The Saemaul Undong in Historical Perspective and in the Contemporary World



Mike Douglass University of Hawaii

13 October 2011





The Saemaul Undong in the Context of Rural Development Theory and Practice

Research Approach

- ❖Rural development planning: a local response to prevailing ideas at a particular historical moment.
- ❖Purpose is to explore ways in which the Saemaul Undong experience provides plus and minus insights into rural development elsewhere.







Korea Context into the 1970s

- History of pre-colonial and colonial rural poverty
- Land reform levels rural society <u>before</u> the Saemaul Undong
- Strong village institutions for cooperation
- ❖ 1960s "developmental state" and miracle economy
 - Among highest rural population densities in the world
 - Rural outmigration accelerating
 - PL480 grain aid, U.S. military spending
 - Policy of "benign neglect" of agriculture.
 - Divided country. Anti-communist state ideology.
 - 1972 Marshal law declared









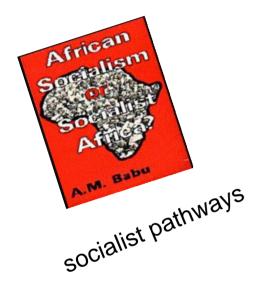
Mainstream Rural Development Ideas post-colonial to 1970s

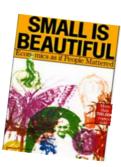
- 1950s community development, return to pre-colonial traditions. Ghandian economics, non-alignment, the "Third World".
- 1960s rise of "developmentalism": UN, World Bank, and the developmental state
 - Rural as the agricultural sector with 3 roles: provide food, send cheap I abor to the city, provide capital for infant industry
 - Agriculture assumed to have zero marginal labor productivity
 - Village as "backward"
- ◆1960s-70s
 - Induced innovation (extension services and demonstration farms)
 - The Green Revolution (government organized and managed).





"Alternative Development" 1960s-70s





"Liberation Theology"

Ghandian economics



"Learn from

Urban Functions in Rural

"Agropolitan Development"

Dependency theory









The Saemaul Undong (1970s) in the Context of Rural and National Development

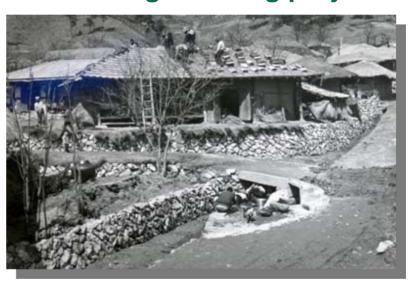
Phase/Components	Main features			
Pre-Saemaul Undong (1950-70)	National focus on urban-industrial development			
Land reform Role of agriculture	Radical land-to-the-tiller reform before Saemaul Undong was initiated Relatively benign neglect of agriculture			
1st Phase (1970-75)	Focus on village modernization			
 Village modernization Saemaul Undong Training Centers Saemaul Spirit 	Materials given to villages for self-improvement. Elaborate national system of Saemaul Undong training centers Ideology of Korean-style cooperation to mobilize contributions and participation.			
2nd Phase (1972-78)	Focus on agriculture			
 Green Revolution Extension services Rural cooperatives Mechanization 	Forced adoption of high-yielding varieties of grain Embedded in the Green Revolution phase of Saemaul Undong Needed to manage loans for the Green Revolution Belatedly adopted mechanized farming			
3 rd Phase (1973-1977)	Saemaul Undong expansion to non-agriculture and cities			



SMU as Village Modernization

- The "developmental state" Strong leadership from the center
- Voluntary contributions "Diligence, Self-help, Cooperation"
- Village infrastructure, housing; some income-generating projects





- **❖** Cement and steel rods given to 34,000 villages to use as they decide.
- **❖** Villages then assessed and categorized: Basic, Self-reliant, Self-help.
- * "Self-help" then given priority to lead competition for improvement.
- All villages eventually move out of "Basic" category.







Social Mobilization

















SMU as Green Revolution

- Tongil HYV
- Cooperatives
- Government purchase above market, sell bel ow market price to city
- Late mechanization
- Program dismantled around1978









SMU as National Spirit





National Survey: SMU is the greatest public program in Korea since independence – greater than the 1988 Seoul Olympics.





