

# **The Enduring Legacy of Forced Division: Welfare Nationalism in Germany and South Korea**

**Korean Studies Research Seminar #8**

Leiden Institute for Asian Studies (LIAS)

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# Background

Research is based on a 2023 project run through the European Centre for North Korean Studies on understanding Korean unification challenges.

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Kyungnam University

# Roadmap

1. **Research question and motivation**
2. **Towards welfare nationalism**
3. **Empirical strategy**
4. **Findings**
5. **Conclusions**

# Question and motivation

**What can welfare attitudes tell us about nationalism in divided societies?**

# Towards a revised welfare nationalism

# Welfare chauvinism

- Welfare chauvinism articulates a preference for restricting welfare benefits to citizens (**Andersen and Bjørklund, 1990; Vandoninck et al., 2017**).
- Migrants especially are seen as 'other' and less deserving of social benefits (**Kitschelt and McGann, 1995; Norris and Inglehart, 2019**).
- Majority groups are especially inclined to socially discriminate based on race, religion, and ethnicity (**Mewes and Mau, 2012**).

# Welfare ethnocentrism

- Opposition to welfare entitlements is extended to ethnic minority groups for whom migration status is not immediately relevant or does not apply (**Ford, 2016**).
- Perception of an 'ethnic threat' partially accounts for welfare chauvinistic attitudes (**Kootstra 2018; Koros and Coenders, 2019**)
- Key mechanism for distinguishing between 'us' and 'them' in the United States (**Kinder and Kam, 2009**).

# Revisiting welfare nationalism

- National stereotypes, rather than overt racism or ethnocentrism, may drive welfare chauvinist attitudes (**Hjorth, 2015**).
- There is considerable intra-ethnic and intra-national discrimination in welfare attitudes (**Ward and Denney, 2021**).
- Welfare nationalism has conceptual and theoretical promise but is applied in a way that is too limited (**Keskinen, 2016**).



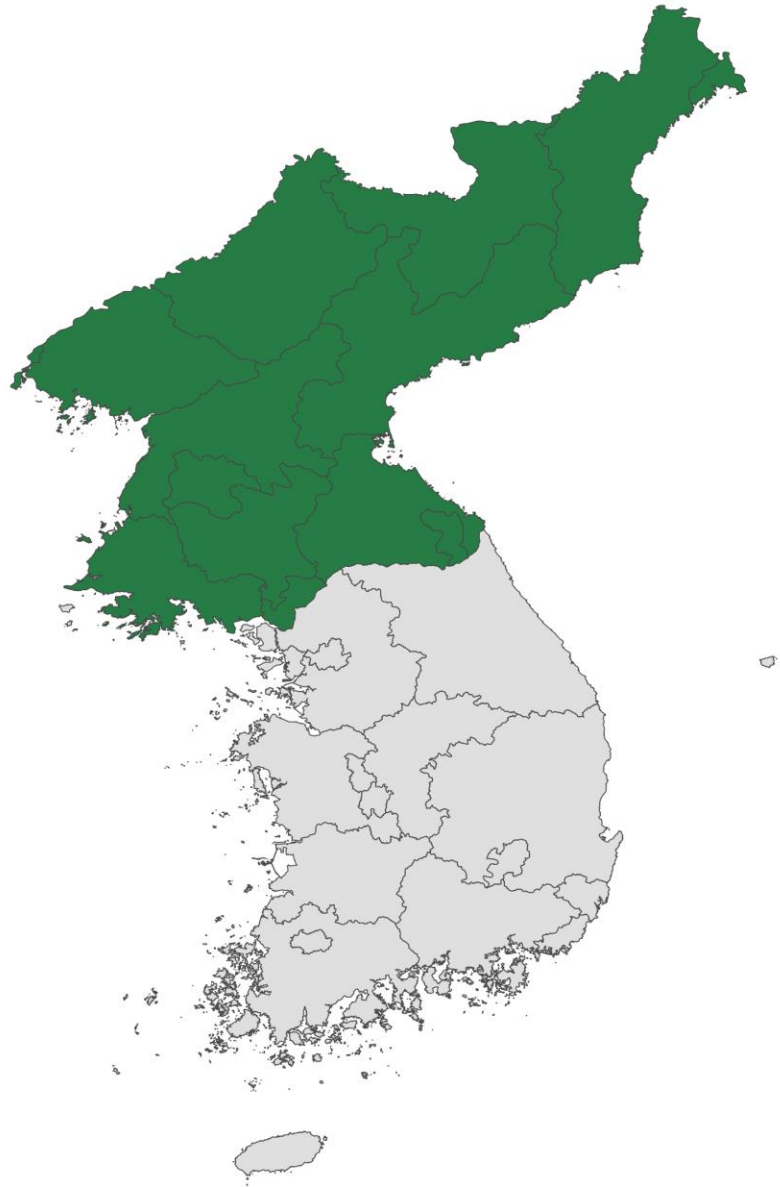
## Welfare nationalism (*revised*)

