Policy Coordination in South Korea

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Abstract: Coordination has been one of the major problems in the field of public administration (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984; Peters 1998; Bouckaert, Peters, & Verhoest, 2010). However, as the complexity of policy problems increases and the policy environment changes, coordination is becoming more of a serious challenge to administration than ever before (Peters, 2018; Roberts, 2011). The failure of policy coordination can greatly undermine administrative capacity, so a serious approach to coordination is necessary not only theoretically but also practically. This study reviewed policy coordination theories and analyzed prior studies on current Korean policy coordination. In particular, I focused on the concepts, dimensions, mechanisms, and performance of policy coordination. What I found is that the number and variety of coordination studies in Korea is low. Most prior studies on coordination have focused on coordination between central ministries, and their methodology has primary taken the form of a literature review. Empirical studies on coordination performance have been few and far between. Based on these findings, I suggest several implications.

Keywords: policy coordination, coordination mechanisms, coordination performance

INTRODUCTION

Coordination has been one of the major problems in the field of public administration (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984; Peters, 1998; Bouckaert, Peters, & Verhoest, 2010). However, coordination has never been a more serious challenge to administration than it is today (Peters, 2018; Roberts, 2011). As many researchers have pointed out, the problem of coordination has become more serious owing to the global diffusion of the New Public Management (NPM), the sheer number of cross-cutting issues, partisan politics, and the changing (and increasing) demands of various client groups (Bouckaert et al., 2010; Hansen, Steen, & Jong, 2013; Peters, 2018). As we

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have seen in many cases, such as the conflict over the provision of IPTV services (Kim, Sung, & Jung, 2008), South Korea is also facing a growing problem of policy coordination due to these changes (Lee, 1993, p. 33). The failure of policy coordination can greatly undermine administrative capacity, so correcting the problem is important not only from a theoretical point of view but also from a practical point of view. In scholarly literature from outside Korea, analysts have critically reviewed and synthesized the results of studies on policy coordination (e.g., Alexander, 1993; Reff Pedersen, Sehested, & Sørensen, 2011), but there are few studies that provide a comprehensive and critical review of policy coordination in South Korea.

This study aims to review policy coordination theories and analyze prior studies on current Korean policy coordination. More than 30 years have passed since Korea's democratization, over which time there were three regime changes. Although the history of democratic development is short in Korea compared to that of other advanced democracies, it is necessary to examine the past and present of Korea's policy coordination in depth, as a considerable amount of time has passed since democratization. This paper consists of three major parts. In the first, Il explore the theory of coordination and the dimensions, mechanisms, means, and performance of coordination. This review focuses on the foreign literature, which offers a lot of research on policy coordination. In the second part, I draw on coordination theory to examine the concepts, dimensions, mechanisms, instruments and performance of policy coordination in South Korea. In the last part, I outline the implications of my analysis, and I also review the limitations of my study and point to future research directions.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Definition and Dimensions of Coordination

There is still no clear, widely accepted definition of coordination (Metcalfe, 1994, p. 278; Hood, 2005, p. 20). but it can be broadly characterized as largely about its processes and outcomes of the processes (Alexander, 1995). A number of scholars have focused on the characteristics of the coordination process. Richard Hall and his coauthors (1977, p. 459), for one, suggest that coordination is "the extent to which organizations attempt to ensure that their activities take into account those of other organizations." Andrew Van de Ven, Andre Delbelcq, and Richard Koenig Jr. (1976, p. 322), for another, define it as "integrating or linking together different parts of an organization to accomplish a collective set of tasks."

And Michelle Mark, John Mathieu, and Stephen Zaccaro (2001, pp. 367-368) describe it as "the process of orchestrating the sequence and timing of interdependent actions." Meanwhile, there are many definitions that focus on the purpose or outcome of coordination. Charles Lindblom (1965, p. 154), for example, explains that "a set of decisions is coordinated if adjustments have been made in it such that the adverse consequences of any one decision for other decisions in the set are to a degree and in some frequency avoided, reduced, counterbalanced, or outweighed." Louise Comfort (2007, p. 194) defines coordination as "aligning one's actions with those of other relevant actors and organizations to achieve a shared goal." Les Metcalfe (1994, p. 278) asserts that coordination is when "the parts of a system work together more effectively, more smoothly or more harmoniously than if no co-ordination took place." According to Christopher Pollitt, the benefits of policy coordination are that "situations in which different policies undermine each other can be eliminated," that "better use can be made of scarce resources," that "synergies may be created through the bringing together of different key stakeholders in a particular policy field or network," and that "it becomes possible to offer citizens seamless rather than fragmented access to a set of related services" (2003, p. 35).

