

A Critical Review of the New Community Movement of Korea with Special Reference to the Concept of Basic Needs Approach*

Sang-Chuel Choe**

Contents

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Introduction | 2. The NCM and the Basic Needs Approach |
| 3. Identification of Basic Needs in the NCM | 4. Village Needs and Individual Needs |
| 5. Monitoring of Village Needs Fulfillment | 6. Post New Community Movement Issues |
| 1) The NCM in Urban Society | 2) Beyond Physical Improvement |
| 3) Spatial Integration | |

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to review the New Community Movement of Korea in the context of the basic needs approach to development. Although a number of studies on the New Community Movement (NCM) which has drawn wide attentions from the countries struggling to uplift the situation of the poverty-stricken rural areas has been conducted, methods and inquiries into the NCM have been largely made without specific reference to a newly emerging philosophy of the basic needs approach to development. In this connection, this study is to shed some lights on commonalities and possible lessons to be learnt by comparing the NCM and the basic needs approach at the micro-level of regional development.

Within little more than a decade, strategies of developing nations have shifted from an almost exclusive concern with economic growth, capital-intensive industrialization and

* A paper submitted to United Nations Centre for Regional Development at International Conference on the Method of Planning for Comprehensive Regional Development held in Nagoya, Japan in December 1978.

** Graduate School of Environmental Studies Seoul National University

central control of development planning. Recently, a new philosophy of development calls for moderate, diversified and balanced growth, integrated spatial development, and increased agricultural production. It aims at more equitable distribution of income for the rural poor, labor intensive industrialization, and decentralized planning and decision-making. However, this train of thoughts needs to be calibrated to take its foot on ground to graft a new thought of development into an unique socio-economic environment of country. The new approach to development being advocated by international circles or motivated by the country's indigeneous awareness is largely based on growth with equity centering on agriculture and the poor majority of the nation.

In the late 1960's Korea was also strongly felt, after the ten-year indulgence with aggregate economic growth that there was the great difficulty of enhancing the general welfare of lower stratum of the nation's population and of reducing distributive inequalities without promoting the agricultural sector in national development policy. The NCM did not come in vaccum of the past. In Korea, numerous attempts to promote rural development had been carried out by the government as well as by civil and religious agencies before the NCM was formally launched. Some project were designed to develop the rural areas through increased agricultural production, while others tried to eliminate what were regarded as backward, irrational or unsanitary practices of rural life. Educational policies had fostered more scientific attitude, persuading farmers to carry out wedding and funeral ceremonies or ancestor worship rituals with less extravagance. In other cases, efforts were made to reform the social systems. But it was only recent that a combined approach to rural development was introduced to promote several different kinds of change in a coherent manner; technological innovation, improved community facilities and change in the attitudes and values of farmers as a result of their participation in development projects.

Community development programs were first instituted in 1958, when the Central Committee of Community Development was established. Initially, pilot projects were selected in four provinces, to which trained development leaders were sent. During the next year development projects were carried out in 121 villages throughout the country. The program was similar to the current NCM. By late 1961, the number of demonstration villages had increased to 818, and there were 368 paid community development specialists at work. It is impossible to evaluate the success of this particular development efforts because of the social, economic and political instability that prevailed during the

period The Syngman Rhee Government collapsed in 1960, and in May 1961 Chang Myon's Democratic Party Government was overthrown in a military coup. The Military Government established the Central Committee for National Reconstruction in 1961 in order to modernize people's attitudes and ways of living. A considerable part of the National Reconstruction Movement's activities were actually directed at community development. In March 1962 all village development programs were transferred to the Office of Rural Development, where they were integrated with other agricultural extension services.

Not until 1970 did the Government initiate a new kind of community development program. In April 1970 at the Provincial Governors Meeting, President Park proposed a national movement, *Saemaul Undong* (New Community Movement) to improve the quality of life in rural villages. In the next year he adopted as the slogan for the NCM, "diligence, self-reliance and cooperation". During the first year of the NCM (1970~1971) 335 sacks of cement were distributed to each of 34,665 villages, so that the villagers could improve their village environments. The NCM came into existence as a rough necessity and initiated without a well-defined theoretical and methodological framework. Since 1971, the NCM has gone through some distinct phases of evolution, adding new elements in its programs and expanding spatial scope. The evolutionary process of the NCM is schematically summarized in Table 1. This synoptic view of staging and program emphasis is

