

SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT'S ROLES IN
SUPPORTING WOMEN'S STATUS THROUGH THE SAEMAUL UNDONG PROJECT

Miss Pichayapa Deethonglang



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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บทบาทของภาครัฐบาลเกาหลีใต้ในการสนับสนุนสถานะสตรีผ่านโครงการเซมาอีลอุנדง



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

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By	Miss Pichayapa Deethonglang
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Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial
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..... Dean of the Graduate School
(Associate Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman
(Associate Professor Buddhagarn Rutchatorn, Ph.D.)

..... Thesis Advisor
(Saikaew Thipakorn, Ph.D.)

..... Examiner
(Professor Tae Gyun Park, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner
(Assistant Professor Kitti Prasirtsuk, Ph.D.)

พิชยาภา ดีทองกลาง : บทบาทของภาครัฐบาลเกาหลีใต้ในการสนับสนุนสถานะสตรีผ่านโครงการเซมาอีลอนดง (SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT'S ROLES INSUPPORTING WOMEN'S STATUS THROUGH THE SAEMAUL UNDONG PROJECT) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ดร. ทราญแก้ว ทิพากร, 87 หน้า.

สังคมเกาหลีได้รับอิทธิพลของแนวคิดขงจื้อซึ่งทำให้บทบาทของสตรีถูกจำกัดอยู่เพียงแต่ภายในครัวเรือนและไม่ได้รับการยอมรับจากหน่วยสังคมอื่นๆเป็นเวลานานแล้ว อย่างไรก็ตาม นับตั้งแต่มาตรฐานของชีวิตความเป็นอยู่อันเกิดขึ้นจากการพัฒนาภาคอุตสาหกรรมและกระแสความทันสมัยในช่วงพ.ศ.2503- 2512 ได้ผลักดันสตรีชนบทให้เกิดสำนึกความรับผิดชอบต่อรายได้ของครัวเรือนขึ้น สตรีส่วนใหญ่จึงช่วยเหลือครอบครัวของตนโดยการย้ายถิ่นฐานไปทำงานที่โรงงานในเมืองและได้รับการศึกษา บทบาททางเศรษฐกิจและสังคมของสตรีจึงเปลี่ยนให้พวกเธอตื่นตัวต่อการเข้าร่วมกิจกรรมทางสังคมยิ่งขึ้น ภายใต้การปกครองของประธานาธิบดีปาร์คจุงฮีในยุครัฐบาลเผด็จการประชาธิปไตย แผนพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจและสังคมแห่งชาติฉบับที่4 (พ.ศ. 2520-2524) ได้มุ่งเน้นการปรับโครงสร้างพื้นฐานเพื่อให้เกิดการพัฒนาด้วยตัวเองและความเจริญเติบโตเท่าเทียมกัน ขบวนการเซมาอีลอนดงจึงเกิดขึ้นผ่านแนวคิดของรัฐบาลที่มองเห็นการร่วมมือและรวมกลุ่มกันของชาวบ้านในแต่ละหมู่บ้าน โดยเฉพาะกลุ่มสตรีที่ใช้ชื่อว่าสโมสรสตรีแห่งเซมาอีลแห่งหมู่บ้านโอรยูในจังหวัดจอนบุกที่มีนางจองมุนจาเป็นผู้นำนั้นได้ริเริ่มโครงการเงินออมประจำครัวเรือนขึ้นจนประสบความสำเร็จและเปลี่ยนทัศนคติของสมาชิกในแต่ละครอบครัวใหม่ นอกจากนี้สโมสรสตรีแห่งเซมาอีลยังได้ริเริ่มโครงการใหม่ๆ ขึ้นอีกหลายโครงการสำหรับเป็นรายได้เข้าสู่หมู่บ้านด้วย หมู่บ้านโอรยูจึงได้รับการสนับสนุนจากภาครัฐบาลให้เป็นชุมชนมั่งคั่ง จนเป็นที่รู้จักอย่างแพร่หลาย ภาครัฐบาลต้องการสนับสนุนความสำเร็จที่สตรีแห่งหมู่บ้านโอรยูได้ทำให้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของโครงการเซมาอีลอนดงอย่างเป็นทางการ จึงได้ก่อตั้งสถาบันฝึกอบรมผู้นำสตรีสำหรับการพัฒนาหมู่บ้านของตนเองขึ้นโดยมุ่งพัฒนาชนบททั่วประเทศให้เป็นไปในทิศทางเดียวกัน นอกจากนี้สโมสรสตรีแห่งเซมาอีลจะตอบสนองกับแนวคิดตามหลักเซมาอีลอนดงในเรื่องความเป็นผู้นำในสังคมสวัสดิการประชาธิปไตยแล้ว ยังสร้างบทบาทและเพิ่มพื้นที่ให้กับผู้หญิงได้เข้ามามีส่วนร่วมในกิจกรรมทางสังคมของเกาหลีมากขึ้น แม้สถานะของผู้หญิงเกาหลียังไม่สามารถเทียบเท่าผู้ชายได้อย่างสมบูรณ์แต่ก็ได้รับการยอมรับการมีตัวตนอยู่จากการที่พวกเธอมีสิทธิในการตัดสินใจร่วมพัฒนาชุมชนมากขึ้น แต่หากมองอีกแง่หนึ่งของการสนับสนุนสโมสรสตรีแห่งเซมาอีลโดยภาครัฐบาล ปรากฏการณ์นี้เป็นเพียงผลที่เกิดขึ้นอย่างไม่ตั้งใจเท่านั้น

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Confucian ideology had influenced on Korean society since Chosun period. Women's roles are traditionally limited in household. However, they control and manage most family affairs according to Hyunmo-Yangcho idea (good wife, wise mother). In 1960s, the standards of living by industrialization and modernization motivated rural women to be more responsible for household income. Most of them helped their families by leaving to cities and started working. There were changes in women's social and economic roles. They had inspiration to participate in social affairs. The government initiated rural development strategy. They proposed the Fourth Five-Year National Economic Development Plan by introducing Saemaul Undong to rural villages nationwide. In 1970s, group of woman in Oryu village led by Mrs. Chung Moon-ja started forming the first women organization called Saemaul women's club. Saemaul women's club aimed to actively perform the projects for village income. Oryu village later became the best village reserve and wealthy community. The government wished to promote the famous successful Oryu village as another part of Saemaul Undong project. They thus used women as the key actor who practiced the major roles in national rural development. The result of the policy implementation is rural development emerged and successful. In addition, women who pushed Saemaul Undong to this success also benefited since their status was enhanced.

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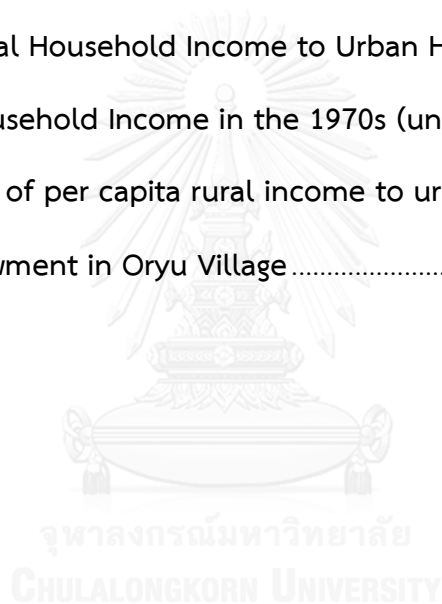
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research background and rationale

Confucianism has been influential to Korean society since Chosun Dynasty in 14th century. It significantly shaped the way of Korean lives especially women which are mostly critical about their social and economic roles later. In family, women classified as mother, wife, and daughter. To be a stable society, Confucian tradition needs to make men over women through their positions within families. Men hold commanding and deciding power. They work outside and earn a living for family. For women, parents-in-law expected them to have male heirs. They must always obey to them.

Nevertheless, women literally hold the power and responsibility in any family business since the father and child relation is different from the mother-child. They have influence on child's decision making, while father mostly behave to child as authority pattern. Korean mother has to manage household savings which points out that she controls the financial stability in family.

Since Confucian ideology which has strongly deep-rooted in Korea offers women limited roles in the society, their roles limit in the household. Men are the sole

representative from family, while women engage in none social affairs. Although they have the rights to study in elementary school as equal as men, but when they tried doing the production works as men did, it is always unacceptable.

The standard of living by industrialization and modernization during 1960s had significantly motivated rural women in South Korea. They concerned more about their family financial stability. They therefore decided to go out and started working in factories. The economic participation by Korean women has driven rapid national reform and development. Korean people in rush, women also asked for more social roles by being active in social participation. This phenomenon later becomes the new page of change in Korean society in the sense of gender equality.

After the government has achieved industrialization in 1960s, Korean society has also come to another stage of change. Economic has much improved which brought the rapid transformation to the way of tradition. It is provable that Confucianism still exists in society, though, but it came to meet Capitalism at the halfway inescapably. Economic development caused rural citizens migrated to urban areas. In this period, nobody paid attention to Korean rural areas. The government under President Park Chung-hee realized the issue of widen gap between urban and rural areas as well as wished to prevent the massive flow of rural citizens into cities. He therefore decided to start rural development plan in 1971 as appeared in the Third Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1972-1976) which aimed to highlight on agricultural investment. The government approved large-scale investments in rural

areas through pricing policy, new technology and basic infrastructure. It also needed to balance the progress of development by actively focusing on human resource development. So Saemaul Undong project first emerged in South Korea.

Saemaul Undong is another step of rural development. It launched after land reform in the late 1950s to reduce poverty issue in rural areas. The government introduced with the three core principles which are

1. Diligence: to enhance practice;
2. Self-help: to inspire a sense of duty;
3. Cooperation: to improve productivity.

Saemaul Undong was proven as the success of cooperation between government and citizens through establishing village level competition. It aimed to take advantage of village solidarity and implement various programs in a top-down manner (M. Moore, 1984: 588-589). Rural citizens started cooperating in the villages with the mind-set of better living, they have gathered and formed groups which all members are responsible to develop their own villages willingly. Meanwhile, the government underlined on the principle of leadership in Saemaul Undong ideology. They then decided to support villagers' roles to be more solid and functional through leadership training program. They also applied technological knowledge to the villages such as green revolution in grain production.

The Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea (PPFK) settled a program to encourage adopting birth control use in 1968. Nonetheless, it was not easy since women were still subordinate to men in family (Johnson-Cartee 2004). Capacity to produce sons meant a lot to each wife in family. The program consequently led to a controversy in the late 1960s. The PPFK then decided to establish 'mothers' club', a village-level organization comprised of female members and mainly persuaded their family to be well-understood about advantages of birth control. Further, these mothers' clubs had also started their role to help each member's savings. The PPFK developed the traditional rotating credit clubs called 'Gye' (계), which each member paid fee to the club every month, and at the monthly meeting, one member would receive the whole sum collected. The member receives sum is going to rotate until all members receive, and it continues again. This way would make members' financial status more or less improved.

According to this point, the first start of women's participation in Saemaul Undong eventually emerged. Thanks to the PPFK who launched mothers' clubs for birth control program and extended the role to women's savings. It eventually transformed to be *Saemaul women's club* which showed a huge change in Korean female's social status for responding the rural development project by the government.

Women's participation in Saemaul Undong program can classify into direct and indirect causes. "*Indirect cause means social and economic change since the*

beginning of Saemaul Undong. Direct cause means understanding relation and inspiration of people to women by policy implementation of Saemaul Undong.”(Chung 2012). Social and economic change started after the 1945 liberation. Women must be responsible for family’s living. They therefore had to concern about financial status in family. Again during period of industrialization in 1960s, several rural women had moved to cities to work in factories and sent back their wages to families. Industrialization and modernization influenced them to take part more in society especially during national crisis.

