. Especially the neat distinction between different levels of exchange is valuable, but as Lendvai and Stubbs (2007: 11ff.) point out, it is "linear, simplistic, and, ultimately, normative.". On the one hand the questions it poses are very important for a task like knowledge transfer to Korea, but – like Rose's approach – it lacks the notion of translation. It acknowledges that the transfer process is by no means a road to success, but it does not tell how failure can be avoided: Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 17) state the following three mistakes that decide about failure or success:

"In particular, our research suggests that at least three factors have a significant effect on policy failure. First, the borrowing country may have insufficient information about the policy/institution and how it operates in the country from which it is transferred: a process we call uninformed transfer. Second, although transfer has occurred, crucial elements of what made the policy or institutional structure a success in the originating country may not be transferred, leading to failure: we call this incomplete transfer. Third, insufficient attention may be paid to the differences between the economic, social, political and ideological contexts in the transferring and the borrowing country: we call this inappropriate transfer."

All these three factors leading to a possible "policy failure" (uninformed transfer, incomplete transfer and inappropriate transfer) hint to translation mistakes or, to put it differently, to transfer done without translation. Unfortunately no proper explanation is given on how to avoid them, how to do a "good" transfer.

Thus, the politic theory strand of literature equips us with a rather practical set of analysis, but it falls short of providing guidelines for a working intercultural translation. This problem can be solved by putting in the first strand of literature described: the linguistic translation discourse and its later offspring, the sociology of translation. Yet, this approach still lacks a concrete agenda for the policy translator.

3.3 Intercultural policy translation

In order to solve this dilemma, Lee (2014: 40ff.) has devised a scheme that attempts a synthesis of these strands. First, as already mentioned, policy is regarded as a social construct. Thus, internal process of policy-making can be compared with the process of translation, where a deciding actor takes the place of the translator. In both cases a new text/ decision is created within a frame of different, competing discursive coalitions. Based on this premise, Lee (2014: 40ff.) explains then the concept of intercultural policy transfer in the following way:

> "We have been able to observe several historical cases of intercultural policy transfer. This was possible because the translator had linked together the policy decision process under which the original language text was made and the policy decision process under which the target language text was made. However, the act of translation for policy transfers and other cultural translations are clearly different. The act of translation for policy transfers can be seen as a process consisting in four steps: problematization, selection, reduction, and mobilization."

These four steps of bear actually some resemblance with the frameworks presented by Rose (1991) and Dolowitz and Marsh (1994), but its aim is less devising actual concrete policies or "programs", as Rose puts it, but a methodologically coherent way of stating indications for policies to be devised by the actual Korean policy-makers.

The first step, **problematization**, is explained by Lee (2014: 42) as becoming conscious of the problem. This fits to Rose's (1991: 71) notion of dissatisfaction as a precondition for any way of problem-solving. In our case we deal mostly with future problems that are expected to arise after a possible reunification. On the one hand, the research about Germany and Eastern Europe enables us to predict a series of such problems that pose challenges after the breakdown of the former socialist system (Best 2004: 11). On the other hand, we are in the role of *translators*, so we have to assess if that problem will arise in a similar way after a possible Korean reunification or not, e. g. a major problem of unemployment is likely to arise in the Korean case too, but it might not pose as big a burden to the public budget out of various reasons, mostly because South Korea does not have a welfare system as extensive as the German one (Pfennig 2010: 5). We will have to double-check every single problem presented by CRC 580 like this.

The second step described by Lee (2014: 42) is **selection**, the search for applicable solutions, also in foreign countries. This goes hand in hand with the idea of "scanning programmes elsewhere", presented by Rose (1991: 19f.), and in our case. As already explained, in Korea there is a huge interest in "drawing lessons" from Germany (be they positive or negative) owed to the similarity of the German case to Korea. Also, the main focus of CRC 580 is Germany, so a natural bias to look for "German solutions" is unavoidable, but – the available research includes a lot of comparative studies with other European countries too, so the bias is mitigated to a certain extent.

The next step, **reduction**, is to extract the core of a foreign policy. This step also finds its equivalent in Rose (1991: 20), who recommends a "*conceptual model of a programme* ". The solution for the problem in the source country has to be extracted and translated into the target country. This step is the trickiest one to go for the translator, since two kinds of dangers are lurking on the way: The first one is already identified by Rose (1991: 20), the "mechanics" of the problem – he uses the term "programme" though – have to be extracted from its surroundings and this requires a very considerate selection and understanding of it. The second danger lies in the difficulty of creating a "fitting" translation itself that does not run counter with the Korean setting in our case.