Table 1. Evolutionary Staging and Program Emphasis of the New Community Movement

Years	Stages	Program Emphasis	Spatial Scope
1971	Experimentation	Basic living infrastructure facilities (piped water supply, tatched roof improvement with slate, etc.)	All villages over the country
1972	Initiation	Village-scale public works (bridges, farm feeder roads, paddy replotment program, etc.)	16,600 villages were chosen on the base of 1971 performance
1973	Creation of Foundation	Income generation (cottage industry, Saemaul factory, side-income projects)	Classified all villages into 3 classes by development status
1974	Self-reliance	Mass education and leadership training	included secondary organizations (schools, factories, and offices)
1975	Spiritual Enrichment	Moral rearmament (thrifty life, love-your-neighbor, and saving)	Villages and secondary organizations
1976	Spatial enlargement	Large-scale public works beyond a single village	A group of villages works together under the name of the Village Cooperative Scheme)
1977	Spatial Integration	Small town revitalization program and urban NCM	Integration of urban core and rural periphery

only an indicative generalization and is not always clear from one stage to another. As any kind of mass movement needs a guiding principle, the NCM is not exception. The Central Deliberation Council of the NCM and the Ministry of Home Affairs have set the doctrinal and logical ground of the NCM year by year, largely being inspired by the President's occasional messages about the NCM.

2. THE NCM AND THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

The starting point is that the whole concept of the NCM in its development orientation and policy measures seems to share a certain commonality with what is widely known as the basic needs approach to development. It is very hard to explore the relation between the two grand thoughts in development theory and practice which are still shaping up without much confusions and arguments. Basic needs is a micro approach, going down to the level of the single individual human being. It sees development as a question of meeting basic needs at the individual level. The basic needs approach is only interesting if it is accompanied by a relatively specific list of needs and with one more important additional assumption: that the first priority should always be given to those most in need. The cursory definition of the basic needs approach may be misleading but contain some meaningful attributes which are different from those of the conventional development scenario. They are a micro-level development, bottom-up approach to development planning, elimination of distributive inequalities for the poor and neglected segments of a society and special attentions to individual needs rather than national needs. Keeping those attributes of the basic needs approach in mind, the following three points seem to be relevant reasonings for comparing the NCM with the basic needs approach.

First, the NCM was initiated as a reaction against macro- and aggregate-national planning approach prevailed throughout 1960's. The period when the movement first introduced roughly coincided with the heydays of aggregate growth philosophy at the cost of distributive equity between sectors, regions and income classes. The top-down conceptualization of macro-aggregate national development, its technical sophistications, and the lack of relevance to daily life were accepted by the majority of people to belong to outsiders. The concentration on economic growth during the First and Second Five-year Economic plans (1962~1971) assumed that eventually all the people would benefit as the nation attains its industrial goals. However, this was not happened rapidly enough in Korea, and the resultant disparities were a source of tension and social conflict. The

deteriorating rural situation widened the gap between the modern industrial sector and traditional agricultural sector, and became a major source for rapid shift of rural population into a few primate and large cities. Besides, negative attitudes were found among farmers and most of villages were left without potential leaders since those who left were relatively well-educated and young men and women. The agricultural sector in which the majority of the nation's population were engaged at the level of subsistence economy was chosen as a target to begin with the NCM.

The second point is the nature of dualistic approach to development. The NCM was not aiming at replacing the on-going national industrialization objective but to give specific attentions to the least highlighted segments in the process of national development. Since 1972, the top-down, aggregate, macro planning and bottom-up, micro community development have coexisted without channeled coordination. Furthermore both development efforts have been suffering from their own drawbacks in methods and substantial contents. Macro national planning suffers from the problems of misplaced aggregation, inappropriate scale in solving of village-level projects and lack of popular participation in development process. In the meantime, the NCM has been challenged by the diseconomies of scale in the selection and implementation of projects, clash with macro-national needs, and unnecessary competition among villages. However, the NCM has complemented macro-national development method which deals poverty in an indirect and passive way by subordinating the determination of target group to development goals and measures. In the NCM the first step is to define basic needs and is followed by the formulation of goals to the specified needs and by the measures necessary to achieve the goals.

Third, the NCM has been instrumental for resource allocation in favor of the poor and rural population. After the initiation of the NCM, the substantial amount of national resource as compared to the past trend has been transferred to the rural areas in which living environment was far behind that of the national average. Resource here means a rather broad spectrum of government support in terms of material and non-material endorsement. A total amount of government investment was 636.1 billion Won by 1977. As shown in Table-2, government investment has increased from 0.4 percent of the total expenditures of both central and local governments in 1971 to 6.0 percent in 1977. This amount of monetary input has been clearly intended to reorient national priority toward the rural areas.

