

# Development and Issue

## Korea's Experience of Democratic Development at the International Cooperation Perspective: from Recipient to Donor

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### I. Introduction

There is a growing need for extending the focus of interest on the development experience of Korea from the economic development model (state-led development, developmental state, etc.) to the development process of its democracy. Although the democratization experience of Korea is an important topic in academia and the development cooperation field, there have been little sufficient research and systematic studies due to the internal and external restrictions. Therefore, it is necessary to apply the perspective of international development cooperation and by doing so develop and provide appropriate policy implications.

The objective of this study is to examine Korea's experience of democratization from the perspective of international development cooperation and provide implications for international development cooperation projects. To that end, this study summarizes the international contributions to the development of democracy in Korea and explores the potential and ways in which Korea's international development cooperation would contribute to the development of democracy in the world in the future.

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## II. Korea's Experience of Democratic Development at the Political Economy Perspective

To understand the historical context of the democratization movement, it is required to conduct a structural analysis of the characteristics of the society at the time that caused the democratization movement. Also, the dynamic nature of the mutual relations among the political forces who were dissatisfied with the existing system and came to act should be identified. Lastly, a macro-causal analysis should be attempted on how these behaviors could remain persistent in the Korean society.

### 1. Origin and History of Korean Democracy

The history of Korea for the last 100 years can be viewed and studied in various aspects. Perhaps, one of the most important key concepts in doing so can be democratic revolution. The process of democratization involved many historic conjunctures such as the March 1<sup>st</sup> Movement means a radical departure from the past, which contained a shift of the sovereign power from the monarchy to the people, resulting in the constitution of the democratic republic and the provisional government. Since then, Korea's democratization has been marked by the continuous uprisings for democracy such as the April 19 Revolution (1960), the June Struggle (1987), and the Candlelight Struggle (2016–2017), which demonstrated the dynamism of the Korean democracy.

The continuous unfolding of democracy has been manifested through the repeated public demonstrations along with the slogan, "The sovereignty shall reside in the people," to break through the legitimacy crisis of the state power.

### 2. Sustainability and Momentum of Korean Democracy

The sustainability of Korean democracy has become a unique form of political

change as the path dependence increases, and the underlying force for the sustainability can be said to be the repeated recalls and reproductions of popular sovereignty.

The unique experience of Korea with international assistance for democratization can be a strength but at the same time a disadvantage. The path of Korean democracy cannot and should not be duplicated by other Asian countries. However, given that the formation of an autonomous agencies is essential in democratization, the need for international assistance to the making of such subject is of high importance.

### 3. Position of Democracy in Korea's Development Discourse

The importance of democracy in Korea's development discourse is secondary at best. This secondary importance of democracy in understanding Korean development stems from the "economic development first, democratization later" theory that the economic development by the Park Chung-hee administration preceded democratization and the democratization was based on that economic development. However, considering the fact that the democratization movement had started before the market economy was fully established and that the democratization movement had matured alongside the process of economic development, Korea's development can be characterized by "accompanying of democratization and industrialization." Different from many developing countries which are stuck in the state of formal democracy, Korea has successfully consolidated its democracy through the repeated recalls of popular sovereignty. Succeeding the previous democratization movement, the occurrence of the Candlelight Struggle demonstrated that democracy can resolve social development issues that the market cannot deal with and revealed the importance of democracy in the development process of Korea. Nevertheless, the process of democratization has not been seriously taken in the discussion of Korea's development model, because the international discussions on the development experience and model of Korea have been centered around development state theory.

The interests on the East Asia development model have rapidly increased after the growth of Korea and Taiwan which had been considered underdeveloped countries.

They transformed their agricultural society into an industrial society and increased their power in the global export market. The important point in their development experiences is that it seems that the state, not the private players, led the change (Önis, 1991). The concept of "East Asian Developmental State," which was mentioned by Chalmers Johnson for the first time in his study on the Japanese state and industrialization, refers to the state with the capabilities of designing and implementing industrial policies and intervening in the process of economic growth.

