



Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development
in Women's Policies

The Role of Women's Organization under the Saemaeul Undong (New Village Movement) in Rural Communities

Inyi Choi



2013

Research Paper-8-3-2

2013 Research Paper 8-3-2

Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies

The Role of Women's Organization under the Saemaeul Undong (New Village Movement) in Rural Communities

Author **Inyi Choi** (Chungnam National University)

Advisor **Nam-Sik Kang** (Korean Institute for Gender Equality Promotion & Education)
 Sunyoung Kong (Social Science Research Center, Ewha Womans University)
 Hye Son Kim (Social Science Research Center, Ewha Womans University)

Reviewer **Sunyoung Kong** (Social Science Research Center, Ewha Womans University)

Research **Eun Kyung Kim, Jung Soo Kim**
Management (Center for International Development & Cooperation, KWDI)

2013 Research Paper 8-3-2

Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies

**The Role of Women's Organization under the Saemaeul Undong
(New Village Movement) in Rural Communities**

Copyright © 2013 by Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI)

First published on 31 December, 2013
by Korean Women's Development Institute
225 Jinheung-ro Eunpyeong-gu
Seoul 122-707
South Korea
www.kwdi.re.kr

ISBN 978-89-8491-604-3 94330
978-89-8491-459-9 94330 (Set)

Printed in South Korea

Please cite this report as below:

Choi, Inyi(2013). Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies
-The Role of Women's Organization under the Saemaeul Undong(New Village
Movement) in Rural Communities, Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute,

Korean Women's Development Institute(KWDI) is a government-affiliated think-tank
under the Prime Minister's Office of South Korea. It has contributed to realizing
gender equality, improving women's social participation and welfare and advancing
family life and state through comprehensive researches on women's policies.

Foreword

South Korea has transformed itself from being an aid receiving country to an aid giving one after achieving an unprecedented economic growth during the past half century. Such growth was not confined to economic spheres only, but happened in many social arenas. Women's advancement was one area that has seen another dramatic transformation.

While efforts have existed to share Korea's development experience, such as Knowledge Sharing Program(KSP) spearheaded by South Korea's Ministry of Strategy and Finance(MOSF) and Development Experience Exchange Partnership(DEEP) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs(MOFA), there hardly existed initiatives to share women's advancement experiences in particular. The current study is the first of its kind and compiles the case analyses of women's development in various areas of South Korean society.

This study is an essential part of KWDI's multi-year ODA project titled "Strengthening Gender Equality Policy Infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific Region." This is a project aimed at establishing political and social infrastructure for gender-equal policy in the Asia-Pacific region. We believe South Korea's cases could serve as one model to consider for our partner countries in achieving this goal.

KWDI plans to share these case studies through various means such as policy consultation, workshops and international conferences. We will also come up with potential gender-related ODA projects that South Korean government can work with partner countries based on Korea's comparative advantage/experience. Our ultimate goal is to design a women's policy model tailored to local needs and work together to translate it into practice.

I hope the concerted efforts made by KWDI and partner countries will bring substantive changes in the lives of women in Asia.

Choe, Keum-Sook, Ph.D.

President

Korean Women's Development Institute

Table of Contents

I. Introduction	1
II. Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong	5
1. The Korean Rural Areas at the Time of Adopting the Saemaeul Undong ...	7
III. Goals and Contents of the Saemaeul Undong	19
1. Goals of the Saemaeul Undong	21
2. Contents of the Saemaeul Undong (Focusing on the 1970s)	23
IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas	39
1. Goals of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong	42
2. Agents of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong	49
3. Contents of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong	57
V. Evaluation and Implications of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong	77
1. Outcomes of the Activities of Saemaeul Women's Society	79
2. Negative Results from Activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society	85
3. Implications	90
■ Reference	93
■ Annex	97
1. Data on Storytelling (in Korean alphabetical order)	99
2. An Experience of Expanding the Program for Increasing Income by the Saemaeul Female Leader (Details of oral statement)	100

List of Tables

<Table II-1>	Economic Index of Korea (1953-1979)	8
<Table II-2>	Comparison of the Income Per Capita between Rural and Urban Households	9
<Table II-3>	Change in Enrollment Rate	12
<Table II-4>	Male and Female Participation Rate in the Economic Activity ...	13
<Table II-5>	Average Wage of Male and Female	14
<Table II-6>	Participation Rate in Economic Activity by Household and Gender ..	15
<Table III-1>	Fundamental Spirits of Saemaeul Undong	21
<Table III-2>	Status of Major Programs of Saemaeul Undong (1971-1980) ...	24
<Table III-3>	Increase Rate of Farm Income	25
<Table III-4>	Comparison of the Distribution of the Basic Villages and Self-Supporting Villages by Year	31
<Table III-5>	Implementation Process of the Saemaeul Undong	33
<Table III-6>	Cements and Steels That Were Provided to Villages (1971-1978) ...	34
<Table IV-1>	The Number of Days that Village Residents Worked in the Saemaeul Programs (1971-1978)	44
<Table IV-2>	An Example of Village Business of a Female Leader in Jangheung	47
<Table IV-3>	Frequency of Tasks at the Small Group Discussions for Saemaeul Leaders (1972-1973)	50
<Table IV-4>	Title of Small Group Discussions for the First Graduates of Female Leaders by Class (June 3, 1973-June 9, 1973)	51
<Table IV-5>	List of Female Leaders Who Presented Best Practices on the Saemaeul Undong	53
<Table IV-6>	Status of the Saemaeul Women's Society by Year	55
<Table IV-7>	Regulation of Saemaeul Women's Society	60

<Table IV-8>	Total Length of Surrounding Roads of the Villages Improved by the Saemaeul Programs (1971-1978)	75
<Table V-1>	Farm Income by Year	79
<Table V-2>	Implementation Results of the Saemaeul Women's Programs by Year	81
<Table V-3>	Current Status of Water Supply System Constructed by Year ..	82
<Table V-4>	Status of Village Community Centers Constructed	83
<Table V-5>	Ratio of Workforce per Farming Household by Gender	84
<Table V-6>	Average Activity Hours of Housewives in Rural Areas	86
<Table V-7>	Amount of Labor in Farms	87

List of Figures

[Figure III-1]	Administrative Guidance System of the Saemaeul Undong	27
[Figure III-2]	Organization of the Li/Dong Development Committee	28



I

Introduction

The Saemaeul Undong(the New Village Movement) is a “living-well movement” that started mainly from the rural villages in October of 1970. Since then, it spread to cities and industrial complex and played an important role in the economic growth of the Republic of Korea. It especially played a crucial role in promoting the idea of “modernization” to the farming community, which lagged behind economically, socially and culturally in the Korean society, and transferred such idea into practice.

This paper focuses especially on the female farmers’ Saemaeul Undong among the Saemaeul Undong that led the social and economic changes in the rural areas in Korea that were less developed than other areas. The female farmers’ Saemaeul Undong was regarded as an important example that showed the women’s role during the process of modernization in the rural society in Korea. Specifically, female farmers overcame the two difficulties including poor economic environment and traditional patriarchal system that was based on Confucianism, and actively led to increase of the income in rural communities and improvement of the living environment.

In the earlier days, the Saemaeul Undong was mainly operated by male leaders, but the role of female leaders started to be emphasized as it became evident that the participation of female farmers was necessary for the success of the movement. The female leaders participated in the Saemaeul education together with the male leaders and participated in the joint programs of villages in order to increase the effect of the Saemaeul Undong. In particular, the female leaders of the Women’s Saemaeul Undong made all efforts to increase the income and improve the environment of the village. As a result, there were many success stories.

However, the success came with the excessive labor imposed on women and with their personal sacrifices glamorized as volunteer spirits. This report provides an introduction to the Saemaeul Undong and an analysis of the goals and details of the Women’s Saemaeul Undong. Furthermore, it examines the meaning of the activities that Women’s Saemaeul Undong had on the female farmers.

II

Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong

1. The Korean Rural Areas at the
Time of Adopting the Saemaeul
Undong

This chapter begins by asking when the Saemaeul Undong started and explores the status of the Korean rural economy at the time, as well as the social and economic status of Korean women.

1. The Korean Rural Areas at the Time of Adopting the Saemaeul Undong

A. Economic Status of the Korean Rural Areas during the 1960s-1970s

From the liberation to the 1960s, the Korean economic structure was in a highly vulnerable state because of the colossal loss of lives and properties resulting from the Korean War. It was clearly shown from the fact that the gross national product (GNP) per capita at the time of the liberation was US\$ 50, while it was US\$ 67 in 1953 and US\$ 85 in 1961. Most people were living under the absolute poverty and the devastated economic structure was the main reason that caused social confusion.

Based on the strong control of the military government that emerged during the political and economic chaos, the Five Year Plan for Economic Development was implemented to overcome the extreme economic difficulties. The Five Year Plan for Economic Development was implemented from 1962 and focused on an export-oriented economic policy that used outstanding workforce at low wages under the strong national control. Based on the young female workforce of those aged 14 to 19, the economic-oriented economic policy showed noticeable outcomes from the light industry including textile, wigs and shoes in the 1960s. Since then, the economic policy expanded to the heavy chemical industry in the 1970s. As a result, the per capita income increased up to US\$ 242 in 1970.

〈Table II-1〉 Economic Index of Korea (1953-1979)

Year	Per capita income (US \$)	Export (million US \$)
1953	67	na
1958	83	16
1959	83	20
1960	83	33
1961	85	41
1962	87	55
1963	98	87
1964	102	119
1965	106	175
1966	126	250
1967	143	320
1968	168	455
1969	208	
1970	242	1004
1971	275	1352
1972	302	1807
1973	386	3257
1974	523	4713
1975	574	5427
1976	765	8115
1977	966	10046
1978	1330	12711
1979	1546	15055

Source: Park Ji Hwan(2005), p.68

The government's economic development policy that mainly focused on the manufacturing industry facilitated the rapid growth in the urban areas, however,

Ⅱ. Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong ●●● 9

it hindered the growth of rural areas and agricultural industries. As the gap in income and production rate between the manufacturing industry and the agricultural industry and between the urban and the rural areas increased, the rural areas in Korea were placed in a more difficult economic situation compared to the cities. It seemed almost impossible to find a way to escape from this situation.

〈Table Ⅱ-2〉 Comparison of the Income Per Capita between Rural and Urban Households

Year	Average per capita income (thousand won)		Relative ratio (%) (1)/(2)
	Rural household(1)	Urban household(2)	
1965	67.7	77.2	87.7
1970	87.0	152.0	57.2
1975	134.6	171.2	78.6
1977	159.8	242.9	65.8

Source: Hwang Byeong Joo(2011), p.45¹⁾

〈Table Ⅱ-2〉 shows the income gap between the rural and urban areas. In 1965, the average income of rural households accounted for about 87.7% of the average income of urban households. It shows that both urban and rural areas were poor in the areas where the actual industrialization had not taken place. However, when the Five Year Plan for Economic Development began to show results in the 1970s, the average income gap between rural and urban households greatly widened, with the income for rural households dropping to about 57.2% of urban households. The income of rural households from 1970 to 1975 certainly increased from 870,000 won to 1,346,000 won, showing an

1) Jon Sigurdson and Young Chul Kim. 1981, *A Study on the Mechanization of Agricultural Industry and the Industrialization Problems of Rural Areas in the Korean Rural Saemaeul Undong*, Saemaeul Undong Research Institute of the Seoul National University, *Ideology and Reality of the Saemaeul Undong*, reconstructed p.204.

increase rate of about 155%, and this clearly reflected the impact of the Saemaeul Undong on increasing income. However, although the gap between the rural and urban areas slightly narrowed during the process of implementing the Saemaeul Undong, the gap between the two areas still remained.

The deteriorated economic situation not only led to the problem of low income level but also resulted in poor living environment in overall. The farming society in Korea in the 1970s was not equipped with basic living conditions including settlement structures, residential facilities, roads, and water and sewage systems. The living conditions were unsanitary with thatched roofs, unpaved and narrow roads, and uncomfortable house structures, and it was almost impossible to establish the infrastructure needed to raise the agricultural production.

The attitudes toward living among the farmers who were used to poverty were another main cause of the poor state of the farming society. At the time, there was a strong sense of frustration and failure deeply rooted among the farmers who thought their lives would not get any better even if they continuously put efforts in farming. Also, the deterioration in technology and breeding was another cause that hindered agricultural production, and the lack of maintenance also made it difficult for cultivators to enter the farm lands and village roads, hindering the mechanization of farming.

In addition, most farmers were accustomed to hunger, which came with farm hardship period during agricultural off-season. Male farmers who had no work gathered together for gambling or drinking, which led to a vicious cycle of increasing debts in rural households. As there were no hopes for a better life, the population of those leaving the farm in order to migrate to the city increased, making the deterioration of the rural areas much worse.

Until the 1960s, there were hardly any Korean farmers living in the rural areas who put their money in savings at the Nonghyup (National Agricultural Cooperative Federation) or financial institutions. Since there was little money

II. Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong ●●● 11

deposited at the Nonghyup, the farmers could not get sufficient loans from the Nonghyup. As a result, the high-interest private loans became common in the rural areas and many farms were unable to escape from the private loans at a high interest rate. The farms with debts had to pay back the money by farming at the creditor's farms, while some farmers paid back the debts by having one of the family members work as a servant doing domestic chores at the creditor's house.

Ultimately, in order to increase the production capacity of the farming villages and the income of farms, it was necessary to change to a new way of living that could replace the sense of frustration and failure that have been embodied in the lifestyle of farmers, as well as to provide the foundation for the farm production by improving the living environment of the farm villages. In this sense, the Saemaeul Undong was a government-led movement that began by combining the commitment of the policy decision-makers who pursued specific ways to overcome such situation by identifying the practical conditions of farming villages, and the commitment of the scholars and educational activists who conducted research on the development of farming villages and carried forward the movement in order to develop rural areas(Ryu○Young).

B. Social and Economic Status of Korean Women during 1960s-1970s

1) Education Rate of Korean Women

The status of Korean women in the 1960s was very low. Due to the effects of poor economic condition and the patriarchal culture, women were not given much opportunity in education. The scopes of activities for women were limited to house works. Therefore, it was difficult to find women who entered the society or had a job. Certainly, as the country shifted to an export-oriented economy after the implementation of the Five Year Plan for Economic

Development, the light industries of the cities developed and many of the female teenagers from farming villages moved to factories located in the cities to work there. In general, however, most of them worked at the factories only up to a certain age and then became housewives again after getting married.

Regarding the enrollment rates of elementary school, middle school and high school from 1965 to 1980, there was no great difference between men and women until elementary school, but at the upper level of the educational institutions, there appeared a clear difference in enrollment rates. In the 1965's statistics, the enrollment rate of males in middle school and high school were 51.7% and 34.3%, respectively, but those of women were very low at 30.5% and 18.1%, respectively. It was very difficult for girls to continue learning after completing the elementary school. In the 1980s, the enrollment rate of women in middle school reached 92.5%, which was a substantial increase, but the enrollment rate in high school was around 56.2%, which was still low compared to males.

