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DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN RURAL KOREA*

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Introduction

The last two decades in Korea have been marked by an impressive record of economic and social development. As a basically agrarian society at the end of the Second World War, Korea had remained an economically poor and homogeneous country undergoing the devastation of a war and political instability in the fifties. Until the early sixties, the government, judging from its various policies, had not attached a high priority to development goals. However, this does not mean that there were no developmental efforts made in the fifties. In fact, certain institutional changes such as increased literacy, land reform, and industrial recovery in the fifties, paved the way for industrialization in the sixties. The drive for planned economic growth through industrialization only started in the early sixties. In 1962 a new government adopted a political strategy that made economic development its main goal, thereby initiating a series of Five-Year Economic Development Plans. The major goals of the development plans were to build an industrial base and to promote modernization of the industrial structure.

Owing to the two decades of development, the character of Korean society has changed dramatically. Although the process is still in progress, Korea has been transformed into an urban-industrial society from a rural-agricultural society. Even a brief survey of easily available data reveals this. In 1961, the year before the initiation of the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan, per capita GNP stood at a meager 95 US dollars. By 1978 it had reached 1,242 dollars. Korea's total and per capita GNP have risen 10.2 percent and 8.0 percent respectively per year in real terms during the period 1962-1976 (Kim and Park 1979, 20). The expansion in the industrial sector has also brought about a structural change in the industry-mix of the economy (see Table 1). At the same time the proportion of urban population also has increased from 28.0 percent to 55.0

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TABLE 1 RATIO OF GNP BY INDUSTRY

	Unit: Percent		
	1962	1971	1978
Total	100	100	100
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	39.7	28.0	21.2
Mining and Manufacturing	16.7	22.8	28.2
Social Overhead and Services Industries	43.6	48.3	50.6

Source: The Bank of Korea, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1963, 1979.

TABLE 2 Urban Population in Korea

Year	Total Population (in 1,000)	Urban Population (in 1,000)	Percent Urban Pop.
1960	24,989	6,997	28.0
1966	29,182	9,805	33.6
1970	31,457	12,929	41.1
1975	34,698	16,794	48.4
1979*	37,871	20,829	55.0

*This is not census population.

Sources: Kwon et. al. 1975; Economic Planning Board, *Korea Statistical Yearbook*, 1980.

percent during the period 1960-79 (Table 2). Some other indicators of development can be seen in Table 3.

The transformation of a rural-agricultural society into an urban-industrial one means rapid sociocultural transformation, i.e., multitudinous change processes. Sociocultural transformation is such a broad and complex concept that one may never be able to comprehend the real nature of it. One way of dealing with this problem is limiting one's discussion to certain aspects of change concentrating on a specific group. In this paper

TABLE 3 SOME INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT

Item	Unit	Year	
		1961	1975
Education: Enrollment Rate			
Middle school	%	42.3*	75.2
High school	%	27.5*	43.6
Colleges, Universities	%	9.7*	12.2
Communication:			
TV receiver	1,000	31.0	1913.3
Transportation:			
Express highway	Km	0	1142.4
Private automobile	1,000	18.1	101.4
Electricity generation capacity	1,000 Kw	367	4719
Health: Physician	1,000	8	16.8

* For the year of 1966.

Sources: Economic Planning Board, *Social Indicators in Korea 1981*; *Korea Statistical Yearbook*. 19-6.

the focus will be placed on rural change and development in Korea. Specifically, the objective of the present paper is to examine major changes in rural Korea in relation to development in the past two decades or so.

There are two reasons for limiting my discussion to rural change and development. First, concentrating on a specific social unit undergoing change makes our task more manageable. Second, rural development in Korea has been of great social concern in the recent past. As implied earlier, successful development came about through a greater concentration of manufacturing and other industries based in urban centers. A social repercussion of such an urban-industrial-centered economic growth strategy has been the development of rural underdevelopment as evidenced by widening rural-urban disparities (Choe 1981, 116). Therefore, an examination of rural change and its place in the overall national development effort will not only contribute to our understanding of sociocultural transformation in Korea but it also has important merits in its own right.

