

INTEGRATED APPROACH FOR RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:  
THE CASE STUDY OF SAEMAUL UNDONG DURING 1970-1979

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บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)  
เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

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การพัฒนาชนบทของเกาหลีใต้ด้วยกลยุทธ์ผสมผสาน:

กรณีศึกษา แซมาอีล อุนดง ในช่วง ค.ศ. 1970-1979

นางสาวเมธาวี หิรัญคำ

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาเกาหลีศึกษา (สหสาขาวิชา)

บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย



เมธวี หิรัญคำ : การพัฒนาชนบทของเกาหลีใต้ด้วยกลยุทธ์ผสมผสาน: กรณีศึกษา แซมาอิล อุนดง ในช่วง ค.ศ. 1970-1979. (INTEGRATED APPROACH FOR RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE STUDY OF SAEMAUL UNDONG DURING 1970-1979) อ. ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : ผศ. ดร. บุญยง ชื่นสุวิมล, 78 หน้า.

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาโครงการพัฒนาชนบทของเกาหลีใต้หรือ แซมาอิล อุนดง และวิเคราะห์กลยุทธ์การพัฒนาแบบ กลยุทธ์ผสมผสาน โดยเก็บข้อมูลจากเอกสารทางวิชาการต่างๆ รายงานพิเศษ และอินเทอร์เน็ต ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับโครงการแซมาอิล อุนดงและข้อมูลอื่นๆในช่วง ค.ศ. 1970-1979 ซึ่งเป็นช่วงที่การพัฒนาประสบความสำเร็จสูงสุด

จากผลการศึกษาพบว่า กลยุทธ์ที่โดดเด่นของโครงการแซมาอิล อุนดงคือ กลยุทธ์ผสมผสาน ซึ่งเกิดจากการบูรณาการระหว่างกลยุทธ์ จากบนลงล่าง และ ล่างขึ้นบน ที่เป็นส่วนทำให้การพัฒนาชนบทของเกาหลีใต้ในช่วง ค.ศ.1970-1979 นั้นประสบผลสำเร็จ นอกจากนั้น พบว่าเงื่อนไขทางวัฒนธรรมและเศรษฐกิจในขณะนั้นมีส่วนทำให้รัฐบาลแสดงบทบาทสำคัญในการดำเนินงานของโครงการแซมาอิล อุนดง รัฐบาลจึงดำเนินงานในลักษณะการสั่งงานจาก บนลงล่าง ในระยะแรกของโครงการเพื่อเป็นการชี้แนะและเตรียมความพร้อมพื้นฐานสำหรับการดำเนินงานในลักษณะ ล่างขึ้นบน ของประชาชนในชนบทเป็นลำดับต่อไป ถึงแม้ว่าจะมีข้อวิจารณ์ทั้งในทางการเมืองและสังคม เช่นเป็นโครงการในส่วนหนึ่งของนโยบายทางการเมืองของประธานาธิบดีปัก จอง ฮี อย่างไรก็ตาม โครงการนี้ถือว่าประสบความสำเร็จตามวัตถุประสงค์ของโครงการ ในการทำให้คุณภาพชีวิตดีขึ้น การพัฒนาสภาพความเป็นอยู่และการเพิ่มขึ้นของรายได้ของชาวชนบทที่เกิดจากการสนับสนุนอย่างจริงจังจากรัฐบาลและความร่วมมือของประชาชน

สาขาวิชา...เกาหลีศึกษา.....ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....

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The purpose of this research is to study South Korea's rural development program or Saemaul Undong with the focus on the integrated approach strategy for rural development, by analyzing the secondary academic data for Saemaul Undong and other related information collected through various sources including finding from research studies, books, journals and online articles. The study is concentrating on the early phase which is during 1970-1979 since it had the most impressive outcome.

The findings of this study reveal the significant integrated approach of Saemaul Undong's strategy which is, the combination of bottom-up and top-down, a profound factor to achieve impressive outcome of South Korea's rural development in 1970-1979. However, culturally, under Asian rural conditions, it may be difficult for rural people to start the development project. Investment and development in rural areas would be inefficient if the rural people were not ready to make effective use of such investment. Therefore, to successfully achieve in rural development and investment, the Korean government employed a top-down approach in the initial stage to shape a basic groundwork for the bottom-up approach from rural people in the latter stage. There are negative perspectives towards the program, such as it could not stop the rural-out migration and it was established as political apparatus for President Park Chung Hee. In spite of that criticism, it succeeded in the improvement of life and better standard of living and increased rural household income as it was first proposed with the strong support for the government and the participation from rural people.

Field of Study : Korean Studies.....Student's Signature.....

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

South Korea which once had encountered colonization, civil war that brought to the national division and was one of the developing countries, now became one of the most powerful developed countries in the world.

Like many other developing countries, South Korea in the post Korean War period faced with several problems. The plight of the nation did not improve until General Park Chung Hee became the president in 1961. Throughout his regime, 1961-1979, President Park transformed South Korea from the nation with GNP of US\$79 (considered as one of the poorest countries in the world) in 1961 to US\$1600 in 1980 (Douglass, 1983). During the 1960s, President Park Chung Hee's national development strategy focused on urban industry growth. This selective strategy brought about the ignorance in rural area. One of the serious impacts of urban growth was the rural-out migration problem. Inequality between urban and rural people was raised since urban area was filled with basic needs, industries with high rate of employment and salaries. However, the rural-out migration not only brought the growth of urban people, but also social problems. Besides, the disparity among two areas increased the unstable conditions that would be the obstacle of nation development.

Results from heavy investment in industrial sector in South Korea:

1. Traditional agricultural stagnation
2. Income disparity between urban and rural people
3. Shortage of farmers and farming labors due to urban migration
4. Increase of negative attitudes among farmers due to inequality of living conditions

Thus, to minimize the problems, according to the social conditions, President Park initiated a scheme for the rural area to benefit from the national development by the establishing of Saemaul Undong. The purpose was to combine the planning and guiding from the government level and implementing the scheme based on the rural needs and participation by rural people at the community level.

This thesis explores South Korea's rural development program, namely Saemaul Undong, which was established in order to solve the disparity between urban and rural areas as well and to upgrade living standard of rural people in the 1970s due to the fast growing of economy throughout the industrial-led growth policies that President Park Chung Hee used as a strategy for state development in the 1960s. The analyzing of strategy in which how the role of the government and the people participation towards the program play such a significant role is the main argument of this study. Furthermore, the study aims to re-evaluate the achievement of the Saemaul Undong through the improvement of rural standard of living as well as the increase of income after the initiation of the program by the implementation of top-down and bottom up approach.

## **1.1 Background**

Before South Korea began to take full step of the national development in 1962, its people had suffered poverty. The elite groups fought against each other to gain political power and thus left the people with frustration and hopelessness (Thandee, 1987). Since Japanese colonization until the end of World War II, Korea was already an ideologically bifurcated society. In terms of politics, South Korea had been under dictatorship since its first established government in 1948 (Intasi, 2010).

The post-colonial Korean Peninsula underwent an internal ideological conflict between the leftist (communism-supported by Soviet Union) and the rightist (democracy-supported by the US.) which drove the whole nation to the civil war and caused the division of the country. The war started when the North launched the attack across the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel to the South on June 25, 1950. During Korean War, 1950-1953, the military established itself as the most dramatic and the most effective institution. The army size increased rapidly consisting of 600,000 soldiers of which the number was two times of civil officials excluding teachers. They were recruited from all level of social classes to be trained in military courses and special courses for the development of the country. Later, those who had the ability to identify their rule became powerful or became one of the members of leader group. In the late period of the First Republic, the influence of the military changed with the increase of intervention towards the development of the nation, directly and indirectly. Military Coup in 1961 by General Park Chung Hee was the key element for legitimacy of military government (Thandee, 1987). After the coup, the military government put their efforts in restoring the nation which the main goal was firstly focused on economy and then democracy (Intasi, 2000). The development and modernization started with economic growth through industrialization by initiating a series of Five Years Economic Development Plans in which the first plan was launched in 1962. The development plans were implemented accordingly with the intention of President Park until his assassination in 1979 (Thandee, 1987). The achievement of the plans made South Korea society change dramatically.

“The principal aim of the agricultural modernization program is nothing less than the liberation of our farmers from this traditional yoke of poverty and

backwardness. We have assigned the highest priority to agricultural development in the belief that no industrial development is possible without the simultaneous development of agriculture” (Park, 1979)

“We need to support ourselves to develop our communities. With aspirations of self-help, self-reliance and cooperation, we can make our community rich and turn it into a good place to live” (Kwon, 2010)

At a glance, these statements of President Park tried to emphasize that rural people should help themselves rather than wait for the government assistance according to the social conditions. The establishment of Saemaul Undong was due to these factors.

1. Disparity between urban and rural: In the 1960s, during the first and second Five-Year Economic Development Plans which heavily emphasized investment in industrial sector, South Korea successfully achieved economic growth. On the one hand industrial productivity sector increased immensely; on the other hand, there came a heavily decline in agriculture (Mike Douglass: 1983). From this phenomenon, there came the gap between urban and rural areas, for example, the decreased share of GDP in agricultural sectors and the agricultural productivity as well as rural household annual income (see Table 1.1 and 1.2).

**Table 1.1 Rate of Economic Growth (%)**

Period	Overall growth rate	Agriculture and Fisheries	Mining and Industries
1962-1966	7.9	5.9	14.3
1967-1971	9.6	1.6	19.9

Note: data applied from Eom, 2011.

Source: Eom, 2011.

**Table 1.2 Comparison of per capita rural income to urban income**

(Unit: 1000 Korean Won)

Year	Urban household		Rural household		Ratio	
	Per capita income (A)	Per capital working income (B)	Per capita income (C)	Per capita agricultural income (D)	(C/A)	(D/B)
1963	12	60	15	24	1.22	0.40
1965	16	92	18	28	1.09	0.31
1970	55	254	43	67	0.79	0.26

Note: The income is calculated in nominal price.

Source: Park, 2009.

Therefore, it brought about the excessive rural-out migration. According to the research of Decharin (1987), he found that the number of farmers in South Korea had declined from 70% in 1950-1960 to 46% in 1971. Mostly, rural youth went to urban area to pursuit better life, such as working in industries to earn high labor wage. The shift of population into urban areas caused typical rural problems. For example, the shortage of agricultural labors, the weakened quality of farming production of remaining labors, lack of potential leaders in communities since there were only old-aged, women and children left in rural areas.

From this situation, it obviously brought about the traditional agriculture stagnation and also the growth of rural inhabitants biased towards the Park regime. Negative opinion towards the government came along with the negative attitudes to life. Therefore, rural people would live idly since they did not profit from agricultural products as much as industrial sector. To bridge that gap, the third Five-Year Economic plan's focus was changed to agriculture by emphasizing on the

development of farming, fishing and increasing in agricultural investment. The amount of 2 billion US\$ was invested for the development of agricultural sector (Decharin, 1987).