The fourth step, described by Lee (2014: 42), is the **mobilization** of the translation, the ideas "*are then mobilized for discourse in the policy decision process in the target country*". The Korean translation for mobilization we applied in our research project is "*sisajŏm*" (示唆點). Thus, in this step the translation has to be positioned within the Korean discourses that influence the policy decision process in each issue.

4. The model in practice: Entrepreneurship and regional policy

After this rather extensive discussion on the methods of intercultural policy translation, we shall return to our actual task, which is to provide a translation of reunification-related issues. Although in Korea different models of a reunification are discussed, which can be roughly classified as "reunification by war", "reunification by collapse", "reunification by incitement" and "reunification by negotiation", the problems described therein are likely to happen in any case (Lee 2007: 16ff., Holtmann 2012: 6ff.). Thus – even if the model of reunification is unknown – the suggestions taken from the German case still can be used as a valuable preparation, as influential Korean scholars like Kim Hak-Sŏng pointed out too (Kim 2013: 157ff.).

As we are still in the initial stage of our research, we cannot present a full "intercultural policy translation" yet. We would rather present one case study combining some results from economic and sociological research, entrepreneurship and regions.

At stage the findings about it shall be combined with the first notions of transferability problems that might arise for the solutions, so paths for the future translation work shall be shown, but be not trodden yet. Also, since the "solution" for future problems is already given by the task to make the German research applicable for Korea, step one (problematization) and step two (selection) shall be connected to one section.

4.1 Results about entrepreneurship and regions in Germany

The case to be examined is entrepreneurship over the course of transition and regions. Here the main finding is summarized in the following way by Fritsch (2012: 240):

„Unsere Analysen zeigen, dass das Niveau unternehmerischer Selbständigkeit in den ostdeutschen Regionen z.T. sehr unterschiedlich ausfällt, wie dies auch in etablierten Marktwirtschaften der Fall ist. Dabei sind Überreste einer Kultur unternehmerischer Selbständigkeit, die in vielen ostdeutschen Regionen vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg bestanden hat, auch gegen Ende der DDR-Zeit noch deutlich erkennbar. Diese verbliebenen Reste an unternehmerischer Kultur hatten im Verlauf des Transformationsprozesses einen deutlichen positiven Effekt auf das regionale Gründungsgeschehen und das Niveau der unternehmerischen Selbständigkeit."[5]

This insight, the "persistence of entrepreneurial cultures" would lead the first trace to follow in order to assess the transferability of this signature to Korea to its regional differences and the level of entrepreneurship before the DPRK has been founded. A map of the regions with the most manifest resurgence of independent entrepreneurship, namely Saxony around Leipzig and Dresden and central Thuringia, is nearly identical with a map from 1925 (Fritsch e. a. 2013: 244). Fritsch e. a. (2013: 247) notices also, that the lowest levels of independent

[5] "Our analyses showed that the level of entrepreneurial independence is very different throughout the regions of Eastern Germany in the same way as in established market economies. The remnants of a culture of entrepreneurial independence, that existed in many regions of Eastern Germany before WWII, are still clearly visible. They had a distinct positive effect on regional company-founding activities and the level of entrepreneurial independence in the course of the transformation process" (translated by Anselm Huppenbauer)

entrepreneurship are observed in two rather different kinds of regions: low-density regions with traditions of large, agrarian estates and – rather counterintuitively – regions which are extensively shaped by socialist industry policy and dominated by heavy industry, as the regions around Hoyerswerda or Bitterfeld (or Wittenberge, as mentioned before). This, rather unexpected finding will bring have its implication to the Korean case too and it demands a sensible regional planning in case of a reunifaction.