Some General Trends of Rural Change

Although there exists limited data most of the existing studies depict rural Korea before 1960 with such traits as poverty, illiteracy, high birth rate, lack of social mobility and change, and traditionalism (see Kim 1979, 93-95, 144-147; Brandt and Lee 1979, 15-16; Lee 1973). If this is the correct assessment, we could expect with ease that rural Korea was relatively stagnant in most aspects of life. A logical procedure from here is, then, focusing our analysis on what has been changing in rural Korea since 1960. Such analysis, of course, requires systematic empirical research of a longitudinal nature. Unfortunately, such studies are scarce. Due to the lack of comparable data, my discussion has to be dictated by the scanty materials, only describing some general trends of change. In this respect, the limitation of the present paper is recognized. Now, let me begin with some macro, descriptive accounts of broad social change in rural Korea in the past two decades or so.

The most noticeable change in rural Korea since 1960 has been that of population change. On the whole, population movement since the 1960s was characterized by rural desertion and urban concentration. One estimate of net migration between rural and urban areas during 1960-66 showed that the urban area gained more than one and a half million persons while rural areas lost about the same number of people. The number of net gain and loss has even increased during the 1966-70 intercensal period to 2,321 thousands (Kim 1979, 150).

Even though the pace of rural out-migration has slowed since the early 1970s, the overwhelming tendency of rural-to-urban migration has been apparent throughout the 1970s. For example, the absolute number

TABLE 4 FARM POPULATION

Year	Total Population(A) (in 1,000)	Farm Population(B) (in 1,000)	B/A %	Persons Per Household	Population Growth Rate
1961	25,766	14,509	56.3	—	—
1962	26,513	15,097	56.9	—	—
1963	27,262	15,266	56.0	6.33	—
1964	27,984	15,553	55.6	6.35	—
1965	28,705	15,812	55.1	6.31	—
1966	29,436	15,781	53.6	6.21	2.55
1967	30,131	16,078	53.4	6.22	2.36
1968	30,838	15,903	51.6	6.17	2.35
1969	31,544	15,589	49.4	6.12	2.29
1970	32,241	14,421	44.8	5.81	2.21
1971	32,883	14,712	44.7	5.93	1.99
1972	33,505	14,677	43.8	5.99	1.81
1973	34,103	14,645	42.9	5.78	1.78
1974	34,692	13,459	38.8	5.65	1.73
1975	35,281	13,244	37.5	5.57	1.70
1976	35,849	12,785	35.7	5.43	1.61
1977	36,436	12,309	33.8	5.34	1.57
1978	36,969	11,527	31.1	5.18	1.53
1979	37,534	10,883	28.9	5.03	1.53

Source: Economic Planning Board, *Korea Statistical Yearbook*, 1981.

of farm population has been consistently declining since 1967. In 1967, the farm population amounted to 16,078 thousands; by 1979 it was only 10,883 thousands (see Table 4). The decrease in the absolute number of farm population is directly related to the excessive out-migration of young people who can be active in farming. The heavy out-migration of working age population from rural areas can be demonstrated by examining the dependency ratio of the rural population. The census data show that the rural areas reached a dependence ratio of 107.3 in 1970 from a previous ratio of 98.0 in 1960, an increase of 9.4 points. By contrast, urban area experienced a drop of the ratio by 11.3 points during the same period, marking 71.0 from a previous ratio of 82.3 (Table 5). The dependency ratio is, of course, closely related to the changes in the size of the working-

TABLE 5 YOUTH, AGED AND TOTAL DEPENDENCY RATIOS, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1960-1970

	1960		1966		1970	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Youth	75.5	85.8	71.5	92.5	64.9	93.4
Aged	6.8	12.2	6.4	12.3	6.1	13.9
Total	82.3	98.0	77.9	104.8	71.0	107.3

Source: 1960, 1966 and 1970 census.

age population and the levels of the youth and the aged.

This population change has brought about a series of related consequences: a chronic labor shortage, increased labor participation by women and the aged, and increased mechanization in farming.

