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## ORIGINAL ARTICLE 1

**Compatibility of Market and Publicness in Community Service Innovation Programs of South Korea\***Gi-Yong YANG<sup>1)</sup>

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**ABSTRACT**

After the economic crisis in 1997, in Korea, various social policy and programs have been initiated. In particular, since Rho's government, the Korean government actively started to plan and implement social investment policy to promote labor market participations focusing on social services. Various social care services have been introduced as major programs in welfare services with increasing usage of voucher, a new type of financial supporting system. This paper reviews the effects and impacts of expansion of social service, in particular the marketization of social services. Then, the paper surveys the characteristics of governance system in the community service innovation programs(CSI programs). Through the social governance system, the probability of integration of marketization process in social service provision with the expansion of publicness is explored. This paper suggests that social service policy process has a potential for expanding publicness despite the concerns about marketization of social services. In particular, the social service governance system would work as an institutional mechanism for securing publicness in local community. The governing process or governance system is also seen as an incremental stage of building social consensus and eventually enhancing publicness.

## &lt;Key-words&gt;

social services, publicness, governance, policy management

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## I . Introduction

Without the adequate support system of welfare social services, the marginal social groups should bear economic hardships by themselves. South Korea has suffered under severe economic and social pressure since the late 1990s IMF currency crisis. Unlike the western societies, South Korea was not prepared to establish a stable social service system. The loophole of social welfare system led to extension of reproducing another social crisis to individuals and families. Since the late 1990s, as a result, the marginal group not only faced traditional and old social risks such as unemployment, disabilities, chronic diseases and poverty. But also the whole Korean society has undergone drastic changes in the Fordist production system as well as unprecedented changes in population and family structure. This socio-economic structural transformation has brought about several new social problems and dangers like the working poor, structural unemployment and social polarization. It has also led to serious social issues of aging and low birth rate. Korean society has not built an adequate social safety net of public assistance and social insurance for traditional social risks. Therefore, the Korean society is asked to reshuffle existing traditional welfare safety net to handle with the old social risks as well as to build effective social service system to cope with the new social risks at the same time.

Nonetheless, considerable political conflicts might occur due to political and ideological differences regarding the budget increase for the traditional welfare programs and the expansion of social service programs. Such case has actually occurred in the political feud of a local by-election on the free lunch program for school children. These social political disputes should not be spread into merely political or ideological conflict, but should be recognized as a new social agenda to be managed properly and implemented effectively in local communities. If not, as social service for new social risks increases, the society will have to suffer from severe conflict and pay for unnecessary political and social costs. Based on these perspectives, this paper reviews the effects and impacts of expansion of social service, in particular the marketization of social services. Then, the paper reexamines the characteristics of governance system as an effective management device for various participating agents involving in social service delivery. Through the governing process of the community service innovation programs(CSI programs), it also attempts also to explore the probability of integration of marketization process in social service provision with the expansion of publicness.

## II . Expansion of Social Service and its Policy Context

### 1. Background of Social Service Expansion : Old and New Social Risks

Social services have diverse meanings depending upon the political, historical, ideological and financial conditions in which policies and programs of social services are

formulated and implemented. Therefore, the concept of social services would rather be defined in terms of a policy orientation than that of a theoretically fixed concept. There are no clear political and conceptual agreement on defining contexts, targets and range of social service. In a broad sense, social service is understood as 'public services', involving social assistance, social insurance, child welfare, psychological health, education and labor protection. In a limited sense, the term means immaterial (no-cash), social psychological and personal social service which is mainly for individual support and care service that can fulfill social protecting needs. This limited concept of social service is widely understood as personal social service. This paper also follows to the limited sense of the term, social service. In spite of different interpretations, social service is considered as public response and preventive public service that are provided to individual or families who cannot cope with new social risks.