2. Political reasons: During President Park regime, South Korea politics was authoritarianism. Externally, communist expansion and provocation from North Korea along with the Nixon Doctrine in 1969 in which the United States Army would withdraw from South Korea had threatened President Park (Intasi, 2000). Therefore, South Korea must immediately be dependent by balancing development of both rural and urban areas economically and socially; otherwise, rural communities would be the obstacle of country development. Internally, it is also criticized that the rural development was launched in order to gain the popularity of the Park regime in rural areas. Because the investment in industrial policies to stimulate economic development during the first and second Five-Year Economic Plan brought economic growth, on the other hand, it widened the gap between urban and rural income and living standard. So the discontent towards the Park administration rose among rural people who had been regarded as a favorable voting basis for President Park. The rural biased attitudes towards the regime resulted evidently in the national election in 1969, in which a proportion of the third presidential election of President Park in rural area was 15% lower than the previous election (Park, 2009)

## 1.2 Research Objectives

- To study the accomplishment of rural community movement in respect of rural development
- To study rural development process through an integrated approach
- To review the factors behind the establishment of rural community development program
- To study and evaluate the outcomes of the rural community development



### **1.3 Research questions**

- What are important factors related to the establishment of rural development program?
- How can integrated-approach facilitate mobilization in rural community development?
- What impacts that has been brought into the rural community besides the accomplishment of this development?

### **1.4 Scope of the study**

- The study analyzes endogenous change particularly the strategy to approach rural development, bottom-up and top-down, by relying on the secondary data for Saemaul Undong and other related information
- The study focuses on the period during 1970-1979 because it was the early phase that had the most impressive outcome

### **1.5 Research Significance**

To show the significance of Saemaul Undong's integrated approach, bottom-up and top-down, as a factor to achieve impressive outcome of South Korea's rural development during 1970-1979

### **1.6 Research Methodology**

The research aims to study rural development process through integrated approach by mainly using the descriptive explanatory method based on the analysis of historical archive and the approach strategy as well as the achievement of Saemaul Undong. The research data, historical archive, approach strategy and achievement, is descriptive secondary data collected from available sources including research studies, books, journals and internet. The study emphasizes the

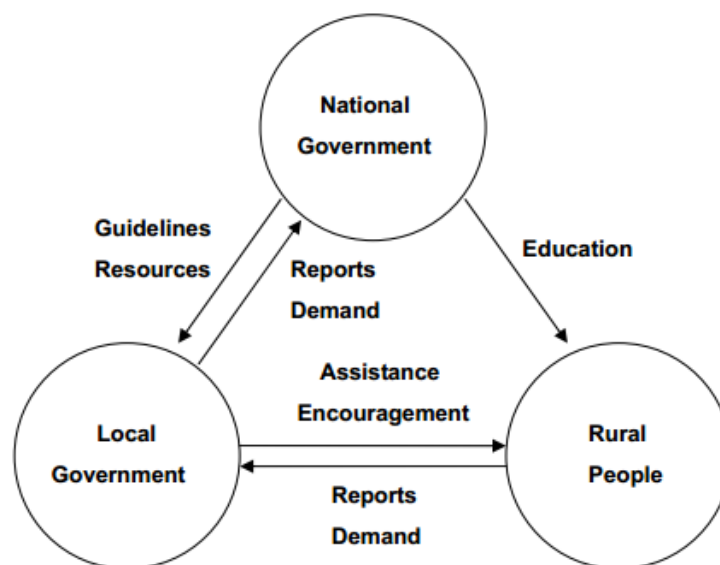
explanatory research as a means to explain the history and interaction between the government and rural people that leads to the rural development as well as to show the impressive outcome in the early phase, 1970-1979.

### 1.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this thesis is designed in the following figure. The indicators in this framework are derived from “Key Factors to Successful Community Development: The Korean Experience” by Choe, 2005.

As shown in the following diagram, the conceptual framework of the study shows the relationship between the indicators which will be mainly analyzed. The process of rural development through Saemaul Undong can be achieved by the interaction among National Government, Local Government and Rural People.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework of the Research



Source: Choe, 2005.

Since Saemaul Undong is a pan-national movement, Local Government is set up to carry on National Government’s guideline throughout the whole rural

communities in South Korea. According to Choe, the Local Government is also important because it is set up as the role of public delivery system at the community level to conduct the delivery system from National Government, and at the same time, report the demands of rural people back to National Government. So it is considered that the project plans of Saemaul Undong are set up based on community needs.

About the education, Ministry of Education set up the Saemaul principle Education as a course for school in order to educate rural people which were not only adults but also the youth in the whole nation. Moreover, there was a Saemaul Training Center for Saemaul Leaders to be trained after they were selected by the community members. It has been noticed that Saemaul Leaders played a significant role for Saemaul Undong's projects operation at the community level. The community which had strong Saemaul Leaders would achieve the development.

Therefore, the improvement of living standard and income increase of rural people is regarded as the outcome of integrated approach, top-down and bottom-up, which leads to the nation development at last.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **2.1. What is integrated approach?**

The case of Saemaul Undong, integrated approach is the combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches (Choe, 2005) in which, the government administrative planed and implemented at the initial stage to stimulate people's participation which led to build a basic foundation for the bottom-up approach. Culturally, under South Korean Confucianism, and economically, the government's limitation of funds since it partly depended on the foreign aid from the United States, it might be difficult for rural people to start the development project (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977).

I divided the literature review into two parts which are the reviews of related researches and the review of related theories. The review of related researches is used in order to understand the background of the study and the review of related theories is used to create the conceptual framework of the study.

#### **2.2. Related researches**

In this part, I have chosen the previous works that influenced me greatly on my study. Park Chung Hee's "Korea Reborn: A method for development", briefly introduced on rural development. He stated the importance of this program as a part of his nation-building program, "Through the successful Saemaul movement, rural communities were no longer a burden to Korean's modernization". President Park believed that only government's help, this program would not be accomplished,

rural people should support the scheme accordingly. Therefore, to efficiently mobilize this program, spirit of diligence, self-help and cooperation were designed as the significant factors of the people's participation.

Next is the analysis of Kim Hyung-A's "Korea's development under Park Chung Hee: Rapid industrialization, 1961-1979", which analyzes the approach of Saemaul Undong from top-down level due to internal and external political reasons. According to Kim, top-down rural development was utilized by promoting the renewal of the Korean people's spirit of self-reliance and independence and their determination to strive for their own betterment through national development to socially and economically strengthen the nation. At that time, the strategies that President Park manipulated in Saemaul Undong were criticized as a part of Yushin Constitution. The Yushin was promulgated on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1972 after President Park dissolved National Assembly due to political reasons. It established President Park to be life-long in his position and be above the legislature and judiciary systems. People's right was limited and controlled by the government. The comprehensive achievement in socio-political and economic was the aim of the Yushin to reform and restore the nation by President Park and his advisers' way. Kim states that Saemaul Undong, as a part of the Yushin, seemed to be the same modes of North Korea's mass mobilization promoted by Kim Il Sung in the 1960s named "Chollima" or "Flying Horse Movement". It represented "a great revolutionary movement of working millions of our country, sweeping away everything antiquated from all spheres of the economy, culture, ideology and morality" (Kim Il Sung; cited in Kim, 2004). Likewise, President Park's Saemaul Undong was initiated to change the collective mentality of the people to work hard to build South Korea as a strong and

and independent nation. Though, South Korea and North Korea had different ideologies, they had the same principle which was self-reliance. Both Koreas' leaders would like to call for national revolutions in their own style to make "Korea's self-strengthening, cultural tradition, historical lessons learned from Japanese imperialism, ideological threats at the border and the state commitment to "anti-flunkeyism" in relation to foreign power". However, towards the process of revolution which the writer has mentioned, people's democratic rights of both South Korea and North Korea were violated.

In Eom Seok-Jin's (2011) analysis of good governance of Saemaul Undong, he gives the definition and components of governance as "a result of interactions among various participants made under formal or informal institutions to solve common concerns". Though for developing countries, as he quoted from Tarschys (2001), good governance has been considered "a requisite for many different forms of growth, whereas the various features of bad governance ... corruption, waste, abuse of power and exploitation of public means for private ends ... tend to drive unfortunate nations into vicious spirals of decline, disruption and destruction", it emphasizes responsiveness, transparency and accountability to the current society's demand for the future. The good governance characteristic in his study is derived from UNESCAP (2007) as follows:

1. Participation: Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and

expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.

2. Consensus-orientation: Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.
3. Responsiveness: Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.
4. Transparency: Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media.
5. Rule of law: Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.
6. Equity and inclusiveness: A society's well-being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly

the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

7. Effectiveness and efficiency: Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.
8. Accountability: Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders in good governance. Who is accountable to whom varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution. In general an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

According to these characteristics, Eom also explains the characteristics of good governance in which the spontaneous participation by rural people that was supported and promoted by the government's interventions and strategies brings about the efficiency, effectiveness and increased equity in Saemaul Undong. This is how Eom re-evaluates the good governance that brought the success to rural development.

The research by Kwon Huck-Ju (2010), claims that one of the most effective factors behind the achievement of the movement was Land Reform in the 1950s



that created independent farmers. Land Reform played a great role to attract the active participation from farmers for the improvement of living environment and income generation projects since they would be directly profitable from the improvement and modernized of infrastructures. Though there was a negative argument that Saemaul Undong was such a political support for authoritarian regime, President Park Chung Hee, Kwon argues that “Saemaul Undong contributed to social and economic development in Korea not only as self-help community movement but also as a mechanism of social inclusion”. Besides boosting the independent farmers in rural areas, land reform also expanded the education. Education was not only for the children in school, but also for the community leaders of Saemaul Undong in Saemaul Training Center. Those leaders who became equipped with the necessary education could then effectively organize the projects of Saemaul Undong.

### **2.3. Related theories**

In this part, I will start by reviewing the theories that serve as the important fundamental of my study. Firstly, I will review the theory of Community Development by the studies of Sujjanan (2008) and Settabut (2008) who had given the significance explanation related to my study. Secondly, about the Integrated Approach, which I had already claimed that it was the combination of Bottom-Up and Top-Down approaches, my reviewing over it will be based on the study of Settabut (2008). Lastly, the theory of Structural Strain by Merton (1964), it serves my expectation that it would well describe the South Korea’s Saemaul Undong strategy as a means to reach for the goals, which is the development of rural community.

### **2.3.1. Community Development**

Development is very important for every country no matter what aspect it is considered. Accordingly, the development depends on the purpose of each nation in which way they would like to operate which can be defined as the process, method, program or movement. Especially, in developing countries, development plays a significant role. Broadly, according to scholarly definition, development is covered the area of Economics, Sociology, Humanity and Planning (Settabut, 2008)

“Community Development” is the combination of the words “community” and “development” (Sanyawiwat, 1971; cited in Sujjanan, 2008). The word “Community” is defined as the village or small town community which is composed of groups of kith and kins, sharing the same fundamental values and participating in regular activities in which the frequency of personal encounter and common activities and interaction is high (Rudopp; cited in Rhee, 1985).

The word “Development” is generally used depending on what aspect it is referred in what area. According to Sujjanan’s “Education and Community Development”, she concludes development as the improvement or change for better thing (Sujjanan, 2003). Though community development is differently emphasized in each area, the ultimate goal is to change and bring betterment for communities, socially, economically and culturally based on the capacity of local inhabitants and government assistance. Likewise, in Settabut’s explanation of development applying from Constantina, who gives the description of development as the continuous process which shows human’s ability of controlling over their livelihood to make things better from the past to the present. The concepts of development are as followed: (1) The ability to change way of life for the future (2)

The ability of a person for self-reliance (3) The ability of people to control their own needs. Therefore, development means Economic Growth, Social Change in a better way, increase of Gross National Product and Per Capita Income, and the increase of people's standard of living, quantitatively and qualitatively.

