

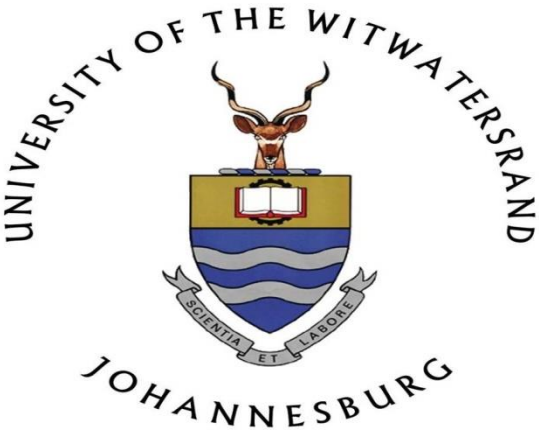
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Pragmatic diplomacy and new partners in Africa: a case study of South Korea-Africa relations

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Pragmatic Diplomacy and New Partners in Africa

A Case Study of South Korea-Africa Relations

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A Research Report submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in International Relations

Supervisor: Professor Garth Shelton

Department of International Relations

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2020

DECLARATION

I, **Thato Minah Matji (916325)** am a student registered for **Master of Arts by Coursework and Research Report** in the year **2019**.

I hereby declare the following:

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- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.
- I confirm that this is my own work.
- I declare that I have not previously submitted it for any degree or university.

TMatji

T.M. MATJI

16/03/2020

Date

Acknowledgments

To my parents, thank you for your continuous support throughout my entire academic journey. Your sacrifices have afforded me the opportunity to further my studies and your prayers have carried me.

To my supervisor Professor Garth Shelton, your expert knowledge on the East Asian Region has sparked my interest in South Korea. Thank you for your patience, for making time for consultations, your expert advice and your positive and constructive feedback.

To Raymond Sekgojane, I finally made it! Your humour, your patience and positive energy has made this journey wonderful.

Abstract

South Korea's economic story is remarkable; it has transitioned from a resource poor, low-income nation to a high-income economy in only three decades. As a new development partner on the African continent it has been given little attention. Its role on the continent is important in complimenting Africa's path to development; however South Korea still needs to articulate its African strategy clearly in order to achieve a mutually beneficial partnership that it promotes on different platforms. This research seeks to uncover the nature of the South Korea-Africa relations and how South Korea has made efforts through the different platforms such as the Korea-Africa Forum and Korea-Africa Economic Cooperation to contribute to Africa's development path. This research paper also seeks to interrogate whether South Korea as a new player on the continent is bringing in a unique strategy or if it is following in the path of the old players and most importantly revealing whether the diplomatic interactions between African countries and South Korea are yielding practical results.

A qualitative research method will be used for this study to reveal important phenomena which will give a broader and critical understanding of international relations, particularly international cooperation. South Korea considers its relation with developing countries as a partnership and that of friendship and this is changing the dynamics of development partners. This research provides an in-depth analysis of what it means to forge partnerships based on mutual understanding.

African countries are faced with a myriad of development challenges and the history of development strategies have revealed that a one-size fits all approach is not effective in achieving sustainable development. This research report interrogates how South Korea is adopting to the African experiences of development challenges through its diplomatic interactions and through a number of projects.

Technological advancement is moving at a fast pace and African governments such as in Rwanda have identified the importance of a knowledge-based economy. As a technological giant, South Korea has taken up the role of transferring its knowledge and skills to African countries. South Korea's experience in rural development through the New Village Movement offers African countries to adopt similar strategies to bridge the gap between rural and urban areas.

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Chapter One
Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Development issues have for a long period of time been on the agenda of many international summits and forums especially since international development have been closely related to a set of institutions established under the Bretton Woods institutions that were established to focus on issues such as economic development and alleviating poverty. The criticism surrounding these high-level meetings is that they are mere public relations campaigns that do not yield results, however on issues such as development there is a need for continuous dialogue between developed countries and developing countries on how to come up with sustainable development solutions with an emphasis on implementing practical solutions that will work for less developed and developing countries. While traditional players which are mainly made up of developed countries have played a leading role in terms of development issues by providing incentives such as foreign aid, their presence on the African continent in particular has unfortunately been criticised for its lack of solving issues such as poverty, food security, unemployment and the lack of infrastructure but instead further indebting the already poor countries which make it harder to develop.

The People's Republic of China (China) has without a doubt changed the landscape of development partners on the African continent through its non-traditional ways of providing foreign aid. And this has made China an attractive development partner for many African countries as it has moved away from the notion that placing conditions on aid will make aid effective ultimately leading to development. This aspect of China's presence has sparked a debate on aid and development partners on the continent, this has ultimately led to much of the academic literature on new players on the continent focusing on China's role which Tull (2006) argues that "China's vastly increased involvement in Africa over the past decade is one of the most significant recent developments in the region" (Tull 2006, 459).

1.2. Development cooperation with Africa

The relationship between African countries and economically or politically advanced states was or still is to a larger extent defined by the colonial history, development issues and also aid dependency. Hugon (2010) recognises that emerging players such as China in African

development cooperation are growing. And most importantly Africa is seeking to diversify its partners and to have access to new financing from emerging countries and oil producers (Hugon 2010, 14). The three great powers in Asia; India, Japan and China have their own interests on the continent. China in particular has a unique relationship with Africa, its presence on the continent is argued to be characterised by its focus on a strategic approach and State-to-State relationships. Its relations with Africa are primarily economic and are officially based on the "win-win" principle as declared by the Chinese. It is without a doubt that the vast majority of the literature has focused greatly on China's presence on the continent further neglecting other players such as The Republic of Korea (hereafter referred to as South Korea or Korea) which this research project seeks to uncover the significant role that it is increasingly playing on the continent. Hugon (2010) also further argues that the economic relations between Africa and Asia can be seen to be, with the exception of South Africa, post-colonial in nature as Africa is still a reservoir of raw materials and a spillway for manufactured products. The question of South Korea's presence on the continent is to find out whether South Korea is following in the path of countries that are interested only in securing natural resources on the continent or whether it seeks to contribute positively to Africa's path to development.

South Korea is a country that is underrated in terms of its development story. South Korea is a country that has remarkably moved away from being war torn in the 1960s to becoming a leading technological giant. The Korean War had a devastating effect that led to the separation of the nation into two countries, but also resulted in extreme levels of poverty, the lack of infrastructure, and today, there is tension on the peninsula which has been perpetuated by the highly militarized border between North and South Korea accompanied by military drills and the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea.

Against this backdrop, South Korea has managed to rise to become a middle power country with great economic influence through popular brand names such as Samsung Electronics, KIA Motors, Hyundai Motor Company, SK Corp etc. South Korea's middle power status or what is referred to as *junggyun guk* is projected in its foreign policy strategy, this strategy seeks to position South Korea as an influential country between great powers and small powers in the international system (John 2014,326). While South Korea's influence has been largely defined as soft power rather than hard power, it cannot be dismissed as having an impact in changing the landscape of development and how development issues are undertaken.

South Korea is a new player on the African continent that needs attention mainly because of its successful development story. And Africa is made up of countries that are facing a number of development issues even though there have been various projects and policies to combat these challenges. While many South Korean products have found themselves in a country such as South Africa- which is South Korea's largest trading partner on the continent, trading with African countries requires South Korea to also contribute to the overall development agenda of the continent to immerse itself as a genuine partner. South Korea has used platforms such as the Korea-Africa Forum (KAF) and the Korea-Africa Economic Cooperation (KOAFEC) to promote the narrative of a 'mutually beneficial partnership' between South Korea and African countries. It is through these platforms that South Korea seeks to have continuous dialogue between key players on the continent on how best it can contribute to sustainable development.

1.3. An overview of the literature

A variety of academic literature on the Korea-Africa relations is necessary for the reason that South Korea's development success story is relevant for Africa's own development path where countries should be able to not only expect financial assistance but to interrogate how a country such as South Korea has managed to achieve its success and this can only be done through dialogue and forging diplomatic relations that produce sustainable results. However, the literature on the Korea-Africa relations is limited and this can be attributed to the fact that South Korea is yet to clearly conceptualise its strategy on how it seeks to forge its global relations especially with developing countries. In the case with Africa, it is unique in that South Korea is one country that has to forge relations with different countries that are faced with complex social and economic issues and this contributes to the difficulty of establishing relations as there is the tendency to employ a one size fits all strategy.

The existing literature on the Korea-Africa relations is rooted on issues such as the 'resource diplomacy' identified by Kalinowski and Cho (2012) where it is argued that South Korea seeks to establish strategic partnerships with developing countries that are rich in natural resources in order to feed into its growing economy. South Korea's resource diplomacy is argued to be more prominent during former President Roh (2003-2008) and Lee Myung-bak's (2008-2013) term. While former President Park Geun-hye administration also emphasised the need for energy resources, there was a slight shift towards what is termed 'soft' areas such as IT, healthcare and tourism (Y. Kim 2016, 128). The question of whether

South Korea has a long term vision of engagement and a genuine set of policies for Africa has been raised by scholars such as Yoo and Seol (2015, 219)

However, while South Korea seeks to diversify its energy resources by establishing strategic partnerships, it is also argued that it seeks to share its development experience. The theme of development finds itself in a number of literatures on the South Korea-Africa relations where scholars seek to uncover whether South Korea's development cooperation is influenced by its legacy of the development state. Most importantly, the literature on South Korea's development model has attempted to find out whether developing countries stand to benefit from emulating South Korea's development model. I. Yoo (2008) argues that since every country has its own unique environment, it is neither desirable nor possible to copy every part of it. The question then is whether the South Korean development model is applicable to African countries. Developing countries need to recognise that "Korea's economic policies have been specifically designed and intended to promote a comprehensive industrialisation process" (Shelton 2009, 9). Park (2019) recognises that while Africa is rich in natural resources there is a need for rapid industrialisation and that is in response to the pressures of globalisation. South Korea's economy of technological advancements is a clear example of how it is important for economies especially that of developing countries to industrialise.

Yoon and Moon (2014) interrogates what led South Korea-which has had only a marginal interest in Africa-to the launch of Korea's Initiative for Africa's Development? The authors argue that South Korea had never made such a formal declaration for Africa before. The South Korean rationale for the initiative appears to be motivated by three elements; one being motivated by humanitarian purposes, the other two was driven by self-interest (Yoon and Moon 2014, 284). Korea as a former recipient of ODA is argued by the Ministry of foreign affairs and trade (MOFAT) (2008) as having a moral obligation to respond to Africa's poverty, which it sees as one of the global challenges requiring collective efforts by the global community to solve (Yoon and Moon 2014, 284).

South Korea's funding on the continent includes funding for natural resources and infrastructure development and other sectors such as the Information technology, human resource and also agricultural projects. Kim (2012) argues that a focus on the IT sector and training for government is understandable because government efficiency is deemed as one of the driving forces of South Korea's remarkable economic growth. This is an area where South Korea can share its development experiences. However according to Kim (2012) South

Korea's financial aid has been largely focused on natural resources and infrastructure development. Kalinowski and Park (2016) also recognise the importance of the ICT sector in South Korea's economy and its overall exports. ICT is argued as being a strategic component of South Korea's ODA and therefore a focus on the ICT sector reveals its comparative advantage. Kalinowski and Park (2016) use the case of Rwanda to reflect on South Korea's role in contributing to Africa's development through the ICT sector. While there is a mention on the case of Rwanda, the literature has not fully committed in unpacking the impact of the ICT project. Kalinowski and Park (2016) argue that in terms of mutual benefit, there is no doubt that the Rwandan model is much more promising for South Korea's engagement with the developing world. While there is a mention of these projects such as the one in Rwanda, there is a gap in tracing back these projects to the diplomatic interactions especially from the commitments made during the high-level meetings.

While the overall literature does make mention of platforms such as the KAF and KOAFEC especially in providing an overview of South Korea's partnership with African countries and some of the commitments made, there is a gap in the literature in interrogating how these commitments where implemented (that is if they were implemented). Therefore in order to contribute to the study of the South Korea-Africa relations and the broader literature on new partners on the continent, this research paper will analyse the commitments and agreements made during these meetings and how South Korea is changing the landscape of development partners on the continent. The rationale behind this is to uncover how South Korea is contributing to the continents development especially through these platforms that are supposed to provide equal dialogue between the member states that traditional players have failed to do.