It is important to know that government support has only played as a seed money to

Table 2. Government Support and Achievements of the NCM (Unit: 1,00 Million Won)

Year Description	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	Total
Government (A)	41	33	215	308	1,653	1,651	2,460	6,361
Estimates of Achievements(B)	122	313	984	1,328	2,957	3,226	4,665	13,547
Total Government Expenditures* (C)	10,342	13,197	13,709	20,477	28,657	36,601	41,087	164,052
B/A	3.0	9.5	4.6	4.3	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.1
A/C	0.4	0.3	1.6	1.5	5.8	4.5	6.0	3.9

* included the central and local governments Source; Ministry of Home Affairs, *Saemaul Undong*, 1978, pp.42-44.

pump-prime the mobilization of non-governmental resources largely from the villagers' contribution of labor. The NCM heavily relies on the materialization of idle labor force, the mobilization of marginal resources unused and untapped,⁽¹⁾ and intermediate technology instead of modern, capital-intensive machines and tools.⁽²⁾ Achievements being brought by the NCM was very striking in the early phase but, as time goes on, performance as compared with the increased government support slowed down from 4.3 times in 1974 to 1.9 times in 1977 as given in Table-2. In spite of difficulty if throughly measuring the net effect of the NCM from that of general development policies, this trend implies that the multiplier effect of government investment by non-governmental contribution tends to decrease as the nature of program changes. It is generally felt that the multiplier effect of the physical improvement of immediate living environment is greater than that of economic programs.

3. IDENTIFICATION OF BASIC NEEDS IN THE NCM

The concept of basic needs is closely associate with the level of abstraction as e.g. 'urban needs' for sewerage and garbage collection or 'national needs' for military defence. For any individual, basic needs is a set of wants after being supplied makes the individual happy and satisfied. But human wants rarely reach a state of complete satisfaction, except possibly for a very short time; as one want is satisfied, another pops up to take its place. As a result, the concept of basic needs varies from one individual to another, but also from place to place and from time to time.

(1) The utilization of marginal resources are illustrated by rice straw for paper production, sand and gravel for local building materials, the conversion of up-hill land with modest slope and soil for agriculture, sericulture and the plantation of fruit trees.

(2) In spite of the availability of labor-saving equipments, the government discouraged to them, recommending to utilize traditional, indigenous technology whatever available to the villagers.

In terms of the level of abstraction, village needs is given a strategic importance in the NCM. Village needs would not be a simple sum of individual needs of the villagers residing in a village. There are much more complexities than that of individual needs. As the course of development is not always same from one village to another, village needs is also so varied that hardly identifiable into one scale. The real issue is how to identify village needs as an aggregate entity of individual needs in a village. As turns out in the survey of three villages, more meat consumption, larger and better house, frequent medical service, more land, improved village facilities are more or less individual needs. What villagers in those particular three villages want would not be greatly different from what other villagers in Korea want. The identification of village needs is something else which is not derived from the felt needs of individual villagers.

Very few inquiries into the process of identifying village needs have been developed. During the first year of the NCM solid guidelines for the role of administrative agencies had not yet been established and as a result there was a good deal of variation in the determination of village project. Although more and less forceful suggestions as to the kinds of projects that might best be undertaken were made to village leaders, actual decision-making concerning the use of the cement furnished by the government was usually left to the village councils. The response of villages varied greatly, ranging from the distribution of an equal share of cement to each household to highly organized village projects. As a result of this initial experience the government learned that successful NCM required a strong and effective leadership in the context of forceful direction, stimulus, and support from the government.

Consequently, during the next year administrative guidelines to carry out village projects in conformity with a predetermined order of priority were given. Most decisions about the number and type of village projects to be undertaken were made by the government officials outside the villages. Subsequently, as the NCM gained momentum there has been a somewhat greater delegation of authority to decide village projects to the village councils. There is still close coordination between the villages and the government officials in the annual deliberation of village projects, but administrative intervention has become more flexible, taking into consideration both socio-political environment and the felt-needs of villagers.

During the early years of the NCM villagers often complained that they were obliged to carry out the projects that were not well suited to the particular situation in their

respective villages. One of the three villages in our case study, Geumpyung village also expressed same feeling about the selection of village projects. With few exceptions, most villages are docile to follow the government advice because of the dependence on government support for the successful completion of their most important projects. The changing order of support priority and project emphasis given by the government exerted great influence over village decision-making. Although the changing order of project emphasis was not so clear year to year and was not all the same by provinces according to the provincial governors' policy for their own province, the following Table-3 roughly represents the government, version of the hierarchy of village needs. The hierarchy of village needs and its rationale has not been fully explained, but it seems to have been elaborated by a very simple logic of thinking, i.e. from physical to intangible, from spatial to spatial and from individual work to cooperative work. First begins with tangible and immediate living infrastructure facilities and moves to a large and cooperative project like village overhead capital.

At the beginning stage of the NCM, one of the major objectives is to improve living environment and to eliminate inconveniences in daily life. They are piped water supply, tatched roof improvement with tile or slate, toilet improvement and etc. The most noticeable progress in environmental improvement has made in the form of village communal facilities ranging from the building of community center, the construction of laundry place and public bath, the digging and repairing of public wells, the embankment of streams to the opening and widening of farm feeder roads and roads leading to village from main artery. Other projects have involved the conservation of local cultural assets, electrification, the expansion of telephone and mail service and the construction of small-scale irrigation dams.

