

Challenges of Saemaul ODA in African region: A Comparative Perspective with Rwandan villages*

Lee, Eunjin**

Lee, Shi-Chul***

Abstract

As Korea's Saemaul Undong has been recognized as a world-renown community development model to eradicate absolute poverty, many less developed countries intend to initiate Saemaul ODA projects. Existing studies have shown that before exporting Saemaul Undong it is crucial to create "their" model that fits the preexisting conditions in the recipient countries, instead of insisting on "our" framework established by Korea. That said, this research purports to discuss whether Saemaul ODA projects can work in African setting, and, from the discussion, help establish a transferable international development cooperation model by examining and analyzing Saemaul ODA programs in Rwanda. This study is created by analyzing secondary data and conducting semi-structured interviews based on political, economic, socioeconomic and spatial contexts of the two countries. Preliminary results show that the two nations share similarities in term of their political, economic and spatial elements. However, three sub-variables of the social setting are dissimilar, which might result in different outcomes. Through a comparative process, this research attempts to contribute to the assessment at least in part, of the effectiveness of Korea's ODA projects. Additionally, we aim to help establish an alternative model for Rwanda and possibly in many other African countries.

Key Words: Korea Saemaul Undong, Official Development Assistance (ODA), international development cooperation (IDC), less developed countries (LDC), Rwanda

I. Introduction

Are ODAs working as intended? If not, what are the challenges? These questions, whether in the Korean context or around the world, have yet to be answered. Korea, which has arguably achieved

* A draft of this paper was presented in the World Conference for Public Administration on June 27, 2014.

** First author

*** Corresponding author

both political democratization and remarkable economic growth in half a century, became the first recipient-turned-donor country in the world by joining OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in 2009. It became clear that the “rags-to-riches” country is now playing a significant role in policy and decision making on the international development cooperation (*hereinafter*, IDC) field.

Furthermore, Saemaul Undong (*new village movement*) has received well-deserved attention from the world as a promising community development campaign for the eradication of absolute poverty and hunger, the first UN’s Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) (Eom, 2011; Kwon, 1997). Around 1.5 billion of the world population appear to live in fragile regions, specifically Sub-Saharan African countries. These countries suffer from extreme poverty, malnutrition, etc., along with an inadequate reach of universal education and high rate of children mortality. It is safe to say that UN’s MDGs cannot be achieved without solving the above mentioned problems first. In addition, the Post-2015 Development Agenda; which is set to succeed the MDGs and Sustainable Development Goals also emphasize absolute poverty reduction. So far enormous sums of money have been pouring into those countries to tackle the issues but the ODA (Official Development Assistance) has not entirely worked. Why are they still under poverty? What contexts have made the problems remain unsolved?

According to the “Dead Aid”, a line of discussion raised by Dambisa Moyo, a Zambian-born economist, the limitless aid to African nations from the developed countries has in fact made Africans more reliant on aid and caused conditions much worse. She argues that such aid should be stopped within five years. In the same vein, Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda, has also mentioned that there should be a discussion about when and how to stop that aid. In short, a series of donor-led aid for Africa is not likely to remain sustainable for much longer; it is time to move on to recipient-led assistance by putting the recipient countries at the fore of the aid movement (UNAUSA, 2014). What would be reasonable choices for Korea to help make the aid recipient-oriented, now an emerging ODA powerhouse for African nations?

In the 21st century, the world has faced global issues which cannot be addressed by a nation alone; solving the problems from the rapid urbanization is one of them. LDCs (less developed countries) are no exception in worldwide phenomena of urbanization and globalization.

The purpose of this research is to review whether Saemaul ODA projects can work in LDCs to help establish a Korean-style IDC model by comparing Korea and Rwanda. We will first review some background information on IDC and Saemaul Undong in general. Then, the Saemaul Undong ODA (*hereinafter*, Saemaul ODA) project of Gyeongsangbuk-do, South Korea’s largest province, will be briefly described. Then, efforts will be made to identify several important elements of the Saemaul ODA project in Rwanda. The critical variables of political, economical, social and spatial contexts are discussed in detail. Lastly, we will conclude with a summary and policy implications.

We don’t intend to provide a full analysis or complete set of solutions through this study alone.

However, with the aforementioned comparative perspective, this paper will hopefully be useful in assessing, at least in part, the effectiveness of Korea's current ODA projects and in exploring an alternative IDC model for Rwanda and possibly in many other African countries.

II. Background information and relevant literature

1. IDC and Korea's ODA: the numbers

The term, "international development cooperation" emphasizes mutual partnership rather than a one-way help of donor countries for recipient countries. Development financial resources mean money to be used for the development of LDCs. However, it is not easy to measure its efforts or activities, such as, poverty elimination, economic development or social welfare promotion. Therefore, ODA volumes, other official funds, private fund flow or private donation involved can be measured by the amount of money (for details, see ODA Korea homepage).

The scale of ODA from DAC member countries to recipient countries has continuously increased. In 1950-55, it started with US\$1,12m and reached up to US\$103.9b in 2005. Although this upward trend slowed down a bit due to the financial crises of mid-2000s, it rose again in 2013 to US\$134.8b. The total ODA is likely to continue rising to meet the 0.7% ODA/GNI target; a target built on the DAC's 1969 commitment to increase ODA (OECD International Development Statistics, 2014).

The general ODA growth is clearly shown in Korea, too. After the liberation from Japan in 1945, the country received a total of approximately US\$12b until the late 1990s, and was in particularly one of the most frequent recipients of ODA from the USA from 1946 to 1980. It is widely agreed that this ODA money greatly contributed to the economic and social development of Korea, in particular through carrying on its first economic development plan. Korea was eventually removed from the World Bank list of recipient countries in 1995 and became the 24th member country of OECD DAC in 2009.