Developmental state theory insisted that while the state-led development disappeared at the end of the 1970s in other regions, the power to mobilize private economic players to march toward planned goals, organizational coherence, and autonomy were still found in East Asian countries. According to the theory, these states can increase demand and supply to achieve the state-wide development goals, "get prices wrong (Amsden, 1989: 149), or intervene to effectively govern the market"(Wade, 1990). Korea was named as a typical example of this theory.

The characteristics of East Asian development are identified by the development state theory as follows: 1) East Asian countries developed because of the state's effective market intervention; 2) the state's capability of market intervention is based on the unique relationship between the state, market, and social players; and 3) that peculiar relationship comes from the capacities of the leaders and government officials who constitute the state apparatus. The relation between the state and market is marked by industrial policies such as the state's control over the financial sector, powerful authority of the development departments, strategic and selective allocation of fund, development plans accompanied by the design of state's strategic industries, and various subsidies, incentives, and tax cuts. Furthermore, the relation between the private capital and the state is captured by the concept of the state's developmental autonomy, and the reason for the state autonomy against the private sector is considered the competence of individual government officials(Chang, D-O, 2013: 87-89).

Developmental state theory reduces development to economic growth, the source of economic growth to the capacities of state organizations, and the capacities of

state organizations to the competence of individual government officials. In so doing, it distortedly presents Korea as a "country which succeeded in the economic growth by the state with strong leadership" and ignores the external and internal contradictions found in the process. Developed countries in the East Asian region including Korea had to practically give up the half of the sovereignty to become part of the US-led Cold War development scheme. By doing so, they could secure assistance, investment, and market but ended up a half-sovereign state. Also, after transferring the half of the sovereignty to the Cold War system, they monopolized the remaining half and used it to force low-pay labor in the export industry for manufacturing consumer goods for consumers in developed countries, not for the working people in their own countries (Deyo, 1987, 1989). While doing that, labor in the East Asian countries became the victim suffering delayed income raise and social welfare and oppression of rights. Democracy was completely suppressed to maintain this system, but ironically, the strong desire for democracy had been vented continuously and repeatedly.

Developmental state theory ignores these external and internal contradictions, so in the theory, democracy exists outside 'development' which is substituted by economic growth. In that theory, the dictatorship before the democratization is understood as plausible to secure the state's leadership and realize economic growth, and the strong social desire for democratization, which became prominent after the 1980s, is considered to perform an incidental role such as merely preventing the authoritarian state from being corrupted (Amsden, 1989). There is no serious consideration on the role played by this desire for democracy in the process of development in Korea.

### III. Korea's Experience of Democratic Development at the International Development Perspective

The amount of assistance from the international community (bilateral and multilateral aid agencies) to Korea from 1945 to 1999 was around USD 13,977 million, including humanitarian aid for post-war recovery, infrastructure, and economic and social development. However, it did not include assistance for development of democracy.

#### 1. The Role of International Civil Society in Development of Korean Democracy

After the Korean War in 1950, Foreign Voluntary Agencies (FVA) provided Korea with aid for relief, social welfare, and social services. The civil organizations of Germany and the US that received Official Development Assistance (ODA) fund from their own governments, including Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe (EZE), the German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation (MISEREOR), the Asia Foundation, and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, initially put their assistance to Korea especially into human development programs for education and public health and later expanded the scope to social development for the poor and women. Then along with the development of the society, they contributed to political, legal, and systematic improvement and development of Korea's social movement including women's movement, peasant movement, labor movement, cooperative movement, and Christian social movement, exerting great influence on Korea's democratization movement.

Two of German church-affiliated aid agencies, funded by the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), also supported Korea's desire for change. EZE, the Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development, and MISEREOR, an overseas development agency of Catholic Church, provided assistance for social movement organizations promote development of Korean society. It is found out that MISEREOR, for example, conducted total 624 projects targeting Korea; but only 102 projects are available for access. <Table 1> below is analysis of MISEREOR's Korea-specific projects in detailed (Na, 2015).