Table 3. Village Needs and Project Priority

Order	Description	Contents and Projects
I (low)	Living Environment improvement	sewage, piped drinking water supply, tatched roof improvement with slate, toilet and kitchen improvement, electrification and etc.
II (middle)	Production Supportive Infrastructure Development	farm feeder road, drainage and irrigation, flood control, public workshops, public composit pit, public warehouse, paddy replotment common use barn, small river embankment, bridge, village road and etc.
III (high)	Direct Income Generation	side-income generation, wage-earning project, <i>Saemaul</i> factory, cooperative farming, cash crop cultivation, off-season employment generation, and etc.

Table 4. Program Performances of the New Community Movement (1971~1977)

Description	Unit	1971~1975	Year 1976	1977	Total
Tatched Roof Improvement with Slate	1,000D.U.	1,628	466	278	2,372
Rural Standard Housing	D.U.	—	4,244	15,690	19,934
Sewerage	Kilometers	10,538	1,178	1,155	12,871
Village Roads	Kilometers	39,662	1,107	1,451	42,220
Farm Feeder Roads	Kilometers	41,458	1,228	374	43,060
Bridges	Projects	50,952	6,616	6,359	63,927
Irrigation Facilities	Projects	19,603	4,947	5,053	29,603
Irrigation Waterways	Kilometers	1,507	2,066	366	4,002
Small River Embankment	Kilometers	5,338	579	559	6,476
Public Workshops	Projects	2,722	527	316	3,565
Common Use Barns	Projects	1,705	434	559	2,698
Public Composit Pits	Projects	65,814	2,490	929	69,233
Public Warehouses	Projects	13,258	2,311	1,756	17,323
Rural Electrification	1,000 D.U.	2,106	407	120	2,696
Post Offices and Telephones	Villages	10,429	2,000	3,500	15,929
Piped Water Supply	Projects	11,235	4,196	3,490	18,921
Sanitary Public Wells	Projects	112,168	955	989	114,110
Village Halls	Buildings	27,051	2,701	2,779	32,531
Public Bath Houses	Buildings	6,392	251	189	6,812

Next priority after the fulfillment of minimum village communal facilities and social overhead capital was set for the projects related to direct income generation like side-income supplement projects and wage-earning projects, and the inducement of the Saemaul factories.⁽³⁾ After all, villagers tend to have a common interest in the success of living infrastructure and village communal facilities and to receive more or less equal share of benefits from them whenever project costs are approximately burdened among villagers⁽⁴⁾ One of reasons for the high possibility of environmental improvement projects to assure the general consensus and cooperative participation of villagers would be based on the fact that the smaller the area the more development project tends to be physical rather than economic in character.⁽⁵⁾

(3) Wage-earning project—Villagers earn their wage by working at the government-invested public works on the collective basis of the village as a whole during off-season. Some proportion of earned income was reserved for the village's common fund.

Saemaul factory—In accordance with the dispersal program of industry from large cities and the natural trend of diversion of industrial location to rural areas, many foot-loose industrial establishments are systematically induced to the rural areas in which the minimum requirements of industrial location are met.

(4) Sung-Whan Ban, *The New Community Development in Korea*, Korea Development Institute, 1976, p.15.

(5) Andrew Thorburn, "The Modern Approach to Sub-Regional Planning", *Long-Range Planning*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p.61.

Hierarchical constellation of village needs explained above did not rule out a village's own preference. In our cases of the three villages, Geumpyung did not strictly follow the formula of project hierarchy but the villagers of Geumpyung got to the conclusion that the first priority had to be given to income generation at the cost of other low-order village needs. The villagers believed in that increased income will lead to solve other village needs and eventually individual needs. Geumpyung which has gained a national reputation for its superior achievement of income generation has received little direction from the government. In this regard, any quick answer to the hierarchical order of village needs will be risky. But it is rather clear from our study that rigid application of the stereotyped version of predetermined priority of village needs should be avoided, taking into account the differences of village characteristics by development stage and geographical location.

The case of Geumpyung is different from the neighboring two villages. In the villages of Jibon and Guryong, the responses of villagers roughly confirmed to the government's expectation and reflected the extent to which the NCM was pushed through. Other survey also revealed that improved convenience of village facilities was given the highest score, while behavioral reform, cooperation, confidence in a better life, and trust in the government followed in that order.⁽⁶⁾

4. VILLAGE NEEDS AND INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

Basic needs is a property to be associated with individuals rather than the physical and societal systems that form their environment although the attainment of individual needs is not fully satisfied without the opportunity for recognition that reference groups in the society afford. The issue for the individual is the degree to which he perceives that his needs are met. From this point of view, the more basic question is how individuals see their needs. The in-depth understanding of the structure of human needs is surely beyond the scope of this study. However, many physiologists and social scientists see that human needs has some attributes; hierarchical order of needs from low to high and different needs by certain life cycles.