The effects of shared regional experiences are also demonstrated by Bagus (2012a: 82f.), who compared two regions of the GDR located at the border to Western Germany, the Eichsfeld (with Leinefelde-Worbis as a regional center) in Thuringia and the Prignitz in Brandenburg, the region around Wittenberge. Although she was more focused on cultural developments and used the Oral History approach as a method, she noted that both regions performed very different after the reunification although similar: The Eichsfeld is able to retain a positive image until today and shows some remarkably positive economic indicators like a high percentage of people working in the manufacturing sector, while the Prignitz around Wittenberge has developed in a very negative way (Bagus 2012b: 275). She concluded (Bagus 2012a: 82ff.):

> "We made clear by the comparison of the cities of Leinefelde and Wittenberge, that specific regional paths of development have been shaped by structures and cultural patterns of long duration. These manifest themselves in the case of dealing with structural change, as well as in the case of coping with the aftereffects of transformation. A decisive factor appears to be the identification with a specific region or milieu. It continues to operate in the patterns of action and orientation of the following generation, as well as in the intergenerational dialogue."[6]

So regional experiences and traditions are not lost within 40 years of SED-rule, and can come to the surface again, when the political circumstances allow this. Bagus (2012a: 82f.) adds that a positive identification is necessary, though, as it influences processes like emigration or establishment of new businesses there. Stückrad (2012: 93ff.) confirms this and finds out that a negative identification with a region has a detrimental effect on civil engagement and participation in democratic processes. She came to this conclusion after she conducted field research in the region of Elbe-Elster, a region newly separated and generated without any history, only in order to improve administration processes.

[6] „Im Vergleich der Städte Leinefelde und Wittenberge wurde deutlich, dass die spezifischen regionalen Entwicklungspfade durch Strukturen und Kulturmuster langer Dauer geprägt sind, die sich sowohl im Umgang mit dem Strukturwandel als auch in den Bewältigungsstrategien mit den Transformationsfolgen zeigen. Ein entscheidender Faktor scheint einerseits die jeweilige Identifikation mit der Region und den Milieus zu sein, die sich auch noch in den Handlungs- und Orientierungsmustern der nachfolgenden Generation ebenso wie im intergenerativen Dialog niederschlägt."

Before we focus on Korea, we return to the topic of independent entrepreneurs, that was mushroomed in some regions significantly more than in others. Since the crucial feature of the Eastern German economy is the lack of any big enterprises (except one, Carl Zeiss in Jena), these middle- and small-scale enterprises, called famously "*Mittelstand*" in German, take an extremely important position in the society from an economic, as well as from a sociological perspective. First, they are the main engine for the leveling process of the economies, as growing tendencies can be recorded for different indications like capital stocks, revenues and number of employees (Mertens and Lungwitz 2013: 121f). Actually, if only measured by the growth of the number of employees, the East German companies outperform the West German ones, where a reduction of employees could be measured (Mertens and Lungwitz 2013: 109f.). Apart from the generating profits and tax revenues, they bind working force and generate incomes with a growing tendency, which can then trickle down to the rest of the economy (Mertens and Lungwitz 2013: 121). Due to the effects of economies-of-scale, smaller enterprises will even bind more working force than bigger ones. Thanks to the incomes generated, the *Mittelstand* takes also the most important role for the formation of a civil society, as the middle-income layer is the layer most likely to engage (WZB 2009: 56).

4.2 Is this knowledge transferable?

Before the first few steps of an actual translation of these findings is to be done, the transferability (translatability) for the Korean case has to be tested. Whereas in East Germany before 1990 private entrepreneurship was rather marginal or hidden, we have got a very promising scent to follow: The ongoing marketization in North Korea, forming some kind of second economy apart from the official, centrally planned economy. Sŏ (2012: 189) summarizes:

> "Markets replace more and more the functions the North Korean state cannot fulfill any more, which is securing, circulating and distributing goods. As the failure of the currency reform in 2009 showed, markets have taken a place, where they cannot be ousted any more by the state control."

Furthermore, these markets go along with the emergence of actual small-scale businesses, mostly in the service sector (like restaurants, barber shops etc.), but partially also in the production sector (mostly garments, but nowadays also pots and other ironware, Sŏ 2013: 188f., Lim 2009).

This is unparalleled in the GDR, where private entrepreneurship played a only a minor and decreasing role (Fritsch e. a. 2013: 240), so the situation of North Korea is becoming rather different to the East German one. Although the planned economy was once dominant in both countries and subject to the same internal problems like scarcity of raw materials (Kornai 1992: 411), the GDR was still able to supply the populace with staple goods and especially food at any time, whereas in North Korea the breakdown of the Soviet Union was followed by a severe and devastating famine. In its course the North Korean Public distribution system broke down, too, and it remains dysfunctional for food, as well as for industrial raw materials. This had to be compensated by market activities, which are growing to some small-scale industrial activities, too.