In general, expansion of social service is strongly related to historical changes in production system and family structure. The change from the Fordist system for mass production to the flexible production system has made male blue-color workers very vulnerable to new working environments such as new technology development and dislocation of working places. It has caused changes in women's labor market participations as well as in family structure, and eventually in family disorganization. These changes made it difficult for the family members to take care of other family members, especially, their children and elderly parents. Therefore, public sector started to take charge of such care services like childcare, child education, and taking care of the elderly as a type of social service in order to maintain social sustainability. Moreover, the limitation of the Fordist production system resulted in restructuring of economy system: changing manufacturing economy to service industry, consistent technology development, and dislocation of manufacture activities on a worldwide scale. The restructuring process has made unskilled workers to face with danger of unstable employment conditions. The structural transformation asked governments to share responsibility of care service for family members and to provide educational training opportunities for unskilled workers to participate in labor market (Esping-Aderson, et al. 2002; Taylor-Gooby, 2004; Kyo-Seong KIM, 2010).

This historical development process of social service policy characterizes social services as followings. First, social services are concerned with new social risks which have been caused by above mentioned economic and structural transformation in economy and family structure. The new social risks are different from old (traditional) social risks in terms of its causes and characteristics. New social risks are closely related with the transformation of economy structure. Traditional social welfare programs usually include social insurance and public aid benefits programs. As these welfare programs have a limit to effectively respond to the changing socio-economic structure, social service programs are asked to answer proactively to long-term unemployment, worsening social disparities, and working poor. Secondly, social services are closely related with face to

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face personal care services offered by individual family members. This means that social services were originally provided in private sectors rather than public sectors. The expansion of social services has been designed to ease compatibility problems between labor participation and family especially for female workers. This kind of social service programs include child care and various type of child education programs. Thirdly, social services policy has been focused upon the serious trend of low fertility and aging population. Without proactive governmental involvement through social services programs supporting family care, the sustainability of society would be seriously threatened. Care services for the elderly and maternity care services are involved in these tasks. In short, social services can be defined as policy responses towards the increasing new social risks. The backgrounds of social services are summarized in Table 1 (Gi-Yong YANG, 2011).

Table 1. Backgrounds of Social Services : characteristics of old and new social risks

Features Risk Type	Production System & Labor Type	Family Type Women's Role	Welfare State Characteristics	Policy & Programs
Old Social Risks	Fordism Stable Employment Skilled Worker	Male-Single Breadwinner Informal Family care	Keynesian Welfare State	Ex post facto Measures: Public Aid Social Insurance
New Social Risks	Post-Fordism Service Economy Flexible Production Unskilled Worker	Double Breadwinner Social Responsibility for Family Care	Social Investment & Enabling State	Activation & Preventive Policy: Training, Social Care Service

## 2. Policy Context of Social Service in South Korea

In fact, after the economic crisis, Korean government legislated the National Basic Security Act and expanded the range of social insurance target since 1997 IMF crisis. However, these measures were not seen as a paradigm shift moving into social service system, but served as an important momentum establishing traditional welfare policy. After 2006, Rho's government actively started to plan and implement social investment policy to promote labor market participations focusing on social services. Moreover, the government implemented individual health promotion services and social care services regarding to low birth rate and aging society. Such social investment policy emphasizes on virtuous cycle between economic growth and welfare expenditure. It enhances individuals' perceptual, physical and emotional ability which increases employment possibility. Therefore, various care services have been introduced as major programs in

welfare services with increasing usage of voucher, a new type of financial supporting system.

The Korean government expects that the social service policy would attain following four major policy objectives. First, the policy aims to enhance quality of life by relieving burden of care on the informal sector including families and increase investment for human resources. Second, the policy makes focus upon 'universal service' by including ordinary citizens who want to use the programs paying some amount of service costs. Thirdly, the social service policy assumes that social services facilitate women's labor participation by reaching out to children and elderly care. Fourthly, the social service policy expects that the social service sector has the great potential for new job creation. Considering that social service sector in South Korea account 12.7% for total employment, just above the half of the OECD average of 21.7%, it is viewed as having ample room for creating more jobs (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2012).

