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SOCIAL EFFECTS OF RURAL SAEMAUL UNDONG

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Saemaul Undong

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I. Introduction

Since its launch in 1970, the Rural Saemaul Undong (RSU) has been playing an important role in pushing ahead social and economic development of rural Korea and in transforming consciousness of villagers. The Saemaul Undong is, however, not similar in many aspects with such sometimes sporadic activities as community development drive carried out during the late 1950's and the early 1960's, pan-national rehabilitation campaign, night-school program designed to crusade against illiteracy and the 4-H club activity.

The RSU is a comprehensive and integrated rural development movement carried out under the strong commitment of the government on a nation-wide level.

Results of various Saemaul projects achieved successfully during the past eight years are drawing significant attention from the international community concerned. In recent days the Saemaul movement is viewed internationally as a model of integrated rural development after the Chinese model many local and foreign specialists discuss actively the possibility of internationalizing the Rural Saemaul Undong.

In parallel with the rise of international concern on rural development in Korea, the Saemaul movement is no more considered as a unique movement in Korea, transcending geographical, cultural and political notion. This trend is well typified by the ever-increasing demand by foreign government officials and scholars for various materials, statistics and research theses on the RSU.

They want to know not only about exemplary and successful Saemaul projects but also about troubles, trials and errors faced in the course of carrying out the Saemaul movement, about how Koreans have overcome such difficulties and about how to push ahead with the Saemaul plans in the days ahead.

Keeping pace with the rapid industrialization, the Saemaul movement has brought about many changes in social and economic situation in the rural Korea. Thanks to such remarkable development, the socioeconomic situation nowadays in rural region is in its turning point, presenting new issues that should be tackled.

For example, overpopulation was one of the serious problems faced by the rural society in early 1970s. But now the acute shortage of manpower is one of the questions confronted by the

rural area. The consumption pattern of food has been changed steadily. The current consumption pattern of highly-nutritious food items calls for renovation of agricultural production in the face of import liberalization of agricultural products.

Under this new socioeconomic situation, it will be of great significance to review the subjects on how to develop the rural Saemaul movement. For this purpose, achievements of the movement should be closely analyzed comprehensively and objectively. Guidelines and directions of the movement should be mapped out on a far-sighted point of view.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate on a comprehensive and objective bases results of the RSU during the past eight years, to examine issues raised thus far, thus helping settle effectively problems confronted or to be confronted, and to suggest the future guidelines of the movement.

1. Scope of Study

This study was designed to appraise comprehensively the result of the Saemaul movement and make recommendations on the future course of the movement as a part of a program to evaluate the Saemaul infrastructure development projects undertaken

with IBRD loan. A brief review on the scope of overall research and the scope of the first year study are follows:

a. Overall Study Plan

The study consists of three parts; 1) conceptual framework of the structure of RSU, 2) analysis of social and economic achievements, and 3) future prospects of the Saemaul movement.

In the first part, the evolutionary development process and the structure of the RSU during the past eight years are conceptionally reorganized with emphasis put on systematic analysis on goals, means, strategies, and instruments.

In the second part, results in social and economic aspects are analyzed separately. Evaluation on economic effects of RSU is mainly focused on the impacts of the Saemaul movement on the distribution of income of farm households, and on the allocative efficiency of government investment and investment priority.

The analysis on social effects is centered on influence of the Saemaul movement on variables related to the transformation of social characters of rural Koreans, and the role of Saemaul Leaders. This part will be illustrated in detail as it is a main subject of the first year study.

Finally, the last part covers an integrated analysis on issues related to what direction and how to push ahead with programs of the Saemaul movement in the future, coping efficiently with problems faced by the current socio-economic situations of the rural-agricultural part of the nation.

b. Scope of First-Year Study (1978. 7 - 12)

The first-year study is concentrated on the results of the Saemaul movement in social aspect, especially in the following areas:

- 1) Analysis on motivation and attitude of and factors encouraging villagers' participation to the RSU
- 2) Changes in villagers' social consciousness
- 3) Formation of villagers' democratic sense
- 4) Evaluation of Saemaul leaders' role
- 5) Problems faced by the RSU and villagers' opinion on future direction

c. Future Research Plan

As mentioned earlier, all comprehensive research and evaluation results and future directions of the Saemaul movement will be presented in the final report to be worked out by

the end of June, 1979. The parts that have not been handled in this interim report will be supplemented in the final report.

2. Research Design

Followings are brief explanations on research design (sample design, sample size, method of analysis, etc.) for the first year study. In short, results of the first-year research on the Saemaul movement in social aspect were based on analysis of the cross-sectional data collected through a mail survey throughout the nation.

a. Sample Selection

The samples are strictly speaking, not selected randomly, but a guideline was provided to those who are in charge of selecting samples.

1) A total of 1,322 exemplary Saemaul leaders (1,294 male and 28 female), selected by the Saemaul Training Institute, were instructed to select male and female Saemaul leader including themselves and three village residents (two male and one female) randomly as possible as they can. As a result, questionnaires were sent to 6,610 persons.

2) In addition, the mail survey has also been conducted on 13,550 persons from 1,335 myons -- two villages (one exemplary and the other underdeveloped) in each myon and two Saemaul leaders (one male and the other female) and three villagers (two male and one female) in each villages. The local extension workers were instructed to select randomly sample villages and villagers.

Table 1-1. Sample Size for Analysis

Classification	Farmer	Saemaul leader	Total
Mailed questionnaire (A)	11,976	7,984	19,960
Returned questionnaire (B)	7,011	4,085	11,096
B/A	58.5	51.2	55.6
Questionnaire used for analysis (C) ^{1/}	3,251	2,148	5,399
C/B	46.4	52.6	48.7

^{1/} Each returned questionnaires was judged for analysis due to defects of questionnaire, the number of unanswered items of each questionnaire, etc.

b. Result of Sample Selection

As shown in Table 1-1, of the total 19,960 persons, 11,096 persons or 55.6 percent have responded to the survey. But a substantial number of questionnaires were judged as unsuitable ones for analysis due to the following defects:

- 1) Omission of some pages
- 2) Wrong use of questionnaire, namely the questionnaire for the Saemaul leaders by general residents or vice versa
- 3) No address
- 4) Answers by others
- 5) No answers in five questions or more

As a result of thorough screening works, 5,399 samples (2,148 from Saemaul leaders and the remaining 3,251 from general villagers) have been used for the analysis.

c. Method of Analysis

Simple table analysis and χ^2 - test have been used for this study, in which every chapter gives separate analysis. The second year report will present a comprehensive analysis on variables between chapters.

It should be mentioned here again that this report for the first year covers interim research results, which could be subject to possible revisions after final analyses.

II. Motivation and Attitude of Villagers' Participation

One of the major reasons the Saemaul movement has been appraised successful could be contributed to the fact that villagers have participated in the movement positively. This chapter will review results of villagers' participation during the past eight years and present analyses on characters of participants motivation and attitude of villagers' participation and elements that have encouraged the positive participation.

1. Records of Villagers' Participation

According to the statistics released by the Ministry of Home Affairs, as shown in Table 2-1 the Saemaul movement in 1970 and 1971 was carried out with priority given to village purification projects and the labor on the projects during the period amounted to 720,000 man-days.

Except 67,530,000 man-days in 1973, average annual man-days during the past eight years ranged from 3.5 million to 4.5 million. Average man-days in each village during the 1972-1977 period were 1,300 to 1,400.

Table 2-1 also shows that the total number of villagers who have participated in the movement in 1973 topped the other years with 67,530,000. This means that villagers began to positively participate in the Saemaul movement from that year with ever-greater interest in the movement. A similar result was turned out in the survey conducted by the institute. Table 2-2 shows it was in 1973 and 1974 that villagers have actively participated in the Saemaul movement with utmost enthusiasm and zeal. This means that the year 1973 or 1974 was a turning point for the successful implementation of the Saemaul movement. Since then, a stabilized trend has been maintained in villagers' participation to the movement.

Table 2-1. Records of Villagers' Participation,
1971-1977

Year	Number of villages participated (A)	Number ^{1/} of villagers participated (B)	Number ^{1/} of village projects (C)	Per village	
				Villagers participated (B/A)	Projects (C/A)
		1,000 Person	1,000 Project	Person	- - -
1971	33,267	7,200	385	216	11.6
1972	22,708	32,000	320	1,409	14.1
1973	34,665	67,530	1,093	1,948	31.5
1974	34,665	37,343	415	1,077	12.0
1975	34,665	48,944	696	1,413	20.0
1976	35,031	35,138	630	1,003	18.0
1977	35,031	45,118	2,200	1,288	62.8

^{1/} The number of participants and projects of Urban Saemaul Undong are excluded.

Source : Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaul Undong: From the Beginning to the Present. (Seoul; Ministry of Home Affairs), 1973-1977.

Table 2-2. The Year when Farmers' Participated
Actively to the Rural Saemaul Undong

Year	Respondent	
	Person	%
1971	257	4.8
1972	953	17.8
1973	1,520	28.3
1974	1,117	20.8
1975	971	18.1
1976	366	6.8
1977	186	3.4
Total	5,317 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} Excluded 82 persons who did not respond

2. Characters of Active Participants

The fact the villagers have been participating in the Saemaul movement positively does not necessarily mean that the whole villagers have taken part in the movement. It is very interesting to review the levels of education, age, and standard of living of those who have been participating in the movement.

There could be such hypothetical theories that the middle-aged villagers would be greater than any other generations in number of those who have been taking part in the movement and that the less educated and the middle-sized farmers would have been participating with more positively than the highly educated and the rich.

These theories are relatively not so far from reality. An analysis on these areas, as illustrated in Table 2-3, shows that villagers in their 30s and 40s in age have been taking part in the movement more actively than others.