Korea's ODA provision is largely classified into three types: i) bilateral aid, ii) bilateral loans and iii) multilateral assistance by delivery channel. There are also grants and non-grants based on repayment requirement. Bilateral grant aid comprises of technical cooperation and other types of transfers (made in cash, goods, or services) with no obligation for repayment. Bilateral loans on the other hand, are provided on concessional terms under the name of the Economic Development Cooperation Fund. Lastly, multilateral assistance is delivered either as financial subscriptions or contributions to international organizations. Saemaul ODA usually takes the form of grant, with no repayment obligation attached.

The scale of Korea's ODA has rapidly grown. It was just US\$110m in 1995 but reached up

to US\$1,744m (ODA/GNI: 0.13%) in 2013. However, there is still a long way to go in order to meet the 0.7% ODA/GNI target. Together, as the ODA scale and the number of ODA projects have increased, the number of ODA-participating organizations around the nation has also increased to over 40 as of 2014 (National Assembly Research Service, 2013). Since Korea became a donor country, its ODA budget has quickly grown by an average of 20% a year since 2006, and several policies to expand ODA resources have been initiated.

2. Revisiting Saemaul Undong

Saemaul Undong, once a national mantra, is still a part of everyday talk in Korea, with no full consensus yet, at least not in academia. The purpose of the campaign blurred and its impact largely ignored in 1990s and 2000s. It would be fair to state that only after President Park Geun Hye, the late President Park's daughter, was sworn in as the country's new president in February 2013 Saemaul Undong was revived at long last.

Due to Japanese colonization and the Korea War, the country was completely devastated; defeatism was widely prevalent in this country, so there seemed to be no hope at all. The military coup in 1961 led by the late President Park Chung Hee significantly changed both political and economic circumstances of Korea, not necessarily positively. With that said, after the first five-year economic development plan, mostly based on foreign aid, was launched in 1962, the economy grew by 9% annually through the export-oriented industrialization (Go, 2006). However, it also caused an imbalance in regional development and many other social conflicts. Flight to cities was witnessed more frequently. Setting political and human rights costs aside, there appeared to be significant spatial inequities between several cities and many provincial areas. GNP per capita was only US\$85 in early 1970s, around the time Saemaul Undong was launched by the late president Park; ostensible purpose was to solve rural problems and bridge the income gap between rural and urban areas. Then, entering 1973, it spread to other areas including factories, cities and companies and finally became a pan-national movement.

At the beginning of Saemaul Undong, a number of individuals and political groups opposed the new campaign, considering it as simply a top-down policy by the military regime. However, even those strongly against it agreed that the movement greatly contributed to the elimination of prevailing poverty in Korea's rural areas.

Firstly, it is argued that Saemaul Undong achieved rural development and reduced absolute poverty in the 1970s. As Saemaul Undong first started to bridge the rural-urban divide, many Saemaul projects were implemented, in particular to aid in the improvement of the residential environment so the quality of life was greatly improved (Abafita et al., 2013). Based on just basic support from the government, villagers had to make efforts to renew their communities by themselves: repairing

houses, digging communal wells, making washing places, constructing bridges, expanding and paving village roads, rearranging farm land, etc. In particular, 1976 is an important year because in that year, for the first time, household income in rural areas surpassed that of urban areas (Maeil Business News 1976.8.12). In cities, meanwhile, Saemaul Undong also played a vital role in tackling social conflicts such as urban poverty resulting from rural people's flocking to the urban areas and finding no lucrative jobs.

Secondly, Saemaul Undong is said to have contributed to national economic development. In the 1960s, without capital and natural resources, the only thing Korea had was just cheap labor. With this, President Park launched the first five-year economic development plan in 1962 and focused on government-led- and export-oriented economy and a more labor-intensive industry. Many said it resulted in seriously imbalanced regional development, but it also allowed for rapid economic growth which increased by 7-10% until the 1980s (The Korea Economic Daily 2009.10.30).

Last but the least, one could say that Saemaul Undong created social capital. In the 1970s, the Korean society was unstable in both economic and social terms. Yet, once people witnessed meaningful changes of their villages through simple community works, they naturally started learning Saemaul spirits of diligence, self-help and cooperation (Lee & Chung, 2013). Villagers also held town meetings to discuss what they needed for their communities and also elected their leaders based on the community participation. Even this election of community leaders preceded by more than 15 years the revival of official election for local council members, mayors and governors in 1990s.

Since the 1980s, there have been both positives and negatives on Saemaul Undong, but more than half the national respondents appeared to have agreed that Saemaul Undong had a leading role to address the society's challenges (Lim & Ha, 2009). In addition, Saemaul Undong has become a new brand of Korea, and April 22 the day the late president Park started Saemaul Undong in 1970 was designated in 2011 as Saemaul Day, a national memorial day. Moreover, President Park's Saemaul Undong was chosen by the largest number of Koreans as the greatest achievement in the 60-year history of the republic. In a Gallup poll, 40.2 percent picked the Saemaul Movement, followed by the hosting of the 1988 Seoul Olympics (30.1%), the five-year economic development plans, and the development of heavy/chemical industries (29.9%) (ChosunIlbo 2008.3.5.).

3. Linking IDC and Saemaul Undong: advantages vs. challenges

As Korea's Saemaul Undong has attracted global attention, a great deal of people have shown interest in this campaign. In particular, people from LDCs have seriously considered initiating Saemaul Undong in their own backyards. Some national leaders including Joseph Kabila, President of DR Congo; Laura Chinchilla, President of Costa Rica; and Thein Sein, President of Myanmar also visited Korea to ask for implementing Saemaul ODA projects in their countries. Moreover,

international celebrities joined in attempts to link Korea and IDC. President Barack Obama of the U.S. said “Korea is a model country for Africa” in a speech to the Ghana Parliament in 2009. UN Deputy Secretary-General Asha Migirom in 2009, maintained that “Saemaul Undong is an important model necessary to eliminate global poverty.” UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon also recommended ‘Learn Korea’s Saemaul Undong’ to UN-affiliated organizations in January 2007.