Darracq and Neville (2014) argue that South Korea's hands-on approach to Sub-Saharan Africa has thus far yielded mixed results. It has been faced with a number of significant obstacles in its dealings with the continent; and, as a relative latecomer, the country has struggled to gain a firm political and economic footing there (Darracq and Neville 2014, 11). South Korea's obstacles in its dealings with the continent are attributed to the pressures from the already existing players which are more economically strong, such as China, the United States and some European powers

Authors such as S. Kim (2013), Darracq and Neville (2014) , and a few others identify South Korea's interest on the continent are motivated by factors such as achieving resource security,

gaining political clout and the establishment of new markets for its manufactured goods. Kalinowski and Chob (2012) argue that South Korea seeks to turn its economic success story into a political asset. South Korea's new strategy to become an issue leader in the field of development cooperation uses South Korea's development experience as the source of 'soft' power (Kalinowski and Chob 2012). South Korea is a middle power that seeks to establish its global status through its engagements. South Korea's developmental model is a unique one which developing countries stand to learn from. The literature has managed to uncover a number of key themes on the Korea-Africa relations, however what is missing is interrogating the diplomatic interactions and finding out whether certain commitments that were made have actually come to materialization.

1.4. Research Question

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and African states, there have been talks on various platforms such as The Korea-Africa Economic Cooperation (KOAFEC) on establishing a mutually beneficial partnership based on pragmatic diplomacy on the Korea-Africa relations. The research question that will guide this research project is the following:

Through its economic and diplomatic relations with Africa, is South Korea moving towards a more pragmatic approach to cooperation with African states especially in complimenting Africa's path to development?

Sub questions:

i. Is South Korea's relation with African countries driven by its economic interests?
ii. Do African countries stand to benefit from South Korea's development experience?
iii. Is South Korea's cooperation with African countries complimenting Africa's development policies?
iv. How is South Korea changing the landscape of development partners on the continent?

1.5. Research Design

1.5.1. Case Selection

The case study of the South Korea-Africa relations as mentioned previously will offer a new dimension to the study of cooperation with Africa which has been clouded mostly by China's presence in Africa. South Korea is classified as a middle power which has interests that lead its diplomacy towards the African market. In the case of Africa it is important to note that this research does not regard Africa as a single country, however we are referring to Africa as a continent that is made up of countries that are defined by similar if not the same experiences especially with regards to its history, resources and also the issues of development. The case study of South Korea in Rwanda especially on the ICT sector partnership has been selected because ICT development has been identified as a driving factor for development. Rural development is also on the agenda of the majority of African countries and the fact that South Korea's successful model includes rural development that has been supported by the New Village Movement policies fits well in understanding how Africa can learn from South Korea's development experience.

1.5.2. Methodology

Variables

Independent Variables (IV)	**Dependent Variables (DV)**
Diplomatic and Economic Relations	A mutually beneficial relationship with practical results

Operationalization of the Variables

The above identified variables will be defined accordingly to remove ambiguity in the research paper. In the context of this research paper, diplomatic relations is defined as diplomatic interactions between South Korea and African countries through state visits, forums and summit meetings. These diplomatic interactions are accompanied by bilateral or multilateral agreements. Economic relations are often as a direct result of diplomatic relations. Economic relations are defined as trade relations, foreign direct investments and aid flows and business interactions between South Korea and Africa.

The independent variables (diplomatic and economic relations) which have been identified as the causes have been intentionally selected (since this is the point of departure for interactions

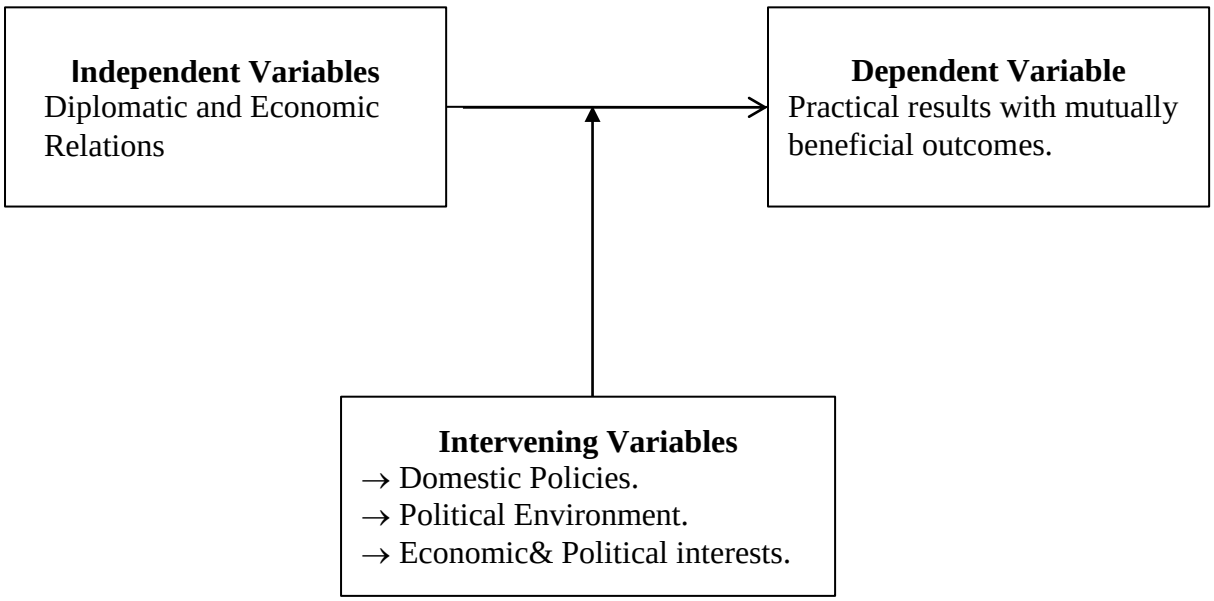
between states in international relations) in order to measure whether they have resulted in a mutually beneficial relationship with practical results. The identified dependent variable stems from the kind of language that is used by South Korea when it speaks of its relations with developing countries. The assumed meaning of beneficial relationship with practical results is that countries that enter into economic relations will benefit equally. Since the debate and criticism on countries that forge relations with developing countries has been that economically strong countries seek to exploit the resources of the particular country under the auspicious of diplomatic relations. The dependent variable also seeks to uncover the economic and diplomatic relations that have been forged by South Korea and African countries in order to contribute to the overall development agenda of the continent. The results which will be measured through the identified key indicators (Table 1) in order to reveal whether the agreements that were agreed on through the diplomatic interactions have moved beyond dialogue towards action that has yielded results.

[Table 1]: Indicators for the measured results

Indicators	Description
1. Job creation/Employment	The rationale behind this indicator is to find out if the specific project created employment for the local population.
2. Infrastructure Development	One of the commitments made by both African countries and South Korea was Cooperation in Infrastructure Development. This indicator will find out whether infrastructure projects supported by South Korea have improved sectors such as the ICT.
3. Economic Growth	For this research this indicator seeks to find out whether the ICT projects have provided incentives for capital deepening and increasing productivity through rapid technological progress.

4. Policy	This indicator seeks to find out whether South Korea's projects were in line with the domestic policies of that particular country. The rationale here is to find out whether the cooperation is mutually beneficial.
5. Social indicators	The social indicators measure the well-being of individuals. This indicator seeks to find out whether the lives of the population have changed since the projects have been implemented.

[Diagram 1]: Intervening Variables



The above diagram illustrates how the intervening variables explain the causal links between the independent variables and the dependent variables. The identified intervening variables such as domestic policies of African countries, the political environment and the economic and political interests are possible causal mechanisms for the possible outcomes. These intervening variables are not always observable at first glance but they offer a possible explanation of why and how a particular outcome has occurred.

Theory

Theory will also play an important role in explaining the outcome or South Korea's relations with African countries. In social sciences theories help us to make sense of the complexity of world politics; however there is no one grand theory that will explain this complexity. How then do we explain South Korea's engagement with African states? Or rather what drives South Korea's interest in pursuing relations with African states? The theory of realism would be quick to argue that the international arena is a self-help system where states seek to look for opportunities to take advantage of each other in order to survive and to maximise its material capabilities. However another dimension that should be explored is the idea of forging friendly relations to the mutual benefit of all parties involved. African countries seek to learn from South Korea's developmental path and also receive the technological capacity from South Korea. The theory of constructivism would therefore explain the phenomenon of mutual constitution where the role of norms and shared understandings drive agents towards cooperation. Hwang (2014) argues that "by sharing a bond of historical experience, such as colonial rule, civil war and poverty, for instance, Korea found a niche in the development cooperation with Africa through developing its own ideas or interests, such as Knowledge Sharing Program (k s p)" (Hwang 2014, 252). The constructivist perspective will therefore be able to explain the international cooperation between Africa and South Korea by emphasizing the interaction between states in response to external and internal forces. The third chapter will have an in-depth theoretical framework to understanding of South Korea's role on the continent.

1.6. Research Limitations

This study has potential limitations. The outcome of the findings is dependent on information that should emerge from the diplomatic engagements between South Korea and Africa through the KAF and KOAFEC, however there are limited details especially for the KAF and limited research. However the KOAFEC conference has managed to release conference information such as joint declarations, this will be used as key evidence of South Korea's approach towards Africa. This research project is using a qualitative method that does not rely on sample sizing; instead, qualitative methods seek to make sense of the world around us. This method is able to make sense of the identified limitations. The potential argument that can emerge from these limitations is that South Korea is yet to clearly conceptualise its policy towards Africa and that to strengthen relations, there is a need for consistent diplomat engagements that will release annual reports so that research such as this one can critically

produce new knowledge. Another research limitation is the fact that this research is based on the South Korea Africa relations, and Africa is made up of over fifty countries and it is impossible to interrogate South Korea's role in each and every country. However certain projects that are in line with Africa's overall agenda will be selected to show South Korea's relevance in complimenting Africa's development agenda.

1.7. Conclusion

The research question is relevant to the study of international relations in that it seeks to reveal the nature of international politics through cooperation. The case study of Africa in itself brings out contesting issues in understanding how the international system operates. South Korea is a unique country in terms of its development success story. Its economic status has the potential to alter the already established global structure established by hegemonic powers such as the United States. This research is concerned in interrogating South Korea's middle power status on the continent and whether it is doing things differently through pragmatic diplomacy.

Based on the findings that will be uncovered, this research paper should be able to answer the question of whether African countries are benefiting from South Korea's engagements. South Korea is a new player on the continent that has the potential to bring a positive change in terms of investments, skills transfer and also infrastructure development. Gaps in the existing literature have been identified and this research seeks to offer a new perspective that will shed light into South Korea-Africa relations through the interaction between diplomatic and economic relations.

The second chapter will provide a country profile of South Korea in order to position it in the global economy especially in the context of Africa. This chapter is important to understand South Korea's position and its interests. Chapter three provides a theoretical framework using the constructivist theory. The use of theory will provide an in-depth understanding of how South Korea seeks to cooperate with African countries; the constructivist theory will be able to provide insight on the use of specific concepts and phrases by South Korea when forging its relations. The fourth chapter will interrogate South Korea's development projects in Africa and this will reveal whether South Korea as a development partner on the continent is doing things differently that produce results that will contribute effectively to Africa's development agenda. The concluding chapter will layout the findings and answer key

questions. Based on the findings and recommendations will be given on how South Korea can become an effective development partner on areas that it lacks.

Chapter Two
South Korea's position in the global economy

2.1. Introduction

South Korea is among the Four Asian tigers (South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan). They are referred to as the Asian tigers because they rose to prominence in the boom years of the 1960s by taking advantage of emerging technology and globalization, and they have held onto their position as economic leaders ever since. These countries underwent a period of rapid industrialisation and the governments offered tax incentives to foreign investors and implemented compulsory education for its young population that will contribute to the future workforce. The rapid industrialisation of these countries led to a high demand of products such as textiles, toys, plastics and personal technology. The economic successes of these countries have often become a model for developing countries. South Korea and Taiwan helped to drive the tech boom of the 1980s and 1990s and today Seoul is home to the biggest names in electronics and cutting-edge technology. The literature on South Korea's development often describes its development as 'the miracle on the Han river'. It is considered a miracle because after the Korean War it underwent massive industrial programmes that led it to being among the leaders in manufacturing electronics and devices.

This research project is not concerned in interrogating the South Korean development model; however this chapter seeks to provide a country profile of South Korea in the global economy. This will be done by outlining and understanding South Korea's development model by highlighting some of the main themes that have emerged in the existing literature.
In order to uncover what South Korea means by sharing its development experience and how it will share its experience requires an understanding of how it has become a developed country. Also it is important to understand South Korea's interests especially in forging its foreign relations which can be argued are guided by its economic status. This chapter provides the necessary background for uncovering the possible causal mechanisms for the possible outcomes which will be based on the findings and answering the identified sub-questions of this research project.