For direct cause, women’s view on rural development project has been positive, they realized the way out of poverty they had been facing for decades. These rural women had strong sense to challenge and overcome poverty and irrational old customs. In addition, living convenience from Saemaul project, and future expectation of it inspired women to engage in Saemaul Undong. They interested in modernizing living condition, had innovative need to overcome poverty, outdated customs, more so than men. They were active to adapt to such changes. (Chung 2012)

Though Saemaul women’s clubs settled nationwide through women in rural villages, but the first potential club located in Oryu village (Oryu Li), Imsil County, Jeonbuk province. At first the mother’s club leader in Oryu village was another person, but she then promoted Mrs. Chung who had received high school education to be the next leader. Mrs. Chung was responsible for continuing birth control program. She also introduced the way to gain income and profits to the village by the mother’s club

bank establishment and cloth buying to produce school uniforms which sold to neighboring villages. The village economic was more prosperous (Johnson-Cartee 2004). They became the significant reason which improved the role of the mother's club to be Saemaul women's club who ready to respond to the full support from the government.

Apart from the saving program, Saemaul women's club was also trying to change gambling and alcohol drinking condition, as well as lacking of working motivation in men. They created the new environment of success from their activities and had men in village saw. It was first applicable in each family since their mother-in-law appreciated their hard works and relied on them and let them take care of household economy. Furthermore, their mothers-in-laws were the ones who helped urging their sons to reduce passive behaviors, by illustrating daughter-in-law's hard working. Oryu village later became the best village reserve and wealthy community. After its famous success, the government then wanted to promote this achievement as another part of Saemaul Undong project.

The government had been supporting Saemaul women's club in Oryu village as soon as they heard of the success of women's savings. They provided financial supports and contacted Mrs. Chung to join leadership training program. It became another change when public sector decided to support women for the sake of development. With the success of Oryu village, the government then continued a regular Saemaul training for female in 1973, and implemented Saemaul leader's

meeting for excellent female leaders to increase pride and sense of duty. Thus, Saemaul Undong offered rural women an opportunity to officially join local community.

1.2 Hypothesis

Saemaul Undong raised Korean women status through its rural development projects.

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To study the role of Saemaul Undong as national rural development.
2. To analyze the role of Saemaul Undong in empowering women status in rural area.

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1.4 Scope of the study

1. The research will focus on Oryu village, Jeonbuk province. This village is known as the place where the first Saemaul women's club was established, under the first female leader Mrs. Chung Moon-ja.

2. The time period of study will be during the implementation of the national rural development plan in 1970s.

1.5 Conceptual frameworks and related theories

A. Empowerment

The word ‘empowerment’ has been used in various fields of social science study since the 1960s. It is popular especially among community development groups, feminists, and international developmental organizations in Western scholars as well as in North and South activist groups. Empowerment became the mainstream discourse of development agencies and governments since the 1990s. The Human Development Report in 1995 by United Nations defined empowerment that it related to participation. It explained that empowerment means development by people, not only for them. People must participate fully in decisions and processes that shape their lives. At the same time they must promote an instrumentalist view of empowerment by investing in women’s abilities and empowering them to exercise their choices. This idea can classify ‘power’ (Rowlands 1995) which is to be understood in 4 different ways:

Table 1 Understanding of Power

Understanding of power	Implications in practice
Power over	Conflict and direct confrontation between powerful and powerless interest groups
Power to	Capacity building, supporting individual decision-making, leadership etc.

Power with	Social mobilization, building alliances and coalitions
Power within	Increasing self-esteem, awareness or consciousness raising, confidence building

According to power classification by Rowlands, empowerment should start at 'Power within' which occurs in individual level. After power within has started, 'Power with' which shows how collective level works will foster empowerment. The recent projects and campaigns by official institutions and international organizations mostly show in the form of 'Power over' since its planning programs towards targeted groups such as rural women. This event could lead to a vague application of empowerment. It should begin from below level with the willing and recognition to perform individual right to change either herself or her groups into developed stage of better living. However, most official institutions misuse the idea and started empowerment from above level for social inclusion. (Bennett 2002).

Having empowerment as a process, Zoë Oxaal and Sally Baden summarized that empowerment is a bottom-up process, rather than a top-down strategy (Oxaal 1997). It means that development agencies cannot claim to empower women, but women must empower themselves. They cannot define empowerment with specific behaviors or results. It involves a process whereby women can freely analyze, develop, and voice their needs and interests, without them predefined, or imposed from above,

by planners or other social actors. The official planners should act as proper external supporters and being the significant foster in process of empowerment. These developmental organizations are should enable and promote roles to targeted groups. They can ensure the programs do support women's individual empowerment. The programs must encourage women's participation, gaining of skills, decision-making capacity, and control over resources. Agencies can support women's collective empowerment by funding women's organizations.

In further, woman empowerment is also a process support changes in various aspects. These aspects are the needs of attention to social, economic, and political empowerment (Pettit 2012).

1. Social empowerment is when there is change in gender norms. Women recognized their rights to live, others cannot dictate them. A sense of autonomy and self-value is then important for someone to preserve her integrity, participate in politics, demand a fair return on her work, and take full advantage of public services.

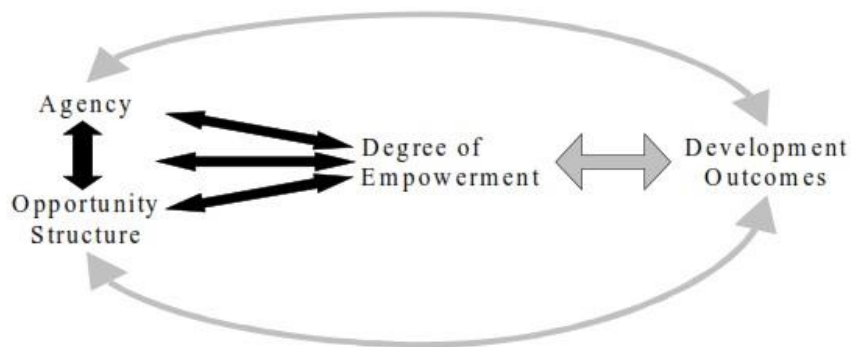
2. Economic empowerment is women's capacity to contribute to and benefit from economic works. On terms which recognize the value of their contribution, respect their dignity and make it possible for them to negotiate a fairer distribution of returns. It is also about changes in institutions and norms that inhibit women's economic participation. For instance changes in time use in selected activities especially greater sharing by household members of

unpaid housework and child-caring. It is also changes in ability to buy independently, as well as percentage of available credit provision in financial and technical support services going to women and men from government and nongovernment sources (Siwal 2009).

3. Political empowerment concerns equity of representation in political institutions. It also means raised voice of the least vocal which makes women engage in decision making that affect their lives and others'. Political empowerment often means empowering citizens to claim their rights. These rights are ability to speak and to engage in political processes. Such changes also need changes in social and cultural attitudes about women's political participation and leadership.

Pettit also underlined that it is impossible to support empowerment without looking at these three aspects. He said each area to do depend on different contexts such as specific social hierarchies such as age, gender, caste, class, religion, ethnicity, sexuality. The different contexts understanding could bring empowerment application more effective and practical.

The World Bank summarized framework to understand and measure group's or individual's empowerment. The framework should be well applicable according to diverse context of each area. Empowerment is then what individual or group recognizes it as 'capacity to make effective choice' (Alsop 2006).



Source: Alsop, Bertelsen, and Holland. 2006.

It comprises of the following ingredients and interrelates as the systematic framework:

1. **Agency:** This is the first step of measuring empowerment purposely. Agency is conceptualized by identifying each individual's '*asset endowment*' (Alsop 2006). Asset endowment is the resources that allow people to use social, political, and economic opportunities; to be productive; and to protect themselves against shocks. Assets in daily lives are psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial, and human resources. Human assets include skills or literacy. Psychological assets are self-confidence or the capacity to envision alternatives. Individual possesses more than one asset and interact for greater capacity. For example a woman is literate (one asset) can access to information (another asset). So she sees alternatives (another asset) in decision making on empowerment direction.

2. **Opportunity structure:** will guide each individual to the closest suitable choices. She thus can put her choice into actions. Opportunity structure is the context of formal and informal institutions. It includes the formal and informal laws, regulatory frameworks, values, and norms that govern people's behavior. These formal and informal institutions will affect individual to access assets. They also affect the extent to which they can operate those assets to achieve desired outcomes. It is necessary to analyze both institutions thoroughly since formal institutions such as laws or policies may be ineffective in practice because they contradict informal institutions like social norms and behavior.

3. **Degrees of Empowerment:** This is the interaction between agency and structure. It supports the measurement effectively. The framework identifies three degrees of empowerment for individuals and groups. There are existence, use, and achievement of choices, by assessing these three aspects of choice as:

- Whether an opportunity to make a choice actually exists (existence of choice)
- Whether a person or group actually uses the opportunity to choose (use of choice)
- Whether the choice results in the desired outcome (achievement of choice)

4. **Domains and Levels:** This factor is about where empowerment takes place. It is necessary to consider how actors' capacity make effective choices according to the context where they perform.

Figure 1 Domains and Sub-domains

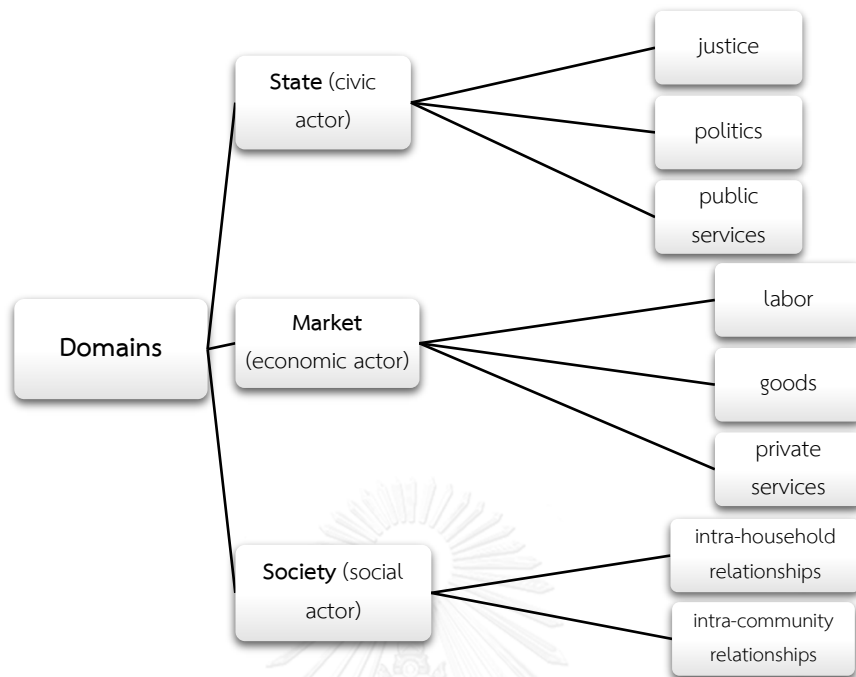
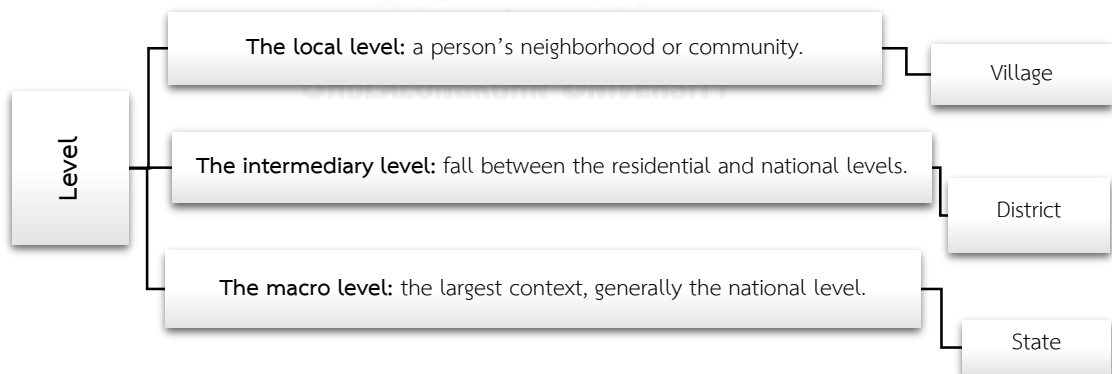


Figure 2 Levels



Source: World Bank Institute, 2007

This framework of measuring empowerment is also consistent with the concept summarized by Cattaneo and Chapman. They developed this idea by classifying ingredients of empowerment process. In their works, there are five major components. The first one is *self-efficacy* which is individual's sense of agency or individual's recognition of his or her power and powers they own. The second one is *knowledge* (understanding of the relevant social context). The third is *competence* (each individual's level of actual skill relevant to the task). The fourth is *action* (process to achieve the goals). The last one is *impact* which is what happens following the individual's action (Cattaneo 2010). With these ingredients, it is applicable to analyze women's empowerment process as well.

