

The Development of the Saemaul Undong Movement and Its Impact*

- From Governance Point of View -

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Abstract

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This paper aims to analyse the development of the Saemaul Undong Movement from its inception to today, to evaluate it objectively, and to suggest some policy implications applying now and in the future for both developed and less developed countries. It is concluded that Saemaul Undong is a national policy asset which should be theorised by model building, and which can be transplanted in other countries. To achieve this, we need to refine the principles and strategies underpinning the Saemaul Undong Movement in a more theoretical way, and also construct manuals for other countries, by using which they can employ these easily and simply. In providing ODA to less developed countries, Korea needs to transplant the principles and strategies underlying the Saemaul Undong Movement as a means of implementing individual projects in other countries.

주제어: 새마을운동, 새마을, 정책영향, 공동체, 근대화

Key Words: Saemaul Undong Movement, Saemaul, policy impact, community, modernisation

I . Introduction

No other Korean policy or institution has received greater attention from the

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Korean people, or been welcomed by them more, than the Saemaul Undong Movement. Many surveys and polls have provided evidence of the Movement's prominence. For example: 'The Saemaul Undong Movement is the best policy the Korean people have created' (Kyunghang Daily News, 1994); 'Saemaul Undong is the best achievement the Korean people have ever made in their history' (Chosun Daily News, 1998); 'It [Saemaul Undong] is the policy by which the Korean government coped most effectively with a difficult national agenda during the difficult period' (poll by Donga Daily News, 1998); '[Saemaul Undong is] the most prominent policy in Korean history' (poll by Chosun Daily News, 2008) (Kyungwoon Saemaul Academy, 2008: 4).

The Saemaul Undong Movement is exported to other countries in the form of a policy lesson or policy instrument. Some Asian countries, such as China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Mongolia and Nepal, and African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, have learnt the principles of the Saemaul Undong Movement, and some of them have applied these to their community development.

The evidence presented above indicates that the Saemaul Undong Movement is a policy which is recognised at home and abroad as possessing logic and validity. It is believed that, although the Movement was initiated in the 1970s, its principles and core concepts can be applied to both developed and less developed countries in the twenty first century.

II. Theoretical Discussions of the Saemaul Undong Movement and Analytical Framework

1. The meaning of 'Saemaul'

'Sae' means 'new' in Korean and 'maul' means 'village'. Accordingly, Saemaul means 'new village'. 'Saemaul' in fact has two meanings, since it also meant 'new community' in the period of absolute poverty (Saemaul Undong Centre, 2006: Kyung University, 2008).

'Saemaul' aims at 'reformativeness', in the sense that it denotes breaking away from the past period of poverty and creating a new future. It also connotes

‘community orientation’ in the sense that it implies neighbourhood.

As implied above, the term ‘Saemaul’ suggests newness and also neighbourhood community. Accordingly, it connotes the creation of a developmental strategy embodying these.

2. The Nature of the Saemaul Undong Movement

The Saemaul Undong Movement was initiated by President Chung Hee Park in 1970. It aimed to overcome absolute poverty on the basis of diligence, self help and collaboration. It was, in a word, a ‘live a better life’ movement of a practical kind. I discuss this in more detail below (Saemaul Undong Movement Training Centre, 2007: 12; Kyungwoon University, 2008: 8-9). The Movement was:

- a comprehensive national development movement aimed at bringing about an escape from absolute poverty

- an ‘enlightenment’ movement which contributed to the modernisation of Korean society

- a community development movement which contributed to revitalising rural society and to solving a variety of social problems

- a nation consolidation movement

- a community movement, which succeeded traditional Korean community consciousness and contributed to improving the quality of life of all members of society

The Saemaul Undong Movement is multi dimensional, and practically oriented towards modernization.

3. Evaluative framework for the Saemaul Undong Movement: Governance Perspective

In order to evaluate the impacts of the Saemaul Undong Movement it is essential to construct a framework. To do this, we need to adopt a governance perspective for evaluating the overall impacts of the Movement. The governance perspective is nowadays accepted by social scientists as a new paradigm enabling

them to evaluate today's policy process. It can explain the relationships among the stakeholders involved in the policy process: policymaking, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. In short, to operate its whole policy process successfully, all governments need to adopt the governance perspective, and to consider the main points which this perspective emphasises in the policy process.

Assuming that we understand the Saemaul Undong Movement as a community development strategy and analyse it from the governance point of view, we can construct a framework consisting of the basic elements of the Saemaul Undong Movement: basic principles; objectives; leadership and administrative organisations; management of networks; resource management; expansion agencies; expansion methods. In respect of each of these, the following questions apply.