2.2. Development Experience

According to Leipziger (2015) South Korea's development success is attributed to a combination of political and economic elements and therefore it is important to consider this

important argument not only for research scholars seeking to interrogate this model but especially for developing countries seeking to emulate this model. For South Korea, its successful development experience cannot be separated from its historical background. This historical background especially that of impoverishment and being predominantly an agricultural state is important because it provides context of the kind of economic situation that South Korea was in pre (independence in 1948) and post the Korean War (1950-1953). Due to the devastating effects of the war which created two separate states, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) in the north which had inherited most of the industries that are crucial for development such as mining and also more than 80% of the electric power generation (Seth 2017, 2). Therefore the newly formed state of South Korea was not only faced with the challenge of moving forward as a country without half of its population and resources but the major challenge that it faced was finding ways in which development can be achieved through policies that should consider its history and also its future prospects.

2.2.1. Background

At the core of South Korea's development model is the export-driven growth model which is referred to as the *chaebol-led* industrialization. Export-led growth is understood as a trade and economic policy of exporting goods which the country has a comparative advantage. Broadly, the advantage of adopting this policy is that the income that is accumulated through exports of goods and services, the per capita income is raised and this ultimately reduces extreme levels of poverty especially in emerging economies. Prior to the economic miracle, South Korea experienced a period of stagnation, inflation, corruption and dependence on foreign assistance. Even after the period after the war ended, South Korea experienced slow growth which is attributed to a lack of central planning and only a modest investment in infrastructure. The misallocation of aid funds, government corruption and political volatility made it an undesirable environment for foreign investment (Seth 2017, 2). In the year 1960, the economy was dominated by agriculture and mining, the manufacturing sector only supplied simple consumer products.

Foreign Aid

Foreign aid which has been at the forefront of development economics has and still continues to play a critical role for developing countries in attempting to achieve development. While

foreign aid has received criticism for its lack of achieving sustainable development due to issues such as aid dependency, the case of South Korea is an exception because of the way in which foreign aid has in fact played an instrumental role in promoting economic and social development. South Korea was one of the world's most recipients of foreign aid from countries such as the United States and Japan. Table 2 depicts the unprecedented amount of aid that South Korea had received from the year 1946 until 1976. Foreign aid played a critical role in reconstruction and development especially after the Korean War, it did so by contributing to human capital (education and health) and also towards infrastructure development such as roads, power, railways and water and the aid also financed industrialisation. While the foreign aid played a significant role, South Korea's development strategies enforced by the government where met by a political and social environment with good governance that allowed for the aid to be effective.

[Table 2]: Aid from the US and Japan 1945-83 ($ millions)

Aid	**1946-52**	**1953-61**	**1962-69**	**1970-76**
US Economic Assistance	666.8	2,579.2	1,658.2	963.6
Japanese Aid	0	0	500	672.9

Source: Steinberg (1985).

2.2.2. Development Model

South Korea's economic transition towards development lasted for a period of 50 years and it is during this time that it went through a dynamic process. According to Park (2019, 177), there are different ways to describe and analyse the phases of development in South Korea. The three possible categories that can be used to study South Korea's development are as follows:

Category 1:	(1) the 1950s: post-war reconstruction; (2) the 1960s: laying the groundwork for a self-supporting economy; (3) the 1970s: upgrading industrial structure and rural development; (4) the 1980s: transition to an open and liberal economy; (5) the 1990s: globalization and structural Adjustment
Category 2:	The period of (1) liberation and state-building

	(1948–1959); (2) export promotion and industrialization (1960–1979); (3) stabilization and liberalization (1980–1997); and (4) economic crisis to the present day (1997–).
Category 3:	(1) state-building; (2) economic take-off; (3) policy adjustments and liberalization; and (4) new challenges and policy responses.

Source: (Park 2019)

Industrial Policy

The above illustrated phases adopted from Park (2019) shows how South Korea's development has gone through development stages that have seen its economy grow at an upward trend only interrupted by the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979. Westphal (1990) argues that the government has played a significant role by selecting specific industrial policies that have contributed importantly to South Korea's rapid achievement of international competitiveness in a number of industries (Westphal 1990, 41). The success of South Korea's industrial policies is found in the way that the policies have been used and also the way in which political processes have conditioned the effective use of the policies. The objective of the industrial policies was to encourage exports and to promote infant industries. The first industrial policy that was introduced in 1962 was the introduction of the first five-year economic development plan (FYEDP) and lasted until 1993. Encouraging exports meant that South Korea's First Five-Year Economic Development Plan was an outward-looking development strategy designed to utilize the nation's comparative advantage in labour-intensive manufactured goods. The aim was to create the economic base for industrialization and self-sustained growth. South Korea's only resource was an abundant labour force that was well educated. The government exploited this comparative advantage by fostering exports of labour-intensive goods.

The strategy to achieve the above mentioned objective was through a combination of what Westphal (1990) termed as "neutral" and "non-neutral" policies. It is this combination that yielded an incentive structure that favoured an export-oriented industrialisation. Neutral policies were geared towards fostering exports and this is done through "the absence of differential effects on the allocation of resources among activities relative to the putative circumstances of perfectly free trade" (Westphal 1990, 44).South Korea established a free

trade regime for export activity to allow for capital and intermediate inputs used in export production could be imported without tariffs.

Non-neutral policies have focused on promoting infant industries. The rationale for protecting infant industries is that industries that have a high potential for growth but are subject to conditions such as external market imperfection should be encouraged through production subsidies and also protection. To develop infant industries, South Korea used tariffs and licencing to create a sheltered market. And as these industries have developed, South Korea has turned them toward the world market by subsidies, credit, and exchange rate policy (Dornbusch et al. 1987, 405)

Inclusive Growth

Inclusive growth is a term that frequently emerges from the debate on development and this is because inclusive growth is an important factor for economic growth. Inclusive growth allows for equitable opportunities for all economic participants during economic growth and ensuring that all benefits are distributed fairly across all sectors of society. The case of South Korea provides lessons on how inclusive growth strategies were adopted. The economy transitioned to a manufacturing-led economy that went hand-in-hand with large-scale productivity gains. What this means is that the efficient use of basically educated and motivated labour led to large gains in employment, output and incomes (Leipziger 2015). A drop in absolute poverty from close to thirty percent of the population in 1970 to one-third that level a decade later was as a result from a shift to urban settings which meant that there was an increase in the use of technology that resulted in huge gains in productivity per worker, and the accumulation of capital.

Leipziger (2015) provides lessons that can be learnt from the positive results that emerged from the inclusive growth strategy. The first lesson is that workers have to be employed in higher value added endeavours, empower them with capital and enhance their productivity in order to increase their earnings (Leipziger 2015, 2). The second lesson stems from the fact that when workers migrate to the urban areas, there is a higher chance of the emergence of slums due to workers not being able to afford urban dwellings. South Korea's proactive strategy was to introduce government supported housing to cater for urban development which was accompanied by an investment in public services to create opportunities for upward mobility. The importance of the second lesson is that there was recognition that there is success in distributional measures of income. The third lesson is levelling the playing field

with high-quality public education. For any given society, education plays an important role in achieving development but what is more important is creating an education system that is inclusive for all. A focus on high literacy levels as a universal goal that was achieved in the 1950s and 1960s as argued by Leipziger (2015) provided the building block for a trainable workforce which was critical for a fast growing economy due to the rapid changes in the industrial composition that required a malleable workforce.

The fourth lesson emerges from the introduction of programs that catered specifically for disadvantaged groups by providing more resources and special programs that will enable these groups to benefit from the overall societal gains. One of the programs that were introduced was the Saemaul Movement that began in the early 1970s and continued through the 1980s. According to the Korea Saemaul Undong Centre website, Saemaul Undong (new village movement) refers to "any community development movement, which builds a village or community to improve villagers' quality of life based on the spirits of diligence, self-help and cooperation, and approaches by the villagers, of the villagers and for the villagers"(Korea Saemaul Undong 2019). The movement was a rural modernisation and development program that aimed to curb the challenge of the inequality between urban and rural areas. Illustration 1 in appendix A provides an overview of how the movement has over the years transformed through stages that saw a positive improvement in the Gross National Product (GNP) per capita. The fifth lesson according to Leipziger (2015) has important ramifications for the future pattern of economic growth. The lesson revolves around planning, monitoring and evaluation. The culture of accountability was adopted during the period of the government's economic planning during President Park Chung-Lee tenure. Economic planning included Five Year Plans and the coordinating role of the Economic Planning Board[1] which included extensive monitoring which allowed the tracking of economic progress and the distribution of gains.

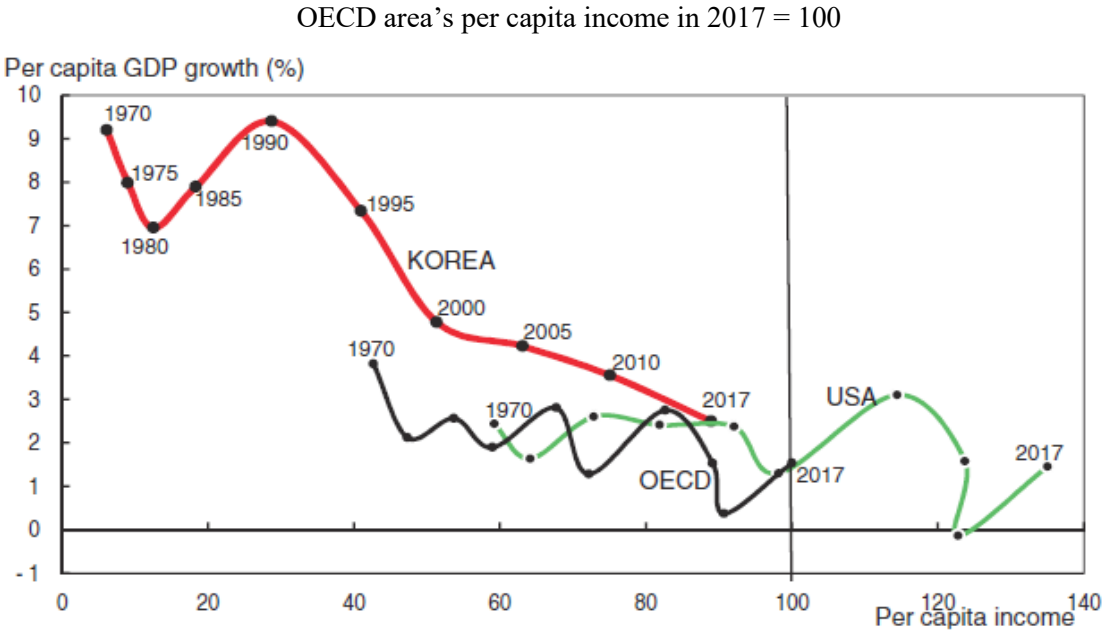
2.2.3. Current Economy

South Korea has managed to successfully transform from being a poor country in the 1950s to resembling the major advanced economies in its basic industrial profile. Today the country is a member of the OECD where it is able to collaborate with member countries on key

[1] The Economic Planning Board was created in 1961 in South Korea to formulate and implement economic plans. Such plans included nationalising the banks and the agricultural cooperatives were put under the control of the agricultural bank. Under the leadership of Park Chung Hee, the government assumed a role of guidance if not effective control of South Korean business and the economy by controlling the access to credit and capital.

global issues at national, regional and local levels. South Korea's economic growth was exceptionally rapid, reflecting good policies, high levels of investment in human and physical capital and an outward orientation that increased its share of world trade. According to the data presented by the OECD Economic Outlook 2018 Per capita income increased from 6% of the OECD average in 1970 to 89% in 2017 (Figure 2). Top business groups (*Chaebols*) such as Samsung, Hyundai, SK, and LG reflect South Korea's impressive economy.

[Figure 2]: Korea's per capita income is converging to the most advanced countries[2]



Source: OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database).

http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933738540

[Table 3]: Leading Chaebols of South Korea

Firm	**Primary Industry Interests**	**2018 Annual Revenue KRW Million**
Samsung	Apparel, automotive, chemicals, consumer electronics, electronic components, medical equipment, telecommunications equipment, home appliances	243,8
Hyundai Motor	Auto & Truck Manufacturers	20,8
SK Holdings Co., Ltd	Information technology services, distributes natural gas,	101,5

[2] The figure shows per capita income (at 2017 purchasing power exchange rates) as a share of the OECD average in 2017, which is set at 100, for Korea, the United States and the OECD. Data are shown at five-year intervals from 1970 to 2010 and in 2017.

	manufactures petrochemicals, and develops biopharmaceuticals.	
LG Corporation	Electronics, chemicals, telecommunications, engineering, information technology and power generation	11,9
	Subtotal	378

Revenue financial data provided by Reuters (2019)

South Korea's growth model has shifted from adopting a catch-up strategy towards a "creative economy" introduced by President Park Geun-Hye in 2013. The new plan aims to promote a new growth model based on innovation and entrepreneurship and this is to be done through establishing new industries and markets of science, technology and ICT. Science, Technology and ICT are the key industries that play a critical role in this new economy. The creative economy policy has a solid institutional framework because of the way in which several ministers and government agencies are involved in the creative economy. For example the Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning, oversees science, technology and ICT; the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, oversees industrial policy, Small & Medium Business Administration and Intellectual Property Office; Ministry of Strategy and Finance, which oversees budget and long-term national strategy; Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, which oversees cultural policy (UNCTAD 2013). South Korea's policy shift is a clear indication that its government is fully committed to implementing policies that continue to adapt to new economic demands and more important is that the creative economy policy is a reflection of how South Korea's successful economic status is changing the global economic and political landscape by challenging the already existing institutional frameworks established by the hegemonic powers.

