

A MODEL COMPARISON BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND THE RURAL SAEMAUL UNDONG IN KOREA

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I. Introduction

Korea experienced two different models of rural development in two different decades: the Community Development in the 1960s; and the Rural Saemaul Undong in the 1970s. The Community Development(CD) program was introduced into Korea in 1958 by the Korean government to rehabilitate rural economy and to reconstruct the nation which was severely damaged by the Korean War. The CD program was conducted under the Ministry of Reconstruction¹ as a pilot program until the program was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1961. The program finally was amalgamated to agricultural extension and research programs when the Office of Rural Development was established in 1962 under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The CD program continued as a representing community development program in Korea until the program was observed to the programs of the Rural Saemaul Undong in 1973(ORD 1979, 15-317).

The Rural Saemaul Undong(RSU)² was initiated by the late President Park, Chung-Hee in 1971. It was a nationwide rural development movement conducted intensively under the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is a general evaluation that the RSU has been contributed significantly to the development of rural infrastructure building, income increase, and to national building. One of the distinctive characteristics of the RSU is that the program has launched without any defined model or theoretical back-

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¹ The Ministry of Reconstruction was re-organized to the Ministry of Construction in 1961.

² After the proclamation of Saemaul Undong in 1971, the Undong reached every corner of the nation such as to cities, factories, trading companies ... etc. From this point of view, the RSU, which considered the proto-type of the Saemaul Undong, must be distinguished from the general Saemaul Undong for the purpose of this study. Thus, the time span of this study is mainly from 1971 to 1979. For further information of the RSU, refer to Choe(1978), and Whang(1980).

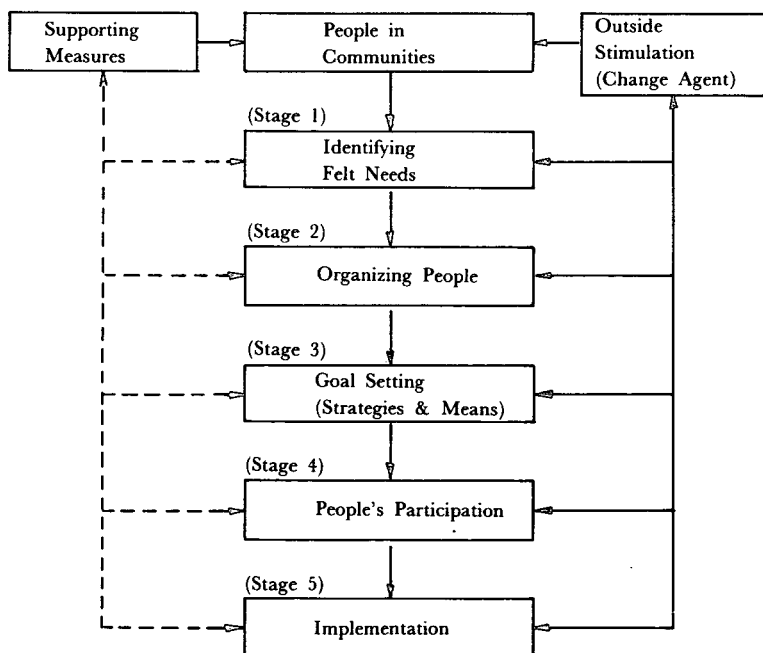
ground, but the model and theory were specified in the process of implementation (Choe 1978, 1).

However, the RSU has some similarities with the CD model in its goal, strategies, and means, while there are some distinctive elements (Kim and Kim 1980, 575–577). This study aims to identify the key elements characterizing the RSU as a Korean model of rural development through comparing and contrasting the goals, strategies, the means, and other key elements of the two models. The study will use the CD model defined by the United Nations and the RSU model conceptualized by the Ministry of Home Affairs primarily; however, the other definitions and concepts made by other organizations, scholars and experts will be used for the purpose of comparison.

II. Conceptual Framework for a Community Development

Any conscious human action, whether it is a private or social, is made under the given value system, perceiving goal/or goals which require particular strategies and means. When an action is made for communal purpose, the action must be a community action. The community action,

DIAGRAM 1 Conceptual Model for Community Development



therefore, is the collective will of the people in the community who identify the action as their common interests.