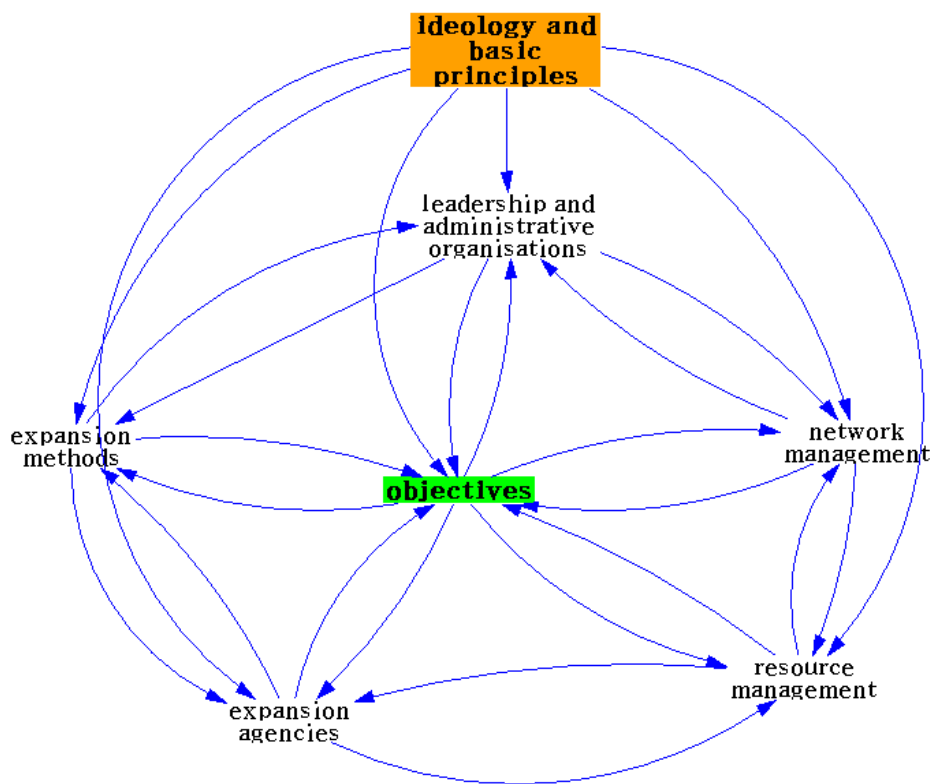


Figure 1 Analytical framework

o ideology and basic principles

What were the basic principles and ideologies underpinning the Saemaul

Undong Movement as a policy? These are very important because they can affect the entire policy process.

o objectives

What were the objectives of the Saemaul Undong Movement?

Were the objectives of the Movement material, such as the alleviation of the gap between the urban and the rural, or spiritual?

o leadership and administrative organisations

Who were the propellants of the Movement, and what leadership strategies did they utilise?

Which administrative organisations supported the Movement?

What were the relationships among the stakeholders involved in the Movement?

What measures were employed to strengthen relationships among the stakeholders?

o network management

Who were the stakeholders involved in the Movement's policy process?

How did they make important decisions?

Who were the conflict mediator, conflict manager and co ordinator?

What principles were employed to maintain the network surrounding the Movement?

o resource management

What resources were mobilised during the implementation of the Movement?

What was the extent of the material and human resources mobilised throughout the Movement?

How were the resources mobilised?

Did the resources come from the public or the private sector?

o expansion agencies

Which expansion agencies implemented the Movement at local level?

o expansion methods

What implementation methods and strategies were used in constructing the Movement?

Was the Movement implemented and expanded stepwise, or one stage at a time?

Which projects did the Movement adopt first?

What incentives were employed to facilitate the implementation of the Movement?

o achievements

What has the Movement achieved to date?

The components of the framework mentioned above are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1 Components of the governance perspective based framework

Classification	Subjects to be analysed
Ideologies and basic principles	Ideologies employed
Leaderships and administrative organisations	Leadership type employed
	Government organisations used
	Other support organisations used
Objectives	Movement for economic development movement for spiritual development
	Movement for urban development movement for rural development
	Movement for workplace development movement for regional development
Network management	Stake holders
	Communication methods among stake holders
	Decision making methods among stake holders
Resource management	Human resource management material resource management
	Public fund private fund
	Resource management methods
Expansion agencies	Type of expansion agencies
	Size of expansion agencies
	Management of expansion agencies
	Central agencies local agencies/government agencies private agencies
Expansion strategies	Projects to be expanded
	Expansion methods
	Areas to be expanded
	Incentives/compensation methods
Achievements	Quantitative achievements qualitative achievements
	Areas (politics, economy, society, consciousness)

III. Development of the Saemaul Undong Movement

1. Criteria for classifying the development of the Saemaul Undong Movement

Existing studies suggest a number of criteria for classifying the development of the Saemaul Undong Movement. For example, The Saemaul Undong Centre mentions five steps: ground breaking (1970-3), project expansion (1974-6), effects deepening (1977-9), system establishment (1980-9), and self regulation based expansion (1990-date). The Saemaul Undong Training Centre simplifies this into three steps: 'beginning' (1970s), 'middle' (1980s) and 'recent' (1990s-date). Kyungwoon University Saemaul Undong Academy cites five steps: 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000-date, and 21st century Saemaul Undong Movement (Kyungwoon University, 2008: 38).

