

www.hksef.org

kakuitse@gmail.com

Social Innovator as Mayor of Seoul – *What Can We Learn from Park Won Soon*

In 2006, social entrepreneur Mohammed Yunus was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It was a landmark year not only for the development of social entrepreneurship, but for world civilization as well.

In October last year, an NGO founder and social innovator Park Won Soon was elected Mayor of Seoul, becoming the second most powerful person of a major Asian nation. This was an event of equal, if not greater, significance. Unfortunately, this event has not been as widely publicized as it should be.

Mayor Park was recently in Hong Kong as the Guest of Honor for the launch of **Social Innovation Exchange Asia** (SIX Asia) which is part of a global movement to promote social innovation. It is perhaps a reflection of the ignorance of our mass media that his visit and the story behind this legendary Mayor were hardly reported in the press.



The Making of a Social Innovator

Park is a lawyer by profession and a well-known human rights lawyer. But he was most popularly known for his work as the founder of two NGOs – **People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD)** founded in 1994 and the **Beautiful Foundation** founded in 2000.

The PSPD was founded in the most difficult political situation when South Korea just began to emerge from decades-long dictatorship. But it was to Park's credit that he saw and seized the opportunity to create an organization to build a broadly-based citizen participation organization that eventually paved his way to Seoul mayorship. I was so impressed by his foresight and courage that I have excerpted the 'Founding Statement' of the organization in the following page. The Beautiful Foundation, on the other hand, is a very different organization, and is truly beautiful.

An Innovative 'Community Foundation'

The Beautiful Foundation can be described as a community foundation. There is no counterpart organization in HK, so it might be difficult for us to understand and appreciate its nature and significance.

The Beautiful Foundation is an organization with a broad membership and the members pledge to donate 1% of their income (or asset) annually to the organization. In some church organizations in many parts of the world, members might pledge to donate 10% of their income, and there are organizations where the pledge level is 5%. As founder of Beautiful Organization, Park felt that 5% or 10% would be too high and would not have a broad appeal. So it was decided to keep it at 1% only.

Just five years after its inception, 26,000 Koreans have become 1 percent giver, and the number has been increasing by 300 to 500 every month. Even more astonishing, around 90% of the donation has come through the internet. A key factor behind this success is transparency. Donors have their own individual membership number to access their own account, and they can see the history of their giving, where the money is used, how much is left, and so on.

The Beautiful Foundation also makes conscious effort to separate administration expenses and money for grantmaking. The former is kept strictly at 5%, compared to the 15% or 18% of many charitable organizations. A decision was also made to pay staff very low salaries – around half to one-third of those paid by other Korean foundations. Park himself earned US\$2,000 per month when he was full-time General Secretary there – a fraction of what someone of his level could be earning.

It was interesting to note that there have been persistent debates within the organization on the pay level. Park would like to see a gradual rise in pay for the Foundation staff. But his idea was strongly opposed by the staff themselves who are mainly young people devoted to the Foundation's mission. As Park observed, "I'm always saying we should increase salaries for the next generation... But I am afraid that the young generation are very different. My staff refused to go along with me."

Other Donors Making the Difference

Around 40% of funds raised come from the 1 percent Sharing Campaign. There is another group of individual donor, 'who donates periodically rather than regularly, and gives much more than 1 percent.' They account for another 20 % of total funds raised.

The remaining 40% comes from companies or businessmen. 'Many companies set up a social contribution team,' Park explains. 'In the past they often donated money to politicians. In the last ten years, many businessmen and politicians have been punished for this, so the practice has greatly decreased. Companies are now keen to donate to social causes, so it's a good moment for foundations to fundraise from companies.'

The closest thing we have in HK is the Community Chest. But this is just a central pool of donated money channeled to a large number of charitable organizations with little involvement from the donors as such. A community foundation, by contrast, is characterized by a high level of transparency and participation; the members will continue to pledge the donations only when they find the social causes the foundation is initiating and supporting resonate with their values and aspirations. A successfully run and broadly supported Community Foundation could become a major force for positive social change. It also serves as a powerful network of socially conscious citizens who might act together in times of crises and/or special events such as a major election. This was one of the main factors contributing to Park's success in the Mayor election campaign. The funding support for the campaign had come primarily in small amounts contributed by young people via the internet.