<Table 1> MISEREOR's Projects on Korea from 1959 to 1990s (retrieved from 102 projects)

| Years | Cooperative Groups' Movement | Church Resource | Matured woman | Workers' and Farmers Movement | Social Welfare | Orphan Girl's Education | Emergency Relief | Human Rights | Education | Poverty | Total |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 1950  |                              |                 |               |                               |                | 2                       |                  |              |           |         | 2     |
| 1960  |                              |                 |               |                               | 4              | 7                       |                  |              |           |         | 11    |
| 1970  | 2                            | 2               | 5             | 8                             | 5              | 9                       | 2                | 3            | 3         | 3       | 38    |
| 1980  | 7                            | 2               | 6             | 12                            | 2              | 8                       | 2                | 4            |           | 5       | 47    |
| 1990  |                              |                 | 1             | 2                             |                |                         |                  |              |           | 1       | 4     |
|       | 9                            | 4               | 12            | 22                            | 11             | 26                      | 2                | 4            | 3         | 9       | 102   |

Source: Na (2015)

In the 1950s and 1960s, MISEREOR's projects centered on education, then moved to support co-operatives in the 1970s. During the period of industrialization in the 1980s, MISEREOR further expanded its support to cover raising awareness of social issues, supporting various social movements and efforts for democracy, and promoting human rights. In the 1990s, the project focus shifted mainly to supporting social movements in Korea (Na, 2015). In short, the focus of MISEREOR's projects on Korea changed from the education and economic assistance in the postwar period till the 1970s, to support for social movements since the 1980s.

The Asia Foundation of the United States (US) also changed its focus of assistance similarly. In 1954, the Asia Foundation initiated first assistance project to Korea. Like the MISEREOR, the Foundation's project focus was concentrated on education, cultural and exchange programs until the 1970s. In accordance with Korean society's development, the Asia Foundation broadened issue areas to politics, rule of law, civil society and more.

Another contribution to the development of Korea was made by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which belongs to the Social Democratic Party (SPD) of Germany. With ODA funds received from the German government, the foundation gave financial support to newly established civil society organizations in general and women's organizations in particular, including Korea Women's Association for Equity, Korean WomenLink, Korean League of Women Voters, and Korea Women's Hot Line in the

1980s. In addition to this, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation funded labor advocacy groups dedicated to improving workers' rights. The Foundation's financial support, contributed to the development of the Yeongdeungpo Urban Industrial Mission – a Christian groups that played an important role in resolving labor issues – and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) which succeeded in uniting thousands of factory workers and bringing participations in labor movements (Sim, 2017).

After the Korean War, many donor governments and international civil society organizations did not specify the development of Korean democracy as a purpose of aid. However, this situation, the civil society organizations in Germany and the US put much efforts on promoting human rights of farmers and workers, empowering women, as well as, supporting social movements in Korea. It is believed that such commitments played a significant role in the development of Korean Democracy. The <Table 2> demonstrates various international agencies' activities for democracy development.

<Table 2> International Assistance to Movements in Korea

| Field           | Organization                                                                                        | German Organization                                                                | US Organization                                                                 | Netherlands Organization | International Relief Agency |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Womens Movement | • Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center (KSVRC)                                                       | • The Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development(EZE)                   | • The Global Fund for Women                                                     |                          |                             |
|                 | • Korean Christian Cooperation for Social Development (KCCSD) (supports local women's organization) |                                                                                    |                                                                                 |                          |                             |
|                 | • Korean League of Women Voters                                                                     | • Bread for the World                                                              | • League of Women Voters Overseas Education Fund (OEF)<br>• The Asia Foundation |                          |                             |
|                 | • Center for Korean Women & Politics                                                                | • Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung<br>• (Affiliated with German Christian Social Union Party) | • The Asia Foundation                                                           |                          |                             |

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|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|
| Womens Movement | • Korean Women's Hot Line                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | • Bread for the World<br>• The Heinrich Böll Foundation (Women Advocacy Foundation, affiliated with German Green PArty) |                                                                                                |  |  |
|                 | • Korea YWCA<br>• Korean Women Workers Association                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                |  |  |
|                 | • Korean National Council of Women<br>• Korean Professional Women's Association<br>• Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI)<br>• The Korean Women's Institute (KWI) of Ewha Womans University<br>• Research Institute of Asian Women(RIAW) of Sookmyung Women's University<br>• Korea Women's Political Solidarity<br>• WomenLink<br>• Korean Women Workers Association<br>• Korean Women's Association United (KWAU)<br>• Pohang Women's Association<br>• Korean League of Women Voters<br>• Center for Korean Women & Politics<br>• Center for Women's Policy<br>• Gwangju YWCA<br>• Center for Korean Women & Politics<br>• Daegu Women's Hot Line<br>• Women mMigrants Human Rights Center of Korea |                                                                                                                         | • The Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development (EZE)<br><br>• The Asia Foundation |  |  |