The change in the economic sphere presents a somewhat mixed picture. Generally speaking, the overall real income of farm households has substantially increased since the late sixties. However, the relative income position of farm households fell drastically to below the 70 percent level of the urban worker's household income between 1967 and 1970. The relative income position of farm households gradually improved during the early 1970s, eventually surpassing that of urban worker's household income in 1974. But it fell again in 1978 and has been on the downward shift since then (Table 6). The statistics show that a rural-urban income disparity had been persistently maintained during the late 1960s, while a significant improvement in the economic position of farm households was noted especially during the mid 1970s.

TABLE 6 RURAL AND URBAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Year	Average Monthly Income of Urban Wage Earner Household (A)	Average Monthly Income of Rural Household (B)	In Won
			B/A %
1964	8,100	10,474	129.3
1965	9,380	9,350	99.3
1966	13,460	10,848	80.6
1967	20,720	12,456	60.1
1968	23,830	14,913	62.6
1969	27,800	18,156	65.3
1970	31,770	21,317	67.1
1971	37,660	29,699	78.9
1972	43,120	35,783	83.0
1973	45,850	40,059	87.4
1974	53,710	56,204	104.6
1975	71,610	72,744	101.6
1976	95,980	96,355	100.4
1977	117,090	119,401	102.0
1978	159,690	157,016	98.3
1979	219,133	185,624	84.7
1980	267,096	224,425	84.0

Source: Economic Planning Board, *Social Indicators in Korea*, 1981.

With respect to the size of farm land cultivated by farm households, the proportion of farm households in the lowest echelon of average farm size (i.e., below 0.3 ha.) and the upper echelon (i.e., over 2 ha.) were decreasing in general between 1965 and 1979. The proportion of farm households in the middle echelon (i.e., 0.5–1 ha.) has been steadily increasing since 1965. However, it should be clear, from reading the data shown in

TABLE 7 PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND (%)

Year	Non-Crop Farms	Below 0.3 ha	0.3-0.5 ha	0.5-1 ha	1-2ha	2-3ha	over 3ha	Total
1965	—	17.2	18.7	31.7	25.6	5.6	1.2	100.0
1970	2.9	15.7	15.9	33.2	25.8	5.0	1.5	100.0
1975	4.0	13.0	16.0	34.8	26.5	4.7	1.5	100.0
1979	3.8	13.9	16.8	35.3	25.7	4.2	1.2	100.0

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Yearbook of Agriculture and Forestry Statistics*, 1980.

Table 7, that changes in the average size of farm land have been far from dramatic. In fact, cultivated area per farm household remained in the neighborhood of 1.0 ha. throughout the last two decades. With the limited land resources as constant, therefore, improvement in farm household income has been dependent upon such development efforts as technological advancement, agricultural price supports, and government-initiated rural development projects.

Thus far, some general trends of change in rural Korea have been identified, largely relying on macroscopic statistical data available. The most noticeable trends were the continuing decline of farm population due to excessive out-migration, and a significant improvement in the economic condition of farm households entering the 1970s. For the improvement, technological development and the policies of the government seem to have played an important role.

In the following, an attempt will be made to explain the observed change trends in conjunction with overall national development.

Rural change must be understood in the context of overall national development as it takes place in a rapidly changing social and economic setting. In this respect, rural population change presents an excellent example since it occurs as a function of many different sets of factors.

Although the First Five-Year Development Plan was initiated in 1962, its impact was not felt until the latter half of the 1960s. Until 1965 average household income was about the same for both farm and urban wage earners (see Table 6). However, there were signs indicating the worsening economic condition of farm households as the land/man ratio increased. As has been seen earlier, while the average size of farms remained at about 1.0 hectare, the absolute number of farm households and population was increasing until 1967 (see Table 4). Therefore, the out-migration of rural population in the early sixties was primarily caused by the fact that the crowded condition of rural areas simply could not absorb the additional increment of population.