A community action is made by five stages: 1) rising common interests in discussions among neighbors or leaders of voluntary associations, or by the stimulation of an outside change agent; 2) organizing the people in a large scale to 'get the ball rolling'; 3) goal setting and mapping out specific strategies and means by which these goals may be achieved; 4) maintaining participation of the people to the organization voluntarily; and 5) carrying out the activity which represent goal achievement (Kaufman 1959, 9-17). When the community action is initiated in a planned program for communal purpose either by the community itself independently or with the help of the government authorities, the action program becomes a community development program which perceives the will of development by the community people. A community development program have the five stages of community action as illustrated in diagram 1.

The conceptual model of community development has three important factors: the people of community who are the subject of the development; the change agent who bring changes in attitude of the people in community and bring innovations; and supporting measures which facilitate the community development program at the community level. Among the three, the people of community is the most important factor because the people are the subject bringing the community actions; identifying felt needs; organizing themselves; setting goals, strategies and means; participation to the organization; and implementing the actions.

The key elements of the CD and the RSU will be compared each other within the conceptual model of community development. Some key elements to be used for comparison are as follows:

- 1) Goals; the ultimate and immediate goals of the two models.
- 2) Strategies; strategies to generate felt needs of the people, to participate to the program, and to bringing better result of the program.
- 3) Means; the major projects to meet the goals, and financing methods.
- 4) Organizational mechanism; the organizational mechanism to tackle the community problems, and people's participation to the organization.
- 5) Change agent; the role of change agent, and change agent system.
- 6) Implementation mechanism; the implementation mechanism to execute the program.
- 7) Supporting measures; supporting measures to facilitate the community development at the community level.

III. Model Comparison

1. Goals

The term, Community Development was defined by the Economic and Social Council, U.N. in 1956 as "the efforts of the people themselves as united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, and to enable to contribute fully to national progress" (ICA 1956, 7).

ICA defined the term in more detail than the U.N. definition as "a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems; execute these plans with a maximum reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community" (Miniclier 1956, 1).

The CD program emphasizes organized group actions to solve their problems by themselves with the minimum services and materials from outside the community. The program also stresses the united efforts of people in the community with the governmental authorities to contribute to national development. When the CD program was introduced into Korea, the Korean government followed the ICA definition in general to execute the program. However, the Korean government's definition was added by "group and individual plans and actions to improve their level of living conditions."

The CD program aims to bring betterment in the economic, social and cultural conditions of individual and community which will eventually contribute to the national development. More specifically, the objectives of the CD program are "to help people find methods to organize self-help programs and to furnish the techniques for cooperative action on plans which the local people develop to improve their own circumstances" (ICA 1956, 3). Miniclier argues that the CD program aims to bring changes in human attitudes to create self-confidence and to respect for the individual and faith in government. Miniclier further insists that the CD program provides experience and skill in democratic procedures from which democratic local government and a responsible electorate flows (Miniclier 1956, 2).

Saemaul Undong was defined in several ways: a practicing ground for the manifestation of the "October Revitalization"³ ideology and for the democracy (Park 1973, 262); a new community movement in which people

³ The October Revitalization was a political reformation in October 1972 in Korea.

co-operate in order to build better and richer village and, as a consequence, a richer and stronger nation(Lee and pierre 1981, 587); a nationwide social movement, which requires a large scale mobilization of institutional manpower, and technical resources and instruments from every sector of the country(Whang 1980, 605); a practical manifestation of a high level of political consciousness which transcends the immediate maintenance of the political power and influence(Hahn 1981, 104). The term, the RSU could be defined as a rural development movements to bring spiritual enlightenment and betterment of living conditions of people and rural community in the ways of self-help and cooperation with the political consciousness of national building.

