

From Poverty to Prosperity:

Rural Development in South Africa with Reference to Korea's Saemaul Undong

By

Casper Hendrik Claassen

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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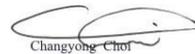
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Abstract

As Korea's Seamaul Undong gains worldwide recognition, many LDCs (less developed countries) have engaged with the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) of South Korea with the hope of initiating Saemaul ODA (official development assistance) projects in their own countries. Yet, such projects are bound to fail if Saemaul Undong is not properly analyzed and merely transplanted abroad. Anachronistic, presentist, and overly optimistic thinking should be avoided in pursuing the endeavor of implementing Saemaul Undong in countries outside of Korea as the context of Saemaul Undong's implementation is inextricably attached to its relative success, notably in terms of the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural factors that laid the groundwork for Saemaul Undong's rapid transformation of the Korean countryside. Valid developmental principles can, however, be extracted through a thorough dissection of the anatomy of Saemaul Undong; and, it is these principles that need to be entrenched into the policy framework of any attempts to implement Saemaul Undong. Important systemic and policy determinants such as the degree of rural egalitarianism, the social integration among rural communities (i.e. social capital), population trends, agricultural support institutions, government effectiveness, and literacy rates (i.e. human capital) need to be considered alongside the human agency-linked determinants (self-help, cooperation, and diligence) emphasized by Saemaul Undong. Any effort to successfully implement SMART Saemaul Undong in South Africa will have to take into account South Africa's unique rural dynamics, whilst facilitating the creation of inclusive value chains and encouraging smallholder-oriented innovation alongside the use of appropriate technologies. Establishing a proper institutional support framework based on the principles of learning through interaction and the formation of a local food system model will be key to this process.

Keywords: Saemaul Undong, New Village Movement, South Africa, Rural Poverty, Value Chain, Innovation, Humanistic, Systemic

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I. Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the Study

Although there have been remarkable declines in global poverty, significant challenges remain. According to the World Bank¹, the number of people surviving on less than 1.25 USD a day has fallen dramatically over the past three decades, from approximately half of people in the developing world in 1981 to 21 percent in 2010 in spite of a 59 percent increase in the population of the developing world. Yet, extreme poverty still characterizes the daily reality of around 1.2 billion people, with Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) accounting for roughly one-third.²

Indeed, SSA is the only region where the number of impoverished people has increased steadily and dramatically between 1981 and 2010, from 205 million three decades ago to 414 million today.³ As a result, whereas a mere 11 percent of the world's impoverished resided in SSA in 1981, today a third of the world's poor can be found in SSA. In all other regions incomes have risen and poverty gaps have narrowed (i.e., there has been steady convergence with the 1.25 USD poverty line). However, this trend has not been observed in SSA, with the average income of the extremely poor in SSA having remained essentially flat between 1981 and 2010 at around half of 1.25 USD.⁴

¹ World Bank. (2013). "Remarkable Declines in Global Poverty, But Major Challenges Remain." Press Release, April 17.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Moreover, according to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)⁵, approximately 70 percent of the developing world's poor live in rural areas. In fighting extreme poverty, it is absolutely necessary to achieve both social and economic development in developing countries.⁶ Evidently, the developing world cannot address extreme poverty by itself and need meaningful and far-reaching assistance from the developed world's governments, civil society organizations, and citizens themselves.⁷ The involvement of multilateral organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, United Nations, and World Bank is also necessary if poverty is to be reduced and development facilitated in the developing world.⁸

Assistance can assume a wide array of manifestations, from direct financial assistance to knowledge sharing in terms of sharing development experiences, as a means of development policy guidelines, which have allowed for the successful transition from poverty into industrialized wealth.⁹ According to sceptics such as Dambisa Moyo, author of "Dead Aid," direct aid has only led to increased dependence and worsened conditions in SSA.¹⁰ William Easterly¹¹, author of "White Man's Burden," largely agrees with her analysis¹², and, in the same vein, Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda, has said that there

⁵ International Fund for Agricultural Development. (2011). "Rural Poverty Report 2011 - New realities, new challenges: new opportunities for tomorrow's generation." Rome: Quintily, p. 16.

⁶ Huck-ju Kwon. (2010). "Implications of Korea's Saemaul Undong for International Development Policy: A Structural Perspective." *The Korean Journal of Policy Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 87-100, p. 88.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Dambisa Moyo. (2010). "Dead Aid." New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

¹¹ William Easterly. (2006). "The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good." New York: The Penguin Press.