2.2.4. Impact of South Korea's economic rise

The global economy is undergoing a profound and momentous shift. The rise of South Korea as a global economic power is one of the most important transformative processes to take place and this is challenging the international political economy which is dominated by the West (countries such as the United States that hold great economic influence). The economic processes that arise from South Korea are likely to radically transform regional and global economic, political and social interactions. This is a critical 'disruption' to the global economic and political order that has been dominated by countries such as the United States for the past five decades. New donors such as South Korea also offer new

opportunities and this is because it is using a strategy that emphasize the building of partnerships and networks which are highlighted in the Seoul Consensus and the Busan Declaration.

2.2.5. Overseas Development Assistance

Since South Korea's development transformation in the 1960s, it has remarkably transformed from being a donor recipient to becoming a member of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) as a significant donor for official development assistance. South Korea's emergence as a new donor has contributed to the diversification of models, each with its own objectives for development cooperation. The primary aim of the Korean government's development assistance is poverty reduction and the promotion of sustainable development. The intention of South Korea's development assistance program is to assist developing countries in pursuing developmental success.

2.3. South Korea's Foreign Policy

South Korea's foreign policy is guided by its national interests and influenced by globalisation. The development agenda established in the 1960s is the point of departure for Korea's national interests while globalisation forces such as interconnectedness and interdependence guide its foreign policy. The move away from focusing solely on national survival during the cold war towards focusing on international affairs was for the government to show to the world that South Korea was no longer a poverty-stricken country and a victim of war but instead a modern and prosperous country with a vibrant society. The slogan of *Segyehwa* (achieving advancement) which was central to the government's vision for the Korean identity under President Lee My-ung-bak became a key component of Korea's 'New Diplomacy' under the administration of Kim Young-sam (John 2015, 44-45). Under the foreign policy outlook are five basic themes: globalism, diversification, multi-dimensionality, regional cooperation and future orientation (Gills and Gills 2000, 95) Han Sung-joo, the foreign minister of Kim Young-sam administration advocated a foreign policy vision that will meet the global diplomatic standard of advanced nations that is to respond to the era of globalisation through taking an active role of tackling global issues to achieve a safe and prosperous world (John 2015,45 citing Koh 2000,198)

The role of KOICA

The Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) was founded in 1991 as a government agency. The agency operates under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) and its aim is to maximize the effectiveness of South Korea's grant aid programs for developing countries. KOICA works in eleven sectors (education, health, governance, agriculture and rural development, water, energy, transportation, science, technology and innovation, climate change response and gender equality) and a number of programs around the world (KOICA 2020). KOICA also offers yearly training courses that aim to support human resources development of partner countries to build the capacity of leaders, researchers and technicians. Through these trainings, the agency aims to transfer South Korea's expertise in social economic development to the human resources sector of developing countries.

KOICA identifies itself as a responsible member of the global community that will continue to support for a balanced growth of Africa. The agency has recognised the challenges and needs of the continent; therefore it seeks to employ systematic strategies that are tailored specifically for each country. KOICA is committed to address the political instability, food shortage and pervasive diseases that hold the region back. With considerations to Africa's ownership and potential, KOICA will work together with partner countries to realize a more peaceful and prosperous region (KOICA 2020).

South Korea's Foreign policy towards Africa

South Korea has managed to position itself in the international arena through its middle power status. Middle power states' foreign policy are argued to differ from those of great and small power states in that they include soft power strategies, aid that is supported by multilateralism. These states seek to preserve peace and prosperity and this is done through multilateral diplomacy. Middle power states maximise their diplomatic influence because of its lack of material power however they seek to use this middle power status in order to achieve their national interests. We can therefore argue that South Korea's foreign policy towards the continent is guided by its middle power status and this is done through its ODA policy. South Korea also seeks to share its development experience which reveals that it recognises the challenges that are faced by African countries therefore its foreign policy should be defined by this trajectory. South Korea's foreign policy is still not clear in that while it seeks to share its development experience, it still needs to clearly conceptualise how

it will forge relations since the continent is made up of more than one country that has different levels of interests. Also its foreign policy towards Africa needs to account for how it will resolve the trade imbalances which sees South Korean companies benefiting more.

2.4. Conclusion

South Korea's development experience plays a significant role in positioning it in the global economy because it reveals its national interests. South Korea's development model is that of rapid industrialisation guided by good policies that where an enabling environment for this industrialisation to occur. These policies supported free trade and also industrial policies that encouraged exports and at the same time to promote infant industries. South Korea focused on its comparative advantage in order to achieve a successful development. While South Korea sought to increase its economic standing, it also made sure that its development agenda included inclusive growth strategies such as the New Village Movement which was important to reduce inequality especially between urban and rural areas. Inclusive growth included having a good education system that would increase the skills of the population so that they are able to adapt to the growing economy.

Large family owned conglomerates play a significant role in South Korea's economy because these companies are operating successfully around the world. The successful economic growth has allowed South Korea to become an active development assistance partner that will assist in curbing global issues such as poverty. And agencies such as KOICA play a significant role in developing countries. As a rising global power and a new global development assistant partner, South Korea is defining changing the landscape of the existing global institutions and norms.

While South Korea is finding ways to protect its national interest- that is to grow its economy through establishing new markets, at the same time it also wants to establish partnerships with developing countries in order to assist with its own development because of its history it understands the impact of aid. Therefore the next chapter seeks to understand how and why it wants to establish partnerships that are what is termed as 'mutually beneficial'.

Chapter Three
"A mutually beneficial partnership": Theoretical perspective

3.1. Introduction

Summit meetings in international relations have provided countries with a platform to share ideas and views on particular issues. This kind of platform has contributed to international cooperation because global actors have become aware of a number of issues that require a global effort where countries come together to have dialogue on how best these issues can be solved. While the rationale behind summit meetings gives an impression that countries are able to cooperate on a mutual level, what needs to be considered is that state actors have defined their own interests on the international arena and this is exemplified by foreign policies which are a blueprint which guides states on how they engage on the international arena.

How best can we explain and understand South Korea's approach to cooperating with countries on the African continent? The answer lies in uncovering the narrative that is continuously promoted during these meetings or conferences and the bilateral or multilateral agreements that are agreed upon in these conferences.

This chapter seeks to understand the specific use of concepts and phases such as 'partnership', 'mutual benefit' and 'genuine' and how the use of certain narratives are changing the landscape of new partners on the continent. Constructivist theorists such as Alexander Wendt share the notion that international relations are not only affected by power politics, but also by ideas rather than material forces and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature (Wendt 1999). Since this particular theory focuses on how language and rhetoric are used to construct the social reality of the international system, it will be used to understand the narrative of a 'mutually beneficial partnership' that has been used during South Korea's engagements with African countries.

3.2. The narrative of a ‘mutually beneficial partnership’

3.2.1. Theoretical Framework: Constructivism

Grand Theories of international relations or what can be termed traditional theories such as realism and liberalism which have been used since the end of the cold war to understand world politics have concentrated on material factors such as power. The argument is that states are self-interested actors that compete for power and understanding how the unequal power distribution among states defines the balance of power between them. These traditional theories tend to argue that the main aim for states is to survive however does not provide the necessary platform to observe the agency of individual states.

The constructivist theory however focuses on the predominant discourse in society. This is because discourse reveals the changes in interests and beliefs, and sets accepted values, norms of behaviour. The focus on the predominant discourse in society does not mean that constructivism neglects the material world such as the role of power, because inter-subjective knowledge and the material world affect and influence each other. Thus, constructivism is mainly interested in the main sources and roots of alteration.

The use of the phrase ‘mutually beneficial partnership’ can be understood through the theory of constructivism. Constructivism sees the world, and what we can know about the world, as socially constructed. Social construction is based upon the interaction between actors where ideas and beliefs on world politics are shared. Through the sharing of these ideas and beliefs, constructivism goes beyond the material reality because reality is always under construction; therefore there is the prospect for change. In other words, meanings are not fixed but can change over time depending on the ideas and beliefs that actors hold.

Constructivists view agency and structure as mutually constituted, this implies that structures influence agency and agency influences structures. Agency can be understood as the ability for a state to act, whereas structure refers to the international system that consists of material and ideational elements (Theys 2017, 36). To give an example of the interplay between agency and structure is the relation between aid donors which are represented by the developed countries of the global north and developing countries of the global south. The social relation of enmity between the global north and global south represents the inter-subjective structure (that is, the shared ideas and beliefs among the actors) whereas the aid donors and aid recipients are the actors who have the capacity (that is, agency) to change or reinforce the existing structure or social relationship of enmity. Ideas and beliefs that usually

exist between donors and aid recipients is that donors are mostly made up of developed countries that have the financial capacity to assist less developed countries; therefore they have the moral duty to contribute to the development of these countries. But what has been most compelling in the aid debate is the power that donor countries are bound to have over less developed countries. This power is embedded in the idea of 'aid conditionality', where less developed countries will receive this aid only when they change certain policies that are deemed best for development. These ideas and beliefs on development that exist between actors can be changed or reinforced depending on the beliefs and ideals held by both actors. If these ideas and beliefs change, the social relationship can change to one of friendship or partnership. This central issue identified by constructivist can shed light into South Korea's promotion of the narrative that emerge out of the phrase 'a mutually beneficial partnership' because it brings in new ideas and beliefs on the relationship between developed and developing countries.

3.2.2. Central tenets of constructivism

- *Identities and Interests*

The main assumption of constructivists is that the fundamental structures of international politics are social and that these structures shape the actors' identities and interests. State identity is mainly about the non-material factors such as values, culture, norms, ideas etc. According to constructivists, states can have multiple identities that are socially constructed through the process of interaction with other actors. Identities which represent actors signal the kind of interests that actors have. Identities are therefore important for constructivists because they constitute interests and actions (Theys 2017, 37). In the global arena, developed and developing countries have different identities which in turn implies that they have a set of different interests. A less developed country is likely to be focused on its survival while a developed country is concerned with dominating the global political, economic and military affairs. The actions of a state are at most aligned with its identity. A state can thus not act contrary to its identity because this will call into question the validity of its identity, including its preferences (Theys 2017, 37).

- *Norms*

Social norms are also central to constructivism. Social norms are defined as "a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity" (Theys 2017 quoting Katzenstein

1996, 5). The constructivist theory also focuses on the role of norms, claiming that international law and other normative principles have decreased mainly the notions of sovereignty and changed the legitimate purposes for which state power may be used. States that conform to a certain identity are expected to comply with the norms that are associated with that identity. This idea comes with an expectation that some kinds of behaviour and action are more acceptable than others. Actors behave in certain ways because they believe that this behaviour is appropriate. Theys (2017) argues that this process is also known as "the logic of appropriateness", however a norm only becomes an expected behaviour when relevant state actors adopt it and internalise it in their own practices. Norms go through a lifecycle before it becomes established. The first phase is *norm emergence*, the second phase is *norm acceptance* and the third phase is *norm internalisation.* In terms of climate change which transcends beyond borders, constructivists would argue that states have come together to develop climate change mitigation policies because it is the right thing to do for the survival of humanity (*norm emergence*). Through years of diplomacy and adopted policies (*norm acceptance*) it has become an appropriate behaviour that the bulk of citizens expect their leaders to adhere to (*norm internalisation*) (Theys 2017, 38).

The central tents in the context of South Korea

Understanding the central tenets of constructivism is important because they offer an understanding of international relations which mainstream theories such as realism and liberalism neglect. Constructivists reveal that actions, interactions and perceptions shape reality. Constructivists offer alternative explanations and insights for events occurring in the social world. They show, for instance, that it is not only the distribution of material power, wealth and geographical conditions that can explain state behaviour but also ideas, identities and norms. The use of words and phrases such as 'mutual benefit' and 'partnership' offers insights into South Korea's beliefs and ideas and an understanding of its actions on the global stage on issues such as development. This narrative also has the potential to establish a set of norms that exist between actors (in this case South Korea as a developed country and African countries that are developing).

3.2.3. The emergence of 'mutually beneficial partnership' narrative

As the world has become intensely connected, diplomacy is playing an important part in international relations where it is crucial for forming alliances, solving problems that transcend beyond borders and facilitating trade. Diplomacy requires careful and strategic

manoeuvring because while states have to consider their own self-interests, in principle they have to support agreements that are mutually beneficial for all parties involved because of the existing structures the require states to cooperate.