This study suggests more specific steps (Kim et al., 2006: 51-3) to classify the process, in order that the Saemaul Undong Movement can be analysed as a development model for less development countries and theorised in depth. Accordingly, the study classifies it in terms of five steps: ground breaking (1970-3), project expansion (1974-6), effects deepening (1977-9), system reinforcing (1980-9), and self regulation based expansion (1990-date).

2. Development of the Saemaul Undong Movement

This section deals with the development of the Saemaul Undong Movement on the basis of its characteristic components.

1) Ground breaking (1970-1973)

Surprisingly, the gdp per capita of South Korea in 1960 was 91 US dollars while that of North Korea was 1,906 US dollars, approximately 20 times more. The reason for this is that in North Korea there were many natural resources and raw materials, and much electricity, at that time. However, since then South Korea has increased its GDP continuously by a series of economic development plans and projects, whereas North Korea has decreased it or maintained it at the same

level as in 1960, owing to the inefficiency of the communist regime. As a result, in 1970 the GDP of South Korea was 278 US dollars while that of North Korea was 1,546 US dollars, approximately five times more than that of South Korea, which means that the gap between the two Koreas had diminished. Despite this, South Korea was an absolutely poor country in economic terms. Considering the situation Korea faced, the then President Chung Hee Park initiated the Saemaul Undong Movement in order to help the country escape from its absolutely poor condition.

During this period, the Government established the Saemaul Guidance Section at the Department of Home Affairs at central government level, intending to support the Movement centrally. In October 1970, the Government allocated 338 boxes of cement to 33,267 villages, allowing them to decide for what projects the cement would be used. As a result each village used the cement given to it for road widening, common washing places, common well making, sewerage repairs, etc. The consequences, significantly, were different depending on how each village used the given materials. In 1971, the Government selected 16,600 high achieving villages and donated 500 boxes of cement and 1 ton of iron bar to each of them, helping them to compete with each other.

During the first stage of the Saemaul Undong Movement, the Government allocated 900 boxes of cement to each village on average, serving to institutionalise the Movement. The Saemaul Undong Medal system was introduced into the National Compensation Act in order to commend meritorious villages in terms of their achievements.

2) Projects expansion (1974 - 1976)

During this period the projects were expanded in terms of scope and place. In other words, the Saemaul Undong Movement, which started with rural village development, was expanded to the city, the workplace and the factory, with the result that the scope and targets of the projects concerned were gradually expanded. Education was strengthened to foster Saemaul leaders. In terms of project areas, income raising projects were focused on during this period. In addition, there was a focus on projects aimed at changing people's views of life and ameliorating their surrounding physical environment.

3) Effects deepening (1977 - 1979)

Generally speaking, the projects implemented up until the second stage were primarily small scale projects focusing on small villages, and this caused some problems. As a result, the Government decided to increase the size and scope of the project implemented by each village, hoping to enhance the economy and efficiency of each project. At the same time, it focused on connecting village to village, and connecting urban with rural in order to make the projects more area wide and the relationship between the urban and the rural closer (Kim et al., 2006: 52).

4) System reinforcing (1980 - 1989)

In 1979, the then President Chung Hee Park, who initiated the Saemaul Undong Movement, died. The complex political, social, economic environment which confronted Korea at this juncture forced the Saemaul Undong Movement to change direction. The Saemaul Undong Movement Organisation and Fostering Act was issued and took effect on 13 December 1980, and this redirected the Movement's goals and objectives. As a result, the administrative organisations which supported the movement were reduced in size or abolished, and the tasks relating to the Movement were devolved to the Saemaul Undong Headquarters.

5) Self regulation based expansion (1990 - date))

Since the 1990s the Saemaul Undong Movement has focused on internationalisation and openness, and has also concentrated on coping with economic difficulty caused by the IMF foreign currency crisis. This period is characterised by a reinforcing of self reliance through organisational reshuffling and a manpower cutback programme in the Saemaul Undong related organisations. In terms of achievements, this period did not reveal any dynamic implementations or significant effects.

IV. Evaluation

1. Theoretical evaluation

The development of the Saemaul Undong Movement is characterised below in

terms of its theoretical aspects.