Actually, pursuing these policy objectives, six types of voucher programs (elderly care programs, community service innovation program, mother and infant assistant program, care program for the family with the elderly, care program for the family with disabilities, rehabilitation programs for disable children) were initiated since 2007. In 2010, around 650,000 people were using these services with 200 billion won government budget inputs. 4,000 provision agencies were involved in these social services through 120,000 social service employees. It is found that, especially, Community Service Innovation(CSI) program secures the most number of service users. The CSI programs provide support for local governments to develop and offer social services taking into account local situations and needs of their residents. Under the program, diverse social services have been developed such as improving human resources, promoting health investment, and encouraging economic and social participation of the elderly. As of 2010, around 464,000 users are served through about the 500 community needs-based programs. The CSI program reflects local needs and formulates local government service initiatives. Also, various service provider and user groups at the community level join in this program. This is why local community service innovation program is one of the most typical social service programs among the other 6 programs.

### **3. New Mode of Interactions in Social Service Policy Process**

The expansion of social service has its unique characteristics in its context, targets, range and participating agencies comparing to traditional welfare services. As it has been mentioned before, social service is mainly related to personal human service which is more about face to face care services involving physical, emotional and perceptual factors, instead of merely giving material support or financial benefits. These types of care services have been privately supported by own family members or purchased by the market, such as childcare, nurturing services, care services for the elderly, emotional or health care services. So, the expansion of social service implies that public sectors have

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become one of the main principal agencies providing social services which used to be provided individually. Therefore, service users tend to expect the same quality of care services as they used to be served in the private sector. Also, they ask that various provision agencies from public organizations to private organizations would sustain its service quality level.

As a result, new market for social services widely opened themselves to private institutions such as universities, NPOs and even to private enterprises, too. Moreover, social service has focused upon new targeting user groups. Traditional welfare service is most likely to be residual welfare service program, which is provided only to limited number of vulnerable people with low income to maintain their minimum livelihoods. However, social service programs are comprised of services required from ordinary citizens. Therefore, social service tends to expand as universal services which are opened to anyone with some conditions, instead of restrictively allowing the service to certain residual social groups.

Consequently, social service has formed a new network which is clearly different to traditional welfare service in terms of its stakeholders and delivery procedures. It indicates that the whole process of decision making and implementing service program has changed. To begin with, various groups started to participate in the new social service program. Not only the existing public institutions and non-profit welfare agencies but colleges and private enterprises appear as social service provision agencies. Private sectors became to play a new role of providing public goods and services. As the scope of service users utilizing voucher financial supporting system expanded, users' own payment for service charges increased as well. Social service is no longer a residual service for vulnerable classes but universal service for ordinary citizens who have the right to be served.

The role of local governments has also changed. In case of traditional welfare policy, local government receives grants from the central government and assist, guide and monitor welfare institutions which provide welfare programs. In addition, they have discretion to choose their client groups. Expansion of social service becomes to create social service market and accordingly, provision agencies have to compete with each other. Service users have the option to choose their own provision agencies through voucher system. The government should manage the overall market system of competition and choice among provision agencies and users. To coordinate and regulate the new whole process of interaction among stakeholders, instead of unilateral public administration, a new social service management system should be established that can embrace both private and public sector as well as service users(Gi-Yong YANG, 2011).

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### III. Social Service Marketization and Publicness Issues

#### 1. Debates on Social service Marketization

Liberalization and marketization of welfare service are one of the most definitely appeared phenomenons along with social service expansion. As it has been aforementioned, public institutions or non-profit community welfare agencies used to provide social services exclusively in the past. However, social service sectors became open to various provision agencies such as NPOs (Non-profit organizations), community colleges, and private enterprises. It is argued that such social service marketization should be distinguished from privatization and commercialization of welfare institutions experienced in the Western developed countries. In case of South Korea, most welfare services are already provided by non-profit welfare agencies at the community level. Therefore, it is clearly different comparing to western society's privatization in which its provision agencies change from public institutions to private institutions. New market for social service is far from liberal marketization due to considerable amount of government financial investment, intervention and regulation from public sectors.