Therefore, according to Sujjanan (2008), community development is the process to change for improvement and providing better living conditions for community members which has characteristics as followed.

1. The process that has been set with a well-defined formal and theoretical framework, ultimate goal, operation time and process procedures
2. The process which aims at developing living conditions, environment for people
3. The process which local resources are to be utilized to the greatest advantage
4. The process that provides education for people to encourage them to have the spirit of self-help and creativity
5. The process that requires the cooperation from individuals level as well as cooperation from government and private organizations
6. The process should be based on tradition and norms of community
7. Majority of the people must be profitable from the development

As such, Community Development generally means the process and approach to combine the social, economic, government and political to develop together. The good cooperation of those four elements will lead to the successful of development to the people in the community. However, the pattern or the format of development of each country is different. Nipawan (cited in Settabut, 2008) divided development into 3 formats which are:

### 1. Unique Development

This kind of development makes private business very convenience because it is based on Democracy and Free Enterprise procedure and has no specific plan of development. The government will not intervene in the investment or doing business. Its role is to be as a moderator and the guardian to bring and keep peaceful internally and internationally to the state. Business competition is opened freely for private sector to join under the laws of each country. Based on the willing of the people to compete and do business, the more the people of the state are hard-working, the more the economics of the state will be developed. Up until now, this format has been used in the free world or in developed countries such as the United States, England, France, Germany, the Netherland and Belgium.

### 2. Centralized Development

It is opposite to Free Development in which the government is the one who designs, controls and conducts the development. This kind of development is found in Communism countries; Russia and China.

### 3. Planned Development

It means the development that has been well-planned before operation. Though the Government office and officer are given the specific action plan, the private sectors are allowed to do business freely based on their own needs and wills. This kind of development is found in the free developing countries.

These 3 formats of development have both positive and negative aspects. The unique development format is good for the government in which they will not take full responsibility for development. Rather, they just take control of the free

competition under the fair and appropriate extent to prevent unexpected outcomes, for example, monopoly, hoarding and profiteering. For the centralized development, though the economy will be fast grown and developed, all the burdens, planning, controlling and operation will go directly to the government. However, the economic development process will be easily conducted under the government because everyone is forced to join and is not allowed to be excluded from the plan. The rights and freedom of people are limited under centralized development. And for the last format, planned development, it is seen as a complicated troublesome format for the government in dealing with both private sector and people. Because the government cannot force private sector, there will be no punishment for the people who do not want to join the development plan from the government.

### **2.3.2. Top-down approach for rural development**

According to the study of Settabut (2008), top-down approach is the Government-led management; local capacity/ability cannot generate the conditions to transform its own productive management structure which can be defined as characteristic and result of development.

#### Characteristic of development

The process of top-down approach is that the government provides guidelines and directions all over the plan and vertically delivers to sub-division public official at the bottom that is expected to fulfill the government's will accordingly. Due to the will of government, the project for rural development is generally swept through all over the nation to cover the fundamental basis problems without considering that the project could be applicable to all area or not. Therefore, the outcomes of each area are different. All set up projects are conducted

through public mechanism by cooperate with the system that the government support such as administration, service and communication.

The bottom level, people in the community as well, is not expected to have any comments and complaints to the top-level since they are the one who initiates the project. They have to do what they are ordered and guided with no space to propose their inner needs to the top-level. There are several reasons to initiate development policies and strategies by using top-down approach. Firstly, the idea domination at the government level because the specialist or policy makers usually received educational opportunities from abroad so that the officers became receptive to foreign ideas of rural development theories. Moreover, most of these officials are drawn from urban area, they do not recognize much about the problem in rural areas. They believe that the policies and strategies that they have set up are applicable and useful to their countries. Secondly, the unfamiliar between policy makers and rural people, the specialist and rural people or from the belief of the government that rural people are poor, not wise, not enthusiastic and incapable of taking care of themselves so that in order to develop, external motivation, the drive from the government, is needed. Lastly, the distinctive character of government system is well structured and formally powerful so that the development plans from the government and other organizations are usually conducted under this system.

#### Results of development

The benefits of top-down approach are, for example, development operation is rapidly delivered to the area based on the public system, the good distribution of resources and advanced technologies relevant to the plan. However, besides those benefits, in a long distance, it leaves some problems to the communities. Since

people in the community are excluded from the initial stage of the plan, self-reliance and self-help of people in the community is gradually disappeared. They will become more dependent on the government. The bias towards government would be increased due to coercion strategy of directions and guidelines. Moreover, when the operation of development process depends on the government officials, it leads to the emergence of groups, the contributor and the receiver. The former behave towards the latter in the form of feudality which obstructs the development process because there is no cooperation between government and rural people. Due to the policy and strategy which are not based on each area requirement, all rural areas in the country applied the same basic development programs so that the unsuccessful outcomes are the result of this basic pattern of development program from the government.

### **2.3.3. Bottom-up approach for rural development**

This approach is totally the opposite side of top-down approach in which it is a community-will to develop themselves without the intervention of the government. All development projects are based on the needs of people in the community. Mainly, local people take their efforts to create plans and are encouraged to participate in various projects along with the utilization of local resources which they all can be profitable equally. However, this kind of development will encounter with several problems if the government did not support, and also the project would hardly be successful since each area has its own project based on its needs. In general, there are many limitations of the development programs that emerge from the needs of bottom level especially limitation of capability and rural resources. They cannot efficiently utilize the

resources provided by the government because without the guidelines, necessary technologies and instructions from government specialist, the operation of development program may be interrupted and unsuccessful. Moreover, though the impressive achievement could be happened, rather, it happened in the community that had encountered with the tremendous disaster or had been through a hard time and had the strong leader with a strong will to lead his community into the better thing or the community that had been strongly supported by the government. As the projects are based on each areas or communities, they are considered as small and disperse as they rarely achieved. Without specific goals and directions as well as a strong drive from the government, the way to achieve ultimate goals of bottom-up projects is hardly opened. If it would have been, the achievement was considered as specific areas not as a whole rural area.

#### **2.3.4. Structural Strain**

According to Merton's (1964) "Social Theory and Social Structure", his Structural Strain theory provides systematic approach to the analysis of cultural and social sources of deviant behavior. Merton discovers that the gap between cultural goals, which is legitimately held out as objectives for members of the society, and the institutionalized means, which is as the choice for striving towards cultural goals, cause the genesis of deviance to the strain. Since everyone is not equally potential to access for the legitimate means to attain those goal, the stage then becomes unstable and there develops anomie. Though two elements function together, it cannot be said that they endure an invariable relation to one another. As Merton says, "Of the types of societies which result from independent variation of cultural goals and institutionalized means, we shall be primarily concerned with the first "a



society in which there is an exceptionally strong emphasis upon specific goals without a corresponding emphasis upon institutional procedures”, or in other words, he adds, “No society lacks norms governing conduct”. According to this, social and cultural structure characterized societies. Structure supplies or fails to supply the means for people to achieve those goals, whereas culture institutes goals for people in society. In a well-integrated society, people use accepted and proper means to achieve the goals that society institutes. As for this case, the goals and the means of the society are in balance. However, when the goals and means are imbalance with each other, deviance is to be expected to occur. This imbalance between cultural goals and institutionalized means can lead an individual into deviant behavior.

According to his structural strain theory, Merton gives the example which is the achievement of economic achievement in the United States that helps further explain theory. He explains that in the United States, economic success is a goal that almost everybody strives for. The legitimate means to economic success are education and jobs. However, not all groups of people have equal access to these means. Thus, structural strain is the result that produces deviance in the society.

#### Types of Individual Adaptation

Merton further presents people’s adaptation to structural strain into five general types (see table 2.1) with regards to their relationship to culturally accepted goals and the means to achieve those goals. People who have rejected to access to the goals of the society will not be recognized that they will become deviant. Rather, as Merton claims, people may shift from one alternative to another as they engage in different spheres of social activities.

**Table 2.1 A typology of modes of individual adaptation**

Modes of adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
Conformity	+	+
Innovation	+	-
Ritualism	-	+
Retreatism	-	-
Rebellion	+,-	+,-

Note: (+) signifies “acceptance”, (-) signifies “rejection”

Source: Merton, 1964.

4.1 Conformity To cultural goals and institutionalized means, conformity preserves stability of the society. If this type of adaptation disappears in one’s society, the continuity and stability of the society could not be maintained. Conformists are people who keep the wheels of society running because they believe in both established cultural goals of society as well as the normative means for accomplishing those goals. They follow the rules of society.

4.2 Innovation This type of adaptation is invited by the success goals. As Merton says, “This response occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment”. It presumes that individuals have been imperfectly socialized, so that they abandon institutional means while retaining the success aspiration. The innovators who are at least smart and actively striving are those individuals that accept the cultural goals of society but reject the methods of attaining those goals. Rather, they design or innovate their own means to get to the goals. Merton finds two distinctive features that can be drawn from these situations. First, the established values of the cultures provide incentives for success. Second,

the class structure to those of deviant behavior limits the available methods for moving towards the goals. Merton also analyzes this adaptation within American society that the greatest pressures toward deviation have exerted upon the lowest strata whose occupation areas are manual labor and the lesser white collar jobs. For those who belong to the lowest social structure in demands of reaching to the higher status is inconsonant with the culture. Thus, the high rate of deviant behavior is a result of this structural inconsonant.

4.3 Ritualism This type of adaptation is promoted by the strong conformity with traditions and is expected to be regular in a society that one's social strategy is bound to depend upon one's achievement. In this adaptation, the established cultural goals of society which individuals once believed they could reach for it are abandoned by the individuals because they start to not believe in them. However, they do believe in and accept by the means for attaining those goals. In other words, the individuals who adapt this type of adaptation are the ones who conform with at least to the traditions or norms of the society. As Merton says, "The severe training leads many to carry a heavy burden of anxiety. The socialization patterns of the lower middle class thus promote the very character structure most predisposed toward ritualism, and it is in this stratum, accordingly, that this adaptive pattern, Ritualism, should most often occur". Moreover, Merton has quoted what he found in P. Janet's "The fear of action" about the syndrome of the social ritualist which is the implicit life-philosophy's expression in a series of cultural cliché such as "I'm not sticking my head out", "I'm playing safe". And also, Merton points out that "The theme threaded through these attitudes is that high ambitions invite frustration and danger whereas lower aspirations produce satisfaction and security". Thus, individuals

who are involved with these differences can shift from one type of adaptation to another.

4.4 Retreatism This type of adaptation establishes the true alien or privatized rather than a collective. The rejection of cultural goals and institutional means are the manner of Retreatists. They basically avoid both the goals and means that established by society, however, they do not replace those norms with their own counter-cultural forces. As Merton says, "This mode of adaptation is most likely to occur when both the culture goals and the institutional practices have been thoroughly assimilated by the individual and imbued with affect and high value, but accessible institutional avenues are not productive of success". As such, Retreatists escape from the requirements of the society by using these mechanisms (1) Defeatism (2) Quietism and (3) Resignation, into a non-productive lifestyle.

4.5 Rebels This final type of people adaptation is regarded as purely arbitrary because the cultural goals and the institutional means are rejected. It occurs when, As Merton says, "When the institutional system is regarded as the barrier to the satisfaction of legitimized goals, the stage is set for rebellion as an adaptive response". Rebels not only reject both the established cultural goals and the accepted means of attaining those goals, but they substitute new goals and new means of attaining those goals.