〈Table II-3〉 Change in Enrollment Rate

(Unit: %)

Year	Elementary school		Middle school		High school	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1965	87.7	111.8	51.7	30.5	34.3	18.1
1970	101.1	100.2	61.1	40.5	34.2	21.6
1975	104.7	105.3	80.1	63.1	49.0	32.5
1980	102.1	103.7	97.5	92.5	70.3	56.2

Enrollment rate=(number of students for each curriculum level/school aged population for each curriculum level)*100

Source: Kim Jae In et al. (2000), p.276

Women who remained in farming villages instead of heading to the cities had to do both domestic work and farm work as housewives. Compared to those

Ⅱ. Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong ●●● 13

who worked at the factories in cities where there were limited education provided through affiliated schools or night schools, the women living in rural areas rarely had the opportunity to receive education after finishing elementary school (Bu○Ja, Ahn○Ja, Kim○Ja).

2) Economic Activity Participation Rate and Wage for Korean Women

Since the education rate for women was low, it was natural that the female participation rate in the economic activity was also low. Not only were there little opportunities given to have an official job, but also even if women got employed, there was a period when they were forced to retire after getting married or giving birth. Therefore, it was inevitable that the female participation rate in the economic activity remained low in the public sector.

〈Table Ⅱ-4〉 Male and Female Participation Rate in the Economic Activity
(Unit: %)

	Participation rate in economic activity	Gender	
		Male	Female
1963	56.6	78.4	37.0
1965	57.0	78.9	37.2
1970	57.6	77.9	39.3
1975	58.3	77.4	40.4
1980	59.0	76.4	42.8

Source: Statistics Korea, Survey on Economically Active Population

Regarding the participation rate in the economic activity for males and women from 1963, women exhibited about half the male participation rate in the economic activity. This showed that most women were socially forced to take on the role of housewives who were not counted as the economically active population, while at the same time, there was a patriarchal perception

that the official production activity was an area reserved only for men.

According to the data of the 1970s, even if women were employed, they suffered from poor labor conditions and low wages. It was reported that they received about 43% of the average wage of males.

〈Table II -5〉 Average Wage of Male and Female

(Unit: won, %)

	Average wage of male	Average wage of female	Ratio of female and male
1971	27,364	11,793	43.1
1972	29,319	13,225	45.1
1973	35,929	16,298	45.4
1974	48,490	21,877	45.1
1975	60,319	25,465	42.2
1976	82,871	36,396	43.9
1977	102,924	45,199	43.4
1978	135,089	58,662	42.3
1979	189,278	80,159	42.9
1980	222,956	95,692	44.5

Source: Social Indicator of Korea 1980, Wage Standard by Gender and Ratio of Length of Service/ Main source: Ministry of Labor, Survey on the Actual Conditions of Wage by Profession

However, the most noticeable thing was that regarding the female participation rate in the economic activity for rural and non-rural areas from 1963 to 1980, women's economic participation rate in rural areas was higher than the non-rural areas. In particular, regarding the female participation rates in rural and non-rural areas between 1970 when the Saemaeul Undong started and 1975 when the movement entered into maturity, the female participation rate in the economic activity in rural areas was about 20% higher than those in non-rural areas at 49.3% (1970) and 53.4% (1975), respectively. This could be due to the women in the rural areas being classified as farm workers instead of

II. Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong ●●● 15

housewives, or due to the fact that they actually participated in a variety of production activities.

Such participation in production activity among women was taken into consideration in the promotion of the female farmers' Saemaeul Undong. In particular, the Women's Saemaeul Undong was able to lead the economic growth of farming villages by focusing on the programs for increasing income to achieve a noticeable growth. This was possible because of the high participation rate in the economic activity among women in the rural areas compared to women in the cities.

〈Table II-6〉 Participation Rate in Economic Activity by Household and Gender
(Unit: %)

	Household			
	Rural area		Non-rural area	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1963	79.5	41.6	76.9	30.8
1965	79.0	41.6	78.8	31.6
1970	77.8	49.3	78.0	30.4
1975	76.9	53.4	77.8	31.7
1980	76.0	55.3	76.6	36.9

Source: Statistics Korea, Survey on Economically Active Population

3) Status of Korean Women in Farming Villages

Even though the actual female participation rate in the production activity in the rural areas was higher than in the cities, the status of women in the farming villages was much worse than that of women in the cities. There was a strong perception of male predominance over women in the rural areas compared to the urban areas, and the poor economic situation limited the opportunities of education given to women.

Since women were unable to receive necessary education, it was impossible for them to even dream about the opportunity to find a job. The women living in the rural areas led the lives where they helped out domestic work and farm work from young ages. Upon reaching a certain age, they got married through matchmaking where they again took on the works within households and farms.

Even though women lived a difficult life where they had to do domestic work and farm work as well as look after their children, they were not able to express their opinions under the watch of the patriarchal system. This was the reality of women living in the rural areas. Since households were traditionally formed mainly in big families, it was considered a virtue to accept the opinions of parents-in-law and husband. The society considered it as giving trouble to the husbands if the wives were economically active. Therefore, women had to live without having a say in any matters within her family.

Also, since the domestic work and farm work took place in the same location, even though the farm work was to be considered as an actual production labor, it was not recognized as an independent wage-earning labor because the works done at the farms and households were considered overlapping. Therefore, the farm work done by women existed as the hidden labor that did not display its value.

Moreover, the level of household chores in the poor residential environment was harsh beyond description. It was very difficult to be responsible for water supply, laundry and cooking when there was inadequate water supply facility. Also, it was not easy to take charge of nursing and education when the household economy was poor.

During the days when most women lived in despair under such poor economic and social conditions, some of the educated women returned to the rural areas from the cities in order to change the atmosphere of farming villages through the activities of Women's Society, and attempted to introduce the new programs to increase income by establishing women's gatherings. The Saemaeul

II . Background for the Implementation of Saemaeul Undong ●●● 17

Undong in the 1970s acted as the catalyst in further facilitating these movements by women.

At first, the government-led Saemaeul Undong was a nation-wide movement that was mainly led by males to promote the economy in rural areas. It mostly focused on training and educating male leaders as the agents of the movement. However, during the process of implementing the movement, the importance of women's role was recognized as they were the ones practically responsible for the living. As a result, the Women's Society consisting of women from each village was utilized as the organization that implemented the movement. To achieve this, education was provided for the female leaders.

The female farmers' Saemaeul Undong organized the Women's Saemaeul Undong and played important roles in actively leading the Saemaeul Undong for each village.

III

Goals and Contents of the Saemaeul Undong

1. Goals of the Saemaeul Undong 21
2. Contents of the Saemaeul Undong
(Focusing on the 1970s) 23

1. Goals of the Saemaeul Undong

The Saemaeul Undong is a national campaign that started in the 1970s as a part of the national modernization program. The basic spirit of the Saemaeul Undong could be summarized into ‘diligence, self-help and cooperation’. The basic spirit was defined as aiming to reform the individual mind. In other words, in order to achieve the national mission of modernization, it was important for the individuals to have the spirit to think that they can do something on their own. To achieve this, it was important to work diligently on one’s own and cooperate with one another focusing on the community. The banner of diligence, self-help and cooperation was promoted to people through songs and various posters and slogans, and was soon made to a national banner for the whole nation. Wherever people went, there were songs of the Saemaeul Undong echoing in the morning for people to start the day. Also, collective participation was seen at schools and worksites with the slogan ‘Just do it’.

Most leaders for the Rural Saemaeul Undong tended to emphasize more on ‘Just do it’ than the slogan ‘diligence, self-help and cooperation’. This was probably because they confirmed this by overcoming extremely difficult situations through succeeding on their own.

〈Table Ⅲ-1〉 Fundamental Spirits of Saemaeul Undong

The fundamental spirits of the Saemaeul Undong are ‘We can do it’ and ‘Just do it’. What should we do if there is no one to help us and everyone is in difficulty? Then, the community should join efforts in diligence, self-help and cooperation! These are the three basic spirits.

‘Diligence’ is the word that reflects the characteristic of Koreans.

Korea is a sub-tropical monsoon region. There is drought during springtime and localized heavy rain and drought during summertime, while

a cold wave comes over the wintertime. The three sides are surrounded by the sea and 70% of the land is covered with mountains. There were many poor small farms mainly engaged in rice farming. If we were not careful, we could ruin a year of farming. Therefore, we had to prepare firewoods and foods in advance to survive through the winter. We were able to avoid famine by cultivating every inch of our land and plucking wild edible grasses. 'Diligence' was what allowed us to survive.

However, the spirit of diligence did not end here. We also did our work before being told to do so and did our best in everything we did, while applying scientific thoughts and implementing everything that met the careful planning.

For example, 'diligence' is a spirit that thinks ahead and is a strong-mindedness in taking actions.

'Self-help' refers to the spirit of doing one's work on one's own and doing one's best in everything, knowing that one's development and destiny lie in one's hands.

'Cooperation' means the spirit of truth that the whole is more powerful than the sum. It is the spirit of sharing good things with others and helping others in need, dividing and conquering the difficulties together, and being considerate of others.

If one is diligent, one does not have to rely on others. If a person is able to help oneself, god will help that person too. Also, if one cooperates with others, there is nothing to be afraid of. The spirit of diligence, self-help, and cooperation created the unbeatable spirit of 'We can do it'.

Source: Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe (year unknown)

2. Contents of the Saemaeul Undong (Focusing on the 1970s)

A. The Saemaeul Undong in the 1970s

At the time when the Saemaeul Undong was advocated in the 1970s, the Korean government could not afford to provide its financial assistance for improving the production base and the living environment of the farming villages. However, the rural villages, which were already in an exceedingly poor and devastated condition, needed even the smallest amount of support that could be provided by the government. In particular, the most important power behind the organization of the Saemaeul Undong was the existing workforce and the residents' desire to change the reality. Therefore, the synergistic effect that was made by integrating the government's support with the residents' desire was tremendous(Park Jin Hwan, 2005).

The first program for improving the agricultural environment was to expand the access roads of rural areas and to pave the village roads. Also, the program for increasing income focused on fostering the farming, including mixed farming, crop improvement and distribution enhancement. As all of the major achievements of the Rural Saemaeul Undong established the infrastructure for the agricultural production, including the expansion of farm roads, the reorganization of arable lands, the installation of bridges, and the development of agricultural water, the innovations took place in the rural infrastructure. The farm income continuously increased due to the development of the sources for agricultural income and non-farming income. Also, houses and kitchens in the farming and fishing villages were renovated to provide a pleasant residential environment, while the agricultural convenience facilities and joint facilities were expanded, including the expansion of the access roads and the improvement of the village inroads, allowing people in the rural areas to enjoy cultural life.

〈Table III-2〉 Status of Major Programs of Saemaeul Undong (1971-1980)

Name of program	Goal	Performance	Performance against goal (%)
Expansion of village inroads (km)	26,266	43,558	166
Improvement of farm roads (km)	49,167	61,797	126
Construction of small bridges (section)	76,749	79,516	104
Village community center (dong)	35,608	37,012	104
Warehouse (dong)	34,665	22,143	64
Improvement of houses (dong)	544,000	225,000	42
Improvement of settlement structure (village)		2,747	
Drain facility (km)	8,654	15,559	179
Phones in farming and fishing villages (households)	2,834,000	2,777,500	98
Saemaeul plant (plant)	950	717	75

Source: Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe(year unknown), p.22

The most noticeable project of the Saemaeul Undong in the 1970s was the program for expanding the village inroads. The rural villages of Korea in the 1970s had the structures that made it difficult to be approached by cars. In order to change the farming villages where the houses were typically built without a plan around unorganized farmlands and farm roads as well as small and narrow alleys, it was necessary to first mechanize the agricultural industry. Above all, the mechanization of the agricultural industry required the spaces where agricultural machines such as cultivators and tractors were used. Also, access to vehicles was required to make it easier to transport the products and hence acquire the marketability, which would also make it possible to actually cultivate a market. Therefore, the programs for widening the village inroads were essential. Also, it was a representative program that used the cement aided

Ⅲ. Goals and Contents of the Saemaeul Undong ••• 25

by the government, making it the program with outstanding results.

〈Table Ⅲ-3〉 Increase Rate of Farm Income

(Unit: won, %)

Year	Farm income	Increase rate for every 3 year period
1970	255,800	na
1973	480,700	187.92
1976	1,156,300	240.54
1979	2,227,500	192.64

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), reconstructed the table of p.24

Together with the start of the Saemaeul Undong, the farm income that suffered from poverty showed a rapid increase. The increase in the farm income after 1970 could be seen as the success of the 5 Year's Planning of Economic Development, but it could also be regarded as the result of a variety of efforts made to live well by the rural societies. It was after 1976 when the farm households of the 1960s which always suffered from debts have disappeared, and the villages started to see the fruits of the Saemaeul Undong programs.

B. Implementation Structure of the Saemaeul Undong

1) Implementation System in the Government Sector

The Saemaeul Undong was operated by the government from the beginning. The ministry in charge was the Ministry of Home Affairs, while the other agencies managed the functions and organizations that were relevant to their duties.

The organization in charge of the Saemaeul Undong was first established as the Saemaeul Guidance Division along with the Saemaeul Officer and the Saemaeul Planning and Analysis Officer, inside the Regional Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs, through the reorganization of the offices in

accordance with No. 6458 of the Presidential Decree on January 16, 1973. As a result, there were divisions set up in each city, province, gun and gu responsible for the Saemaeul Undong. The system that made one public servant responsible for one village was implemented so that the consultative group for comprehensive planning of the Saemaeul Undong was established at the central and regional level to consult and mediate with relevant institutions.