According to Martin Painter (1981), the principal objectives of policy coordination are avoidance, or at least minimization, of duplication and overlap; avoidance of policy inconsistencies; minimization of conflict, both bureaucratic and political; quest for coherence and cohesion and an agreed ordering of priorities; and promotion of a comprehensive or "whole government" perspective against the constant advocacy of narrow, particularistic, or sectoral perspectives.

Comparing coordination with similar concepts contributes to a better understanding of it. Other terms commonly used to describe concepts related to coordination are "integration" and "collaboration."1 Many practitioners and policy makers actually understand and use "coordination" and similar terms differently (Keast, Brown, & Mandell, 2007). Collaboration is often perceived as a higher level of collective action than coordination or cooperation because it requires greater interaction and commitment (Thomson & Perry, 2006; Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006). In line with this thinking, coordination is seen as a facet of collaboration or a prerequisite for good collaboration (Gulati, Wohlgezogen, & Zhelyazkov, 2012; Helsloot, 2008). Collaboration with an emphasis on spontaneity is perceived as a sub-

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1. There are also other related concepts, such as "cooperation" (Kooiman, 2003; Pollitt, 2003), "joined-up government" (Perri 6, 2004), "holistic government" (Mawson & Hall, 2000), "whole-of-government" (Christensen & Laegreid, 2007), and "strengthening the role of the centre" (Bouckaert et al., 2010).

set of coordination, in that coordination is sometimes driven by coercion (Bouckaert et al., 2010). The perception of the relationship between coordination and integration varies among researchers. Integration often is considered to be "actual execution or implementation of the products of coordination" (Perri 6, 2004, p. 106) Some researchers, however, do not consider it to be a separate concept from coordination but rather a subordinate element of it (e.g. Bouckaert et al., 2010, p. 18).

In the literature, various dimensions of coordination have been suggested (see table 1). Coordination is commonly classified as either being vertical or horizontal (Bouckaert et al., 2010; Peters, 2015; Christensen & Laegreid, 2007, 2008).2 Vertical coordination refers to the coordination between the higher and lower units of a hierarchical tier, whereas horizontal coordination refers to the coordination between units of the same level. Coordination is also often characterized as being either interorganizational or intraorganizational (Alexander, 1995; Panday, 2007; Christensen & Laegreid, 2008) and is also either defined as informal or formal (Jennings & Ewalt, 1998; Peters, 2006) and as negative or positive according to level of goal setting and ambition. Negative coordination aims to minimize conflict through agreement, while positive coordination seeks greater coherence (Reff Pedersen et al., 2011; Magro, Navarro, & Zabala-Iturriagagoitia, 2014). Other dimensions of coordination include policy-making coordination, implementation coordination (administration), and internal-external coordination (Danken, 2017; Bouckaert et al., 2010; Beuselinck, 2008; Lie, 2010; Peters, 2015).

Table 1. Dimensions of Coordination

Dimension	Range (from-to)	
organizational span	intraorganizational	inter-organizational
governmental span	horizontal	vertical
internal vs. external	external	internal
policy cycle stage	policy making	implementation (or administration)
process vs. outcome	process	outcome
degree of formality	informal	formal
level of goal setting & ambition	negative	positive
time	short-term (ad hoc)	long-term (institutionalized)

Sources: Danken, 2017, p. 14; Bouckaert et al., 2010, pp. 19-25; Beuselinck, 2008; Lie, 2010; Peters, 2015.

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2. Recently, a growing number of researchers (e.g. Reff Pedersen et al., 2011) have become skeptical about strictly distinguishing between horizontal and vertical coordination.

Mechanisms, Strategy, and Instruments of Coordination

Various coordination mechanisms, strategies, and instruments of coordination have been proposed in the literature. There have been numerous efforts to sort out the various previously proposed schemes (e.g., Bouckaert et al., 2010; Dahlström, Peters, & Pierre, 2011; Roberts, 2011). As table 2 shows, in the literature on policy coordination, three dominant mechanisms of coordination—hierarchy, markets and networks—have been singled out (Kaufmann, Majone, & Ostrom, 1986; Thompson, Frances, Levacic, & Mitchell, 1991; O'Toole, 1997; Peters, 2003; Bouckaert et al., 2010).