Analyzing the villagers according to their educational level, graduates of primary and middle schools have taken part in the movement more positively than those who have graduated higher educational institutions. As analyzed in Table 2-4,

of 1,061 villagers who have graduated high school or higher educational institutions, only 14.7 percent or 154 persons have answered that they have participated to the movement more positively than any others. This, in other words, represented that they have frankly admitted those who have higher educational backgrounds have had lukewarm or negative attitude in taking part in the movement.

Table 2-3. The Most Actively Participated
Age Group

Respondants: Age Group	The most actively participated age group					Total
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	
	----- Person (%) -----					
20 - 29	123 (22.9)	301 (56.0)	103 (19.1)	11 (2.4)	-	538 (100.0)
30 - 39	101 (5.7)	1,188 (67.3)	450 (25.5)	27 (1.5)	-	1,766 (100.0)
40 - 49	114 (4.8)	1,122 (46.8)	1,100 (45.9)	56 (2.3)	4 (0.2)	2,396 (100.0)
50 - 59	26 (4.7)	228 (41.5)	253 (46.0)	43 (7.8)	-	550 (100.0)
Over 60	1 (2.4)	13 (31.0)	23 (54.8)	4 (9.5)	1 (2.3)	42 (100.0)
Total	365 (6.9)	2,852 (52.9)	1,929 (36.5)	141 (2.7)	5 (1.0)	5,292 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 107 persons who did not answer to this question,
(90 persons) and to age (17 persons)

Table 2-4. The Most Actively Participated Group by Education Level

Respondents' Education Level	The Most Actively Participated Group				Total
	Below elementary school	Elementary school	Middle school	High school and above	
	Person (%)				
Below elementary school	7 (5.1)	76 (55.5)	37 (27.0)	17 (12.4)	137 (100.0)
Elementary school	40 (2.0)	1,170 (58.0)	653 (32.4)	154 (7.6)	2,017 (100.0)
Junior high school	31 (1.7)	735 (40.1)	932 (50.9)	135 (7.3)	1,833 (100.0)
Above senior high school	27 (2.5)	375 (35.3)	505 (47.6)	154 (14.6)	1,061 (100.0)
Total	105 (2.1)	2,356 (46.7)	2,127 (42.1)	460 (9.1)	5,048 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 351 persons who did not answer to this question including 30 persons.

Table 2-5. The Most Actively Participated
Group by Size of Farm Land

Respondents' Size of farm land	Actively Participated Group					Total
	No farm land	Marginal farmer	Small farmer	Middle farmer	Large farmer	
No farm land	3 (4.2)	5 (7.0)	19 (26.8)	41 (57.8)	3 (4.2)	71 (100.0)
Below 1,500	1 (0.1)	24 (3.1)	200 (25.5)	531 (67.6)	25 (3.7)	785 (100.0)
1,500-3,000	3 (0.1)	16 (0.8)	375 (19.8)	1,409 (74.2)	96 (5.1)	1,899 (100.0)
3,000-4,500	1 (0.0)	8 (0.6)	221 (15.6)	1,116 (78.5)	75 (5.3)	1,421 (100.0)
4,500-6,000	1 (0.2)	-	56 (13.6)	334 (81.1)	21 (5.1)	412 (100.0)
Above 6,000	-	3 (0.9)	39 (11.4)	265 (77.5)	35 (10.2)	342 (100.0)
Total	9 (0.1)	56 (1.1)	910 (18.5)	3,696 (75.0)	259 (5.3)	4,930 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 469 persons who are not answer, including 17 persons.

Finally, Table 2-5 shows that those villagers who have middle-scale farmlands have been more active than others in participating to the movement. The small-scale and the large-scale farmland owners share similar view on the point. For example, 74.2 percent of 1,899 villagers, whose respective farmland covered only up to 1.0 ha., and 77.5 percent of 342 villagers, whose respective farmlands covered over 2.0 ha., replied that the middle-scale farmland owners have participated to the movement more enthusiastically than they have done.

3. Attitudes of Villagers' Participation

Voluntary and active participation of the villagers in the Saemaul movement is the basic requirement for the sustained implementation of the movement. As mentioned before, villagers have actively participated in the movement. However, the matter is how voluntarily the villagers have participated to the movement.

The saemaul movement, as widely known, has been carried out under strong support by the government. In this respect, a question could be raised if villagers have been mobilized or forced, directly or indirectly, to participate in the movement.

To analyze such question, following points have been asked:

- a. How subjectively do villagers identify themselves with the Saemaul movement?
- b. What do villagers think is the motivation they take part in the Saemaul movement?

The survey on the questions who indeed implement the Saemaul movement and who will be responsible for result of the movement would help grasp the issues of relation between villagers and the movement.

Table 2-6 shows that 37.4 percent of 5 386 villagers understood the Saemaul movement should be carried out by villagers themselves and only 9.5 percent believed the movement was implemented by the government. However, a whopping 53 percent understood the movement should be pushed ahead jointly by the government and the villagers.

It might be natural for the villagers to believe the Saemaul movement be carried out jointly as the movement in rural region has been planned and implemented under positive government supports in financial, material, technical and administrative fields.

As for the responsibility of Saemaul projects as shown in Table 2-7, most of the villagers answered that they should be responsible for all results. Those who have answered the administrative authorities concerned should shoulder responsibility accounted for only 3.2 percent and 10.9 percent said Saemaul leaders should be responsible for.

4. Motivation and Factors Encouraged Villagers' Participation

An analysis on motivation of villagers' participation and targets of the Saemaul projects is presented in Table 2-8, which will help understand the voluntary situation of the villagers' participation in the movement.

Those who have said they have participated in the movement voluntarily for personal benefits, for village development and for successful competition with neighboring villages accounted for a whopping 89.6 percent.

Those who have contributed the motivation of their participation to such non-voluntary factors as instruction and encouragement either by the government or by Saemaul leaders stood at only 8.8 percent. Some of them said they have participated to keep up their reputation.

Table 2-6. Farmers' Understanding on the
Characteristics of R. S. U.

The P.S.U may be characterized as a movement	Respondent	
	Person	%
For my self by myself	1,297	24.1
For village development by villagers	716	13.3
For national development by both villager and government	2,852	53.0
For villager by government	231	4.3
For national development by government	282	5.2
Don't know	8	0.1
Total	5,386 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} Excluded 13 persons who did not respond.

Table 2-7. Farmers' Understanding on who is Responsible for the Results of R. S. U.

Responsible	Respondent		Total
	Farmer	Saemaul leader	
	Person (%)		
My self	1,053 (32.5)	883 (41.2)	1,936 (35.9)
All the villagers	1,789 (55.2)	875 (40.8)	2,664 (49.5)
Saemaul leaders	257 (7.9)	328 (15.3)	585 (10.9)
Government officers ^{1/}	125 (3.9)	48 (2.2)	173 (3.2)
Don't know	19 (0.6)	10 (0.5)	29 (0.5)
Total	3,243 (100.0)	2,144 (100.0)	5,387 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Included President, Provincial Governor, County Chief, and Myon Chief.

^{2/} Excluded 12 persons (8 farmers and 4 Saemaul leaders) who did not answer to this question.

Table 2-8 Motivations of Villagers'
Participation to the R. S. U.

Motivations	Respondent	
	Person	%
For my interest	626	11.7
For my village's development and honor	3,457	64.4
Do not want to see my village left behind in development	725	13.5
Encouragements of Government	129	2.4
Encouragements of village leaders and Saemaul leader	248	4.6
In order to keep up with fellow villagers	96	1.8
Others	91	1.7
Total	5,372 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} Excluded 27 persons who did not respond

A characteristic point in Table 2-8 is that villagers had greater concern on village development than on personal interest.

What has encouraged the villagers to positively participate in the Saemaul movement? As shown in Table 2-9 major encouraging factors include improvement of villagers understanding on Saemaul movement, village development, support~~s~~ by the government, income rise of villagers, Saemaul leaders' effort, and competition between villages, in that order.

a. Improvement of Villagers' Understanding

It is pointed out that improvement of understanding on the Saemaul movement was powerful impetus for the active participation of villagers. Table 2-10 tells the trend of villagers' understanding on the movement. In the early stage of the Saemaul movement, most of the villagers had poor information and knowledge on the movement. Some villagers understood the movement as a campaign aimed at purifying or improving village environment by undertaking beautification projects.

But now, the understanding of villagers on the movement improved drastically. The villagers viewed the Saemaul

movement as a spiritual renovation movement and as a self-help effort to increase their income.

b. Renovation of Village Environment

As shown in Table 2-10, renovation of village environment in the starting year of the movement was an impetus for promotion of villagers' participation in the movement. Construction and expansion of farm roads, improvement of river or stream embankments, roof improvement, construction of drainage and other village environmental renovation projects have completely turned the villages into new shapes, better and more comfort to live in, thus attracting the villagers to positively participate in the movement.

Table 2-9. Major Factors Encouraged Villagers'
Active Participation

Major Factor	Respondent	
	Person	%
Improvement of personal Income	644	12.0
Government support	1,210	22.0
Improvement of villagers' understanding on the R.S.U	1,572	29.2
Stimulated by the improvement of village environments resulted from villagers' own efforts	1,274	23.7
Competition with other villages	210	3.9
Self-sacrificing efforts of Saemaul leader	347	6.5
Others	116	2.2
Total	5,379 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} Excluded 20 persons who did not respond

c. Income Promotion of Villagers'

Income rise of villagers' is also considered as one of the key elements that has accelerated the positive participation of villagers in the Saemaul movement. In the early stage of the Saemaul movement, namely in the 1971-1973 period, emphasis of the movement was placed on basic projects of the village environment.

However, from 1974, when the policy was geared to link the movement with the projects designed to promote practical income of farm households in an effort to successfully launch the Saemaul movement, priority has been given to projects aimed at strengthening or expanding basic foundation of productivity and at increasing real production.

Thanks to such policy, average annual income of the farm households increased from 2,258,000 won in 1970 to 14,328,000 won in 1977, which represents a jump of 5.6 times during the past seven years.