Many efforts have been made domestically and internationally to connect Saemaul Undong with IDC (Ha, 2009). Moreover, various international organizations including the UN have considered Saemaul Undong one of appropriate community development models to eradicate poverty in LDCs. So far there have been several organizations implementing Saemaul ODA projects, including KOICA (Korea International Cooperation Agency), KSP (Knowledge Sharing Program, Ministry of Strategy and Finance), EDCF (Economic Development Cooperation Fund), Korea Saemaul Undong Center, Ministry of Agriculture, and Gyeongsangbuk-do province (The 44th ODA Talk, 2013).

However, there have been concerns on applicability of Saemaul Undong to other countries because of the ‘uniqueness’ of the campaign. The Saemaul Undong policy alone was not just created by the political system under the Park regime but there were demands from the grassroots as well as the private sector in general to overcome then-prevailing poverty. Yun (2012) argues that Saemaul Undong has become one of IDC models to eradicate absolute poverty, and that the movement should be exported to LDCs with some modification and fine-tuning for recipient countries. In addition, Lim (2011) suggested that partner country’s governance and various contexts should be considered first for successful dissemination of global Saemaul Undong.

Saemaul Undong has already taken root deeply into many Southeast Asian countries including Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Mongolia, Vietnam, etc., and now it is about to be settled in African soil. However, many are still in doubt about whether or not this Korean practice can actually be successful in other settings. It is to be noted that Saemaul Undong was done enforcedly through orders and mobilization of the people, for instance, “government officials visited from door-to-door and took off thatched roofs, so people were forced to improve their roofs (Go, 2006). According to Reed (2010), Korea had its unique context for the success of this campaign, which was a community-based movement. Most Korean communities had long been characterized by the social bond based on the concept of home place. Therefore, it was much familiar for Koreans to cooperate each other to develop their communities. In this sense, it is essential to explore alternative paths and establish an internationally exportable Saemaul model.

Studies mention Saemaul Undong should be introduced to LDCs through an IDC model not just a one-off aid program. Further, in order to make a model, considering the historic, cultural, economic, or political backgrounds of recipients and fitting the model to their problems should come first (Knowledge Sharing Program, 2013). However, there are not sufficient literatures that analyze actual cases.

III. Target areas and framework

1. Gyeongsangbuk-do, Rwanda and Saemaul ODA

In Korea, a number of governmental- or private organizations have started initiating Saemaul Undong to LDCs. Gyeongsangbuk-do province, the apparent birth place of Saemaul Undong, has implemented Saemaul pilot projects in LDCs including Southeast Asia and Africa. Currently, the Korea's largest province is also the largest ODA providing local government in the nation.

To keep pace with the attention on and globalization of Saemaul Undong, Gyeongsangbuk-do started providing international Saemaul training in 2006 by inviting farmers, village leaders and high-ranking government officials in charge of local or community development offices in LDCs.¹⁾ In addition, the province has also implemented Saemaul pilot projects in three African countries; Ethiopia, Rwanda and Tanzania, in partnership with KOICA since 2010. It has just been four years; each village started in a different year, but there have already been visible outcomes.

The province has initiated the project largely in three ways: international Saemaul training, Saemaul youth volunteer groups, and Saemaul leader volunteer groups. Rwanda is one of the targets for the province's ODA program.

Among African countries, Rwanda appears to have similar socioeconomic contexts as Korea's in the 1970s. An anecdotal illustration says that the current Rwandan president, Paul Kagame, has shown a great interest in Saemaul Undong and that he reportedly sweeps the areas near the presidential palace with a broom every early morning (JoongAng Daily 2011.11.24).

Rwanda is situated in central Africa and known as the "Land of Thousand Hills." Its land area is around 26,400 square kilometers with a population of approximately 12 million as of 2012. As <Fig. 1> shows, the nation faces Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, Burundi to the south and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west (homepage of Republic of Rwanda, 2014). Rwanda's long-term development goals, embedded in its Vision 2020, are to transform Rwanda from a low-income agriculture-based economy to a knowledge-based and service-oriented economy by 2020.²⁾ This would be achieved through economic transformation and rural development, the major element of Saemaul Undong in Korea (World Bank, 2014).

1) An author of this paper, who has been involved in the training program at Saemaul Academy, personally observed that, upon completion of the program, most of the trainees were satisfied with the program.

2) "Vision 2020 Umurenge" is a new initiative by the Government of Rwanda in collaboration with development partners and NGOs. It is led by the Ministry of Local Government, Good Governance, Community Development and Social Affairs, and supported by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. It aims to eradicate extreme poverty by 2020 (UNDP, Government of Rwanda).

〈Fig. 1〉 Kamonyi district, Rwanda



Source: National Geographic (2014)

Before implementing aid projects in recipient countries, it ought to be considered how to make people in recipients know why they need to be enlightened and how their communities or nations should be developed (Kim et al., 2005). As the driving engine of economic development in Korean in the 1970s, Saemaul Undong was arguably a major factor making people change their consciousness, improving environment and generating more income (Kim, 2014; Lim, 2011). Moreover, one of major reasons why the nationwide drive started was to enhance rural development. Since agriculture is still the most dominant economic sector in Africa which employs 70% of the rural labor force, Saemaul Undong can give particular attention to Africa (Odularu, 2010). Also, in Rwanda, Kigali, the capital, and the Kamonyi district, the suburb of Kigali have experienced rapid urbanization with decent housing and commercial buildings. However, why is Rwanda still under the problem of absolute poverty even in cities? It might be from urban or suburban poverty due to the fast urbanization without stable rules or regulations. To summarize, many people in LDCs now know what they need is not just financial support any more but the ‘thing’ which can change their mindset.

Although Korea and Rwanda established diplomatic ties in 1963, it was not until mid-2000s that Saemaul ODA issue emerged between the two nations. With a good relationship between two countries and Rwanda President’s special attention to Saemaul Undong, the seed of Saemaul Undong has started growing in Rwanda. Also, Gyeongsangbuk-do decided to launch Saemaul pilot projects in African countries including Ethiopia, Rwanda and Tanzania.