The government defines the goals of the RSU are to increase farm household income to improve the rural living environments and infrastructure building, and to improve the agricultural technologies through the enlightening the Saemaul spirits the so-called diligence, self-help and cooperation(MHA 1980, 209). Choe argues that "the RSU attempts to develop the agricultural-rural part of the nation by enlightening the rural Korean's self-confidence in relation to improve his own living environment and to increase his income"(Choe 1978, 1). Whang insists that the RSU is a "Korean version of rural development in light of its major inputs, process, results and impact"(Whang 1983, 21). The ultimate goal of the RSU is to build a strong nation. The immediate goals of the RSU are to increase farm household income, to improve agricultural technologies. The RSU also stresses the importance of spiritual enlightenment for changing the attitude of people, creating a self-confidence and willingness, and for practicing democratic procedures.

Both development models pursue a strong national building as an ultimate goal. The immediate goals are the improvement of the economic, social and cultural conditions of the individual and the community. Both models intend to change the attitudes of people, create self-confidence and practice democratic procedures.

2. Strategies

A. Top-Down or Bottom-Up

The basic hypothesis on the top-down development paradigm are:(1) development can be generated only by a few selected agents;(2) the rest people are considered incapable of initiatives in making improvements;(3) these few agents are able and willing to allow all others to participate in this development within a reasonable time-span and on a reasonably equal basis. Otherwise, the bottom-up development paradigm hypothesizes that the full development of a region's natural resources and human skills must be initiated by the people in communities for the satisfaction in equal

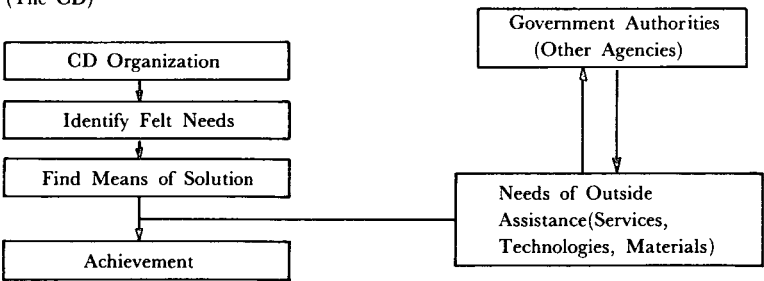
measure of the basic needs of all strata of the population in the region (Stohr 1981, 41-44).

The most distinctive characteristic of the CD program is bottom-up approach: people's participation in the process of decision making and execution voluntarily based on community interest. The CD program idealizes that people should identify their problems by themselves and find the solutions in the same way. People will not participate in the program unless the program is need to them, in other words, unless they are getting what they want.

Community organization is important because the felt needs of the people are solidified through the process of organization. The people in community are better able to pursue the interests which they have in common through organizational process. The role of the CD program assists the people to identify the felt needs and to judge to satisfy them(ICA 1956, 11). Once the people identify the problems, government may provide services and materials to assist them to satisfy the problems. The CD program considers that the formulation of rigid criteria or stereotyped models are inappropriate to solve local problems.

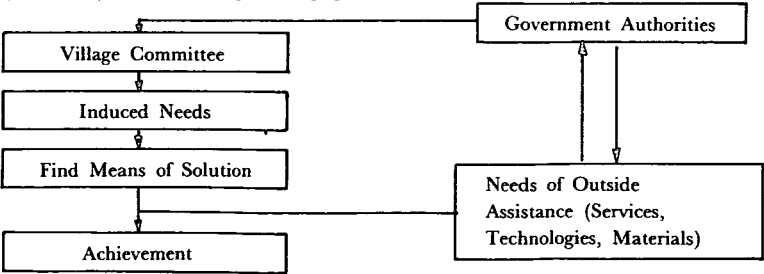
DIAGRAM 2 **The Process of Identifying Needs and Solution**

(The CD)



(The RSU)

(providing guidance & materials)



The RSU, differently from the CD program, takes top-down approach. However, the top-down approach of the RSU is rather unique because it is used when "mobilizing government machineries to build the basic foundation necessary for the bottom-up approach to be put into effect"(Choe 1978, 1). Choe argues that although the highly centralized government exercised its enormous power and energy to plan, control, support, coordinate and supervise the progress of the RSU, "the rural people were encouraged and trained to elect their leaders, and select and plan projects to meet their urgent needs in a democratic way"(Choe 1978, 2).