I therefore would like to apply the World Bank's framework to measure women empowerment in Oryu village. I will use it as criteria to examine improvement of women's status during the Saemaul Undong implementation in the 1970s.

B. Confucianism and women's roles

During the Han Dynasty, China adopted Confucianism as the official doctrine (206 BCE – 220 CE). With the Confucian tradition that recognizes family as the center, its philosophy comprised of five basic relations: father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, old and young, as well as friend and friend. These bonds became the patterns of social stability and maintenance of the social order (Pye 1985) in Eastern societies such as China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam.

Apart from the five basic relations, Confucianism also clearly classified gender into two different areas with Yin and Yang idea by Dong Zhongshu (179-104 BC.E). According to a clear part of this balance, it traditionally defined men as Yang. They are active, powerful, and accentuated and their works are mainly outside households. Women would be Yin, passive, weak, and dwindled. Their works are centrally in households. Besides, they must follow the 'three obedience'. It means to obey her father as a daughter, her husband as a wife, and her sons in widowhood. They must also follow 'four virtues' which are the proprieties in behavior, speech, manner and diligent work (Lin 2011). Ideal woman in Confucian society was therefore retiring, silent and fertile. They control inner strength, tolerance and patient sense of restraint.

Women in Confucian societies therefore occupy a position lower than men according to subservience acceptance of women to men as natural and proper. Nevertheless, most Confucians granted women's honor and power as mother and mother-in-law within their family as well. Literatures mentioned on their unselfish loyal and self-sacrificing willingness to do anything to help their husbands and his families. (Curriculum 2011).

With the same period of Dong Zhongshu's dichotomy of men as yang and women as yin, a Confucian woman named Ban Zhao, wrote *Nüjie* (Lessons for Women). She supports education for women and men. Even so, Ban's text mostly served to reinforce the growing Confucian conviction that women best fulfilled their spiritual potential by becoming dutiful wives and mothers. She insisted on the proper roles of

women which should be silent, hardworking, and compliant. She also stressed the complement and equal importance of the male and female roles according to yin-yang theory, though she clearly accepted the yang-male dominance. Further, she stressed on the importance of women's education to become a junzi or noble as well (Adler 2006). According to Ban's text, women in Confucianism society mean they are not lower than men. Power in the household thus prescribes roles of yin as woman's valuable life.

I intend to apply the two conceptual frameworks in this study from different points of view. For western idea, empowerment emerges within the perspective of human rights. It aims to pull women who are submissive to gain recognition in society. And Confucianism from eastern side has clearly identified women's roles as the main actor in household already. According to this idea, this study will analyze the Korean government's objectives on implementing Saemaul Undong for raising women's status in Korean society. The implementation based on the valued system of Confucianism with the main goal of the national rural development.

1.6 Research Methodology

This research follows the qualitative method which is from the secondary data to collect and analyze the status of Korean women during the pre-Saemaul Undong period in the 1970s. Apart from the data of status of Korean women, the government

projects that promoted and supported women empowerment also need to analyze how the government had responded to the Saemaul Women's club. The data gathers from reviewing exiting literatures and reinterpreting data involving government documents, short written memoirs by former local leaders and participants of Saemaul women's club under the title "Women of Oryu Village" (오류리의여인들) by Ki-myung Kim. Besides, special thanks to my Korean friend Ms. Yeo-jin Kim, student from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies who contributed her assistance for reaching to some information in Korean language, as well as contacting Saemaul Undong Training Center for short interviewing by phones.

1.7 Research Significance

This research would benefit both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. They would especially benefit since they have to take care of the project or policy implementation on rural development. It is also favorable to other developing countries because Saemaul Undong has worldwide spread. Further, the government's works in promoting and supporting women's roles can also develop in societies in which women's social participation demand is still necessary.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature review

A. Previous Case studies in Oryu Village about Saemaul Women's Club

Since this research aims to emphasize on the government's roles which shows support to Saemaul women's club in Oryu village, there are previous related studies that have selected the same area. Nonetheless, researches also inspired about the ideas and different dimensions. They can develop to be new knowledge in this research as well.

The first work showed obvious focus on this village is from Rogers and Kincaid. They directly set off to the village in the mid-1970s to explore what made their title of "*The Miracle of Oryu Li*" (Rogers 1981). In this research, they stressed on the analysis of communication networks in family planning methods diffusion, especially in the role of mother's clubs. According to this research, it was later diversely used as a significance source of social change particularly in community and networks in grass-roots level.

From what Rogers and Kincaid had discovered and analyzed through their visit, Plude (1989) had further developed to be another dimension of communication and networks in her work. She entitled it as "*Interactive Technologies: The Potential for Solidarity in Local and Global Networks*". She creatively applied the works in Oryu

village with her study on interactive technologies. She highlighted on the potential for solidarity in local and global networks. She explained *the village of Oryu Li leads one to reflect on how technological innovations diffused through networks* (Plude). The efficiency of vertical diffusion of the U.S. Department of Agriculture extension services compared to horizontal networks in Oryu village. They need to have the government supported the second one in case information exchange about innovation is going to implement.

The result of women's works in Oryu village during the 1970s can apply and develop to be various dimensions. The result still has vulnerabilities to study more. The following research also found and developed to be another significant idea of social change in South Korea.

Johnson-Cartee and Copeland had done another research on Oryu village titled "*Strategic Political Communication: Rethinking Social Influence, Persuasion, and Propaganda*". On that time, the group called 'the mother's club' stressed on women's participation more. The research was mainly trying to explain how citizens in the village had responded to the policy of family planning. They also developed the data from Rogers and Kincaid. They introduced their work through the Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea (PPFK). The PPFK established the first birth control program to the mother's club in 1968. The research also explained about the advance of program later developed by members in the mother's club. However, what Johnson-Cartee and Copeland major focused on is the result of birth control program adoption by

using mother's club. As it appeared "*The Oryu Li women had accomplished what once had seemed impossible—the village women had 100 percent birth control adoption*"(Johnson-Cartee 2004). Nevertheless, the research on this village again branched out the new knowledge of ideological reform which is proven to be what drove Saemaul Undong project achieved. Chung also explained Saemaul women's club about significance in his work "*Saemaul Undong and Ideological Reform: Study on Gender Equality*". He pointed out on women's active cooperation and participation in Saemaul Undong project. It obviously supports his idea of how it helps improving social roles and gender equality in South Korea. Further, Chung has elaborated more on how Saemaul Undong project reflects to Saemaul women's club through implemented programs for instance Saemaul Training for the female leader program (Chung 2012).

Two studies above illustrated source of before and between the Saemaul women's club has emerged. They also showed the process that brought the image of gender equality in South Korea to be more valid. However, it is the emphasis of women's participation that merely focused on women's roles. So, this research will try to look at another angle of previous studies by focusing on government's reaction. It can prove supports and involvement in this phenomenon through rural development policy. There could be new idea emerged since the policy used women's roles as an additional tool for achieving in national economic development. As John Lie argued in this point on his book "*Han Unbound: The Political Economy of*

South Korea". The Saemaul movement spread across the nation. It is a pan-national movement designed to conquer poverty without outside help to build a more affluent Korea. In fact, it was a state-led, not grassroots, effort to suggest the Yushin¹ regime into the fabric of rural life. (Lie 1998).

B. Ideas on Women's Empowerment

Empowerment appeared in several development activities. They are thus closely associated with women's empowerment promotion. Programs often appear are microcredit, political participation and some innovative works. However, there are limits cannot express real empowerment. Women's increased financial power still does not translate into women's greater representation.

Limit of women's empowerment occurred in biased organizational cultures. They are against participation and autonomy in decision-making of beneficiaries. One of example cases of this limit mostly referred to women's economic empowerment in rural areas of developing countries. The rural credit programs in Bangladesh reflect well in this point according to research by Goetz and Gupta shows that male relatives literally control most women's loans. The repaid rates by women thus cannot clearly identify whether they made effective loan investments or the loan empowered them.

¹ Yushin is the constitution that endowed the president with near-absolute power. The president could appoint one-third of the members of the National Assembly, guaranteeing him a parliamentary majority and control over the legislative branch - Author

Women's position probably worsened as they need to seek repaid funds from resources for household consumption or savings. Since men has taken control of loans and invested them, it implies that both loans and repayment are potential sources of gender-related tension within rural households (Goetz 1996).

The outcome of this case related to economic empowerment. There are some indicators shows how women empowerment in rural Bangladesh is. These indicators are mobility, economic security, ability to buy, household decision involvement, freedom from domination, as well as political and legal awareness. In conclusion, programs that tried to create women's credit access still not enough to achieve economic empowerment.

According to the case in rural Bangladesh, it marks that women's experience of participation in rural development programs can even be negative. Demands on women's labor may intensify without finding substitutes for women's reproductive work at home. Programs encouraging home-based income generating activities limit women's potentials. The government then introduced microfinance and small business activities to women instead of bigger roles.

Another case is promotion of economic initiatives in Nicaragua. It portrays the small-scaled economic empowerment in women. Austrian Development Cooperation claims that objective of the project aim to strengthen the economic, social and political status of women. They improve women through training programs, consultation, provision of loans, economic independence. The project achieved since

it created jobs for women. Women's status in families also strengthened. Furthermore, there is an establishment of self-help groups and business associations. Women began to manage small business which indicates their local authorities as entrepreneurs. This led to consultation mechanisms with the local government and promotional measures in communal politics and development plans. Some instances of women's businesses are tailor's shop, a butcher's and a local radio station. According to these businesses, women are eventually able to repay loans. Further, they expand business as well. (Cooperation 2009).

Credits and income generation programs need to move away from the idea that women are passive recipients of a service (Oxaal 1997). Therefore, saving programs should be apart from credit provision. They should also separate from any strategies for guaranteeing that women can access other mainstream financial institutions, not only assigning them small-scaled credit and income generation programs.