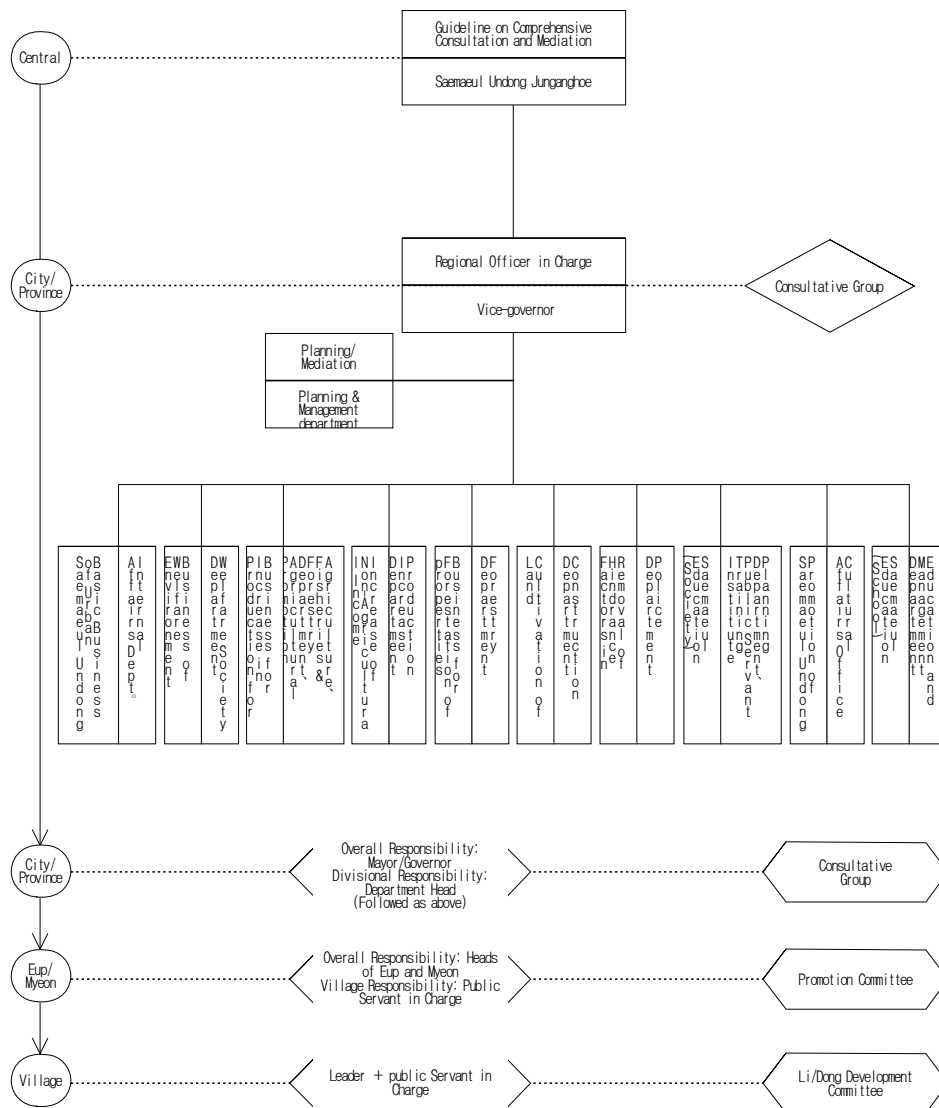
Starting from 1973, the Order of Saemaeul Service Merit was installed and the Saemaeul Leadership Certificates were distributed, while a nation-wide contests for Saemaeul leaders were held to have a system to educate and manage the Saemaeul leaders at the government level.

In December 1974, the Regional Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs established the Saemaeul Planning Division, the Saemaeul Guidance Division, the Urban Education Division, the Saemaeul Education Division and the Saemaeul Office and became the biggest organization of the Saemaeul Undong in history. Based on this, the most active Saemaeul Undong movements were executed.

Besides the Ministry of Home Affairs, the divisions were set up in other relevant ministries to support the Saemaeul Undong. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries newly established the Saemaeul Income Division in the Agricultural Development Department, while the Ministry of Commerce and Industry established the Agricultural Product Development Division in the Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise Department and the Farming and Fishing Village Electrification Division in the Electric Power Development Department. The Ministry of Education established the Saemaeul Education Office underneath the School Inspection Department, while the Ministry of Health and Welfare established the Regional Welfare Division in the Social Department, and the Nonghyup Junganghoe established the Saemaeul Business Division. In 1972, the Productive Farming Training Institute affiliated with the Nonghyup Junganghoe was renamed as the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute to be in charge of educating the Saemaeul leaders.

III. Goals and Contents of the Saemaoul Undong ●● 27

The major administrative guidance system for the Saemaoul Undong was as follows:



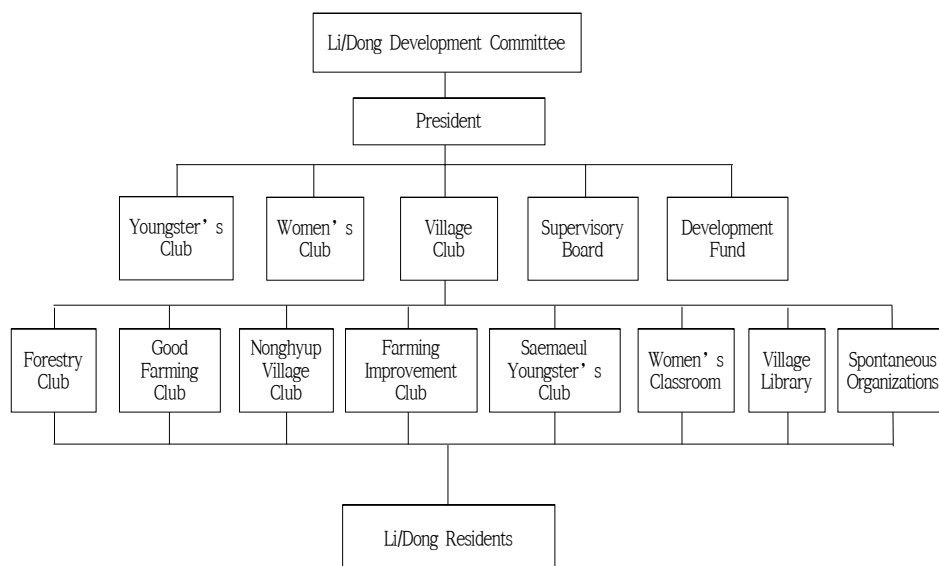
Source: Oh Yoo Seok(2011), p.71

Note. Production Increase: increasing the production of goods

[Figure III-1] Administrative Guidance System of the Saemaoul Undong

2) Implementation System in the Private Sector

The implementation system in the private sector could be represented by the Li/Dong Development Committee at the bottom right corner in [Figure III-1]. As the organization in charge of the Saemaeul Undong at the li and dong level, the Li/Dong Development Committee had all of the residents of li and dong as members, while the representatives of various public and spontaneous organizations had less than 15 members for each village. There are the Youngster's Club, the Women's Club, the Village Club, the Supervisory Board and the Development Fund underneath the President of the Committee which was responsible for the Saemaeul leaders or li and dong. These clubs consisted of the representatives from the Forestry Club, the Good Farming Club, the Nonghyup Village Club, the Farming Improvement Club, the Saemaeul Youngster's Club, the Women's Classroom, the Village Library and other spontaneous organizations.



Source: Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe(year unknown), p.37

[Figure III-2] Organization of the Li/Dong Development Committee

Ⅲ. Goals and Contents of the Saemaeul Undong ●●● 29

The Li/Dong Development Committee mediated the activities of the residents' organizations formed according to their functions, while it aimed to efficiently implement the administrative measures issued by the government and discussed and decided on the Saemaeul programs. The functions of the Committee included: to decide on the Saemaeul programs and establish its plans; implement the development programs through the cooperation of residents; store support materials; take responsibility in management; and take responsibility in follow-up measures on completed programs. The specific programs or activities that the Committee took charge covered a variety of topics including: discussion and resolution regarding the Saemaeul programs; programs for village protection such as crime prevention, anti-spying and fire protection; programs for farming production such as increase of production, improvement of farming, and cultivation and repair; programs for welfare benefits such as cleaning, disinfection, quarantine, sanitation, family planning and improvement of living conditions; programs for social and cultural activities such as congratulations and condolences, respect for the elderlies, guidance of the youngsters, and village events of sports and reading; and discussions and cooperation on the administrative affairs of li and dong and bestowing decorations and recommendations of li and dong; and national merit (Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe, year unknown).

The business plan was finalized after establishing and going through the decision-making process in residents' meetings to get the approval of the mayor and governor in accordance with the guideline for the business plan instructed by the city and province. The progress made on the programs was reported to the head of eup and myeon on a monthly basis where the committee conducted its own evaluation. At the end of the year, the yearly performance was reported and evaluated at the residents' meeting.

The Youngster's Club and the Women's Club were the major organizations of the Li/Dong Development Committee and they played a central role in

implementing and facilitating the Saemaeul Undong in each village. The Youngster's Club played an influential role in reaching an agreement by gathering the opinions of the village people in the process of planning and implementing the programs for the villages mainly focusing on the Saemaeul leaders. In particular, for transferring the private lands of an individual resident to the program for expanding and to paving the village inroads, it was necessary to make continuous persuasions and actively consult with the land owners. Resolving conflicts that arose between residents in such process were regarded as important tasks that the Saemaeul leaders and the Youngster's Club had to intervene.

The Women's Club played an important role in actively utilizing the labor and creativity of women in the village that had previously been buried despite their ample potentials. In particular, the Saemaeul women leaders who were elected for each village contributed in improving the economic and social status of women in rural areas during the process of planning and implementing the programs for increasing income and improving village environment.

C. Government Support on the Saemaeul Undong

In the process of taking the lead in implementing the Saemaeul Undong, the government provided differential supports for the programs of villages. The Ministry of Home Affairs classified 33,000 villages into three types according to the participation level of the residents through the regional administrations. A village that showed the lowest participation level and failed to properly execute the Saemaeul programs pushed forward by the government was classified as 'Basic Village,' while a village that showed the highest participation level from the residents and implemented the Saemaeul programs properly was classified as 'Self-Supporting Village.' Also, a village that was in between the Basic Village and the Self-Supporting Village was called the 'Self-Helping Village.' The

Ⅲ. Goals and Contents of the Saemaeul Undong ••• 31

government distributed cements and steels to the Self-Supporting Village or the Self-Helping Village instead of the Basic Village, thereby strengthening the competition among villages by applying the ‘principle of resource allocation commensurate with the performance’ and facilitated the will and participation of village residents.

These government policies started to show effects. The total number of Basic Villages as of the end of 1972 was at 53% of all villages, but after applying such principle, it was reduced to 31% at the end of 1973 and to 11% at the end of 1975.

〈Table Ⅲ-4〉 Comparison of the Distribution of the Basic Villages and Self-Supporting Villages by Year

Year	Number of villages across the nation	Basic Village (%)	Self-Helping Village (%)	Self-Supporting Village (%)	Total (%)
1972	34665	53	40	7	100
1973	34665	31	57	12	100
1974	34665	18	62	20	100
1975	35031	11	60	29	100

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs; Park Jin Hwan(2005), p.169

The nation’s selective support maximized the ideological effect by being interlinked with the outdated values or the pre-capitalist purity of farmers at the time. The Saemaeul leaders thought that they were compensated for their hard work through a Royal grant given to them from the head of the administrative district or from the President. Certainly, these Royal grants were given to the villages and not awarded to individuals, but the leaders found justification for their activities when the village received rewards or compensations for the leader’s individual activity.

Like the saying 'heaven helps those who help themselves,' yet another happiness came to our village. We received more support funds thanks to the special consideration of the President. When the Royal grant of 1 million won was issued to our village by the President, all of our village people were extremely delighted. Once again, we forgot about our sufferings and went back to work(Lee Sam Soon, 1976: 57).

Also, the visits and the display of personal interest by the President or the high-ranking officials provided a psychological motivation to endure the limitations of extreme labor for the Saemaeul leaders and for those who participated in the movement.

The governor, the heads of institutions and the head of myeon visited our village regularly to give words of encouragement on the Saemaeul programs. In response, the members showed a heightened enthusiasm and saved 200,000 won of the business profits at Nonghyup... As a result of working hard on the business, all of the fifty members received one rabbit to raise from the profits(Ahn Im Soon, 1977: 48-49).

The government's selective support on physical resources (cement/steels) resulted in the introduction of the principle of competition between villages for the Saemaeul Undong. In addition, the individual encouragements of the public servants from the government or the policy authority also acted as a significant power in getting passionate dedication from the Saemaeul leaders.

D. Implementation Process of the Saemaeul Undong

The implementation process of the Saemaeul Undong in the 1970s could be divided into three stages as shown below in <Table III-5>.

<Table III-5> Implementation Process of the Saemaeul Undong

Stage	Key program	Characteristic of the movement	GNP per capita (Unit: \$)
1. Stage of establishing foundation (1970-1973)	Improvement of environment: expand village inroads, install joint wash/laundry places, repair roofs, fences and kitchens Increase of income: expand farm roads, improve farm lands, improve breeding, encourage exchange of labor Reform of awareness: eradicate corruptive trends, implement frugality, create an atmosphere of cooperation	Establishment and purification of the movement Implementation of government-led activities Prioritization of the improvement of living environment	1970: 257 1973: 375
2. Stage of spreading program (1974-1976)	Increase of income: reorganize footpaths of rice fields, reorganize small rivers, implement mixed farming, operate joint work sites, seek non-rural income Reform of awareness: educate on the Saemaeul Undong, promote to the public, improve the awareness and behavior Improvement of environment: improve houses, install water supply system, construct village community centers	Expansion of spacial and functional aspects Increase of income and reform of awareness Establishment of national consensus	1974: 402 1976: 765
3. Stage of strengthening effect (1977-1979)	Farming village: improve settlement structure, construct modern dwelling, cultivate crops for special purposes, establish agricultural industrial complex Cities: pave alleys, clean and maintain order Workplace/plant: improve productivity, conserve resources, stabilize labor-management relations	Liaison between metropolitan regions Pursuit of the economies of scale Emphasis on the characterization by unit	1977: 966 1979: 1394

Source: Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe (year unknown), reconstructed, p.19

1) Stage of Establishing Foundation (1970-1973)

On April 22, 1970, together with the chanting of the Saemaeul Undong, programs for cultivating the villages were implemented across the nation. The government issued the guideline for implementing the 'Top 10 Cultivation Programs' during the early stages of the experimental period, where the government gave out 338 bags of cements to about 35,000 villages across the nation for free so that each village could push forward necessary programs (Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe, year unknown, p. 19).

〈Table III-6〉 Cements and Steels That Were Provided to Villages (1971-1978)²⁾

Year	Cement (bag)	Steel frame (kg)
1971	338	0
1972	264	503
1973	280	561
1974	257	296
1975	280	365
1976	227	309
1977	227	291
1978	227	284
Average	263	326

Source: Park Jin Hwan (2005), p.109

Besides the cements that were aided annually, the steel frames, which were the representative construction materials, were also provided to each village to be used as the basic building materials for the programs for improving the

2) The reported amounts of cements provided by the nation during the early days of the movement for the Saemaeul Undong differ from books to books. However, all of the coverages from books and reports refer to the fact that the Saemaeul Undong was triggered by the free cements provided to each village.

Ⅲ. Goals and Contents of the Saemaeul Undong ••• 35

village environment.

In order to implement the movement in an organized manner, the government elected one male and one female leaders from each village and appointed them as the Saemaeul leaders. They played a central role in planning and implementing the Saemaeul programs together with the residents. They received education for leaders' training at the Saemaeul Training Institute established in Suwon, Gyeonggi Province and they actively made use of what they learned for the village programs.

Due to the government's support and active intervention from the public servants, the Saemaeul Undong was rapidly pushed forward in each village. The stage of establishing the foundation put the most emphasis on the programs for improving environment, increasing income, and reforming awareness. The program for improving environment was a program to make the houses and living facilities more convenient and mainly consisted of expanding village inroads, installing joint wash places, and repairing roofs, fences, kitchens and toilets. The program for increasing income mainly focused on improving the farm income by expanding farm roads, improving farm machines, improving breeding and encouraging the exchange of labor. Finally, the program for reforming awareness concentrated on eradicating corruptive trends, practicing frugal life, and creating an atmosphere of cooperation to ameliorate unhealthy rituals and lifestyles.