The surprising income rise of farm households has infused into the villagers the will and confidence, "We can do it! We can be better off!"

d. Government Support

As illustrated in Table 2-10, active support by the government must have been one of the major incentives that has encouraged the positive participation by villagers in the movement. The support by the government started in 1970, when the government has provided 32,000 villages with 335 bags of cement each. Since then, the government has been extending necessary material, financial, technical and administrative supports to the Saemaul villages with priority on exemplary villages.

For efficiency in the use of the resources, the supports have been extending in case a project is beyond the villagers' ability, but urgent for the village. The government has also organized nationwide administrative networks that have been exclusively dealing Saemaul affairs. The administrative organizations have evaluated results of the Saemaul movement each village has implemented and helped them settle problems or trials at the earliest possible date.

Table 2-10. Improvement in Villagers' Understanding
on the Purpose of R.S.U

Purpose of R. S. U	Beginning	Present
	- - - - person (%) - - -	
Don't know exactly	427 (7.9)	23 (0.4)
Cooperative (or joint) work	510 (9.5)	84 (1.6)
Village environment improvement	2,301 (42.7)	924 (17.2)
Income improvement	409 (7.6)	1,471 (27.4)
Spiritual enlightenment	1,584 (29.4)	2,312 (43.1)
Improvement of traditional way of life	128 (2.4)	84 (1.6)
Practice of "Yu Shin" task	-	447 (8.3)
Others	33 (0.6)	26 (0.5)
Total	5,392 ^{1/} (100.0)	5,371 ^{2/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 7 persons who did not respond

^{2/} Excluded 26 persons who did not respond

e. Sense on Village

Koreans, especially the ruralities, have still a stronger "we-feeling" than "I-feeling". This fact could be found in every social activities. Koreans usually use the "our" instead of "my", saying, for example, "our home" or "our village" instead of "my home" or "my village".

Village, which is a basic unit in terms of living, economic and social community, has a strong humanitarian sympathy and harmonious human relations. Accordingly, joint propulsion of villagers' desire, with a Saemaul leader in center, is possible.

In this respect, it is of great significance that the Saemaul movement was launched from village, with principle strategic guidelines of the movement based on "ri" and "dong", not on individual villagers, in which plans could be mapped out and projects could be undertaken by the villagers themselves in trust and cooperation.

According to Table 2-9, the feeling of "our village" has influenced greatly on villagers' participation to the movement.

All villagers have been invited to participate and discuss all plans and projects, thus strengthening the "village-feeling" and enhancing the sense of competition with neighboring villagers. In regard with the impact of the village-feeling on the villagers' participation it would be an interesting subject for further study.

III. Changes in Villagers' Social Consciousness

The Rural Saemaul Undong could not be compared with the regional development program and other rural development move. This is because the Saemaul movement has characteristically put no less emphasis on spiritual enlightenment than on social and economic development in rural Korea. Through practice of the basic "Saemaul Jungshin", spirits of diligence, self-help and cooperation, positive efforts of villagers to develop their community by themselves and to foster their income-generating activities have been stressed. Such effort is considered of great significance from a viewpoint that positive and subjective participation by villagers is more important than any other things for social and economic development in rural society. It is so because rural socioeconomic development depends heavily on how modern and progressive consciousness the villagers have.

This chapter will review, based on research results, overall opinions on the structure of villagers' consciousness and problems brought about by rural Saemaul movement. The latter part of this chapter will deal with analyses on changes in villagers' social consciousness during the past years.

1. General View on Villagers' Traditional Consciousness

Many scholars have studied the traditional consciousness of rural residents, some of which are summarized and compared in Table 3-1.

The above table shows a common point that the structure of traditional consciousness of villagers is consisted of familism, authoritarianism and traditionalism.

Although some scholars made different analyses on the matter, general analyses in summary are:

1) Familism places emphasis on family, not on individual. In this respect, self-supporting or independent attitude and thought is doubted. But the sense of mutual help or interdependence was built up.

2) Traditionalism, which has been influenced greatly by the Confucianism and the characteristic conventional agriculture, has infused into villagers with such premodern practices as conventional ceremonies, marital harmony predicted by fortune-teller, male-priority and belief in superstition.

3) Authoritarianism has been one of the decisive factors hampering the modernization of agriculture and rural region due, among other things, to the deplorable custom of making much of

Table 3-1. General Views on Traditional Social Consciousness

		Kim K.D. ^{1/} 1965	Koh Y.B. ^{2/} 1965	Koh Y.B. ^{3/} 1971	Yun K.S. ^{4/} 1975
	Lack of indepen- dency				0
Familism	Highly regard family origins	0	0	0	0
	Mutual help (spirit for living together)				0
	Highly regard ancestor worship by Confucian ceremony	0	0	0	
Tradition- alism	Highly regard "Kung Hap" (an astrologi- cal fortunetelling)	0			
	Boy preference	0			
	Entertains a super- stitious belief		0	0	0
	Filial piety	0		0	
	Highly regard the eldest son	0			
Authori- taianism	Korean caste system	0			0
	Respect for the officials and dis- respect for the people				0
	Attitudes of male predominance over female			0	0

-
- 1/ Kim Kyung-Dong "Rural Koreans' Consciousness", Rural Sociology(ed) Korea Rural Society Research Association, (Seoul: Min Jo Sa, 1965) pp. 250-258
 - 2/ Kohe Yung-Bok, Principle of Sociology (Seoul: Min Jo Sa, 1965) pp. 241-244
 - 3/ Koh Yung-Bok "Farmers' Consciousness" The Change of structure of Rural Society (ed) Korea Economic Research Center (Seoul: Korea C.C.I., 1971) pp. 150-158
 - 4/ Yun Kun-Sup, "The Characteristic and Change of Rural Society", Rural extension, (ed) Park Tae-Sok, (Seoul: Hyang Moon Sa, 1974) pp. 101-132

the government and little of the people and to the predominance of man over woman.

2. Rural Saemaul Undong on the Villagers' Traditional Consciousness

One of the characteristic points of the Saemaul movement is that change of villagers' traditional social consciousness has been emphasized. In this respect, as shown in Table 2-1, many villagers also understood the Saemaul movement was designed for spiritual renovation of villagers.

Then, what will be the problems in the structure of villagers' consciousness that should be renovated through the Saemaul movement?

As summarized in Table 3-2, the RSU argued that the patriarchal familism under the influence of Confucianism has been an element that has kept the villagers from being autonomous, responsible, creative and progressive, hampering modernization.

The RSU also emphasized that authoritarianism should be renovated in such a way as to respect personality and capability of individual based on equalitarian perspective and that the traditionalism should be renovated into scientific rationalism.

The three "isms" should be cleared out of Korean rural society not only for the development of villagers themselves but also for the modernization through the Saemaul movement.

Table 3-2. Rural Saemaul Undong on Villagers'
Traditional Consciousness

	Traditional consciousness that must be given up	Expected new consciousness ^{1/}
Familism	Patriarchal family system by Confucian ideas	Spirit of self-help, independence, individual responsibility and crea- tive ideas
Authori- tarianism	Confucian ethic of hierarchy Attitude male predomi- nace over female Respect for the govern- ment over the people Obeys blindly and absolute loyalty	Equalitarian value system Respect for individual- ability and personality
Tradition- alism	Fatalistic renunciation Ethic of obedience Shamanism & superstition	Scientific rationalism

^{1/} The RSU argued that the learning and practice of new social consciousness should be done without denying the laudable traditional customs which consists of uniqueness of Korean culture.

Source: M.H.A., Saemaul Undong: From the beginning to the present (Seoul: Ministry of Home Affairs, 1976), pp 24-30

3. Analysis of Changes in Villagers' Consciousness

As mentioned earlier, general view is that traditional consciousness of Villagers are comprised of familism, traditionalism and authoritarianism. The analysis of the villagers' consciousness was, as shown in Table 3-3, focused on seven subjects related closely to the above three isms.

a. Farmers' Willingness To Take Risk Agriculture

To survey the change of independence spirit of villagers, which was pointed out in the familism, one question was forwarded, "If there is a profitable but risky project that could promote your income, and if you have no money, do you think you would better do it even by borrowing money?"

As shown in Table 3-4, 80.6 percent of male turned out "yes" and 10.9 percent "no". In case of female, 74.8 percent was "yes" and 13.2 percent "no". This result represents the fact that both male and female have a considerable risk-taking sense in investment for income increase which was uncommon in rural Korea.

b. Spirits of Mutual-Help

Village in Korea has a traditional virtue of helping each other in narrow circumstances as the village has been

characterized as blood-relation and geographical community, in which many generation have been living. However, such virtue has been steadily replaced with selfishness and egoism in the course of industrialization and urbanization.

To determine the change of such mutual-help spirit of villagers, two questions were presented, "One should draw one's relatives out of mire. What is your opinion?" and "How do you think of financial dealing without security between intimate friends?"

Table 3-3. Changes in Rural Koreans'
Consciousness

Traditional consciousness		Consciousness under analysis
Familism	Lack of independency	Attitude on risk-taking to seek profit even though it accompanies debt.
	Mutual help	Attitude on helping relatives who are in difficulties.
		Attitude on friends who request loan without mortgage
Tradition- alism	Highly regard Confucian ceremony	Attitude on simplification of Confucian ceremony
	Boy preference	Attitude on family planning practices
Authori- tarianism	Respect for the government over the people	Attitude on officials unjust doings
	Attitudes of male predominance over female	Attitude on woman's role and social participation to village affairs

Table 3-4. Farmers' Willingness to Take
Risk for Income Increase

Categories	Responses		Total
	Male	Female	
-----Person (%)-----			
Agree greatly	785 (21.0)	268 (16.5)	1,053 (10.5)
Agree	2,227 (59.6)	944 (58.3)	3,171 (58.8)
Undecided	317 (8.5)	194 (12.0)	511 (9.5)
Disagree	373 (10.0)	200 (12.3)	573 (10.6)
Disagree greatly	35 (0.9)	14 (0.9)	49 (0.9)
	3,737 (100.0)	1,620 (100.0)	5,357 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 42 persons who did not answer to this question
(35 persons) and sex (7 persons)

Table 3-5 shows that 82.8 percent of male responded "yes" and 6.8 percent "no" and 80.6 percent of female "yes" and 7.3 percent "no" as to the question on helping relatives. As for the financial dealing, 55.5 percent of male gave positive response and 25.9 percent negative response. Female's response was 53.8 and 28.0 percent respectively.