C. Confucianism Ideology and Roles of Women in Eastern Societies

A study by Joseph A. Adler in 2006 Asia Network Exchange newsletter, under the title of *"Daughter/Wife/Mother or Sage/Immortal/Bodhisattva?: Women in the Teaching of Chinese Religions"* supports the idea of distinct roles of women in Confucian society. He illustrates on the Chinese gender roles that women during Han Dynasty period can flourish within Confucianism because of the important Confucian text *'Nüjie'* (Lessons for Women) written by Ban Zhao (45-114 CE). She wrote this text

with an objective for her daughters to know how to live properly in Confucian society as wives and mothers. She stressed on women's proper roles, which should be silent, hardworking, and compliant. She told her daughters to accept the yang-male dominance. It should be under the complement mindset and equal importance of the male and female roles according to yin-yang theory. Furthermore, she recognized the education significance in women. It was the bottom line qualification for being a 'noble' as Confucians recognized (Adler 2006). The abovementioned Confucian texts *Nüjje* elaborates on how Confucians identify roles of men and women. It highlights the society did not underestimate women. Their roles are mainly in the household as early Confucians accepted the traditional role assignments of women to the home and men to the state (Clark).

However, this idea of cleared separated roles of men and women in Confucian society appeared in Korean context as well. Mojca Kovač describes in her work under the topic of "*Women by Confucianism: 'Hyunmo-Yangcho' (Wise Mothers and Obedient Wives)*". In her work, she suggests that Men and Women (husband and wife), Confucianism settled strictly different tasks and roles in the family. Wife is the 'inner master'. Her authority is mainly in household issues and family relations. Korean women have always been in charge of managing the food storage room key, which was the primary indicator of wealth and financial security (Kovač 2013). Men's authority depends on power structures, while women's depends on her emotional competence. Refer to 'father and son' basic relations, fathers were traditionally distant from their

children to preserve authority and respect. They demanded discipline and obedience from their children. On the contrary, a woman's maternal role as mediator that allowed much more intimacy between mother and child. Anthropologists noted that father and child relation is an authority structure. Mother and child is an affection structure (Lee 1997, Kim 2001). Therefore, the role of a woman in Korea was traditionally the submissive, maintaining harmony in the household and avoiding conflicts.

A study by Dong-ju Yoo (1996) on "*Consuming Modernity: Women, Food, and Promotional Culture in Contemporary Korea*" also supported Kovač's idea on the role of Korean woman. She illustrated the influence of Confucianism reflected status of Korean women since ancient periods. Public powers thoroughly excluded women in the Yi Dynasty (Chosun period). Instead, they had to follow three rules named 'Sam jong ji do' throughout their lives under the strong influence of Confucianism. Father would lead them before marriage, the husband after marriage, and the son after the husband dies (Yoo 1996). Women in that period lived as daughter-in-law, wife and mother. Women's greatest honor and compensation was to bring up successful sons who had power in public places. Their sons had to venerate them. In family, they also had to dominate daughters-in-law. They thereby confirmed their maternal authority as the female head of the domestic domain (Cho 1988). Women strongly believed in their roles within the family. They agreed to be submissive daughters-in-law, and benevolent but authoritative mothers.

As time went by, there is a social transformation occurred during the period of colonial domination by Japan in the early 20th century. Society began to recognize women's education. The images of the literate new women thus emerged. Women began to aware of their individuality (attention on the discovery of the self). They also realized possibility of diverse social roles. However, they still played the role of a good mother and a good wife to support men and their public roles for the country. A new slogan 'Hyunmo Yangcho (wise mother, good wife)' thus emerged to express the central goal of women's education. This ideology was popular from the late 19th century until the rapid industrialization of the 1960s and 1970s (Yoo 1996). It fitted well in both the image of the educated modern woman who was free from the extended family and the traditional ideal of the woman who was strongly supportive of her male family members.

This new ideal image of women was still under the frame of the old patriarchal ideology, but expressed it in a more active form. Due to the period of economic and political transition, father became more a symbol rather than an actual authority within the domestic domain. Women virtually became the manager of the home. This trend rose thanks to the declining power of spouse's parents, especially mothers-in-law. They were not anymore dominant in extended family. Motherhood and women's roles in Korean society became highly dynamic and powerful. This argument based on the fact that women in Korea have traditionally had strong maternal power. They do not adopt husband's surname after marriage. And more recently, they held almost

absolute economic power in domestic consumption as well. Therefore, women became the main actor who play major roles in within the household.

According to the role of women in Confucianism in Korean context, Hyunmo-Yangcho is the woman's primary goal. They aim to be a good daughter, a good wife and a good mother who can sacrifice herself for family.



CHAPTER III

SAEMAUL UNDONG AND KOREAN RURAL WOMEN

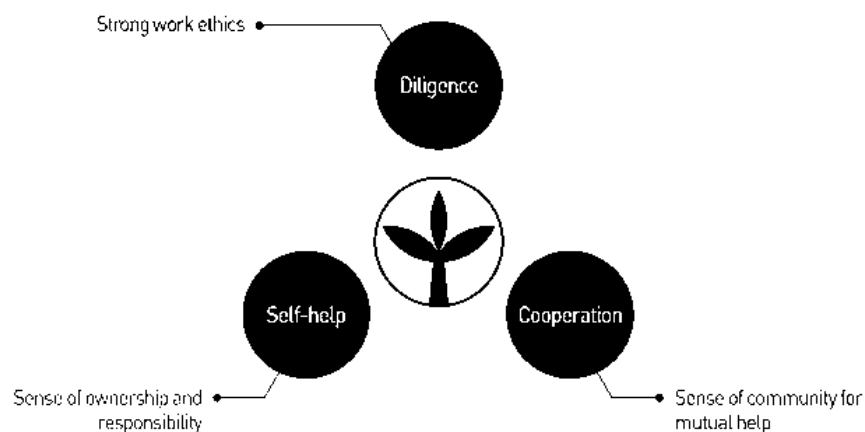
3.1 Saemaul Undong Project (New Village Movement)

South Korea had been under the period of development in various terms since the Korean War ceased in 1953. When President Park Chung-hee inaugurated as the President of the Third Republic of South Korea, he initiated industrialization to the country during 1960s. Huge change also occurred especially in national economic aspect then. Later in the 1970s, he would like to modernize the rural South Korean economy. He also wished to balance the development in rural areas with recognizing community improvement. Saemaul Undong Project then became the most effective and significant strategy that bring the new local change nationwide. The idea based on the Korean traditional communalism called Hyangyak (향약) and Doorae (두레)(Douglass 2013), which provided the rules for self-governance and cooperation in traditional Korean communities. The movement at first sought to reform the growing disparity of the standard of living between the nation's urban centers, which were rapidly industrializing, and the small villages, which continued to be mired in poverty. The government then settled 'Saemaul Undong Center' as the main mediator among central government, local government, as well as each village leader to interact and provide any supports in the project implementation. Saemaul Undong Center defined

Saemaul Undong Movement as a movement seeking community development and modernization. It means a movement to escape from poverty. A movement that helps village and country, not specific oneself.

Saemaul Undong has its goals to develop a modern, comfortable and convenient social community (Center). It aims to establish companies workers are proud of. Companies should be sustained growth in a cooperative and trusting working environment. Moreover, Saemaul Undong planned to develop and maintain sound and healthy society where members can enjoy pleasant and intimate relationships. Saemaul Undong was also created for building a continuously improving nation that people can be proud of. Its strong three core principles comprises of

1. **Diligent:** realizations of efforts to make the most of what is available which entails society development;
2. **Self-help:** the will to independently define one's fate based on personal efforts, setting the basis of self-control and independence;
3. **Cooperation:** realize of expansion that guarantees higher efficiency and development.



There are five major steps of operating Saemaul Undong projects. The following table shows how each step is functioning:

Table 2 Five Steps of Saemaul Undong Projects

Step	Function
Step 1: Basic Arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Three arrangements for the start: People, Seed Money, Basic Principles ■ Forming a Core Group 1: Leaders ■ Forming a Core Group 2: Cooperative working ■ Forming a Core Group 3: Applying existing organization ■ Forming a Core Group 4: Sectional organizations ■ Raising Seed Money 1: Through sample cooperative project ■ Raising Seed Money 2: By cooperative work
Step 2: Operation of Projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Principles and standards for selecting project ■ Planning a project ■ Persuading villagers 1: Set a model to villagers ■ Persuading villagers 2: “You can do it.” Present results

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Collecting consensus 1: Small group meetings ■ Collecting consensus 2: General meeting of villagers ■ Let everybody play a part ■ Prepare and manage public property ■ Preparing center ■ Encouraging each other ■ We are one living creature. Let blood circulate ■ Getting assistance from outside
<p>Step 3: Main Stage of Projects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Project 1 for living environment improvement: Eliminate inconveniences of the houses ■ Project 2 for living environment improvement: Eliminate inconveniences of the village ■ Project 3 for living environment improvement: Create an environment needed for income increase ■ Project 1 for income increase: Remove the obstacles ■ Project 2 for income increase: Launce cooperative projects

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Project 3 for income increase: Commercialize things around you ■ Project 4 for income increase: Introduce something new ■ Project 5 for income increase: Modify distributive construction ■ Project 6 for income increase: Operating factory ■ Consolidating community 1: Revise good morals and manners and extirpate evil practices ■ Consolidating community 2: Providing culture center and facilities ■ Consolidating community 3: Residents” credit union movement
<p>Step 4: Final Stage of Projects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Share results and celebrate success ■ Share long term prospects ■ Stabilization of joint funds ■ Active sectional organizations ■ Regularizing meetings for technology research ■ Establishing village hall ■ Publishing local newspaper

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Establishing partnership with other regions and government offices ■ Setting up sisterhood relationship with foreign countries
Step 5: Feedback at National Level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Creation of a favorable environment by the Korean government ■ Provision of supplies and funds by the Korean government ■ Comprehensive government support system ■ Intensive information and technology education Saemaul Training Center

Source: Korea Saemaul Undong Center

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Government implemented Saemaul Undong with Korean local valued system.

For example, the government used ‘Gye’ model which illustrated Korean people’s sense of self-help and cooperation. Gye is the Korean traditional cooperative organized by people before the Saemaul Undong project was implemented. It is another significant point according to the context of South Korean society which fostered Saemaul Undong project initiated. The government also agreed to stimulate people in the villages to follow the Saemaul Undong philosophy on ‘self-help’ by appreciating

Gye among people. There is the long persistent tradition showing cooperative efforts in rural Korean people. When people were being in large amount of debt, villagers formed a voluntarily social and economic cooperation to provide various aids among themselves whenever they were in trouble for instance economic crisis. This cooperation for economic stability called 'Gye' (계). Korean people had formed these Gye clubs for the purpose of mutual financial aid or just for the sake of friendship. (Hong 1998). Other significant purpose of joining Gye was to set up smoothness for marriage or funeral funds. Besides, Gye is also a popular tool to establish funds for traveling, children's education, buying household appliances, and leisure activities. (Yi 2006).

Gye performed an important role as a co-op in a self-sufficient agricultural society where financial institutions had not yet introduced. Gye was a way of pooling funds that each member could access to a large lump sum of money at some point. Every month, each member puts a certain amount of money in the kitty. The total amount would be given to one member according to a predetermined order (Yi 2006). Moreover, one member could join in more than one Gye club. Gye was the popular informal organization where rural Korean people benefited from it through saving their money and helping each other. (Kim 1980).

However, the Gye participation level also changed as the society changed. For instance in 1965, about 21% of rural households joined Gye, while the participation rate was much higher to 47% for rural households in 1986. (Hong 1998).

Gye played a role of today's banks and insurance companies. Profits made through joint investments were used to serve the group's common interests. Gye money was huge relief to individual Gye members. Gye cultivated friendships and promoted the spirit of mutual help among neighbors. Gye were popular for at least 300 years since it was easy to manage and organize, regardless of the members' social status, occupation, gender or age. (Yi 2006). Gye thus showed a characteristic of participation among people before Saemaul Undong project implementation during 1970s.