Based on the pre-field investigation, four villages in Kamonyi district, the suburb of Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, were selected for the Saemaul ODA project (each village was chosen in a different year). In selecting, four factors were considered, 1) existing demands for Saemaul Undong for their

community development, 2) strong leadership and active support of the local and central government, 3) community leader's support and willingness, 4) applicability of Saemaul Undong at a community level.

Their most important long-term projects in common can be classified into three; environment improvement (e.g. repairing of kitchen and toilet), income generation (e.g. operating cow bank, pilot farm, sewing class) and mindset reformation (e.g. offering Saemaul training, farming technique). Through this process, the five-year Saemaul ODA project has been initiated in the following villages: Kigarama, Mushimba, Gihogwe, and Gasharu.

The four villages in the Kamonyi district are about 30km away from Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. The Kamonyi district is one of the eight districts in the Southern Province and the major crops grown are cassava, potatoes, maize, bananas, and coffee. Like other LDCs, agriculture mostly depends on climate, so it is imperative to advance farming skill and mechanize agriculture. Other major problems villagers mentioned during the field investigation in 2010 and 2011, are lack of public services including hospital, electricity, school, and drinking water. Furthermore, their most important long-term projects are to secure clean drinking water, establish a hospital, modernize livestock husbandry, and construct one more primary school.

It is important to note that before Gyeongsangbuk-do launched Saemaul ODA project in African countries, the Korean host first invited community leaders and government officials from those countries to provide them international Saemaul training and share their community stories with Korea Saemaul volunteers who were to be dispatched. They went through camp training in Korea together for a month to get to know the preconditions of two countries and understand each other's cultures. Both learned Saemaul Undong through lectures, study trips and visit to communities with success stories of Saemaul Undong and completed action plans. Through this process and the field investigation, their most important long term projects came out with securing drinking water, improving irrigation, mechanizing farming, reforming living environment, having electricity, etc.

The province has so far dispatched 55 Korean Saemaul volunteers to Rwanda since 2010. The project is for a period of five years in each village, with a expense of about KRW148, 137, 150 and 150m in Kigarama for 2010 through 2013 respectively. The total accumulative expense is KRW1,705m until 2013 and this expense has steadily increased each year (Gyeongsangbuk-do, 2013). The most recent outcomes of the past two years for the four villages are shown in <Table 1>.

〈Table 1〉 Saemaul ODA's impact in Rwanda

	2012	2013
Environment improvement	Improved living environment Established multi-purpose spaces Constructed & maintained a Saemaul Hall Constructed facilities for water supply	Improved living environment (distribution of modern stoves) Constructed facilities for water supply Established multi-purpose spaces Repaired school and improved environment of kindergarten Established a Saemaul Hall
Saemaul organization formation & mindset reformation	Provided Saemaul & health education Operated a health post Offered education for kindergarteners Organized a Saemaul Association and provided relevant education Activated the Women's Club	Provided Saemaul & health education Operated a health post Organized Saemaul Associations Operated a kindergarten Provided farming techniques for the Youth Club members
Income generation	Provided sewing and dyeing classes for the Women's Club Operated a goat bank Run pilot farms Increased income from planting rice, pineapple and non-farming (beekeeping) Built more infrastructure for rice-farming	Provided sewing classes for the Women's Club members Operated a goat bank & pilot farms Increased income from planting rice, pineapple and non-farming (beekeeping) Operated and expanded pilot farms Increased income from planting vegetables

Source: Saemaul Globalization Foundation, (2014)

2. Seeking a linkage

From the perspective of public administration and policy, Gaus and Riggs emphasize the importance of environment through the ecological approach, which was confirmed in the comparative administration in the 1950s. Another theory to understand how certain policies are created and implemented is the policy determinants theory. These studies on the impact of socioeconomic contexts on the policies were usually conducted by political scientists and economists. Brazer (1959) and Fabricant (1952) revealed that socioeconomic variables greatly influenced policy decision (requoted from Jung et. al, 2010). Additionally, it has also been discussed that different political cultures, of either nation or government, might come into play in public policy arena (Lee, 2002).

On the other hand, some political scientists attempted to unfold more influence of political variables on policies than socioeconomic variables. For instance, Dawson & Robinson (1963) found there was strong relation between competition among political parties and welfare works, but its relationship appeared spurious by controlling for socioeconomic variables. Similar studies also

showed both socioeconomic variables and political variables influenced the government expenditure. In this line of discussion, Korea's Saemaul Undong and Rwanda's *Umuganda* can also be considered each as an outcome of political and socio-economic environment.³⁾ The question can be further extended to what sub-elements are similar or different.

While Korea has achieved rapid economic growth since 1960s, it also resulted in imbalanced regional development and big income gap between rural and urban areas. Therefore, it was urgent to make a policy for the development of rural areas.

Socially, an institutionalized collaboration network-based society helped create strong social bonds and as a result, people are expected to participate in community works voluntarily. This was one of major success factors of Saemaul Undong. With villager's experiences of cooperation, Saemaul Undong was easily welcome by a supportive community climate. Through the influence of all these political, social, economic and spatial variables, the policy of Saemaul Undong was finally born in 1970.

Similarly, Rwanda also has the support of the powerful leadership of the current President Paul Kagame who has led to development of the economy and wants to initiate Saemaul Undong. Rising to power through a military dictatorship in 2010, he has obtained wide support from people. In addition, Rwanda experienced the Belgian colonization and the 1994 Genocide. Therefore, the nation needed someone with strong leadership to reconstruct the war-torn country.

Economically, Rwanda also has big dependency on foreign aid, up to 40% of its current budget as of Apr. 2014 (Word Bank, 2014). In addition, like Korea in the 1970s, Rwanda started the first five-year economic development plan in 2008 and has rapidly grown for the past six years. Through this, poverty has dropped almost 12% in five years, from 56.7% in 2006 to 44.9% in 2011, and extreme poverty was reduced from 35.8% to 24.1% over the same period (WFP, 2012).