The economy of Korea gained its full momentum during the latter half of the 1960s due to the development strategy of accelerated urban industrialization. Between 1966 and 1970 the annual growth rate of GNP

by the agriculture, forestry, and fishery sector averaged 4.0 percent while manufacturing advanced 21.3 percent (Handbook of Korean Economy 1977). During this period the income gap between farm and urban areas widened (see Table 6). With the rapidly expanding urban economy, growing cities such as Seoul and Pusan enhanced their capacity to absorb most increases in the rural labor force. Thus, by 1970, 'urban pull' rather than 'rural push' had become more important for the flow of population. It is especially true if we consider the fact that the level of farm household income increased during the latter half of the 1960s in spite of widening rural-urban disparities (see Table 6).

Since the early 1970s, a number of major policy changes have taken effect in order to achieve a more balanced rural and urban development. Regional industrial centers have been planned for balanced regional development and a major integrated rural development project (i.e., New Community Movement) has been activated to improve the village economy. Agricultural policies have assisted a rapid adoption of "green revolution" technologies, and as a result of the New Community Movement coupled with agricultural pricing policies, rural-urban household income inequalities have been lessened. Consequently, the pace of rural out-migration has slowed since 1970, but its scale is still alarming and it continues to be a leading component of urban population growth.

According to the official statistics, the ratio of farm household income against that of the urban worker's household has steadily been on the rise during the early 1970s, finally surpassing it in 1974 (see Table 6). However, the absolute amount of farm population has been consistently declining even after the year of 1974. It is appropriate here to remember that the farm population had dropped to below the 1961 level by 1974 (see Table 4). Therefore, the continued decline of farm population in spite of lessened population pressure and improved economic conditions seems to require more than a simple economic explanation.

Changes in Values and Expectations

The purpose of this section is not to discuss at length all the possible changes in people's values and expectations. As has been seen earlier, the rural exodus is continuing and is expected to continue for some time to come. The focus of my discussion, therefore, will be placed on some basic changes in rural people's values and expectations which are considered to be relevant for the explanation of such a phenomenon.

About a generation ago, Korea was a basically agrarian society where agriculture constituted the main line of industry. In such a society, farmers enjoyed relatively high social standing, occupying the highest estate among commoners, only next to the ruling 'yangban' class. Occupations related

to manufacturing and commerce were given a lower social standing. Therefore, even poverty-stricken farmers had the view of occupation that "farmers are the mainstay of the country." The situation, however, has changed tremendously. During the years of rapid economic growth, the highest development priorities have always been given to industrial growth and urbanization in Korea. As a result, the social standing of agriculture as an occupation has been much degraded in Korean society. With industrialization and urbanization in Korea, higher income and better educational/cultural opportunities in cities have given more prestige to urban than rural life. And farmers have lost the psychological satisfaction related to agriculture. In fact, many farmers today concede that their living conditions have improved remarkably in the recent decade or so. But they do not want their sons to enter farming. According to a recent survey of farmers (Kim and Choi 1982), only 3.1 percent of farmers interviewed expressed their willingness to recommend farming to their children. A more interesting result is found in a 1976 study of male students in agricultural schools in a rural district (Cho 1976). When the students were asked to name places they hoped to live in the future, 75.3 percent of them wanted to live in cities. Also, surprisingly, only 6.7 percent of them wanted to engage in farming.

Another factor related to rural out-migration is the rising expectation level on the part of rural people.

In traditional Korea, rural communities (i.e., villages) were small-scale, economically self-sufficient, characterized by primary social relationships, and more or less isolated social units. Being tied to the land, in isolation from the outside world, and lacking resources for developmental change, apathetic orientation and fatalism prevailed. Therefore, the Korean peasantry has generally been a passive agent and resistant to change throughout history.

Such resignation and fatalism were shaken, however, in the process of modernization. Even impoverished farmers no longer submit themselves to poverty and low social position but harbor a strong desire to move upward. This may be called a "revolution of rising expectation." The rising expectation is doubtless a revolutionary change that is taking place in the traditional value system (Lim 1976, 5).

The "rising expectation" and other related attitude changes among rural villagers are generally attributed to the development of modern transportation and mass communication systems. With these developments, isolation has been replaced by a system of continuous interchange throughout the culture.