|                                            |                                                                                                             |                                                                                                       |  |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (Christian)<br>Social<br>Movement          | • Christian Academy                                                                                         | • The Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development (EZE)                                     |  |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                            | • Korea YMCA Social Development Group<br>• Korea YMCA Rural movement<br>• Korea YMCA Environmental movement | • the Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development (EZE)<br>• Bread for the World            |  | • Netherlan – The Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation (ICCO) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Labor<br>Movement                          | • Yeongdeungpo Industrial Mission                                                                           | • The Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development (EZE)<br>• The Friedrich Ebert Foundation |  |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Co-op<br>movement                          | • Cooperative Educational Institute                                                                         | • MISEREOR                                                                                            |  |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peasants<br>Movement                       | • Corea Catholic Farmers Movement (CCFM)                                                                    | • MISEREOR                                                                                            |  |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| (Christian)<br>Democratization<br>Movement | • National Council of Churches in Korea (NCC)                                                               |                                                                                                       |  |                                                                               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Church tax in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, the UK, Netherland and Canada</li> <li>• The World Council of Churches (WCC)</li> <li>• Christian Conference of Asia (CCA)</li> </ul> |

Source: Kim (2013); KoFID (2011); Na (2015); Korea Democracy Foundation (2018); Asia Foundation (2019)

## 2. Foreign Donors' Contribution to the Development of Korean Democracy: Cases of EZE and KCCSD

From the mid-1980s, EZE of Germany made a major policy shift in its international assistance to Korea; the EZE began to support grassroots and minorities in Korean society. The Korean Christian Cooperation for Social Development (KCCSD) was a recipient of EZE's supports; DM 300,000 was given to the KCCSD from 1986 to 1993. Knowing that social movements during this period made great effort to achieve democracy in Korea, the KCCSD implemented social development projects for workers, farmers and the urban poor. The KCCSD, for instance, assisted child-care and education centers near industrial zones and poor neighborhoods, organizing and education programs for workers, labour advice centers, workers' cultural movements, organic farming and road-building projects in rural areas, community organizing and education in cities, solidarity-building and education programs for women workers (KCCSD, 1999).

As local governments became active after the establishment of the first civilian government in 1993 and Korea gained social and political stability, the KCCSD supported development projects in an attempt to improve local governance and community-based social movements. In this light, the KCCSD tended to support medium-scale projects aiming at long-term and alternative development goals. During this period, the KCCSD also concentrated on result-oriented projects; for instance, a project on improving conditions of underdeveloped local areas, such as Incheon, Daejeon, Yeosu, Mokpo, Suwon and Ansan. Other EZE-funded projects included launching nationwide civic education, researching on environmental movements and more (KCCSD, 1999).

It is estimated that EZE support via the KCCSD was between KRW 4 million to 10 million for each project. EZE ended its assistance to Korea in 2000 with the last transfer of 52.5 million (Kim, 2013).

The Korean organizations that received EZE's funds via the KCCSD from 1986 to 1996 were mainly organizations for women, workers, farmers, and community activists. Other projects, implemented by small-sized agencies, were also granted

opportunity to continue their projects, such as study room movements, child-care movements, Christian social movements, environmental movements, and cooperative groups' movements.

As Korea became a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1996, the KCCSD determined to stop receiving assistance from EZE and decided launching joint fund-raising campaigns with domestic churches in Korea. The KCCSD and Korean Christian community began overseas development projects, aiming at poverty reduction, social development and more. Since the 2000s, the KCCSD have been active in providing international assistance to several developing countries, such as Nepal, Vietnam, China, India, Myanmar, East Timor, Mongolia and number of nations in Africa (KCCSD, 2018).