China's rise in the international arena has been defined by its embrace of globalisation and multidimensional diplomacy and it has done so by employing strategic partnerships which become a prominent instrument in its diplomacy in order to guarantee a benign environment for its rise. The use of concepts such as 'partnerships' in diplomacy has emerged with Chinese diplomacy and understanding the origin of this concept offers an understanding behind why this kind of narrative is changing the landscape of diplomacy. By 'partnership', Chinese leaders mean that "cooperation should be equal-footed, mutually beneficial and win-win. The two sides should base themselves on mutual respect and mutual trust, endeavour to expand converging interests and seek common ground on the major issues while shelving differences on the minor ones". [3]

The various literatures that have written on Chinese diplomacy, especially those of strategic partnerships reveal that China has sought to form partnerships instead of alliances in order to serve its own interests that have resulted in its rise. While this study does not seek to compare China's diplomacy to that of South Korea, it is important to understand the origin of the use of such concepts and to uncover how South Korea in particular is defining its diplomacy towards developing countries especially with its relations with African countries.

Why is it important to understand these phrases and concepts? To use the theory of constructivism as a framework will provide valuable insights. These phrases and concepts form a certain narrative that has the potential to change our understanding of diplomatic and economic partnerships and how states are carefully constructing ideas on the reasons behind why they forge certain relations.

3.2.4. South Korea's definition of a 'mutually beneficial partnership'

Since the early 2000s, South Korea has had a vision of how its seeks to forge its future trading relations with Africa and this vision was that of mutual cooperation, where the continent would provide an abundant source of minerals and energy that will be used in South Korea's industries such as technology. These beneficiated final products would then be

[3] Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Speech by H.E. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, at the China-EU Investment and Trade Forum, 6 May 2004, available at: http://www.chinamission.be/eng/zt/t101949.htm [Accessed 16 January 2020]

traded back to Africa (Veras 2018). South Korea has however over the years transformed its definition of mutual cooperation.

During a presidential address in Addis Ababa on May 27th 2016 President H.E. Park Geun-hye titled her address as *Mutually Beneficial Partners for a New Future of Africa* and also during her meeting with OECD Secretary-General Angel Gurria, Park called the organisation to work together to further expand a bilateral "mutually beneficial" partnership. These are two distinct platforms (one is with developing countries and the other is at an organisation with members that that have high-income economies and regarded as developed) in which South Korea is promoting this idea of partnership that opens a window of understanding as to how South Korea seeks to diplomatically engage with developed and developing countries.

In its dealings, South Korea frequently reflects on its history of colonial rule and the sixty year war and reflecting on the devastating effects that these historical events have plagued the nation. And it is during the rebuilding of the country that it sought to establish partnerships with the community of nations including Africa. It is these partnerships that have contributed to its economic success story. Since its successful economic development, South Korea wants to "offer help and join Africa forge a new path towards the future, together with our friends who likewise helped Korea triumph over adversity" (Address by H.E. Park Geun-hye 2016). To reinforce its commitment to forging partnerships with developing countries, the South Korean government launched the World Friends Korea (WFK) program for volunteers dispatched overseas by the Korean government. The volunteers are dispatched in different areas such as education, vocational training, agriculture and fisheries, health, sanitation and rural development. The program is argued by KOICA to promote friendly and cooperative relationship and mutual exchanges between Korea and developing countries and to support their economic and social growth (KOICA 2020).

South Korea wants to forge relations with the goal of achieving a 'mutually beneficial partnership' not only with African countries but also with other developed countries. this is significant because it is almost evident that it recognises that partnerships are more beneficial than patron-client relationships that continue to promote the narrative that developed counties have the financial means therefore they have the material power to control the outcomes of these relations.

How does South Korea define its idea of a mutually beneficial partnership especially since it promotes it in number platforms?

In terms of Africa, its definition of this particular narrative is geared towards achieving development for the continent. Africa's goal towards development is guided by the Agenda 2063 set out by the AU. South Korea's has a vision of becoming an active member of the global community and being an active member means contributing meaningfully to curbing development challenges. What is interesting is South Korea's careful and specific use of phrases such as "what Africa will need the most is a trustworthy companion" (Address by H.E. Park Geun-hye 2016) and this signifies that South Korea recognises that some of the development strategies that Africa has experienced have not yielded positive results because traditional donors have not formed equal partnerships with developing countries instead they have taken the lead on how development should occur by insisting on certain polices that end up having of the conditions, this is usually referred to tied aid. In order to contribute to Africa's development as a trustworthy companion, South Korea will share its development experiences and its knowledge on growth and prosperity.

Another aspect that can be attributed to South Korea's definition of a 'mutually beneficial partnership' is one important factor of international relations which is globalisation. South Korea recognises the effects that come with globalization, such as the fact that the world has become interconnected where no country is immune from a complex set global issues that transcend beyond borders such as climate change, transnational crimes, global financial crisis etc. Therefore no country is immune from issues that occur in another and in this instance Africa's development problems such as high levels of poverty, low literacy rates, the lack of health facilities and poor infrastructure. Understanding this narrative from the perspective of globalisation reveals that South Korea's definition of this concept is also in part as a way of following international norms that are in line with cooperating with states on a multilateral level in order to curb issues such as poverty. At the same time recognising that because of globalisation, South Korea's economy can only thrive when there is easy access to global markets which can only occur when there is peace and less development challenges.

The key word here which is 'mutually' reveals that not only is South Korea concerned in taking up joint action with Africa to curb the developmental issues but to also benefit from this partnership. As mentioned on the issue of globalisation, South Korea stands to benefit if African countries are developed. The careful use of this phrase reveals that a country such as

South Korea potentially recognises some of the issues that have emerged from the role that traditional aid donor have played a role on the continent especially on developmental issues. These traditional players have maintained more of a patron-client relationship with the aid recipients rather than a partnership where even the less developed country do not have the power to decide on which policies are suitable for their own development. These developed countries have benefited more from this relationship because of the power they exert through enforcing policies (for example structural adjustment policies and other aid conditionality's). Some of these benefits could be adopting policies that promote a liberal economy accompanied by low tariffs on imports at the expense of domestic businesses. Therefore South Korea's attempt at forging relations is by arguing that a partnership is more beneficial because it favours both parties involved.

3.4. Conclusion

3.4.1. Understanding the narrative through the constructivism theory

The constant and careful use of words that are tied to the phrase 'mutually beneficial partnership' is changing the narrative surrounding development partners on the continent. The history of aid has often viewed the relationship between donor countries and recipient countries as patron-client relationship rather than a partnership. A partnership means that both parties are equal in any of its dealings. The structure of the international system consists of material and ideational elements which view developed and less developed countries as different in terms of its identities, actions and interests. And this form of difference is exemplified and maintained through the narratives that exist through the interaction between developed and less developed countries. The constructivism theory argues that while there are structures that maintain these narratives, states have the agency to act otherwise.

In the case of South Korea, constructivists would argue that it is practicing its agency irrespective of the already existing structures. And this is done through its established relations with other countries, in this case developing countries. South Korea argues that it seeks to establish diplomatic and economic relations that are mutually beneficial. Its definition of a mutually beneficial partnership is that of sharing its development experience with African countries and being a companion to these countries in order to contribute constructively to development. This narrative reveals that South Korea recognises that the old

players on the continent that have been at the forefront of development strategies did not forge partnerships rather what they did or still do is take up a more dominant role that at often times is detrimental to the countries that they claim to want to assist. Constructivist will therefore view this narrative as giving rise to new norms that will go through a lifecycle before it becomes established. The future of how development partners engage with developing countries will be influenced by the accepted norms established through this narrative.

This chapter has provided a framework of understanding of South Korea's idea of how partnerships should be forged through the theory of constructivism. What has emerged is that the narrative is challenging the already existing structure but also at the same time provides as a window of understanding on South Korea's policy on tackling global social issues such as poverty, unemployment, inequality and the lack of adequate infrastructure. This theoretical background of understanding will be beneficial for the following chapter which seeks to reveal the kind of development projects that South Korea is undertaking. Since South Korea is promoting this narrative of a mutually beneficial partnership, chapter four will test whether this is true and the kind of impact that it has on Africa's development agenda.

Chapter Four
South Korea's development projects in Africa

4.1. Introduction

Since the election of Roh Moo-hyun as the president of South Korea in 2003 South Korea transformed its policy towards Africa, focusing on development. During his Presidential visit to Egypt, Nigeria, and Algeria in 2006 he announced South Korea's Africa Development Initiative. And in order to facilitate more frequent collaboration the South Korea-Africa forum (KAF) was convened in November of 2006. It is the same year that The Korea-Africa Economic Cooperation (KOAFEC) was established which according to its website information was a major platform to drive South Korea's development initiatives in Africa. While the KAF serves as a platform for dialogue and sharing of ideas such as South Korea's economic development experience with Africa and promoting cultural understanding between South Korea and African countries, KOAFEC takes on a more pragmatic approach that discuses opportunities for South Korea's private sector to venture into Africa and ways of improving trade on the African continent (Veras 2018, p8).

KOAFEC aims to:

> Deliver concrete results through the indicative investment projects identified in its Action Plan in 6 main cooperation areas, namely: energy and infrastructure, ICT, human resources development, agricultural development, green growth support, and sharing of Korea's development experiences (KOAFEC 2019)

These two platforms (KAF and KOAFEC) serve as important diplomatic channels that will strengthen South Korea's partnerships with African countries. While the South Korean government is the main driver for its diplomatic and economic initiatives on the continent, the private sector i.e. the large family owned conglomerates are often in charge of projects in Africa with facilitation from the South Korean government. The role that is played by these conglomerates is attributed to the legacy of the development state and how the state supported family owned companies to drive development in South Korea.

This chapter seeks to layout South Korea's initiatives on the continent through the KAF and KOAFEC. These two platforms which are identified as part of the independent variables will be used to unpack South Korea's engagement on the continent and how it has immersed itself in Africa's development agenda. KOTRA's role is also significant in executing these

development projects. The aim of this chapter is to find out whether the commitments made are in line with Africa's overall development agenda and how South Korea seeks to position itself on the continent. The outcome variable is dependent on the findings from this chapter. This chapter will begin by giving a brief understanding of Africa's overall development agenda and what are some of the key drivers that will steer the wheel for development according to the African Union's Agenda 2063. Then outline the key commitments made through the KOAFEC and how they serve the interests of Africa's development and possibly that of South Korea.

4.2. Africa's Development Agenda

Africa's development vision is rooted in Agenda 2063 which is argued by the African Union (AU) as a "blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future. It is the continent's strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development…" (AU 2019). Africa aspires for a prosperous continent through resources that will drive its own development. To improve the standard of living and the quality of life for people, African countries aspire to focus on Health; an educated and skilful population will be underpinned by science, technology and innovation for a knowledge society. Cities and other settlements are seen as hubs of cultural and economic activities therefore there is the need for people to have access to affordable and decent housing that will have all the basic necessities of life such as, water, sanitation, energy, public transport and ICT. Another important development aspiration is to create economies that are structurally transformed in order to create shared growth, decent jobs and economic opportunities for all.

4.3. ICT in Africa

ICT is a contributing factor for Africa's economic growth; it has the potential to transform business and governance efficiency in Africa by driving entrepreneurship, innovation and economic growth. ICT development is more than having access to information but it has the potential to strengthen other sectors, and possibly the whole economy. Yonazi et al. (2012) argue that "ICTs are now helping Africa to overcome its traditional market failures such as communicable diseases, the public-goods aspects of having a literate and numerate population, and clean water and sanitation as well as government failures, absentee teachers and doctors, patronage-ridden water and electric utilities, etc." (Yonazi et al. 2012, 6). ICT

development requires vast amounts of efforts that require capital and the problem of market failure can hinder with the process of building adequate infrastructure. To solve the problem of market failure is via public private partnerships (PPPs). These agreements between the government and private organisations are able to reduce capital risk while the government will reduce operational risks. It is also important that these agreements allow an on-going structured dialogue and this can be done by creating a vehicle that will drive the interaction between the two groups. Africa requires such partnerships that can create success that will jointly develop and manage infrastructure projects (Yonazi et al. 2012, 158). The South Korean government has taken up the role of facilitating partnerships between its private companies and governments in order to implement key projects.

4.3.1. KOAFEC: Key commitments and agreements

2010 Conference

In its 2010 Joint Declaration of the Korea - Africa Economic Cooperation, South Korea agreed to share its developmental experience and expertise with African countries to encompass a number of areas which included ICT and science technology advancement. Cooperation in the field of Africa's industrialisation included establishing a platform to stimulate regional economy through the expansion of infrastructure. There was recognition that in order to narrow the "Digital Divide" in Africa, South Korea agreed to:

> Fully assist Africa in building ICT infrastructure, such as local information access centres. It also agreed to help in the formulation of national ICT infrastructure development plans and information systems by conducting joint missions with the AfDB, dispatching Korean ICT experts to Africa, and by inviting African experts to Korea for training and knowledge sharing (KOAFEC 2010).