## CHAPTER III

### INTEGRATED APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In this section, I will examine how integrated approach the Saemaul Undong is by starting with the explanation of initiation and process, characteristic and strategy of Saemaul Undong, to understand the process in the early phase, 1970-1979. Then, I will examine the relationship of indicators, the Government (National and Local) and Rural People, in which how they were linked to bring good outcome in the development. In the last part, the approach to development will be shown in order to show how the achievement of rural development was approached.

#### 3.1 Initiation and process

To start with, I will clarify the specific term of Saemaul Undong in order to refer in this study since the slogans and terminology used is Korean. Etymologically, Saemaul (새마을) is the Korean language combined by the word Sae (새) which means “new” or in other word, it means “progressive renewal based on past experience” and Maul (마을) which means “village or community where people live and interact with each other” (Shreejana, 2011). As such, in this research, the word “community” will be referred to. Undong (운동) means “movement”. Thus, Saemaul Undong means New Community Movement.

It was President Park’s idea after he visited an unusually tidy community in Kyongsang region of south-eastern part of the country that had encountered severe flooding. He was surprised to notice that despite of the damages from the flood, this community had recovered from the severe natural disaster and also constructed

better standard of living and infrastructure like expanding of road, tidy roof and wall for each house. President Park then realized that the volunteering of time and labor from community members brought the noticeably achievement outcome (Kim, 2004).

Encouraged by this, Saemaul Undong was then initiated in the 1970s by President Park Chung Hee as “a pan-national movement designed to conquer poverty without outside help so as to build a more affluent Korea” (Park, 1979) which its ultimate goal is to improve rural standard of living for people in rural area. The Saemaul Undong projects began by the distribution of 355 cement bags to each 34,665 rural communities around the nation. Those given cements were expected to be used for the welfare of the entire community (Park, 2009).

However, investment and development in rural areas would be inefficiency if rural people were not ready to make effective use of such investment. Moreover, in the government administrative, monetary support alone was not enough for rural development; rather it would increase the dependent feeling among rural people towards government. Therefore, to maximize in rural development and investment projects, rural people should be played as the most important factor to mobilize in which they must have positive attitude and feel confident toward the development process so that they could feel “we too can prosper if we work hard and cooperate with each other (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977). President Park had realized that without the mindset of self-reliance and self-help of people in rural community, the government assistance would be wasted. In order to encourage voluntary participation from rural people, diligence, self-help and cooperation were included as guiding spirits of Saemaul Undong to achieve the ultimate goals.

To modernize and develop rural communities, the core spirit of Saemaul Undong was “we can do it”, which “can do” came from the values of guiding spirits; diligence, self-help and cooperation, these are the basic essential mechanism to draw rural people attention towards the development projects of Saemaul Undong. Therefore, to cultivate and stimulate positive attitudes among rural people for cooperation, the notion of diligence and self-help were firstly included as the guiding spirits.

1. Diligence: is to work hard to make the present better than the past, it is strongly needed if one would like to have brighter future because without working hard, no one can have better living,

2. Self-help: is a sense of pride and independence, if one has this sense, whenever problem occurs, he/she will confidently solve it by his/her own efforts

3. Cooperation: a mutual activity to improve unity, efficiency and confidence, the more people cooperate with each other, the stronger a community can grow

## **3.2 Characteristics of Saemaul Undong**

### **3.2.1 Community Movement**

According to Korean Overseas Information Service (1977), it is said that “Saemaul Undong was defined as a movement for improvement of living environment, spiritual enlightenment and training in basic democracy as well as for increase income”. Though Saemaul Undong was initiated from the top-level leader, the process leading to its achievement was from the mutual cooperation between government and people in community through the fundamental guiding spirits. Kwon’s research (2010) also added that Saemaul Undong was a successful

movement because the state and the community can work together in the development projects.

To clearly explain about the strategy that the government selected to bring about community movement through rural people's active participation in the projects, Kim (2004), stated that the government would assist and support the community that help themselves. The government ranked the community into 3 categories: basic, self-helping and self-sufficient. Indicated as self-reliance, those communities in the category of "self-sufficient" and "self-helping" community would be given a strong support, assistance and got rewarded from the government. On the contrary, those communities which were identified as "lazy" were given less amount of government assistance. Therefore the community movement was led by the forms of Peer Pressure, Direct Coercion and People Participation.

#### Peer Pressure

It is a competition among communities which helps to encourage the community to be outstanding from the others in order to get government assistance in the next step. As Douglass (1983) stated in his study, in 1972, after the distribution of cement for community's environment improvement, 16,600 communities from 34,665 communities were selected for another intensive government support. They were provided with the additional 500 bags of cement and 1 ton of steel rods for next project. The government hoped that with concentration on the communities that had an impressive progress would stimulate the desires of other communities to devote themselves by bringing more cooperation to participate in the next projects to be selected and rewarded.



According to the report of Decharin (1987), each rural community in South Korea was different in size and ability. Thus, in order to develop community according to the plan of Saemaul Undong, there were three types of community to be concerned.

1. Underdeveloped: The basic community which community's members are still conservative, greedy, inactive and dependent on the government support. Projects for underdeveloped community emphasize on the improvement of living environment and providing of utilities.

2. Developing: The self-help community that enthusiastically cooperates with the government to develop and improve according to the plan of Saemaul Undong. Community's members are active and concerned with communal projects which emphasize on increasing income projects and jobs and utilities.

3. Developed: The self-reliance community that most developed and improved in living environment and conditions. Community's members are the wealthiest and very energetic in developing their community. Projects for developing community focus on increasing income projects and jobs and social welfare.

In order to evaluate rural community for each type, the government had set up general standard for community's yearly evaluation (see table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Standard of community evaluation

Type of activities	Developing	Developed
Road improvement	Major community entries	Farm roads, bridges
Housing improvement	70% roofs, drainage system	85% roofs, 80% walls
Agricultural base	70% irrigated minor rivers trained	85% irrigated, rivers trained community's area
Cooperative activities	One facility (warehouse, community center, etc.)  500,000 Won of community-fund (by community members)	More than two
Income project	One project, 800,000 won family income	Side-jobs,  1,000,000 won family-income

Source: Decharin, 1987.

From the standard of community evaluation, rural communities were developed and lifted up into higher types every year. According to table 3.2, notably, 18,415 of 34,665 communities in 1972 were classified as underdeveloped, 13,943 as developing and 2,307 as developed. However, it is impressive to notice that the underdeveloped community is disappeared in 1977, and in 1979, developing communities were only 976 communities or 3% of the total. Details of the improvement of community are as followed.

Table 3.2 Improvement of Community

Year	Total Communities	Underdeveloped Communities (%)	Developing Communities (%)	Developed Communities (%)
1972	34,665	18,415 (53)	13,943 (40)	2,307 (7)
1973	34,665	10,656 (31)	19,769 (57)	4,246 (12)
1974	34,665	6,165 (18)	21,500 (62)	7,000 (20)
1975	35,031	4,046 (11)	20,936 (60)	10,049 (29)
1976	35,031	302 (1)	19,049 (54)	15,680 (45)
1977	35,031	-	11,709 (33)	23,322 (67)
1978	34,815	-	6,114 (18)	28,701 (82)
1979	34,871	-	976 (3)	33,893 (97)

Source: Eom, 2011.

#### Direct Coercion

If a community could not develop to the stage that the government had categorized, government assistance would be decreased automatically in the next project. Therefore, cooperation from community's members was importantly considered. If one denied cooperating, punishment would be given by various authorities ranging from community leaders as well as government officials. According to Brandt (1979), at the initial stage of Saemaul Undong, rural people distrusted in government official since there was nothing good that had ever happened to them as a result of the contacts with those officials according to former public affairs in rural areas. Thus, they tended to be reluctant to manage and obey to implement the suggested project properly. Inevitably, direct coercion was applied to them. For example, if the owner of a house in the community tried not to be

alerted to replace their traditional straw-thatched roof with tiles provided by the government, loads of men on a jeep from the county seat might arrive at the house and tear the straw-thatched roof out. Though this activity from government officials seemed to harass rural people in a first time, they later discovered that it resulted in significant benefits and improvement.

### People participation

The inculcation of attitudes and values of diligence, self-help and cooperation was to draw voluntary participation of the people in the community only diligence people would bring impressive development into the community as well as the whole nation. Rural people were acknowledged that beautiful words and written reports on finished works were worthless when comparing with finished works that had been done by the efforts of community's members. Therefore, the distinctive operation of Saemaul Undong was learning-by-doing rather than talking which have six principles to be remarked (Decharin,1987).

1. The projects should be done by the cooperation of community members and everyone should participate the projects by themselves
2. All projects will be selected and operated by the consensus of the community
3. All projects are directly or indirectly related to each other to increase income of the project's participants
4. The government will support the community that reaches the standard of development to encourage other idle communities
5. All communities will be developed step-by-step according to their surrounding and competency

6. Saemaul Undong should be continuously operated by the strong cooperation of people

### **3.2.2 Korean style of development**

As an Asian society, South Korean community had been clan or family oriented, feudalistic system. Cooperative spirit was related to family affairs and social matters. However, economic ration basis of cooperation was hardly found. As such, when paying attention to social context, farming communities were homogeneous societies. Therefore, the basis fundamental for this program was based on Korean style of community development influencing by Korean tradition and culture which derived from cooperative spirit (Shin, 2012). According to Park (2009), it is stated that the benefit of cooperation was already acknowledged and realized in which each community had its own autonomous rules and customs for cooperation called “Doorye (두레), Gyaе (계) and Hyang-Yak (향약)” (장복산, 2012).

Doorye is a cooperative tradition to do and complete the difficult work that one household could not do on their own. And, according to Han (2004), Doorye was one of the driven forces behind Saemaul Undong representing the autonomous organization of community members based on egalitarian ethos and emphasized a sense of community. All level of community members, rich or poor, in a community were expected to contribute their labor or food. Egalitarianism gradually emerged in rural area. Gyaе is a small saving scheme which is especially popular among women or housewives. Hyang-Yak is an autonomous customary norm which based on Confucianism to promote cooperation and good deeds among community’s members.

As such, Saemaul Undong helped to link traditional sense of cooperation value to community's members to work together rationally.

### **3.3 Cooperation of the Government and Rural People**

The distinctive point of Saemaul Undong was that it was conducted through the strong commitment and support from the government. Historically, rural people were regarded by the government officials as subjects to their rule. Thus, this discordance relationship of the two sides created distrust which had obstructed to the former campaigns for rural development in the 1960s. However, with Saemaul Undong, the two sides' relationship had been changed. The management system that had been adopted was that Local Governments and Rural People were permitted participation in decision making process.

To effectively promote Saemaul Undong, The Saemaul Undong Central Consultative Council was established as a formal organization in 1972 in order to plan and coordinate all activities that related to it. This organization was managed under the Ministry of Home and Affairs with all the concerned ministries and agencies as its members. And at each successive level; Province, County Township and community, similar organizations were established to coordinate the final plans and activities by The Saemaul Undong Central Consultative Council. The following table shows Saemaul Undong Coordinating Structure (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977).