As we have known Confucianism ideology mainly influences Korean society. It assigns women to be responsible person in household affairs. Women realized that household economic stability is also their duty to be responsible according to the context of Confucian-based value. Household economic was then unavoidably managed by those housewives. This is why the participation ratio in Gye clubs was mostly housewives more than male members (Choi 1987, Kim 1992). Women included Gye as their roles for being a proper housewife. Gye cooperative is therefore the basis of Saemaul women's club.

3.2 Emergence of Saemaul Women's club

Thanks to Gye, people especially in rural areas had learned by themselves about self-reliance and cooperative skill. This capacity from such saving movement among Korean housewives eventually initiated Saemaul Women's clubs in rural areas nationwide. They did it with the goals of improving living conditions, economizing household management, and performing women's organizations (조영한 2011). These goals became the new page of change in another Korean traditional society since they later helped improving women's social role and status, and promoting gender equality.

Saemaul Undong for women started in June 4th, 1974 since the government started the Saemaul leader's training camp for women. At the beginning of Saemaul Undong, women had to help male leaders, but it finally changed to settling female leadership. Saemaul Undong unified various women's organizations in rural areas for specific purposes such as non-formal education, family planning, better home management, as well as promoting poverty reduction campaign (Campbell 2003). These organizations were respectively Women's classroom, Mothers' club on prepared parenthood, Women for home improvement, and Saemaul women's association. The government later merged them as the Saemaul women's club in 1977 for effective promotion of many Saemaul projects. (Chung 2012). The government at that time which was almost at the end of President Park Chung-hee's administration created three subdivisions in Saemaul women's club based on performance. There were

model women's club, outstanding women's club, and basic women's club. The government also created three main streams of Saemaul projects for women behind these subdivisions which were:

1. *Ideological reform projects* including cultural training, Saemaul training for women, and family training;
2. *Living standard improvement projects* including saving and conservation campaign, lifestyle (such as clothing, nutrition and housing conditions) improvement, and managing day care center during farming season;
3. *Income raising projects including* community projects (such as public income project), village market management, as well as village fund management.

Though the primary reason of women's participation in Saemaul Women's club was to increase economic power in their households, but they also supported the whole Saemaul Undong projects. Their activities went beyond other reasons. They became to minimize family rituals, to lead activities of living improvement, and to refuse old customs and extravagance. The government appreciated rural women as citizens who work hard and sacrificed themselves for national development. It saw this potential and would like to have them psychically persuade men, youth, as well as elders to participate after seeing their success.

3.3 A Successful Case of Saemaul Women's Club

Saemaul Undong has done several successful cases based on its various projects. It did not only push forward the new technical green revolution to rural areas, or having each village renovated by cement provision, but also its achievement in people's huge changes. Women were one of the main actors the government cherished especially on their status. Saemaul Undong became a significant cause which helped Korean rural women made a big step further with the nation's economic and social transition.

One of women associated successful cases was taken place in a small village located faraway from Seoul. This village was known widely as example village. It named Oryu village (as known as Oryu-ri), located in Imsil county, Jeonbuk province, the southern west part of Republic of Korea. The first Saemaul women's club founded here and became a model that made the successful developed rural village with women's cooperation. The main reason to study on is female leadership of this Saemaul women's club which brought success as well as reputation to the village itself.

3.3.1 Oryu village

Oryu village during 1970s comprised of 104 households, with 560 villagers. Since it was the clan village, 70% of villagers shared 'Kang' as the same last name. This village had a small train station. People did various kinds of occupation for example owning small shops or pubs. Each household also owned averaged amount

of land, but did not earn any profits from it though it was located in mountain territory where they could cultivate fruits or trees. Villagers only knew how to cultivate rice paddy that was why they could not eradicate poverty(김 2010).

3.3.2 Overall villager's condition

Owing to its characteristic of clan village, most of villagers were relatives. They had no attempt to reform the village actively according to conservative village ethics and small cultivated land. People had no motivation. They accepted their poverty and old customs. Male villagers did not have spirit of challenge and cooperation. They went out until late night just to drink and caused violence. In winter, they were too lazy to work but went gambling instead.

Figure 3 Location of Oryu village



Source: <http://maps.google.co.kr>

For women's status in the village, they lived with no plan, miserably and hopeless. Those who had different last name from Kang struggled to adapt to other villagers. At that time, they did not have household financial management. Some also had a hard time since their drunken husbands hit them. It seemed that duties based

on Confucian valued system which assign women to be responsible in households were not applicable well here. Women could not invest in their children's education, some of unmarried women left to Seoul to find jobs. This serious situation brought defeatism and pessimism to people in the village.

3.3.3 The first leader

The first leader who introduced the saving program and other development projects to the village named Mrs. Chung Moon-ja. She moved to Oryu village after marriage at 24. Her husband was a public official who worked in township office. Mrs. Chung first lived in the mountain, worked in farm and raised cattle within the cultivated land in the mountain where it was isolated from neighboring houses and 2 kilometer far from Oryu village. Mrs. Chung had a hard time when she lived in cultivated land, but it became motivation for a better life. She thought that her high school education could be a privilege. She then realized a responsibility to change a village as well as female villagers even before she decided to move to village (김 2010).

When she moved to village area, she had experienced how female villagers hopelessly lived. She recognized the need of women's organization and started contacting the Family Plan Mother's Club in village to find the way out of this miserable life. Then, the Family Plan Mother's Club started a saving activity of 100 won to make 6% of interest in each month, which could raise the money to 60,000 won in three years. Mrs. Chung anticipated that this activity can be applied widely in the village. She

then asked for more information from the club president. Although the president kindly rejected to lead other female villagers to follow this activity, she persuaded Mrs. Chung to be the president instead and let her gather participants. Mrs. Chung eventually became the president of Family Plan Association in 1968 and worked as a local volunteer since then.

Mrs. Chung had to call other villagers at night to participate and listen to what she would like to introduce. The number of the very first gathering was 80 women of all age came in one place to see what Mrs. Chung was going to do. She started with storytelling then introducing to main activity which is saving activity. She knew much more than other women because she graduated from high school. So other women came to listen to her story every night. One of the encouraging messages that Mrs. Chung told those women was the real reason they received violence from their husbands and could not educate their children. It was because they had no household economic strength. To escape from this situation, they should organize a women's club and do extra work. Mrs. Chung was then elected as the president club unconditionally.

After the mother's club was founded, the goal of doing saving activity as planned by the Family Planning Mother's Club did not well respond. There were only 40 women that still agreed to work. Nevertheless, they held a meeting every fifteen days in each month. With these 40 women actively joining, Mrs. Chung realized an

importance of setting goals and agenda of the club to motivate more women. Consequently, she set up the five goals of forming an ideal Saemaul village in Oryu village which contains:

- A village without poor people;
- A village with mutual learning and teaching;
- A village where families' livelihoods are improved lives with family plan and

living improvement;

- A patriotic village;
- A village that loves God and neighbors.

After setting up the five goals, she went to the market to buy a white cotton clothes to create a slogan. She wrote the five goals with paint brush, and put up the banner above the village entrance. Furthermore, there was an opinion from participants to make working women's association for a cooperative spirit, which later became the idea of making uniforms for members. They then designed their own uniform and bought the cheapest clothes to make ones. When the members put on that uniforms, they can fully determine about the women's club. Male villagers also encouraged them to do this interesting jobs.

Mrs. Chung who was the leader among these women actively joined training programs held outside the village, with the sense of duty of sharing this important information to her members. She well perceived the public idea of "training for people

is the step for national development, and training the women is the most important thing to be an advanced nation.” She then intended to train women with the aim of village development, as well as training her members frequently. At first the meeting venue held at a small church in the village or at Mrs. Chung’s house. She sometimes invited lecturers from outside to provide training. For the contents of training include nutrition improvement, livelihood improvement, child education, ideological training, and how to be a better wife without receiving any violence from husband.

Since the beginning of Saemaul Undong project in the early 1970s, Mrs. Chung thought Saemaul Undong ideology training is the most important to promote the project plan as well. She invited two instructors from the training centers to give the lectures. Lectures were about “Economic Development and Saemaul Ideology in Korea”, “Economic Development in Japan and Denmark”, “The Necessity of Family Planning”, as well as “The Importance of the Village Safety”. These lectures were effective to villagers. After the training, they donated about 10,000 to 20,000 won a day for the village fund.

Moreover, Mrs. Chung looked around each member’s houses and found their kitchens were in the need of improvement. Though they could not fund the improvement project due to insufficient budget, Mrs. Chung persuaded other members to use their own wedding rings for fund raising. This project was later successful.

To gain recognition of their works, Mrs. Chung organized one year anniversary ceremony and sending invitation letters to public institutions. The district office prepared the certificates as well as awards, while the provincial office also supported with some additional prizes. Ceremony was the biggest festive event ever held in the village. After the ceremony, the number of members increased to 90 people. Mrs. Chung later appointed 9 executives for facilitating the meeting. This is when the club first adopted executive system.

3.3.4 Villagers' Cooperation

Although projects initiated by this Saemaul women's club ran smoothly, there were some male villagers still rejected the club. However Mrs. Chung just kept calm and started installing public opinion box to collect villager's opinion. Members' cooperation and effort made a huge change in the village. The roles of leader were serving villagers, self-sacrifice, and positive thinking and patience about the work until its success.

Elder was another significant actor in the village that assisted the Saemaul women's club achieved in family plan project. Mothers-in-law helped women to implement it in this village that made the village won the first place of Family Plan project in Korea. Women improved the necessities of life in household that achieved recognition from their mothers-in-law. They literally changed their mothers-in-law's

perception about going outside to work. Furthermore, they still took good care of household activities, which made them eventually come to control family finance.

Women held the ceremony of Saemaul women's club for villagers' cooperation. They asked male villagers, especially members of development committee in village to participate in the ceremony that celebrates the first anniversary of Saemaul women's club. The main reason they invited men was that men felt left out from women's club, which also became the reason of being against women. When men listened to presentation of its activities, they understood more and promised to cooperate. Some of men also suggested that their wives join Saemaul women's club. Finally, members in the club also increased.

Apart from a ceremony to celebrate one year anniversary of Saemaul women's club, women held a sports day in village as well. They persuaded other villagers to participate in. After the sports day, Mrs. Chung gathered people to explain more about management of the village reserves. They understood more and did not oppose anymore.

3.3.5 Promotion of Saemaul Undong project

The Saemaul women's club at first did not have enough fund to build facilities for youth. They went to the central training institute to learn how to organize the reserve for women's club. What they gained from the institute inspired them to

implement a rice-saving program that saves a cup of rice or less in each meal. Moreover, they held a meeting for Saemaul women's club every half a month, gathered member's rice to make bankbooks for villager's investment. They eventually gathered 5 units of rice in a month, and sold the rice in the market and expected to save 4 million won in 5 years. Apart from rice saving program, they also bought socks from a wholesale store and sold to raise fund for Saemaul women's club as well. They went to Imsil County and could sell those socks within three days, which made 4,000 won for its profits.

Members in the club still worked for saving program. They did not stop at the rice saving nor selling socks. They bought fabrics in a market for 500 students. They made sportswear for 6 days so they could sell at sports day in an elementary school with 10 won cheaper than the market price but still had 9,000 won for their profits. They used 4,000 won for investment in Saemaul women's club, and 5,000 won for students in schools.