2) Stage of Spreading Program (1974-1976)

The stage of spreading the Saemaeul Undong lasted from 1974 to 1976. During this three-year period, the Saemaeul Undong began from the rural areas and spread to cities or workplaces and plants. The government surpassed the support that it provided to the program for improving environment and for increasing income in rural areas, and also started to increase the national support on expanding workforce and organizations of cities and workplaces.

In particular, the Saemaeul Undong education, which commenced by targeting the Saemaeul leaders in rural areas, expanded to the cities and workplaces, making the education at the Saemaeul Training Institute to be mandatory for the management of companies and government officials, as well as for the Saemaeul leaders in the cities.

Similar to the stage of establishing foundation, the key programs during this period included the programs for increasing income, reforming national awareness, and improving environment. The increase of income was achieved in the rural areas by reorganizing the footpaths in rice fields, reorganizing small rivers, implementing mixed farming, operating joint work sites and pursuing non-agricultural income. Also, the living environment was improved by continuously implementing programs for repairing roofs and houses, installing small scale water supply systems, and constructing village community centers. As a result, thatched houses disappeared and the overall sanitary conditions improved considerably by advancing the kitchen and toilet facilities which used to be tremendous obstacles in the domestic work for women.

The characteristic of this period was that based on the outcome of the Saemaeul Undong from the rural areas, the government conspicuously intended to accelerate the production expansion of workplaces and the reorganization of urban environments in order to expand the movement to the cities and workplaces. The government-led incessant promotion on the achievements of the Rural Saemaeul Undong greatly influenced the city residents. As a result, an organization for the Urban Saemaeul Undong was established for each school, workplace, and administrative district, and the movement for improving environment and increasing production began.

Consequentially, the average income per capita increased from US\$ 402 in 1974 to US\$ 765 in 1976.

3) Stage of Strengthening Effect (1977-1979)

In order to improve the effect of the Saemaeul Undong conducted in each village, the third stage of strengthening effect aimed to expand the size of the programs to pursue the economic efficiency. There were unremitting attempts to increase non-agricultural income by encouraging the cultivation of crops for special purposes and of livestock farming in rural areas, by creating agricultural industrial complexes, and by constructing Saemaeul factories. Also, the living environment was enhanced by refurbishing the settlement structure and by constructing modern dwellings. At the time, the government supplied the standard materials to facilitate the amelioration of houses in the rural areas, while it also started to take an interest in supporting the processing industry and the cultivation of commercial crops. The Urban Saemaeul Undong was carried forward by focusing on paving alleys, cleaning up the front of ones' houses, and maintaining order. It was also being actively executed at workplaces and factories by concentrating on improving productivity, saving goods and promoting the community spirit between labor and management.

As a result, the average GNP per capita increased about two folds from US\$ 765 in 1976 to US\$ 1,394 in 1979.

IV

Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas

1. Goals of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong 42
2. Agents of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong 49
3. Contents of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong 57

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 41

The Saemaeul Undong which began in 1970 led an extensive economic and cultural transition in the farming community. The thatched roofs were replaced by slate roofs, and the filthy and narrow village roads widened, while the people who fell into the temptation of gambling and drinking during the agricultural off-season started to show the will to work. Various changes took place. The villages that used to suffer from poverty began to accumulate wealth through various profit-making programs, and the village community centers were newly built to converge the opinions of the residents. All people participated in the movement with the Saemaeul leaders at the centre in order to renovate their spirits by joining hands “to live well.” In the process of implementing the Saemaeul Undong, women played an important role that could not be overlooked. The Saemaeul Undong conducted by women was called the ‘Women’s Saemaeul Undong.’ It showed substantial achievements in the programs for increasing income and improving environment.

A majority of women in the rural areas that participated in the Saemaeul Undong during 1970s had pride in the fields and rice paddies where they worked “until their bones ached” (Bu○Ja, Kwon○Seon). The Women’s Saemaeul Undong was a turning point in their lives where they experienced physical and spiritual satisfaction. This chapter explores the changes obtained through the Saemaeul Undong for the lives of women in rural areas, which made most of the participants to believe until these days that they have succeeded.

1. Goals of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong

The main goal of the Women's Saemaeul Undong that started together with the Saemaeul Undong was not different from the movement under the banner of 'diligence, self-help and cooperation' on the exterior, but in reality, it focused on 'modernization' and 'increase of household income.' The modernization helped people to escape from the outdated culture to accept the rational and efficient mode of living through improving the living environment and lifestyle, while the increase of income realized the key goals of the Saemaeul Undong toward the 'living well' movement.

A. Modernization

The modernization process pursued by the Women's Saemaeul Undong was viewed as an upgrade from the existing lifestyle to a modern style. For the rural Korean people living with outdated lifestyles, during the period of 1960 to 1970, it was almost impossible to adapt to the rapidly changing capitalistic society. In particular, it was very difficult to change the living habits of rural areas from the characteristics of outdated farm labor into a capitalist mode. However, the female leaders of Saemaeul Undong recognized that it was possible to achieve the goal of increasing income through 'modernization,' and succeeded to improve the overall lifestyle and attitude of rural areas to suit the capitalist production method.

The typical methods introduced by the female leaders to change the lifestyle and attitude were 'write daily records on ministries' and 'time management.'

1) Write Daily Records on Ministries: Introducing the Concept of Modern Working Hours

The most representative method used by the female leaders in Saemaeul Undong to achieve the goal of improving lifestyle was to introduce the

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 43

evaluation system for joint labor participation of the villages. The female leaders kept records of who participated and how much they worked to encourage the resident's participation when hosting joint programs for the villages. They introduced the concept of working hours so that it was possible to monitor and control the participation and implementation by writing daily records on ministries. Since the ministries kept records on who worked for how long, it had the effect of strengthening the concept of time in relation to the participants' labor.

Penalties were given to the daily wages if a person arrived at work late, and the order of priority for the rice planting was determined by taking the attendance records into consideration so that the wealthy and busy households attended with more passion. Also, since the order of rice planting for the following year was decided according to the attendance records, people could not be lazy in their work just because they finished planting their rice fields early (Ahn Im Soon, 1977: 41).

By introducing the concept of working hours, the status and patriarchal structure that existed in the village disappeared. Through a shared understanding of equality, failing to participate in hours allocated for the joint work placed one at a disadvantage regardless of whether one was a community leader or a wealthy farmer in the village.

Also, encouraging participation through the system that determined the order of priority for rice planting by using the attendance record was thought to directly reflect the modern method of labor control. It implied the know-hows of female leaders at the time to prevent free riders in the joint or cooperative works, and it was a relatively modern method which applied the principle of reward commensurate with the performance.

〈Table IV-1〉 The Number of Days that Village Residents Worked in the Saemaeul Programs (1971-1978)

Year	National total (1 million days)	Per village (days)	Per farm (days)
1971	7.2	218	2
1972	32.0	970	10
1973	36.1	1090	11
1974	22.6	685	7
1975	28.5	864	8
1976	24.4	739	7
1977	30.3	918	9
1978	28.9	876	9
Annual average	26.3	795	8

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaeul Undong(1978). p.142; Park Jin Hwan(2005), p.118, recited

After the concept of working hours was introduced and the compensation through labor evaluation was implemented, the number of days that residents worked for the Saemaeul programs or the village joint programs increased by about 4 times to an annual average of 795 days per village compared to 218 days in 1971. Ultimately, introducing the concept of labor and the evaluation system acted as a mechanism that encouraged and forced the participation to the joint programs, which expanded the agricultural production base for villages, thereby contributing to the increase in overall farm income.

2) Time Management: Changing the Concept of Time in Daily Life

When women were busy with domestic work, it was not easy for them to understand the concept of time in a capitalist term. However, as women in rural areas participated in joint programs held among villages and in various meetings and gatherings, they gradually learned how to plan and adjust their lives based

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 45

on the modern concept of time in relation to work, productivity and efficiency. When doing both domestic and outside work, especially when the family lacked understanding about their outside activities, female leaders used their time to the fullest. Women who remained in the private territory were able to enter into the public territory only after getting up at dawn to finish domestic chores.

As always, after getting up at three or four in the morning, I prepared breakfast for the family and finished washing the dishes before picking up the broken pieces of jing to strike it as I walked here and there in the village. (omitted) I arrived at the work site ten minutes before seven and started the rice planting at seven o' clock. I was given one hour of lunch break where I breast-fed the baby and, as always, ate from my lunchbox, while the children and males at home ate what I prepared in the morning. The work ended at 7 pm and we were sent home while the sun was still up in order to prepare supper(Ahn Im Soon, 1977: 41).

The female leaders had to use their time to the fullest because they depended on the family approval to be able to engage in the public activities to increase income.

The women's desire for a modern way of time management based on efficiency was expressed in the movement toward the Family Rite Standards. The Family Rite Standards was established in 1969 by the government to simplify the existing Confucian family rituals in order to rationalize people's living, and the Act on Family Rite was enacted in 1973. After the enactment of the Act, there were increasing voices across the nation that promoted the abolition of empty formalities and vanity, prevention of waste, and stimulation of healthy social atmosphere. Also, the government strengthened its crackdown on the cases that violated laws.

The female leaders shared the view that various family events, including ancestral rites which accounted for a tremendous part of the domestic work, were a waste from the material perspective, but also an obstacle in their lives in terms of time. Therefore, women actively participated in the measures implemented by the government. Ultimately, the efforts of women to carry out the Family Rite

Standards was their resistance against the existing patriarchal family order. Also it could be seen as the result of an increasing recognition about the modern concept of time and efficiency. The main thoughts of the female leaders were to reduce expenses and time spent on household matters and utilize them in other directions. For example, because preparing food for the deceased on the first and the fifteenth day of the month no longer had any meaning, one female persuaded the village adults with other female members that they should instead call it a day of devoting to parents who are still alive(Jung ○ Ja).

As a result, the women were able to reduce time spent on domestic work, while encouraging males who had no interest in household chores to spend at least a small amount of time doing domestic work.

B. Increase of Income

The goal to increase income touched upon the Saemaeul Undong participants the most because it was the actual goal that could change their lives. Since Korean farmers living in the rural areas suffered from poverty on a daily basis with devastated lands, 'living well' meant resolving the problem of eating, and there was nothing more urgent than increasing the household income to get rid of debts. In order to increase income, the Saemaeul Women's Society typically carried forward the projects that changed the concept of money for women in the rural areas and spread the awareness on the importance of saving.

1) Changing the Concept of Money: Pursuing Profits

The major interest of the Saemaeul Women's Society was to help women in the rural areas realize what 'money' was and to think about ways to earn money because women used to have no authority in the household economy at the time.

Until then, women in the rural areas had no awareness of the possibility of getting paid for their own labor because they usually received living expenses

from parents-in-law or husbands. However, reforming the awareness of women to realize that they could earn money on their own became an important reason for starting the Women's Saemaeul Undong.

The moment when women realized that they could make money on their own, they actively sought out ways to increase profits and also linked such ways with various ideas for new businesses that actually resulted in more income. The following illustrated a reconstructed example of the village business of a female leader in Jangheung.³⁾

〈Table IV-2〉 An Example of Village Business of a Female Leader in Jangheung

A female leader (Ahn ○ Ja) has been living in Jangheung since 1969 when she got married and has been working as the president of the women's society from 1971. At first, she started to do business by chipping in 100 won per house after discussing with the village adults. Each female member conducted the business for 15 days and made profits by handing over the business to the next member. After they got used to doing business by taking turns, they opened a bar in the village by loading and carrying raw rice wines on bicycles, and made various profits this way. The profits were used as the basic fund for constructing the village community center and for purchasing an amplifier to allow broadcasting. Afterwards, the village welcomed the government measures on identifying and supporting the programs that suited the characteristic of the village, and started the business in cultivating balloon flowers by taking 200,000 won on loans payable in five years with a three-year grace period. The village women devised various businesses to make profits, including spending spare times to cultivate balloon flowers and selling them at the agricultural market in Garakdong. After the 1980s, they started and succeeded in a salted anchovy business. As of 2010, villages are making lots of profit from joint programs by diversifying their business, including kimchi business, etc.

3) The contents are attached as the Experience of Expanding the Program for Increasing Income by a Female Leader in Saemaeul Undong in the Annex.

2) Introducing Concept of Savings

Since the women in rural areas began to open their eyes in pursuing profits, they started to think of ways to make even more money. Saving money began to be suggested as the best method to escape from poverty. In accordance with the guidance of the Saemaeul Women's Society, the women in rural areas began to put money they earned through saving rice or through doing side jobs related to the village safe. By doing so, they witnessed the small money turning into a lump sum. The villages used the money saved up in the safe to plan a joint program for the village to make more profits, and allocated the profits again to individuals, allowing the village as a whole to share the effects of profitable businesses.

Likewise, the Women's Saemaeul Undong, which targeted the introduction of modern lifestyle and increased income, not only increased the income of villages by improving the farm income through specific programs, but also successfully removed the factors that have been hindering the agricultural development.

In particular, the activities of women during such process could be observed from various aspects, including physical and psychological perspectives. The women in rural areas became workers in the Saemaeul Undong just like males by participating in various programs themselves in order to improve the environment. Also, they acted as important agents in improving the outdated lifestyle and awareness that were deeply rooted in the households and village communities.

The next chapter explores the details about the activities of female leaders and women's society as they were the actual agents behind the Women's Saemaeul Undong.

2. Agents of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong

A. Female Leaders in the Saemaeul Undong

The people that played the most important role in successfully implementing the Saemaeul Undong were those elected as the Saemaeul leaders. They led the Saemaeul programs after being elected as leaders for each village.

The Saemaeul education planned and implemented by the government played an important role in enabling the leaders to lead the Saemaeul Undong. The Saemaeul education was first implemented at the Productive Farming Training Institute in 1972 when the facilities of Nonghyup university were borrowed. Half of the budget was supported by Nonghyup, while the teachers were mostly the Nonghyup employees and the education lasted for 2 weeks. In particular, since it was an education program that received a considerable attention by the President, many trainees completed the program. Also, the Saemaeul leaders who received the training showed more devotion when they came back to their village to implement the Saemaeul Undong.

On February 24, 1972, the Korean President Jung Hee Park visited the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute, while the ministry in charge of the movement changed from the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to the Blue House. The secretary and special aides at the Blue House paid attention in fostering the Saemaeul leaders by developing various programs. Among the programs for fostering leaders, the most representative program was the small group discussions and the presentations of the best practices.

The Saemaeul leaders from each region exchanged opinions on the directions and development plans of the Saemaeul Undong through small group discussions. The government evaluated that such process promoted the spirit of Saemaeul Undong, which was the basic goal of the Saemaeul education, through the discussions and debates taking place from the bottom. In addition,

the presentations on best practices provided opportunities to broadcast the ways to overcome individual crisis and find ways to conquer obstacles in the Saemaeul Undong.