The marketization process of social service experienced in Korea would rather be considered as the application of market principles such as open competition and choice, and it could stimulate inflexible and inefficient provision agencies to work effectively through open market system. Particularly, voucher system could increase consumer-directed options so that voucher users are no longer seen as passive beneficiaries but enhance their position as costumers. Voucher users are able to choose social service programs based on their personal preferences, which encourages competition among production groups. As users preferences are clearly appeared, the provision agencies are expected to sustain appropriate service quality level for the users.

Despite of its positive effects, there are considerable concerns on social service marketization. First of all, there is a negative prospect that newly joining provision agencies will have to adopt market value and approach for their survival to achieve financial resources. On that account, provision agencies would neglect public concerns but focus on certain limited user groups or social service programs for the sake of their profits. Moreover, the contract and competition in social service market would make social service provision agencies offer social services only for those who can pay. As a result, newly participating social service providers are more likely to be indifferent to publicness issue than before. Also, it is questioned whether Korea has enough number of capable production groups that can compete with private markets. Furthermore, users' discrete decision and responsibility cannot be guaranteed for the mentally disabled and the old users. In fact, when there is asymmetry of information between users and providers, such negative concerns will come to be reality. Therefore, if provider agencies compete with each other, it is necessary that government should regulate and intervene

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in the whole provision procedure of social services. Problems like asymmetry of information, incapability of provision agencies, falling-off in service quality, and illegal recipients will bring more intervention from the government (Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004).

## 2. Social Service and Publicness

The above issue about marketization of social service gives us a question on whether marketization can change into a system encompassing publicness or not. The ultimate purpose of social service is to support vulnerable community members so that they could maintain their livelihoods and to share responsibility with the community so that no one could be left behind in the society. In this point of view, both positive and negative view on social service marketization hopes to enhance publicness in the social service delivery process.

Often, the meaning of publicness is discussed relating to the size of welfare financial expenditure. It is useful to examine publicness of welfare policy in financial viewpoint, especially when comparing between nations or understanding time series changes. Nevertheless, this approach is criticized that it is difficult to reflect unique characteristics of historical experiences or political, economic and social conditions. The concept of publicness can be understood as influence and responsibility of community, especially the government, to individual lives. However, it is meaningless to divide the concept of publicness in static perspective into publicness and non-publicness. Rather than that, it can be approached as dynamic perspective, which identifies a gap between public and private responsibility and focuses upon the change from private to public responsibility (Joo-Ha Lee, 2010).

In this point of view, this paper tries to understand publicness, which has various meanings in social welfare term, as procedural concept instead of terminal values such as justice or equality. Therefore, the concept of publicness is strongly related to the term of procedural democracy. In other words, publicness is not a static concept but has the potential to change, expand and presuppose the possibility to establish new public sectors. Thus, the important question goes on how to arrange process and mechanism to expand publicness. In this dynamic approach, the process of publicness expansion means that individual troubles of private sector expand to issues of public sector. Also, the process involves stakeholders to actively and fairly participate in public issue discussions. The dynamic process itself can be defined as the concept of publicness, particularly when the communities can afford to pay and take responsibility for such public issues. This position is similar to the concept, public sphere argued by Habermas (Joo-Ha Lee, 2010; Moulton, 2009).

The whole policy process of social service can be reexamined and reviewed based on such publicness perspective. Firstly, most social services are individual care service which used to be dealt with by its own family members. Otherwise, apart from compulsory

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education programs, people are supposed to buy services individually in private market, for example services like training and education programs for building up their capacity to participate in labor market. After all, the process of social service expansion shows significant change that private services became important social services for public responsibility. Thus, it is possible to expect that publicness has expanded in social services.