Table 3.3 Saemaul Undong Coordinating Structure

Organizations	Chairman	Members
Saemaul Central Consultative Council	Minister of Home Affairs	Vice Ministers of Economic Planning Board, Home Affairs, Finance, Defense, Education, Agriculture and Fishery, Commerce and Industry, Construction, Health and Social Welfare, Transportation, Communication, Culture and Information, Science and Technology, General Affairs, Ministries Without Portfolio. Heads of Office of Forestry, Office of Supply, Office of Labor, Office of Rural Development, National Agricultural Cooperatives Federation, National Fishery Cooperatives Federation, Seoul City
Saemaul Provincial Consultative Council	Provincial Governor	Vice Governor, University Profs., Heads of Education Associations, Office of National Reservation, Office of Rural Development, Office of Communication, Broadcasting Stations, Agricultural Coops., Agricultural Development Corp, Forestry Association, Veteran's Association, Korea Electric Corp.

Organizations	Chairman	Members
Saemaul County Consultative Council	County Chief	Heads of Education Association, Police, Agricultural Extension Office, Agricultural Cooperatives, Myon- level Agricultural Coops, selected community Saemaul Leaders
Saemaul Town (Myon)-Level Promotion Committee	Town (Myon) Chief	Heads of Police Station, Schools, Post Office, Agricultural Coops., community Saemaul Leaders and others
Community Development Committee	Saemaul Leader	15 members elected from among community members

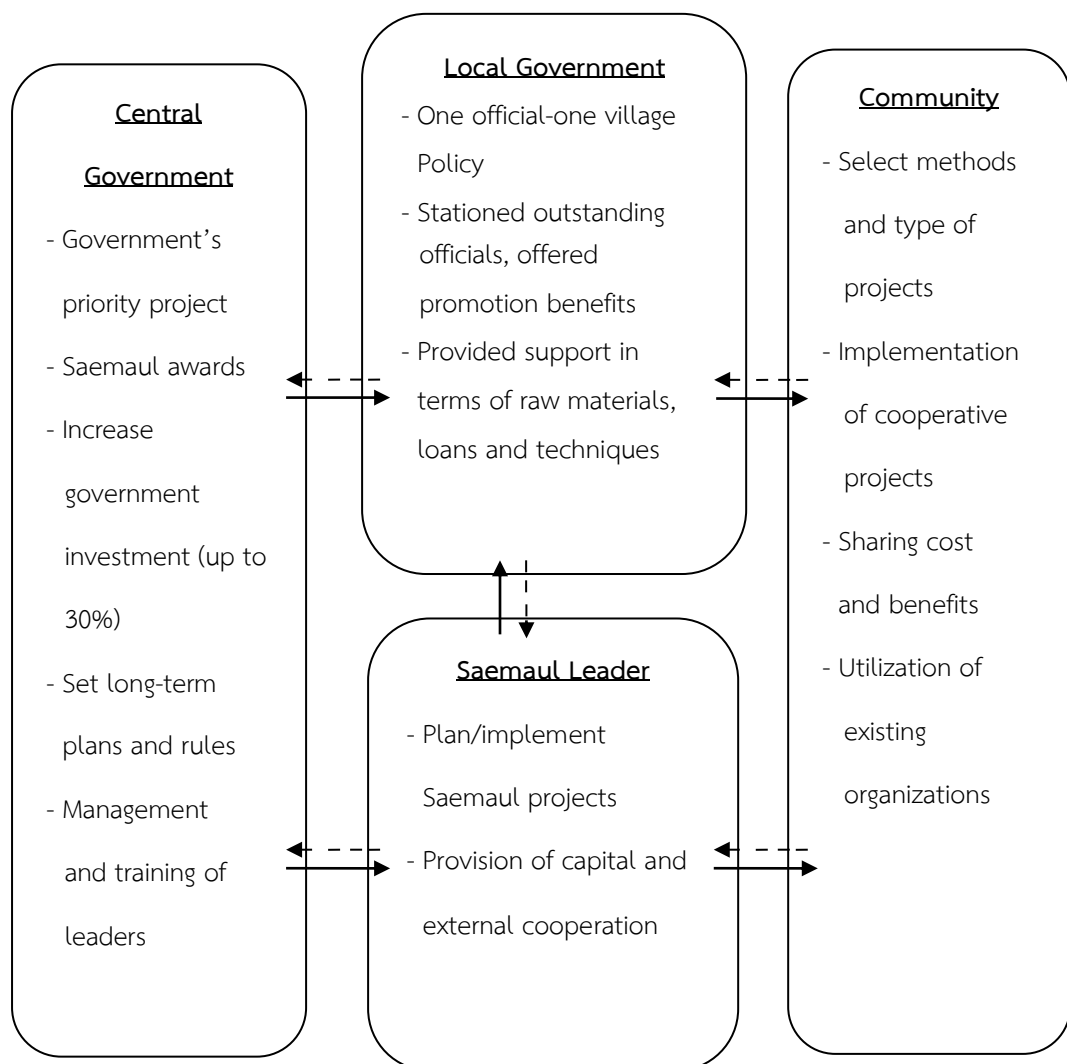
Source: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977.

The government officials became an agent to assist rural people rather than exploit difficult rules upon them. Rural people's needs were linked to Central Government directive by the Local Government which had been set up as an instrument to channel the Government guidelines and report the community's demand back to the government by communicating with Saemaul Leaders (Park, 2009). Local Government officials frequently met with community leaders and sometimes they joined the community's meetings to increase the competence of the Saemaul projects. There were three types of meeting that rural people could express their interests and needs at the community level; General Meeting (all community members participated), Neighborhood Meeting (composed of 20-25 families) and Community Development Committee (15 representatives of official and non-official community organizations).



After the initiation of Saemaul Undong, Community Development Committee played a significant role in coordinating, discussing and deciding on Saemaul projects because Saemaul Leader who was chosen as a representative of the community was the chairperson. (Chang, 2005). The following figure shows the implementation of Saemaul Undong and Governance System.

**Figure 3.1 The Implementation of Saemaul Undong and the Governance System**



Source: Shin, 2012.

According to Shin (2012), each stakeholder shared roles in process. Initiated from Central Government, directions, guidelines and coordinated projects were delivered to Local Government. Following the guidelines from Central Government, Local government managed communities where they were in charge of and worked as a pipeline from Central Government to connect stakeholders in the system coordinating with the representative of community, Saemaul Leader who represented the needs that had been actively participated in decision making process from community members.

About the active support from government, it is classified into four types (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977). Firstly, if the given project was over the limit of communities' ability, the government will support in a kind of material and money which was partially as grants and partially as loans. On the other hand, those supports would be suspended if the community gave up their will. The distribution of expenses to invest in basic infrastructure in rural area had been remarkably increased in 1973 onwards due to the government policy for the Third Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1972-1976) which emphasized on "balanced growth between industry and agriculture" and "development of agricultural and fishery economies" as the first objective for the Third Plan.

According to table 3.4, it shows the expenditure of central government in Saemaul Undong projects. It is interesting to note that, in 1975, the government's expense for Saemaul Undong was double invested in an outstanding point at 31.65 percent comparing to 1974 which was only 15.11 percent. This is because the government tended to invest in agriculture and forestry more from an annual average 54 billion Korean Won in 1970-1971 to be 95 billion Korean Won in 1975-

1976 (Ho, 1979). During 1971-1978, the expense for Saemaul Undong was heavily increased about 82.53 times from 4.1 billion Korean Won (US\$ 0.82 million) to be 338.4 billion Korean Won (US\$ 6.768 million).

**Table 3.4 Expenditure of central government in Saemaul Undong projects**

(Unit: Billion Korean Won)

Year	Central Government's expense	Expense for Saemaul Projects (%)
1971	111.7	4.1 (3.67)
1972	240.2	3.6 (1.45)
1973	176.8	17.1 (9.67)
1974	301.1	45.5 (15.11)
1975	522.3	165.3 (31.65)
1976	669.5	165.1 (24.66)
1977	729.9	246.0 (33.70)
1978	873.0	338.4 (38.76)

Source: applied data from Thandee, 1987.

Secondly, necessary technical support would be given in agricultural sector in order to provide standard design and specifications for implementation of the projects. Thirdly, active administrative support was provided through all the ministries of the government and all layers of the government administration. And fourthly, special support was provided to the communities and Saemaul Leaders who have distinguished themselves by exemplary work outstandingly from the others. The outstanding Saemaul Leaders would be awarded with medals and the outstanding communities would be awarded with 500,000 Korean Won (US \$1,000) or 1,000,000 Korean Won (US \$2,000), which was expected to be used for the projects based community that every member should contribute their efforts. The following table

shows the increase number of outstanding communities that had been awarded President Awards (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977).

**Table 3.5 Communities which received Special President Award**

Year	No. of communities	Thousands of US\$ (Korean Won)	Average per community US\$ (Korean Won)
1973	1,645	3,290 (1,645,000)	2,000 (1,000,000)
1974	3,364	18,264 (9,132,000)	2,900 (1,450,000)
1975	6,266	13,924 (6,962,200)	2,200 (1,100,000)
1976	6,313	13,320 (6,660,000)	2,109 (1,054,500)

Source: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977.

The increase number of awarded community shows that these measures were effective to make clear that community's members would be profitable from their efforts in Saemaul Undong Projects and also, these measures stimulated the trust of government policy on Saemaul Undong among the community's members (So: 2007, Whang: 1980; cited in Eom: 2011). Basically, for Saemaul projects, all members of the community were requested to contribute their volunteer and active participation which is notably increased every year. The following table show the government support and people's participation in Saemaul projects.

Table 3.6 Government support and people's contribution in Saemaul projects

Year	Total value	Government Support	People's Contribution	Share of People's Contribution
1971	25	8.5	16.5	66%
1972	67	6.8	60.2	88%
1973	200	42	158	78%
1974	270	60	210	79%
1975	600	340	260	43%
1976	665	340	325	49%

Source: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977.

One of the most significant factors of Saemaul Undong is attitude enlightenment. As such, education and training were focused (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977). Saemaul Undong's education is aimed at the positive improvement of community's attitude towards the Saemaul Undong's projects. Thus, the ministry of Education then set up eight principles for Saemaul Undong's education for schools in order to educate community's members to participate and cooperate properly (Decharin, 1987).

1. Curriculum: Saemaul Undong's curriculum will be given to each area according to their needs
2. Learning and Teaching: Human and material resources will be utilized effectively
3. Extracurricular activities: It is aimed to develop community's members to be diligence and economize
4. Adult education: Adults or youth in the community who do not have opportunities to be educated in normal school are welcome with activities and other educational projects

5. Service: Schools will actively cooperate with community's development projects by designating school's service as one of school's activities
6. Education for production: All education activities must be related to support production skill to increase income for community's members
7. Community center: School must be a center of community to coordinate and facilitate development projects
8. Cultural activities: School must promote cultural activities of the community

Saemaul Education introduced rural people with the development motivation and will, as well as led ultimately to changes in values, attitudes and behaviors, contributory to fully active participation in Saemaul Undong (Lim, 2007; cited in Noran, 2011). And also, the government provided the education about the development to community level with the introduction of Saemaul Undong community-based leadership "Saemaul Leader", who was different from community chiefs, they did not get paid by the government; rather, they did the jobs voluntarily. Saemaul Leaders were elected by the community's members and were transferred to have a program training at the Training Institute for Saemaul Leaders, inaugurated in 1972, trainees from all social backgrounds participated. The Saemaul Leaders' role was to contact public institutions in order to promote, determine and encouraged the community members to participate in. The selective strategy, community-competitive, the support of the government would be more granted to the communities that had impressive achievements in the projects based on the government standard. Therefore, by allocating preferential support and recognizing the autonomy of Saemaul Leaders who accomplished excellent results, the community that had government promoted active participation by community's

members. The joint's efforts between government and community level achieved the result of the expansion of participation from rural people (Eom, 2011). The strong and active Saemaul Leader would bring the community to achieve in development.