Saemaul Undong as Everything





















Achievements of the SMU and Impacts on other Spheres of Development

Project name	Unit	Target	Results	Growth rate(%)
Expanding village roads	Km	26,266	43,558	166
Constructing farm roads	Km	49,167	61,797	126
Installing small bridges	Unit	76,749	79,516	104
Constructing village halls	Unit	35,608	37,012	104
Building warehouses	Unit	34,665	22,143	64
Housing improvements	Unit	544,000	225,000	42
Improving village layout	Village		2,747	
Constructing sewage systems	Km	8,654	15,559	179
Supplying electricity to rural an d fishing communities	House Hold	2,834,000	2,777,500	98
Operating SAEMAUL factories	Unit	950	717	75

1. Village Improvements through the Saemaul Undong, 1970s





Rural household incomes reaches urban household levels (won)

Year	Average monthly income of urban household (A)	Average monthly income of rural household (B)	Ratio (B)/(A) (percentage)
1967	20 720	12 456	60.1
1970	31 770	21 317	67.1
1973	45 850	40 059	87.4
1976	95 980	96 355	100.4
1979	219 133	185 624	84.7

National rice self-sufficiency briefly attained.







3. SMU Factories

- Aimed at providing incentives for *chaebol* factories to locate away from Seoul.
- 693 Saemaul factories authorized from 1973 to 1976 MCI.
- ❖ 251 remained in 1977.
- Averaged 135 workers in 1976 (total about 34,000 jobs).
- Half were textiles or wearing apparel.

		ber of					_	
	establishments		Employment		Output		Exports	
		% of		% of	Million	% of	US	% of
	Unit	total	Persons	total	won	total	\$ 000	total
Pusan	3	0.83	1,081	2.21	2,095.0	1.77	3,799	2.06
Gyeonggi	116	32.13	20,876	42.71	46,165.3	38.94	73,828	40.11
Gangweon	16	4.43	1,610	3.29	1,651.7	1.38	2,805	1.52
Chungcheongbug	20	5.54	1,863	3.81	4,273.6	3.60	4,318	2.34
Chungcheongnam	33	9.14	4,689	9.59	11,720.1	9.89	21,645	11.76
Jeonrabug	21	5.82	2,048	4.19	2,845.2	2.40	3,935	2.14
Jeonranam	24	6.65	1,643	3.36	4,153.2	3.50	4,955	2.69
Gyeongsangbug	69	19.11	7,348	15.03	16,177.1	13.65	27,311	14.84
Gyeongsangnam	55	15.24	7,510	15.37	29,151.5	24.59	41,157	22.36
Jeju	4	1.11	206	0.42	325.3	0.27	304	0.17
Total	361	100.00	48,874	100.00	118,548.0	100.00	184,057	100.00





Political Dimensions of SMU

- **❖** The "developmental state": autonomy, political will, social activation
- Practical approach without political ideology: SMU not linked to anticommunism, Confucianism or political parties.
- SMU "an amalgam of egalitarian ethos, an ideal of social welfare and developmentalist dictatorship" [Han 2004]
- Park government claims that democracy was achievable "not through elections but through gradual training and practice in carrying out statesupported projects".
- ❖ Park used SMU to regain rural vote and power base as urban protests against his regime mount.
- ❖ Yushin marshal law declared in 1972 to early 1980s
- Local bureaucrats "wake up" and become more accountable.







Distinctive Features of the Saemaul Undong

- Land reform before SMU
- Began with village modernization, not agriculture
- The overall urban-industrial "miracle"
- The "developmental state"
- Agricultural supported, not squeezed
- (Green Revolution not exceptional)