The leaders who participated in the education during the early days were mainly male. However, after implementing the Saemaeul education for the third time, the male leaders argued that the female leaders should also receive the education to successfully carry out the Saemaeul programs. Males agreed that it was easier to encourage the participation of residents when women stepped forward in the implementation of the programs.

“The biggest reason why women triggered the heat in the Saemaeul Undong was because they improved the living environment of the villages rather than the agricultural work in the field”(Park Jin Hwan, 2005). When examining the frequency of tasks for the small group discussions during the early days of the Saemaeul Undong (1972-1973), the biggest concern of the leaders at the time was to increase the resident's participation. The leaders began to actively consider embracing female participation in resolving this matter.

〈Table IV-3〉 Frequency of Tasks at the Small Group Discussions for Saemaeul Leaders (1972-1973)

Discussion task	Number of times suggested
Matters on the participation of village residents	125
Matters on the development of income source for rural areas	79
Matters on the Saemaeul leaders	76
Matters on the selection of Saemaeul programs	70
Matters on the creation of village fund	70
Matters on the relationship with regional administrative authorities	34
Matters on using the workforce of residents	27

Source: Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute; Park Jin Hwan(2005), p.153

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 51

Even though the tremendous role of the female leaders in Saemaeul Undong was recognized, it was not easy for the women in rural areas to leave home to receive the training for a duration of two weeks. Therefore, the duration of the training for the women was reduced to one week. In June of 1973, the first female leaders for Saemaeul Undong received the training where 130 women from rural areas entered the education program.

The courses taken by the female leaders were the basic education programs that were needed for the housewives in rural areas such as diet and health. By looking at the agenda for the small group discussion, one would realize how difficult it was for women to actually participate in the Saemaeul Undong.

〈Table IV-4〉 Title of Small Group Discussions for the First Graduates of Female Leaders by Class (June 3, 1973-June 9, 1973)

Class	Title of small group discussion
1	Participation and obstacles for women in the Saemaeul Undong
2	Problems with earning extra money for households
3	Women's participation in the Saemaeul Undong
4	Plans for facilitating the Family Rite Standards
5	Extra money made at home by women
6	Movement for cooperative union and participation by women
7	Family welfare and children's education
8	Saving by women and rationalizing their lives

Source: Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute; Park Jin Hwan(2005), p.154

The topics of the small group discussions presented above were very different from those of male leaders previously discussed. The greatest concern for female leaders was the family cultural factors and the patriarchal factors that interfered with their participation in the movement. In addition, they were more concerned about the side jobs that would galvanize the household economy and

about the children's education compared to males.

Back in those days, receiving the Saemaeul education was considered as a form of honor. Many male leaders in the rural areas wanted to enter the training institute. However, it was impossible for them to receive the two-week training during the farming season. Therefore, the farmers wanted to take the education during the off-season, but the programs at the training institute were difficult to be held during the wintertime because most programs were for outdoors and field trips. Also, it was difficult to acquire sufficient electricity to make the training available at nighttime when the night hours were long. As a result, there was a slight mismatch between the supply and demand in education.

Despite this, the education for the Saemaeul leaders continued and the best practices at the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute located in Suwon from 1972 to 1981 were announced by 61 male leaders and 16 female leaders. Among them, the leaders who demonstrated outstanding presentation skills were invited to be the lecturers for the Saemaeul education targeting the public servants, companies, teachers and students. Even though the numbers were smaller compared to males, the best practices of female leaders were discussed oftentimes because they provided different kind of lessons to be learned. Among them, the example of the leader Moon Ja Jung was widely promoted by being produced into a movie *Women of the Oryuri*. In addition, a play film such as *Parade of Wives*⁴⁾ was produced and shown under the theme of the activities of Women's Saemaeul Undong.

4) Made into a movie by the director Kwon Taek Im in 1974 with the appearances of Mi Ra Yoon and Hee Ra Kim.

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 53

〈Table IV-5〉 List of Female Leaders Who Presented Best Practices on the Saemaeul Undong

Name	Residential area	Period	Best practice
Moon Ja Jung	Imshil, Jeonbuk	1973-76	Saemaeul
Young Mae Hong	Cheongdo, Gyeongbuk	1974-78	Saemaeul
Jae Hee Choi	Yeonki, Chungnam	1974-81	Saemaeul
Jung Hee Kim	Cheonan, Chungnam	1974-75	Saemaeul
Jung Sook Kim		1974-76	Saemaeul
Mok Dan Ahn		1974	Saemaeul (widows of fallen soldiers)
Elisa Kim		1974	Saemaeul
Soon Hye Hong	Dobonggu, Seoul	1975-1978	Urban Saemaeul
Young Hwa Gwak	Cheongdo, Gyeongbuk	1975	Saemaeul
Sook Ja Seo	Sunchang, Jeonnam	1975	Saemaeul
Soon Ja Lee	Jinyang, Gyeongnam	1976-79	Saemaeul
Cheong Ja Lee		1977-79	Saemaeul

Source: Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute; Park Jin Hwan(2005), p.165

The best practices of the female leaders in Saemaeul Undong mostly illustrated the process of overcoming the poverty and difficulties with endurance and diligence after marrying a poor family, while sharing their experience and knowledge acquired in the process to improve the village environment and to increase the income. The act of sharing a diverse knowledge and experience acquired in the process of overcoming poverty by an individual or a family directly illustrated the basic spirit of the Saemaeul Undong of 'diligence, self-help and cooperation.' In particular, the best practices of female leaders provided detailed explanation about how they overcame the patriarchal culture and the outdated family relations which hindered their participation in the Saemaeul Undong. Without getting the approval from the parents-in-law or husbands, it was impossible for them to engage in any social activity.

Therefore, they implemented various Saemaeul programs as female leaders by finding a common ground instead of getting rid of all of the existing values and ways of thinking. They especially emphasized the value of filial duty and the sense of unity as a community.

B. Saemaeul Women's Society

The Saemaeul Women's Society played the most important role in supporting the female leaders in the Saemaeul Undong and implementing their plans by making sure they acted as the leaders in the Saemaeul Undong.

The rural areas in Korea had already organized the women's society during the 1950s-1960s. However, the women's society at that time was regarded as an organization for women who received the educational benefit, and in most cases, they usually acted as the female representatives that supported the ruling party during the election period(Park Jin Hwan, 2005, p.167). Comparably, the Saemaeul Women's Society set up in the 1970s took practical charge in the programs for improving the village, which made it different from the former women's society. Therefore, the female leaders were elected based on whether or not they had the experience in actively taking part in the Saemaeul program for the development of the village and the sense of community spirit.

The Women's Society that consisted of such strong female leaders who belonged to the Women's Club under the Development Committee and together with the male leaders took part in deciding and implementing various programs for the village(Jung○Ja).

The Women's Society mainly composed of women who were aged between 20 and 60. Women who were over 60 were treated as the special members. In accordance with the regulation of the women's society, the executive committee included one president, one vice president, one auditor, one secretary, several managers and an advisor. The tenure of the executives was two years. The women who were the most active in the activities for the Women's Society

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 55

were the young members in their thirties. They demonstrated and executed various ideas and plans for the village business, special products and side jobs. Female members who were older mainly supported these activities.

The divisions of the Women's Society could increase or decrease depending on the business expansion. Generally, there were the Savings Division, the Environment/Living Improvement Division, the Family Planning Division, the Cultural Activity Division, and the Income Development Division. The Savings Division was responsible for planning the rice yield fund, the rice saving fund, the village fund, the waste recovery center, and other consumption activities. The Environment/ Living Improvement Division was in charge of improving the environment, food, clothing, shelter, nutrients and business management. The Family Planning Division planned and conducted research on implementing the family planning, health for mothers and children, and national welfare management. The Cultural Activity Division actively carried out the guidelines for the family rite, various educations for sound households, programs for agricultural welfare and culture, and social volunteer programs. The Income Development Division was mainly in charge of the business related to farming activities, side job development, regional development programs and income. This division was practically in charge of the program for increasing income in the Women's Saemaeul Undong (Ministry of Home Affairs, 1980, p.368).

〈Table IV-6〉 Status of the Saemaeul Women's Society by Year

Year	Number of women's society	Number of members (thousand persons)
Until 1970	2572	82
1971	9472	312
1972	28313	1633
1973	96920	1694
1974	41672	2090

Year	Number of women's society	Number of members (thousand persons)
1975	43210	2161
1976	45545	2254
1977	60352	2424
1978	68194	2552
1979	80115	2678
1980	84693	2950

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare; Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), p.74

Under the name of the Saemaeul Women's Society from 1971, female organizations in rural areas were established or reestablished and the number of members increased rapidly. Until 1970, the number of Women's Societies only remained at 2,572, but it increased by about 3.6 times to 9,472 in 1971, also increasing the number of members by 3.8 times. After 10 years since the start of the Saemaeul Undong, in 1980, the number of women's societies increased by about 33 times to 84,693, and the number of members increased by about 36 times.

This way, the Saemaeul Women's Society began to grow quantitatively and took the lead in the programs for improving the environment, modernization, and increasing income, which were the key programs of the Women's Saemaeul Undong. First of all, they led in reforming the outdated lifestyles and attitudes that remained in the households and communities. Also, they planned and implemented various programs to increase income and actively participated in the programs for improving the environment of the village as a whole. Although they were women, they participated in programs together with males to cultivate farmlands, expand village roads and construct bridges by exerting physical labor in carrying cements, bricks and steel frames. During the off season, they put pressures on the males in the village and their husbands in

order to deter them from gambling and drinking instead of working. Meanwhile, these women utilized their sophisticated skills and had a tremendous influence in increasing farm income by earning extra money from producing embroidery, socks and small household products.

3. Contents of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong⁵⁾

The details of the Women's Saemaeul Undong were divided into three areas: 1) implementing the modernization of households and communities; 2) implementing the programs for increasing income; and 3) implementing programs for improving environment.

A. Modernization of Households and Communities

The modernization of households and communities was viewed as the greatest achievement the Women's Saemaeul Undong has made. Even though the Saemaeul Undong started off as a nation-wide movement, villages led the detailed implementation of the plans, making it difficult to receive the support from the nation if the Development Committee of each village failed to reach an agreement. This was why villages were forced to emphasize efficiency and effectiveness in their business plan and resource allocation when modernizing the awareness and decision making process. In particular, the adoption and establishment of the modern decision-making system provided opportunities for women in rural areas to voice their opinions that have previously been suppressed and to establish the foundation to take a leading role in planning and implementing their businesses.

5) The Section 3 of this chapter was reconstructed from Choi(2011).

1) Adopting the Formal Democracy and the Principle of Efficiency

In terms of ideologies, the outdated rituals and the government-led motivations brought on a synergistic effect. It seemed that the organizational activities of the Saemaeul leaders were based on the formal democratic method of operation. It was regarded as a good example of showing the democratic method of operation because the system was established in the village meeting where most activities were operated after reaching an agreement. In particular, for the programs to reorganize the environment of the village, it was often necessary to use the private lands that belonged to private owners, and resolving this problem was accompanied with a prolonged persuasion. Certainly, during the process of persuasion, it was ironic that the public fear against the existing community rituals and the power of the nation (or the governing class) had a substantial effect. One female said that she lived in fear of getting caught through guilt-by-association because she had a relative who defected to North Korea. In particular, she stated that she did whatever the government told her to do because she was afraid of what might happen to her children. Therefore, when the Saemaeul Undong was being implemented, she had to give up her land to widen the village roads even though she did not want to (Kim○Cheon). This was an example of the characteristic of democracy at the time where individuals were limited in formally exercising their rights due to the fear of the government's power.

However, these examples were the shadows of the democratic method of operation not shown on the surface because there was a big difference in the method of operation compared to past when everything was decided by the community leader. Now the actual method of operation included drawing up minutes, making decisions by majority vote, and accepting what had been decided. Also, it was meaningful in a sense that the village people were given the opportunity to experience such mechanism of basic politics. Especially for the women in rural areas, the experience of participating in the decision-making

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 59

process provided an opportunity to grow into a modern capitalist individual who had political rights based on rationality instead of formal education.

Also, the number of village community centers that were constructed during the past 10 years reached 37,012, which meant that the physical foundation for facilitating the community meetings and for allowing the decision-making were installed through the Saemaeul Undong's program for developing villages. In other words, learning about democracy took place systematically and consciously, and became intensified through acquiring the physical spaces needed for the learning.

In the process of organizing the Saemaeul Undong, there was an increase in the awareness on the procedural democracy and individual rights (participating as one vote in the decision-making process) as well as in the public awareness on competition systems and efficiencies. In particular, the nation's selective support method that encouraged competition was based on the principle of efficiency, which promoted the perception that achieving many things in a short time was a success. An attendance record was drawn up for the people who participated in joint programs of the village, with the records of the arrival times and the calculation of the hours spent working. Penalties were given if people failed to fill the allotted time amount. Therefore, people started to worry about ways to efficiently increase income to make profits based on their performance.

Such change in the awareness was an innovative transformation in that it was opposite to the existing outdated values and later acted as the main value that led the transformation in the agricultural society. Similarly to the other Saemaeul leaders, the female leaders in the Saemaeul Undong also introduced the democratic measures and implemented them in various programs. Based on the experiences in the past, they were well aware of the fact that it would be difficult to achieve any project without reaching an agreement with the community. Therefore, they created a regulation to obtain the approval of the female members, and implemented various programs based on the regulation.

〈Table IV-7〉 Regulation of Saemaeul Women's Society

Chapter 1. General Provisions

Article 1 (name) This meeting shall be referred to as “Saemaeul Women's Society” of li and dong (tong, ban).

Article 2 (purpose) This meeting aims to achieve the perpetuation of the Saemaeul Undong by contributing to the regional social development by improving the welfare of women and by fostering sound households and embodying the Saemaeul spirit.

Article 3 (program) This meeting shall implement the following programs to achieve the purpose mentioned in the precious article.

Program for improving general culture and abilities to foster sound households

Program for educating children

Program for developing regional society

Program for simplifying rites, including environment, clothing, food, shelter and living (operation of joint settlement and fixed affiliates, etc.)

Program for improving nutrients of rural areas

Program for teaching farming to women

.

.

.

12. Program for cooperative volunteer works (implementing joint works, operating joint work sites)

13. Program for operating nursing houses during farming season

14. Program for saving (safe business, rice saving, waste collection)

15. Program for developing extra money for households

.

.

.

Chapter 6. Imposition of membership fees and expenses

Article 15 (membership fees and expenses) ① In order to pay for expenses in implementing the programs in Article 3, this meeting may impose a monthly fee and accumulate a portion of the business profit and joint fund.

② The accumulated fund shall be managed in the most reasonable and safest way decided by the president at the executive meeting, and the management of the fund shall be reported at the monthly meeting.

③ The actual expense required to implement the business shall be withdrawn from the accumulated fund in accordance with the decision of the executive meeting, which shall be reported and receive approval at the following monthly meeting.

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), p.366-370

The programs of the Women's Society were implemented in accordance with the regulation of the Women's Society. The accumulated assets from the profits made in the business were operated through consultations at the village general assembly in accordance with the regulation on the management and creation of the Saemaeul assets. This showed that the procedural democracy and the village residents' participation in the decision-making process were ensured formally and systematically.