First, the Movement demonstrates the importance of motivating factors in policy success. H. W. Singer, a distinguished regional economist, argues that there are three factors hindering economic development in poor countries: government playing the role of agents, less advanced technology, and over consumption on the part of producers. Singer argues that these three factors are linked together so that they can affect each other negatively, and finally produce a vicious circle. He points out that in order for a country to escape from poverty, a change in mentality is essential, coupled with physical economic growth. However, in less developed countries, bringing about a change in mentality is almost impossible. He further argues that if less developed countries can bring about such a change of outlook in its people, this can be an accelerating factor leading to economic development. From this point of view, the Saemaul Undong Movement in Korea could be viewed as a success, which was an exceptional case in poor countries.

Second, the Saemaul Undong Movement made it possible for development administration theory and governance theory to be combined. The Movement appears to have adopted the basic principles and assumptions underpinning the development administration theory of the 1960s. Planning by government organisations and employees, institution building, and an emphasis on the importance of goal attainment in public projects – these examples show that the Movement was based on development administration theory. In the meantime, the Movement has shown that it has introduced the following: project selection by rural residents; adoption of a competing system based on differential support systems; local Saemaul leaders elected by rural residents; a management system in which people are responsible for their actions and decisions; and maintenance of mutual relationships between Saemaul leaders, government employees and government organisations. The development of the Saemaul Undong Movement, then, seems to be strongly linked to development administration theory and to governance theory.

Third, the Movement seems to be based on an innovative entrepreneurial developmental model. Schumpeter argues that entrepreneurs are essential if poor countries are to develop economically, and Singer also argues that an agent is necessary in these circumstances. In this case, the Saemaul Movement leaders appear to have played the entrepreneur's and the agent's role. In this regard, we

can assume that entrepreneurs or agents are critical in developing the economies in other less developed countries, and that the successful development of such economies depends on whether they can foster innovative entrepreneurs or agents resembling the Saemaul leaders in the Saemaul Undong Movement.

2. Application of the Evaluative Framework: characteristics arising from governance perspective (Lee, et al., 2008)

1) Basic ideologies and principles

The basic ideologies and principles underpinning the Saemaul Undong Movement are diligence, self help, and collaboration based on re-establishing a new view of life and a new view of the world. These are embedded in the whole process of the Movement and in all Saemaul projects, the aim of which has been to reform unproductive mental mindsets and people's behaviour, and to cause a mental revolution to happen. Even though government makes every effort to develop the country, pouring material resources into it, if the people simply rely on their government, hoping it will always do what they want, no achievements can be made. In this connection the Saemaul Undong Movement has been very beneficial in the sense that it has continued to focus on changing people's mindsets. This suggests that when we export the Saemaul Undong Movement to less developed countries, it is necessary for such changes of mentality to be made in these countries too, otherwise any effort will fail.

2) Objectives

The objective of the Saemaul Undong Movement was 'national modernisation'. More specifically, its objective was 'to modernise the nation' in the widest sense, and its intermediate objectives were 'to make the village better', 'to make the workplace more worthwhile', 'to make society healthy', and 'to make the nation wealthy' (Saemaul Undong Centre, 2003).

Furthermore, its objectives were not abstract but concrete, implying that the management of goal attainment was quantitative and specific. For example, the income attainment goal was set in just such a specific way, as Table 4-1 shows. As a consequence, the people involved were able to know what they had to do

and how to do it.

Table 2 Income attainment goal by year (price of year of 1974) (138 villages in the first step (unit: one thousand won in Korean currency))

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Average	864	938	1,040	1,133	1,247	1,354	1,457	1,550
Field	894	1,079	1,192	1,277	1,402	1,486	1,573	1,651
Q u a s i countryside	846	936	1,028	1,132	1,240	1,313	1,451	1,562
Countryside	834	880	979	1,073	1,180	1,296	1,412	1,482
Rural	688	756	843	920	1,024	1,163	1,321	1,449
Suburb	817	909	975	1,071	1,192	1,284	1,346	1,469

Source: The Ministry of Home Affairs, The Saemaul Undong Movement (1985)

This goal oriented management style is similar to that recommended by development administration theory, and this shows that effectiveness is one of the most important ideologies behind the Saemaul Undong Movement. This in turn implies that goal oriented management can be applied to other less developed countries.

3) Leaderships and government organisations

Leadership in Korea can be examined in two ways. One is concerned with the leadership exercised by the then President Chung Hee Park, who was the initiator of the Movement in 1971; the other is concerned with the leadership exercised by the Saemaul leaders. The Movement's initiator, President Park, showed consistent and strong leadership in every policy process of the Saemaul Undong Movement. He included the Movement in the main national policy agenda, established special purpose government organisations to support it administratively, and even composed the Saemaul Song to foster the Movement in people's minds. These presidential actions at the top of government could affect the success of such a policy.