According to these hard working, the members finally earned 343,000 won in 14 months, which inspired people to start saving more diligently. Oryu village started Saemaul reserve earlier than other villages, so the village became the best village reserve. They presented this successful experience of Saemaul women's club to people and received the award from Jeonju which is the capital city of Jeonbuk province. The movement for reserve with saving and austerity for people changed this

village from poor rural village to a wealthy village that had 1.015 million won for investment money within a few years. They eventually overcame financial problems in household.

The members also did additional public works such as rice planting or rice harvesting to increase profits as well as build the cabinet for each household kitchen. They started the installation process of cabinet with 80,000 won spending from public fund. They could then install 40 cabinets in each member's house. Moreover, they established the village market with 70,000 won for operating cost that included 40,000 won from public fund, and 30,000 won by borrowing from the bank. The village market was profitable, closer than the city markets, and cheaper than market price. Saemaul women's club also earned from this market since women worked there. Half of the profit from one member who worked there was for Saemaul women's club.

Mrs. Chung also asked for assistance from public sector by offering project plan for village to increase profits. She presented to the district governor how she could inspire people. The district governor then allowed acquiring 2,000 chestnut trees to plant in the village area, though the governor rejected this project before due to its impossibility in bad environment. Mrs. Chung then announced to villagers to dig holes for chestnut trees in advance. It was a hard work to plant chestnut tree on mountain slope during winter for women. They carried their babies on their back to work and completed planting in springtime. It seemed that they had successfully planted

impossibility since the chestnut tree farming on mountain slope brought profits to them. After 5 years, they can open scholarship system with these profits for the children of Saemaul women's club. This sacrificing on hard working based on the belief that children have to learn and teach. Their poverty must not pass forward to the next generation.

Even women found while they worked for the project, they still stuck with poverty. They decided to do the other profit projects apart from public projects for instance cultivating other types of fruits and vegetables as well as raising cows and pigs.

Women started going outside to work for public projects as well as profit making projects which aimed to increase fund in Saemaul women's club. They then received some public supports for an improvement in their households as well. During the beginning of Saemaul Undong, government supported 335 sacks of cement to each village to improve basic infrastructure. Nonetheless, it still was not enough especially for building kitchen. That was why they had to sell their wedding rings to buy 100 sacks of cement, and learned techniques to bake bricks from employees of agricultural extension office. The governor paid a visit to the village and impressed in what these women did, he then donated more 300 sacks of cement for them. The kitchen installation project eventually achieved in 21 days later.

To build a new village, Government did not only support materials for construction, but they also posted “Competition D-100” campaign to inspire people to finish their work as soon as possible. Women in Oryu village expected to achieve this campaign. So they worked hard to collect granule gravel and sand to use for 500 sacks of cement, as well as breaking the iced river in winter to transport 300 bags of sand on their heads. They finished this work within 25 days, and the new village was closer to possibility. It shows that promotion of project with Saemaul Undong ideology brought success to the village.

In addition, there are some projects to reform practical spirit. First, it was the simplified family rite standards. Elders paid attention more. The fight in village was lessen since there was rule of 500 won fine paying for each fight. Elders in village appreciated about activities that women in Saemaul women’s club did for them, and it spread out nationwide which the Ministry of Health and Social affairs also heard of it. The Ministry officers visited this village for investigating the works by Saemaul women’s club. The club then received a prize of best village for family rite. Furthermore, Saemaul women’s club planted vegetables in each household followed the instruction from agricultural extension office. The village became the model village of nutrition improvement which granted by public cookware. Women had already known the way of rural improvement, so they had high technical standard that can use for becoming a hygienic village.

Nevertheless, what the women of Saemaul women's club in Oryu village had done was not only the ambition of village development. They felt the most important goal to promote Saemaul Undong projects was to upgrade their quality of life as well as ideological reform. They borrowed silk-raising room in the village, and renovated it to use for temporary meeting hall. They named it 'Mother's Institute' for continuing education, and make the schedule for having classes there. Subjects they educated were "education of immunity-building foods", "education of family plan", and "education of rural technology".

They also did a movement to stop wasting money on alcohol drinking. Women persuaded their husbands to give up alcohol by showing them a rule of 500 won fine paying. Bars in the village were faded away, people could save money more. In further, women in Saemaul women's club took advantage of holding sports day and ceremony to invite all villagers to commemorate their hard work for Saemaul Undong projects, and appreciate for their cooperation. They presented their achievement and future plans for Saemaul women's club in front of the community leader in the village as well as the head of local government to cooperate with them later. Women of Saemaul women's club also passed the "resolution for our village" (Chung 2012) which motivated other female villagers to participate in the club more. Its contents were

1) Let us learn hard, and work hard to be a confident person;

2) *Let us be women that live on austerity and save the money for profit increase;*

3) *Let us not take care of my appearance only, but take care my mind instead to be a good wife and wise mother.*

3.3.6 Promotion of the Special Project

a. Bridge Construction Project

Mrs. Chung received Saemaul medal in 1974, and she donated her prize money to construct bridge in village. Students in village had to cross river when they went to school but they could not cross the bridge to go to school during rainy season at the time. They also had to cross the river to take a train in neighbor village. They needed 10 million dollars for bridge construction but only had 2 million dollars.

So, Mrs. Chung went to Saemaul training institute to present experience of Saemaul Undong in Oryu village for enterprisers. When she finished her lecture, one of them came to a platform, and said “do not worry about money for bridge construction, it would cover all the money left.” Then he visited the village to support money, and finally they completed bridge construction. So, they give the name of bridge “Woman’s heart bridge” that means they built it with woman’s wish and power.

b. Attraction of Cottage Industry to Encourage Teenagers

According to industrial development in mid-1970s, female youth drifted to the cities. Most of them were in domestic service or took jobs in factory. They left

village to earn the money for their family but their parent worried about their security. “We need teenagers for our village’s future. So we have to create jobs for them.” Mrs. Chung was always worried about future of teenagers in village. She then tried to install a small factory in the village to create jobs for them.

On New Year’s Day, 19 teenagers who had gone the cities came back to village to celebrate the day with their family. Mrs. Chung did not miss the opportunity, and gathered them to encourage to not to leave the village again. So, they did not leave the village.

She organized 4H club, and given the name “evergreen tree association” for woman’s youth to make meeting with them. They implemented volunteer work and training such as plantation of flower garden, village cleaning, and training of teachers in daycare center. However, they had no measure enough to make the job for them. They promised to their parents about their job so she considered it herself.

Teenagers helped farming for their parents in busy seasons but they had no work in agricultural off-season. Some of parents complained “they have to work to make money for their marriage.” So, she found the work for them. She persuaded enterprise earnestly in Jeonju and Seoul but they ignored her.

One day she went to a company in Chung Chong province for three times to find work but the president rejected her request. Mrs. Chung did not give up. She revisited there to persuade him. “We need work for Saemaul Undong to seize

teenagers to not leave our village. I think cottage industry in your company is a good match for us. So please put this work to our village,” and finally he accepted her request to make this work in Oryu village.

At first, woman in the village did colorful clothes that produced woman hemp clothes. Its company supported 50 industrial machines, and technical training for 2 months. At first, women did not participate or pay attention to. So, Mrs. Chung herself learned its technique herself, and persuaded some villagers to work for cottage industry. Fortunately, they could do this work with farming, and earned 3,000 to 5,000 won a month by this work. Thanks to this achievement, more people participated. Finally, all industrial machines were running, and they made profits that helped to farm.

c. Doing Work and Study

Mrs. Chung always had the need to give women opportunities to study while working. The entrepreneur who invested in her village agreed and promised his support. The entrepreneur told Mrs. Chung then he would give the work to Oryu village. He promised to provide ten machines to the village. Mrs. Chung accepted this offer. The entrepreneur then sent ten machines to the village right away, but there was no space for them. Mrs. Chung installed them at her house, and her family had to sleep under the machines. She brought in and trained ten family youth in village, who did excellent work.

Fortunately, Oryu village production had the best quality. Japan Company selected it as the main production site. They earned 10,000-15,000 won each month by this work. Forty teenagers who had left the village to external area returned home. Mrs. Chung persuaded their parents to save 30% of profit, to ingrain the habit of saving and temperance.

While the cottage industry was setting down, she decided to make opportunity to study for those teenagers. They bought communication lecture notes that Mrs. Chung paid half of its price, and teenagers paid the other half. English and math were difficult to study alone so the pastors taught them, and they completed middle school courses. After earning a middle school graduation certificate, they entered industrial high school, and became school vice commissioner. They made the study room for children in an elementary school to create studios atmosphere for them to study together in one place, and university students taught them.

3.3.7 Measuring Fund and Getting External Support

Saemaul woman's club not only profitable project for them but also allowed cooperation for local volunteer work and policy project in institutions on different levels for public work. They prepared Kimchi seasoning, and made Kimchi for the winter for military camps. Members woke up early in the morning, and helped farming, and made breakfast for families which their husbands died in the war.

When institutions asked for help, Saemaul woman's club led villagers to finish all the work earlier than other villages. They tried to pay unity bills such as fee for the Red Cross as early as possible. They learned the advantages of a double-tiered grain price system that was from the government policy. They then decided to participate in harvested grain purchasing program by the government. Though it was depressing every year but Saemaul woman's club encouraged people for participation, and they got 120% of actual results. Also they achieved the goal to increase public compost production by woman's public relations.

While the reserve, village market, and public work were settled down, this village applied for and was granted the government support, and received 2 tons of steel and 500 sacks of cement. Moreover, Oryu village became a "good village" and "hardworking village" to neighbor villages. As the village developed, public officials were also pleased to be in charge of Oryu village.

One day, doctors came to give lecture for Saemaul woman's club. He said rural mothers' health problem was due to fecundity and wrong postpartum care. Next day, 17 mothers went to hospital to ask for sterilization operation but it rejected them because there was not enough space for them. It later became the newspaper issue.

Dr. Rodgers who was a Harvard university professor heard about this, and selected this successful case in seminar of the World Population Society. He and 17 followers also came to Oryu village for the field study. He collected data about this

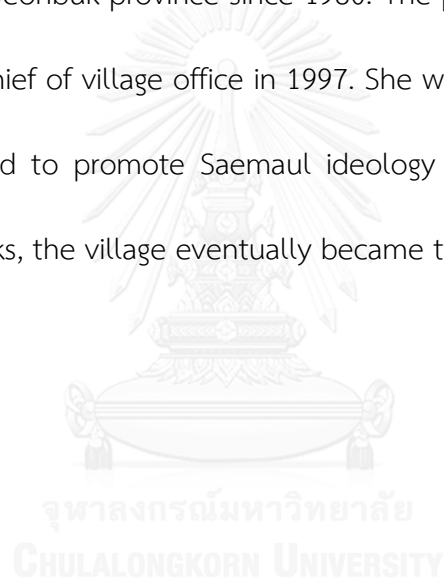
village for three days, and their family plan project was introduced to the world. Moreover, broadcasting stations made headlines such as “Human Victory” to feature Oryu village, and many celebrities visited this village to help them.

Nonetheless, making the project plan that focused on member’s need was the most important. The reason they started the project that was to earn money, and making profit for people based on this plan was to promote self-participation of members. They trained members, and asked for external cooperation to achieve the goal of Saemaul woman’s club. They held project information session for villagers to present about performance evaluation, and make event to encourage their interest and participation.

Forming plan of good project was not easy. Woman must be positive and passionate to work. Also, when they woke up in the morning, they looked around the village for public work before cooking breakfast. While they explain the project to people, they needed to have desire and belief about project promotion to create sensation for people. It is the story that when Mrs. Chung trained in Saemaul training institute. She could not sleep at late night to summarize the lecture that she listened in the daytime. Director of Saemaul Undong came to her room, and asked to her “What do you do until late night?” She answered “I have to study hard explain it for villagers” So he said, “Why don’t you present experience of Saemaul Undong in 10 to

15 minutes?” She then presented it for trainers. From that day, Mrs. Chung became a famous lecture in the national scale (Chung 2012).