Table 2. Three Mechanisms of Coordination: Hierarchies, Markets, and Networks

		Coordination mechanism		
		Hierarchy	**Market**	**Network**
Base of Interaction		authority and dominance	exchange and competition	cooperation and solidarity
Purpose		consciously designed and controlled goals	spontaneously created results	consciously designed purposes or spontaneously created results
Types of Guidance, Control, and Evaluation		top-down norms and standards, routines, supervision, inspection, intervention	supply and demand, price mechanisms, self-interest, profit and losses as forms of evaluation, courts, invisible hand	shared values, common problem analyses, consensus, loyalty, reciprocity, trust, informal evaluation
Instruments Instruments	**Management Instruments**	top-down and unilateral strategic management; traditional input-oriented financial management systems; procedural instruments concerning mandated consultation and review	result-oriented financial management systems focused on incentives for units; interorganizational learning	bottom-up and interactive strategic management; result-oriented financial management systems oriented toward information exchange and consolidation according to policy portfolios; interorganizational learning; procedural instruments concerning mandated consultation and review
	Structural Instruments	reshuffling of competencies: organizational merger (centralization) or splits (decentralization); reshuffling of lines of control; partnership organization	regulated markets: internal markets, quasi-markets, voucher markets, and external markets	systems for information exchange; advisory bodies and consultative/deliberative bodies; collective decision making entities; common organizations; chain-management structures

Role of government	top-down rule maker and steerer; dependent actors are controlled by rules	creator and guardian of markets and purchaser of goods; actors are independent	network enabler; network manager; network participant
Resources needed	authority; power	bargaining, information; power	mutual cooptation; trust
Theoretical basis	Weberian bureaucracy	neoinstitutional economics	network theory

Of the mechanisms available, hierarchical coordination mechanisms are the most familiar and traditional in the public sector. Hierarchical coordination mechanisms are mainly based on authority and power (Peters, 2003). In order to achieve effective coordination, actors in the public sector can use various instruments like budgetary tools, plans and targets, organizational restructuring; partnership organization; top-down and unilateral strategic management; and procedural instruments (Alexander, 1995; Perri 6, 2004; Bouckaert et al., 2010; Bakvis, 2013; Halligan, 2015). Market-type coordination mechanisms can also be used in the public sector. They take the form of competition and exchange based on negotiation, information, and power (Peters, 2003). Specific instruments of market-type coordination mechanisms include result-oriented financial management systems focused on incentive for units; interorganizational learning, and regulated markets (Alexander, 1995; Bouckaert et al., 2010). Network-type coordination mechanisms based on mutual cooperation and trust (Peters, 2003) have become increasingly important in recent years, especially due to NPM reform and its dysfunctions. Instruments of this coordination type include advisory bodies and consultative/deliberative bodies, bottom-up and interactive strategic management, result-oriented financial management systems, interorganizational learning; and procedural instruments concerning mandated consultation and review, systems for information exchange, and formal/informal partnership structure (Alexander, 1995; Perri 6, 2004; Edler & Kuhlmann, 2008; Bouckaert et al., 2010).

Mechanisms of coordination can also be classified into two types: organization-centric and network-centric (Roberts, 2011). Organization-centric mechanisms include coordination through face-to-face relations, role (organizational position), organizational structure, technology of work (mutual adjustment, planning, and schedule), organizational design, shared understanding (organizational culture, situation-dependent norms, routines, rules), organizational process (planning, controlling, information management). Network-centric mechanisms include coordination through face-to-face relations in network, network roles (coordinator, bridge role, gatekeeper), network structure, technology of work, organizational design,

and shared understanding (trust among the social actors, rules of appropriate behavior) (Roberts, 2011, pp. 688-690).

Carl Dahlström, B. Guy Peters, and Jon Pierre (2011) break coordination strategies down into two types – a "holding on" strategy and a "restoring the center" strategy. With the former, there is more political control of the center, especially through the politicization of the core executive. With the latter, there is an effort to build greater coordination capacity. These strategies make use of horizontal coordination instruments (e.g., committee and task force initiatives, program management) and vertical coordination instruments (e.g., the creation of a new government body to follow up on the prime minister's priorities, output evaluations, and monitoring).

The next question is when the various types of mechanisms or instruments are used. Characteristics of the political structure such as executive-legislative relations (Bolleyer & Börzel, 2010) and modes of executive politics (Craft, 2015) are important factors affecting the choice of coordination mechanisms. How complex a given policy issue is also affects the choice of coordination mechanisms or instruments. Although it has been argued that the complexity of contemporary social and policy issues will lead to widespread use of network-type coordination mechanisms rather than traditional hierarchical ones (e.g. Inwood, O'Reilly, & Johns, 2011), many studies suggest that hierarchical mechanisms and instruments are still widely employed in addressing complicated problems (e.g. Smith, 2011; Bezes & Le Lidec, 2011).