The impact of mass media seems to be of great significance in Korea as almost all rural households are under the influence of radio and television today. The beginning of extensive rural exposure to mass media may be the time when the Korean government initiated the rural amplifier

TABLE 8 TV WATCHING OF THE POPULATION 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY AREA

	TV Watching Population (%)			Weekly Hours of TV Watching		
	1977	1979	1980	1977	1979	1980
Urban Area	62.9	85.1	85.9	15.2	15.7	15.9
Rural Area	45.6	80.6	82.4	13.4	14.3	16.0

Source: Economic Planning Board, *Social Indicators in Korea*, 1981.

system on a national scale in the early sixties. This was gradually replaced by individual ownership of radios and, later, television sets.

The extensive popularization of mass media in rural Korea can be demonstrated by the following data. Table 8 indicates that the rate of TV watching population in rural areas was 45.6 percent in 1977 and it increased sharply to 82.4 percent by 1980. When the rate is compared with that of urban areas, almost no difference was observed in 1980.

Nowadays, rural villagers' level of expectation is identical with the living standard of the urban middle class with which they have already been familiarized through the mass media (Cho 1982, 221), and formal education. Nevertheless, opportunities can hardly be found in rural villages to satisfy this expectation which has risen to a higher level. The interplay of two factors, the urban-rural disparity generated by industrialization of urban areas on the one hand and the "revolution of rising expectation" on the other, seems to promote both the feeling of relative deprivation in rural communities and the aspiration for cities. It is evident, therefore, that the revolution which has been taking place in rural Korea during the past decade or so is considerably responsible for the continuous rural exodus.

The New Community Movement: An Integrated Rural Development Program

My discussion so far has touched upon some general trends of rural change in relation to overall national development. In doing so, special attention has been given to the effect of the industrialization that has been actively proceeding outside the rural sector. Any discussion on rural change in Korea, however, would not be complete if one does not consider major developmental efforts specifically designed to bring about change in the rural sector. In the following, I will briefly describe the nature, process, and accomplishments of Korea's major rural development program, i.e., the New Community Movement.

The New Community Movement was conceived and initiated in the early 1970s when the widening gap between rural and urban inequalities required close social attention as it was becoming a source of serious socio-political strain in Korea. Of course, there had been a variety of

community development programs before the New Community Movement, but those programs were operated more or less independently and in a disjointed fashion. The New Community Movement is unique in that it is not only a program on a national scale but also, in its ideal, truly an integrated rural development program.

The New Community Movement is defined as follows: "It is a community development movement aimed at improvement of the economic, social, and cultural life of the people and their environmental conditions, through inculcation of attitudes and values of diligence, cooperation, and self-help, cultivation of grass-roots leadership, and through the active voluntary participation of the people in the community. As such, it is a comprehensive social movement which is an integral part of the national modernization effort to achieve stable and balanced development of the nation" (Kim 1979, 85-86).

As can be seen in the definition, the New Community Movement has been the most extensive and ambitious rural development program the Korean government has ever implemented. However, in the actual process of realizing the lofty goals implied in the definition, there have been practical considerations to be made in terms of priorities, sequences, and adjustments.

The New Community Movement started with projects for improving the environment in order to encourage rural villagers to participate in the Movement by recognizing the visible results accomplished by their own efforts. During the period between October 1970 and June 1971, the government distributed 335 bags of cement for each village for more than 30,000 villages around the country. In 1972, the government selected 16,600 villages which had attained excellent results in projects for improving the village environment, and encouraged their morale by supplying 500 bags of cement and one ton of reinforcing steel to each village. At the same time, a training center was established to educate village leaders. In 1973 the Movement was expanded and the scope of participation enlarged, so it became a national movement (see Table 9). Emphasis was also shifted from basic projects for improving the environment to projects

TABLE 9 THE EXPANSION OF THE NEW COMMUNITY MOVEMENT: 1971-1978

	Unit	1971	1973	1975	1977	1978
Participating villages	number	32,267	34,665	36,557	36,557	36,257
Participants	million	72	693	1,169	1,372	2,709
Projects	1,000	385	1,093	1,598	2,463	2,667
Government support	100 million (won)	41	215	1,653	2,460	3,384
Average investment per village	1,000 won	367	2,839	8,096	12,764	17,492

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Saemaul Undong*, 1973, 1975, 1978.

for increasing income.