As mentioned earlier, there is no way of making perfect match between village needs and individual needs in a given state of social engineering. The best way is to articulate

(6) Vincent S.R. Brandt and Man-Gap Lee, *Community Development Program in Korea*, Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1977, p.89.

Table 5. Hierarchy of Human Needs-Different Views

Order Names	low order			higher order
Maslow, A. H.	Security and survival	Belonging	Esteem	Self-actualization
McClellan, D.C.	Protection and support	Expression and regulation of affect	Master of external world	Self-direction support
Erickson, E.	Basic trust	Industry	Initiative	Identity
Harvey, O.J.	Very concrete	Fairly concrete	Fairly abstract	Highly abstract
Kluckhohn, F.R.	Physiological	Social	Individual	
Rostow, W.	Traditional	Take-off	Industrial	Mass consumption
Riesman, D.	Innerdirected	Traditionoriented	Outerdirected	Autonomous

Source: A. Mitchel, T. J. Logothetti, and R.E. Kantor, *An Approach to Measuring the Quality of Life*, Stanford Research Institute, 1971.

the attributes of individual needs in the process of realizing village needs as possible as we can in a community. Although individual needs is different from one individual to another as the heterogeneity of human being itself, there seems to be some agreement among the scholars as presented in Table-5. However, the problem of needs hierarchy is complicated by measurement and scaling issue, by difference from society to society, and the post-Maslow issues, i. e., what lies beyond self-actualization.

Since the respondents in our survey were confined to household heads, individual and village needs expressed by respondents would have been biased in terms of age and sex. It is reasonable to assume that in a village there are several sets of basic needs by age and sex. Collective and abstract orientation centered on the felt needs of mature population may not be admissible to the younger generation. In the three villages of our sample about 50 percent of population is under 20 years in age. For the terms of reference, Erickson's theory of life cycles is quoted in Table-6. It is very useful concept if village needs is to be disaggregated by groupspecific needs in the village.⁽⁷⁾

The NCM has not been very responsive to the nature of multiplicity of village needs by life cycles. In the interview with the village leaders, they were strongly concerned with the youngsters who left or was ready to leave their village in search of gleaming opportunities in the urban areas. Village life did not provide any more attraction for the youngsters. Most of the mature villagers expressed worry about the future of their villages and succession problems in the absence of succeeding generation. Reasons why the younger generation in the villagers had not been enthusiastic to the cause of the NCM

(7) Martin H. Krieger, "Social Indicators and the Life Cycle", *Socio-Economic Planning Science Journal*, Vol. 6, p. 306.

Table 6. Multiplicity of Village Needs by Life Cycles

Stage	Description	Specific Needs
Infancy	Birth	Pre-natal care of mothers
Early Childhood	1~5 years	Day-care
Play Age	6~9 years	Nursery and elementary school
School Age	10~16 years	Elementary and middle school
Adolescence	High school	Manipulable environments and festivities
Young Adulthood	Marriages	Matrimonial union and home formation
Maturity	Parents	Work environment and structure
Old Age	Retirees	Leisure and health care

were not explicitly explained. However, special attentions should be given to the provision of village needs for the younger generation as well as the aged. The younger generation expects village life to be more manipulable, exciting and receptive to change. For the aged, recreation and health care facilities are more than necessary than healthy population. In shifting the focus of behavior of individual to patterned forms of behavior of entire aggregates of individuals, the multiple dimensions of village needs must be carefully examined in relation of the NCM.

5. MONITORING OF VILLAGE NEEDS FULFILLMENT

The concept of basic needs and social indicators has been necessitated by man's efforts to find out where he has been, where he is, and where he is going. Practically, basic needs approach is geared to monitor the level of achievements against developmental goals for the society or the the village over time. Regarding the NCM, the evaluation and monitoring systems have been built in the systems of the NCM from the start.

All villages have been subject to annual evaluation process by which the government has reclassified and devised appropriate development measures, depending on their achievements and the priorities of village needs. Annual evaluation is expected to lead to better guidelines for determining whether development measures do or do not lead to actual improvement. It is equally important that evaluation process is useful to the general public. The public definitely deserves to know the extent to which government pledges are fulfilled or unfulfilled, and government itself is obligated to provide informations about the performance of the NCM. The evaluation system consisting of 10 items, which are by and large quantifiable, is used for upgrading of villages according to thier performance in the past year. Out of 10 items, seven are closely related to physical environ-

mental improvement while the remaining three items are economic criteria such as village fund, household saving and household income, as shown in Table-7. Evaluation is made in terms of physical quantities, the number of persons mobilized by the projects and the imputed gross values of performance. For each project, detailed guidelines and directions are given for evaluation. According to the guidelines and directions, the County NCM Consultative Council, which is chaired by the County Chief and composed of the Chiefs of the Education Board, the County Police, the Agricultural Extension Station, the Agricultural Cooperatives, and selected village leaders is responsible for annual evaluation. Only those unsettled villages are referred to the Provincial NCM Consultative Council. In such a way, all the villages are finally evaluated and summarized at the Central at the Central NCM Consultative Council.