Yet, the extent of private market and industrial activities cannot be only explained by pure necessity after the famine. If it were like that, a slowdown of this development would have been likely to notice, when the pressure of malnutrition etc. diminished. Sŏ (2013: 185): points out that neither the Chosŏn Dynasty, since it just brought the very beginning of "modernization" to Korea, nor the Japanese colonial age as an "exploitative economic system" (*sut'al kyŏngje cheje*) was able to provide a fertile ground for any capitalist entrepreneurial spirit. Furthermore, he mentions the exodus entrepreneurs from North Korea after the liberation and especially during the Korean War due to the hostile atmosphere.

But on the other hand, the German research results indicate that this look back into the past is worth its efforts. Even if the Japanese colonial system was exploitative to a certain degree, there is still an ongoing academic debate on how to evaluate the economy of the Japanese colonial rule. The competing discourses can be identified as "*sut'allon*" (exploitation discourse) and "*chabonjuŭi maeng'aron*" (discourse about the sprouts of capitalism" (during the colonial age, Ma 2013) in this case. The latter discourse sees clearly the beginnings of capitalist and entrepreneurial development in the colonial age.

Furthermore, North Korea, especially the regions on the line Uiju at the Amnok River at the border to China – Pyŏngyang – Kaesong have been important trading posts since the Koryŏ Dynasty. Exactly the same regions appear to be the centers of trade and industry, nowadays, as the trade between China and North Korea is developing. Cho (2013: 224) points out a similar regional differentiation for cultural aspects: A differentiation from centre to periphery and from the cities to the countryside seems existent and the cities and the regions bordering to China obtain a much larger influx of foreign products (and culture) than the landlocked regions. Also the circulation of information, especial of "critical, foreign" information is much faster in these regions and the ideological control of the state is comparatively weaker. Also, the supply with goods is better in the cites, and it is worst in the mountainous Northeastern provinces Hamgyŏng-do, Chagang-do and Ryanggang-do (Haggard and Noland 2007: Somewhere in this book).

So we can find an "entrepreneurial spirit" in North Korea too, which – due to the marketization – is already manifesting in a visible way. We also have been able to link it with the history, as indicated by the German research, so we verified the validity of this problem and showed its possible transferability.

4.3 Reducing and translation the problem

Now the actual third step, reduction, should follow, thus, to make this knowledge fully applicable to the Korean case. This path cannot be trodden entirely yet in this paper, but a few guidelines for future research can be drawn for the case researched:

Depending on their history and – counterintuitively – on how much they have been shaped by socialist industry policy, regions in Korea will develop in a different way and different sets of regional policy will be necessary. A preliminary look onto the map with the findings in mind, suggests distinctions like that, which should be elaborated in the translations process: (a) Border regions with a history of trading and high level of marketization (like Kaesŏng, Uiju region), (b) regions with dominant heavy-industry due to North Korean industry policy (like Chŏngjin, Wonsan, Hamhŭng…), (c) Agrarian region with few industry, trading history and a low level of marketization (Chagang-do, Ryanggang-do, Southern Kangwon-do…). This regional polices should deal with economic aspects, but, as Bagus (2012b: 82) points out, cultural aspects, in particular, regional identities have to be included in a policy like that.

The second preliminary conclusion that could be drawn out of this research is that support and recognition of the role of small- and medium-size enterprises is necessary, when devising polices. This runs somewhat counter to the current economic structure of South Korea, that is still dominated by chaebŏl.

5. Research prospects

This case study shows the direction in which intercultural policy translation could go. This case study about entrepreneurship and regions combined findings from two disciplines like economies and sociology, but it could also be re-applied to totally different disciplines like psychology (coping with transformation and devaluation of working biographies) or even education, healthcare or energy politics. The scheme of problematization, selection, reduction and mobilization devised by Lee (2014) prevents us from putting the cart before the horse: The actual concrete policy for the Korean case would be the last part to be done, but with our approach the indications for any policy-decision can be extracted in a sound way. By acknowledging the different settings (cultures, circumstances…), Germany and Korea in this case, it will be able to deal with the "constraints of policy transfer", Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 9) have identified rather halfheartedly as "*Structural Institutional Feasibility (ideology, cultural proximity), (technology), (economic), (bureaucratic), Language (sic!)*". Also, future and more elaborated case studies may show if this method can forestall the reasons for "policy failure", they have identified as "*uninformed transfer*", "*incomplete transfer*" and "*inappropriate transfer*". It would be desirable, if the lessons paid with a high price by the Germans could be used in Korea in a constructive way.

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