¹² William Easterly. (2009). "Review of Dambisa Moyo's book *Dead Aid*." Internet: <https://williameasterly.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/moyoreviewfor1rbjune2009neverpublished.pdf>. Date of Access: 2015/09/29.

should discuss about when and how to stop aid.¹³ Notable figures such as Bill Gates¹⁴ tend to disagree. Direct aid from the developed world appears to have trapped many SSA countries with already weak, extractive institutions – terms of Daron Acemoglu’s¹⁵ understanding of the term and its connotations – in a vicious cycle of corruption, unaccountability to local populations, slower economic growth and poverty.¹⁶ It follows thus that cutting off the flow of aid would be far more beneficial to SSA.¹⁷ Donor-led financial aid has clearly failed in SSA in achieving both the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) and SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) and is unlikely to be sustainable, and a shift toward recipient-led assistance that puts developing countries at the fore of the aid movement has become desirable in the Post-2015 Development Agenda.¹⁸

Moreover, market-based development strategies grounded on neoliberal theories and principles of good governance have failed to eradicate poverty in SSA, as have state-oriented development approaches.¹⁹ A middle way or link between the two has, consequently, become desirable.

In its capacity as an agency responsible exclusively for grant aid under South Korea’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT), the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) is responsible for providing development assistance to developing

¹³ Eunjin Lee and Shi-Chul Lee. (2014). “Exploring an Alternative International Development Cooperation Model through Saemaul Projects: A Comparative Perspective in Korea and Rwanda.” 정기학술대회, 세계행정학술회의(WCPA).

¹⁴ Mfonobong Nsheh. (2013). Bill Gates Criticizes Zambian Economist And She Responds With Fire. *Forbes*, May 30.

¹⁵ Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. (2012). “Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty.” New York: Crown Business.

¹⁶ Dambisa Moyo. (2009). “Why Foreign Aid Is Hurting Africa.” *The Wall Street Journal*, March 21.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Eunjin Lee and Shi-Chul Lee. (2014). *Op. cit.*

¹⁹ Huck-ju Kwon. (2010). *Op. cit.*, pp. 87-100, p87.

countries (i.e., ODA (Official Development Assistance)).²⁰ It has been promoting and exporting Saemaul Undong (SMU; New Village Movement (새마을 운동)) in its adapted form known as ‘SMART Saemaul Undong’ as an ODA model founded on the knowledge sharing approach.²¹ Park Geun-hye, President of South Korea, delivered a speech at the 70th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations stating that, “I believe that the Saemaul Undong can maximize the utility of development cooperation with developing countries... We will further expand our efforts so that the Saemaul Undong can develop into a 'new paradigm for rural development' in developing countries.”²² Korea – the only country that has made the leap from aid recipient to donor – appears to be positioning itself as an emerging ODA powerhouse for SSA.²³

Saemaul Undong has gained traction as a rural development model, with United Nations (UN) Secretary General Ban Ki Moon²⁴ stating that, “Developing countries are paying keen attention to the usefulness of Saemaul Undong as a development model. Saemaul Undong has a huge meaning as Korea’s model of development cooperation.” Similarly, Jeffrey Sachs said, “Korea’s Saemaul Undong is inspiring for eradicating poverty in Africa” and “I would like to adapt Korea’s Saemaul Undong to Africa because it is a good role model for ending poverty in poor countries.”²⁵

²⁰ Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA). “History.” Website: http://www.koica.go.kr/english/koica/koica_glance/history/index.html. Date of Access: 2015/09/29.

²¹ KOICA. (2015). “Smart Saemaul Undong Story – Comprehensive Rural Development.”

²² Full text of speech at U.N. General Assembly. Internet: <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/news/2015/09/29/0200000000AEN20150929002700315.html>.

²³ Eunjin Lee and Shi-Chul Lee. (2014). Op. cit.

²⁴ KOICA. (2015). “Smart Saemaul Undong Story – Comprehensive Rural Development.”

²⁵ Sang-won Moon. (2014). “KOICA’s Smart Saemaul Undong of the 21st century: Rings a morning bell on the globe as a solution for achieving the development goals.” *KOICA View*, November.

As Korea's Seamaul Undong gains worldwide recognition, many LDCs (less developed countries) have engaged Korea with the hope of initiating Saemaul ODA projects.²⁶ Joseph Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), has stated that, "The most suitable development model for Africa is Saemaul Undong."²⁷, while Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda, has also expressed interest in Saemaul Undong²⁸.

Due to differing social, political, economic, cultural, and spatial contexts, there has been widespread recognition that SMU needs to be adapted to fit the preconditions of recipient countries.²⁹ Certainly, pre-existing realities present a significant obstacle to the establishment of SMU as a model for transferable international development cooperation (IDC).