### 3. International Civil Society's Contribution to the Development of Korean Democracy: Cases of Women's Movements

EZE and MISEREOR of Germany and the Asia Foundation of the US have supported Korea's development through the ODA from their own governments. Among them, the German agencies initially supported social services and then moved to support for farmers, labor, and women's organizations. Those women's organizations acted as a major force in the democratization movement in the 1980s and the civil society movements in the 1990s. The women's movement brought about the systematic reform of the society through the legislation of various acts for gender equality in the Korean society. Part of the leadership entered into the political community and worked in the parliament and government, contributing to political reform and social development.

## IV. Implications for Korea's ODA for Democratic Governance sector

### 1. Korea's Current Effort for Democratic Development in Globe

Since the establishment in 1991, Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) has executed about 20% of its ODA into "public administration" which was set as a core area. When classified according to the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Creditor Reporting System (CRS) code by type, it is under 'public administration and civil society' which accounts for 11% of total ODA. Many projects in the form of small scale grant assistances, and fellowship programs have been implemented mainly in Asia, Africa, and the Middle-East. In terms of the OECD DAC CRS code, public policy and administrative management account for 41.86%, and public administration accounts for 29.12%, totaling about 71%. On the other hand, the main elements of democratic governance such as election (0.18%), anti-corruption organizations and agencies (0.37%), Civil Society Organization (CSO) strengthening (0.44%), human rights (0.23%), and gender equality (2.37%) account only for a very small portion.

The international donors clearly suggest democratic governance, democracy, human rights, and so on in the project strategy and field, but KOICA traditionally has executed ODA under the value-neutral field name, "public administration." In order to contribute to support for democracy and achievement of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 in developing countries, KOICA needs to widen the support field from public administration with the value-neutral and depoliticizing characteristics to various sub-areas such as enhancing human rights, strengthening the civil society, and improving gender equality under the "democratic governance" concept.

In addition, Korea's civil society for development cooperation has participated in development cooperation activities with the unique characteristics as an independent development actor with the 30-year history. The civil society for development cooperation has executed about 2,000 projects with the international development

cooperation fund of about KRW 500 billion by 2017. However, only 2.1% of the projects and 0.85% of the fund were for “public administration and civil society.”

## 2. Implications to Enhance the Role of Korea's ODA as an Accountable Donor

For Korea to expand international development cooperation for democracy in the future, the following three ways will be available. First, KOICA expands the current project method for the “public administration” field, sets the direction toward “democratic governance,” increases the scale of projects, and executes the projects. Second, KOICA focuses on the current “public administration” field, and the government establishes an organization like National Endowment for Democracy (NED) of the US which will concentrate on support for reinforcement of democracy. Third, a cooperation system between KOICA and democracy supporting agencies such as the Korea Democracy Foundation shall be set up, and roles for providing support shall be distributed.

It is noteworthy that the international civil society organizations –recipients of ODA funds from their own governments– have made a series of changes in the priority of concern areas as the Korean society experiences development. In the early stage of assistance, the organizations provided education and health–related supports to Korea. In accordance with Korea's development, the focus of supports moved from human capacity building to social development with an emphasis on addressing difficulties that the poor, women and minority groups encounter. The scope of aids further expanded to the issues related to politics, laws, institutions, civil society, and the democratic governance.

This experience offers an important implication for Korean ODA for democracy in recipient countries. Considering that EZE of Germany and the Asia Foundation of US receive large amount of ODA funds from their government, it is recommended for KOICA to prioritize supporting democracy through donor country's civil society organizations.

It should be kept in mind that in the process of Korea's development, the

democratization is not the outcome from the development but the process of development itself. It is not the incidental phenomenon outside the development but the content of the development. The narrow understanding of the development experience from the perspective of developmental state theory, the deduction of the development model based on that understanding, and the export of that development model through ODA have formed an important pillar Korean ODA. However, this may glamorize the pre–democratization state and impose development without democracy on the members of the developing community. The citizens in developing countries may be given a role only as a hard–working ‘labour,’ in other words, an economic citizen, and not as a democratic citizen. Korea's ODA should be executed based on the reflection of its development, and in that context, democracy deserves to be one of the main pillars supporting Korea's ODA.

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