The participation of rural people was one of the factors that led to the success of Saemaul Undong. According to table 3.7, it shows the sharply increase in the number of participants average per town in 1971 from 216 person to be 7,427 person. The enthusiastic voluntary from them made the mobilization from the government be more possible for implementation of other projects. During 1971-1979, the average implementation of projects per community in rural area tended to be increased from 12 projects to be 74 projects.

**Table 3.7 Growth of Saemaul Undong**

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Number of communities participation	34,665	34,665	34,665	34,665	35,031	35,031	35,031	34,815
Average number of participants per community	216	1,409	1,999	3,082	3,198	3,215	3,753	7,427
Average Number of projects per community	12	13	32	32	44	24	67	74

Note: combined from Park (2009) and Eom (2011).

Source: Park, 2009 and Eom, 2011.

When consider the details of Saemaul Undong, the important principle for every process emphasizes on the participation from rural communities to be involved as a part to solve their own problems, to fight for their own needs, to be self-reliance and self-help. The role of the government was to give guidelines, instructions and supports to the community. This kind of principle was considered as

the development of grassroots democracy. According to South Korean tradition of Doorye, it helped boosting up egalitarianism among rural people. Han's interview with a former Saemaul leader in 1999 (2004) stated that:

“.... A hundred percent of the time, the haves and the learned turned their back on the poor. When times called for cooperation, their participation was the lowest. When called upon to clean up the neighborhoods, they would say, 'I don't have to do this. It's your job. You are the Saemaul leader, the farmer.' I answered back, 'You live in the same neighborhood. What makes you so special?' .... Messages do not get through when we communicate one-on-one. But when we go as a group and shout in front of the stiff-necked uncooperative neighbour, he gets really embarrassed. There were many funny episodes. Frankly speaking, even though the Saemaul Undong was so-called 'government-led', the opposition parties were against it and so were the high-ranking officials. I was a member of Candidate Kim Dae-Jung's presidential election campaign camp, and he also claimed that the Saemaul Undong was a political scheme targeted at the elections. But I really thought it was for enhancing the quality of life in the countryside.”

Apart from the distinctive principle of Saemaul Undong, the strong commitment of the government's organizations to take full responsibility and to follow-up the projects after establishment was the most important things. Especially, the consideration from President Park Chung Hee, though he had occupied himself with his duty as the nation leader, he may be busy for meeting or visiting to check the progress of the projects, he always finds his personal time to meet some



Saemaul Leaders and visit Saemaul Leader's Training Institute to have a talk and discuss with them.

At the operation level, if there were problems or obstacles, in order to solve the problems effectively, the government's organization had to cooperate with the local or rural people. As such a well-concern from the top-level, local people in the community have a positive aspect towards the government. The attractive significance that can be remarked for getting attraction from the rural people of the Park's regime was that the top-level positions, President, Prime Minister and Minister must visit places where the projects were operated. For this sight-visiting, it must not be announced in advance for the top representative would not like to see "window dressing" in the area.

### **3.4 Approach to rural development**

This section focuses on how the achievement of rural development was approached. Definitely, every society needs changes, whether in the good or bad way, fast or slow depending on internal or external factors. But before approaching to the changing, that society must realize that what problems or obstacles they have encountered with so that they have to change to make the present better than the past. Therefore, the changes are exactly inevitable since it plays as one of the significant role of the development of the society. The pattern or process of development for changes is different in each country based on their own background. The case of South Korea's rural development, the Saemaul Undong, under what conditions that causes the establishment of this rural development program?

As cited in Korean Overseas Information Service (1977) “Saemaul Undong: Korea Background Series”, President Park’s objective of the establishment of Saemaul Undong was “to foster better (prosperous) living”, containing of three elements.

1. Prosperous in economic and health morality, without improvement in people’s spirit social order may be destroyed by the economic development
2. Prosperous with more comfortable living for all the people in the country regardless of locations and position in the society
3. Prosperous and better life on a continued basis

To achieve those prosperous objectives, Saemaul Undong emphasizes on (1) improvement of farmer’s living environment and living infrastructure (2) income generating projects (3) attitudinal change and capacity-building by dividing progressively into three stages in the focus of projects for communities.

Obviously, in 1970s, Saemaul projects and activities had the most impressive results with the strong support from President Park as well as the participation by the people in community level. It modernized the whole rural society all over the nation in a short period of time. Due to the basic fundamentals, diligence, self-help and cooperation, positive attitude in development for rural people was stimulated. Then, those people were cultivated that prosperous of nation as well as individuals can be achieved depending on the spirits of the people which they have experienced visible changes from improvement of the community level projects brought by their own efforts. In this section, the impressive improvements outcomes of the given projects in community level will be shown into three divided stages (see table 3.8).

Table 3.8 Stages of Saemaul Undong

Stage	Focus	Projects
Stage 1	Improvement of the living environments and infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Replacement of straw-thatched roof with concrete slate or steel tins</li> <li>- Road improvement</li> <li>- Installing of Electrification</li> </ul>
Stage 2	Improvement of income and consciousness reform	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Farming arrangement: off season vegetable cultivation</li> <li>- Saemaul Education to reform consciousness</li> </ul>
Stage 3	Capacity-building and attitudinal changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Induce and internalize the development will of people based on innovative motivation</li> </ul>

Source: Choe, 2005.

#### Stage 1 Improvement of the living environment and infrastructure

In the first initial stage during 1971-1973, the priority of activities and projects was emphasized on the improvement of the physical infrastructure by upgrading housing and communities living environments which could be done individually from each household. Materials were provided by the government as a part of loans or grants to the community members. The government gave guidelines and ideas on what they could do according to the given projects. The example of these projects are, the improvement of traditional house roof by replacing straw-thatched with concrete slate or tile, the expansion of community and farming roads and the improvement of house fences.

#### Stage 2 Improvement of income

When community members experienced the improvement of infrastructure and living conditions by their practice actions, they gained more confidence and armed with self-help spirit. Thus, it was a time for income-generation projects to be initiated as a second stage. The notion of cooperation is required at this stage. With

the completion of improvement of physical living infrastructure projects, community members were stimulated to do the projects like joint-farming, cultivation of off-season vegetable. They were encouraged to do projects related to facilitate agricultural production like construction of bridges which led to the community, construction of small irrigation. Also, the introduction of new agricultural technologies, chemical and fertilizers were given to communities to improve farming production. Exactly, although these projects gave benefit to community members not in the form of income increasing directly, it opened the new opportunities for them by providing necessary access which could be applied for their work so that they could increase farming production together with the growth of income. During 1970s, Saemaul Undong brought significant improvement in rural area. Rural economy was impressively improved. According to table 3.9, farming household income increased approximately six times in a short period of time, from the period of the first stage in 1970, 255,800 Korean Won (US\$ 511.6) to be 1,531,300 Korean Won (US\$ 3,062.6) in 1979 (Choe, 2005).

**Table 3.9 Rural Household income in 1970s (unit: Korean Won)**

Year	Household Income	Agricultural Income		Non-agricultural Income	
		Amount	Ratio (%)	Amount	Ratio (%)
1970	255,800	194,000	75.9	61,800	24.1
1973	480,700	390,300	81.2	90,400	18.8
1976	1,156,300	921,000	79.7	235,100	20.3
1979	1,531,300	1,531,300	68.7	696,200	31.3

Source: Choe, 2005.

### Stage III Capacity-building and attitudinal changes

And then in the last stage, the focus shifted on capacity-building and attitudinal changes by stressing the notion of diligence, self-help and cooperation since it was believed that to sustain changes and development in rural communities in a long term, rural people were required to change their perception and attitude to be positively volunteer towards the development. Education and public relation campaigns should be carried out by the government in order to encourage and foster those values and attitudes individually.

According to table 3.10, it shows that most facilities and infrastructure improvements exceeded its first goals which led to the development of standard of living and farming production.

Table 3.10 Some Saemaul Undong projects' achievement in 1970s

Project	Goal	Outcome	Achievement (%)
Expanding community roads	26,266 km	43,558	166
Establishing farm roads	49,167 km	61,797	126
Building small bridges	76,749 bridges	79,516	104
Building community halls	35,608 halls	37,012	104
Building storehouses	34,665	22,143	64
Housing improvement	544,000 improvements	225,000	42
Community resettlement	-	2,747	-
Traditional small irrigation (raceway)	4,043 km	4,442	109
Installing sewage systems	8,654 km	15,559	179
Installing telephone lines in communities	950	717	75
Electricity supply system installation in communities	2,834,000 households	2,777,500	98

Note: The table is based on data combined from Park (2009) and Eom (2011).

Source: Park, 2009 and Eom, 2011.

From the table, community roads were double expanded from its first goal which was 26,266 km to be 43,558 km. Thus, once each community was accessed by the roads, it facilitated farming trading with other neighboring communities more conveniently. The dependence on nature of farmer was minimized because traditional small irrigation was introduced into the communities with its achievement of 109 percent of the total average. As mentioned in Han (1980), the production in agriculture before 1971 was influenced by weather conditions such as floods and

droughts. But it had risen later with the introduction of irrigations that helped farming production with more water supplies to be stored for farming activities. More telephone lines and electricity were installed into the communities, though the outcome was not exceeded its first goal, the achievement was almost satisfied at 75 and 98 percent of the total average respectively. From the installment of telephone lines and electricity it consequently upgraded the standard living of rural people for better access and wider opportunities which also helped them increase productivity and income (Park, 2009).

The benefit from Saemaul Undong was that it helped rural people increase their income equally or in some years higher than urban people. In 1970, 1973 and 1976, the monthly income of rural people was 21,317, 40,059 and 96,355 Korean Won and the monthly income of urban people was 31,770 Korean Won, 45,850 Korean Won and 95,980 Korean Won respectively (J. Kim n.d, 16;cited in Intasi: 2008). With the improvement and modernization of environment and living conditions, rural people were profitable from the increasing of productivity from their own efforts so that they could increase their income as well as their demands of purchasing. Urban-like electrical appliances were introduced into rural areas. According to Brandt (1979), as of 1977, 90 percent of almost rural people impressively had variety of electric appliances. They had, for example, 95 percent of radio, 48 percent of television, 55 percent of electric fan and 55 percent of electric iron.

## CHAPTER IV

### OUTCOMES OF SAEMAUL UNDONG

Having seen in the previous chapter, the rural community was changed after the establishment of Saemaul Undong. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss and evaluate about the outcomes of development which mainly focus on the criticism perspective in spite of the improvement of rural infrastructure in rural community which is considered to be relevant for the explanation.