What Can We Learn From Park?

A tremendous lot. Recounting Park's electoral success reminds us how miserable our CE election had been. We had had two candidates, neither of whom the people of HK could identify with. The Korean citizen could have a free vote to choose their city mayors and presidents; when are we going to have this free vote? We had had a businessman, then a civil servant, then a career professional 'elected' as our CE, when are we going to have a social innovator having a chance to contest for this position?

But on a deeper level, the success of Park and his organizations demonstrates the power and potential of civil society organizations. In Korea and HK, we have been fortunate enough to be able to freely create and develop civic organizations of all sorts, NGOs, charitable organizations, social enterprises, etc., but by comparison, our civil society organizations on the whole are much weaker and less impactful than the Korean counterparts. We should take this to our heart and search for a better alternative.

People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy

Founding statement

September 10, 1994

**Let's open a democratic society
where participation and human rights are guaranteed**

We are currently standing at a time of change.

Military reign which dominated the people for long 30 years in the name of economic growth has finally been defeated by the unified power of the people.

However, the civilian government which has been formed with their hardship neglected the people's desire drifted away from the task of reform. Also, the stringent political situation of public security which came to society after the death of Kim Il Sung showed the brittleness of the democratic foundation of our country. We, who stand at this point in history, must fulfill the meaning of democracy and we have no doubts that in order to ensure the conditions of a decent living, we must have the people's support and wisdom. As we confront the reality that has experienced many changes, we would like to hold up the flag of solidarity in hopes to form an honest society, a participatory society and a society where hard working people can lead a decent life.

Before the 80's, tear bombs played a part on the streets in achieving democracy but the situation has changed now. In order to build a true democracy in this new era, action must take place in the middle of society and the political stage, and in people's daily lives. 'Democracy', literally would mean that the owners of the country are the people.

However, an anachronism situation has prevailed where the owners of the country are being treated like servants and the public servants are ruling over the owners. Regardless of who takes power, they do not try to change voluntarily this kind of backward situation. Therefore, there needs to be people's participation and their supervision. The status of a country's owner is not something that we can verify through an election process every few years. In order to be the real owner of a country, we must become a watchman that closely supervises the activities of state power on a daily basis.

The type of democracy we are in pursuit of is one with a political idea where dignity of humanity is realized and where human rights are its top priority. Until now, as we fought against inhumanness and powers that do not support human rights, we tried to gain the right to freely express ourselves through speech and actions.

After much travail, we decided to build a community of hope with two axes of 'participation' and 'human rights' as the direction of a new society. We want 'People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy', where many citizens gather to become the foundation in forming a unified community. Let's make an era that is formed with everyone's support, an era that is built with participation and human rights.

While I was drafting the current issue, I received a forwarded article from Prof. K M Chan of the Chinese University. I am attaching it on the next page.

從學運領袖、檢察官、人權律師、NGO 到從政，朴元淳重視建設公民社會。他推動制度上反腐，開放市府辦公大樓晚上給市民使用，善用社交網絡，被稱為「韓國公民社會的教頭」。

在獨裁統治下反抗強權，在民主制度下建設社會，五十六歲的首爾市長朴元淳的大半生，是與韓國公民社會共同成長的。回顧朴元淳的事業里程，檢察官、人權律師、社會參與者、首爾市長……身份眾多，努力的方向卻一貫明確：為了建設一個更美好的韓國公民社會。

一九五六年，朴元淳出生於韓國西南部慶尚南道昌寧郡，一九七五年，他考入韓國最負盛名的首爾國立大學，修讀法律專業。這所學校培養出了金泳三、潘基文等許多重要的韓國政治家。