This result means that although villagers have individual selfishness, most of them still do have the traditional virtue of mutual-help spirit. It is also noted in the analysis that villagers have stronger attachment to relatives than to friends.

c. Simplification of Ritual Activities

What is though much of under the traditionalism are courtesy and ceremonies of marriage, funeral, ancestral worship, etc. For spiritual enlightenment of villagers, simplification of the ceremonial events has been stressed through the Saemaul movement.

When asked about the ceremony that should at least save one's face with no shameful preparation, even though it is not in reason to do so, 20.7 percent of male turned out "yes" and 65.0 percent "no" as shown in Table 3-6. In case of female, 21.9 percent was "yes" and 60.4 percent "no".

Table 3-5. Spirits of Mutual-Help

Categories	Helping relatives in difficulties			Loaning to friend without security		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
----- person (%) -----						
Disagree greatly	41 (1.1)	17 (1.0)	58 (1.1)	160 (4.3)	68 (4.2)	228 (4.2)
Disagree	214 (5.7)	103 (6.3)	317 (5.9)	810 (21.6)	386 (23.8)	1,196 (22.3)
Undecided	393 (10.5)	196 (12.0)	589 (10.9)	698 (18.6)	295 (18.2)	993 (18.5)
Agree	2,433 (64.9)	1,055 (64.9)	3,488 (64.9)	1,815 (48.5)	767 (47.4)	2,582 (48.1)
Agree greatly	670 (17.9)	255 (15.7)	925 (17.2)	263 (7.0)	103 (6.4)	366 (6.8)
	3,751 (100.0)	1,626 (100.0)	5,377 ^{1/} (100.0)	3,746 (100.0)	1,619 (100.0)	5,365 ^{2/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 22 persons who did not answer to this question
(15 persons) and Sex (7 persons)

^{2/} Excluded 34 persons who did not answer to this question
(27 persons) and sex (7 persons)

Table 3-6 Opposition to Simplifation of
Confucian Ceremony

Categories	Male	Female	Total
	----- person (%) -----		
Agree greatly	123 (3.3)	61 (3.8)	184 (3.4)
Agree	645 (17.3)	293 (18.1)	938 (17.5)
Undecided	539 (14.4)	286 (17.7)	825 (15.4)
Disagree	1,947 (52.1)	798 (49.4)	2,745 (51.3)
Disagree greatly	484 (12.9)	178 (11.0)	662 (12.4)
Total	3,738 (100.0)	1,616 (100.0)	5,354 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 45 persons who did not answer to this question
(38 persons) and sex (7 persons).

The result shows that villagers still attach importance to ceremonial activities. But they showed positive response to the simplification of the ritual events.

d. Practice of Family Planning

Traditionally, Koreans have thought much of male, saying, "The more son, the better". In recent year, family planning campaign has been launched nationwide by the government in cooperation with public and social organizations and the efforts have been paid off. To review the results of the family planning, the villagers were questioned, "What do you think of the slogan, 'two children irrespective of sex'?"

As shown in Table 3-7, the results are 69.7 to 14.4 percent in case of male and 73.3 to 12.5 percent in case of female showing a tendency that they still favor son. However, it is true that they have an ever-increasing interest in necessity of family planning.

e. Submission to Undue Conduct by Government

Due, among other things, to the Confucian point of view and geopolitical conditions, Koreans have had traditionally a kind of custom to obey government authority even with no

condition. This kind of custom had given a birth to a thought of the government above people, as if people for the government, instead of the government for the people.

This kind of thought has been, however, changed steadily in parallel with the sustained economic development and ensuing promotion of employment situation and under positive government policy to root out any irregular and undue conducts by the administrative office.

"They said that people should take no notice, instead of lodging a protest against, of a undue conduct by the government employees. What is your view?"

As to this question, as shown in Table 3-8, 7.3 percent of male said "yes" and 83 percent "no" and 7.8 percent of female "yes" and 79.3 percent "no".

This result well represents the traditional thought has been changed surprisingly.

Table 3-7 Practice of Family Planning

Categories	Male	Female	Total
	Person(%)		
Agree greatly	864 (23.0)	429 (26.4)	1,293 (24.1)
Agree	1,750 (46.7)	763 (46.9)	2,513 (46.7)
Undecided	594 (15.8)	232 (14.3)	826 (15.4)
Disagree	500 (13.3)	183 (11.3)	683 (12.7)
Disagree greatly	42 (1.1)	19 (1.2)	61 (1.1)
Total	3,750 (100.0)	1,626 (100.0)	5,376 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 23 persons who did not answer to this question (16 persons) and sex (7 persons).

f. Social Participation of Woman

"Wives should follow their husbands". As this proverb says, Korean woman has been restricted in their social activities. They had been almost completely banned from engaging in affairs other than home businesses. In decision-making, women's relation with men had been vertical, rather than horizontal.

But the recent promotion of educational level and the active mass media campaign have changed such situation paving the way for women to play positive role in social, political, economic, academic and other fields.

The change of women's role are well illustrated in Table 3-9 and Table 3-10. As to the question that women should participate in village meeting to express their opinion on the village plan and projects, 89.5 percent of male and 92.7 percent of female have supported the idea, respectively. Those who have opposed to the suggestion accounted for 5.2 percent in male and 2.6 percent in female.

Noted in the analysis is that women shows more positive attitude than men toward their social participation. This also testifies the fact that status of women in rural

region was promoted remarkably in the development process of Rural Saemaul Undong.

The ever-increasing role of women in the rural society could easily see in the Saemaul movement. According to an analysis of the activities of 30 women Saemaul leaders published in the monthly magazine, "Saemaul", between 1974 and 1977, women have participated positively in spiritual enlightenment campaign, income promotion projects and environmental improvement and other Saemaul projects.

As analyzed in Table 3-11, 48.6 percent of the total projects carried out by women Saemaul leaders was spiritual enlightenment drive, 22.4 percent promotion of income and 28.8 percent improvement of environmental situation.

Summarizing briefly the analyses, consciousness of villagers has been changing into a modern-style, which is not blindly modeled after the Western-style.

Consciousness of villagers has been reshaping in the face of industrialization and modernization. However, not a small number of villagers emphasize the traditional customs, practices and thoughts which are considered not desirable.

Table 3-8. Submission to Government Officials'
Undue Conduct

Categories	Male	Female	Total
	Percent(%)		
Agree greatly	60 (1.6)	31 (1.9)	91 (1.7)
Agree	212 (5.7)	95 (5.9)	307 (5.7)
Undecided	362 (9.7)	208 (12.9)	570 (10.7)
Disagree	1,942 (52.2)	885 (54.8)	2,827 (53.0)
Disagree greatly	1,144 (30.8)	396 (24.5)	1,540 (28.9)
Total	3,720 (100.0)	1,625 (100.0)	5,335 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 64 persons who did not answer to this question (57 persons) and to sex (7persons).

Table 3-9. Expressing Woman's Opinion in
Village Meeting

Categories	Male	Female	Total
	- - - - - Person(%) - - - - -		
Agree greatly	1,106 (29.4)	508 (31.1)	1,614 (30.0)
Agree	2,259 (60.1)	1,004 (61.6)	3,263 (60.6)
Undecided	195 (5.2)	76 (4.7)	271 (5.0)
Disagree	181 (4.8)	37 (2.3)	218 (4.0)
Disagree greatly	16 (0.4)	5 (0.3)	21 (0.4)
Total	3,757 (100.0)	1,630 (100.0)	5,387 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 12 persons who did not answer to this question
(5 persons) and sex (7 persons).

Table 3-10. Opposition to Woman's Participation
in Village Affairs

Categories	Male	Female	Total
	person(%)		
Agree greatly	73 (1.9)	21 (1.3)	94 (1.7)
Agree	370 (9.9)	127 (7.8)	497 (9.2)
Undecided	379 (10.1)	141 (8.6)	520 (9.7)
Disagree	2,281 (60.8)	991 (60.9)	3,272 (60.8)
Disagree greatly	648 (17.3)	348 (21.4)	996 (18.5)
Total	3,751 (100.0)	1,628 (100.0)	5,379 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 20 persons who did not answer to this question
(13 persons) and sex (7 persons)

Table 3-11. Woman's Activities in Saemaul Undong

Field of Activity	Content of Activity	No. of Project	
		No.	%
Spiritual enlightenment	Saving movement	22	14.1
	Formation of village fund	30	19.2
	Spirit of mutual help	6	3.8
	Cultivate rational way of life	18	11.5
	Sub Total	76	48.6
Increase farm household income	Building farm infrastructure	8	5.1
	Farm side job	9	5.8
	Productive project	18	11.5
	Sub Total	35	22.4
Village environment improvement	Family environment improvement	9	5.8
	Public facilities	28	17.9
	Village environment improvement	8	5.1
	Sub Total	45	28.8
TOTAL		156	100.0

Source: Saemaul (monthly), Korea Information Service Inc.,
74. 5 - 77. 12.

IV. Formation of Villagers' Democratic Sense

"Saemaul Undong is the practice place of the Korean democracy." This means that Saemaul movement should be a foundation to build up democracy best suit to Korean culture from the grass root level. In other word, villagers should be able to practice democracy through the Saemaul movement.

This chapter deals with the process of democracy development through the Saemaul movement and formation of democratic sense of villagers in the following two areas.

1) What does mean "practice of the Korean democracy," which has been stressed by the Saemaul movement and how has it been practised at the grass root level?