Government authorities provide the RSU program guideline to each village every year with a minimum subsidy. When these inducements reach each village committees, there arise induced needs among the villagers. The peoples participate meeting voluntarilly to make decisions to where the subsidized materials be used and how. They select projects what they want and make action plans for execution. If there are any needs what the villagers want from the government side for the project execution, the villagers request the government to provide such needs as services, technologies, materials and finance.

In development paradigm, the RSU and the CD are taking different approach: top-down approach for the RSU, bottom-up approach for the CD. However, the top-down approach of the RSU is different from the general hypothesis of the top-down development paradigm. Even it is true that the RSU is intensively directed, coordinated and supervised by government, it also takes the philosophy of bottom-up approach for the grass-root level to solve the community problems to a certain extent.

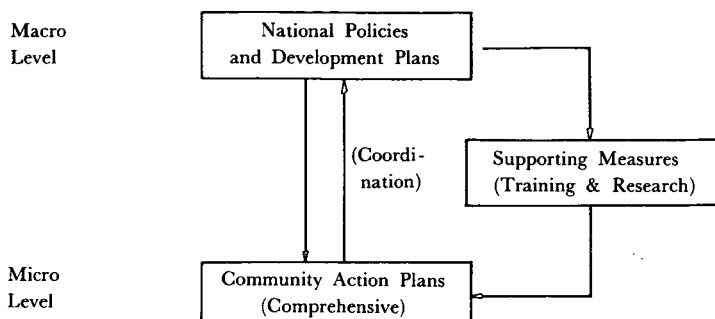
B. Integrated Approach

Integrated approach in rural community development means the vertical and horizontal integration at the community level. Vertical integration means the coordination between micro and macro level development plans while the horizontal integration means the inter-sectoral coordination at the community level.

The community development can be divided into three groups: direct measures, micro level community action program; supporting measures, training and research activities to facilitate direct measures; over-all development measures, macro level national plans(ICA 1956, 17)

The CD program is implemented in an integrated rather than an isolated way. The concept of integrated approach perceived by the CD means not only the comprehensive development programs but also the complementary coordination of the three types of community development activities—derect measures, supporting measures, and over-all development measures—in both territorial and national plans. In other words, the mean-

DIAGRAM 3. The Concept of Integrated Approach



ing of integration is to coordinate the micro level community development programs with the macro level national development policies. Without successful coordination with supporting measures and over-all development measures, the goals of direct measures in village community level may not be achieved.

The RSU is often called as an Integrated Rural Development since it includes those programs of economic, social and cultural development in a close relationship between village community and government authorities, and also between local community and central government.

As the CD program in principle was an integrated approach, the RSU is also an integrated one. However, the CD and the RSU did not fully exercised the integrated approach because the inter-sectoral integration was poorly organized. Even in the vertical coordination, the CD was not strongly integrated as the RSU which was intensively coordinated by the government(Choe 1978, 38-40; Whang 1983, 118-121; Kim and Kim 1980, 578).

3. Means

The varieties of projects were introduced to develop rural communities under the CD program. The CD in Korea followed the suggestion of the United Nations suggestion but extended in more detail as Table 7 shows. Most projects were carried out by self-help; however, the projects which were large scale, and required to large amount of investments and modern technologies were requested be subsidized by government.

The RSU followed the same principles as the CD. When the President Park initiated the RSU in 1971, the 335 bags of cement were distributed to each 33,267 villages to use the material for village environment improvement and infrastructure building programs such as village road expansion, small stream control, reservoir mending, common facilities for washing, water well, etc.