二十世紀七十年代的韓國，正處在朴正熙統治時期，這是一段頗有爭議的歷史。一九六一年，通過發動「五一六政變」，朴正熙上台，開始了軍事獨裁的近二十年統治。在他的任內，韓國從二戰、韓戰後經濟的凋敝逐漸喘息過來，從一九六一年到一九七九年，朴正熙時代的韓國已經勾勒出未來現代化國家的藍圖，創造了經濟上的「漢江奇蹟」；但同時，朴正熙殘酷的獨裁統治也極端壓制了民主的發展，人民缺乏言論自由，政治一派死氣。七十年代，韓國學生運動風起雲湧，年輕的朴元淳也加入到反對獨裁的學生運動中去。

在一次示威遊行中，朴元淳被捕。與韓國後來湧現出的許多民主化運動領袖一樣，他也經歷了短暫的囚禁生涯。反抗的代價是被學校開除。一九七八年，在友人的引薦下，他進入檀國大學學習。一九七九年，朴正熙遇刺身亡後，首爾大學曾邀請朴元淳重返校園完成學業，但被這個熱血青年回絕。

到了八十年代，朴元淳「暫時做過檢察官，又成為人權律師」，回顧這段人生歷程時，他寥寥一句帶過，但人權律師生涯卻成為書寫朴元淳故事繞不過的一筆。「八十年代，軍事獨裁政權非常嚴酷，很多政治犯被捕，我為他們進行辯護」，朴元淳這樣回憶。他的當事人中，最著名的一位就是韓國前總統盧武鉉。

也就是在這一時期，嚴酷的國內政治局勢使他開始思考韓國社會的未來。二十世紀八十年代也是韓國市民運動發展的活躍時期，工會、教師工會、學生社團、宗教團體在反對獨裁的民主化進程中扮演了關鍵角色，並吸收社會中產階級，與反對黨在政治、社會議題上合作，向當時的獨裁政府施壓，並最終實現民主化。

韓國的民主化歷程成功地創造了「民主化的民衆主導模式」，公民團體也成為領跑社會改革與建設的主體。朴元淳敏銳地捕捉到了這一民間動向。一九九一到九三年，他完成了在英國倫敦政經學院和哈佛大學的法律學位，回國後毅然轉行，投入公民團體活動。

創辦 NGO 影響力巨大

一九九四年，他發起了「參與連帶」(People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy)，推進國內民主與人權發展。二千年，懷著人人參與慈善的美麗夢想，朴元淳又創辦了韓國第一個社區基金會——美麗基金會 (Beautiful Foundation) 和第一家社區慈善商店——美麗商店 (Beautiful Store)，號召人們將收入的百分之一捐給慈善事業。目前，美麗基金會已經成為韓國影響力最大的民間慈善機構。

從社會參與者到政治家的轉變，則顯得水到渠成。其實，朴元淳一直有個稱號「韓國公民社會教頭」，很像民間賜予他的「無冕之王」的名號。對一個良好的社會來說，這一切很自然：在理想社會裏，政府只扮演守夜人的角色。既然如此，朴元淳身處江湖或是廟堂，區別都不大了。

二零一一年，以無黨派候選人參加首爾市長補選的朴元淳順利當選。「市長朴元淳」在過去半年裏給首爾市民、國內支持者交出了怎樣的答卷？面對未來，他又對韓國社會有怎樣的期待？二零一二年五月二十六日，朴元淳在首爾市政府接受了亞洲週刊的專訪。以下是訪問內容：

你做過人權律師、慈善事業，現在是怎樣的動機使你從政？

我認為加強公民社會非常重要。從政或者 NGO、非盈利團體，都是要爭取公民的幸福，現在我已經從政了，就要與我們的官員一起努力，建設一個好的社會。

你認為目前首爾市的核心問題是什麼？長遠目標是怎樣規劃的？

我提出三個重要的方面：一是福利，二是就業崗位，三是城市安全。去年在特定地區下大雨，造成了山體滑坡和浸水的情況，所以最重要的就是城市安全。除此之外還強調福利。為了提高福利，經濟也得同步發展。所以我為了首爾市的經濟發展，做出振興文化產業和旅遊產業的發展方案。旅遊產業方面來說，到去年為止，訪問韓國的遊客可能是一千萬左右，但我們會採取措施，把這一數字擴大到兩千萬人。