In addition to the government's material aids, some organizational considerations were made at the grass-root level so as to secure wider voluntary participation and continuous social mobilization. Selection of the village leaders for the Movement, for instance, was left to the villagers themselves, unlike the government appointed administrative village leader.

Although specific programs of the New Community Movement are numerous and extensive, they can be classified into three categories: 1) Spiritual enlightenment and rationalization of living, which embrace those activities such as encouraging simplification in wedding and funeral ceremonies, diligent life, savings, and eradication of superstition; 2) Environmental improvement, which covers such projects as electrification, road construction, house renovation, improved drainage systems, drinking water, public laundry places, public bath houses, and so on; and 3) Farm income increase, which includes the following projects: land consolidation, irrigation, the introduction of high yield crop varieties, mechanization, processing of agricultural products, specifilized cash crop farming, loan programs, etc. (Kim 1973, 141-142).

The New Community Movement is generally viewed as a success story in Korea. According to the official accounts, as of the end of 1974, all villages in the nation have participated in the New Community Movement. At the same time, the average number of projects and the amount of investment per village have been increasing as the momentum of the movement goes on. The scale and the intensity of the movement is well reflected in the following statistics. In 1978 the average number of projects per village was 74 and the amount of investment per village was estimated as more than 25,000 U.S. dollars (Whang 1980, 35).

With such massive participation and socioeconomic mobilization, it seems only natural to expect some positive results from the New Community Movement. In fact, numerous studies concerning the Movement have reported many positive effects of the New Community Movement, especially in the areas of rural economic growth and living conditions (see Brandt and Lee 1979, 79; NAERI 1975, 7-11; Whang 1980, 189-190). However, with respect to changes in values and attitudes caused by the New Community Movement, no systematic study can be found. Part of the reason may be that, unlike tangible results, changes in values and attitudes are difficult to assess. Also, the time passed since the large-scale activation of the Movement is relatively short to observe any significant changes in values and attitudes. Furthermore, one should not overlook the fact that changes in values and attitudes have been underway in the process of the overall transformation of Korea. For these reasons, studies on this aspect of change are scanty and, at most, fragmentary observations and interpretations are thrown out. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to treat the subject from a broad perspective, focusing on some basic

problems manifested in the process of the New Community Movement.

The process of the New Community Movement contains an inherent contradiction in promoting conflicting values. It promotes the spirit of cooperation among the villagers within a village, but, at the same time, encourages sharp competition between villages due to its reward system based on achievement. Furthermore, the apparent collectivistic orientation implied in the movement may create some tension with the general trend toward individualism prevailing in the whole society. The exact meaning of these strains is not clear at this point. However, it does have an important implication for the future direction in which the New Community Movement must proceed.

A long-term, sustained growth requires broad productive bases. In this respect, the scope of the New Community Movement has been a very limited one, as the focus of the Movement has been strictly confined to the natural village level without regional and national linkages. As long-term success requires the broadening of its units to regions and the whole nation, the spatial unit for rural development must be expanded to a region or "agropolis" (see Friedman and Douglas 1976, 371-378). This of course, points to a need for inter-village cooperation. And yet, no such consideration has been made in the New Community Movement. In relation to this, an interesting hypothesis can be drawn. The rapid improvement of the relative income position of the farm household came about with the initiation of the New Community Movement in the early seventies. However, farm household income fell to below the level of the urban worker's in 1978 and has been on the downward shift since then. This may be an indication that the Movement's potential for rural economic growth reached its optimal point by the late 1970s. Of course, this is an empirical question yet to be answered.