Second, the leadership style of the Saemaul Undong Movement leaders was also critical. They underwent continuous education and training. One of the factors affecting the success of the Saemaul Undong Movement was the creativity and vitality of the Saemaul Undong Movement leaders. At the inception of the Movement, it was established that strong leaders should be fostered and produced.

The then Government expected that, as the new Movement leaders or agents were created, those leaders and agents who already existed at that time would be reinforced and supplemented. What is notable is that the Saemaul Undong leaders were not appointed by officials, but elected by local residents. In addition, they were not paid, because the Government wanted them to be perceived as residents' leaders, not government agents.

There was a minimum requirement that the leaders should be in their mid 30s if possible, and that their term of office should be limited. Also, housewife leaders were created. This post involved organising the housewives working for the Movement and helping the male leaders to obtain support from the villagers.

These leaders were trained and educated systematically, and this is very important. They stayed in a training centre for one or two weeks under strict conditions, exchanging information about successful cases, and being educated so as to be able to motivate the ordinary villagers to participate in the Movement productively. Their education involved teamwork training, discussion training, and even extreme horror overcoming training at nighttime! This suggests that such training can be applied to other countries, with adjustments for their conditions, when the Saemaul Undong Movement is exported.

In addition, government organisations supported the implementation of the Movement, particularly at the beginning. This is inevitable in less developed countries, and this accords with the assumptions of development administration theory. Such involvement was inescapable in Korea because the capacity of the private sector was too weak, and so the public sector was forced to get involved in the policy process to facilitate implementation. For example, the Saemaul Undong Section was created in the provincial and district government in 1972; later, in 1973, the Section was enlarged to a Department. In particular, a vice mayor for the Saemaul Undong Movement was created at district (gun) level. This institution building can also be applied to less developed countries.

4) Network management

The Movement's stakeholders at village level were the Saemaul leaders, ordinary villagers, officials representing the village, and the government organisation concerned. Supposing that these can be called a network, the core managers of

the network were the Saemaul leaders, who played a bridging role between government organisations and residents. In contrast, in cities and factories their contributing power was not strong as in rural areas (Saemaul Undong Centre, 2003: 30).

5) Resource management

The financial resources spent between 1971 and 1986 amounted to 581.6 billion Korean won on annual average, equivalent to 0.5 billion US dollars. The number of participants was approximately 180, 000 on annual average and decreased as time went on. Table 3 presents general figures relating to the financial resources invested.

Table 3 Achievements made by the Saemaul Undong (by year)

year	no. of villages participated (village)	no. of participants (thousands)	no. of projects (case)	investments			investment amount by village
				Total (one hundred million)	A m o u n t supported	Achievements(input-output ratio)	
Total	578,930	2,982,004	20,759	83,059	57,296		255,495
Average	36,183	186,375	1,297	5,816	3,569	1.6	15,969
1971	33,267	7,200	385	122	41	3.0	367
1972	34,665	32,000	320	313	33	9.5	1378
1973	34,665	69,280	1,093	984	215	4.6	2,839
1974	36,665	106,852	1,099	1,328	308	4.3	3,831
1975	36,547	116,880	1,598	2,989	1,653	1.8	8,096
1976	36,547	117,528	887	3,226	1,651	2.0	8,825
1977	36,557	137,193	2,463	4,665	2,460	1.9	12,764
1978	36,257	270,928	2,667	6,342	3,384	1.9	17,492
1979	36,271	242,078	1,788	7,582	4,252	1.8	20,904
1980	36,938	227,856	1,836	9,367	4,156	2.2	26,242
1981	36,792	257,472	1,310	7,029	4,194	1.7	19,030
1982	36,894	272,751	1,080	9,666	5,640	1.5	23,489
1983	36,725	288,762	1,028	8,870	6,250	1.6	26,875
1984	36,623	267,472	1,058	10,029	7,246	1.4	27,384
1985	36,714	284,675	1,071	10,407	7,618	1.4	28,346
1986	36,803	282,817	1,076	10,170	7,995	1.3	27,633

yearno. of villages participated (village) no. of participants (thousands)no. of projects (case)investment amount by village

6) Expansion agents

(1) Saemaul leaders: fostering of the leaders, and their systematic use

The Saemaul leaders represent those people who are regarded as innovative entrepreneurs such as those nominated by Schumpeter and agents such as those nominated by Singer. In other words, they are development agents. It is important that each village selects its own leaders, letting them play an important role at the bottom, and a bridging role between government organisations and each village. The fact that the leaders were elected by their own residents has ensured their authority and representativeness. These leaders have contributed to uniting local residents, and to lessening the gap between them and government organisations.