The system and the law ensured the participation of the village residents and female members and were operated transparently to minimize any conflicts arising from the accumulated assets of the villages. The leaders could develop and expand the joint programs that made great profits by getting the approval of the village.

2) Compromising with Traditional Values

Through the process of implementing the Saemaeul Undong that pursued modernization, the traditional values that controlled the existing agricultural

society transformed into the direction that accepted competition and pursued economic profits. However, the process of such transformation did not occur naturally. A wind of change that emphasized the democratic efficiency and competition acted as a threatening factor to the village community which was accustomed to the existing values. There were especially many conflicts that had to be resolved in order for the women to be able to carry out the activities and be recognized by the family community as economic agents. Therefore, the female leaders had no choice but to compromise with the traditional values through various methods during the process of accepting the modern capitalist values and applying them in their activities. The values that they accepted and justified in their activities were 'communalism' and 'filial duty.'

The compromise between communalism and capitalism was shown in the form of joint labor, joint saving and joint funding. Female leaders showed the collaboration of communalism in a very unique manner where the concept of profit was based on the modern individualism they embodied. The most important goal for them was to escape from poverty and to live well. To achieve this, the passive women of rural areas began to naturally accept earning money as the goal of their lives.

However, the aggressive will they displayed in pursuing profits at the beginning also became a target for criticism from the village residents, especially from men.

However, there were many difficulties (in making the fund..added by the author). Males from the village came and asked how I could give my trust (in keeping the money..added by the author) and what if someone took the money and ran away with it. It once was a huge fuss (Jung○Ja).

As part of the ways to overcome the criticism from the village residents, the female leaders chose the most generic method, which was to inform the village

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 63

residents how they pursued profits and persuaded them to join in making profits. As a result, joint programs were developed that produced joint profits and other diverse methods were introduced to acquire individual profits. The most representative method was to return the profits made from joint programs to individual bank accounts. The village residents embodied the concept of capitalist profit by feeling rewarded with the money accumulating in their own bank account.

People would not invest in anything after making a bank account. However, orders were made when a school sports day was held. I went to the school and took fabric from the local store because I knew how to sew. I got the orders and made money. Since we did it jointly with others, 5,000 won was put in the bank account. Since it was our money now, we were told to save it in the account with additional profits made (Jung○Ja).

The government's Saemaeul Undong support policies that implemented the competitive system also allowed the village residents to experience capitalist competitive system through the community. In particular, some of the rewards or the special Royal grant obtained by competing with other villages were deposited into individual accounts of the village residents (Lee Sam Soon, 1976, p.51).

'Filial piety' especially played an important role in resolving the conflicts between traditional values and modern values on the gender roles. In traditional values, it was considered disgraceful for women to go out and make money. Parents-in-laws did not like their daughter-in-laws to go out to make money whilst the children would starve to death in the house. In particular, they did not have good feelings about the Women's Society that led the program for family planning and followed the Family Rite Standards (Lee Soon Ja, 1976: Jung○Ja; Kwon○Seon). In order to resolve such conflicts between generations, the female leaders used the 'filial piety.' They encouraged communication between generations by providing material compensations for the parents-in-laws who might feel neglected, such as by making lunches and snacks and taking

them on a tour (Lee Soon Ja, 1976: 73; Kwon○Seon), while also holding regular village events for the elderly(Jung○Ja, Kwon○Seon).

After returning from a pleasant one-day outing with the parents-in-law, the understanding and cooperation they showed was amazing. It was as if they felt something new in front of the huge power of someone who makes rich soils by blocking the river. Since then, the mother-in-law society was established in my village and there were no longer any conflicts between mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws. All families were happy and the village was peaceful. Money piled up day by day and the female members also increased to 50 persons (Lee Soon Ja, 1976, p.4).

The example above demonstrated the characteristic of the female leaders in the Saemaeul Undong as communalistic and family-oriented, while at the same time as active and aggressive. The reason for this was because they were internally mediating between the modern capitalist values they had newly accepted and the traditional values embodied in them while growing up in the agricultural society. It seemed they learned how to achieve their goals as much as possible, while minimizing the conflicts from the outside when the new values were applied to their lives. Certainly, one could not deny the fact that there were physical and psychological sacrifices and pains on individuals. However, these sacrifices and pains were counterbalanced by the acquisition of social status, the provision of rewards, and the accumulation of individual wealth. The ideological attack made through the government's Saemaeul education certainly had an enormous influence.

3) Emphasizing Ascetic Lifestyle

Among the female leaders of the Saemaeul Undong, the ascetic lifestyle expressed as “diligence, faithfulness and thrifty” was emphasized in the process of acquiring the modern concept of profit and time from the living perspective. Such change in lifestyle started with the critical self-examination of one's past

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 65

where “women had the wrong idea where they thought one could live well only if one was born with luck, and lived in despair as if they were destined to poverty” (Lee Soon Ja, 1976, p.72), and this led to the criticism towards males who lived aimlessly engrossed in the existing values, and to efforts to improve their lifestyle.

Women made efforts to make a living by digging shellfishes and oysters, but males were pathetic. Since the farm lands were narrow and there was nothing to do, they stayed up till late at night drinking at bars gambling, while getting into fights in the daytime over the game of yut. There were even cases where the fights occurred at homes where they harassed starving wives and prevented their children from going to school, which brought down the whole family (Lee Sam Soon 1976, p.49).

In order to thwart frequent drinking and gambling of husbands, women persuaded them to start a small business. The female leaders and members went to the gambling sites together to throw away hwatu (Jung Myeong Kyu, 1977, p.38) and persistently persuaded their husbands with tears (Lee Sam Soon, 1976). The persuasions of the female leaders first got approved by the female members as they had the practical experience of increasing income by working hard and diligently, and then gradually brought a change in the lifestyle of males. Notably, the joint organization of Women's Society collectively coped with the intemperate lifestyle and gambling of their husbands. Through the changes made by the women, the ascetic lifestyle began to spread among the village residents, and were embodied by the individuals.

Besides persuading the males, women also used business as a way to actually reduce habitual drinking of males. Alcohols were beginning to be sold at cheap prices at the shops where daily necessities were supplied to make profits, and women even started to operate a village bar so the money spent outside the village by the males returned back into the village as profits (Lee Sam Soon 1976, p.49; Kim○Ja). The profits made this way was again allocated to the

village residents and put into their accounts, allowing the residents to experience the economic compensations for living a faithful and diligent life.

Likewise, the female leaders broke down the outdated lifestyles and applied new modern values where they set examples by practicing diligence themselves and thereby showing their will to the residents. This also resulted in the economic compensations. The extent and the amount of their labor described in their oral or written statements were unimaginable. They literally worked until their body broke. Generally, the women in the rural areas were much more accustomed to the physically difficult work than the women in the urban areas. However, despite considering this, it took superhuman efforts to work more than 16 hours a day.⁶⁾

One female leader graduated from the farming university but was born and raised in the city. She got married to live in a rural area in the hopes of joining the rural village movement. At first, she experienced an extreme frustration in doing the farm work. She felt as if she was despised because she could not meet the same level of labor done by the other village people and the physical pain was difficult to endure. However, she endured the pain and made it into a valuable experience (Jung Haeng Kil, 1977, p.28). The ascetic lifestyle of female leaders surpassed the life of puritanism where physical and temporal wastes were not permitted. The female leaders sometimes endured their physical pain with a sense of vocation.

B. Program for Increasing Income

The program for increasing income was an important program that established the foundation where women could voice their opinions in the village community. The program for increasing income certainly matched the fundamental

6) Even though most of the storytellers are currently in their late sixties and seventies, they still give pesticides by themselves in their own farm land (Kwon○Seon, Ahn○Ja, Bu○Ja).

purpose of the Saemaeul Undong as a living-well movement, but it also played an important role in allowing women who only acted as wives and mothers and daughter-in-laws in the patriarchal system to participate in economic activities and make their own money, allowing them to feel confident in the household economy and in the village community. During the process, the leadership of female leaders in the Saemaeul Undong devised many plans to increase income for women.

1) Trading Business

The trading business was the most frequently discussed project for the Saemaeul female leaders. According to the oral and written statements, the trading business was operated mainly by young female members and acted as an important place allowing individuals to renew their perception about profits by returning the profits back to the village community.

The trading business opened on March 24, 1977. At the trading place, 55 types of daily necessities were purchased with the village fund of 200,000 won and the credit limit of 100,000 won at the Nonghyup, which were sold at the price comparable to that in local supermarkets. The margins were shared between the seller and user by each taking 50%. For example, if a soap was purchased at 106 won, then it was sold at the supermarket price of 110 won, leaving a margin of 4 won. The seller and the user each took 2 won and the total amount of allocation was kept at the village fund twice a month (Ahn Im Soon, 1977, p.43).

The female leaders allowed the village people to purchase goods they supplied at a cheap price in the joint trading place in the village without having to go far away. Certainly, the free labor provided by the members of the Women's Society played a substantial role. The members took turns in taking charge of the trading place for about two weeks and handed over the profits to the next person in line. In the process, depending on who took charge of the

trading place, there was a difference in the margin, which was because “when young and smart women (including oneself) managed the trading place, there were more profits and less errors” (Ahn○Ja). The young people were faster in calculating and selling products because they were better educated. The trading business not only sold daily necessities, but also expanded to other domains that made profits. One of the most notable things amongst such activities was to open a village bar. At the time, it was common for the male farmers to drink and gamble during the off season. Therefore, the female members began to sell alcohols at cheap prices (Ahn Im Soon, 1977). The consensus within the Women’s Society was that if men were going to drink anyway, they might as well drink at the village bar managed by the Women’s Society so that women could make profits (Kim○Ja). Consequently, the profits made through the village bar were transferred to the joint fund and were used for various programs for the village. The profits were also allocated to individuals who participated. By allocating the profits to individuals, people became more motivated to participate in the program and this especially demonstrated the possibility that women could increase income.

The trading business was an important foundation that provided an opportunity to plan other businesses for the female leaders. According to one storyteller, after learning how to make profits from conducting the trading business, she began to sell salted fish to other regions as the special local product. Later, it was expanded into a business that supplied kimchi (Ahn○Ja). This showed that the female leaders who pursued profits by reselling what they had purchased were able to produce and sell their own products based on the experience they had.

2) Land Cultivation

Along with the increase in individual wealth, the female leaders in the Saemaeul Undong underwent extensive cultivation works in wild and barren

lands in order to increase the wealth of the village community. According to one storyteller, she harvested grapes by cultivating 5,000 pyeong of land in just one year with the will that was described as “I will turn this barren land into fruitful land in just three years!” despite the ridicules and blames by the village people (Lee Cheong Ja, 1977).

We cultivated the barren land, Since the land becomes barren when someone with lots of money buys the land and neglect it, I cultivated and worked on the land that grew in size to contain 5,000 pyeong of rapes, 5,000 pyeong of beans and several pyeong of sesame (Bu ○Ja).

In order to provide the land, our members cultivated the hill and picked the stones and roots to make a lovely land of 200 pyeong. Here, I planted altogether 5 types of 3,200 trees, including 800 poplar trees, 800 stem roses, 600 Mugunghwa, 500 golden bells and 500 willow trees (Choi Ki Soon, 1979, p.67).

For the agricultural industry, land was the most valuable root of production. Therefore, cultivating the barren land to widen one's own farm land was the most important mission in establishing the foundation for accumulating the wealth. At the time, the female leaders who cultivated the mountain areas learned the meanings of saving money and pursuing profits by raising cows and by planting fruit trees with their husbands, and then they applied their know-hows to the village programs to make substantial profits (Jung ○Ja). The process of increasing the joint profits of villages based on their experience counterbalanced their previous image of tough and mean women. Meanwhile, it was also a process of reaffirming that a genuine pursuit of ‘money’ and ‘profit’ was not something that should be criticized.

3) Side Jobs

Besides the land cultivation or trading business, the female leaders operated their own business, which started to increase the farm income for the female

members. One storyteller initially worked as a teacher but was appointed as the Saemaeul female leader after being sent to the rural area. She used her talents to make various handicrafts which elevated the farm income during the off season. Later, she also made products including handbags and corsages together with the female members by using discarded stockings. Based on the experience gained by making small products, the storyteller taught embroidery to other female members in order to sell embroidered folding screens to the Korean residents in Japan. The business started off as a profit-making project for the village, but became an important foundation for many various businesses including her own business that later produced and sold regional products including sweaters and blankets (Hwang○Seon).

There were also other attempts made by the villages to start their own business to increase individual incomes through side jobs.

In order to recommend the side jobs and to make use of the surplus workforce during the off season, we established a glove factory and purchased five manual glove machines to learn the technology. In the future, we plan to produce the gloves in full scale when the plant starts to operate properly, and we expect to make an income of more than 10 million won per year (Lee Soon Deok, 1978, p.68).

We installed 1ha of cockle farm on our own in order to increase income. When we saw profit the following year, the members of the Women's Society gained confidence that we could really do it. As a result of our hard efforts, we completed 6ha of cockle farm with about 30,000 people working for 4 months. In the following year, we made a profit of 1 million won from the oyster and cockle farms to allocate 6,500 won to 155 members, and this increased our desire to save up (Kang Sung Dan, 1979, p.66).

Other various side jobs were developed where people made income through labor, such as the production of straw bags, making of sportswear for the village school and selling them, and doing a joint cultivation of the village land with crops and selling them to share the profits. The income made through other labors was all accumulated for the village programs and the rest was

distributed to the individuals. The profit distributed to individual members of the Women's Society was used to achieve changes in the power relations within the family members by adding to their living expenses.

4) Creating the Bank Accounts

In the 1970s when the agricultural society of Korea was accustomed to poverty, it was difficult for individuals to get their own accounts. For many, saving money was difficult as they thought they would be lucky if they could make a living without worrying about debt. However, the government's movement that promoted saving and the desire of the Women's Society to pursue profits and wealth instilled a concept of one account for one person in the agricultural society.

I received a reward of 200,000 won from the Gyeongnam governor and 300,000 won from the mayor. I was thinking about how I could use them wisely when I decided to put 140,000 won in the settlement fund and invest 300,000 won in joint oyster farm. For the remaining 60,000 won, I asked all of the members if they would like to have their own savings account and they all agreed. Therefore, I made individual accounts at the Namyang Nonghyup. Even now, the savings account makes me save up at least once a month (Lee Sam Soon, 1976, p.56).

The female leaders continuously emphasized the importance of saving to other female members based on the fact that the new village programs could be implemented if there was money in the village fund. The best example was to encourage saving by using rice. That is, every time one cooked rice, one put aside some of the rice over a certain period, and later all the saved rice was sold as a village so that the profit was accumulated in the account.

The money saved this way was used as a capital for a bigger business as it became the joint fun of the village. Also, it was provided as loans with low interest rates to those who needed a large sum of money (Lee Jae Young, 1990, p.44-47).