2) How has the democratic sense of villagers been formed and what is the relation between the formation of democratic sense and the matters for practice through the Saemaul movement?

1. Practice of Korean Democracy

To develop a firm foundation of the Korean democracy, it has been emphasized that six points should be practised through the Saemaul movement. The six are:

a. The Saemaul movement should be participated in by all villagers.

male and female shared similar view on this point. Only 9 percent said the minority opinion in opposition has not been discussed at the village meeting.

Table 4-1 Number of Village Meeting per Month

Number	Respondents	
	Person	%
One	1,825	34.0
Two	1,868	34.8
Three	1,028	19.1
Four and Over	517	9.6
None	125	2.3
Total	5,363 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} No response 36 persons are excluded

Table 4-2 shows that 67.5 percent of answerers have participated in all meetings. Female participants showed relatively a smaller number compared with male. However, the survey indicates that most of the villagers have been participating in the villagers' meeting actively.

b. Election of Saemaul Leaders

As shown in Table 4-3, 47 percent of answerers said they have selected Saemaul leaders by popular election and 25.6 percent at the advice of neighbors or some leading village members. Of the total, 5.5 percent said they have selected those who have volunteered as Saemaul leaders. Those who have answered the Saemaul leaders have been selected by some leading village members, irrespective of all villagers' opinion, accounted for 15.4 percent.

In addition, 4.7 percent said the administration authorities concerned have appointed their Saemaul leaders. This reflected the fact that the administration has had a great influence on village activities.

c. Discussion and Opinion Compromise

Table 4-4 and Table 4-5 show that opinion of the minority has been sufficiently respected in village conference. Both

b. Men of respect, ideas and self-sacrifice should be elected Saemaul leaders by villagers themselves.

c. Opinion of every individual should be respected in mapping out village Saemaul projects and the projects should be approved by villagers.

d. Saemaul projects, worked out with a consensus of opinions of and approved by villagers, should be profitable for all villagers.

e. Saemaul projects should be positively carried out in close cooperation among villagers.

f. All incomes should be shared among villagers without discrimination.

2. Implementation of Rural Saemaul Undong

It will be necessary to review how the six points have been practised through the implementation of Saemaul movement.

a. Village Meeting and Villagers' Participation

From a standpoint of democracy, village meeting for discussion on village projects and plans will be of great importance. As shown in Table 4-1, 28.7 percent of answerers said they have had three or four village meetings a month and 68.8 percent one or two meetings. Those who have said they have had no meeting accounted for 2.3 percent.

Table 4-2 Degree of Persent at Village Meeting

Degree of Participations	Respondent		Total
	Male	Female	
Person (%)			
Participated every times	2,687(71.9)	926(57.4)	3,613(67.5)
Participated often	961(25.7)	527(32.7)	1,488(27.8)
A few or no	90(2.4)	161(9.8)	251(4.7)
Total	3,738(100.0)	1,614(100.0)	5,352 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} Excluded 47 persons who did not answer to this question
(21 persons) and to sex (26 persons)

Table 4-4. Discussion of Opposite Opinions
in Village's Meeting

Categories	Respondent		Total
	Male	Female	
	Person (%)		
Discussed well enough	1,225(32.8)	394(24.4)	1,619(30.2)
Discussed fairly well	2,036(54.5)	949(58.8)	2,985(56.8)
Discussed a few	297(7.9)	124(7.7)	421(7.9)
Discussed not at all	72(1.9)	30(1.9)	102(1.9)
Don't know	109(2.9)	117(7.2)	226(4.2)
Total	3,739(100.0)	1,614(100.0)	5,353 ^{1/} (100.0)

^{1/} 46 persons did not respond to this item

As for the conflicting views, 15.2 percent said they have decided by vote, and most of answerers said they have reached to an agreement through further consultations and persuasion, which could be the most desirable way.

It is, however, noted that those who have said the conflicting opinions have been decided by only a few leading villagers exceeded the percentage of majority vote with 26.1 percent.

d. Village Project Selection and Implementation

Table 4-6 and Table 4-7 present the analyses on whether Saemaul projects have been carried out in a democratic way. As to the question whether Saemaul projects were selected by villagers themselves with a consensus or at the instruction of "Gun" and "Myon" administration offices, 56.9 percent replied that they have decided the Saemaul projects.

However, 42.7 percent said most of the Saemaul projects have been selected and implemented at the instruction of the administration offices. This meant that the bulk of the Saemaul projects that have been undertaken in villages has been planned and instructed by the government.

But what is important is whether villagers have welcomed

Table 4-3. The Way of Selecting Village Saemaul Leader

Way of Selection	Respondents	
	Person	%
Nominated by administrative agency	152	4.7
Elected by a few village leaders	494	15.4
Advised by neighborhood	818	25.6
Volunteers	175	5.5
Elected by villagers	1,509	47.1
Others	54	1.7
Total	3,202 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} Excluded 2,197 persons who did not answer to this question (49 persons) and Saemaul leader (2,148 persons)

Table 4-5. Coordination of Conflict Opinions Among Farmers

Methods of Compromise	Respondent	
	person	%
Coordination by some village's leaders	1,396	26.1
Decided by majority vote	311	15.2
Agreement through persuasion	3,062	57.3
No conflict	70	1.3
Total	5,339 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} No response 60 persons are excluded

Analyzing, based on the above criteria, how did villagers think of democracy in dealing with village affairs, average record of the villagers stood at a relatively high 9.16 (standard deviation of 1.98 point), as shown in Table 4-9.

Table 4-7 Degree of Necessity of the Projects

Degree of Necessity	Respondent	
	person	%
Most of them were greatly needed projects	4,136	77.9
Half needed projects and the other half not	1,044	19.7
Most of them were not needed projects	131	2.4
Total	5,311 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} No response 88 persons are excluded

the projects or not, even though the projects were not those selected by villagers themselves. In other words, the point is whether the Saemaul projects which have been fulfilled were those required by the village and desired by villagers. According to Table 4-7, 77.9 percent said that most of the Saemaul projects they have undertaken were those they have long cherished.

Summarizing the above surveys, the Saemaul movement has been launched in a relatively democratic way, although there has been some such undemocratic ways as appointment of Saemaul leaders by the administration authorities and various administrative instructions.

3. Analysis of Villagers' Democratic Sense

The analysis on villagers' sense on democracy was centered on the four subjects; the necessity of discussion, election method of Saemaul leaders, the necessity of village meeting, and the way how to implement projects. The analysis was based on points by marking 3 points on democratic decision, 2 points on neutral way and 1 point on undemocratic way, as seen in Table 4-8.

Table 4-6 Methods of Selection for Saemaul Projects

Methods of Selection	Respondent	
	person	%
Majority by villagers	3,033	56.9
Half agreement and half instructed by administrative agency (Gun or Myun)	1,947	36.6
Instruction by administratives agency (Gun or Myun)	327	6.1
Others	26	0.5
Total	5,333 ^{1/}	100.0

^{1/} No response 66 persons are excluded

Table 4-8 Measure of Farmer's sense on Democracy

Measurement Items	Measurement Index		
	1 point (not democratic)	2 points (Middle)	3 points (democratic)
1. Necessity of village meeting	Unnecessary	Middle	Necessary
2. Necessity of disoussion	Unnecessary	Middle	Necessary
3. Election method of Saemaul leader	Nomination by Administ-rative agency	Volunteer or recom-mendation of villagers	Popular vote
4. Saemaul Leader's attitude	Ignorance of villager's opionion	Respect for decision by a few vill- age leader	Respect for the whole villager's opionion

An interesting fact in Table 4-9 is that no big difference could be found in the degree of democratic sense between general villagers and Saemaul leaders. On the contrary, villagers have a relatively higher degree. Of the total answerers, 62.5 percent, of which 71.4 percent of villagers and 64.2 percent of Saemaul leaders, marked the points ranging from 9 to 12.

For the purpose of analyzing the statistical relations between villagers sense of democracy and actual practices of democratic principles in carrying out village Saemaul projects, the degree of villagers' sense on democracy, which was distributed in Table 4-9, is grouped into three according to average point plus standard deviation.

According to the analysis on relation between the degree of villagers' sense on democracy and the villagers' participation in village meeting, 3.3 percent of those who had high sense on democracy have not participated in the village meeting, whereas 6.4 percent of those who had low sense. Those of the two group who said they have never absented from the village gathering accounted for 29.3 percent and 18.9 percent respectively.

Table 4-10. Classification of Democratic
Consciousness of Farmers

Degree of Democratic Consciousness	Scale Scores	Number of Respondents	Percentage	Classification Criteria
High	11 - 12	1,357	26.0	Mean + S.D.
Middle	8 - 10	2,734	52.5	Middle Range
Low	4 - 7	1,122	21.0	Mean - S.D.
Total	-	5,213 ^{1/}	100.0	

^{1/} Excluded 186 persons who did not answer to this question.

Table 4-9 Distribution of the Index
Democratic Sense

Point	Respondent		Cumulative distribution of responses
	Farmer	Leader Total	
	person (%)		%
4	31(1.0)	19(0.9) 50(1.0)	1.0
5	103(3.3)	45(2.2) 148(2.8)	3.8
6	222(7.1)	127(6.1) 349(6.7)	10.5
7	347(11.0)	228(11.0) 575(11.0)	21.5
8	511(16.2)	323(15.6) 834(16.0)	37.5
9	418(13.3)	272(13.2) 690(13.2)	50.8
10	709(22.5)	501(24.2) 1,210(23.2)	74.0
11	317(10.1)	235(11.4) 552(10.6)	84.6
12	48(1.5)	318(15.4) 805(15.4)	100.0
Total	3,145(100.0)	2,068(100.0) 5,213 ^{1/} (100.0)	
Mean	9.24	9.12 9.16	
S. D.	1.94	2.01 1.98	

^{1/} Excluded 186 persons (106 farmers, 80 leaders) who gave
not answer one question out of 4 questions.