However, the problem is that the economic development has been focused solely on urban areas, which has made a serious income gap between rural and urban areas, and other urban social problems. Compared with urban poverty of 22.1%, the rural poverty is up to 48.7%. Particularly, almost 32% of GDP depends on production of the primary sector and about 90% of the total population is involved in agriculture, which makes the development of rural areas more crucial (UNDP Rwanda, 2014). Socially, like Korea, Rwanda is densely populated with limited land space, so people mostly live together on a small community level, which helps make a collaboration-based network such as *Umuganda*. This was one of necessary success factors of Saemaul Undong in Korea.

It is important to note that Rwanda also has Saemaul equivalent, '*Umuganda*,' which is led by

3) In Rwanda, there is a mandatory community service day on the last Saturday of each month called *Umuganda* meaning 'community service.' By law, all able persons above 18 and below 65 are expected to participate in volunteer community work. People participate in cleaning streets, cutting grass and trimming bushes along with roads, etc (Rwanda Governance Board).

the government and of which participation rate has increased annually. Lastly, Rwanda has also recently experienced fast urbanization and urban-rural disparities. In particular, the rapid urbanization has caused social conflicts including urban poverty or an income gap between the poor and the rich. Under these circumstances, the Saemaul ODA project was launched in 2010.

IV. Discussion

1. The common grounds: political, economic & spatial arrangements

Considering these political, social, economic and spatial variables, two national settings can be compared as <Table 2>. Variables affecting the launch of Saemaul Undong in Korea in the 1970s are largely divided into four dimensions: political (leadership, colonization and civil war experiences), economic (national dependency on foreign aid, income gap), social (institutionalized collaboration network, supportive community climate, social conflicts), and spatial variables (urbanization, spatial disparities). Two nations have similarities on political, economic and spatial contexts, but differences mainly on the social context.

In terms of the political elements, both Korea and Rwanda were colonized by Japan (1910-45) and Belgium (1916-62) respectively. In addition, both countries also went through civil wars, Korean War (1950-53) and Genocide in 1994. Through these experiences, the two needed to make a policy to rehabilitate their nations, so Saemaul Undong was one of those.

〈Table 2〉 Comparing contexts between 1970s' Korea and 2010s' Rwanda

Contexts (Variables)	Korea in the 1970s	Rwanda in the 2010s
Political elements		
- strong leadership	○	○
- colonization/ Civil War experiences	○	○
Economic contexts		
- national dependency on foreign aid	○	○
- GDP, income gap	○	○
Social setting		
- institutionalized collaboration network	strong	weak
- supportive community climate	strong	weak
- social conflicts	mild	strong
Spatial arrangement		
- urbanization	○	○
- spatial disparities	○	○

In addition, there is the factor of leadership of both the late President Park Chung Hee and the current Rwandan President Paul Kagame, despite their rules as dictatorships. Mr. Park played the leading role in launching Saemaul Undong and Mr. Kagame has also made great efforts to initiate the nationwide campaign.

Furthermore, from 1945 to 1999, Korea received around US\$12.7b in total until the nation got out of the list of recipient countries of World Bank in 1995 (KOICA, 2014). Rwanda also greatly depends on foreign aid (40% of the current budget as of Apr. 2014) even though government revenue has grown whilst aid dependency has fallen from 85% to 40% (World Bank, 2014).

The huge income gap between rural and urban areas is to be mentioned. The ratio of the gap between rural and urban household increased from 99.1 in 1965 to 82.65% in 1970 (recited from Lim, 2011). Now Rwanda is also facing the same issue, recorded that the percentage share of household income of poorest 40% and richest 20% in 2007 and 2011 was 13% and 57% respectively (UNICEF, 2014).

Putting the variable of urbanization and urban-rural disparities together in Korea, the urbanization rate was 39.1% in 1960 and increased up to 50.1% in 1970. Urbanization had both positive and negative effects, for instance, Korea's rapid urbanization led to quick modernization and industrialization in the Korean society. However, it also caused imbalanced regional development by putting the top priority on advantageous location conditions such as, concentrating capital and infrastructure in metropolitan and southeastern areas.

Similarly, urbanized population in Rwanda was 19.4% (as of Dec. 2013) and the average annual growth rate of urban population was 7.9% between 1990 to 2012. According to Rwanda Housing Authority, they are planning to achieve 35% urbanization by 2020. This urbanization has also achieved both positive and negative results; from a positive perspective, Rwandan foreign private investments increased from US\$590.5m in 2010 to US\$832.3m in 2011 (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2014). In addition, Rwanda is one of top ten countries for doing business in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2012). However, the urbanization has also caused social conflicts, for instance, land prices rapidly rise by pushing the poor deeper into poverty and forcing them to leave for the countryside.

2. Variations: collaborative network, community climate & social conflicts

Apart from the aforementioned similarities, there appear to be major differences in the social context in two nations. Firstly, even though Saemaul Undong began based on a top-down policy, it easily became a bottom-up pan-national movement, because there were traditional cooperative works at a village level through informal networks (*hyangyak*, *dure*, *pumassi* or *gye*), a major factor to make villagers participate in their community works voluntarily and finally lead to successful

Saemaul Undong (Park, 2005). Its informal but fundamental principle is the spirit of exchange of labor or mutual help, so it was well in line with the Saemaul spirit of cooperation. Rwanda also has their own campaign, ‘*Umuganda*’ which has been part of Rwandan culture and tradition (recited from Heldring, 2014), similar to Saemaul Undong. Its major activities are usually construction of houses for the vulnerable, roads, classrooms, health posts, and other infrastructures just like the Korean equivalent. It showed good participation rate with around 80 percent in 2011-12 (Rwandapedia), but it is basically a strong government-led top-down approach (Barnhart, 2011; Maeil Daily 2013.10.10), which makes hard to induce residents’ voluntary participation. In *Umuganda*, people’s willingness to voluntarily take part in their community works seems still weak, due to partly, the nature of state-led policy or no specific principles like Saemaul Undong.