2012 Conference

In 2012, during the KOAFEC Ministerial Conference, in the area of ICT, there was recognition that South Korea is an information-technology powerhouse therefore it will share its experience and know-how in this field. The aim was to assist African countries to progress towards inclusive growth, by narrowing the information gap and reducing the costs of information-sharing. South Korea offered training programs and consulting services because

of the argument that African countries not only need physical facilities in the information technology sector, but also the human resources to manage such facilities and develop new ones. South Korea also committed itself in assisting African countries to establish national registration systems, since efficient social security systems serve as essential components for economic growth, by improving the systematic management of tax revenues.

2016 Conference

In the key areas of cooperation, the attending parties (South Korea and African countries) agree that the quality of life for Africans needs to improve and to do so, ICT will play an integral role through effective cooperation. The key commitments by South Korea are that it will:

> Leverage its strengths in ICT, science and technology through the establishment of advanced academic institutions and training programs, delivery of vocational skills and ICT education to cultivate a skilled workforce for greater industrial growth (KOAFEC 2016).

4.4. Key ICT projects

4.4.1. ICT project in Rwanda: Vision 2020

The lack of internet resources in Africa has become one of the main obstacles to driving the economy which relies heavily on technology. The government of Rwanda (GoR) has taken the step of using this resource by understanding the direction of the global economy and believing that Rwanda presents an opportunity to become the leaders of the knowledge-based Internet economy in Africa (Harrison 2005, 2). The government has adopted policies that use ICT as the key to transforming the economy not only for development but also for its survival. Rwanda's 2020 vision intents to increase the service sector in order to reduce its reliance on traditional agricultural production and exports. The government's plan for a achieving the 2020 vision contains six pillars and four cross-cutting domains and science and technology which includes ICT is mentioned as crucial components of not only becoming a middle-income knowledge economy but for the development of the education system in Rwanda.

Among the five points that were laid out in the plan in order to achieve this vision is to "encourage the private initiatives in the communication sector" (GoR 2015). Private

initiatives involve the role of Public Private Partnerships that will invest in infrastructure, ICT devices and equipment, software applications and services as well as ICT training and capacity development. While the government saw the importance of involving the private sector to invest in its plans and manage some of the projects, the government has however took the main role in the development and dissemination of ICT and the state to promote infrastructure and development initiatives. Rwanda's policy of achieving vision 2020 makes it an attractive plan for foreign direct investment (FDI) because the government has a clear cut plan on how it wants to achieve this vision and also the fact that it has laws and regulations that will ensure that this ambitious plan is sustainable.

National ICT policy

The Rwanda government adopted policies such as the Rwandan ICT for Development (ICT4D) which was adopted in 1998. These policies were implemented to address Rwanda's development challenges in the information and technology age. To implement this policy, the National Communication Infrastructure (NICI) was implemented. The NICI process was identified as a key driver for socio-economic development that will fast track Rwanda's economic transformation in order to align its development to that of global trends.

The first NICI (2005) focused on creating an environment that will enable the establishment and growth of Rwanda's ICT sector. And this was done by establishing the institutional, legal and regulatory framework for ICT development, putting in place the necessary mechanisms, liberalization of the telecoms market, reduction of entry barriers to the telecom market as well as an effective implementation and coordination mechanism (GoR 2015). The second NICI plan (2010) focused on providing world-class communications infrastructure that will serve as the backbone for current and future communications requirements. It is through this second plan that Rwanda enjoys increased nationwide coverage of telecommunication networks, and has been able to deploy a versatile and high capacity national optic fibre backbone network, and a national data centre. The government argues that Rwanda is well positioned to become a regional ICT hub that can offer a wide range of competitive ICT products and services (GoR 2015).

The third NICI plan (2015) focuses on the development of ICT services that will improve service delivery to citizens. This final phase that will propel Rwanda to achieve the 2020 vision will focus on five key areas;

- Skills development
- Private Sector
- Community
- E-Government (e-GOV)

2013 National Broadband Policy

The National Broadband Policy for Rwanda was the key strategy document driving high-speed communications in the country. The policy's vision is to transform Rwanda into an information society that is driven by "universal access to high speed, reliable, affordable and secure Broadband infrastructure and services by 2020" (GoR 2013, 9). The policy is in line with the United Nation's Sustainable Development Agenda, particularly goal 9c which seeks to significantly increase access to information and communications technology by striving to provide universal and affordable access to the internet in least developed countries by 2020. This policy was established in the same year that South Korea signed a framework of agreement that will pave the way for South Korea's company KT Corp to invest in infrastructure development that will contribute to the success of this national broadband policy.

4.4.2. Rwanda-South Korea partnership

In 2013, Rwanda and South Korea signed a Framework Agreement for Development Cooperation in New York, which can be argued to be a stepping stone for the partnership between the two countries. During the discussion between Minister of Foreign Affairs Hon Louise Mushikiwabo and Kim Sung Hwan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea there was a specific use of words such as South Korea is a close friend and that South Korea's visit to the country is a sign of friendship which shows that it is a true partner and friend of Rwanda. Paying close attention not only to the signed agreement but to the specific use of words shows that a country such as Rwanda is open to having new partners that will contribute positively to its development goals.

The agreement aimed to further strengthen cooperation between the two countries which will focus on social and economic development in Rwanda. The South Korean government established a framework that will mainly provide training programs to Rwandan nationals in South Korea and also dispatch experts and volunteers to Rwanda for consultations. Rwanda

also committed to ensure that the skills and knowledge acquired by its nationals as a result of the training programs will be used to contribute to the economic and social development of the country. Collaboration between these two countries ranged from areas such as agriculture, health, education, ICT and capacity building. In terms of ICT and the role of South Korea, its "economic miracle is largely due to a knowledge-based development strategy that holds valuable lessons for African countries in their current pursuit towards knowledge economies". (Asongu 2014, 2) Therefore its expert knowledge is likely to benefit Rwanda.

In October of 2014, President Kagame and President Park Geun-hye held discussions on its bilateral relations and it is during this time that South Korea clearly defined its role in the country and also Rwanda's expectations from this partnership. The two presidents discussed the opportunities for collaboration and there is recognition that there are similarities that define both Rwanda and South Korea's vision. South Korea's history of the Korean War is argued to be a natural partner for Rwanda's journey of socio-economic transformation since it has also experienced a civil war. The key similarities that were discussed are the commitment to self-reliance. Rwanda's initiatives such as Umuganda is seen as sharing similarities to that of South Korea's Saemaul-Udong (New Village Movement) which is largely credited for South Korea's rural development (as discussed in chapter 2).

4.4.3. Korea's country partnership strategy for Rwanda

South Korea's objectives for development cooperation for Rwanda is to support the government to realise Rwanda's vision 2020 which will focus on the following objectives:

- Human resources development to meet the demands of labour market
- Rural household income increased
- ICT use for accountable governance improved

ICT support plan:

- Support the use of ICT in the education sector to strengthen capacity building systems
- Support the use of ICT in the agriculture sector to improve value-added agriculture systems ICT: Enhance the use of ICT across the sectors focusing on education and agriculture and for accountable governance
- Support the use of ICT to improve accountable governance systems

South Korea considers ICT as a crosscutting sector that will enable development of the key priority cooperation areas. ICT has been identified as a development factor that can be used across the different sectors such as education, agriculture and also accountable governance. In terms of education South Korea's implementation strategy is through teacher capacity building program that will offer the necessary skills. The strategy is to support training of transferable skills that are required in the labour market in the 21st century's knowledge-based society. South Korea will therefore provide policy consultations on using ICT in education based on Korea's experience and capacities related to the informatisation of education. (The Government of the Republic of Korea 2017, 3-6)

4.4.4. ICT Collaborations: Rwanda

Korea Telecom Rwanda Networks: Nationwide LTE Network in Rwanda

KT Corporation is South Korea's largest telecommunications business and is active in areas such as line repairs, mobile telephony, internet services, digital television, financial services, entertainment, education, real estate, and infrastructure, sports, and software development.
In March 2013, KT Corp signed a contract with the Rwandan government to establish the joint venture under the Public Private Partnership to build a nationwide mobile LTE network. Under this joint venture, Korea Telecom Rwanda Networks (KTRN) was established which the government owns a 49 % share. The government contributed its national fibre backbone network, national data centre, spectrum holdings and wholesale license (valued at US$130 million) to the 25-year joint ventures while KT will contribute US$140 million through construction of a 4G LTE network and other investments (Bigabo 2014).
The South Korean company was to install a high-speed broadband network and expand the nation's online services capacity. With an injection of about $140m (Smith 2013) KT Rwanda Networks was established to deliver universal broadband access based on 4G/LTE technology upon Rwanda's national Fibre optic infrastructure and to manage the fixed-mobile converged infrastructure as the wholesale provider of high-speed mobile broadband, covering 95% of the population within 4 years.

The GoR 2013 policy document recognises the vital role that the public and private sectors play for the provision of broadband infrastructure and services. The Rwandan government recognised that it will benefit from the thriving PPPs at various levels of the broadband ecosystem which will "necessitates policy intervention to support calculated investment and

articulate the government's commitment to letting the private sector take the lead in the development of an information society" (GoR 2013, 3). The establishment of Korea Telecom is argued to serve as a model of mutually beneficial partnership between South Korea Private Sector and Rwanda.

KOICA in Rwanda

On the 18th of April 2013, the Rwandan Ministry of Youth and ICT together with KOICA signed an agreement that was worth USD 5.6 million for a project that will establish an ICT Innovation Centre in Rwanda. During the signing ceremony, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Youth and ICT, Rosemary Mbabazi, the project "aims to promote job creation, human resources education, the growth and development of the ICT industry which are all EDPRS II targets." (Government of Rwanda 2017) Therefore the project is in line with the EDPRS II which is a launch into the home strait of the Vision 2020. The project was implemented in collaboration with Rwanda Development Board and KOICA used this project in order to strengthen its ICT capacity in Rwanda. The agreement was that experts will be dispatched to Rwanda to provide technical advice on the implementation of the project and provide the necessary ICT equipment and materials. According to the agreement the provision of the funds will go to the implementation of the ICT development roadmap and construction of the innovation centre among other things.

ICT Innovation Centre

In 2019 the Rwanda Developmental Board in partnership with KOICA unveiled the first innovation centre that will focus on audio-visual technology. This project was initially planned in 2015 and is worth 5.6 million. In its initial stages the centre was seen as a way of providing skills that will contribute to Rwanda being a middle income state. This project is seen as KOICA's efforts of strengthening ICT capacity in Rwanda and is expected to contribute to Rwanda's economic development by promoting job creation and capacity building through the academy-industry collaboration and knowledge exchange.

The ICT Sector Strategic Plan (2018-2024) by the Ministry of Information Technology and Communications established NSTP-1 priority areas and one of the pillars which was identified is economic transformation. In order for Rwanda to achieve this, it has to establish itself as a globally competitive knowledge-based economy. The outcome of this priority area

is the operationalization of the Kigali innovation city and national ecosystem. South Korea is definitely playing a major role in development initiatives that Rwanda is undertaking and moreover it reveals that it is in sync with the ways in which African governments seek to define their path to development. In the inauguration ceremony of the innovation centre the CEO of the Rwanda Development Board, Claire Akamanzi viewed this initiative as a step in the right direction.

> The Government of Rwanda is actively driving the ICT industry through various initiatives, such as the Kigali Innovation City project and the Smart Rwanda Master plan. However, capacity building and skilled human resource development programs have been in short supply in the sector. This ICT Innovation Centre established by KOICA and RDB is expected to bridge the gaps in capacity building and contribute to the development of the ICT sector (Rwanda Development Board 2019)

Akamanzi further argued that students have the opportunity to become true drivers of transformation through the opportunities offered by the innovation centre (The New Times 2019). This project has introduced new technology such as E-gaming, film making, animations and other software that use audio-visual technology, that have not been so familiar in Rwanda. It is clear that this project seeks to come up with innovative ways to advance Rwanda's ICT sector by introducing new technologies that will attract talent that will promote innovation in other sectors.