However, as many researchers have pointed out, mechanisms of coordination are not necessarily mutually exclusive (e.g. Bouckaert et al., 2010; Bakvis, 2013). It is very common for different types of coordination mechanisms or instruments to be used at the same time. And it is also common that certain types of coordination mechanisms change the aspects or specific instruments (Bakvis, 2013). A newly emerging issue is thus how to successfully integrate multiple coordination mechanisms or instruments (e.g., Howlett, Vince, & del Rio, 2017; Magro et al., 2014).3

Performance of Policy Coordination

What counts as effective policy coordination performance is still not well

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3. The word to describe the integration of these policy coordination mechanisms or instruments varies among researchers. For example, Edurne Magro, Mikel Navarro, and Jon Mikel Zabala-Iturriagagoitia (2014) use the phrase "coordination-mix", Per Laegreid and colleagues. (2015) have defined this integration as a "hybrid mechanism," and Michael Howlett, Joanna Vince, and Pablo del Rio (2017) use the term "policy mix."

understood (Roberts, 2011, p. 677). Prior studies on policy coordination are largely descriptive; there are few explanatory or predictive studies. There are several reasons for this lacuna. First, it is difficult to measure performance due to ambiguity in the concept of policy coordination (Hovik & Hanssen, 2015). Second, accounts of coordination performance cannot typically be generalized because the context of coordination is very complex and contingent (Jordan & Lenschow, 2010). In addition, it is very difficult to identify which approach results in a desirable outcome because several policy coordination mechanisms or instruments can operate simultaneously. The considerable time lag that can occur between when coordination has been carried out and when the results of the coordination become manifest is also problematic (Ross & Dovers, 2008, pp. 253-254).

Despite these difficulties, several efforts have been made to operationally define the performance of policy coordination and to identify factors that affect performance.4 Attempts have been made, for example, to define criteria or measures for assessing outcome (Metcalfe, 1994; Howlett & Rayner, 2007; Kern and Howlett, 2009). Metcalfe (1994, p. 281) has outlined a policy coordination scale consisting of nine levels: independent decision making by ministries, communication with other ministries (information exchange), consultation with other ministries (feedback), avoidance of divergences among ministries, search for agreement among ministries, arbitration of policy differences, setting of limits on ministerial action, establishment of central priorities, and government strategy. Some studies have focused on the coherence of goals and the consistency of means in order to evaluate the outcome (Howlett & Rayner, 2007; Kern and Howlett, 2009). Subjective perception of coordination outcome has also been used to measure coordination performance. For example, in their study on water management cases in Norway, Sissel Hovik and Gro Hanssen (2015) measured the outcome of coordination using the subjective perceptions of participants.

So, what are the factors that contribute to the success or failure of coordination? Leadership is considered a critical factor (Craft, 2015; Ross & Dovers, 2008; Smith, 2011). Andrew Ross and Stephen Dovers (2008) have argued that strong leadership is most critical factor in the success of environmental policy integration. Jonathan Craft (2015) also emphasizes that the systemic use of political staff is

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4. Researchers have considered obstacles to coordination or what leads to coordination failure, since it is difficult to identify the factors of coordination success. For example, Jens Jungblut and Deanna Rexe (2017, p. 52) argue that ignorance of the actors involved, NPM (which is related to decentralization and the enhancement of organizational autonomy), the tendencies of public sector organizations to protect their areas of influence and avoid policy risk, and partisan politics are potential barriers to the success of coordination.

increasing in policy coordination and presents six modes of executive politics and coordination role of political staff.5 In an analysis of the British case, Martin Smith (2011) documents prime ministers' efforts to strengthen coordination through what is called "joined-up government." Recently, there has been growing interest in the effects of coordination structures or institutions on coordination performance (Jordan & Lenschow, 2010; James & Nakamura, 2015; Hustedt & Danken, 2017). Shared policy objectives and performance targets can be employed to promote coordination (James & Nakamura, 2015). Oliver James and Ayako Nakamura (2015) suggest that the shared performance target system has contributed to the success of horizontal coordination under the UK Public Service Agreement regime. Thured Hustedt and Thomas Danken (2017) have shown that the dominant inherent institutional logic affects coordination outcomes. According to their analysis, coordination is successful when the institution of the coordination body is dominated not by political logic but by policy logic. In the same vein, many researchers have argued that excessive politicization or partisan politics has a negative impact on policy coordination (e.g., Peters, 2015 and Craft, 2015). Nicole Bolleyer (2011) asserts that the outcome of policy integration depends on party organizational linkage mechanisms such as party conferences, meetings of ministers, control over candidate selection, and various types of committees. However, unlike the aforementioned authors, Bolleyer (2011) maintains that political parties, which seek to establish an overall cross-sectional rationale between and among government agencies, may have also a positive effect on policy integration. Dahlström and Pierre (2011) also point out that politicization has been used as a steering strategy to increase the number of political advisers and other political appointees. Furthermore, coordination mechanisms do not necessarily have the anticipated effect on performance. Herman Bakvis and Douglas Brown (2010) compared two respective mechanisms of coordinating policies in the United States and Canada: administrative and jurisdictional federalism. The analysis results show that greater efforts from the center (in the U.S. cases) do not necessarily result in improved coordination. Antoine Loeper (2011) has suggested that decentralization would be optimal if coordination became very important. These results support Bakvis & Brown