“Although Umuganda was part of traditional practice and has recently been supported by the president Paul Kagame in Rwanda, which can be said to have mixed characteristics of top-down and bottom-up approaches, its top-down nature seems a bit stronger. In addition, unlike existence of the spirit of Saemaul Undong, such as diligence, self-help and cooperation, Umuganda does not have guiding principles to help people more easily involved in cooperative works.” (interview with a coordinator in KOICA-Rwanda office, 2014. 5.4 & 5.24)

Further, it seems that people sometimes have no idea of what to do at *Umuganda*, for example, the people don’t even know what tools to bring, and half the people show with machetes although what they actually need is hoes (Purdekova, 2011). However, community development should not be from what the government needs but from what the village really needs. It is to be noted how important the villager’s voluntary participation is, which was, in Korea, fortunately formed through the traditional cooperative works. However, *Umuganda* seems to have weakness in this kind of institutionalized collaboration network to attract the people.

Secondly, supportive community climate was one of major factors for how Saemaul Undong smoothly started and spread all across the nation. A community in Korea was mainly formed based on same family lineage, which worked significantly in creating tight social bond and social capital such as trust or network. Under the strong mutual relationship between villagers, they naturally learned how to help each other through community works such as repairing roofs or fences, planting rice, paving road and constructing a bridge together, further how to make a better community. This kind of ‘we-feeling’ was well harmonized with Saemaul Undong and even more boosted it. In fact, this clan-based community can be a unique characteristic only Korea had. Through this process, the supportive community climate for Saemaul Undong was naturally created.

In contrast, many residents in Rwanda are still trapped on the dependence on the aids from other advanced countries, which makes creating an atmosphere for cooperative works or strong mutual

relationship hard. A tremendous amount of aid has been transferred to Rwanda to make a sustained economic recovery and growth, which was destroyed in 1994. However, the surges in foreign aid have made some potential adverse effects, for instance, aid dependency (Ezemenari et al., 2008). It might take time to see change in people's attitude towards the aid (The New Times 2008.12.18.). Therefore, the problem is not land nor money, but people's mind because they mostly lack confidence and are afraid of change.

Many people not only in Rwanda but also in Africa have already known and revealed the dark side of foreign aid. The assistance which was once greatly welcomed has actually hindered the development of Africa by blocking people from raising self-help. Therefore, it might take time to create the climate for people to accept Saemaul Undong in Rwanda.

"Some of them (mostly in rural areas) always complain because their lives haven't changed although the number of organizations providing aid seems to increase. People particularly who see aid as harmful say keeping providing aid is not good because they would like to promote the spirit of self-help. The Rwandans or Africans in general do not have to always wait for westerners to do everything for them... Many in rural areas are accustomed to getting aid pretty much. However, in most cases, aid comes with some conditions in place, and the relationship with the donor or fund agency as well. So, if I have no house and ask for help, the donor agency does not help us build a house because they are here to develop infrastructure which they want. If not, it is stopped without notice. That's why even though people cannot get exactly what they want but just endure the donor-oriented aid – sometimes consistent with what people need though, they're getting used to aid, which has made a vicious cycle of aid.." (the aforementioned interviewee)

Thirdly, Korea has had regionalism historically caused by geographical barriers with rivers and mountains. While people maintained strong social bond within their communities, there were extremely limited chances of interaction between regions. Although this made some social conflicts among regions; for example, Korea's economic development was done by weighing capital and infrastructure towards the Gyeongsang Province (southeast province). Yet those issues did not appear as critical as in Rwanda.

Rwandans use same language and share same culture just like Korea. However, there still seem to be 'unobservable' but 'quite big' conflicts between villagers in the same community, which can be an obstacle to make trust-building difficult. Taking a close look at the wording on homepage of 'Rwanda: The Wake of a Genocide', saying "Don't talk to me about reconciliation, Mr. President, talk to me about justice" by Yolande Mukagasana, Genocide survivor, it seems to be largely resulted from the terrible incident in 1994, setting aside other factors such as socio-political, economic, cultural and environmental causes (Moodley et al., 2010). Saemaul Undong was successful due to

trust, community spirit and social capital, which didn't have any legal binding force but had more power than law. For example, villagers completely excluded people who didn't participate in the community work, from profit sharing or other social benefits. Social conflicts were not so big enough to stop developing social capital.

Although Saemaul Undong first started with a top-down approach, it soon spread across the country and became the pan-national movement in Korea. A major factor was the atmosphere to make people participate in the community work voluntarily, which helped Saemaul Undong mingle with and well-settled in their community. That, unfortunately, was not the case in Rwanda.

3. Gathering thoughts into one

Quite a number of people have expected Saemaul Undong can be successful in Rwanda due to the similar contexts to that in Korea in the past. Although it might take more time to see the success or failure of Saemaul ODA projects in Rwanda, or possibly, completely different scenarios, this study is still meaningful to help establish an IDC Saemaul ODA model through assessing the effectiveness of Korea's ODA projects.

As mentioned above, two nations have a wide range of similar contexts such as strong leaders, experiences of colonization and civil war, great dependency on foreign aid, quite big income gap, urbanization and spatial disparities. However, major differences between the two appear mostly in social settings: institutionalized collaboration network, supportive community climate and social conflicts. Most of these appear strong or mild in Korea but weak or strong in Rwanda.

As the driving force of economic growth in Korea in the 1970s, thanks to Saemaul Undong, many LDCs have shown their interests in the national campaign by expecting 'different' assistance from other advanced countries. Unlike other donor-driven ODA which makes the poor poorer and the country more debt-laden, Saemaul ODA is a recipient-centered project based on the collaboration network. Given there exist aforementioned variations, appropriate measures are to be taken in advance when actual Saemaul ODA projects are implemented smoothly. In Rwanda, if those factors are considered and well-harmonized with their own tradition, a promising future of Rwanda's Saemaul Undong can be expected.

Just as many commentators view Rwanda these days, back in the 1970s, Korea was one of the poorest countries, and General Douglas MacArthur of the U.S. Army said, "it would take 100 years to rebuild Korea", when he visited Seoul right after the end of the Korean War. However, it just took around 30 years for Koreans to make 'Miracle of Han River' and 20 more to become the first recipient-turned-donor in the world. Its major success factor is arguably Saemaul Undong. Now Saemaul Undong has become one of Korea's national brands and it has been spread even to African continent beyond Korea to make a 'Miracle of Africa.' However, it cannot be disseminated the same

way Korea did in the 1970s because of different contexts, so it is salient to understand their culture, history or politics, which cannot be done overnight.