(2) Rural associations

It is also important that each village organised its own farmers' organisation. These associations worked as practical collaborative organisations at the bottom. They contributed to diminishing transaction costs through co production and co marketing, and to fostering a collaborative mindset among villagers. It is believed that these associations acted without any outside intervention, and thus contributed to creating conditions under which villagers could trust and understand each other.

7) Expansion methods

(1) Adoption of incremental expansion

In terms of strategy, what is important is that the Movement has expanded to embrace a variety of projects step by step. For example, at first the Movement was adopted in rural areas and then was expanded to city, school and factory, and later to workplaces in the Middle East during the mid 1970s. In addition, in terms of project units, the Movement focused at first on small scale village unit projects, and then as time went by adopted larger scale projects such as inter village projects. This too implies that these incremental and gradual strategies could be applied to other countries.

(2) Self bearing of expenditure by villagers: independent decision making and self responsibility

In implementing Movement policies the Government did not offer financial support from start to finish. At first, it is true, it oversaw the Movement in all its aspects. However, as time went on it induced the villagers to share the financial burdens, thus enhancing their self responsibility and self determination. Table 4 shows that in terms of the achievements of the Movement, villagers did share these burdens with the Government.

Table 4 Expenditure born by villagers by year

Classification	Total	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1971 - 1973	1974 - 1976
Government supported	6,361	41	33	215	308	1,653	1,651	2,460	289	3,612
Residents born	7,236	81	280	769	1,020	1,306	1,575	2,205	1,130	3,901
S a e m a u l Inducement Coefficient	1.14	1.98	8.48	3.58	3.31	0.79	0.95	0.90	3.91	1.08

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Oh (1985)

Here, the Inducement Coefficient (D) = $C - 1$

Assume that A is expenditure supported by the Government, B is expenditure borne by the residents, C is the achievement ratio. Here, total investment is A+B. Therefore, the achievement ratio $C = \frac{A+B}{A} = 1 + \frac{B}{A}$. Hence, D (inducement coefficient) = $C - 1$ (Oh, 1985).

Using this formula, we see that the inducement coefficient was different each year; however, on average it was above 1. In other words, we can conclude that government support induced voluntary burden taking on the part of local residents.

8) Achievements

The achievements of the Saemaul Undong Movement may be discussed under four categories: mentality development, economic development, social development and political development.

(1) Mentality Development

The 'can do' spirit is, we may say, embedded in all walks of life. It relates strongly to so called 'social capital' in recent academic terminology. It affects

people by changing their dependence on government into a reinforcing of their self reliance, and this helped Korean society to develop into a civil society. In addition, the spirit of self help underlying the Saemaul Undong penetrated into schools and associations, enhancing a feeling of community.

(2) Economic Development

The Movement has contributed significantly to income growth as a result of propelling scientific farming projects and farming related projects. Table 5 compares the income level of city and rural workers. It shows that, in 1970 when the Movement started, the income level of rural households was 67 per cent of that of city households. Since then, the gap between the two has diminished, and in 1974 the income level of the rural household exceeded that of the city household.

Table 5 Comparison of the city workers and rural workers by income level (unit: won, Korean currency)

Classification	city workers (A)	rural workers (b)	b/a (%)
1970	381,240	255,804	67
1971	451,920	356,382	79
1972	517,440	429,394	83
1973	550,200	480,711	87
1974	644,520	674,451	104
1975	859,320	872,933	102
1976	1,151,760	1,156,300	100.4
1977	1,405,000	1,432,800	102.0

Source: EPB, Korea Statistics Annual, Oh (1985)

In particular, the economic achievements of the Saemaul Undong Movement may be shown by a comparison of the gdp per capita of South Korea and North Korea. As Table 6 shows, in 1961 the gdp per capita of South Korea was 91.63 US dollars, one twentieth of that of North Korea. At this time, the gdp per capita of North Korea was higher than those of Japan (563.56 US dollars) and the UK (1,451.25 US dollars).

Table 6 Comparison of the gdp per capita of South Korea and North Korea

	1961	1961	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2003	2007
South Korea	91.63	105.78	278.82	608.24	1,674.38	2,367.77	6,153.1	11,467.81	19,884.45	17,927.14	19,600
North Korea	1,906.37	1,754.45	1,546.15	1,389.73	1,294.77	1,207.31	1,130.54	1,064.14	1,018.2	1,328.81	1,299
G D P Gap	1,814.74	1,648.67	1,267.33	81.49	379.61	1,160.46	5,022.57	10,403.67	18,866.33	16,598.33	18,391

Source: <http://www.nationmaster.com>

The gap in GDP between the two Koreas was 1,814 US dollars in 1961 and 1,648 in 1962, and it was diminishing over time. In 1978, the trend was reversed, and South Korea exceeded North Korea in terms of the per capita GDP. These economic achievements relate significantly to the implementation of Movement policies in South Korea.