Table 4-11. The Relation Between Democratic
Consciousness of Farmers and the
Degree of Present at Village Meeting

Classification of Democratic Consciousness	Participation in Village Meeting			Total
	Do not Participate	Often	Always Present	
High (11-12)	45 (3.3)	279 (20.6)	1,028 (76.0)	1,352 (100.0)
Middle (8-10)	130 (4.8)	783 (28.7)	1,817 (66.6)	2,730 (100.0)
Low (4-7)	71 (6.4)	382 (34.2)	664 (59.4)	1,117 (100.0)
Total	246 (4.7)	1,444 (27.8)	3,509 (67.5)	5,199 ^{1/} (100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 79.7 \quad df = 4 \quad p = 0.01$$

^{1/} No responses 14 persons are excluded.

The survey represented the fact that the sense of Villagers on democracy had a great impact on participation in village conference. In addition, as shown in Table 4-12, the relation between the degree of democratic sense and the practice of democratic principles other than village meeting participation, showed a statistical significance at a 1 percent level.

The analyses revealed that six Saemaul subjects set for the realization of the Koreanized democracy have played an important role in enlightening the sense on democracy in the course of fulfilling the Saemaul movement. However, further study should be continued to analyze how great influence did they have on the formation of democratic sense of villagers.

Table 4-12. The Results of χ^2 -test Between
Democratic Consciousness
and Democratic Practices

Actual Practices of Democratic Principles	Villagers' Sense of Democracy			
	N ^{2/}	χ^2	d.f	Significance
Number of village meetings per month	5,173	39.2	8	p 0.01
Discussion about minority views	5,201	16.0	4	p 0.01
Patterns of coordination	5,186	32.9	6	p 0.01
Method of project selection	5,156	76.9	4	p 0.01
Priority of project meeting villagers' needs	5,159	18.0	4	p 0.01

^{1/} The items are same with those of democratic implementation.

^{2/} Excluded the nonrespondents to each variables.

In conclusion, it may be said that the points designed to enhance the sense of villagers on democracy through the Saemaul movement have been enforced in a democratic way, contributing, to a considerable degree, to improving villagers' democratic sense. However, this democratic sense was village-level democracy as the analysis has been conducted on village activities.

Village in Korean rural society is firmly organized either geographical or from a tribal point of view and villagers maintain good face-to-face relations, keeping strong "we-feelings" in mind.

In this respect, all village businesses were supposed to have been handled with ease in a democratic way through sufficient discussions with the participation of all villagers. But there was a possibility that the village-level democracy could not develop likewise at the regional-level or national-level.

A similar fact was disclosed by the Dong-A Ilbo, one of the nation's major dailies, in its Nov. 4, 1978 issue. The daily survey on voting behavior and election sense revealed that those who have said blood and native relationship was

important in their selection of a candidate they vote were greater in number in rural region than in urban areas. At the same time, the influence of elder family members was stronger in rural region than in urban areas.

One of the major issues to be further studied will be how deeply will the villagers' sense on democracy be able to help promote regional-level or national-level democracy. In addition, as Dr. Kim Kyung-dong has pointed out,^{1/} the promotion of villagers' sense on democracy from the grass root level is expected to face some conflicts with the highly centralized authoritarian administration, and further systematic study should be conducted on the point.

^{1/} Kim Kyung-Dong, Sociocultural transformation in Rural KOREAN; A Focus on the Human element and Social Organization. Presented at the International Seminar on "Rural Transformation under the Rapid Industrialization in an Open Economy: Policy Issues and Alternative," organized by KREI, Seoul, Korea, November 7-11, 1978.

V. Evaluation of the Role of Saemaul Leaders

One of the key factors that have contributed to pushing successfully ahead with the Saemaul movement could be the efficient role of the Saemaul leaders. The self-sacrificing and pioneer efforts of the Saemaul leaders made them to win respect and trust from villagers, leading the villagers to active participation in various village undertakings.

This chapter will briefly review the appearance and growth of Saemaul leaders, how the role of Saemaul leaders has been appraised by villagers and what kind of Saemaul leaders did villagers want.

1. Saemaul Leaders and Their Social Growth

It was in November 1970 when a National Convention of Special Projects Promoting Farmhousehold Income was held that Saemaul leaders loomed as one of the important elements for the sound and effective rural development.

Taking Ha Sa-yong, a farmer who had reported his self-sacrificing experiences at the convention, for example. Ha's successful undertakings achieved through dynamic, unflinching and painstaking hard works for years, overcoming various

distressing trials and problems, has inspired all the persons present at the session. He was respected as a model of all villagers, who looked for better lives with strong self-help spirit and will.

In parallel with the steady but positive implementation of the Saemaul movement throughout the nation, importance and necessity of able Saemaul leaders were emphasized with much more attention focused. As elaborated in Table 5-1, the monthly briefing session on economic performance, which has been held under the chairmanship of President Park Chung-hee from 1971, has provided a momentum to produce Saemaul leaders.

In 1972, the importance of Saemaul leaders was once again stressed in a speech made by President Park, "Villagers follow a Saemaul leaders who are respectable by villagers. He must be creative, must have a sense of mission, devotion and strong persuasive power. Success of the Saemaul movement depends mainly on such able and efficient Saemaul leaders."

In 1973, two (one male and the other female) Saemaul leaders were selected or appointed in 34,665 "ri" and "dong" administration units throughout the nation.

Table 5-1. Social Appearance of Saemaul Leaders

-
- 1970. 4: President's proposal of "Saemaul Gaggugi Undong" at Provincial Governor's Conference
 - 1970.10: "A Guideline for the Saemaul Gaggugi" was published and educated all Eup, and Myon chiefs by the Ministry of Home Affairs
 - 1970.11: Reporting the successful story of a farmer, Ha Sa-Yong, at the National Convention of Special Projects Promoting Farmhousehold Income, held by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
 - 1971. 6: The beginning of the report of the successful stories by excellent Saemaul leaders directly to the President and awarded by the President at the monthly cabinet meeting on National Economic Situation
 - 1972. 5: President's emphasis on finding and training Saemaul leaders
 - 1972.11: Establishment of "Farmers Training Center"
 - 1973. 3: Revision of the Law of Merit to add the Saemaul Order of Merit
 - 1973. 4: Changing the name "Farmers Training Center" to "Saemaul Leaders' Training Institute"
 - 1974 : A highly efficient and professional education was given to Saemaul leaders with the systematization and institutionalization of Saemaul education
 - 1975 : Various special incentive programs for Saemaul leaders were prepared and practiced
-

It could be said that Saemaul leaders, fully imbued with self-help and pioneer spirit dedicated to the common benefit of the villagers and the community, have played major roles in sustaining the nationwide Saemaul movement. The major attractive incentives for the leaders to spearhead the Saemaul movement could be summarized;

- 1) Reports on their experiences, case presentation and discussion at the Monthly Cabinet Meeting on National Economic Situation

- 2) Education and training of Saemaul leaders

- 3) Saemaul leaders as educators

- 4) Attractive measures to stimulate morale of Saemaul leaders

First, as mentioned previously, Outstanding Saemaul leaders have been given chances to report on his experiences at the monthly economic cabinet meeting, which has been presided by President Park Chung-hee. They have been presented with Saemaul Orders of Merit and other medals, together with support funds in cash, by President Park. After the briefing session, they have had chances to engage in free discussion on the Saemaul movement with President Park over luncheon.

In addition, stories of the exemplary Saemaul leaders have been widely publicized through mass media. All these must have been encouraging signs for the Saemaul leaders to grow with more enthusiasm.

Second, education and training programs of the Saemaul leaders have been expanded not only at the central Suwon Saemaul Leaders' Training Institute but also at the provincial-level training institutes. The central training institute has been putting emphasis on spiritual education and the provincial training institutes on training programs in scientific farming, agricultural machinery, health, house-keeping and family planning.

Especially since 1974, it was a big moral support to the Saemaul leaders that they have trained and educated at the training institutes together with representatives from all walks of life, even including cabinet members.

Third, Saemaul leaders were able to play the role of educators. In another word, Saemaul leaders have taught their knowledge and skills they have built up at the training institutes to the villagers with emphasis on "doing" rather than "talking." Presentation of the experiences of successful Saemaul

leaders was also very effective and persuasive ways to give deep impression on other public, social and Saemaul leaders.

Fourth, the incentive measures taken by the government were successful. The measures included the identification cards issued by the Minister of Home Affairs to Saemaul leaders, free communication post cards, discount of transportation fees, scholarship extended to dependents of Saemaul leaders, priority in receiving the agricultural funds, priority in installing private telephones and promotion to public posts.

Respected and recognized for their active and successful activities, many Saemaul leaders were elected or selected as lawmakers of the Yujong-hoe, chief of the Eup or Myon Agricultural Cooperatives and delegates of the National Conference for Unification.

2. Evaluation of Saemaul Leaders' Role

a. Kinds of Saemaul Leaders' Role

Voluntary and active participation of the villagers is the basic requirement for the Saemaul leaders to play effectively their role. However, many researches pointed out the fact that Saemaul leaders have faced various bottlenecks because of the characteristic points the Korean villages have.

Accordingly, Saemaul leaders should first be able to win wholehearted support from villagers to effectively carry out the village Saemaul projects. Toward the end, the prerequisites Saemaul leaders should do are, first of all, Saemaul leaders should correctly grasp the point the villagers expect and want from themselves.

Secondly, sacrificing efforts should be done to persuade villagers to have cooperative willingness.

Thirdly, when the villagers are ready to cooperative, a decision should be made in a democratic way on what kinds of projects will have to be carried out for common purpose of villagers.

And finally, plans and designs should be mapped out accurately and resources required should be supplied timely and sufficiently to implement the projects without failure.

At the same time, in order to successfully take charge of all affairs from participation of villagers to management after completion, Saemaul leaders should be ready to shoulder all responsibility in all aspects, should report sincerely all process to village meeting and should thoroughly supervise or manage the projects completed.