As an international spotlight has been thrown on Saemaul Undong, many concerns on the export of Saemaul Undong have risen. Will Saemaul Undong work in the LDCs, indeed? According to the discussion on this research, although many have expected that Saemaul Undong can be successful in Rwanda due to almost the same contexts as Korea's, the differences still exist.

Each nation has its own development way fitting into their environment. As the case of Rwanda tells us, as long as there is an effort to respect 'theirs' and harmonize it with 'ours', the problem to get into LDCs can be addressed at least in part. Despite different contexts from Korea's, Rwanda still continues implementing Saemaul Undong and even seems ready to go to the next step. Moreover, continuous demand for Saemaul ODA from many other LDCs and attention from the international community can be proof of the performance of Saemaul Undong.

V. Closing, with challenges

This paper, not aimed to be a full research, purported to begin exploring a Korean-style IDC model by comparing the contexts of Korea and Rwanda, focusing on political, social, economic and spatial variables. It also intended to help assess effectiveness of Korea's various Saemaul ODA projects. It has been revealed that both countries show strong similarities in political, economic and spatial variables. However, when it comes to the social variables, Korea appeared strong on the institutionalized collaboration network and supportive community climate, and mild on social conflicts, while Rwanda appears weak on the institutionalized collaboration network and supportive community climate, and strong on social conflicts.

In the advent of future research, there are a few issues that need to be addressed. They can be summarized in three points. First, the Gyeongsangbuk-do Saemaul ODA project in Rwanda is still in progress, so if the research is conducted along with observation of the actual site, the result would be more practical.

Secondly, data about culture, history, politics and economy of Rwanda are not easily accessible. In addition, there is very little literature on Rwanda. Also, collected statistics sometimes do not provide accurate and consistent numbers, for instance, the number of household from official Rwandan statistics was different from what the researcher did in person (also in part, attributed to AIDS-related deaths or high infant mortality).

Thirdly, when it comes to the semi-structured interview, the problem was translation. As long as there are no exact one-for-one matching words from Kinyarwanda to English and vice versa, there is a possibility of interpreter's version/interpretation becoming subjective and the raw data of

the interviews can become secondary materials. Nevertheless, this research still contributes significantly to exploring a Korean-style IDC model and conducting follow up research through consideration in some challenging issues revealed in this research. In addition, the results of this particular research also show the direction the 21st century's Saemaul Undong should follow.

It appears too early to completely evaluate the effectiveness of Saemaul ODA in Rwanda; the African country might have more difficulties down the road to carry out Saemaul Undong successfully. A lot more work awaits – for both scholars and practitioners.

References

- Abafita, Jemal, Fikadu Mitiku, and Kim. (2013). Korea's Saemaul Undong: A Model for Rural Development in Ethiopia? *The Korean Society of International Agriculture* 25(3): 217-230.
- Barnhart, Jaclyn. (2011). *Umuganda: The Ultimate Nation-Building Project?* Pursuit: The Journal of Undergraduate Research at the University of Tennessee 2(1).
- Eom, Seok-Jin. (2011). "Mobilization and Participation: Roles of Local Government Officials in Rural Saemaul Undong in the 1970s". *The Journal of Korean Association for Public Administration* 45(3): 97-123. [Korean]
- Ezemenari, Kene·Kebede, Ephraim·Lahiri, Sajal. (2008). *The Fiscal Impact of Foreign Aid in Rwanda: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis*. Policy Research Working Paper. World Bank.
- Go, Won. (2006). "Rural Saemaul Undong of Park Chung Hee Regime and 'Modernized People-Building'." *Economy and Society* 69: 178-201. [Korean]
- Gyeongsangbuk-do. (2013). *Report on Dispatch of Saemaul Leader Volunteers and Establishment of Saemaul Pilot Village*. [Korean]
- Ha, Jea-Hoon. (2009). "Development Direction and Implementing Strategies of Gyeongbuk Saemaul Undong from the Perspective of Globalization". *Journal of Saemaul Academy* 1: 9-51. [Korean]
- Heldring, Leander. (2014). *State Capacity and Violence: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide*. Center for the Study of African Economics.
- Jung, J, J Choi, S Lee, J-K, Jung, & K Jung. (2010). *The Theories of Policy Sciences*. Seoul: Daemyung. [Korean]
- Kim, Han-Yang. (2014). Application of Global Saemaul Undong on International Development Cooperation. *Journal of Local Government Studies* 26(1): 139-161. [Korean]
- Kim, Seong-Su, Do-Ha Gwon, Chae-Sik Lee, and Yeong-Chang Choi. (2005). Community Development Movement and Sharing Experiences. *The Journal of Korea Society for Agricultural Extension* 12(2): 271-286. [Korean]
- Kwon, Soon-Won. (1997) *Korean Experiences in Poverty Alleviation with Special Reference to the*