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5. The six modes of executive politics and the coordination roles of political staff are as follows: 1) monocratic government: synoptic, driver of government leader's policy agenda; 2) collective government: facilitator of collective and collaborative policy making; 3) ministerial government: limited and predominantly myopic intraministerial policy coordination; 4) bureaucratic government: not applicable; 5) shared government: restricted to a few political staff members, predominantly intraministerial but with some extraministerial policy coordination; 6) segmented government: myopic, predominantly intraministerial (Craft, 2015, p. 63).

(2010)'s conclusion that centralization and hierarchical coordination mechanisms did not produce the coordination outcome that was expected.

Some recent studies analyze how combining multiple mechanisms or instruments of coordination can have a positive effect on coordination outcomes (e.g. Howlett et al., 2017; Randma-Liiv et al., 2015). Successful integration among multiple coordination mechanisms and instruments becomes even greater in the face of the growing number of multifaceted and multilevel policy issues (Howlett et al., 2017, p. 74). Tina Randma-Liiv, Annika Uudelepp, and Külli Sarapuu (2015) argue for the use of networks mechanisms as a complement to hierarchical coordination. Michael Howlett, Vince, and Pablo del Rio (2017) and Howlett and del Rio (2015) have proposed a model of policy mix types based on the number of goals, policies, and levels of the government involved, arguing that the integration between horizontal and vertical coordination in particular has an important effect on coordination performance.

METHOD AND DATA

Since the purpose of this study is to bring to light the major trends in research on policy coordination in South Korea, my review focused on peer-reviewed journals ranked in the top 20 public administration and policy sciences fields according to the Korea Citation Index.6 The search was limited to Korean-language journals. I selected articles that include the search term "policy coordination" in the title, abstract, and/or keywords. This resulted in a pool of 50 articles. I excluded the articles that dealt with cases of other countries other than Korea and that had low relevance to the question of coordination.7 The final data set contained 29 articles. Although I have adopted a limited search method for the purposes of this study, the

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6. The journals were *Korean Public Administration Review, Korean Journal of Local Government Studies, Korean Journal of Public Administration, Korean Association of Police Science Review, Korean Journal of Public Administration, Korean Policy Sciences Review, Korean Association for Policy Studies, Korean Public Personnel Administration Review, Korean Review of Organizational Studies, Journal of Governmental Studies, Korean Comparative Government Review, Korean Journal of Local Government and Administration Studies, Korean Security Science Review, Korean Society and Public Administration, Korean Public Administration Quarterly, Journal of Cultural Policy, Korean Governance Review, Korea Local Administration Review, and Public Policy Review.*
7. Studies on mediation and arbitration, which represent the same concept as coordination in Korean, have been excluded from the analysis.

total number of studies is nevertheless very small.

　　Policy coordination became a topic of inquiry for Korean scholars when the country democratized, and as figure 1 shows, the number of studies on policy coordination has slowly increased since then. D. S. Park (1982) offered the first important discussion on policy coordination in Korea. Park presented a proposal for successful policy coordination from a macroscopic perspective, outlining the development of modern and contemporary Korean society. Since the inauguration of the civilian government in 1993, especially since the 2000s, research on policy coordination has increased significantly. This can be attributed to the fact that as a result of democratization various groups hitherto silenced have been able to get their interests addressed, making it difficult to adjust policies (Choi, 1993, p. 46).
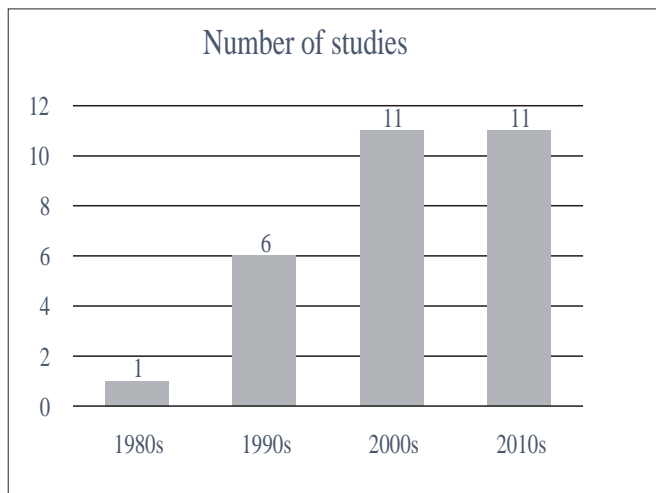
Figure 1. Number of Studies