TABLE List of the CD Activities in Korea, 1958-61

Areas	Varieties of projects
Agriculture	demonstration plot, collective rice cultivation, food storage, improvement land and irrigation system, preparing manure, ... etc.
Livestock	prevention of animal diseases, building animal barn, animal husbandry, ... etc.
Forestry	forestration, slopeland reclamation, range development, etc.
Education	agricultural extension, adult education, literacy teaching, lecture meeting for special topics, ... etc.
Farm organizations	village library club, 4-H club, youth club, cooperatives, women's club, farmer's club, ... etc.
Home economics	book keeping, cooking, embroidery, clothing, child care, ... etc.
Housing	kitchen improvement, toilet improvement, roof improvement, modern housing, ... etc.
Civil engineering	farm and village road expansion, bridge construction, dike and reservoir construction, irrigation system, dock construction, ... etc.
Health & sanitation	drinking water supply, drainage system, environment preservation, rodent control, etc.

Source: Condensed from ORD 1979, 304-305.

TABLE 2 The RSU Activities, 1971 - 79

	Initiation Year	Varieties of Activities
Village Cultivation	1971	improving roof, fence, kitchen, water well; expansion village road, farm road; river control; bridge construction; farm land drainage; village hall; water supply and drainage system, village barn, childrens play ground, ... etc.
Village Structure Development	1976	rearrangement of farm house, village common facilities, village road, farm road; infrastructure building; income projects, ... etc.

Source: Condensed from MHA (1980).

The RSU launched a village structure development project since 1976; however, it was not the indigenous one to the RSU. The CD constructed a modern rural village at Jongchon, Chonwon-Gun, Chungchongnam-Do in 1970 with a view to demonstrate a modern rural village which was designed to meet the changing functions of rural community. Jongchon village was evaluated as the origin of rural village restructuring project in Korea in a modern sense (ORD 1979, 324).

Both programs were subsidized by the government. Table 3 shows that the government financial proportions of the two programs are almost same even the RSU shares more proportion than the CD. The development projects of the RSU as well as the financing method were strongly influenced by the action program of the CD established in the 1960s.

TABLE 3 Comparison of Financial Proportion between Villagers and Government

	Duration	Number of project *	Financial proportion (%)		
			Villagers	Government	Total
CD	1958-61	1,271	55.8	44.2	100.0
RSU	1971-81	15,446	49.1	50.9	100.0

* The CD only accounts the projects subsidized from the government while the RSU includes all the projects carried out under the RSU program.

Source: Reconstructed from ORD(1979), and MHA(1982).

4. Organizational Mechanism

A. Territorial Unit for Community Organization

Village in an agrarian rural society is viewed as an integrated territory of the economic, social and cultural space. It is also an important administration unit. Since the people in a village share common cultural identity and common interests, they organize themselves to identify common problems and to tackle the issues together. Collective actions and group efforts in the rural village are common. Village community, therefore, accommodates various functional groups in socio-economic and cultural fields.

People's organization and voluntary participation are the two essential elements of the CD program. If territorial area is wide, the CD principle argues, there must be difficulties in people's participation and organization. The CD program is concerned mainly with village community because it is already a unit of group action and the people can easily identify their problems and can take group actions easily to solve the problems.

The RSU takes rural village as a basic territorial unit too. Each village establishes development plans based on the economic, social and cultural heritages of the village. The RSU uses the Village Development Committee(VDC) which was already organized when the RSU introduced. The VDC is a representative committee of the village composing of important functionary group leaders of the village. Important decision makings, however, are made in the general village meeting. Both models use the village as a basic organizational unit because the village is already a community organization throughout the Korean history.

B. Organizational Mechanism as a National Program

The CD⁴ was a pilot program executed over 2,137 villages in 1961. The program was conducted under the Ministry of Reconstruction and each

⁴ For research purpose, the time span of the CD program in this section is set between 1958-61.

provinces and counties had administrative departments to handle the program. The National Committee for Community Development(NCCD) organized under the Ministry of Reconstruction to coordinate the CD program and to support the program among Ministries. The chairman of the NCCD was the Minister of Reconstruction and the committee members were Assistant Ministers of the related Ministries: Ministry of Home Affairs; Agriculture and Forestry; Education; Health and Social Affairs; and Reconstruction. Under the NCCD, there was Secretarial Council, which handled the practical administrative matters. The Secretary of the Secretarial Council was to economic planning officer of the Ministry of Reconstruction

Each provinces has a Provincial Committee for Community Development(PCCD) which function was similar to the NCCD. The provincial governor was the chairman of the PCCD and the PCCD members were composed of the directors of each bureaus of provincial office, the Director of Provincial Agricultural Institute, and other respectable persons of the province. Each county also had a County Committee for Community Development(CCCD) and the committee members were composed of the directors of division of county office, the chief of pilot township, the chief of the related government organizations, the chief of farm organizations, and the CD workers. The chairman of the CCCD was the county chief.