- Saemaul Undong. The Korean Social Security Association 13(13): 183-206.
- Lee, Jeong-Hwa·Chung, Yong-Kyo. (2013). Development and Meaning of Saemaul Undong for Rural Women from the Perspective of Social Capital. *The Journal of Korean Cultural Studies* 54(0): 339-379. [Korean]
- Lee, S-C. (2002). Influence of Political Culture on Growth Management Policies: An Exploratory Study for Comparison between Korea and the U.S. *Korean Society and Public Administration* 12(4): 401-414.
- Lim, Hyeong-Baek. (2011). "International Development Cooperation in Asia through Saemaul Undong". *Asian Studies* 14(2): 111-139.
- Lim, Jae-Gang & Jea-Hoon Ha. (2009). "Public Awareness about Vitalization of Saemaul Undong". *Korean Society and Public Administration* 19(4): 233-258. [Korean]
- Lim, Hyeong-Baek. (2011). "Directions of Application of Saemaul Undong ODA to Africa". *The Journal of the Korean Regional Development Association* 23(2): 47-69.
- Ministry of Strategy & Finance and KDI School. (2013). "2012 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience: Reforming Governments for Saemaul Undong"
- Moodley, Vadi, Alphonse Gahima, and Suveshnee Munien. (2010). "Environmental Causes and Impacts of the Genocide in Rwanda: Case Studies of the Towns of Butare and Cyangugu". *AJCR. African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Umhlanga Rocks, South Africa* 10(2): 103-119.
- National Assembly Research Service. (2013). "Issues and Discussion". No. 642. [Korean]
- ODA Watch. (2013). The 44th ODA Talk.
- Odularu, Olusegun. (2010). Utilizing South-South Cooperation to Unlock African Rural Development Potentials: Lessons from the Korean New Village Movement. *Journal of Agriculture and Environmental Studies* 1(2): 1-15.
- Park, Jin-Hwan. (2005). Modernization of Korea's Economy and Saemaul Undong under Park Chung Hee. *Park Chung Hee Commemorative Society*. [Korean]
- Purdekova, Andrea. (2011). 'Even if I am not here, There are so many eyes': Surveillance and State Reach in Rwanda. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. Cambridge University Press. 49(3) 475-497.
- Reed, Edward P. (2010). "Is Saemaul Undong a Model for Developing Countries Today?", *International Symposium in Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of Saemaul Undong*. Saemaul Undong Center.
- UNAUSA. (2014). *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the United Nations*. United Nations Association of the U.S.A.
- WFP (2012). *CFSVA (Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis) of World Food Programme*.

Yun, S-G. (2012). "Exploring an International Development Cooperation Model through Saemaul Undong". The Journal of Korean Political Science Association 19(3): 249~275. [Korean]

Websites

- ChosunIlbo, Mar. 5, 2008, english.chosun.com, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- JoongAng Daily 2011.11.24. koreajoongangdaily.joins.com, accessed on 2014.5.1
- Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), www.koica.go.kr, accessed on 2014.5.10
- Maeil Business News, 1976.8.12. & 2013.10.10, news.mk.co.kr/english, accessed on May 10, 2014.
- National Geographic, www.nationalgeographic.co.kr, accessed on 2014.5.4.
- National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, statistics.gov.rw, accessed on 2014.5.9.
- ODA Korea, Prime Minister's Office, Republic of Korea, www.odakorea.go.kr, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, www.oecd.org, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- Republic of Rwanda, www.gov.rw, accessed on 2014.5.10.
- Rwanda: The Wake of a Genocide, www.rwanda-genocide.org, accessed on 2014.5.10
- Rwandapedia, rwandapedia.rw, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- Saemaul Globalization Foundation, saemaulgf.or.kr, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- The New Times, 2008.12.18. www.newtimes.co.rw, accessed on 2014.5.23.
- The Korea Economic Daily, 2009.10.30. english.hankyung.com, accessed on 2014.5.22..
- United Nations Association (UNA) of the USA. www.unausa.org/news-publications/publications/a-global-agenda, accessed on 2014.5.16.
- United Nations Children' Fund (UNICEF), www.unicef.org, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, Division for Sustainable Development, sustainabledevelopment.un.org, accessed on 2014.5.7.
- United Nations Development Programme in Rwanda (UNDP Rwanda), www.rw.undp.org, accessed on 2014.5.10.
- World Bank, www.worldbank.org, accessed on 2014.5.8.

Eunjin Lee is currently a PhD student in Department of Public Administration at Kyungpook National University. She has had a work experience at Saemaul Academy of Gyeongsangbuk-do, as an international coordinator for government officials from less developed countries such as African and Southeast Asian Countries. Her research interests include international development cooperation, Saemaul Undong ODA and sustainable regional development (opalej@hotmail.com).

Shi-Chul Lee is Associate Professor of the School of Public Administration at Kyungpook National University. His current academic interests include urban policy, personnel management, and internationalization. Upon entering academia in 2003 after 15-year public service, he served as Dean of the KNU Graduate School of Public Administration and Editor-in-chief of the Journal of Local Government Studies for two years(shichul@knu.ac.kr).

국문요약

새마을 ODA의 한계 및 해외 적용 가능성: 르완다 사례를 중심으로

이 은 진

이 시 철

새마을운동이 절대빈곤 감소를 위한 지역발전의 모델로 전세계적 관심을 받아온 가운데, 아시아와 아프리카의 많은 개발도상국에서 새마을 ODA(공적개발원조) 프로젝트가 시행되어 왔다. 그간의 새마을 ODA 관련 연구에서도 한국식 새마을 모델을 그대로 적용할 것이 아니라, 수원국의 상황에 맞는 모델 정립이 시급함을 언급하고 있다. 본 연구에서는 한국국제협력단과 경상북도의 협력으로 진행된 르완다의 새마을 ODA 사례 분석을 통해 새마을 ODA의 개발도상국 적용성에 대해 논의하고, 대안적 IDC(국제개발협력) 모델 정립을 위한 방안을 제시하고자 한다. 이를 위해 한국과 르완다의 정치, 사회, 경제, 공간적 맥락에 기초한 이차 자료를 수집하여 분석하였으며, 반구조화 인터뷰를 시행하였다. 1차 결과에 따르면 두 국가는 정치, 경제, 공간적 변수에서 큰 유사점을 보였으나, 사회적 맥락의 세 가지 하위 변수에서는 차이점을 보였는데, 이는 새마을운동의 효과성 면에서도 차이를 가져올 수 있다는 점을 시사한다. 이렇게 양쪽의 유사점과 차이점을 논의함으로써 부분적으로 한국형 ODA의 효과성을 평가하며, 또한 르완다 뿐 아니라 많은 아프리카 국가에 적용될 수 있는 IDC 모델 정립 방안을 제안하는 데 기여하고자 한다.

주제어: 새마을운동, 공적개발원조(ODA), 국제개발협력(IDC), 개발도상국, 르완다