Mrs. Chung was elected to be the Saemaul women’s club president in 1970, in the beginning year of Saemaul Undong, and earned a national fame as a successful Saemaul leader. She promoted women activism for rural enlightenment. When Saemaul Undong was established nationally, Mrs. Chung worked for Saemaul Undong as a section head in Jeonbuk province since 1980. The political position that she was appointed was the chief of village office in 1997. She was the first woman to assume this post. She worked to promote Saemaul ideology for five years in Jeonju city. According to her works, the village eventually became the best village.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

4.1 Achievements of Saemaul Undong

Saemaul Undong proved its achievements in rural development through various projects thoroughly implemented in villages nationwide. These projects improved living environment as well as established basic rural infrastructure to each village. They also help eradicating poverty in rural people due to income generation programs. Moreover, improved physical infrastructure helped productivity increased and income grew. It opened a new window of opportunity for villagers to venture into new activities. It provided efficient access to the markets, resources and assets necessary for their work. For instance enlarged and extended roads made mechanized farming possible. Telephone line extension and electrification also provided timely information. It enabled villagers to cope with changing market situations. Improved basic infrastructure also helped creating a healthier environment with better sanitation (Park 2009). The success of Saemaul Undong can proved as the factors that created the decrease of absolute poverty rate in 1970 and 1978. The proportion of rural people in total absolute poverty was less than that of urban people. For income, rural household income recorded a six fold increase from W255,800 in 1970 to W1,531,300 in 1979, even at one point exceeding that of urban households in 1976 (Park 2009).

Income sources for rural people also became diversified and the portion of nonagricultural income also rose.

The following tables show achievements of Saemaul Undong through its major conducted projects as well as the data of increased rural household income level during the 1970s.

Table 3 Achievements of the Major Saemaul Undong Projects in the 1970s

Project Name	Unit	Target	Performance	Ratio (%)
Village road expansion	Km	26,266	43,558	166
Farm feeder roads construction	Km	49,167	61,797	126
Small bridges construction	Unit	76,749	79,516	104
Small reservoirs construction	Unit	10,122	10,742	106
Traditional small irrigation (channel)	Unit	22,787	28,352	124
Traditional small irrigation (raceway)	Km	4,043	4,442	109
Traditional small irrigation (embankment)	Km	17,239	9,180	53
Village center construction	Unit	35,608	37,012	104
Public warehouse construction	Unit	34,665	22,143	64
Housing improvements	Unit	544,000	225,000	42
Village layout renovation	Unit	-	2,747	-
Sewage system upgrade/construction	Km	8,654	15,559	179
Electricity supply system installation	Household	2,834,000	2,777,500	98
Telephone lines		-	345,240	

Saemaul factory construction/operation	Unit	950	717	75
Reforestation	Ha	744,354	347,153	47

Source: National Council of Saemaul Undong Movement in Korea (Korea 1999)

Table 4 Change in the Poverty Rate and the Number People Living in Poverty

	1965			1970			1978		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
No. of people in absolute poverty (thousands)	4,244	7,505	11,749	2,006	5,548	7,554	2,552	1,995	4,547
Distribution of people in absolute poverty (percentage)	36.1	63.9	100.0	26.6	73.4	100.0	56.1	43.9	100.0
Absolute poverty rate (percentage)	54.9	35.8	40.9	16.2	27.9	23.4	13.75	10.80	12.28
Relative poverty rate (percentage)	17.9	10.0	12.2	7.0	3.4	4.8	16.6	11.2	13.9

Source: Data based on Sang-Mok Seo (1981). "Definition of poverty and time series analysis", accessed from www.kdi.re.kr/kdi/report/report_read05.jsp?pub_no=00003580 (Seo 1981)

Note: In this study, absolute poverty is defined as a monthly household income which is below W20,000 for an urban household and W17,000 for a rural household. Relative poverty is defined as a household income lower than one third of the average national household income level (all incomes are estimated in 1980 Korean won).

Table 5 Ratio of Rural Household Income to Urban Household Income
(Unit: Korean Won)

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

Source: (Kwon 1997). "Korean experience in poverty alleviation with special reference to the Saemaul Undong", Social Security Review, vol. 13, No. 1, June (Korean Social Security Association), p. 194.

Table 6 Farming Household Income in the 1970s (unit: Korean Won)

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

Source: National Council of Saemaul Undong Movement in Korea (Korea 1999)

Table 7 Comparison of per capita rural income to urban income

(Unit: thousands of Korean won)

Year	Urban Household		Rural Household		Ratio	
	Per capita income (A)	Per capita working income (B)	Per capita income (C)	Per capita agricultural income (D)	(C/A)	(D/B)
1963	12	60	15	24	1.22	0.40
1965	16	92	18	28	1.09	0.31
1970	55	254	43	67	0.79	0.26
1975	140	538	155	250	1.11	0.43
1980	558	2,144	527	705	0.94	0.33
1985	1,087	3,912	1,220	1,492	1.12	0.38

Source: (Lee 2004). Analysis on Cause and Trend of Rural-Urban Gap in Income and Development Level, Research R490-1 (Seoul, Korea Rural Economics Institute).

Along with previously accomplished land reform, the programs and projects associated with Saemaul Undong greatly reduced the most extreme forms of rural poverty. Rural households had cooperative saving accounts to help finance purchases of durable goods. These goods were television sets as well as farm equipment and inputs (Douglass 2013). The continuously increasing income from both agricultural and non-agricultural works can be the evidence of changes. Upgrading several living standards after basic infrastructure constructions also marks success of Saemaul Undong. It literally helped rural people removing the chronic poverty more or less.

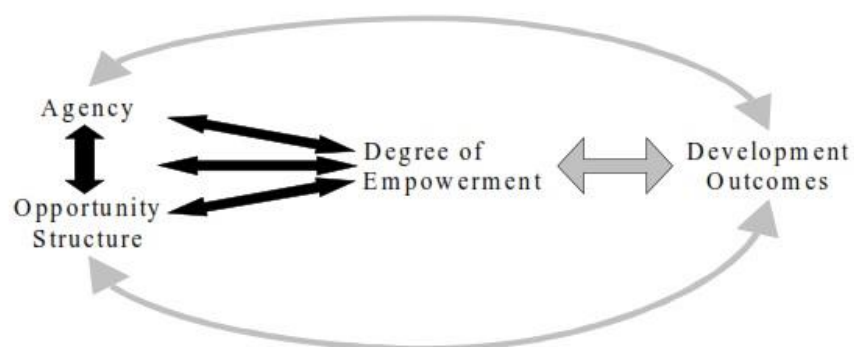
In addition, the overall achievements of Saemaul Undong did not only lead Korean rural people to better living standards, but it also brought some unexpected

results to Korean society. The most outstanding unexpected result of Saemaul Undong is the empowered Korean women status after joining the projects by the government. In the past, the Korean society perceived women's role as strictly limited to housekeeping affairs. Women were as limited personalities and prohibited from engaging in any public or social activities. Even within the family major decisions were beyond the scope of women's involvement (Campbell, 1990). Nonetheless, Saemaul Undong offered the opportunity for rural women to officially participate in social activities and engage with the government. At first, their participation was limited to women's work such as household improvement. However, they gradually increased their involvement in village activities. Rural women then participated in village bank programs, non-formal education program, and the agricultural extension program. To promote women's participation in the rural integrated development program, from 1972 the government promoted a women leaders' training program by the leader training institute. The training program included courses such as better home management, family planning by use of new technology. As the result, women leaders became more confident in their role performance. They were willing to participate in the campaign for village improvement and more skillful in exercising leadership. Some of the Saemaul woman leaders proactively and successfully implemented projects which were considered part of men's domain. Their efforts which brought the

outstanding achievements made the public appreciated their capacity and positively changed the general view of women's role in society.

4.2 Analysis on World Bank's Framework of Measuring Empowerment

It is said that Saemaul Undong played a big role in improving women status since they were the main actor who have propelled the project to an achieved stage. The World Bank's measurement therefore applied to analyze Saemaul Undong whether it affected on women empowerment. Units for analyzing are *agency, opportunity structure, degrees of empowerment (DOE), as well as domains and levels*. To study on Oryu village case, domain or where empowerment took place is 'society'. It includes both intra-household relationships and intra-community relationships as sub-domains. Therefore the operating choice level (Saemaul Undong project) is exactly the local level where Oryu village portrayed neighborhood and community concept.



Source: Alsop, Bertelsen, and Holland. 2006.

4.2.1 Agency

Agency is conceptualized by identifying each individual's 'asset endowment'.

According to the World Bank criteria, assets include the array of psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial, and human resources. People call on in their daily lives such as human assets (skills or literacy) and psychological assets (self-confidence or the capacity to envision alternatives). Analyzing agency and opportunity structure can help explain how, why, and how greatly the actor (who are Mrs. Chung and women in Oryu village in this case) is empowered. To conceptualize agency by identifying actor's asset endowment, this following table demonstrates resources Oryu female villagers had at that time:

Table 8 Asset Endowment in Oryu Village

Type of Asset	Resources in Oryu Village	
	Before Implementing Saemaul Undong Project	After Implementing Saemaul Undong Project
1. Human assets (education, skills, and health)	The leader's literacy level (high school graduated)	Middle school level and industrial high school level graduated
2. Informational assets (accessibility to informal and formal sources of information)	Being a wife of a public official who worked in township office,	Training programs in Saemaul Undong training center
3. Material assets (individual and collective ownership in	Each household owned averaged amount of land	- Expanded cultivated lands in the mountain

land, equipment, housing, and infrastructure)	in the mountain for cultivation.	- Machines for cottage industry - Bridges for public use
4. Organizational assets (membership of local organizations)	Some villagers were members of the Family Planning Mother's club	Membership of Saemaul women's club
5. Psychological assets (self-perceived exclusion and happiness)	Sociability, self-confidence to envision change after accessed to information	More confidence from achievements in previous Saemaul Undong projects
6. Social assets (relationships and networks)	Networks from being members of the Family Planning Mother's club and clan-typed village	Stronger networks from joining Saemaul women's club for saving and income increasing activities

According to the table, women in Oryu village possessed sufficient resources in both before and after Saemaul Undong project implementation. They could take opportunities for empowerment. These resources they had and later developed in their daily lives since Mrs. Chung, the leader of Saemaul women's club had a high school level education. The knowledge motivated her to persuade other women in Oryu village to participate. After cottage industry was settled in the village, women had chance to study until graduating industrial high school level. Furthermore, after Mrs. Chung joining training programs at Saemaul Undong training center, she could

access to information. Information envisioned her alternative options. She could make decision on empowerment direction with the can-do spirit.

Another indicator illustrates social asset in Oryu village is the formation of women's network. Women who participated in Saemaul Undong projects strengthened their capacity by forming a network that contributes to the next projects in the future. They made the name of Saemaul women's club (새마을부녀회) to be known. They actively held meeting among the members every half a month. Similar to Oryu village, they even set goals and agenda of the club to motivate more women. Members were fully determined about the club after they had uniforms. These club members realized their duties to cooperate the projects and were functioned to organize other subgroups such as establishment of saving groups which focused on collecting member's rice to make bankbooks for villager's investment. They also did fund-raising for constructing village infrastructure with the strength of women's network. They sold socks and sportswear to other villages.