Concluding the surveys, the role of Saemaul leaders could be summarized, as pointed out by D. Sanderson,^{1/} into five points; spokesman, planner, educator, executive and harmonizer as summarized in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2. Roles of Saemaul Leaders

Role patterns of leader	Roles of Saemaul leaders
Spokesman	Improving relation between officials and rural people
Planner	Helping to initiate projects increasing rural income
Coordinator	Reinforcing solidarity among rural people
Executive	Solving the long-desired problem of village
Educator	Inspiring saemaul spirit to rural people

b. Measurement of Saemaul Leaders' Role

The role of Saemaul leaders are measured through the following complicated five steps. The first step was the selection of villagers subject to analysis. Women's participation

^{1/} Extra questionnaires replied are also analyzed.

in the Saemaul movement has been active, but most of the Saemaul projects have been pushed ahead chiefly by men. On this ground, the analysis was conducted on 1,342 male Saemaul leaders, excluding 806 female leaders from the total 2,148 Saemaul leaders.

The second step was focused on how many villagers have evaluated the role of their village Saemaul leaders, as shown in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3. Ratio Distribution of Saemaul Leaders and Number of Farmers Evaluating Their Leaders

	Ratio of Saemaul leader and number of villagers						Total
	1:1	1:2	1:3	1:4	1:5	1:6	
Number of Saemaul Leaders	282	328	420	40	42	40	1,152
Number of Farmers in Evaluation	282	656	1,260	160	210	240	2,980
Total	564	984	1,680	200	252	280	4,060

The third step was, in an effort to avoid any possible biased view, that the village, in which only one villager has evaluated the role of one village saemaul leader, was excluded

and the village where two or more villagers have appraised the Saemaul leaders' role was included in the survey. As a result, the analysis was made on responses from 2,626 villagers about 870 Saemaul leaders

The fourth step was the points marked according to Saemaul leaders' successful performances as viewed by villagers -- five points for the best and one point for the worst or failure.

Table 5-4. Scores Distribution of the Role Scale of Saemaul Leaders

Scores of Role Scale	Number of Saemaul leaders	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
5 - 7	2	0.2	0.2
8 - 10	3	0.4	0.6
11 - 13	49	5.8	6.4
14 - 16	175	20.9	27.3
17 - 19	345	41.2	68.5
20 - 22	217	28.9	94.4
23 - 25	47	5.6	100.0
Total	838 ^{1/}	100.0	100.0

Mean, 18.0; Standard Deviation, 2.9

^{1/} 32 leaders who received incomplete or no responses from Farmers are excluded from the total 870.

The fifth and last step was the average point calculated by combining the average point given by 2,626 villagers with the average point recorded by village leaders. The figures were rounded off the fractions to one decimal place.

Through the above five steps, the role of Saemaul leaders was measured to give total points up to 25 points for the best and down to 5 points for the worst.

The Saemaul leaders' role, which was measured based on the five points, is shown in Table 5-4. Meanwhile, taking into account the distribution of points of Saemaul leaders' role, average point and standard deviation the degree of Saemaul leaders' role is classified into three groups as seen in Table 5-5.

Table 5-5. Classification of Role Achievement of Saemaul Leaders

Classification of Role Achievement	Scale Scores	Number of Saemaul Leaders	Percentage
High	20-25	264	31.5
Middle	17-19	345	41.2
Low	5-16	229	27.3
Total	-	838	100.0

The analyses testify that the role of Saemaul leaders has been evaluated highly. Those Saemaul leaders who obtained the points ranging from 5 to 10 numbered only five persons. Most of the Saemaul leaders won the average point as high as over 17 points.

A similar high evaluation of the Saemaul leaders' role could be seen in every five subjects used for the measurement. As seen in Table 5-6, an average of 56.5 percent said Saemaul leaders have faithfully executed their role and only 11 percent expressed negative response.

Table 5-6. Villagers' Evaluation of
the Role of Saemaul Leaders

Items of Role Scale of Saemaul Leader	Number of Farmers <u>1/</u>	Degrees of Role Achievement of Saemaul Leaders		
		Good <u>2/</u>	Fair	Poor <u>3/</u>
Reinforcing Solidarity among villagers	person 3,158	% 59.0	% 32.8	% 8.2
Solving the long-desired problem of village	3,140	57.5	30.0	12.5
Improving relation between officials and villagers	3,108	49.4	38.7	11.9
Increasing villagers' Income	3,143	51.1	35.6	13.3
Inspiring Saemaul spirit to villagers	3,150	65.3	25.6	9.1
Average	—	56.5	32.5	11.0

1/ From the total 5,399 respondents, 2,148 Saemaul leaders and no respondents are excluded.

2/ "Good" comprises "Excellent" and "Good".

3/ "Poor" comprises "Very Poor" and "Poor".

c. Factors Affecting Saemaul Leaders' Performance

The analyses indicated a relatively high evaluation of the Saemaul leaders' role in implementing effectively the Saemaul movement. But not a few elements hampering the effective role of Saemaul leaders could be considered.

Generally speaking, method of selecting and planning village project and villagers' cooperativeness with Saemaul leaders show a statistical significance at a 5 percent level. Such result represents that the performance get villagers' support and of Saemaul leaders depends heavily on how do the Saemaul leaders carry out the Saemaul projects for villagers' interests rather than on the personal background of Saemaul leaders.

1. Relation with Way of Establishing village Projects

Table 5-7 shows that the villages whose Saemaul leaders' performance was highly evaluated said their projects established at the instruction of "Gun" and "Moyon" administration offices accounted for only 2.7 percent and the projects planned by Saemaul leaders and approved by villagers accounted for 62.1 percent, whereas the villages whose leaders' performance was poorly appraised accounted for 8.8 percent and

54.9 percent, respectively. The percentages meant that role of Saemaul leaders are closely related with the establishment of village projects with the participation of villagers and the relations showed a statistical significance at 5 percent level.

The fact that village projects have been set up with the full participation of villagers could be viewed possible with the positive cooperation by villagers with Saemaul leaders when Saemaul leaders have made the villagers clearly understood and encouraged the villagers to have a will to do

Table 5-7. Method of Project Selection and Performance of Saemaul Leaders ^{1/}

Performance Saemaul Leaders	Method of Project Selection and Planning			Total
	By the Instructions of Gun-Myon	By Saemaul Leaders with the help of Gun-Myun person(%)	By Saemaul Leaders with the consensus of villagers	
High (20-25)	7 (2.7)	90 (35.2)	159 (62.5)	256(100.0)
Middle(17-19)	8 (2.4)	133 (39.5)	196 (58.2)	337(100.0)
Low (5-6)	20 (8.8)	82 (36.3)	124 (54.8)	226(100.0)
Total	35 (4.3)	305 (37.2)	479 (58.5)	819(100.0) ^{2/}

^{1/} $\chi^2 = 17.2$ $df = 4$ $P < 0.05$

^{2/} No responses (19) are excluded.

Table 5-8. Farmers' Cooperation and Performance of
Saemaul Leaders^{1/}

Performance of Saemaul Leaders	Farmers Cooperation			
	Noncoopera- tive, throughout the Undong	Cooperative at the beginning, but not at the present	Noncoopera- tive at the beginning but a little but coopera- tive at the present	Cooperative, Total throughout the Undong
High(20-25)	8(3.0)	6(2.3)	44(16.7)	93(25.4)
Middle(17-19)	6(1.7)	10(2.9)	97(28.3)	114(33.2)
Low(5-16)	11(4.8)	16(7.1)	74(32.6)	53(23.3)
Total	25(3.0)	32(3.8)	215(25.8)	260(31.2)
				833(100.0) ^{2/}

^{1/} $\chi^2 = 37.1$ $df = 8$ $p < 0.05$

^{2/} No responses (5) are excluded.

2. Relation with Villagers' Cooperation with Saemaul

Leaders

It has already mentioned that cooperation by villagers is a basic requirement for the successful implementation of the Saemaul projects. Table 5-8 well tells the truth. The highly-evaluated Saemaul leaders said 78 percent of their villagers, although some of them was not cooperative at the initial stage, have extended positive cooperation, whereas the poorly-appraised Saemaul leaders said 65.5 percent.

In this relation, the statistical is, even at the same 5 percent level, highly reflected

This testifies that cooperation by villagers is more important than any other factors to help Saemaul leaders perform effectively their role.

3. Saemaul Leaders Desired by Villagers

As briefly mentioned previously, Saemaul leaders desired by villagers are men of idea, ability and action. They must be persuasive and should be equipped with pioneer spirit and trusted and respected by villagers.

The analyses will be centered on ideal type Saemaul leaders required by villagers in such aspects as quality and

background of Saemaul leaders and the kinds of projects to be undertaken.

a. Quality of Saemaul Leaders Desired by Villagers

According to Table 5-9, the most important quality of Saemaul leaders are responsibility and sincerity, followed by self-sacrificing spirit, service and forwardlooking sense.

Table 5-9. Desirable Quality of Saemaul Leaders

Desirable Quality	Respondents		Total
	Farmers	Saemaul Leaders person(%)	
Virtue	93(2.9)	33(1.6)	126(2.4)
Sacrifice and service	852(26.3)	523(24.6)	1,375(25.6)
Sincerity and responsibility	1,315(40.6)	927(43.5)	2,242(41.8)
Insight of future	419(15.2)	316(14.9)	807(15.0)
Bravery and will	245(7.6)	161(7.6)	406(7.6)
Persasive Ability	214(6.6)	141(6.9)	360(6.6)
Others	29(0.9)	22(1.0)	51(1.0)
Total	3,239(100.0)	2,128(100.0)	5,367(100.0) ^{1/}

^{1/} No responses 32 persons (Farmers 12, Saemaul Leaders 20,) are excluded.