**Welfare nationalism** diverges from the concepts of welfare chauvinism and ethnocentrism by emphasizing divisions rooted in national or regional affiliations within a nation. **The basis of discrimination is not ethnic diversity but rather differences perceived in national identity and status.**

# Empirical strategy

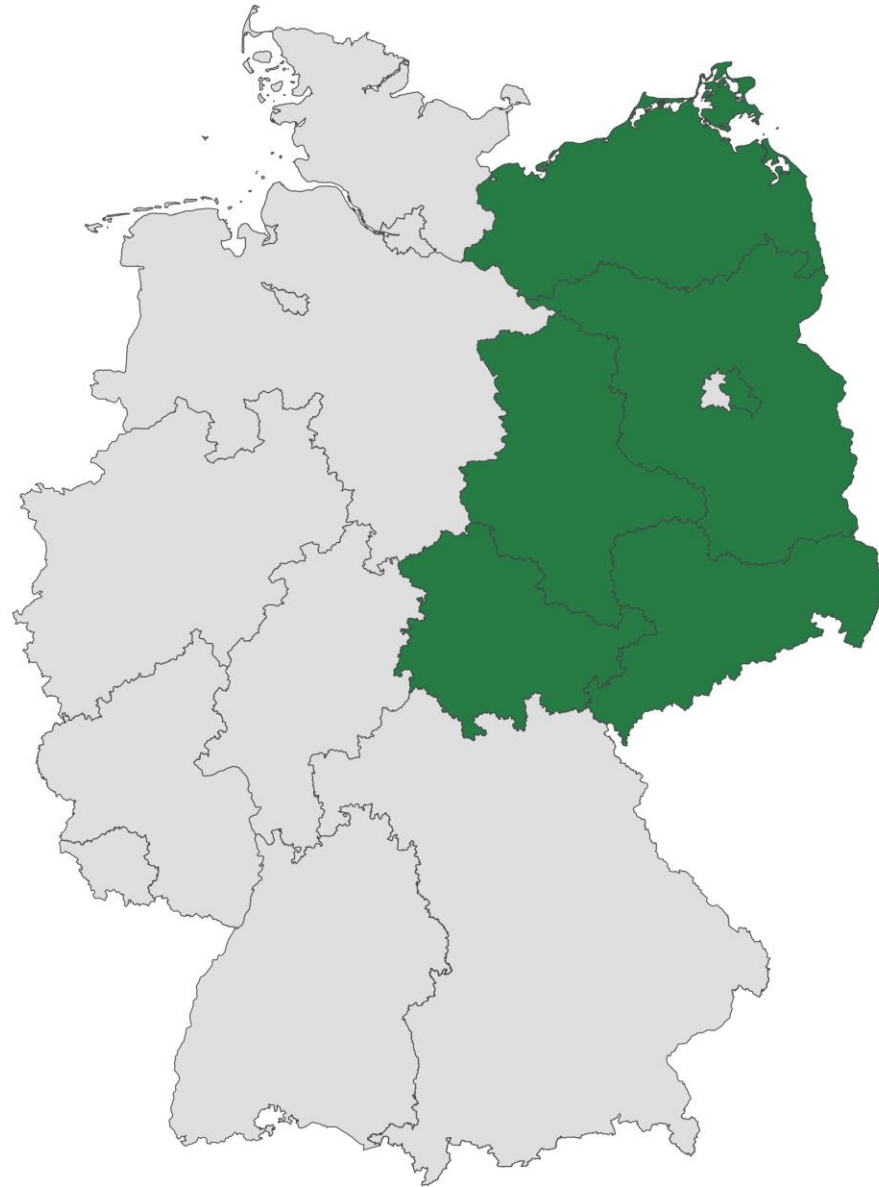
# Map of the Korean Peninsula

Highlighted Jurisdictions Indicate North Korea



# Map of Germany

Highlighted Jurisdictions Indicate Former East Germany



# Data and method

- **Method:** choice-based conjoint for working-class pilot employment support, with attributes for candidate background and origin
- **Populations:** Germans and South Koreans
- **Data:** nationally representative panels, Nov-Jan 23-2024
- **Size:** DE  $n = 2400$ , KR  $n = 2000$
- **Analysis:** marginal means focused on 'origins' and 'previous record' for Western Germans and South Koreans