4.2.2 Opportunity Structure

Apart from asset endowment which combined to be agency, opportunity structure is another significant unit to analyze with. According to the World Bank's document, opportunity structure is about the context of formal and informal institution. It affects the actor whether accessing to assets and the extent to which they can deploy those assets to achieve desired outcomes. In the Oryu village case,

formal institution is the government's policy on national rural development. The government authorized its scheme to Saemaul Training Center as well as local government to facilitate the Saemaul Undong projects to village level. Informal institution is the Saemaul women's club founding based on Mrs. Chung and some female villagers' confidence on improvement and sustainability to young generation. Young women decided to stay in the village when a small factory was established in the village and created jobs for them. Since the saving program was achieved, women gained recognition from their mothers-in-law. Their recognition became another opportunity structure which empowered the members in term of financial power. Their mothers-in-law let their daughters-in-law manage household finance. Women were then able to decide on family expense direction which much helped them saving more.

Apart from authorizing in household finance, women gained profits from doing some additional public works. They did rice planting and rice harvesting as well as profit projects for example cultivating other types of fruits and vegetable and also raising cows and pigs. These additional projects were also the opportunity structure. They enabled the members to develop and continue doing their income increasing.

When analyzing both institutions, the results show formal and informal institutions alternately responded to each other in every single step of project implementation. It also means an interactive cooperation between the two institutions.

4.2.3 Degrees of Empowerment (DOE)

Empowerment framework identifies three degrees of empowerment. Actor can realize whether an opportunity to make a choice exists, whether a person or group uses the opportunity to choose, and whether the choice results in the desired outcome.

Three degrees of empowerment thus analyzed the Oryu village case as follows:

A. Existence of choice

At that time, the Family Plan Mother's Club initiated an activity of saving 100 won to make 6% of interest in each month. Mrs. Chung realized this activity as a choice to start the saving program in Oryu village. Furthermore, when implementing Saemaul Undong projects, Mrs. Chung and Saemaul women's club offered a choice for others since they allowed other villagers to participate. As the ceremony for celebrating the first anniversary of Saemaul women's club was held, members invited men to join since they could help expanding the club by persuading their wives to be members. When the first stage of Saemaul Undong projects achieved in the village, women found more choices to continue and develop the projects from what they earned. They could do other profit making projects or creating new projects such as spending money from selling sportswear to invest in the Saemaul women's club as well as students in school.

B. Use of choice

Mrs. Chung realized the public idea of training programs at Saemaul Training Center as the method that would lead her to achieve in developing the village. She finally used the training as a choice and taught other members. Mrs. Chung realized the Saemaul Undong project as a choice of supporting her and women in Oryu to make better living and gain economic stability in household. They could decide whether to save the profits they earned from the previous projects or reinvest for the next projects. They could utilize the choice to improve their standards of living with the profits from chestnut tree farming. Cabinet installation, bridge construction, and scholarship system for children then emerged in Oryu. Young generation could also use achievements of Saemaul Undong project as their choice. Former generation already paved the way for them. Profits from cottage industry which created jobs also became accumulated income in the future use.

C. Achievement of choice

Achievement of choice is a measure of how far a person or group can realize desired outcome. In this case, Saemaul Undong literally became their choice, and women practiced this choice until it improved the village as well as their status. Indicators that display achievement of choice are from profits women earned after doing any income raising activities. Award-winning also indicates the achievements of

the Saemaul Undong project implementation as well. The government granted awards to villages that succeeded in the Saemaul Undong projects. A 'self-reliant village award' is one of the awards for income increase projects. In the certificate, the government allowed village to undertake additional projects. They could do cow raising, small creek readjustment, clam breeding, roof improvement and reforestation. These additional projects could contribute to the villagers' income raising. Villagers who succeeded in previous projects and received awards would be privileged to undertake series of income generating projects with the continued support from the government.

Oryu village also received this award after initiating saving projects by themselves before. The governmental office also funded them to continue other income generating projects. Apart from this award, Saemaul women's club of Oryu village also received a prize of best village for family rite after they regulated the 500-won fine to whoever fights in the village as well. The government selected them as the model village of nutrition improvement and supported them by cookware. They were more confident especially in household improvement after granting this award.

The World Bank's framework as analyzed above can verify that Saemaul Undong project did improve women's status. Women's status from limit in household due to Korean value under the influence of Confucianism developed during an

implementation of economic development policy as well as rural development policy in the 1960s – 1970s. Oryu village is the successful case of Saemaul Undong project because female villagers agreed to alter themselves to any activities that would shift their lives from poverty and consequently became the model village for others.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

There were three major ingredients of the overall success of Saemaul Undong. The first formula was the incentive scheme and competition. During the first year of the Saemaul Undong, the government distributed equal amounts of cement to some 33,000 villages throughout the country. They informed villagers that they are free to use the cement as they appropriately see, but must use it for collective benefits. Farmers began to compete and rally together to win more supplies which eventually unleashed a tidal wave of modernization across rural Korea. The second formula is trust-based leadership at national level. People relied on the state. They agreed to trust what the government led them do in the projects which enabled the Saemaul Undong to achieve maximum synergy. The third formula is the voluntary and proactive engagement of the people. The 'can-do' spirit and willingness to participate improved people stepped up to become the agents of change in the society.

South Korea society passed through the change brought by applying Saemaul Undong projects from foundation and groundwork stage. GNP per capital in 1970 and 1973 were 257 and 375, to the stage of energetic implementation where GNP per capital became 1,394 in 1976 (Saemaul Undong (Center). Such dramatically change showed factors led to the success of implementation. First, the government supported

the residents at the right time to lead their voluntary participation. Second, the government did not interfere in but defined guideline for skills. So the residents voluntarily participated in the project. They elected leader by themselves as well as decided their own project. Third, there was a dedicated leader and the government cultivated a leader with strong leadership through Saemaul training. The leader served his or her duty without pay and took a role as a leader through concentrated training in the Saemaul training institute. Furthermore, the government supported by inducing competitiveness based on self-help spirit with the principle of 'supporting the strongest village first'. It graded villages into 3 classes which are basic, self-help and self-reliance villages. People therefore worked harder to get more resources. Fifth, it was implemented in a village unit. An optimal condition to expand this movement was an old and traditional town. It is interested in community consciousness and public interest of the residents.

Oryu village was one of the villages that participated in Saemaul Undong project. It was outstanding since women led the development. They significantly propelled the project as well as the village to an achievement. The condition of Oryu village before implementing Saemaul Undong project was conservative village ethics and small cultivated acreage which. People accepted their poverty and old customs. Women had no financial power. They had low public presence and did not have any hope to change their children and family's future. Nevertheless, the first leader who

introduced the saving program and other development projects to the village named Mrs. Chung Moon-ja whose husband was a public official who worked in township office. She was elected as the Saemaul women's club president in 1970, in the beginning year of Saemaul Undong, and gained national fame as a successful Saemaul leader.

Since Mrs. Chung had received education until high school level, she thought that it was a privilege at that time so she had a responsibility to make a new village for the women. The trigger that caused Saemaul women's club in later time was when Mrs. Chung came to Oryu village in just a moment. She could recognize the necessity of women's organization to improve the women's miserable lives. At first it was definitely difficult to change people's perception. Mrs. Chung then introduced to activity with reason to change that because women had no economic strength in household. The final amount of members was 40 people that were willingly to train and be under the governmental authorities and administrative agencies.

After that Mrs. Chung participated in trainings, she realized the most effective way to have women in the village started developing together was nothing but training. She went back to the village, used church and her house as venues for meetings. The contents of training were about nutrition improvement, livelihood improvement, child education, ideological training and how to be a better wife. When the members gained knowledge more, the content of lecture went deeper which was mostly focusing on

national economic development. The first activity that women in Oryu village actually did was kitchen improvement. Mrs. Chung offered to use each member's wedding ring to make money for fund-raising. This way was successful and was so popular among Korean housewives later during 1997 financial crisis as well. The group thereby gained more popularity after the governor visited the village and rewarded them. Mrs. Chung decided to adopt the executive system in the group since she thought that it must be expanded.

Government also supported the activities by Oryu women. They provided materials for construction project of village environmental improvement. Furthermore, they announced "Competition D-100" to inspire people to finish their work as soon as possible. Women were willing to work for village development which was different from other villages.

Moreover, agricultural extension office trained Saemaul women's club in Oryu village for nutrition improvement. Women implemented a rice-saving program which they saved one cup of rice in every meal. They later sold it and have money for buying facilities so their hygienic lives were improved. While they were implementing saving program, village market, and public work, the village applied for and granted the government support by receiving two tons of steel, as well as five hundred sacks of cement.

According to women's works in Oryu village and supported projects from the government, it is able to see the interdependence between these two actors. Members and Mrs. Chung all wished to have better living and financial power in household. They started some projects such as savings before receiving assistance from the government. The government also responded to the needs well since they always wanted to promote the example village to others in order to have rural development in national level. Eventually, Oryu village became a good village and hardworking village to neighboring villages.

To analyze whether Saemaul Undong project literally improved women status, it is crucial to understand South Korea's social context first. Confucianism ideology had a strong influence in Korean society since Yi dynasty (Chosun period), women and men were apparently different depend on the duties they have. While men went to work outside the household, women would become the main actor who responsible for all household affairs. They did not only hold the full authority within households as inner masters, but also strictly followed the 'Hyunmo-Yangcho' principle to be a good wife, and wise mother. They must sacrifice for their families. As time went by, when the government introduced the national development plans during the 1960s, people experienced the social transition due to modernization and materialism. There were numerous changes and adaptation in people. Women were also big component of these changes. Their literary skills made them realized the opportunities of

development. With the need of strengthening their household economic power, they also grew self-help behavior. They participated in economic cooperation for instance a Korean traditional cooperative called Gye. Gye is another significant factor that later brought the idea of Saemaul Undong core principles. The government therefore used a sense of self-help as one of the Saemaul Undong's core principles with the main objective of rural development in the whole country.

To operate such rural development projects, the government needed important labors. Women in rural areas who were struggling with poverty became the government's target group of this policy. The government introduced Saemaul Undong to them since the early 1970s with the slogans of diligence, self-help, and cooperation. Women were encouraged to start working with the project trained by Saemaul Undong center. Similar to Oryu village, it was fortunate to have a leader like Mrs. Chung. She was always ready to join training programs and later teach other members actively. The village consequently gained reputation since the government used it as a model to other villages. Women status was also empowered after the government admired them as another key factor of the successful Saemaul Undong project.

Though this study indicates there was women empowerment occurred in Oryu village after implementing Saemaul Undong project, it is merely the effect of what the government itself did not intend to do at first. The World Bank's framework measures this case that there is women empowerment. The opportunity structure supported the

assets they had. Assets are literacy and information accessibility. Women therefore seized this choice and succeeded improvement. In addition, it is known that Korean value has been under the influence of Confucianism ideology in which identified men and women's apparent duties. Women always have authority in household. When there was Saemaul Undong project implementation, the role of woman increased. The government just assigned them to assist for the national rural development. Therefore, women empowerment which occurred from voluntary labor during and after the Saemaul Undong promotion was merely an unintended consequence.

To summarize the main point of this study, Korean women status had been basically under the Confucian society. Until the 1970s, the government proposed a national policy which aimed to have the rural development through Saemaul Undong project. They used women as the key actor who practiced the major roles in this rural development. The result of the policy implementation is rural development emerged and successful. In addition, women who pushed Saemaul Undong to this success also benefited since their status was enhanced.

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VITA

NAME: Miss Pichayapa Deethonglang

DATE OF BIRTH: 19 July 1990

PLACE OF BIRTH: Nakornratchasima, Thailand

EDUCATION: Thammasat University, Thailand, 2009-2012

Bachelor in Political Science (International Program),

Major in Politics and International Relations,

Minor in Public Administration