I started to save 120,000 won in the fund by saving rice, and saved 200 won per person each month. In 1972, I received education for the village fund at the Reconstruction Movement and handled related duties. Also, I got installment savings at Nonghyup and financial institutions at low interest rate in order to lend private loans to members or village people, and this increasingly accumulated the village fund (Ahan Im Soon, 1977, p.39).

In 1972, I established the No. 313 mother fund on June 14, 1976 based on the knowledge I learned from participating at the Open Leadership Training held by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. I saved money by saving rice and put the profits allocated to me from the profits made from the trading business into personal accounts each month (Jung Myeong Kyu, 1977, p.43).

The account, which used to be always in debt for the rural households, acted as an important mechanism in introducing a way to accumulate wealth by saving. Also, the establishment and operation of village funds directly provided the female leaders with the knowledge about the use and flow of cash in the capitalist economy.

C. Programs for Improving the Environment

1) Programs for Improving Houses

The program for improving houses and village environment was the project that combined the concepts of maximizing the productivity in relation to the workforce, efficiency, and time management. Improving the inefficient thatched roofs, improving the house structure, providing a joint wash place and installing electricity and water supply system were all important factors that changed the way in which women executed domestic work. At the same time, it also provided an opportunity for them to participate in public arenas and profit-making businesses.

Most of the roofs of the thatched houses that had fell down were improved when our village was upgraded from the Self-Helping Village to the Self-Supporting Village. Also,

IV. Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong in the Rural Areas ••• 73

the fences were neatly repaired into brick walls and the alleys that used to be dark at night were brightened, while new roads were made so that the cultivators could get inside of each house (Ahn Im Soon, 1977, p.47).

Together with the amelioration of the housing structures, the program for improving the village environment reduced the workload of women in rural areas. The inefficient thatched roofs, which had to be replaced regularly, were changed to permanent slate roofs, while the house structures that did not take the women's movements into consideration was transformed into the western-style house structures through the modernization project. Also, water supply systems were provided so that people no longer had to go outside to fetch water, and the widened roads made it easier to transport and move. These changes provided a foundation for women to enter into the public territories more easily. Above all, the time spent on doing domestic work was reduced, which increased the physical and psychological time spent in public activities. Also, the increase in spatial accessibility through the widened roads increased the scope of activity for the female members.

Moreover, the joint cooking preparation area and laundry place made in the village allowed women to spend time more effectively during the farming season, where they could exchange opinions and encourage joint activities.

In the previous year, the rice planting for our village took 20 days, but after using the joint cooking preparation place we saved 6 days by taking only 14 days. Likewise, the amount of money saved from labor and expenses could amount to more than 300,000 won. Besides calculating the money, there was also the difficulty deciding what kind of side dishes to make if individual cooking preparation place had been like previous years where several women were needed to load the dishes. However, we no longer had to worry about this in our village (Choi Ki Soon, 1979, p.67).

The calculation done on the amount of labor and expenses saved from using a joint cooking preparation place showed how the women in rural areas adopted

the concept of efficient use of workforce and the concept of profit.

2) Programs for Expanding Village Roads

The program for expanding village roads was one of the most representative programs in the program for improving environment. At the time, the rural villages were established without any plans and most of them had narrow unpaved roads. These roads turned into mud when it rained or snowed, while the poor water supply system was dirty. Also, cars could not approach the roads because they were too narrow. As the village people joined hands to put cements on the roads, the foundation for increasing the income was established. Above all, cars could get in and out of the roads, allowing agricultural goods and fertilizers that used to be transported by Korean A-frame to be transported easily. Also, the sanitation of the village became much better.

The program for expanding the village roads was a program that could cause a huge conflict between the residents. If the private land of individuals was included in the roads for expansion, the government would not compensate for the land. Therefore, in most cases, the village residents would collect a fund to compensate for the land or the land owner would donate the land to the village. Considering the social and political atmosphere at the time, most of the people donated their land to the community without objection even if they suffered a loss (Lee○Young).

Whether it was by force or not, the incorporation of private lands to widen the village inroads made it easier to mechanize the agricultural industry of Korea. “For example, about one cultivator was distributed per 2-3 villages in 1970s, but in 1975, about 3 were distributed per village, while 21 were distributed per village in 1986. It was more than enough to satisfy the demand for cultivators” (Park Jin Hwan, 2005, p.113).

〈Table IV-8〉 Total Length of Surrounding Roads of the Villages Improved by the Saemaeul Programs (1971-1978)

Division of road	Total length developed (km)	Length per village (m)
Farm road and village access road	43631	1322
Village inroad	42220	1279
Total	85851	2601

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaeul Undong (1978), p.111; Park Jin Hwan (2005), p.111, recited

The widened village roads provided a foundation for the mechanization of the agricultural industry, which helped the women in rural areas. They were able to improve the efficiency of labor by not using livestock or by personally moving the goods. Also, the sanitation level of the whole village improved, which strengthened the interactions of the female members.

In summary, the Women's Saemaeul Undong, which started with the goal of modernizing the farming villages and increasing their income, instilled a modern concept of time and profit to the women in rural areas. Based on this, a modern capitalist shift took place in attitudes and lifestyle. The women in rural areas were able to execute diverse activities through increasing their income independently through the organization of the Saemaeul Women's Society. By gaining wealth as the result of their activities, they established the foundation where they could justify their activities. They worked as much as males to cultivate farmland, improve village environment and do side jobs to save profits. This was not only for the individual wealth but also for the wealth of the village community. Also, they shifted the outdated cultures of family and community toward a modern direction by making appropriate compromise and resistance. The activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society brought many changes in the spiritual life as well as the physical life of women in the rural areas.

The next chapter explores the achievements and side effects made from the activities of the Women's Saemaeul Undong, and then discusses the implications in the changes manifested in the lives of women in the rural areas.

V

Evaluation and Implications of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong

1. Outcomes of the Activities of
Saemaeul Women's Society 79
2. Negative Results from Activities of
the Saemaeul Women's Society 85
3. Implications 90

In evaluating the Women's Saemaeul Undong, this chapter discusses the negative aspects that existed despite the success of the movement as well as the positive effects on the women in rural areas. This chapter also analyzes the achievements and the side effects of the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society and shed light on their implications.

1. Outcomes of the Activities of Saemaeul Women's Society

The outcomes of the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society were divided in three aspects: 1) increase in income; 2) improvement in living environment; and 3) changes in the status of women in rural areas.

A. Increase in the Income

The increase in farm income by year during the Saemaeul Undong including the Women's Saemaeul Undong is presented below in <Table V-1>.

<Table V-1> Farm Income by Year

(Unit: thousand won, %)

Year	Farm income	Farm income		Non-farming income	
		Amount	Composition ratio	Amount	Composition ratio
1970	255.8	194.0	75.9	61.8	24.1
1971	356.4	291.9	81.9	64.5	18.1
1972	429.4	353.4	82.3	76.0	17.7
1973	480.7	390.3	81.2	90.4	18.8
1974	674.5	541.9	80.3	132.6	19.7
1975	872.9	714.8	81.9	158.1	18.1
1976	1156.3	921.2	79.7	235.1	20.3

Year	Farm income	Farm income		Non-farming income	
		Amount	Composition ratio	Amount	Composition ratio
1977	1432.8	1036.1	72.3	396.7	27.7
1978	1884.2	1355.7	72.0	528.5	28.0
1979	2227.5	1531.3	68.7	696.2	31.3

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry; Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), p.24.

Since the Saemaeul Undong began, the farm income showed a rapid increase. Especially when the Saemaeul Undong entered into the stage of strengthening its effect in 1977, the farm income experienced a clear improvement while the ratio of the non-farming income increased at the same time. This was an indirect proof that a variety of programs for increasing income implemented by the Saemaeul Women's Society started to bear fruit.

As a part of the Women's Saemaeul Undong, the village trading business started with the Women's societies in 2,941 villages in 1974 and increased by about 7.3 times to 21,575 in 1980. The Saemaeul Women's Society used the profits made from the trading business to implement various programs. Since the income from the trading business accounted for a significant part of the non-farming income, the program for increasing income by the Women's Society had a substantial impact on the household economy and the village community economy.

A majority of the women's programs started off as small scale trading business and side jobs, but as they acquired experiences and technologies, they increased in size and expanded to a variety of businesses selling special agricultural products or operating a village plant to manufacture products. The manufacture businesses that produced products by hands in the beginning turned into modernized plants. As the production volume increased and the outside markets were pioneered, they developed into a corporation.

V. Evaluation and Implications of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong ••• 81

These developments centered around the Saemaeul Women's Society led to nation-wide businesses that sold special agricultural products or manufactured kimchi. Such process continues nowadays.

B. Improvement in the Living Environment

Besides the program for increasing income such as the operation of the trading business, there was the program for improving the living environment, which was appraised to be the major achievement of the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society. It played an important role in utilizing the women's labor and ameliorating the sanitation and health of the village by improving houses, constructing water supply systems, and by operating joint cooking preparation place as shown in <Table V-2>.

<Table V-2> Implementation Results of the Saemaeul Women's Programs by Year
(Unit: number of those participating in women's society)

Year	Development of Saemaeul Women's Society	Operation of village trading business	Operation of joint cooking preparation place
1972	4833	-	-
1973	5042	-	8
1974	7914	2941	253
1975	9802	8726	1333
1976	13608	11913	2643
1977	17621	14799	3472
1978	37044	20000	6082
1979	36067	22937	5815
1980	36238	21575	4955

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), p.75

In the 1960s, the water supply systems were not properly established in the farming villages throughout Korea and it caused a tremendous problem in

sanitation. In the process of implementing the program to improve the environment, the construction of the water supply system was a very important task for the Saemaeul Undong. Through the efforts of the Village Development Committee including the Saemaeul Women's Society, a 15,559km of sewerage structure was built over a span of 10 years, and as a consequence, the residents in rural areas began to enjoy a pleasant living environment.

〈Table V-3〉 Current Status of Water Supply System Constructed by Year

Year	Construction of water supply system (length, km)
1971	788
1972	1904
1973	3868
1974	2329
1975	1724
1976	1248
1977	1163
1978	681
1979	1053
1980	801
Total length	15559

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), p.53

Besides the construction of the water supply system, a variety of joint facilities were constructed for the village people to improve their living environment. Most of the joint facilities were directly related to the lives of women in rural areas. The joint wells, bathhouses and wash places in the village made the domestic work of women in rural areas more convenient as they suffered from poor residential environment. The joint well and wash place also acted as a place for village women to gather together to communicate,

V. Evaluation and Implications of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong ••• 83

which directly contributed to a revitalization of the village community. The newly constructed children's playground allowed the children in rural areas without educational benefits to play together safely. This was appreciated as a meaningful program because it also provided a place for mothers to get together.

〈Table V-4〉 Status of Village Community Centers Constructed

Year	Joint trading business	Joint bathhouse	Joint well	Joint wash place	Children's playground
1971	-	-	65419	24129	-
1972	-	2063	6874	9035	813
1973	22	3501	19533	13499	500
1974	384	351	8647	5983	240
1975	984	462	2047	3516	443
1976	818	322	958	2141	242
1977	787	219	987	2575	223
1978	693	110	1284	722	115
1979	108	129	4985	4856	2
1980	158	32	3963	4260	52
Total	3954	7189	114697	70716	2630

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Suhyup; Ministry of Home Affairs(1980), p.52

C. Changes in the Status of Women in Rural Areas

Since the 1970s, most of the women in rural areas actively participated in the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society and this implicated the "contribution and potential" of women in rural areas in developing the agricultural society (Choi Eun Sook and others, 1988). In particular, after the introduction of the Saemaeul Undong, the economic role of women in rural areas continued to expand in the community until the 1980s (Table V-5).

〈Table V-5〉 Ratio of Workforce per Farming Household by Gender

	1967	1973	1982	1984	1985
Male (%)	71.9	67.2	57.9	57.5	57.2
Female (%)	28.1	32.8	42.1	42.5	42.8

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Report on the Farming Household Economy by year, Choi Eun Sook et al.(1988), p.30

As the role of female workforce increased for farm works in farming households, the economic status of women became higher than in the past. Also, the employment labor such as waged labor that emerged during the process of implementing the program for increasing income allowed women to actively participate in the labor employment, thereby improving the status of women in families as they contributed more to the actual household income.

The improvement in economic status of women was linked with the improvement of their social status. Until then, the women in rural areas were not able to voice their opinions under the Confucian and patriarchal system, but in the process of carrying out various activities and establishing the Saemaeul Women's Society, women started to get recognized as the practical agents in the rural communities. The Saemaeul Women's Society acted as an important organization that demonstrated the women's potentials to the males in rural areas who refused to recognize women as social and economic agent due to their outdated mindset. In particular, the Saemaeul Women's Society received recognition from the nation and the female leaders who received the Saemaeul education were seen differently by the agricultural community.

Also, the women in rural areas gained confidence through establishing an organization, expressing their opinions in the democratic decision-making process, and implementing important programs for the village through joint efforts of women. In particular, the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society allowed them to learn new things and participate in economic activities that

utilized what they have learned, and the income contributed to the households and villages through this process greatly contributed in improving their confidence.

2. Negative Results from Activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society

As described earlier, the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society achieved economically outstanding results through improving the living environment and increasing incomes for the agricultural societies in Korea in the 1970s. The Saemaeul Undong allowed the agricultural communities to escape poverty and frustration from the past to make visible results. During the process, the role of the Women's Society in the farm work was much bigger than in the cities. Considering that the farm work did not require much technology because of the close distance between workplace and home, it was much easier for the women to participate in increasing incomes compared to those in the cities, and such factor contributed considerably to improving the social and economic status of women.

However, on the dark side of the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society, there were negative aspects such as excessive labor and health problems for women in rural areas. In addition, despite a considerable improvement was made on the surface, the elevated status of women in their social and economic standing had major limitations from the gender equality perspective. Therefore, this chapter explores the negative consequences of the activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society.

A. Excessive Voluntary Labor

As a result of the improvement in the living environment through the

activities of the Saemaeul Women's Society, the domestic work hours of women in rural areas experienced a considerable reduction. According to a survey by the Rural Development Administration, the daily labor hours of women in rural areas decreased from 12 hours 14 minutes in 1966 to 10 hours and 46 minutes in 1975, while the leisure time increased from 3 hours 37 minutes to 4 hours 45 minutes (Table V-6). These results were attributed to the decreased hours required for domestic work for women, which resulted from the joint trading business, the installation of water supply systems and the distribution of household appliances. They greatly reduced the time spent on cooking and sewing (Cho Hyoung, 1981, p.30).