# Main quantities of interest

| Origin at birth | South Korea:  | Germany:   |
|-----------------|---|--|
|                 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="828 625 1442 676">1. North Hamgyong, DPRK</li><li data-bbox="828 696 1166 748">2. Busan, ROK</li><li data-bbox="828 768 1437 819">3. Gyeonggi Province, ROK</li><li data-bbox="828 839 1225 891">4. Hanoi, Vietnam</li></ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="1482 625 1803 676">1. Saxony, DE</li><li data-bbox="1482 696 1854 748">2. Hamburg, DE</li><li data-bbox="1482 768 1811 819">3. Bavaria, DE</li><li data-bbox="1482 839 1854 891">4. Bucharest, RO</li></ol> |

# The experimental design

1/n

Studies have demonstrated that for a country to achieve and sustain well-being, its citizens must be engaged in suitable and meaningful jobs. Imagine the South Korean government will introduce a new jobs training support program. Recipients chosen for support will receive monetary aid for skills acquisition and be assigned a special employment counselor.

You have been chosen as a judge for the program.

After evaluating the two candidates below, please select who should be prioritized for job support.

|                                       | Candidate A           | Candidate B           |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Age                                   | 36                    | 45                    |
| Family status                         | Single, no children   | Married, 2 children   |
| Sex                                   | Male                  | Female                |
| Current or recent occupation          | Security guard        | Store manager         |
| Criminal record                       | No record             | Petty theft           |
| Origin at birth                       | North Hamgyung, DPRK  | Hanoi, Vietnam        |
| Which candidate would you prioritize? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

연구들은 국가가 웰빙을 이루고 유지하기 위해서는 그 국가의 시민들이 적절하고 의미 있는 직업에 종사해야 함을 보여줍니다. 한국 정부가 새로운 직업 훈련 지원 프로그램을 도입한다고 상상해보십시오. 지원을 받게 될 분들은 기술 향상을 위한 금전적 지원뿐만 아니라 특별 고용 상담사가 배정될 것입니다.

귀하는 이 프로그램의 심사위원으로 선정되었습니다.

아래 두 후보자를 평가한 후, 직업 지원을 우선적으로 받아야 할 사람을 선택해 주십시오.

|                | 후보 A         | 후보 B      |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| 직업             | 마트 시간제 근무 직원 | 경비원       |
| 전과 기록          | 전과 기록 없음     | 전과 기록 없음  |
| 가족 관계          | 미혼, 무자녀      | 미혼, 자녀 1명 |
| 성별             | 여성           | 여성        |
| 나이             | 25세          | 25세       |
| 출생지            | 대한민국, 경기도    | 북한, 함경북도  |
| 어느 후보를 우선하십니까? | 후보 A         | 후보 B      |