#### **4.1 The government intervention**

There is critic about the government intervention into the Saemaul Undong. The embodiment of strong commitment and support from the government in conducting and providing guidelines at the first stage, one of the main factors mobilizing this program to achieve its goal for development, became the intervening obstacle in the latter stage. As mentioned in previous chapter that though the number of rural people supporting Saemaul Undong during the 1970s had increased year by year, it does not necessarily mean that the Saemaul Undong was effective in rural areas (Han: 1987; cited in Kim, 2004). Because the process of all transformation in rural community was in the same pattern of guidelines, it could not be applied with all communities. It caused the marginalization of poor people. According to Park (2009), not all South Korea rural communities lived above the poverty standard, so economic disparity tended to be varied; some were poor according to the size of their farmlands. Poor community had little farmland to cultivate so they made little profit from cultivation. Due to the strategy of money support, some were granted



from the government some were collected from within the community, the burden became heavy for the poor community who had less cash in giving away for the implementation of the projects. Though, they gave labor volunteer instead, it somehow made the improvement slower than the wealthier communities. Poorer communities, therefore, received less benefit from Saemaul Undong.

In Han's study (cited in Kim, 2004) concludes the impact from the Saemaul Undong on 28 communities during the period from 1970-1980, that the consequences of the development go greatly to wealthy communities. More burdens resulted in rural people in which they had to donate, especially in the second stage which focusing on increase income rather than infrastructure development; rural people had to change from labor donation to cash contributions for the projects accordingly. It is said that, during the 1970s, not only the average rural people household income increased from 0.22 million Korean Won to be 2.2million Korean Won, their debt also increased from 13,000 Korean Won to be 173,000 Korean Won. The debt, more than 50% of them were taken as resources for increasing production (Park, 2009). However, to clearly understand, since the beginning there seemed to be no government supports for the whole of funds support in Saemaul Undong. In terms of money, it was partially provided as granted or loans support but fully support in technologies and guidelines. So that, when considering to the social context after the implementation of the program, without strong leadership and commitment from the top, the development of rural areas would have been hardly possible. Government strategy for mobilization was based on the situation to which it served the targeted people.

#### **4.2 Traditional town planning destruction**

Apart from the improvement of infrastructure and living environment, the traditional town planning of rural community had been changed. The distinctive point of traditional house and environment was changed with the replacement of new modern materials such as cement for fences and tiles for roofs. Conservatively, it destroyed the rural historical faced. However, it brought the new face of modernization with strong and sustainable conditions which would become suitable for new community in the future. Environmental and living standard improvement such as the replacement of straw-thatched roof of traditional house with tiles, communities roads expansion, small reservoirs construction, public warehouse construction, community layout renovation and the improvement of fences were considered as sufficient condition. The relative projects produced distinctive changes in the attitudes among rural people. With the visible projects that had been done by their efforts, at the same time, rural people could build their confidence and realize their capacity which they could be proudly of. Besides the increase of confidence, they could be convenient from the improvement of those infrastructures under better living environment (Decharin, 1987).

#### **4.3 The political endeavor to remedy dictatorship**

And also, political criticism, Saemaul Undong was the state apparatus for sustaining dictatorship of President Park, since the promulgated of Yushin constitution in 1972 which was aimed at prolonging his presidential position and gaining his public support that had been weakened in the third presidential election in 1971 (Kim: 2004) especially in the rural area which was recognized as President Park's political stronghold. However, to understand the social context of South Korea at that time,

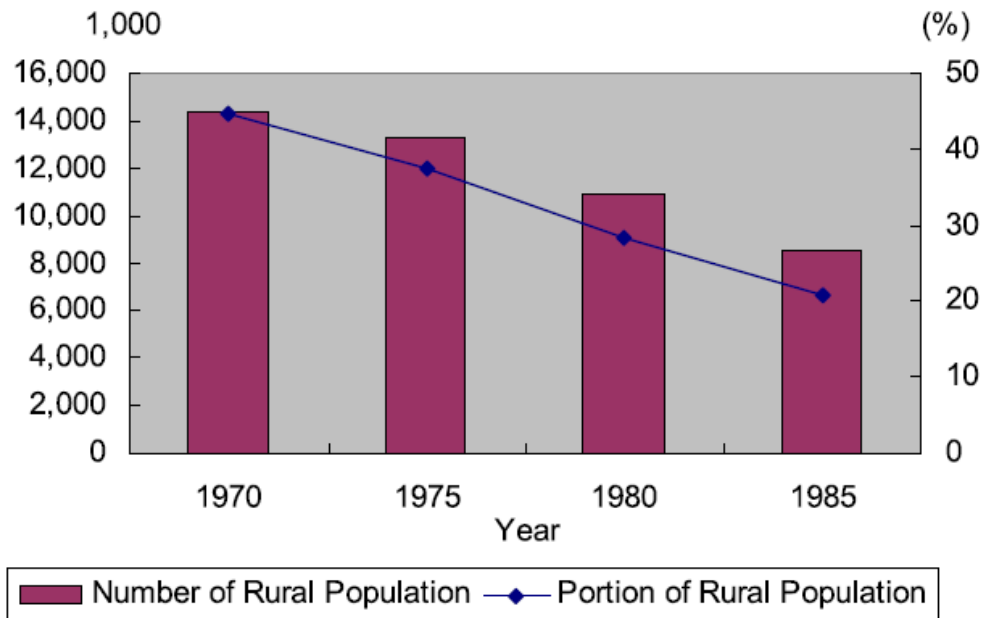
political system must influence government policies and development strategies in order to achieve development state as soon as possible for maximizing national strength and wealth to minimize national dependence on another, in this case, the United States.

Indeed, President Park Chung Hee was remembered for his achievement in transforming the rural area of South Korea to be modernized and prosperous. As mentioned in Han (2004), until the mid of 1960s, in every spring more than 300,000 households around the nation ran out of food. Laziness and despair laid behind the slow of economic growth in rural areas. The shortage of land and natural resources were the cause of it because farmers could not work as much as they wanted. Fortunately, farmers still had not given up in their life. The establishment of Saemaul Undong helped to draw their will to work hard for living in a brighter future because they could experience from the visible projects that they could be profitable. There was an interview of a farmer provided in the study of Han (2004), who claimed that they devoted themselves to Saemaul Undong because they had rice to eat. Moreover, she revealed that she favored in President Park Chung Hee because “though he was a dictator, he fed the people”. Thus, Saemaul Undong was not only an endeavor for improving rural people’s life but also an endeavor for retrieving the government’s popularity among rural people.

#### **4.4 The Rural-out migration**

Apart from the impressive improvement in rural living environment and infrastructure in a short period of time since the initiation of Saemaul Undong, there was an argument of the rural-out migration which was still continued after the establishment of Saemaul Undong (see figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Rural people change from 1970-1985



Source: Park, 2009.

According to figure 4.1, the decreasing number of rural people sharply continued from 1970 to 1985. The rural population, in 1970 reached nearly 15 million, declined to about 8 million by 1985, or, by portion of total South Koreans, about 45 percent of South Koreans lived in rural areas in 1970 decreased to remain only 20 percent in 1985. This sharply declined statistic indicates that the selective strategies, rural development program “Saemaul Undong”, did not bring favorable changes in order to attract the rural people to stay in their hometown. It eventually became the cause for severe stagnation of agricultural labor. The Employee Composition in agricultural sector declined from 58.5 percent in 1965 to be 24.9 percent in 1985 whereas industrial and service sectors increased from 41.6 percent to be 75 percent during the period (Kim and Lee, 2003).

Another significant evidence for the severe decrease of rural people can be explained in the unbalanced economic development pattern which concentrated on

industrial rather than agricultural sector. Though Ho (1979) and Kim (2004) pointed out that the economic policy of the third Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1972-1976), emphasized development of agricultural as its first basic objective out of three (the rest were the increase in export and the construction of heavy and chemical industries). But, under the acting of martial law after the promulgation of Yushin constitution in 1972 after the emergence of “Crisis Consciousness” which increased during the regime together with the dollar shock, The United States Trade Protectionism, The Nixon Doctrine (Han, 2004), to encourage every South Korean to work hard to strength and build up a prosperous welfare state (Park, 1979; cited in Park, 2004), President Park Chung Hee shifted economic policy to give privilege for investment in heavy and chemical industries. As such, urban areas were the place for people to seek for jobs and more income. Some went to the urban areas such as Seoul, Pusan and Taegu where industrialization were heavily invested for better opportunities to support their own families and themselves (Ho, 1979). Regards to the summary of South Korean general trend of urban migration of Kim and lee (2003), in 1960 the proportion of urban population was only 28.0 percent, but it sharply jumped to 74.4 percent in 1990. Moreover, the number of communities which were defined as cities increased from 27 communities to be 73 communities in the same period.

According to table 4.1, it shows the South Korea GDP Composition and export by sector during 1960-1994. In 1960, agriculture was a large share of GDP Composition and export which made up 36.8 and 30.4 percent respectively. However, it sharply dropped to 12.5 and 3.9 percent in 1985. On the other hand, the industrial sector became a big share of income, GDP Composition and export in

industrial grew from 15.9 and 19.8 percent in 1960 to be 30.5 and 95.9 percent in 1985. Thus, from this statistic, it implies that South Korea relied on industrial rather than agriculture sector.

**Table 4.1 South Korean GDP Composition (average annual percentage) and export by Sector (as percentage of total exports)**

Year	GDP Composition		Exports by sector	
	Agriculture	Industrial	Agriculture	Industrial
1960	36.8	15.9	30.4	19.8
1965	38.0	20.0	16.1	62.6
1970	26.6	22.5	7.8	80.1
1975	24.9	27.5	8.9	89.7
1980	14.7	29.5	5.3	94.2
1985	12.5	30.5	3.9	95.9
1990	8.7	29.7	2.6	97.2
1994	7.0	27.7	1.6	98.2

Note: combined from United Nations Statistical Yearbook (1992, 2000, 2001) and Kim and Lee (2003)

Source: United Nations Statistical Yearbook and Kim and Lee, 2003.

To more clearly understand, the South Korean historical background before the establishment of the Saemaul Undong from 1945 to 1960s needs to be referred. Han (2004), claimed that there was a big significant event emerged; Land Reform, bringing a greatly transformation to farmers in which they became independent and got full surplus from cultivation on their own lands. Some looked for more opportunities in education for their children. However, in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the nation's economic structure was developed in a small margin. The unemployment rate for educated people increases since there was limitation in job

positions such as public officers, state-owned enterprises and schools. However, the significant change took place around 1963, when the government shifted its development strategy from classic model which emphasized on agricultural into new strategy emphasized on industrial. Due to the social context at that time, the lacking of natural resources and the devastated of the nation from Korean War, the classic model was not appropriate because it would have taken longer time investing in agricultural than in industrial. According to Kang (2002), he refers to the arguments of some scholars in which the reason behind the rapid growth of South Korea economic was the lack of natural resources. It, then, became the incentive to create more investment on industrial sector. Moreover, the interview in Seoul, 1999 with a former policy maker was provided in Han's study, he said that "Koreans were overzealous about education so they appropriated the surplus created on the farms for their children's tuition fee rather than re-invest it for enterprise farming". Thus, with the concentration of investment in industrial sector in urban areas, more jobs were created and modernization was introduced. Then, the urban area became the object of desire for rural people since the surplus of farming was unsatisfied with their living.

The Saemaul Undong may actually reduce unbalanced of income and living standard between urban and rural area as it had been aimed, it could not reduce the sharp decrease of rural people as well as the shortage of labor in agricultural sector. However, this argument is challenged by the fact that the aim of Saemaul Undong was to close the gap of disparity economically and socially between rural and urban areas not to deflect the rural-out migration.