The RSU as a nationwide program includes all rural villages. The rural villages are classified into three: underdeveloped; developing; and developed. According to this classification, the government guidance toward the villages is different. The RSU takes the 'assisting the successful village first' strategy to spread the demonstration effects to neighboring villages by assisting the successful village intensively. Therefore, the developed villages often are put under this strategy so the rest villages may learn the development benefits from the developed villages.

The RSU is conducted under the Ministry of Home Affairs(MHA), which implementation machinery is more intensive, efficient and more authoritative than the CD. Under the MHA, there is the National Saemaul Consultative Council(NSCC) which chairmanship is taken by the Minister of the MHA. The member of the NSCC composes of Assistant Ministers of the related Ministries and the Directors of the related government and non-government organizations. The function of the NSCC is to support the grass-root level Saemaul Undong and to coordinate them among Ministries.

Each provinces, cities/counties, and townships organizes Saemaul Consultative Council: the Provincial Saemaul Consultative Council(PSCC); the City/county Saemaul Consultative Council(CSCC); and the Township Saemaul Consultative Council(TSCC). These councils function similarly to the NSCC. In other way, Saemaul leaders organize own council at various government levels: township level, city and county level, porvincial level

and national level. These Saemaul Leaders Councils function to communicate between Saemaul leaders and government authorities at various levels to facilitate the Saemaul program at the grass-root level.

5. Change Agents

It is desirable that the desires for changes and the needs for development are felt by the people themselves at the community, and actions to be tackled are made spontaneously. However, the desires and needs in most cases are felt by a few innovators, whether they are villagers or professionals from outside. Change agent, therefore, is needed to bring changes in attitude of the people, to develop needs for change, and to diagnose the community problems and help the people to solve the problems.

The CD workers, the change agents, were exogenous professionals. They were college educated and received pre-service training. The CD workers performed several roles: helping the people to identify community problems; helping the people to find the problem solving methods; introducing innovations; supervising the program implementation; and linking the community to government authority for better communication (ORD 1979, 302). From 2 to 4 villages were assigned to each CD worker for a service area and they stationed with villagers at the key village among the service areas.

DIAGRAM 4 The Change Agent of the CD (Mono - Track System)

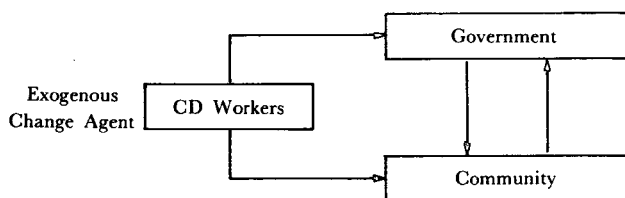
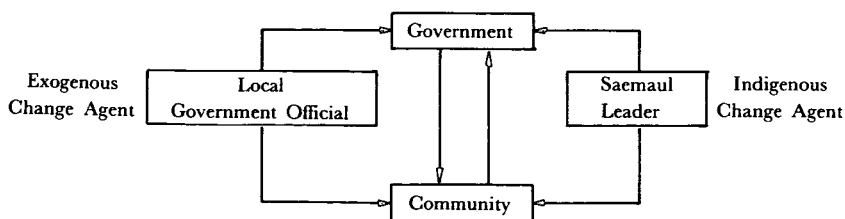


DIAGRAM 5 The Change Agent of the RSU (Double - Track System)



The RSU takes double-track change agent system: Saemaul leader, an indigenous change agent; and local government official, an exogenous change agent. Every village elects Saemaul leader, who must be recognized by the local government. Saemaul leader has five major roles: the initiator, the executor, the educator, the advocator, and the coordinator (Whang 1983, 72-79). Local government officials assigned each village to perform the role of exogenous change agent. These exogenous change agents acted as message deliverers from both side and supervisors for the RSU performance at the village level.