　　Table 3 lists major features of Korean coordination research included in my analysis. Since the 1980s, only 9 out of the top 20 journals in the field of public administration and policy studies have published studies that directly deal with policy coordination. The Korean Public Administration Review has published the most (eight studies). The most studied topics are policy coordination among the central ministries, and many studies adopted literature review as a methodology. The subjects of analysis and methodologies of policy coordination research in Korea are discussed in detail in the following section.

Table 3. Major Features of Korean Coordination Research Included in the Analysis

Journal	No. (%)	Subject of Analysis	No. (%)	Methodology	No. (%)
Korean Public Administration Review	8 (27.6 %)	coordination among central agencies	17 (58.6 %)	literature review	22 (75.9 %)
Korean Journal of Public Administration	5 (17.2 %)	intergovernmental; private-public coordination	4 (13.8 %)	logistic regression analysis (using objective data sources)	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Journal of Public Administration	5 (17.2 %)	coordination among central agencies/ private-public sector	2 (6.9 %)	survey	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Association for Policy Studies	5 (17.2 %)	coordination among central-local governments	1 (3.4 %)	network structure analysis	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Journal of Local Government Studies	2 (6.9 %)	coordination among central agencies/ central-local governments	1 (3.4 %)	literature review and survey	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Association for Policy Studies	1 (3.4 %)	coordination among local government agencies	1 (3.4 %)	literature review and interviews	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Review of Organizational Studies	1 (3.4 %)	coordination among quasigovernmental organizations	1 (3.4 %)	survey and interviews	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Society and Public Administration	1 (3.4 %)	coordination among interest groups	1 (3.4 %)	content analysis and interviews	1 (3.4 %)
Korean Public Administration Quarterly	1 (3.4 %)	etc.	1 (3.4 %)		

POLICY COORDINATION IN SOUTH KOREA: TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS

Research Trends in Policy Coordination in South Korea

In early research on policy coordination in Korea, the emphasis was on macro and comprehensive analyses(Park, 1982; Kim & Shin, 1991; Choi, 1993; Lee, 1993). Park (1982) points out that historically there was an imbalance between par-

ticipation of citizens and participation of the government in the policy process, and he argues that to redress this imbalance participation by the administration, economic organizations, and the military should be curtailed and participation by farmers, teachers, and workers' groups encouraged. In recent years, however, micro- and more specific studies on policy coordination cases have been on the uptick. There are many studies that describe specific coordination processes while analyzing policies or programs involving multiple agencies and organizations such as climate change policies (Yun, Kim, Cho, & Lee, 2010; Kim & Jung, 2011), the theme village program (Seo & Yun, 2007), the feed-in tariff program (Koo, 2013), and the autonomous police system (Han, 2012).

As far as methodology goes, qualitative case studies are still predominant, and there is a paucity of quantitative studies that examine factors affecting coordination performance. Of the 29 studies, 22 (76% of the total studies) relied heavily on the literature review (but not a systematic review) as a methodology. The different methodologies of the remaining 7 are as follows: surveys (1 study), logistic regression analysis with objective data sources (1 study), network structure analysis (1 studies), content analysis and interview (1 studies), literature review and interview (1 study), literature review and survey (1 study), survey and interview (1 study).

Recent studies on policy coordination tend to address a wider range of stakeholders. In the early stages of Korean research on policy coordination, most studies examined coordination among central government agencies (e.g. Kim & Shin, 1991; Choi, 1993; Lee, 1993). Although most studies still explore coordination at the central government level, studies regarding policy coordination among local government agencies (e.g., Kim & Kang, 2007), central and local governments agencies (e.g., Han, 2012), the public sector and the private sector agencies (e.g., Koo, 2013), and quasi-governmental organizations (Yoon, 2013) have begun appearing with more frequency.