As to the reliability and relevance of this evaluation items and process to measure the actual situation of villages there is some agreements among the evaluators that the items are roughly represented the development status of villages. However, it has to be pointed out the evaluation systems seems to be too monotonic since a village must have passed through all the previous stages to advance to a higher stage. Evaluation should be made in accordance with village needs expressed in terms of project priority and should not rule out the differences of village characteristics by geographical location and development stage. In this context, the NCM introduced a kind of classification to identify location-

Table 7. Evaluation Systems of the NCM

Items	Staging	Subsistence (Undeveloped)	Self-help (Developing)	Self-sustaining (Developed)
Pavement and alignment of village road		none or below standard	main roads	main roads and service roads
Farm Feeder Roads		none or below standard	road to village from main artery	road to village from main artery and secondary roads
Bridge Construction		none or below standard	less than 10 meters in length	less than 20 meters in length
Small River Embankment		none or below standard	small river within village	small river around village
Irrigation		none or below standard	over 80% of total area of paddy land	over 85% of total area of paddy land
Village Communal Facilities		none or below standard	at least one among village hall, public warehouse and coop store	at least two among village hall, public warehouse and coop store
Village Fund		none or below standard	over ¥300,000	over ¥500,000
Household Saving		none or below standard	over ¥10,000 per household	over ¥20,000 per household
Family Income		none or below standard	over ¥700,000 per year	over ¥900,000 per year

Table 8. Village Classification Systems

Stages Locations	Subsistence (Undeveloped)	self-help (Developing)	Self-sustaining (Developed)
Plain			
Mountain			
Hilly			
Suburban			
Fishery			

specific village needs and project priority.

All the villages over the country are classified by five geographical locations and three development stages, making 15 categories in the boxes of Table-8. Very little study has been conducted toward how this classification effort be helpful to identify location and stage-specific formula of village needs and how it is related to the above-mentioned evaluation systems.

According to the classification systems, all the three villages in our study belong to the suburban location having advantage of easy access to the medium-sized city of 80,000 inhabitants, Suncheon within the distance of 6 kilometers or commuting range. Therefore, these three villages would have been possible to go to direct income generation without bothering to cater social overhead facilities which is prerequisite for economic materialization into monetary return. The role of the City of Suncheon seems very vital for the economic growth of the villages because the spill-over effects and urban facilities provided by Suncheon works for solving village needs like medical service and schooling. The villages which are located far from urban center have to solve themselves the burden of many social overhead facilities in order to lead to direct income generation. Large cities are powerful generators of polarized growth, but their spread effects are usually limited and the continued expansion of these large urban centers tend to retard the social reconstruction necessary for equitable spatial development. However, small and medium-sized cities like Suncheon continue to play as the role of spatial infrastructure for rural development as well as for catering a higher order needs which cannot be provided within a village.

6. POST NEW COMMUNITY MOVEMENT ISSUES

The New Community Movement, which has been basically moulded around the concept of a single village development in its spatial scope and of physical economic development

Table 9. Village Upgrading by Development Status (1972~1977) Unit: Villages

Years	Total	Status		
		Basic (Undeveloped)	Self-held (Developing)	Self-sustaining (Developed)
1972	34,665	18,415 (53%)	13,943 (40%)	2,307 (7%)
1973	34,665	10,656 (31)	19,763 (57)	4,249 (12)
1974	34,665	6,165 (18)	21,500 (62)	7,000 (20)
1975	35,031	4,046 (11)	20,936 (60)	10,049 (29)
1976	35,031	302 (1)	19,049 (54)	15,680 (45)
1977	35,031	—	11,709 (33)	23,322 (67)

of rural areas in its development orientation, is forced to reformulate the original doctrines and development measures in order to make adaptation to a changing social and economic environment. In 1972 when the NCM was first initiated, only 7 percent of 34,665 villagers were classified into the self-sustaining or developed villages but, within six years time span, 67 percent of all villages have been upgraded to the developed villages in 1977 as shown in Table-9. None of villages come under the category of the basic or undeveloped villages. If this pace of progress is expected to continue in the coming years, it would be possible to expect that all villages will be advanced to the developed villages in the near future.

The question arises as to the next move of the NCM. A substantial reform will have to be made to keep the Movement going without great deviation from original trust of the NCM. Post NCM issue has not been so far clearly envisioned although the Village Cooperative Scheme and the Small Town Revitalization Program are suggested to overcome the threshold of a single village development. The following three issue are becoming critical if the NCM is to be continued as relevant development theory with a new image in the era to come.