Secondly, social service users range has expanded throughout the social service process. Not only vulnerable groups but ordinary citizens can be included as social service recipients by their own payment or filling up certain conditions for the service. Social service users are no longer limited to certain passive beneficiary groups but become wide open to ordinary citizens as public right. Therefore, the expansion of publicness is indeed identified as social service is expanding from residual welfare services to universal services.

Thirdly, the provision agencies of social service became diversify and complex due to participations of public institutions, enterprises, non-profit organizations, and universities. As it has been mentioned before, this is different to privatization in which public institutions change into private ones. In Korea, we have changed the monopolized system into competitive system by attracting various new provision agencies. This change can be understood, in some sense, as expansion of publicness, because new entering enterprises or private organizations that used to focus on making profits and working in private sectors have incorporated into public social service market sector. Thus, enterprises, private organizations and universities who used to provide their service to limited number of costumers, now provide social service to ordinary citizens and receive financial support from them for publicness.

Fourthly, publicness of social service can be ensured by government's essential role in social service policy processes. The financial resources for social service are mostly covered by central and local government. In addition, details such as social service program guidelines, users' entitlements, selection of provision agencies and users are also decided and implemented by cooperation between the Ministry of Health and Welfare and local governments. The fact that government plays a critical role shows strong feature of publicness.

Fifthly, the most controversial issue is how to assure publicness in expansion of market principles in social service. Provision agencies as well as users are exposed to new social service environment as the market principle of competition and choice is applied to social service delivery process. There is a huge concern that competition, users' choice and efficiency of market system might harm publicness by adverse selection, reduction in beneficiaries and deterioration in service quality. It becomes difficult to expect non-profit or profit organizations voluntarily making their efforts to follow public interest and publicness. It is apparently true that they would rather pursue private interests or rent seeking. Therefore, it is important to establish a mechanism to persuade and entice these

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groups to expand publicness instead of damaging it.

It is meaningless to understand publicness only by dividing whether social service production groups are public or private organizations. Instead, we should focus on what kind of public interest has been brought out through the whole social service policy process. Therefore, it is important to find out how to bring ripple effect, increase publicness through cooperation and regulation among provision agencies (non/profit organizations), local government and service users in order to expand publicness.

#### **IV. Extensibility of Publicness and Social Service Governance in Local Community**

##### **1. Characteristics of Social Service Governance**

In most cases, welfare policy process starts with the central government who provides grants to local governments. Local governments, then, select provision agencies and support and regulate them. At last, the provision agencies choose the service users to provide their services. However, based on characteristics of social service and new relationship formed among various stakeholders in social service policy process, the conventional welfare delivery system should be changed into a new form. Moreover, in order to secure publicness in social service, more proactive actions are needed at local community level. Therefore, this paper examines the social service governance system at local community to achieve such goal.

In fact, governance system has its meanings differently according to where the concept is applied such as at supra-national level, national level and local level. But in general, the concept of governance system is understood as institutional mechanism or framework that coordinates between market, government and civil society. Therefore, governance tries to mediate stakeholders and induce cooperation among them not by hierarchical, but by horizontal way. It also helps various stakeholders from the government, enterprises, non-profit organizations and civil society to play their role and function. Despite various meanings, governance has several significant characteristics. First, governance system assumes interdependent relationship within various stakeholders through mutual acknowledgement and role sharing. Second, governance system allows exchanges of resources and information among participants. Third, government plays an essential role as node of corporative network within the governance system (Pierre, 1999; Peters, 1997).

It is meaningful to find out whether this kind of governance system can be formed throughout social service policy process. This paper attempts to examine the governance system of the Community Service Innovation Program (CSI programs), which involves a large number of agencies and voucher users and plays an important role in local community. The CSI programs provide various social services responding to its local needs such as child's cognitive development programs, child health care programs,

transnational marriage supporting programs, and others. These programs are also involved in several decision making and implementation process coordination various stakeholders. In case of the CSI programs, local governments propose their own plan for their own social service programs to the central government, and, if their proposal is accepted, they receive grants from the central government. During the initial planning process, local governments collect community members' opinions or discuss ideas with provision groups as well as local experts. Then local governments decide, based on the amount of grants and their own matching fund budget, the magnitude of service users and provision agencies. Moreover, according to their program guidelines consulted by the central government, they select voucher users for each social service program and let them choose the provision agencies by themselves. Finally, the provision agencies provide social service to its users and receive the expense from Korea Welfare Information Service Voucher toll system.