Definitions of Policy Coordination in South Korea

Although Korean researchers have been studying coordination for decades, there is still no one widely embraced theoretical framework for it, and so the understanding of concept of coordination varies to a great extent. Therefore, we need to first look at how the concept has developed in the field of public administration and policy studies in Korea. Although there had been a few studies that addressed the topic of policy coordination before, B. S. Choi (1993) got the ball rolling, embracing the definition of coordination offered by Lindblom (1965) and emphasizing that in order to reduce or avoid adverse consequences, all the stakeholders involved

needed to be able to express their stance. Choi thus defined coordination as a democratic process (Choi, 1993, pp. 58-59). Song ho Lee (1993, p. 7) has provided a more specific definition, namely, that coordination is a "process of ensuring consistency in policy decision or implementation involving multiple agencies." C. S. Yu and M. C. Ha (2010, pp. 345-346) have also defined policy coordination from a decision-making perspective; participants in the process, on their account, "make adjustments in order to avoid conflicts over the choice of policy or means of implementation." In a 2012 study, Lee offers a broader account of the concept more, defining it as "the process of organically reconfiguring elements to improve relations between relevant policies (or stances)" (p. 5). In sum, policy coordination in the field of administrative and policy studies in Korea is understood to be a process of ensuring policy consistency and developing modes of decision making to accomplish this.

Mechanisms, Strategy, and Instruments for Coordination in Korea

In South Korea, the need for coordination has become critical due to the progress of democratization, globalization, and the NPM reform initiatives. These changes in the administrative environment have made policy issues exceedingly complex. The question is how can we deal with these "wicked problems" (Christensen & Laegreid, 2007; McGuire, 2006). In this section, I examine which means and strategies are singled out in the Korean literature as enabling effective policy coordination and how the trend has changed.

During the authoritarian period in South Korea, core executive agencies such as the Office of the President, the Office for Government Policy Coordination, Economy Planning Board, and the Agency for National Security Planning (formerly the Korean Central Intelligence Agency), relied on their authority and power to effect vertical coordination of lower-level institutions (Kim & Shin, 1991; Kim et al., 1993). However, in the wake of democratization and the inauguration of the civilian government, democratizing the structure and process of policy coordination became an urgent task. Choi pointed out in his seminal 1993 study that reasonable and comprehensive coordination to ensure policy consistency is not possible and only justifies authoritarian and centralized policy coordination. So he underlined the need for democratic processes and structures, proposing the normalization of the National Assembly, the correction of imbalances in the representation of interests among government agencies, the promotion of fairness and trust in policy making and the coordination process, and assignment of a leading role the minister in charge (rather than to senior secretary in the president's office) in the process

(pp. 56-58, 60-62).

While early studies outlined wider-ranging, more general trends in policy coordination, recent studies have focused on specific coordination mechanisms and instruments (Park et al., 1998; Lee, 2003; Kim & Jung, 2011; Kim, Yu, Song, & Park, 2014), the most common and of which is "organizational restructuring" (Kim et al., 2014; Kim & Jung, 2011). When policy conflicts between central departments persist, the departments are merged to allow the senior manager of the organization to resolve policy problems through internal coordination. In countries like Korea, in which a hierarchical culture predominates, internal coordination by superiors is perceived to be much easier than other approaches (Jung, 2010, p. 14). According to Kim and colleagues (2014), South Korean officials also regard organizational restructuring as an effective instrument in policy coordination because it can strengthen policy coordination within organizations and ensure consistency in policies. Thus both the evidence on the ground and the literature indicates that organizational restructuring has been used as a hierarchical coordination mechanism in Korea.

Studies documenting formal coordination mechanisms and instruments have also been on the uprise (Lee, 2003; Yu & Ha, 2010; Kwon, 2016). In a 2003 study, Lee analyzed the use of cabinet councils as a coordination mechanism during the Kim Dae-jung administration, demonstrating that they contributed to the coordination to an extent but were not firmly institutionalized at the time. More recent studies on the policy coordination function of the Office for Government Policy Coordination (e.g., Yu & Ha, 2010; Kwon, 2016) also argue that this mechanism has been successful to a degree. The research on formal coordination has focused on the limited role of formal institutions and has highlighted the need to explore the complementary role of informal institutions in the coordination process. Although informal coordination has traditionally been widely used in Korea (Kim & Shin, 1991), research that delves deeply into informal coordination mechanisms and instruments is still rare. Owing to Korea's authoritarian past, the role of leaders, especially in informal processes, was emphasized until recently because the will of the ruler in an authoritarian environment is a major variable in policy coordination (Kim & Shin, 1991). But with democratization, attention to cooperative leadership (Han, 2012) that coordinates interests is on the rise.

Recently, there has been growing interest in policy coordination instruments that can promote more democratic participation. Committees, for example, have been widely used, especially to facilitate horizontal coordination of national geographic information system policy (Park, Jung, & Choi, 1998), science and technology policies (Kim, 2000), and climate change policies (Yun et al., 2010). D. W.

Kim and G. H. Jung (2011, p. 299) suggest that it may be more effective to establish a new organization for coordination in a situation where departmental silos are robust. Koo (2013, p. 17) maintains that one of the reasons Korea's feed-in tariff program failed is that the coordination body did not have a significant role in the program.