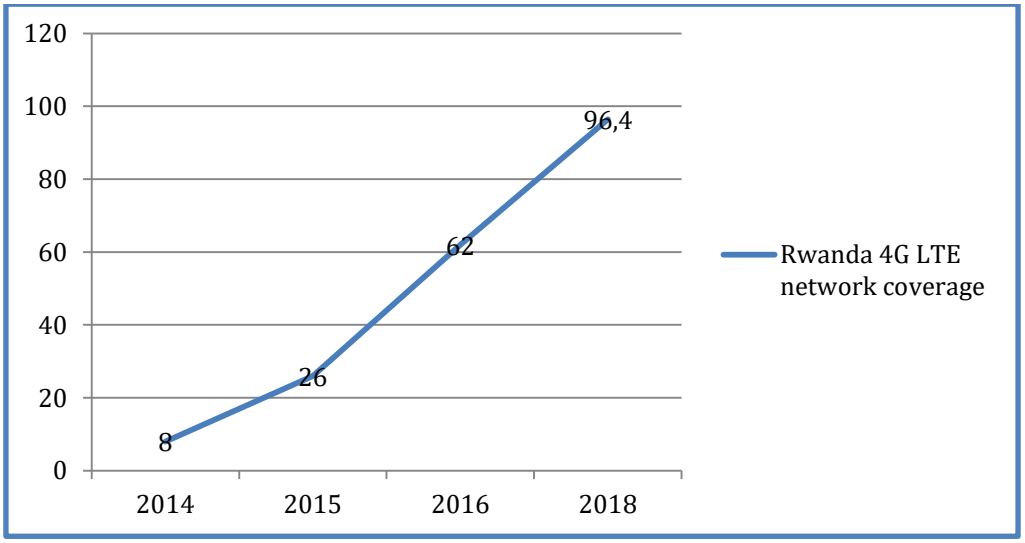
4.4.5. Impact of the LTE Project on the Rwandan population

The Rwandan government had high expectations from the contract it had signed with KT Corp and this is because the government had policies in place that sought to expand the ICT sector by increasing its internet connection. Jean Philbert Nsengimana, who was the country's youth and ICT minister, said: "This agreement with KT marks a major milestone in Rwanda's drive to become a modern, knowledge-based economy – and by expanding our information infrastructure, we will create jobs, support social progress and propel economic growth." (Smith 2013)

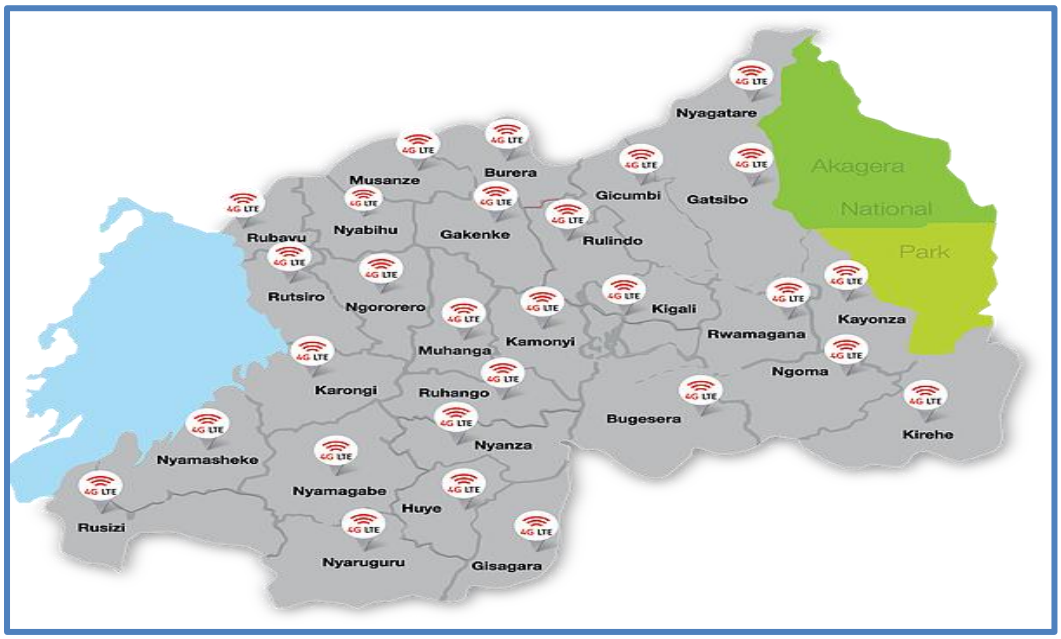
In terms of development, the country had high expectations, that is, the citizens and businesses will have access to tools that will enable them to seize opportunities of fast, reliable and accessible broadband that will be made possible by the partnership with KT. It is without a doubt that KTRN has made considerable progress since it was launched. Its mission

was to cover 92% of the total population by 2017 and according to the statistics displayed on graph 1 , the 4G LTE network has shown an upward increase in just four years, the 4G LTE has also been deployed in all 30 districts and most populated centres & towns in Rwanda (Coverage Map)

[Graph 1]: Rwanda 4G LTE network Coverage



[Map 1]: Rwanda LTE Coverage Map



Source: https://www.ktrn.rw/coveragemap

Since the increase in 4G LTE coverage, commuters in Kigali are now able to enjoy free 4G Wi-Fi on the bus; some businesses are able to monitor remotely what happens at their

premises in real time while Rwanda residents enjoy fast internet services experiences. The faster internet has also enabled banks to roll out more mobile banking solutions which help clients to access their bank services from every corner of the country (Nakkazi 2018)

Education

The Ministry of Information Technology and Communications in its ICT sector strategic plan 2018-2024 has identified some of the challenges that remain in the efforts that contribute to ICT development is low digital literacy rate which is attributed to the computer literacy which stands at 8.4%. Citizens lack skills that will enable them to use smart devices to access digital services. Having access to internet connection can contribute positively to the low digital literacy rate. According to Patrick Yoon, the Chief Executive of KTRN, the national coverage has the potential to resolve inequality in the education levels between rural and urban areas this is because classroom lessons that rely on ICT will have equal network coverage that even schools in remote areas will have access to as opposed to only having the schools in urban areas benefiting from network coverage.

Job creation and Skills transfer

The 4G LTE project has contributed to job creation and skills transfer. According to Patrick Yoon, Rwandan engineers now have the experience to construct 4G LTE network for at least four years of operation. While the company still receives engineer support from other countries such as Finland and India, KTRN has a high training program that allows local engineers to have the skills to operate the network; this therefore means that if the engineers from South Korea and other countries left the country the Rwandan engineers will be able to keep the network running.

What does South Korea gain from ICT development in Rwanda?

There have been questions of whether this project will meet the development needs or whether it is driven by self-interest. As discussed in chapter two, South Korea's chaebol conglomerates played a significant role in South Korea's rise to economic success and today these companies continue to be the driver of its economy. The ICT sector is South Korea's comparative advantage and the role that KT has played in terms of development partnership reveals South Korea's domestic interests. Its involvement in Rwanda suggests that South Korea seeks long-term participation in Rwanda's economy. South Korea's contribution to ICT infrastructure development advances its access to obtain subcontracts for its companies

to operate in Rwanda (Owusu 2019, 89). South Korea exported $13.4 billion of ICT goods in January 2020 which is a significant amount that has resulted in a trade surplus (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2020) therefore this reveals that ICT forms one of the seven strategic components of South Korean ODA (Kalinowski and Park 2016,68)

4.4.6. The Intervening Variables: Contributing factors to Rwanda's Successful 4G LTE network

- Introduction of wide ranging ICT strategies
- High Level of Transparency
- Rwanda also has a strong ICT regulatory framework
- Monitoring and Evaluation

4.5. Rural development in Africa

Rural areas are regarded to be a significant economic driver and poverty reduction in developing countries. Africa has a large population that is still concentrated in the rural areas and this poses as a challenge to development because rural development is moving at a slow pace due to a number of challenges such as the lack of infrastructure and a reliance on subsistence farming rather than turning agriculture into a contributor to economic growth. Rural development has an effect on the economy first it will likely improve income distribution, secondly, the reduction in income inequality comes from land reform which has the tendency to increase agricultural productivity because of the resultant intensification of labour input on land. Thirdly, rural development involves increased investment in human capital especially for poor people in the rural areas (Mwabu and Thorbecke 2004).

South Korea's development experience and model especially on rural development has implications for African countries that seek to transform its rural economy through agriculture development. There have been various attempts at improving the lives of people in the rural areas but Park (2019) argues that,

> Africa's development programmes have failed to bear fruit not because the methods were wrong, but because people were not enacting them. Hence, the task is twofold: to basically 'adapt' to local conditions, but at the same time to 'challenge' the locals to change their attitudes and behaviour for the better. Thus, how to bring about change is key, and shaping perceptions, incentives and disincentives (or 'punishments') are of great importance. In this respect, Korea's development

> experience can provide useful food for thought as the Korean model is, in itself, an epitome of 'development as practice' (Park 2019, 262)

The commitments made during the KOAFEC conferences between South Korea and African countries together with the selected projects on rural development will reveal whether this Korean model is an epitome of development as a practice that has resulted in sustainable results.

4.5.1. KOAFEC: Key commitments and agreements

2010 Conference

Cooperation in Agriculture and Rural Development is identified as a key cooperation area that will increase agricultural productivity as a means to fight poverty. The Korean side agreed to fully cooperate in the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP). Korea also agreed to share its experience on rural development models such as Saemaul-Undong that is founded on the principles of diligence, self-help and cooperation, and to help African countries design and implement master plans for agriculture and rural development that fit their needs. In order to increase agricultural productivity of Africa, South Korea agreed to support establishing agricultural infrastructure including irrigation facility modernization, rural road construction, and arable land adjustment by expanding ODA (KOAFEC 2010, 4)

2012 Conference

The 2012 conference document echoes what was already agreed upon in the 2012 conference, therefore there was no significant shift in the agreements and commitments made regarding rural development. South Korea still promotes the idea that it wants to share its development experience especially that of the Saemaul-Undong, however it will do so by tailoring the model in such a way that is suitable for the African experiences. The agreement was to help facilitate agricultural modernization in African countries, by modernizing small farms by developing agricultural infrastructure (KOAFEC 2012, 4).

2016 Conference

During the conference, parties agreed that addressing food insecurity and promoting insecurity and promoting inclusive finance in partnership with the private sector are identified as the key to poverty reduction and sustainable growth of Africa. Agricultural

mechanization, plant breeding and technological development are identified as the key to sustainable development. To transform agriculture, Korea committed to providing both technical and financial assistance as well as knowledge sharing to African countries that is flexible in its approach that will be tailored to the needs of each country (KOAFEC 2016, 4).

4.6. Rural Development Projects

4.6.1. Rural development in Rwanda

The agriculture sector in Rwanda contributes to at least 32% to the economy; however this sector is still mainly based on subsistence farming and the government is faced with the challenge of reaching its preferred growth rate target. Rwanda's goal for vision 2020 is to achieve a productive and market oriented agriculture that will move away from subsistence farming.[4]The goal is to also let the sector to grow rapidly in relation to production and commercialisation. The move from subsistence farming to an increase to production and commercialisation will in turn increase rural income and reduce poverty. In the long run, Rwandan agriculture will be transformed into a more knowledge-intensive and market-oriented one that can produce value-added products in a more sustainable manner.

The challenges that have been identified and pose as obstacles to achieving the abovementioned goals is insufficient agricultural infrastructure, inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and etc.), equipment and materials, and agricultural technologies are hindering Rwanda's effort to further improve agricultural productivity, promote commercialization, and move beyond subsistence farming[5]

4.6.2. South Korea's Implementation Strategy

South Korea's strategy towards support for rural development in Rwanda is based on Vision 2020. South Korea has been consistent in complementing domestic policies. Its support for rural development focuses on agriculture productivity and the ownership of rural communities. It has extensive experience in agriculture productivity intensification and community-based rural development, which raised rural household income levels. Its own strategy was to establish agriculture production infrastructures and most importantly

4-5 The Government of the Republic of Korea. 2017. "The Republic of Korea's Country Partnership Strategy for the Republic of Rwanda 2016-2020." Office for Government Policy Coordination. https://www.odakorea.go.kr/eng.policy.CountryPartnershipStrategy.do.

encourage communities' capacity for self-reliance. South Korea therefore wants to share this experience for the implementation strategy in Rwanda.

Agricultural Intensification Program

South Korea's support for Rwanda to increase its agricultural productivity will be guided by the identified challenges faced by Rwanda. South Korea argues that it will introduce production infrastructures such as irrigation facilities, improve value added agricultural products such as feeder roads in rural areas for improved market access and post-harvest processing facilities and storage and will introduce adequate agricultural technologies.

Rural Development Program

Though its rural development program, South Korea's cooperation with the Rwandan government on rural development reveals that it not only focuses on infrastructure improvement but also prioritises on human development. And this is done by enhancing self-reliance capacities of rural communities through training in rural communities. The lessons learned from the Saemaul Undong will guide this strategy, however South Korea also acknowledges the Rwandan "Home-grown Solutions" such as Umuganda, Ubudehe, Gacaca, and VUP will be integrated to promote farmers' associations and to improve sustainability through rural development[6].