Throughout the whole decision making and implementing process, the stakeholders are given different interdependent roles such as mobilization of financial resources, social service program planning, service purchasing, social service needs assessment, actual service delivery, service expense settlement and regulation for social service quality. Also, various types of resources (budget, information, support, and demand) are exchanged and promoted among participants. In particular, local governments are asked to play an essential role in this overall social service policy process, because it starts with planning social service initiatives for local community, receiving grants and distributing matching funds, purchasing and selecting services from provision agencies, regulating provision agencies and managing service quality.

There are increasing claims to establish mediation and cooperation system that can actively respond and manage towards the consistent changes in service needs from local community members, local social service market, and government financial support. If this whole process of coordination can be established as one framework, it can be defined as social service governance system at local community. Such social service governance system can be organized by local government as a cooperation consultative organization at local level. Therefore, various stakeholders such as non-profit welfare institutions and private organizations, local colleges, representative of service user, welfare experts, ordinary citizens and civil organizations would join in the system. This governance system is not merely an advisory body. It is important that this system performs practical function such as making decision and exercising its power.

## **2. Publicness Expansion through Social Service Governance System**

Local community social service governance system would contribute to publicness expansion within the local community in three perspectives.

First, local community social service governance system can expand publicness by integrating public and private sectors. The social service governance system can provide

a framework that can integrate the existing administrative delivery system and new market system. Various private agencies can contribute to increase publicness by integrating them into the governance system which performs public role. In addition, service users' choice and competition among provision agencies can be managed through regulation of the local government. The qualifications to participate in social service market and standards of service quality are managed by ground-rules presented by the central government and local governments.

Second, the governance system provides opportunities to service users to choose their own provision agencies and to reveal their needs of wanted services. Reminding the fact that needs of social service used to be fulfilled by private family members, the governance system plays a role as public sphere where private needs transform into public issues and services. Here, the users are not vulnerable classes but are one of community member, active citizen, who has the right and responsibility. Service users as active citizens can express their preferences and, in certain cases, pay for their services. Also, they get the opportunity to transform individual services into public services supported with public finance. Therefore, it is important to have fair needs assessment and ensure them to discuss their preferences. If such system is established, the governance system itself can bring the rationality of democratic procedures and hold on the meaning of publicness as mentioned before.

Third, governance system can recover local community through cooperation and solidarity. The governance system arranges local governments, enterprises, non-profit organizations, colleges, volunteering organizations and civil organization in local community to make efforts to provide public-valued social services. This is a good opportunity to integrate own welfare resources possessed by local community for public purpose. Various social service programs encourages service users as a member of local community to participate in labor market and strengthen their capacity so that they would not left behind. Therefore, in this sense, governing process can contribute to recover and maintain the essence of local community.

## V. Concluding Remarks

To sum up, it becomes clear that social service policy process has a potential for expanding publicness despite the concerns about marketization of social services. In particular, the social service governance system would work as an institutional mechanism for securing publicness in local community. Although it is true that governance system has not been exercised perfectly in local level, the damage of publicness was not severe. However, in the beginning of implementing voucher program, efforts are needed to establish the governance system and practice governing process stage by stage in local level, otherwise the negative impacts of marketization can come to reality.

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The social service governance system can relieve political and social conflicts against the expansion of welfare programs and budgets at the local level. There might be different opinions on responsibility of social welfare service, costs allocation among social strata and ways to secure financial resources. In this circumstance, social consensus building process through governance system becomes more important than unilateral decision made by the government. Therefore, the governing process or governance system is seen as an incremental stage of building social consensus and eventually enhancing publicness.

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