This result seems to be something different from the points emphasized under the Saemaul movement. However, considering the fact that the points elaborated in this analysis must be prerequisites for Saemaul leaders to be creative, trusted and respected and have a strong persuasive power, no big difference could be pointed out.

b. Saemaul Leaders' Background Desired by Villagers

As shown in Table 5-10 both villagers and Saemaul villagers alike expressed their hope that Saemaul leaders should be specialized in agricultural techniques and other special fields, not to mention the above mentioned spiritual attitude. The next points the villagers wanted were good relations with the government and high educational backgrounds.

Table 5-10. Desirable Background of
Saemaul Leaders

Desirable Background	Respondents		Total
	Farmers	Saemaul Leaders	
	- - - - person (%) - - - -		
Rich	273(8.5)	238(11.2)	511(9.6)
Good Education	339(10.6)	210(9.9)	549(10.3)
Acquaintance with officials	467(14.6)	251(11.9)	718(13.5)
Good Family background	113(3.4)	86(4.1)	199(3.7)
Knowledge of Agricultural Technology	1,654(51.6)	1,089(51.4)	2,743(51.5)
Others	361(11.3)	244(11.5)	605(11.4)
Total	3,207(100.0)	2,118(100.0)	5,325(100.0) ^{1/}

c. Way of Project Selection and Implementation Desired
by Villagers

As for the way how to push ahead Saemaul projects,
those who have said that the projects should be carried out in
a democratic way by respecting opinions of all villagers, even

^{1/} No responses 74 persons (Farmers 44, Saemaul Leaders 30,) are excluded.

at the cost of slow target achievement topped the others with 46.3 percent of villagers and 49 percent of Saemaul leaders.

Those who have said that the projects should be implemented strongly even though some of the villagers' opinion are ignored and included in the runner-up group.

The analysis reveals that most of the villagers want the democratic way in fulfilling village projects. However, it is noted that a considerable number of vilagers desire a strong, unilateral way.

Table 4-11 Desirable Patterns of Project Implementation of Saemaul Leaders

Patterns of Project Implementation	Respondents		Total
	Farmer	Saemaul Leasers	
	- - - person(%) - - -		-
Based upon villagers' opinions and consensus	1,498(46.3)	1,045(49.0)	2,543(47.4)
Based upon some village leaders's opinions	724(22.4)	490(23.0)	1,214(22.0)
Based upon Saemaul Leaders own judgement	1,011(31.3)	596(27.9)	1,607(30.0)
Others	-	2(0.1)	2(0.0)
Total	3,233(100.0)	2,133(100.0)	5,366(100.0) ^{1/}

^{1/} No responses (Farmers 18, Saemaul Leaders 15, Total 33) are excluded.

VI. Issues for the Development of Rural Saemaul Undong

This chapter deals with problems and issues faced in the course of implementing the Rural Saemaul Undong during the past eight years and villagers' opinions on development direction or improvement direction of the Saemaul movement. This chapter will be supplemented and revised in the final report.

1. Problems in Implementing the Saemaul Undong

According to Table 6-1, the problems pointed out by villagers are, in order of importance, lack of cooperation by villagers, deficient economic capacity of villagers, lack of support and cooperation by authorities concerned and shortage of self-sacrificing and devoted Saemaul leaders.

It should be clearly understood what does mean the "lack of cooperation" which was emphasized by villagers, although further systematic analysis should be conducted on the meanings and types cooperation.

Table 6-1. Problems of Implementing Saemaul Undong

Problems	Respondents		Total
	Farmers	Saemaul Leaders	
	- - - - person(%) - - - -		
Lack of Villagers' Cooperation	1,647(51.2)	988(46.4)	2,635(49.3)
Lack of Villagers' Financial Ability	527(16.4)	424(19.9)	951(17.8)
Lack of Help and Support of Related Governmental Offices	434(13.5)	247(11.5)	681(12.7)
Lack of Sacrificing Leaders	316(9.7)	248(11.6)	564(10.5)
Factionalism in Village	164(5.0)	133(6.2)	297(5.6)
Interruption of Farming Because of Excessive Attending	69(2.1)	44(2.1)	113(2.1)
Lack of Professional Agricultural Leaders	40(1.3)	30(1.4)	70(1.3)
Others	23(0.7)	16(0.8)	39(0.7)
<hr/>			
Total	3,220(100.0)	2,130(100.0)	5,350(100.0)

1/ No responses 49 persons (Farmers 31, Saemaul Leaders 18) are excluded.

At a time when villagers show ever-increasing interests in economic rationalism, awakening from the traditional consciousness of authoritarianism and fatalism, researches should be conducted in detail on "cooperation in modern sense" and what kinds of cooperation the villagers want. In other words, further study should be focused on whether it is the cooperation based on communalism, or cooperation designed for personal interest or cooperation aimed at common village project or cooperation required for such economic activities as joint production, joint utilization and joint purchase and selling.

It is one of the significant points that economic burden of villagers have been increasing in the course of implementing the Saemaul projects, even to the extent of deficient economic capacity in some villages.

This trend would be attributable to the swift of the Saemaul movement from the earlier small-scale environment improvement projects to large-scale village projects. When bright prospects for income promotion of rural households are not forecast, the long-term loans extended by the government to improve or newly construct dwelling units will be a great burden of villagers.

2. Issues Facing the Development of Saemaul Undong

As to the major programs to be carried out with much more emphasis with the positive participation of villagers without interruption, as shown in Table 6.2 income promotion sector topped the list with 36.4 percent, followed by improvement of rural welfare facilities with 27.8 percent, farm mechanization with 14.6 percent and spiritual enlightenment with 10.9 percent. The order of importance of the issues is slightly different between villagers and Saemaul leaders.

It could be concluded that integrated development projects should be continued in rural region through the Saemaul movement and other comprehensive planning and coordinations with emphasis placed on such projects desired by villagers. In other words, priority should be given to projects aimed at boosting income of farm households in order to promote welfare of rural community and to realize farm mechanization. To help increase income of rural households, further systematic research should be conducted in price policy of agricultural products, development of income-generating projects including rural industrialization providing farmers new opportunities to earn off farm income.

Table 6-2. Projects Emphasized in
Future Saemaul Undong

Issues	Respondents		Total
	Farmers	Saemaul Leaders	
	— person (%) —		
Increasing Farm Household Income	1,221(37.7)	738(34.5)	1,959(36.4)
Improvement of Rural Welfare Facilities	881(27.2)	612(28.6)	1,493(27.8)
Farm Mechanization	502(15.5)	283(13.2)	785(14.6)
Spiritual Enlightenment	318(9.8)	269(12.6)	587(10.9)
Village Environmental Improvement	173(5.3)	140(6.5)	313(5.8)
Cooperative Production (Joint Farming)	80(2.5)	50(2.3)	130(2.4)
Rural Savings	51(1.6)	40(1.9)	91(1.7)
Others	11(0.3)	8(0.4)	19(0.4)
Total	3,237(100.0)	2,140(100.0)	5,377(100.0) ^{1/}

^{1/} No responses (Farmers 14, Saemaul Leader 8, Total 22) are excluded.

At the same time, an overall study should be concentrated on the special projects carried out under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to help farmers and fishermen boost their incomes, Saemaul incomeoriented projects and balanced development of cultural and welfare facilities in rural community.

3. Redirection of Rural Saemaul Undong

a. Major Factors Affecting Successful Implementation of the Saemaul Movement

Major elements required to successfully push ahead the Saemaul movement are, according to Table 6-3, able or competent Saemaul leaders, cooperative spirit of villagers and the government supports and supervision, in that order.

The necessity of building up qualified Saemaul leaders is stressed by Saemaul leaders themselves rather than by villagers. In chapter V, a survey indicated that Saemaul leaders desired by villagers were those who were equipped with sincerity and responsibility, together with technology and deep knowledge. The response that Saemaul leaders must be competent men might have stemmed from such viewpoint. However, further

study is required to determine what kind of men do the villagers view as competent Saemaul leaders.

Table 6-3. Factors Affecting the Successful Implementation of Saemaul Undong

Factors	Respondents		Total
	Farmers	Saemaul Leaders	
	person (%)		
Villagers' Cooperation	1,116(36.9)	752(37.7)	1,868(37.2)
Training of Saemaul Leaders	1,146(37.9)	786(39.4)	1,932(38.5)
Government's support and Supervision	541(17.9)	345(17.3)	886(17.6)
Villager's Self-Awakening and Positive Participation	198(6.5)	95(4.8)	293(5.8)
President's Awards and Concern	25(0.8)	18(0.9)	43(0.9)
Total	3,027(100.0)	1,996(100.0)	5,023(100.0)

1/ No responses (Farmers 224, Saemaul Leaders 152, Total 376) are excluded..

b. Government's Support and Intervention

As for the way aimed at effectively carrying out the Saemaul movement, as seen in Table 6-4, 81.4 percent said that positive intervention by the government was required.

Table 6-4. Desirable Direction of Efficient Implementation of Saemaul Undong

Desirable Direction	Respondents		Total
	Farmers	Saemaul Leaders	
	person (%)		
Villagers Only	269(8.3)	172(8.1)	441(8.2)
Government's Positive Intervention	2,605(80.7)	1,756(82.5)	4,361(81.4)
Good as It is	320(9.8)	177(8.3)	497(9.3)
Don't Know	34(1.0)	24(1.1)	58(1.1)
Total	3,228(100.0)	2,129(100.0)	5,357(100.0) ^{1/}

^{1/} No responses (Farmers 23, Saemaul Leaders 19, Total 42) are excluded.

Only 8.2 percent supported the way of Carrying Saemaul Undong by villagers only. The survey represented the fact that most of villagers called for positive supports and intervention by the government to implement Saemaul movement successfully.

In a way, such response could be interpreted as an expression on the necessity of the government's supports, as the Saemaul movement is developing in a high-income and highly-advanced welfare society from small-scale into large-scale projects, thus demanding for more capital investments. However, nothing the fact that the atmosphere and situation capable of propelling the Saemaul movement by villagers themselves as planned without the government's supports and incentive measures are desirable at the earliest possible date, further study should be concentrated on the extent of the government's intervention hoped by villagers.

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