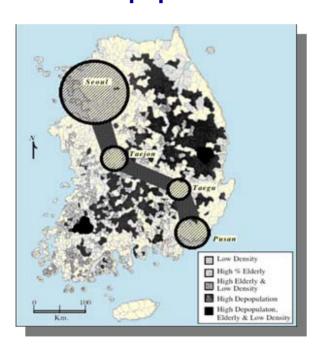




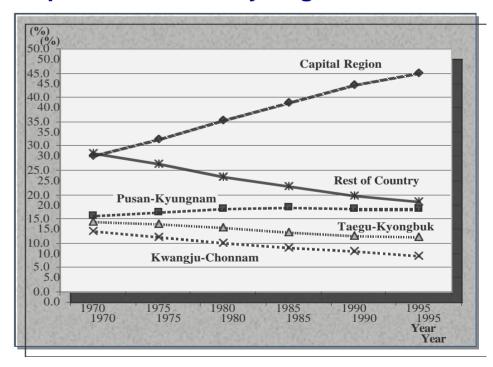


Separation of Urban-industrial strategies from rural development strategies

Korea's Urban-industrial Corridor and Rural Depopulation c. 1985



Population Shares by Region 1955-1995







Regenerating SMU post-1980

Stages of Creation and Regenerations of the Saemaul Undong

Stage	Characteristics	Period
Stage 1	Foundation and Groundwork	1970 ~ 1973
Stage 2	Proliferation	1974 ~ 1976
Stage 3	Energetic Implementation	1977 ~ 1979
Stage 4	Overhaul	1980 ~ 1989
Stage 5	Autonomous Growth	1990 ~ 1998

Overhaul 1980-89 period reentered on:

- ❖Social atmosphere: kindness, order, selflessness, and cooperation
- Escape from inactivity and contraction
- Economic development: combined farming, distribution improvement, and credit union activities
- Environmental activities: cleanliness, developing parks throughout the country, building better access roads
- *Reborn as a private sector-organization: enhancing the role division between government and private sectors

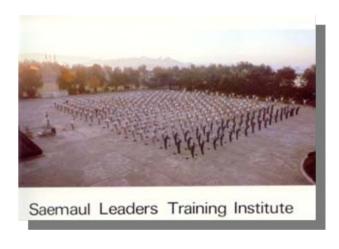




Rechanneling the Korean Spirit of Cooperation

















Agriculture & Rural Korea Today



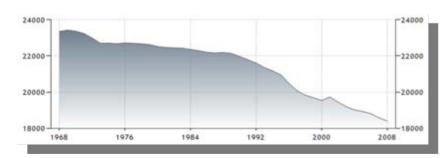
Rice dominates Agriculture



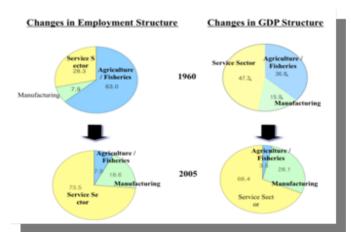
Aging population



Chronic Rural Depopulation



Decline in agricultural land





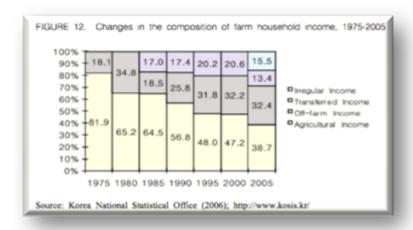
Declining Share of Economy







Post-agrarian Rural Korea









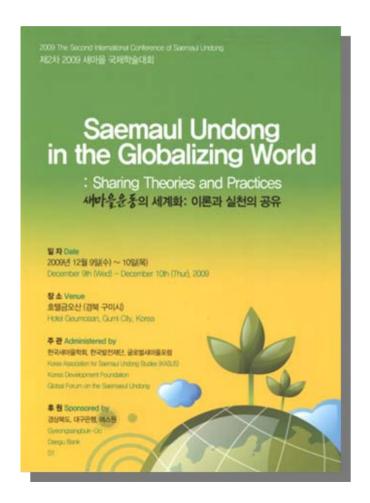
Village	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Green Rural Experiencing Villages	*	157,500	295,400	626,500	1,037,700
Rural Traditional Theme Villages	Ti .	12,581	55,780	133,091	259,796
Experiencing Green Tourism in Fishing Villages	172,000	414,000	2,528,000	5,030,000	5,445,000
Arum Mauis	44,555	208,192	227,130	260,582	316,444
Farm-Stay Villages	101,795	250,000	360,067	620,000	938,743

Many Farm-Stay Villages overlap other villages supported by the government. Source: KREI (2006, 2007).





The Saemaul Undong Goes Abroad







SMU programs now in more than 70 countries











Lessons of the Korean Experience for Developing Countries

Lessons

- Tapping into traditional forms of social cooperation can lead to successful ru community development programs
- ❖ Potential for integration of bureaucracy at local scale
- The urban matrix of rural development is crucial
- Agrarian reform

Questions raised by Korea 1970s context and rural areas today

- Agriculture is no longer the principal rural income sector
- Corporate farming, contract farming is overtaking independent farmer
- Can village upgrading be separated from income and livelihood?
- Can there be an "autonomous" Saemaul Undong?
- How to scale up if government is not involved?
- How to link rural and urban within rural regions?











Thank you