Change agent must be set off his profession by his clients. Similarly a Saemaul leader must be recognized his profession and authority by his villagers. Saemaul leaders, therefore, were trained at the Saemaul Training Institute for enlightenment of Saemaul spirits, leadership building, and professional technologies in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, etc. To improve Saemaul leaders social status, government issues identification (ID) cards which guarantee some fringe benefits and social welfare. Some devices are made to enhance Saemaul leader's morale, authority and social recognition. Saemaul leaders are invited to important community meetings and given to play an important role. Saemaul medals are granted to the Saemaul leaders by the President regularly who showed outstanding performances.

The change agent system in the RSU is different from the CD. The RSU takes the double-track change agent system while the CD takes the mono-track change agent system. However, the role of Saemaul leader and the CD worker is similar.

6. Implementation Mechanism

The driving force of the CD program comes from people's organization and voluntary participation. The voluntary organization and participation are possible when the people in community feel common needs. All the important decisions of the community are made in the Community Development Committee (CDC). The role of the CD worker is to assist CDC members in the process of finding needs, identifying problems and finding problem solving methods.

Once the CDC identifies needs or problems, planning process follows. The CDC distinguishes self-help projects from the projects needed outside subsidies. Self-help projects are executed immediately, while the projects requiring government subsidies are sent to the relevant government authorities with the CDC proposals for grants. When government approved the CDC proposals, the projects are executed with government subsidies.

Since the RSU is initiated by subsidized materials, cement and reinforcing steel, the primary force of the RSU comes from the government initiation. Once the needs for development are induced among villagers by the government initiation, then the inducement is followed by other dyna-

mic procedures: project planning and project implementation. Saemaul leader performs significant role in these processes. He is responsible to motivate people to make plans and to execute them. Even the basic direction and goals of the RSU are set by the central government, the village community proceeds the RSU projects in democratic ways. Project selections, project planning and execution are made through discussions and voluntary participation by the people in the community.

The role of a local government official who assigned a specific village is also important. He roles as a linker between community and government, and performs technical and administrative support. The supervision of the RSU projects is primarily his responsibility. The Saemaul leader and the government official evaluate the project, and the evaluation is reflected on the next stages of programs.

While the driving force of the CD program comes from the CD organization and the voluntary participation, the primary force of the RSU is generated from the government initiation which induces the people's development needs. The double-track change agent system is efficiently used in the RSU than the mono-track change agent system in the CD program. However, the CD program has wider choices of project selection, problem solving methods than the RSU which is limited to a certain areas.

7. Supporting Measures

Training and education are the important elements of the CD program because of the vital role of human factors in the process of community development. U.N. categorizes the personnel to be trained into five: political and administrative leaders; professional and technical personnel; specialized auxiliary workers; multi-purpose or generalist; village level workers; and voluntary community leaders and workers (ICA 1956, 14). The United Nations elaborates the contents of training to "the special" consisting of skills in the various subject matters, and to "the general" realting to mental attitudes and to broad methods and techniques of education and of organizations.

TABLE 4 Training Course and Target Group of the RSU

Course	Target group
1. Saemaul education and training	
○ Saemaul spirits training	— Saemaul leaders
○ Agricultural training	— General farmers, youth club members
○ Special saemaul training	— Backward villagers in RSU performance
2. Saemaul spirits enlightenment	— Rural women
	— Village library club members
	— University students
	— Saemaul credit union members

Source: MHA (1980).

TABLE 5 Saemaul Training, 1972-81

Target groups	Unit: 1000 persons
Saemaul leaders	822.9
Government officers	334.6
Social leaders	311.0
Youth leaders	8.6
Others	10.6
Total	1,487.7

Source: MHA (1982).

The training in the CD program in Koera mainly focused to the CD workers who work at the grass-root village level. The CD workers were trained for five months in the fields of leadership building, human engineering, and other necessary technical skills. The training of volunteer leaders and farmers left to the responsibility of the CD workers. Generally speaking, the CD program in the 1950s did emphasize the training and education for both the CD workers and the village level volunteer leaders as it is suggested by the U.N. guideline.