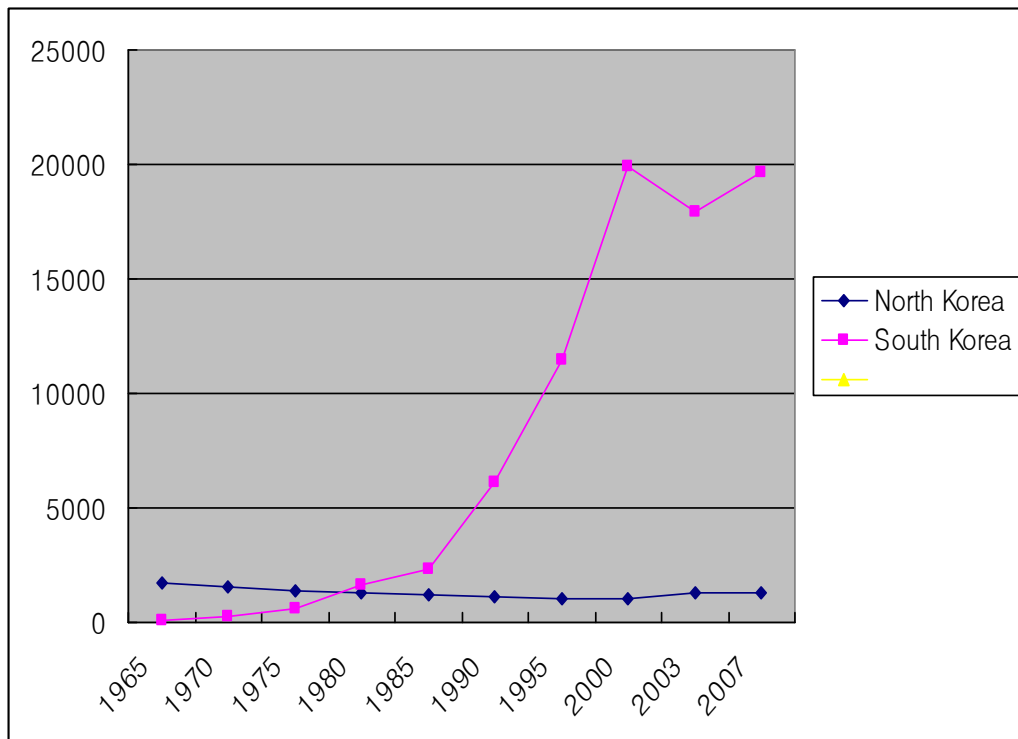


Figure 2 Comparison of the gdp per capita of South Korea and North Korea

Table 7 GDP per capita of some countries until the mid 1960s

Country	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
China	75.87	69.79	73.69	83.93	97.47
Cotic Republicngo Democra	197.52	228.67	367.65	167.86	228.98
India	86.23	90.68	101.66	115.9	119.23
Japan	563.56	633.61	717.83	835.61	919.73
Laos	789.18	771.8	754.91	738.47	722.42
Macau	5787.85	5592.44	5358.57	5114.9	4880.78
Mongol	1197.99	1167.15	1136.84	1107.02	1077.68
Nepal	51.95	55.11	57.14	61.06	66.84
North Korea	1906.37	1868.55	1832.14	1795.57	1754.45
Philippines	270.16	158.78	170.57	178.84	190.37
South Korea	91.63	103.88	142.38	120.65	105.78
UK	1451.25	1511.31	1592.15	1728.38	1849.49
Vietnam	397.84	390.19	382.63	375.12	367.61

Source: <http://www.nationmaster.com>

Note: Data for Taiwan are not available.

As the table and graph above show, the per capita GDP of South Korea increased rapidly over time. In contrast, although that of North Korea was at one point even higher than those of Japan and the UK, it decreased over time owing to the communist regime's inefficiency.

(3) Social Development

Improvements in living conditions (such as roof improvements, fence re formation, kitchen improvements) were highly noticeable in terms of the Movement's achievements. In particular, social infrastructures such as telephone installation, communications, and water supplies were put in place, representing an epoch making improvement in living conditions.

(4) Political Development

The Movement fostered among Korean people love of their home and of their country. It also helped people to take decisions on local issues on their own and helped to establish local autonomy.

There were a number of problems involved in implementing the Movement. Some critics argued that the Movement focused too exclusively on improving living conditions. Secondly, competition among villages was in some cases too strong, meaning they had to take on excessive financial burdens. Third, villagers had to participate in the Movement projects irrespective of their wishes, and in some cases they had difficulties in doing this.