Although the New Community Movement promotes cooperation within a village, the bases of cooperation seem to have changed during the recent past, partly due to the Movement. The most important consideration for cooperative activities in a rural village today is economic in its nature, whereas the bases for cooperation in the past have been personal and ethical ones (Whang 1980, 91). Once widespread traditional labor exchange systems called 'Pumashi' and 'Dure' have been disappearing rapidly during the 1970s. And the overwhelming trend nowadays is that people engage in cooperative activities because there are economic reasons to do so. Many writers feel that such change is partially, if not entirely, related to the New Community Movement. The majority of the Movement's projects, explicitly or implicitly, have emphasized economic prosperity. As long as this goal is stressed, the consumer orientation and economic achievement motivation enhanced through the Movement is going to keep promoting individuation of the people and hence individualism-by-default (Kim 1979, 168). If this proposition is correct, the change

will certainly have negative effects for the continued mobilization of socio-economic resources in the future.

In spite of certain limitations and problems, the New Community Movement has made a significant stride forward in connection with rural development and change. Several reasons may be identified for this success. First, the land reform implemented in the 1950s provided an economic setting for low economic inequalities in rural areas, thereby creating a social atmosphere conducive to democratic cooperation. Second, the latent developments that have been underway, for example, for formal education and the expansion of mass communication systems, have contributed to the formation of social conditions that are congenial to promoting wider participation. Third, such experiences as the Korean war, mandatory military service, and attending school away from home have brought favorable attitude toward change among Koreans in general. Fourth, by 1970 the government had accumulated enough skills for efficient and effective organization and mobilization of the administrative bureaucrats. Fifth, by 1970 Korea's economy had expanded enough to pay sufficiently independent attention to the rural sector. Sixth, the political leadership was strongly committed to rural development.

All these factors, combined together, have paved the way for the successful implementation of the New Community Movement. If the New Community Movement continues to be as successful as in the 1970s, it must make proper adjustments to the changing socio-economic conditions of the 1980s. In this respect, a new test for the New Community Movement has just begun.

Summary and Conclusion

Development and change are on-going processes. It is a chain reaction, as the solution of one problem creates another. The twenty-year experience of Korea in terms of development and change represents an excellent example in this respect.

The major problems in Korea before 1960 were chronic poverty, high rates of illiteracy and population growth, and the lack of development. An immediate answer to the problem seemed to lie in economic growth, and a development strategy had to be drawn in pursuit of the solution. The choice of the strategy rested on a variety of factors unique to Korea: the small size of domestic markets in the early 1960s, plentiful inexpensive labor, relatively scarce land and capital, and a comparative advantage that could be exploited in world markets (Kuznets 1980, 46). Consequently, a development strategy which placed a disproportionately heavy emphasis on industrialization was adopted and implemented vigorously in the 1960s. The development strategy solved many problems

identified previously. However, with the many changes development has brought about, new issues and problems emerged. Among these were the growing rural-urban disparity and excessive rural out-migration. During the late 1960s and early 1970s new development strategies were assembled to meet those problems. It was under these circumstances that the idea of the New Community Movement was conceived and born. This developmental effort caused numerous changes in the rural sector, especially lessening rural-urban income inequalities. However, it has not been able to solve all the problems due to its own limitations. At the same time, developments in education and mass communication have promoted the feeling of relative deprivation in rural areas, thus causing continued rural out-migration especially among the young and educated. As a result, a growing concern over the undesirable rural population structure is being expressed.

Although the present account of development and change in rural Korea is very crude and simplistic, the discussion thus far has been instrumental in identifying a central issue in rural change. What is needed in order to promote desirable changes in the rural society is the balanced development of rural and urban sectors, taking into account the linkages between them. As has been seen through the examination of the Korean case, rural development and change must be understood always in conjunction with the overall development process of the whole society. In the case of rural out-migration, for example, understanding the relationships between the widening rural-urban disparities and the development of mass communication systems was essential.

All the issues in rural development and change, therefore, may be better resolved if we are able to eliminate the gap between the rural and urban sectors. Ultimately, it is necessary to modify our goals of development, shifting the emphasis from production to social equity. Indeed, as Wilber (1979) has noted, economic development should be a means of reducing socio-economic inequalities existing among peoples, sectors, and regions.

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