There is also more interest now in horizontal policy coordination than there was in the past in Korea. A few studies on interministerial coordination in South Korea have analyzed horizontal policy coordination structure (e.g. Lee, 2003; Lee, 2007). Complementing Song ho Lee's 2003 study of cabinet councils consisting of a small number of ministers concerned with a particular policy domain, is C. K. Lee's 2007 study of horizontal network structures in central governmental agencies. However, because hierarchical coordination by superiors still prevails in Korea more research on horizontal coordination is needed.

Drawing on Edurne Magro, Mikel Navarro, and Jon Mikel Zabala-Iturriagagoitia (2014)'s idea of a "coordination mix," Yong-Duck Jung has underscored the need for contextual intelligence in the policy coordination process. According to Jung, there is no single best policy coordination approach, and it is necessary to select and combine appropriate coordination mechanisms and instruments depending on circumstances and goals (2010, p. 22). K. H. Park and colleagues (1998) also underline that there is a need to incorporate opinions from a large number of people and to institute a top-down coordination (p. 15). Although these Korean studies do not suggest specific integration methods, they provide insights similar to those of foreign studies (Howlett et al., 2017, Keast et al., 2007), which emphasize the need for integrated use of appropriate mechanisms or instruments.

Performance of Policy Coordination in Korea

While studies on policy coordination are generally lacking in Korea, the most serious lacuna may be in research on policy coordination performance. There are a few analytical studies on Korea's policy coordination performance (Seo & Yun, 2007; Yu & Ha, 2010; Kwon, 2016). J. W. Seo and S. O. Yun (2007) conducted a qualitative study on the theme village program, which five governmental agencies individually carry out. They argue that critical parts of the coordination plan designed by the Office for Government Policy Coordination were compromised by political interests. As a result, policy coordination efforts have failed because agencies are striving only to meet their own needs. This conclusion echoes previous studies (e.g., Hustedt & Danken, 2017 and Peters, 2015) that argue that overemphasis on political logic or the interests of lower units has a negative impact on high-

er-level policy coordination. Yu and Ha (2010) analyzed 571 cases of coordination carried out by the Coordination Office of State Affairs during the Kim Dae-ung and Rho Moo-hyun administrations and reported that 80% of the tasks were successfully coordinated. This study contributed to the quantitative and objective evaluation of the performance of policy coordination mechanisms in Korea, but, as the authors themselves state, it is a descriptive study rather than explanatory study of coordination performance. Y. S. Kwon (2016) analyzed 510 cases of public conflict coordination handled by the Office of the Prime Minister. This study presents empirical evidence that the characteristics of public conflicts, which includes the parties involved in a conflict, the level of the conflict, the number of conflict issues, and the type of conflict it is, environmental factors, such as political factors and the capacity of other coordinators, and coordinator factors, such as the capacity of prime minister and capacity of the coordinating system of the Office of the Prime Minister, have significant effects on coordination performance. This study is particularly meaningful because it is the only quantitative and explanatory study that investigates the factors of coordination performance among the studies I looked at. There is a need for more studies like this.

CONCLUSION

This article has provided a critical analysis of the literature on policy coordination in South Korea. More specifically, this study examined definitions of policy coordination concepts, major coordination mechanisms, and coordination performance that the Korean policy coordination literature offers. Based on this analysis, I outlined key characteristics of prior research: that the number of coordination studies in Korea is still small and not especially diverse and that most of the preceding studies deal with policy coordination among central government agencies, mainly using the literature review as a methodology. On the other hand, empirical studies on coordination performance are few and far between.

More research needs to be done using a variety of more analytical methodologies. That many prior studies deal primarily with policy coordination among central governmental agencies may owe to the fact that the term "policy coordination" is most widely used in describing central government cases and in general is not explicitly used when referring to cases with a wider range of actors. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the scope of academic discussions on policy coordination needs to be further expanded, reflecting the reality that various actors from public to private are involved in the policy-making and implementation process in various

ways.

    This study has several limitations. It reviewed only those articles that explicitly included the term "policy coordination" and that appeared in influential journals. I imposed these constraints in order to focus on the mainstream flow of Korean administration and policy studies, but my use of such constraints mean many studies are missing from my analysis. As Geert Bouckaert, B. Guy Peters, and Koen Verhoest (2010, p. 34) point out, coordination can be relevant to a wide range of issues in the public sector. Some of the studies that were excluded from the analysis may contain significant information and findings about the policy coordination mechanisms, instruments, and performance, even if they do not directly use this terminology. However, it is still worth noting that these findings have not been analyzed from the point of view of policy coordination in Korea.

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