# Findings

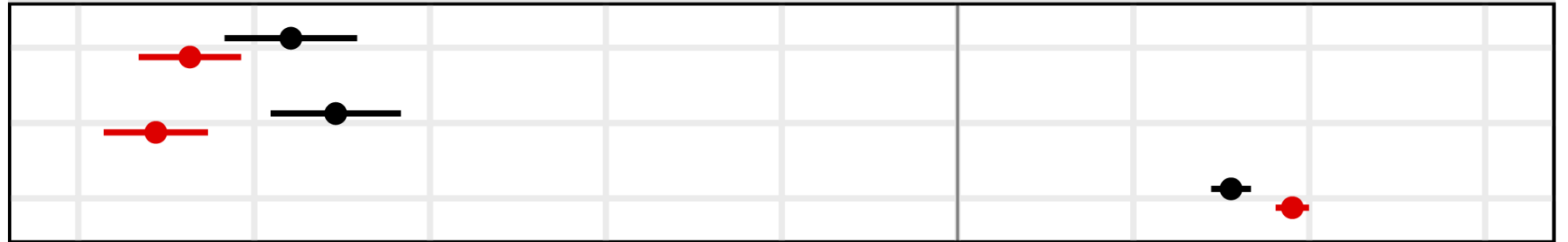


# Findings I

Main

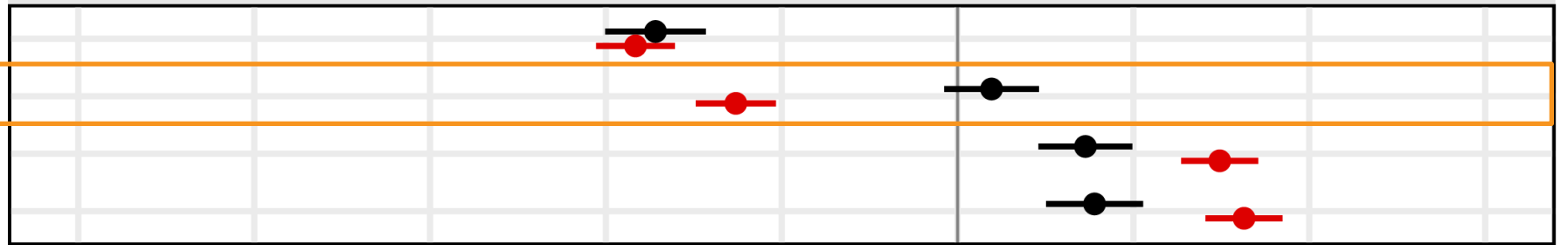
## Record

Theft  
Tax evasion  
None



## Origin

Romania / Vietnam  
Saxony / North Hamgyong  
Hamburg / Busan  
Bavaria / Gyeonggi