2. Policy Implications

1) Implications as a development model

(1) Implications as a development model for less developed countries

The Movement has specific characteristics in terms of a developmental model for less developed countries. These may be summarised as follows:

****First, strong leadership exercised by a president**

The Korean President's strong interest in the Movement and his strong leadership were critical in terms of the Movement's successful implementation. His continuous leadership was embedded in his speeches, his site visits, his training of officials, and his dialogue with ordinary people.

**** Second, systematic support by government organisations**

In less developed countries, where the private sector is weak, there are no development agents or innovative entrepreneurs who can drive a social movement. This means that developed countries experience different conditions from less developed countries in driving developmental reforms. In other words, in less developed countries it is necessary for government organisations to initiate and drive development policies, leading the private sector. This accords with the assumptions and arguments made by developmentalists. We can say that, prior to a stage where the private sector's capability reaches a critical point, it is justifiable for government organisations to create special purpose organisations or ad hoc organisations at central and local level to drive a public policy.

****Third, fostering 'can do spirit' and abolishing 'dependency'**

In less developed countries, where people tend to rely on assistance from abroad, self reliance is normally weak. Even though the people in these countries receive much support and assistance from abroad or from international organisations, this assistance does not guarantee that the recipients can stand on their own two feet. This implies that when we transplant the Saemaul Undong to other countries, we need to embed a spirit of self help, diligence and collaboration in the minds of the recipients.

****Fourth, producing the leaders**

In the Saemaul Undong Movement, it is necessary for leaders to be educated and trained systematically, because they are development agents at the practical level. Accordingly, it is essential for them to take classes necessary to lead local residents and to be equipped with the appropriate logical and methodological tools.

****Fifth, adoption of the two criteria in selecting projects**

There are two initial criteria for selecting projects. One is visible effect. This means that in order for local residents to be induced to participate actively in the projects, it is best to select projects which have immediately tangible effects, such as road expansion. This serves to foster a 'can do' attitude in people.

The other criterion is income growth effect. If possible, the projects to be selected should be income growth related. For example, projects such as common workplace building and seed improvement should be selected prior to other projects because, if completed, they can bring money to the people concerned. This in turn can motivate people to become more actively involved in the future projects.

****Sixth, a gradual approach**

In South Korea, the Saemaul Undong Movement started in rural areas, then moved to the city, workplace, school, etc. This gradual approach seems to be more applicable to less developed countries, as opposed to an 'extensive' approach which involves doing everything at one time.

****Seventh, inducing competition and applying a differential incentive system**

The Saemaul Undong Movement does not operate a uniformly equal system. Rather, it maintains a competition system and a differential incentive system. This has worked as a motivating mechanism in implementing the Movement's policies. In applying the Movement to other, less developed countries, it is also important to apply the competition system and the differential incentive system.

****Eighth, constructing a network based on governance perspective**

The history of the Saemaul Undong Movement suggests that networking among the stakeholders involved in the Movement is very important. In particular, the trust level between the leaders and the local residents was critical in bridging the gap between government organisations and local residents.

****Ninth, manual writing**

Producing a comprehensive manual is essential for the countries that wish to introduce the Saemaul Undong Movement. We have to construct a detailed, readable manual, by studying which the countries wishing to introduce the Movement can overcome difficulties in implementing policies and manage them effectively and efficiently.

(2) Implications for developed countries

In developed countries, people become more selfish and individualistic, neglecting community and the consciousness of living together. In order to tackle this, we need to apply the spirit of the Saemaul Undong Movement to people's social lives. This means strengthening the level of social capital in developed societies. To bring about a genuinely civilised society social capital is necessary, and the Saemaul Undong Movement can play a role in enhancing the level of social capital in developed countries.

2) Theorising and model building

From a theoretical point of view, it is necessary that the Saemaul Undong Movement should be theorised by model building, so that the strategies and principles underlying it can be discussed in a formal framework.

3) Exporting the Movement to other countries

The level of ODA(Official Development Assistance) offered by the Korean Government is 0.05% of GDP, which is much lower than that provided to other OECD countries. The average ODA level of OECD countries is 0.31% of GDP. Korea has to increase its ODA level within a short period so that it can be compatible with the country's economic power. In providing ODA to less developed countries, Korea needs to transplant the principles and strategies underpinning the Saemaul Undong Movement in implementing individual projects.

V. Conclusions

This paper has attempted to analyse the development of the Saemaul Undong Movement from its inception to the present time, to evaluate it from an objective point of view, and to suggest some policy implications for the present and the future, for both developed and less developed countries. The Saemaul Undong is a national policy asset which should be theorised by model building, and which can be transplanted in other countries. To do this, we need to refine the principles and strategies in a theoretical way and construct manuals suitable for use by other countries. Furthermore, in providing ODA to less developed countries, Korea needs to transplant the principles and strategies underpinning the Saemaul Undong Movement so as to make possible the implementing of individual projects in other countries.

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