你創辦的美麗基金會在韓國很有影響力，有怎樣的經驗可以分享？

這不是簡單的事情，要建立一個專門的學校來講課。我認為慈善團體面臨的最大問題是募集基金的問題，募集基金非常困難，要培養募集專家。如果中國會創辦這樣的學校，那我就願意講課。最近在中國和香港，大企業和有錢人越來越多，應該為社會做出些貢獻。由受信賴的組織來提出這樣的建議，可能可以引起大企業或富翁的捐助。

中國民間慈善組織也在行動，可能會面對腐敗的問題。從你的經驗來看，在這個過程中怎樣解決腐敗問題？

韓國在民主化初期也出現了許多腐敗，我們在民間當時建立了「參與連帶」，通過這樣的團體來進行各種措施。還有我們有「反腐敗法」，就像美國政府的「倫理法」。

公民團體的重要作用主要是監督作用。政治家在網上申報的財產每年都不一樣，市民團體會監督他們的財產。高級公務員在就職之前要在聽證會上接受調查。中國的電視劇有一個包青天，為了防止腐敗，最重要的就是透明度，所以對外公開文件最重要。

重視社會創新網絡

六月赴香港參加社會創新網絡，你對「社會創新」這個概念怎麼理解？

在一個社會變化發展過程中，經常提出革新課題，把這個社會變成更為有效率的、創新的、革新的社會來發展。從這個角度來看，SIX (社會創新網絡；Social Innovation Exchange)是非常重要的。

我擔任首爾市長後參加過兩次，並建立了新的部門：首爾革新規劃官，由他來籌備各種專案。舉個例子來說，「分享的城市」。是什麼呢？許多官員白天在辦公室工作，但晚上辦公室就空了。那我們建立一個系統，市民可以預定，從幾點到幾點，他們可以利用這個辦公室，按照這個方式來分享我們的機關。

還有 twitter 這個大眾化交流平台非常重要。在韓國，三千萬人擁有智慧手機，可以 twitter，現在我的粉絲高達五十萬人。從 twitter 我們可以得到市民對首爾市政建設的建議、要求和願望。市長也可以回答，我們的官員也關注 twitter，可以很快回答市民的問題，市民們很滿足。在全世界城市中，可能沒有像我們這樣及時回答市民的政府。

可以舉例說明首爾的「社會創新」案例嗎？

首爾每個公共汽車站都有站牌，站牌上都有方向指示，但有的時候方向不對，一位首爾青年自願騎自行車到七百多個站台，自己用新的紅色表示貼上去。社會革新的主體是市民，這樣的青年應該受到表揚。

今年也是韓國的總統選舉年，可以關注哪些內容？你對幾位候選人有怎樣的評價？

對幾位候選人評價是很難的事情。執政黨的朴槿惠代表，受到很多國民的信賴和支持。民主黨的文在寅，是我在司法研修院的同學。那時候文在寅（盧武鉉政府的前青瓦台民政首席）對政治與自己的原則非常分明。安哲秀院長，他是經營 IT 產業獲得成功的企業家型學者。但是他的目的不是個人的成功，而是與公共利益聯繫在一起的。我覺得這幾位人士的競爭會非常激烈。

你有參選的計劃嗎？

我是通過市長補選成為首爾市長的，所以我應該遵守對市民的承諾。你為什麼提出這樣的問題我非常了解，因為到現在為止，首爾市長參加總統大選，當過首爾市長會被認為是通往下一步的中間橋樑。但我認為這不是橋樑。首爾是有一千萬人的城市，還有兩千五百多萬人在首爾工作，為了使首爾成為更好的城市，我作為市長，要作出一定的貢獻。