#### 4.5 The Saemaul Undong in post-1970s

Ever since the post 1970s period, the Saemaul Undong has shifted its position. The facts come from the change of social economy and the change of national leadership since the assassination of President Park Chung Hee in 1979. Though, the Saemaul Undong was not disappeared completely (Lankov, 2010) the direction of the plan was in the hands of his successors who had less interested in promotion rural development. Moreover, from the evidence in the study of Moore (1985), he paraphrased what he was told by rural Koreans that “Once we had rebuilt our houses and widened the road, we ran out of projects”. This shows that the important of Saemaul Undong was gradually withered away by the achievement of development projects. Moreover, social context; the growth of economy and the concentration of investment in industrial sector in urban areas resulted in a decreasing number of rural people, needs to be concerned. The context of Saemaul Undong after its crested period during 1970s can be analyzed into decades as 1980s, 1990s and 2000s (Korea Saemaul Undong Center, 2009).

In 1980s, after the achievement of its focus on rural area development, the Saemaul Undong began to expand into the urban areas by introducing the model cases of good governance and principles into not only communities but also factories and working places to increase the sense of unity and cooperation among urban people. However, what different from the Saemaul Undong in 1970s was the lessening of the government’s role and enhanced the role of the community leaders instead, or in other word, it was transformed into grassroots movement (New Saemaul Undong, 2011) due to the emergence of egalitarianism among rural people during 1970s. Moreover, moral reformation was focused rather than income



generation. At the end of 1980s, Civil Organization was established to maintain the existing of Saemaul Undong.

By the early 1990s, as globalization was introduced and South Korea became industrialized nation, the Saemaul Undong was shifted to focus on mental reform for harmony and unity of community. Because the community in urban area began to be more complex due to the influx of people from around the nation, the Saemaul Undong's role was to deal with social issues related to the national development. One significant evident was found in Korea Saemaul Undong's document (2011) states that "in the 1990s, the Saemaul Undong contributed on gathering gold to overcome economic crisis".

From 2000s onwards, it is the era of "re-illumination of Saemaul Undong" (Saenkhuan, 2010). Internationally, it was spread to be widely exported in concept as a model for rural development. The United Nations Economics and Social Commissions for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) had adopted the Saemaul Undong as a poverty reduction program to implement in the least developed countries such as Cambodia and Lao People's Democratic Republic. For example, in Cambodia, development projects in targeted 6 communities focused on income generation, improvement of physical infrastructure, improvement of sanitation and community beautification. The consequences from the projects were successful in which rural Cambodian's role was changed from consumer to co-producers of public goods by the enrichment of local government and adapting bottom-up approach (Hassan, 2011). Domestically, the concentration has shifted to construct improvement of the nation by utilizing the power of industrialization as a tool to get people together.

From 2011, 22<sup>nd</sup> April is Saemaul's Day, it was instituted to enlighten the Saemaul Undong in a new era to attract people to have interests in it.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUGESSTIONS

#### 5.1 Conclusion

The Saemaul Undong or New Community Movement was launched as a pan-national movement Korean way to approach in the integrated strategy for rural community development. It has been recognized as a successful development program as ever in South Korea since it did such a significant dramatic impact of transformation on rural community in a short period of time. In a sense, the implementation according to the Saemaul Undong achieved the improvement in standard of living and physical infrastructure of rural community as well as increase income. About the physical infrastructure between rural and urban area, inequality was lessen. With visible projects that rural people could be profitable from such as the expanding of roads, the introduction of electricity and telephone lines brought about the urban-life facilities into rural area such as television and radio, rural people were not left behind the modernization. Saemaul Undong achieved in the context of lessening the bias towards the government and to foster positive attitudes for development in rural people because of the improvement of living conditions.

But it was determined as unsuccessful in terms of lacking the ability to decrease rural out migration though the improvement of rural areas gradually became indifferent comparing with urban areas. The tendency of rural people heading for urban life could not be stopped since being industrial workers could satisfy them in terms of wages and opportunities for their future lives due to the concentration on industrialized pattern for economic development.

The study analyzes the Saemaul Undong of the 1970s from the perspective of integrated approach strategy. Thus, the three research questions that I have raised: first, what are important factors related to the establishment of rural development program; second, how can integrated-approach facilitate mobilization in rural community development; and last, what impacts that has been brought into the rural community besides the accomplishment of this development, were to find out the analyzes endogenous change particularly the strategy to approach rural development, bottom-up and top-down.

By studying and reviewing the researches related to Saemaul Undong, I found out that this integrated approach strategy produced numbers of achievement in which the role of the government and the people participation towards the program play such a key factor for mobilizing to approach the achievement as aimed. The followings are the analysis contributed to the success of the Samaul Undong: the role of the government and the role of rural people.

The first one is a strong guidance and support from the government. Services and assistance are provided into the community in various kinds such as the introduction of new technologies, funds and materials for shaping the ground of development. One of the most important assistance to be noticed is the special support from the government for outstanding communities. They would be awarded with funds and special materials that necessary for the next development projects. As such, competition between communities tends to be an effective strategy for drawing attention from community members to put their efforts more into implementation of Saemaul Undong development projects.

The second is a wide range of participation from the rural people. This participation was drawn with the tangible and visible development projects that rural people could experience it as the movement progressed. These achievements brought about the confidence into rural people which later become the drive for other development projects. Some may see that the wide range participation of rural people is from the mobilization from the top level leaders. The study shows that the achievement of Saemaul Undong is undertaken by the consensus commitment of rural people towards community development projects. Since the benefits of each project are distributed to communities, the massive participation from rural people in contribution their efforts and cooperation for planning and implementing the Saemaul projects is widespread.

Accordingly, the limitation of my study is to focus at the 1970s period because it is recognized as the most impressive results of the development due to the strong support from President Park Chung Hee. Because, in the 1980s onwards, the effect of changing political system changed the content and range of the program significantly. This gradually lessened the concentration of the Saemaul Undong. President Park Chung Hee had a strong will to develop the two areas of nation: rural and urban. Otherwise the rural people's unwell-being would have been a major burden of the nation's stability, economically and socially. In spite of the commitment from the national leader to push this Saemaul Undong to reach the achievement, it seems that there are evaluations of the program oppose that the political system of this period; authoritarian, offers negative aspect. Due to the promulgation of the Yushin Constitution, it makes the Saemaul Undong have multilayer of functions in implementation process: the planning and conduction, the

relationship between the government and rural people. Especially, the achievement and implementation are from intensive enforcement from the government. However, as far as I have studied related information during that period, the institutional and social context explains the Saemaul Undong's typical interactions and relationships between the government and rural people precisely. The social context which is Asian rural conditions and South Korea's situation at that time may be very tough for rural people to start such a rural development movement. Therefore, the government had to initiate and operate a top-down approach at first by supporting in technologies, services and administrative guidelines to pave the way for the bottom-up approach from rural people to be possible later. To mobilize such a mass development program, only the government cannot do effectively. It needs the cooperation from the rural people or local people who are really involved in the benefits of the initiated projects. For the Saemaul Undong, it is categorized into three steps of development. (1) the improvement of the living environments and infrastructure is to build up the confidence and encourage the spirit of self-help of rural people (2) the improvement of income is to look for a better life after overwhelmed by confidence (3) the consciousness reform and capacity-building and an attitudinal change is to prepare for income generation projects. For acquiring to those three stages, the government provides incentives such as awards and funds in return for the communities that have great cooperation to implement the guided projects accordingly.

Though Saemaul Undong did not cover all the problems in rural areas at that time, especially the decreasing number of rural people in rural area, it brought the success in improving quality of life and better living conditions into rural as it was

first proposed. Implemented under the integrated approach, Saemaul undong achieved the purpose of rural area development, categorized into 3-Dimensions; spiritual, economic and social.

### 1. Spiritual Development (or attitudinal change)

The cultivation of guiding spirits, diligence, self-help and cooperation, conducted the rural people to be more self-reliance and led them to be more independence on themselves. Since the positive attitudes towards the development as well as the value of honesty and loyalty were boosted up from the visible environment improvement in the communities resulted in the increase of the number of participants every year. And also, the disappearance of underdeveloped community in 1977, only 7 years after the establishment of the Saemaul Undong was an impressive success of the movement.

### 2. Economic Development

The improvement of community infrastructures, especially the expansion of roads that linked each community could reduce the cost of transportation for conducting business among neighboring areas. That is to say, the income of farmers gradually increased throughout the implementation projects and rural people were also introduced to modernization. Due to the increase income of rural people, the economy of the nation was developed because of the growth of demands in purchasing things.

### 3. Social Development

The living environment and infrastructures of the rural community improved. The availability of electrification, telephone system and the sanitary

improvement brought the modernization into the rural area. Social welfare and security were better than before due to those improvements. That is to say, Saemaul Undong led the social development in rural areas.

## 5.2 Suggestions

After the study, I would like to end my thesis with the drawing of several lessons from the experience of Saemaul Undong which might be meaningful guideline implications for other rural development programs. The followings are the summary of Saemaul Undong's effective factors which I have drawn from the study to be implicated for other development program for other countries focuses on the enlightenment of rural people's attitudes for rural development.

1. The campaign of rural development must be equipped with slogan and principles based on traditional and norms of one's country, which appeals to all rural people and easy for them to understand for contributing to boost up their morale for having positive attitudes towards the development. Such a case of Saemaul Undong, rural people are firstly encouraged with visible improvements that have been done by their own efforts such as roof and fences repair, it helps rural people boost up their morale for self-help, diligence and cooperative respectively.

2. The government must have the support package such as materials, money and technologies for development projects in the initial stage for all communities equally to make rural people gain confidence. When they gain confidence from the success of the projects in the first stage, other types of supports and classification are provided later in order to stimulate competition between communities for the next projects continuously.



3. The process of public activities related to development projects such as planning, implementation as well as contribution of money and labors must be mutually concerned for the development of their communities.

4. One of the most important factors for Saemaul Undong that is directly provided to rural people by the government is education. Therefore, the training center must be opened in order to train a process for the greatest emphasis on the implication for development projects. All people in social ranking counting from the high ranking government officials, social elites, community leaders, mass media as well as merchant are relatively included to be trained for their best understanding of the meaningful benefits from development. The objective of the education is to provide involved people with basic slogan and principles along with technical knowledge and skills for the implementation process. The curriculum of education should be consisted of current national context, planning and implementation of the project, benefits from the projects, practical activities related to the development project and group discussion.

5. The government and leader of the nation must have strong commitment and support for rural development. The case of Saemaul Undong, President Park Chung Hee is not only the founder but he also the care taker all along the development during the 1970s. Having been strong supported and closed supervision from the government, rural people might contribute their support to the development willingly.

In sum, the Saemaul Undong of South Korea had been started with the strong commitment, support and interventions from the government which are contributed to the important factors in the early stage as the base for development. However,

without cooperation with people in rural areas, this program would not have been widely recognized as a successful model for rural development. The assassination of President Park Chung Hee in 1979 was like the end of Saemaul Undong. Disregard to its criticisms, with the impressive outcome and the effective governance strategy, the Saemaul Undong was shifted to be model for urban area to inculcate unity for urban South Korean and finally became globally known as the conceptual model for rural development by the adaptation from UNESCAP. One thing to be noted is that this program was established based on Korean way of life; concept and slogans. As such, for other countries who would like to adopt the program should consider at this point carefully. Though the Saemaul Undong brought both impressive and bitter outcomes to rural area, it is undeniably remembered as the success rural development program in terms of bringing better living environment for South Korea's rural people in the 1970s.

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