4.6.3. Saemaul Volunteer Programme in Rwanda

The Saemaul Volunteer Programme (SVP) in Rwanda was initiated in 2010 which aimed at the formation of Saemaul pilot villages. The programme is operational in five villages: Mushimba, Kigarama and Gihogwe in the Kamonyi District as well as Gasharu and Raro in the Nyamagabe District. South Korean volunteers work with the community and local stakeholders to implement the various activities. While the programme is formed around the experiences of the new village programme, it is not a replication of the Saemaul Undong Model. KOICA which has initiated this programme has adopted an approach that will consider Rwanda's culture, its existing government system and identifying the needs of the community while keeping the basic principles of the new village movement's basic principles of diligence, cooperation and self-help intact (Mahajan and Mushimiyimana 2017, 23). The community is highly involved in the programme in the way it is active in planning, consulting

[6] The Government of the Republic of Korea. 2017. "The Republic of Korea's Country Partnership Strategy for the Republic of Rwanda 2016-2020." Office for Government Policy Coordination. https://www.odakorea.go.kr/eng.policy.CountryPartnershipStrategy.do.

and management is done by the community. This is directly in line with South Korea's definition of supporting rural development that is tailor made for the specific communities. The role of the KOICA volunteers is to facilitate community groups to work on interventions identified by the groups through training, demonstration and technical support. The project organizes visits of village or project leaders and sector officials to the Republic of Korea and imparts training on original Saemaul Undong Model to develop better understanding of the concept and its impact. The main interventions initiated by the communities include the construction of a community hall; agriculture and livestock development projects, development of business skills, health services and education (Mahajan and Mushimiyimana 2017, 24).

4.6.4. Impact of Rural Development Initiatives

The programme has benefited the community in the long run because of the values they have adopted from the Saemaul Undong Model such as self-reliance, the community has moved away from being dependent. Gihogwe village has been able to gain additional income from paddy cultivation in marshland. Such investment has allowed the community to gain additional income that will allow them to invest in children's school fees, health insurance and newer livelihood activities. This form of sustainable development is due to the initial trainings on Social Development Lecturing and the application of the Saemaul Undong lessons by the community, which has inculcated a spirit of self-reliance (UNDP 2017).

What has made this programme attractive is the fact that it is not a once off project that has brought temporary solutions but it has in fact led to fellow farmers that were not initially involved in the project to adopt this new technique leading to communities that are no longer waiting for external support but pursuing their own development. Overall the programme has trained local authorities on the Saemaul Undong approach by exposing participants to the Saemaul Undong work in the Republic of Korea and what can be achieved through it.

The rural development programme supported by South Korea reveals how it is sharing its development experience, but what is significant is the fact that it does this through a practical approach. A practical approach means that South Korea is not only sharing its development experience especially on rural development by only teaching but by also by providing the necessary skills and trainings that are founded on the values of the successful model. This approach by South Korea shows how it has identified the importance of initiating programs

that are not only tailor made for each community but also that are sustainable to allow a multiplier effect for other communities.

4.7. Conclusion

South Korea has definitely made commitments during the KOAFEC conference that are in line with the development objectives of African countries. The two sectors that were used to understand South Korea's role on the continent is ICT and rural development. These two sectors are identified as key drivers to development. The findings reveal that as a new partner on the continent, South Korea is definitely using an approach that exerts partnership rather than patron-client relationship. The ICT project has yielded results that have benefited the country. Today, Rwanda has more than 95% 4G LTE coverage. While it can be argued that these kinds of projects are solely done for the benefit of Korean companies to have access to the market, projects such as the rural development reveal that it is not only about promoting self-interest but in fact it is about genuinely contributing to development.

Governments have an important role to play, in creating an enabling environment and in acting as a role model in adopting new innovations and technologies (Yonazi et al. 2012, 29) In the case of Rwanda, its national strategy was clear, it had an excellent policy environment; therefore South Korea was able to become a development partner that considered support for the government through financing to successfully implement these policies. South Korea's KT Corp intentionally selected Rwanda because it saw an opportunity to invest in Rwanda because of a clean government with clear governance and this contributes to the success of the project that was supported by KT Corp. These can be identified as the intervening variables because this research sought to study the results of the key commitments made however while this was done there where a number of factors that needed to be considered when making an argument.

While this chapter has used the case study of Rwanda, it does not take away from the fact that African countries are faced with similar challenges and experiences. Therefore the outcomes identified can be applicable to other African countries. However the intervening variables will be country specific and can have an impact on what the outcomes are in terms of the success of the projects supported by South Korea.

Chapter Five
Conclusion

Development cooperation partners in Africa presents middle power countries such as South Korea with the opportunity to effectively contribute to development while at the same time achieving its own national interest. It is important in understanding South Korea's role in the global economy as a rising global power. Its successful development experience has allowed it to play a role in tackling global social and economic issues. South Korea views its role on the continent as a mutually beneficial partnership and this is definitely changing the landscape of development partners.

This research project has been successful in giving a strong foundation of understanding the nature of South Korea's initiatives on the continent by firstly critically understanding South Korea's position on the continent in terms of its economy. Secondly providing a framework of understanding of what it means to have a mutually beneficial partnership. The third chapter has an impact on the overall existing literature on the Korea Africa relations in that it has interrogated the development projects that South Korea has supported in the identified case study of ICT development and rural development in the context of Rwanda. This research project has provided an understanding of Africa's overall agenda and this is important in answering the question of whether South Korea is contributing successfully to Africa's development which much of the literature has neglected to critically cover. Another important factor that makes this research effective in understanding the South Korea-Africa relations is the fact that it does not only identify certain key projects but has also critically evaluated whether these projects have an impact on the identified communities based on the key social indicators.

5.1. Findings

South Korea's development experience and its model plays a significant role in its relations with African countries, therefore it cannot be ignored when unpacking the nature of South Korea's role on the continent. In most of its interactions, especially in the KOAFEC conference the development experience is often mentioned. This then reveals that South Korea definitely wants to share its development experience seeing that many African countries are struggling to achieve sustainable development. What is most appealing to South

Korea's approach is that it acknowledges that it does not want to enforce its model but rather share its experience and when it initiates or supports development projects, they are tailor made for the specific community and this allows for communities to be actively involved in defining their own development.

While this research project has used two case studies in the context of Rwanda, it does not take away from the fact that the projects are in line with the overall commitments made with participating countries of the KOAFEC conference. Upon gathering information for this research project, what has been uncovered is that enforcing ICT projects that are in line with the commitments made have been slow and only a select few countries such as Rwanda have been able to benefit from the ICT projects, thereby revealing that South Korea is faced with a number of challenges that can be attributed to its lack of an effective foreign policy towards Africa or that African countries still need to enforce effective policies that will be an enabling environment for the Korean initiatives to be effective.

Is South Korea's approach towards relations with Africa a partnership? Based on the research findings, the government of Rwanda owns a large stake of KTRT. This allows for the government to have control over how these projects are undertaken. South Korea is a developed country that has the material power that allows it to have a larger influence, establishing a partnership with a developing country requires it to carefully cooperate in a manner that will not over power the recipient country by controlling how development should take place. South Korea's approach towards Africa is identified as a partnership because its projects are in line with domestic policies and also the fact that it acknowledges that it cannot enforce its own development model but instead allow the countries to adopt the policy based on their own experiences.

This research has found that Africa stands to learn from South Korea's development model only when certain projects are implemented. Sharing the development model only through verbal interactions would be difficult to yield little to no results but when the model is accompanied by projects such as the one of Saemaul Undong Volunteer Programme that shares its values while at the same time supporting the community through skills training, infrastructure development and providing the necessary tools for agriculture development. This element of South Korea's approach makes it a unique partner on the continent that is changing the landscape of development partners on the continent.

5.2. Recommendations

- **Consistent rotational conference meetings**

The KOAFEC ministerial conference has been a stepping stone for Korea-Africa relations, however there needs to be consistent meetings. In 2014, a conference meeting was not held and this reveals that there is still disconnect between South Korea and African counties. Consistency shows that there is commitment and commitment leads to effective diplomatic engagements. Also it is important that these conferences are rotational. So far the conferences have been held in South Korea and non in any African country. Rotating the conference will show that this partnership is not only a Korean initiative but all participating countries should have a say on the proceedings of the conference. Also hosting the conference on the continent allows South Korean businesses to acquire more knowledge on the continent and also offers domestic businesses to benefit from the conference proceedings that will bring in revenue through sourcing resources such as transport, venues and also businesses.

- **Monitoring and Evaluation**

The conference documents briefly highlight the key areas of cooperation and the commitments made. These diplomatic meetings need to yield results and this can be done by establishing a structure of governance within the Korea-Africa relations that will be able to monitor the results. It is also important that the conference documents needs to adequately monitor and evaluate how far South Korea is with supporting development projects on the continent. Monitoring and evaluation is important for moving forward and establishing effective policies for future projects.

- **Knowledge Sharing**

Knowledge sharing is important to build long-term relations and mutual support, South Korea has been effective in promoting its own development experiences therefore it makes it easier for African countries to have an understanding of South Korea. However since Korea-Africa relations are deemed as a partnership, South Korea also has to make an effort in understanding not only Africa as a continent but understanding the experiences of different countries on the continent. This can be done through establishing platforms that allow for

knowledge sharing such as increasing the number of cultural exchange opportunities, volunteering and education for Koreans in Africa. To lay the foundation for a long-term friendship, South Korea should increase its support for Koreans conducting research on Africa.

- **South Korea should increase its ICT projects on the continent**

South Korea's position as a global technological giant should be brought to bear more fully. The fourth Industrial Revolution is having a greater impact on the globe; ICT is an area where South Korea can share its development experiences on the continent. It should pay closer attention to digital transformation and collaborate in digital government and also business industries. The role of KT Corporation in Rwanda has revealed that ICT development has a positive impact on inclusive development and South Korea can use this sector as leverage to strengthen its partnerships with African countries.

- **Accountability from African countries**

South Korea is definitely a new partner on the continent that is bringing a new approach and African countries are likely to benefit from its development experience. However it is equally important for African countries to be accountable for their own development path by establishing good policies and maintaining good governance structures. Accountability will allow South Korea to effectively support development projects on the continent.

- **Establish equal trade**

Mutually beneficial partnership is more than supporting development projects. South Korea stands to benefit from infrastructure development on the continent because there will be a market for its own businesses to thrive, however African countries run the risk of collapsing their infant industries because trade remains unbalanced. South Korea therefore also needs to move beyond just investing in development projects but also finding ways on how trade can be equal. And the KOAFEC conference can be a platform of sharing ideas and signing trade agreements that will allow African products to also thrive in South Korea.

Appendix

Illustration 1: Transformation of the Saemaul Movement

Development by Stage

Stage	Priority Projects	Characteristics	GNP per capital
Foundation & Groundwork (1970~73)	Improve Living Environments: expand roads inside villages, construct laundry facilities, improve roofs Increase Income: expand agricultural roads, improve farmland and seeds, divide labor Attitude Reform: diligence, frugality, cooperative atmosphere	Launching and igniting the campaign Government-initiated activitiesTop priority on improving living environment	257 in 1970 375 in 1973
Proliferation (1974~76)	Increasing Income: straighten rice field ridges, consolidate creeks, encourage combined farming, operate common working places, identify non-agricultural income sources Attitude Reform: Saemaul education and public relation activities Improve Living Conditions: housing, water supply	Expanding program scope and functions Increasing income and changing attitudes Earning national understanding and consensus	402 in 1974 765 in 1976
Energetic Implementation (1977~79)	Rural Areas: modern housing, special purpose plant Urban Areas: paving alleys, cleaning Corporations and Factories: higher productivity, material conservation, sound labor management	Larger units of implementation by developing Linkages among villages in the same region Economies of scale Appearance of distinct unit characteristics	966 in 1977 1,394 in 1976
Overhaul (1980~89)	Promote Cooperative Social Atmosphere: kindness, order, selflessness, cooperation Economic Development: combined farming, distribution improvement, credit union activities Improve Living Environment: clean roads, develop parks, build better access roads	Reborn as a private sector-organization Dividing the role between government and Private sectors Escape from inactivity and contraction	1,507 in 1980 4,934 in 1989
Autonomous Growth (1990~98)	Sound Atmosphere: develop traditional cultures, emphasize hard work and sound lifestyles, recovermoral ethics Economic Stability: economic recovery, urban-rural direct trade, diligence, frugality Improve Living Environment: cultivating better community environment, emphasizing autonomous living	Reinforcing the basis of autonomy and self-reliance Meeting the need for liberalization and localization Efforts to overcome economic crisis	5,503 in 1990 10,548 in 1996
Second Phase Saemaul Undong (1998~2006)	Mental Reform: build morals and a sense of citizenship Improve Living Environment: revive the rural economy, protect living environment Social Security: help poor neighbors	Promote morals and achieve spiritual reform Build a warm community International Cooperation Business	15,830 in 2005

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