The RSU in the 1970s, however, strongly emphasized the training and education for Saemaul leaders and other social groups to enlighten the Saemaul spirits, leadership building and to diffuse modern agricultural technologies. Saemaul Training Institute was established in 1972 to train Saemaul leaders, government officials, farmers, social leaders, youth and others. The greatest emphasis of Saemaul training was given to the spiritual and attitudinal change, and leadership building. From 1972 to 1981, almost 1.5 million people were trained at the Saemaul Training Institutes.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the Saemaul training is the mixture-client training method, meaning that the trainees are composed with mixtures of Saemaul leaders, farmers, women leaders, high ranking government officials such as cabinet ministers, and even the president of trading companies. Therefore, each groups of trainees can understand other groups better through discussions and physical contact.

IV. Conclusion

The ultimate goals of the two models are same: a strong national building. The economic, social and cultural development of individual and communities are identified as the immediate goals of the two models which will eventually contribute to national development. Both models intend to bring changes in attitude of people and to create self-confidence. Both models argue that the models are the practicing ground of democracy. However, the goal of the RSU is more politically oriented and the RSU stresses the spiritual enlightenment to strengthen the driving force of goal attainment.

The RSU adopts the top-down approach while the CD idealizes the bottom-up approach. However, the RSU developed a unique top-down approach by adopting the bottom-up strategy at the grass root level for strengthening the people's participation voluntarily.

Both models adopt the integrated approach: integration between macro and micro level development plans; or integration the direct measures, supporting measures, and over-all development measures. The RSU program at the community level was strongly supported by the national government in the 1970s while the CD at the community level was lack of those supports.

The means of the RSU, in general, followed the principles of the means of the CD action program. The project areas of the RSU as well as the financing methods are similar to the CD program which was established in the 1960s.

Both models concentrate the development programs on village communities since the models perceive the village as a unit for group actions. The CD organized the Community Development Committee(CDC) at village while the RSU used the Village Development Committee(VDC), which is pre-existed to the RSU and has the same function as the CDC, as a basic organization for the program.

The two models are different in change agent system: the mono-track change agent system for the CD; the double-track change agent system for the RSU. However, the two models are same in the role of change agents even they are different only by the exogeneity and indiginity. The authority and social status of Saemaul leaders are recognized intentionally by the government. The double-track change agent system of the RSU seems the reflection of centralized political culture.

The CD in Korea was a pilot program while the RSU was a nationwide rural development program. The CD intends to diffuse the demonstration effects to neighboring villages by developing the villages intensively while the RSU takes the "assisting the successful village first" strategy to spread the demonstration effects of the successful village to neighboring villages. An intensive assisting the successful villages, developed villages, will lead the rest villages to learn the benefits of development from the successful villages.

Basically, the two models are same in their implementation machineries. The differences between the two are the intensity and thoroughness. In the functional mechanism, the RSU relied greatly upon the government roles—ignition of the programs, moral and material supports and intensive supervision—while the CD relied greatly upon the villagers themselves.

Training and education are the important elements of the two models; however, the CD did not concentrated its efforts on training as much as

the RSU, while the RSU strongly emphasized the training for bringing changes in attitude and spiritual enlightenment of people. Both models have same principles and contents for training and education. The mixture-client training method—the mass line training method—of the RSU is different from the CD. The mixture-client training is evaluated as a successful training method to understand better the other groups of people in a society through physical contacts and discussions.

In a conclusion, the CD was the basic model for the RSU. However, the RSU didn't copy the CD model but modified it to fit to the political and cultural milieu of the Korean society. Some components could be indentified as indigenous elements of the RSU : Saemaul spirits; cooperation and self-help tradition; top-down approach adopting bottom-up strategies; intensive government supervision; authoritative leadership; double-track change agent system; assisting the successful village first strategy; mixture-client training method; ... etc. With these indigenous elements, the RSU could be a Korean model of rural development.

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