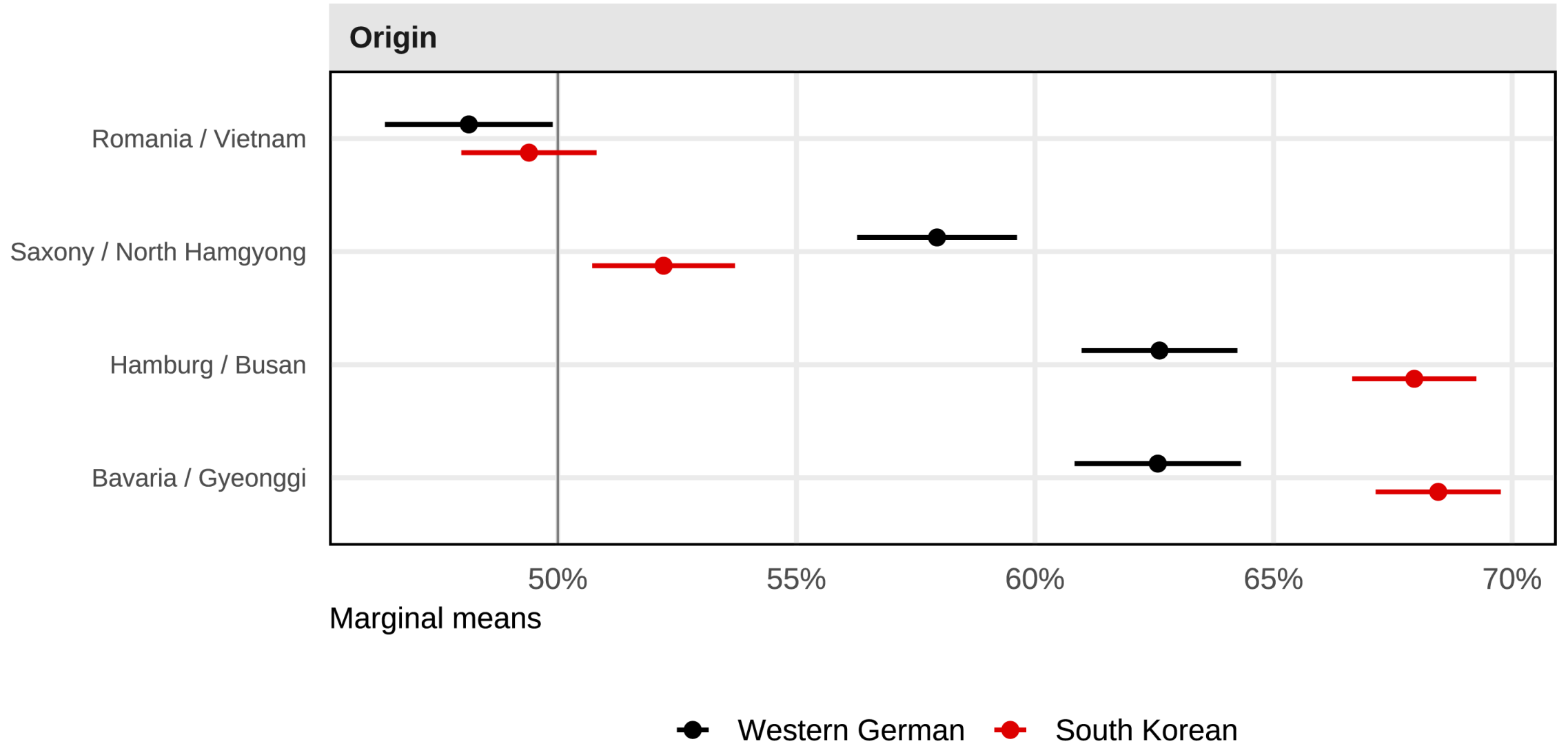
Marginal means

● Western German ● South Korean



● Western German    ● South Korean

# No Record profiles only

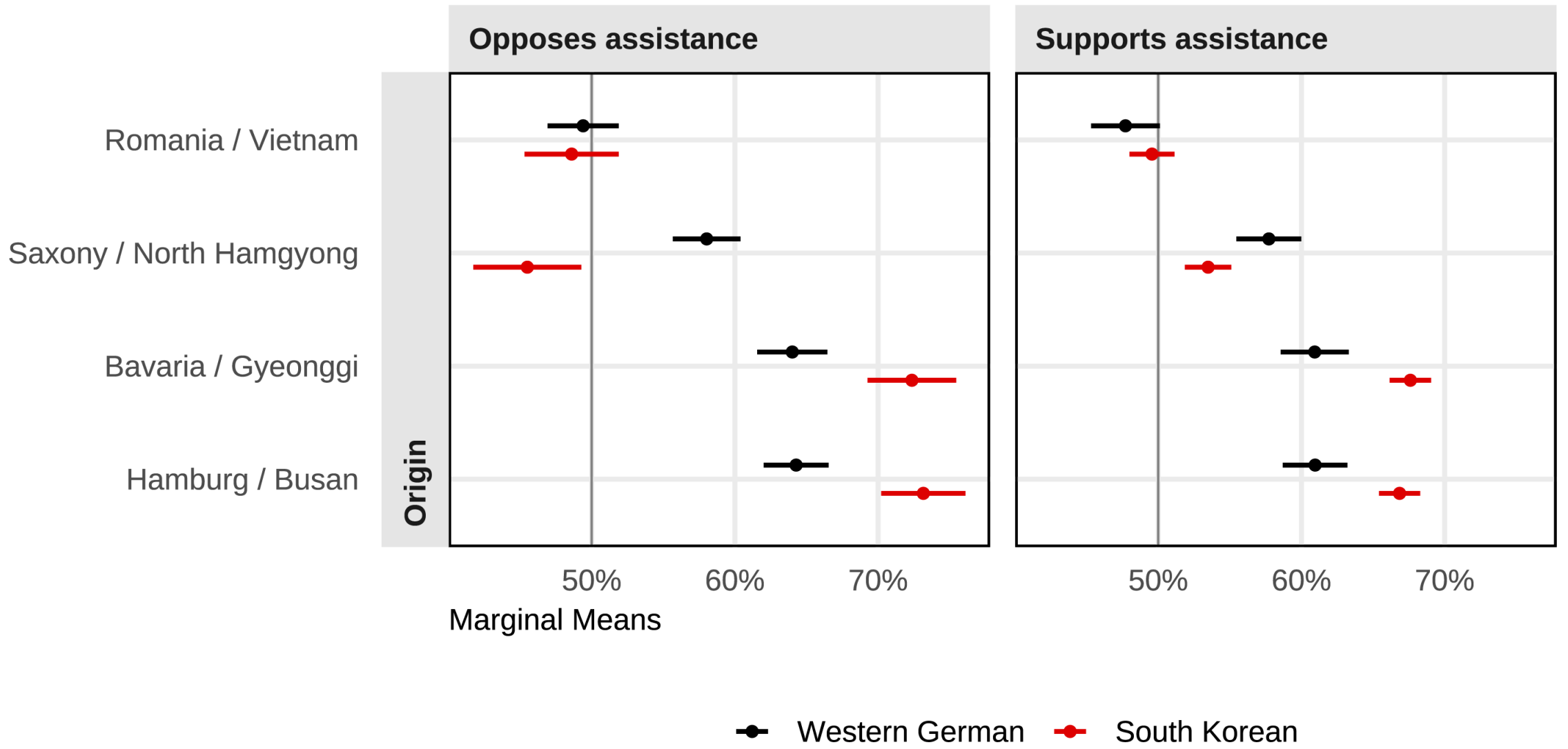


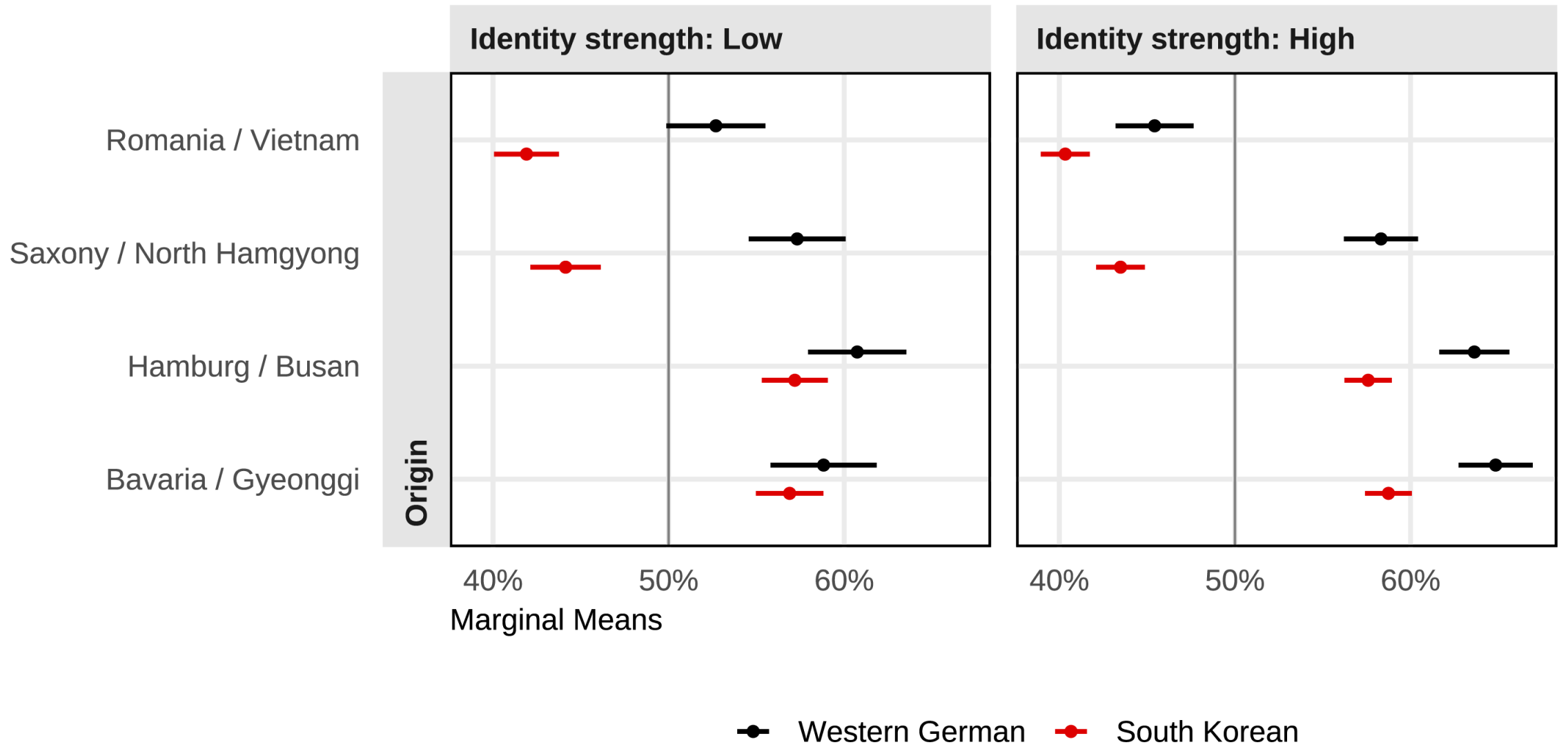
# **Findings II**

## Checks

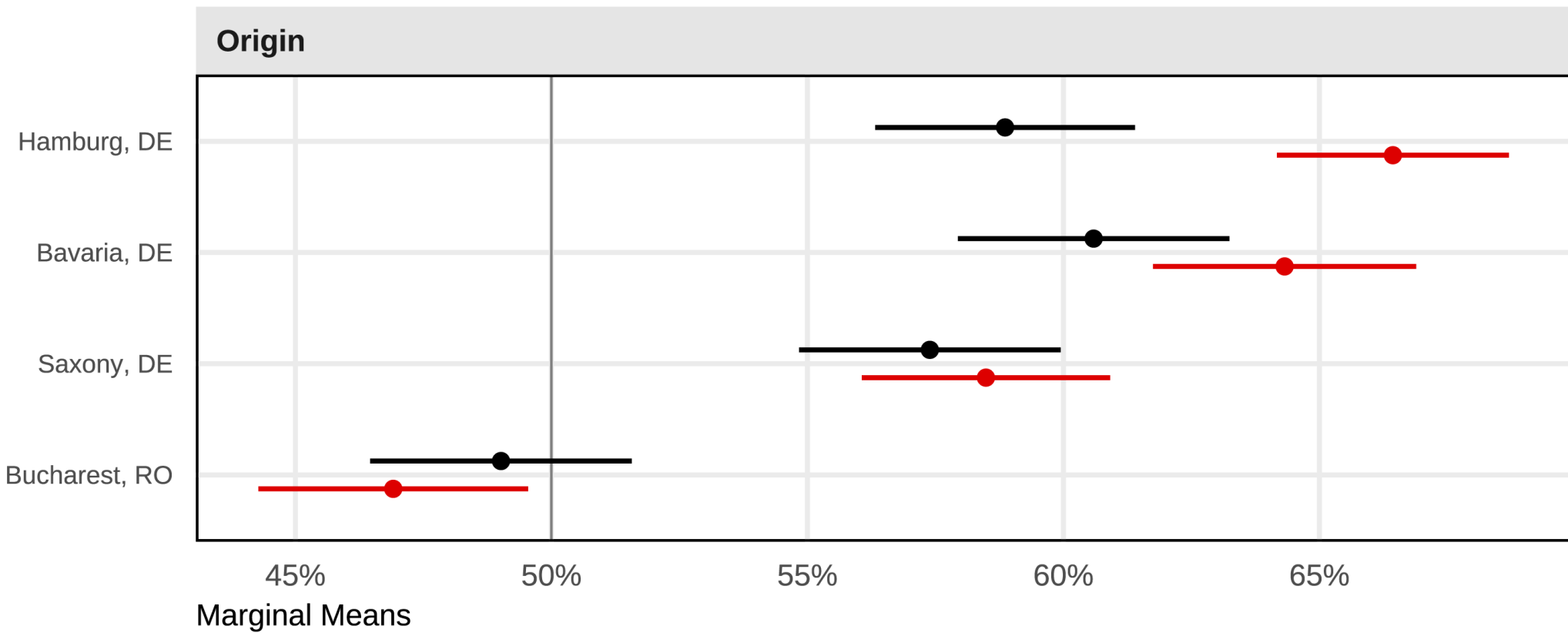
# Checks

- **Support fatigue**
- **Strength of national identity**
- **Generational analysis**









● Post-Unification Western Germans    ● Pre-Unification Western Germans

# Conclusions

# Conclusions I

- Existing concepts – welfare chauvinism, ethnocentrism – do not adequately explain the exclusion that occurs among ethnically similar co-nationals.
- Welfare nationalism, *as used here*, better describes the dynamics of in-group versus out-group exclusion based on national or regional distinctions within a country rather than ethnic or racial differences.
- Discrimination against Eastern Germans by Western Germans and against North Koreans by South Koreans are examples of welfare nationalism.

## Conclusions II

- **Welfare nationalism illustrates the challenges that divided societies face in addressing social equity and inclusion.**
- **Divided Korea represents an extreme challenge.**
- **Unified Germany *might* be a success.**
- **The study points to the importance of narratives and social policies in shaping social identities and divides.**