〈Table V-6〉 Average Activity Hours of Housewives in Rural Areas
(Unit: hour, minute)

		1966	1973	1975
Labor	Domestic work	8 hours 49 minutes	6 hours 40 minutes	5 hours 15 minutes
	Farm work	3 hours 25 minutes	4 hours 39 minutes	5 hours 31 minutes
Leisure time (sleep, break)		8 hours 9 minutes	8 hours 42 minutes	8 hours 29 minutes
Spare time		3 hours 37 minutes	3 hours 39 minutes	4 hours 45 minutes

Source: Rural Development Administration, Living Technology Textbook(1978), p.321; Cho Hyong(1981), recited p.30

However, the farm work hours increased by about 60% from 3 hours 25 minutes to 5 hours 31 minutes, which showed that a majority of women reduced their domestic work time to spend more time on production activities. In particular, during the busy seasons in farms, the domestic work time greatly decreased compared to the off season due to the operation of the joint cooking preparation place. The reduced labor time was all spent on farm work instead. Therefore, the average labor hours for women typically exceeded 12 hours. The excessive labor hours of women are illustrated in <Table V-7>.

〈Table V-7〉 Amount of Labor in Farms

(Unit: hours of labor capacity)

		1971	1979
Family labor	Male	1,132.39	806.55
	Female	589.03	582.00
Employment labor (temporary)	Male	171.71	113.79
	Female	82.56	90.57
Wages for labor	Male	95.67	87.44
	Female	56.48	81.76

Source: Economic Planning Institute, Korea Statistics Yearbook 1980; Cho Hyong(1981), recited p.30

Given that the table was based on the calculation of the hours of labor capacity, the actual hours of labor for women was presumed to be much longer than for men. In other words, the economic changes in the farming village increased the importance of the female labor participation, but it also made women voluntarily participate in long hours of labor.

<Table V-7> shows that the amount of labor input by women in employment labor and exchange labor increased to be almost similar to that of males. This reflects the change in attitudes towards the payable labor in the agricultural community. Before modernization, participation in labor was conventionally reserved only for males, but after the Saemaeul Undong, the changes toward modernization and capitalism in the agricultural community allowed women to participate in profitable labor as well. Moreover, female participation in profitable labor was actively encouraged to increase income. It was further promoted by the organizational activities of women in rural areas including the Saemaeul Women's Society (Cho Hyong, 1981).

However, there was still a patriarchal culture dominating the agricultural society where there were resistance from males and the elderly when women established the Saemaeul Women's Society. To overcome this, it was necessary

for the women to prove they had similar or better workforce than males. The excessive labor was considered necessary to persuade the agricultural community. Also, the traditional virtues of sacrifice and volunteerism that were conventionally emphasized on women further increased the intensity and duration of labor for women in rural areas.

In reality, the women in rural areas felt the burden of excessive labor and experienced health problems. According to a survey in 1978 on the factors that determined happiness in women in rural areas, women answered that the number one factor was a happy family, followed by the factors including the success of their children, just doing domestic work without excessive labor, and being healthy, respectively.⁷⁾ The first and second factors for happiness reflected what the women generally thought in the 1970s, while the third and fourth factors reflect the pain of labor placed on women. Despite their active economic participation, they wanted to be free of excessive labor because “most of the women in rural areas felt the physical limitations when working in the fields or selling products where they spent most of the time besides doing domestic work” (Cho Hyong, 1981, p.87).

The physical limitations started to be manifested through health problems. Besides the health problems of women caused by childbirth and contraception, they suffered from excessive labor and pesticide poisoning. “Most of them suffer from headaches, indigestion, etc. and they don’t do anything until the symptoms get much worse” (Cho Hyong, 1981, p.88). The modernization process offered convenience to the farming residents by easing their access to drugs from pharmacies but it also increased the risk of drug poisoning. Indeed, the nurse reports stating that “the antibiotics popularly used in rural societies cause serious health problems⁸⁾” have been found in local communities (Cho

7) H. Cho, Women’s role and the Family Planning Programme in Korea, Ewha Womans University, Korean Woman’s Institute(1979), p.94; Cho Hyong(1981), recited p.87. This is the result of surveying a total of 941 women in rural areas.

8) Soo Ja Kim, “mycin as people’s herbs” Agricultural Book 21. Suwon Catholic

V. Evaluation and Implications of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong ••• 89

Hyong, 1981, p.88). After all, as the women in rural areas stood as the economic agent, they had to endure the pain of excessive work which threatened their right to health. Through the increase of income, they had to exchange the psychological satisfaction due to the rise in their socioeconomic status with their deterioration of health due to excessive labor. This was a negative result of the Women's Saemaeul Undong.

B. Gender Separation in Labor

As described earlier, the program for increasing income and improving environment produced effective results. Because these programs were made on the basis of women's feelings and experiences in living, they achieved visible results.

However, in the deep down, the programs of the Saemaeul Women's Society had an inherent limitation entailing the gender segregation in labor. The programs were designed mainly in areas that were traditionally considered as women's area. "In principle, the Saemaeul Undong or business did not separate between gender in terms of the scope of participation or compensation benefit," but the activities of the Women's Society showed limitations in the scope of the programs by confining the activities to women's living space. Such activities included the joint trading business, the repair of kitchen, the joint cooking preparation place, the joint wash place, and the food storage place. Even when women actively participated in the Saemaeul Undong, they tried to emphasize and preserve their own conventional roles and virtues (Cho Hyong, 1981, p.85). Therefore, the sales right of the business products or the ownership right of the wealth that were accumulated by women went to the husbands, while the success of the Women's Society and their business were absorbed to the Saemaeul programs led by males. After all, even though the activities of the

Agricultural Women's Society. Cho Hyong(1981), recited, p.88

Saemaeul Women's Society made a substantial contribution to the increase of income, they only acted as a catalyst for the government and the male leaders. In other words, women were considered to have only the supporting role.

Certainly, through the activities of Women's Society, the women in rural areas began to be regarded as active women and were able to show their potential through the activities while getting recognition for their contribution in increasing income and improving the environment. However, the active and various forms of participation of women in rural areas did not necessarily mean the change in their role or the improvement in their status. Due to this fact, a special attention needs to be paid when analyzing the Women's Saemaeul Undong.

3. Implications

The Saemaeul leaders, especially the women Saemaeul leaders, were probably the best ideal that the Park Jung Hee administration wanted for their pursuit of modernization at the time. These women took on the traditional gender role and the community ideology, and within this frame they appropriately harmonized the modern capitalism and individualism to endure an exorbitant amount the their own labor. By maintaining the relationship with others to pursue a common goal through communalism and by achieving individual profits from it, they could at least succeed in achieving the increase of income and the modernization of the farming village through the Saemaeul Undong.

The studies mentioned earlier (Jang Mi Kyeong, 2007; Yoo Jung Mi, 2001) showed that the Saemaeul Undong opened the way for women to participate in politics and also acquire their identity as an autonomous individual. However, the identities they acquired were the 'rational individual' embodied in the concept of time and profit demanded in the modern capitalist society. The

V. Evaluation and Implications of the Female Farmers' Saemaeul Undong ••• 91

capacities that people acquired and exhibited in the process of increasing the village income and planning the Saemaeul program directly reflected the modern capitalism that demanded an ideal individual that “works hard without wasting money and time, while finding happiness from endlessly accumulating capitals.” In particular, given the lack of educational benefit experienced by women in rural areas, the process in which women learned the role that met the modern capitalist ideology demonstrated an enormous impact of the Saemaeul Undong.

However, the movement had negative effects on the personal life of the participants in the movement. Most of the female leaders who provided oral statements endured unimaginable pain throughout their whole life. Also, in the process of labor, they did not pay attention to their health even when their health was threatened. This has considerable implication to many organizations and countries that are paying attention to the Saemaeul Undong.

Also, most of the Saemaeul leaders in the 1970s pointed out that the recent Saemaeul Undong has changed. In the 1980s, the Saemaeul Undong received social criticism as it underwent a process of political systematization. The need for internal communication between generations and the need to regain the original intention of the Saemaeul Undong have been emphasized by the first generation Saemaeul leaders. Such criticisms have important implications when examining the Saemaeul Undong.

Reference

- Cho Hyong(1981). "Changes of the Korean Agricultural Society and Women in Rural Areas" Asia Research 24(2). 49-91. Korea University's Asiatic Research Institute.
- Choi Eun Sook, Ji Woong Jung, Ki Ok Yoo(1988). "Changing Role and Status of Rural Women in Korea" Agricultural Education and Human Resources Development 20(2). 29-34. Korea Agricultural Industry Education Association.
- Choi In Yi(2011). "Embodiment of the Modern Concept of Profit and Time: Focusing on the Labor Activity Experience of the Saemaeul Female Leaders" The 90th Book of Society and History, Korean Social History Association.
- Economic Planning Institute(1980). Social Indicator of Korea 1980.
- Han Do Hyeon(2010). "World of Experience of Village Leaders of the Saemaeul Undong during 1970s: Focusing on Male Leaders" The 88th Book of Society and History, Korean Social History Association.
- Hwang Byeong Joo(2011). "Changes in the Agricultural Production Process and Persuasion of Farmers through the Saemaeul Undong" Reference Book on the Creation of National Identity of Saemaeul Undong and Modernization during the Park Jung Hee administration, Sunggonghoe University Democratic Research Institute
- Jang Mi Kyoung(2007). "Development Period, Politics of the Identity of Saemaeul Female Leaders: Best Practices of Female Leaders in Writing" 2007 Overview and Outlook of the 50 Years of Korean Sociology [Published thesis] :175-190. Korean Sociological Association.
- Kim, Jae In et al(2000). "Study on the Changes in the Korean Female Education". Korean Women's Development Institute.
- Lee Jae Young(1990). Fireworks of Cooperative Movement. Sodam Publisher
- Ministry of Home Affairs(1980). History of The 10-Year Saemaeul Undong (Reference Book).
- Oh Yoo Seok(2011). "Military and Cultural Characteristics of the Saemaeul Undong" Reference Book on the Creation of National Identity of Saemaeul Undong and Modernization during the Park Jung Hee administration, Sunggonghoe University Democratic Research Institute.

Park Jin Hwan(2005). Modernization of Korean Economy and the Saemaeul Undong during the Park Jung Hee Administration. Park Jung Hee President's Memorial Service.

Saemaeul Undong Junganghoe (year unknown) Saemaeul Undong of Korea.

Seoul National University's Saemaeul Research Institute(1981). Ideology and Reality of the Saemaeul Undong.

Statistics Korea(1982). Survey on Economically Active Population

Yoo Byeong Yong, Bong Dae Choi, Yoo Seok Oh(2001). Modernization Strategy and the Saemaeul Undong. Baeksanseodang.

Yoo Jung Mi(2001). "Study on the Experience of Women who Participated in Government-Led Development: Focusing on Examples of Saemaeul Female Leaders". Women's Studies Department, Graduate School of Ewha Women's University, Master's Thesis.

<Communication textbooks (in the order of year)>

Ahn Im Soon(1977). "Leading the Self-Support Villages with Indomitable Bodies". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 8. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Cheon Hong Nyeo(1979). "Overcoming Difficulties". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 19. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Choi Ki Soon(1979). "A Village that Lives Well with Women". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 18. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Hong Soon Hye(1976). "Perseverance to Endure Repeated Disasters". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 5. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Jung Do Ja(1975). "Starting from a Happy Household". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 4. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Jung Haeng Kil(1977). "Living with the Soil". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 11. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Jung Myeong Kyu(1977). "Mother's Society that Beat All Hardships". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 9. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Kang Sung Dan(1979). "The Will of Overcoming Tidal Flats". Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 20. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

Lee Chung Ja(1977). "Couple Leaders that Achieved a Wealthy Village". Saemaeul

- Undong Volume No. 10. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Lee Hee Sook(1978). “Fruitful New Village Focusing on Women”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 14. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Lee Moon Ja(1977). “Village Trading Business that Overcame Difficulties”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 11. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Lee Sam Soon(1976). “Small Water Drops that Break Rocks”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 7. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Lee Soon Deok(1978). “Hwadong Village that is Ahead of Others”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 12. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Lee Soon Ja(1976). “Achieving a Cooperative Village with Diligence and Faithfulness”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 5. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Shin Dae Bok(1975). “With the Firm Belief of Just Do it”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 4. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.
- Yang Jung Hee(1979). “Establishing Mother’s Community Center with Barren Lands”. Saemaeul Undong Volume No. 17. Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.



Annex

1. Data on Storytelling (in Korean alphabetical order) 99
2. An Experience of Expanding the Program for Increasing Income by the Saemaeul Female Leader (Details of oral statement) 100

1. Data on Storytelling (in Korean alphabetical order)

Storyteller	Interview date	Academic background	Residential area	Major professional experience
Kwon○Seon	2010.02.01.	Graduated from elementary school	Bonghwagun, Gyeongbuk	President of the Saemaeul Women's Society
Kim○Ja	2009.10.26.	Dropped out of high school	Uiseonggun, Gyeongbuk	President of the Saemaeul Women's Society
Kim○Cheon	2010.02.02.	Dropped out of elementary school	Aewoleup, Jeju	Academic management of the Agricultural Guidance Center
Ryu○Young	2009.09.28.	Doctor of agriculture	Seoul	Presidential Office in charge of the Saemaeul Undong
Lee○Young	2010.01.13.	Dropped out of middle school	Judeokeup, Chungju, Chungbuk	Saemaeul leader, head of village
Bu○Ja	2009.10.27	Graduated from elementary school	Chocheoneup, Jeju	President of the Saemaeul Women's Society for eup and province
Ahn○Ja	2010.08.03.	Graduated from high school	Jangheunggun, Jeonnam	President of the Saemaeul Women's Society
Jung○Ja	2010.06.03.	Graduated from high school	Imsilgun, Jeonbuk	President of the Saemaeul Women's Society and educational lecturer
Ha○Yong	2010.02.23.	Dropped out of elementary school	Cheongwongun, Chungbuk	Saemaeul leader and educational lecturer
Hwang○Seon	2009.09.25. 2009.10.26	Above university level	Jeju	Jeju's first president of the Saemaeul Women's Society

2. An Experience of Expanding the Program for Increasing Income by the Saemaeul Female Leader (Details of oral statement)

Even though this is a farming village, young people these days avoid anchovy salted fishes at home because of the smell. However, we want to try buying it large amounts. If you do a business in anchovy salted fishes you can get subsidies of 1 million won....(omitted) So when we were doing the anchovy salted fish business, we rented the warehouse in the village community center because it was a village business. Therefore, everyone came out when we applied the seasoning in the warehouse. Since the container got rusty when you put salted fish inside, we used the jar that our ancestors used back in the old days. I said let's apply the seasoning by putting the anchovies inside each jar so that we can sell them in the container. Everyone agreed to this and we had lots of fun doing our work. The Technology Center supported 30 million won for our salted fish business because we needed more space. Therefore, the Technology Center gave us a project, which was the processing of anchovy salted fishes. Even though we got the funding of 30 million won, we still needed more money to build a house. It wasn't like a warehouse because people who saw it from the outside said, "Hey, this looks like a western-style house." Yes, we built a house out of bricks and the inside of the warehouse was all covered with styrofoam to provide insulation so that it didn't get extremely cold during the winter and extremely hot during the summer. Even during the summertime, it didn't get too hot and the water didn't freeze during the wintertime. The water never got frozen there. We were grateful for the project that the Technology Center gave us. At first, we started off with six (6) persons who worked together as representatives for the village. Later, two (2) persons dropped out and four (4) of us did the business for ten (10) years.