1) The NCM in a Urban Society

Korea is no longer a rural-dominated country. As the majority of population by 60 percent is living in the urban areas with more than 20,000 inhabitants, rural-oriented NCM is becoming less and less meaningful. Great thanks to the success of the NCM and other development policies for improving the agricultural sector, rural economic situation in terms of average household income is at least advanced to the level of urban areas even though socio-cultural amenities are still lagging behind the national average. Average household income in the rural areas was 67.1 percent of that in the urban areas in 1970 but average income per rural household is getting ahead of the urban areas by

Table 10. Comparison of Rural and Urban Household Income by Years

Unit: 1,000 Won

Years	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Rural Household Income (A)	255.8	429.4	480.7	674.5	872.1	1,156.3
Urban Household Income (B)	381.2	517.4	550.2	644.5	859.3	1,151.3
A/B×100	67.1	83.0	87.4	104.6	101.6	100.4

100.4 percent in 1976 as given in Table 10.

Now, one of national development goals is to meet basic needs for urban population, especially in low-income class whose status is quite often spatially transferred from the rural poor to the urban poor in the process of rapid urbanization. The question arises as to how could the rural oriented NCM be made relevant to urban setting. The segmented life of a urban society is more likely to expose the urban residents to feelings of anonymity, to a sense of personal disorganization, and to a loss of spontaneity. Neighborliness is hardly found in the urban areas. Interaction of individuals from different backgrounds destroys the rigid division of the smaller, integrated society of rural village and introduces a more complex of social stratification. In this context, development strategies and measures being adopted in the NCM have to be reexamined to make workable in a urban society. It is generally agreed on from the Korean experience that the NCM has been more successfully implemented in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

Most urban governments were not prepared for receiving the massive influx of population from the rural areas, naturally resulting in the further aggravation of living environment in addition to the existing backlog of urban facilities. The rate of housing shortage increased to 44 percent. The proportion of urban population supplied by piped water did not go over 78 percent. The worsening situation of other urban amenities has made urban life more harsh than ever for the low-income class. As the indicators for village development and the present criteria for evaluating of achievements of village cannot be applied, a new urban indicator which is geared to measure and to evaluated urban needs has to be devised. In the early 1970, the Ministry of Home Affairs once worked on the establishment of civil minimum, but unfortunately did not materialize into a practical means to monitor the basic needs for urban areas. An alternative would be that the concept of civil minimum is revisited and augmented as a new yardstick for measuring of urban needs.

2) Beyond Physical Improvement

As pointed out, the NCM began with the physical improvement of rural villages and added some other elements of mainly economic well-being in the evolution process of the NCM. However, basic needs such as food, clothing and housing which is easily identified with an individual or a household rather than a village as an aggregate entity has been given little attentions. And also basic needs such as education and health care has not even come under the coverage of the NCM. One of the reasons for this would be that the primary needs for survival like food and clothing has been solved except the disabled and socially helpless people who are recipients of public relief. Regarding to education, the universal and mandatory 6 years education has been fairly well established in terms of opportunity and capacity over the nation. Therefore, it was felt that primary education was not the object of great concern to be taken with national priority in the NCM.

Contrary to education, health care has been set aside from the main stream of the NCM although health problems should have been given higher priority than others. Health resources are allocated mainly to sophisticated medical institutions in urban areas. Even though health facilities are located within easy reach, inability to pay for service eventually results in no access to them. One of the national priority has to be given to medical service for the rural areas. About 85 percent of hospital beds are located in the cities. There is also a distinct tendency for medical doctors to prefer practice in the large cities by some 86 percent.

To meet the increasing demand for medical service for the poor who cannot afford with own capacity, a variety of measures are considered. Especially, priority program is to close gap between the urban areas and the rural areas in the availability of medical service. Doctors are encouraged to practice in the rural areas and general hospitals are induced to open their branches in small towns from where the outlying rural villagers could be served. However, this has been very slowly developed. Very recently, the government announced that medical doctors who are required to serve their military duty for three years after the graduation of medical school were given option to practice in the designated rural districts for two years to be exempted from military duty. There are 126 non-medical doctor rural districts (myon) of which population is around ten thousands. If it works out, it is expected that medical service in the rural areas will be greatly improved to the degree equivalent to the urban areas as a whole although the level of service remains to be doubtful.

It is time to turn development orientation of the NCM from the physical improvement

of immediate living environment to invisible and less quantifiable aspects of individual needs such as health care and human development. As of 1977, a total of approximately 8.5 millions persons were covered by various social security measures for medical service in one form or another. A way to make formal linkage between the present systems of the NCM and medical care delivery systems has to be instituted.

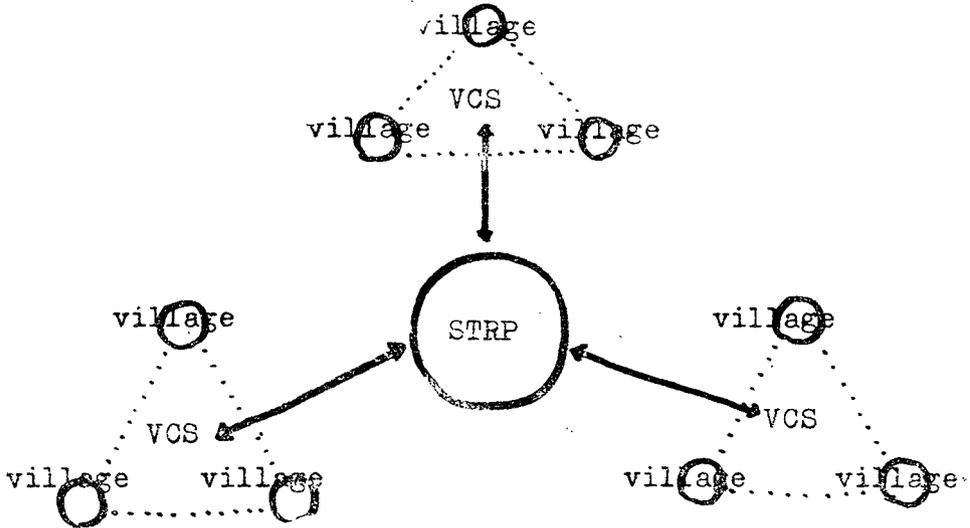
3) Spatial Integration

During the 1960's the urban-rural disparities widened as industrialization and urbanization rapidly gained a momentum in Korea. This was one of the reasons why the NCM was motivated. Nevertheless, a quite socio-cultural change was also going in rural Korea during the same period that helped prepare the ground for more visible results of development later on. The urbanization process was having profound impacts on rural life. Aggressive and competent farmers were increasingly able to take advantage of the growing urban demand for fruits, vegetables and other farm products and to engage in commercial agriculture on a larger and profitable scale. Their example stimulated others, so that small farmers, who had lived in the subsistence economy, began to raise cash crops.

Geumpyung, one of the most successful villages in this regard, first introduced the method of growing a new species of egg-plant in green house so that the villagers of Geumpyung could sell egg-plant and other horticultural products before other producers could reach to urban market. The so-called vinyl-house revolution enabled farmers to grow fruits and vegetables during Korea's harsh winter time has greatly changed the economic status of rural areas and the source of income for farm households. When Geumpyung was known for the great success, the neighboring villages felt envy of Geumpyung and sent their villagers to learn experience and technical know-how. As time went on, the initial advantage of Geumpyung was slowly fading away. A new kind of cooperative mechanism with the neighboring villages was strongly felt to ensure the economies of scale and to reduce severe competition for market. They became to realize that one village was too small to compete with other villages. In this hindsight, the concept of the Village Cooperative Scheme (VCS) was introduced to make possible for a group of villages undertake the general and specific projects.

In a highly urbanized and densely populated country like Korea, it is unrealistic to separate the rural from the urban areas and is also very dangerous to assume a village as an isolated island for development unit. A spatial development strategy to integrate a number of villages into a meaningful cluster for development unit and further the groups

of villages with a low-order urban center of the region is strongly felt to be pursued. 1976, the government has introduced the two new concepts, the VCS and the Small Town Revitalization Program (STRP). The relationship between the NCM and the VCS and between the VCS and STRP is given in a schematic manner below.



The three villages in our study have been incorporated into a village cooperative. However, the expanded spatial dimension of the NCM including the VCS and the STRP has to face new issues to be solved. With regard to leadership, resource mobilization, the selection of projects and the sharing of costs involved in the cooperative projects, completely different problems from those of a single village pop up. All those issues have not been substantiated. There are approximately 550 small towns of their population ranging from 50,000 to 3,000 in Korea. The role of these small towns is becoming very vital as the spatial scope of the NCM expands. The small towns which are quite evenly distributed over the country are selectively to be revitalized to provide basic needs that rural population cannot afford in a single village or in a village cooperative. Village needs which cannot be met and does not have economies of scale with a village should be accessible at reasonable distance. Each village does not necessarily maintain services and facilities for its own sake, for example high and middle schools hospital and other large facilities. If individual and village needs is to be provided at easy access in terms of monetary and time costs, it would not be serious problem no matter whether services and facilities are located within or without village.

Every villages should be accessible to at least an urban center within the radius of 10

kilometer which is considered to be realistic and desirable in Korea. Some villages in remote and mountainous regions lack such a kind of spatial advantage to supplement village needs from the nearby urban center. It is necessary to create and reinstate the importance of low-order centers to integrate urban core and rural periphery by means of integrate urban core and rural periphery by means of micro-level regional planning. Clearly, no matter how specific or appropriate as a development theory, rural development cannot be a durable basis for the national development. Most countries are already too modernized. Urbanization has already occurred everywhere in the country. Rural development succeeds only when the rural sector is reduced and the urban sector is more effectively integrated with the countryside.