In 2009, overseas Saemaul pilot projects were implemented in Uganda, Tanzania, the DRC, and Cote d'Ivoire; in 2010, again in Uganda, Tanzania, and the DRC, and, for the first time, in Madagascar and Senegal; and, finally, in 2011, again in Uganda, Tanzania, and Madagascar.³⁰ As of yet, there is little sign that these projects have achieved substantive success in terms of taking firm root.³¹

The analytical purpose of this research is therefore to review and explore Korean-style IDC through an analysis of Saemaul Undong as it was implemented in Korea in the 1970's, SMART Saemaul Undong, as well as the transferability of SMU to SSA countries,

²⁶ Eunjin Lee and Shi-Chul Lee. (2014). Op. cit.

²⁷ Saemaul Undong: Korea Saemaul Undong Center. (2010). "Saemaul Undong exported to Congo."

²⁸ Jiae Sohn. (2016). "Uganda should emulate Korea on poverty fight". Korea.net, May 29.

²⁹ Eunjin Lee and Shi-Chul Lee. (2014). Op. cit.

³⁰ Ju Young Kim and Byung-doo Jung. (2014). "The Driving Force of Korea's Economic Growth: Saemaul Undong and Transport Infrastructure Expansion." Goyang: The Korea Transport Institute (KOTI).

³¹ AllAfrica. (2016). "Uganda: South Korea to Support Wealth Creation". April 17.

with specific reference to South Africa. Furthermore, the formulation of policy recommendations constitutes an important aim of this study.

South Africa comes naturally as a focus country for this research question. "Land of contrasts" is an epithet commonly applied to South Africa, and is apt considering that the country's Gini coefficient has been variously estimated at 0.65, 0.77, and 0.59 depending on measurement methodologies.^{32 33} In 1998 former president of South Africa, then-deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, speaking in Parliament, lamented South Africa's scandalous inequality, describing South Africa as a country divided into "two nations, the one black and the other white"³⁴:

One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographical dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. This enables it to argue that, except for the persistence of gender discrimination against women, all members of this nation have the possibility of exercising their right to equal opportunity, and the development opportunities to which the Constitution of 1993 committed our country. The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst-affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility of exercising what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity, that right being equal within this black nation only to the extent that it is equally incapable of realization.

Although reductionist, Mbeki's "two nations" speech still carries real relevance, especially in describing the lived reality of South Africa's poverty-stricken, disadvantaged

³² World Bank. (2014). "South Africa Economic Update: Fiscal Policy and Redistribution in an Unequal Society."

³³ World Bank. (2013). "World Development Indicators: Distribution of Income or Consumption."

³⁴ Fred Hendricks. (2003). "Fault-Lines in South African Democracy: Continuing Crises of Inequality and Injustice." Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala.

rural populations. This odious reality is most pronounced in terms of urban-rural inequalities in terms of income.³⁵

Such inequality is clearly unsustainable and does not bode well for the future of South Africa. It significantly undermines social cohesion, as shown by South Africa's low levels of trust³⁶, high crime rate³⁷, festering racial tension³⁸, increasingly violent and racial political dissonance³⁹, and radicalized calls for land expropriation and nationalization⁴⁰. Unemployment also stands at approximately 40 percent⁴¹ and significant shortfalls in terms of human⁴² and social capital⁴³ plague South Africa. This is especially pronounced in rural areas, which have become a source of radicalism⁴⁴ that threatens South Africa's sturdy institutions⁴⁵ and its stability as a whole given that 36% of South Africa's population reside in rural areas⁴⁶. It is thus not surprising that South Africa's Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) approached KOICA.⁴⁷ Quite clearly an appropriate rural development model is needed.

³⁵ Darren Taylor, D. 2012. "Inside South Africa's Rural Healthcare Crisis." Voice of America, April 30.

³⁶ Ronnie Mmotlane, Jare Struwig and Ben Roberts. (2010). "The glue that binds or divides: Social trust in South Africa." *HSRC Review*, 8(3).

³⁷ Research and Information Support Center (RISC). (2015). "South Africa 2015 Crime and Safety Report." United States Department of State – Bureau of Diplomatic Security.

³⁸ Alan Cowell. (2016). "Raw Tensions Over Race Fester in South Africa". The New York Times, March 1.

³⁹ Thembisa Fakude. (2016). "South Africa, EFF and political vulgarity". Al Jazeera, May 2.

⁴⁰ Thomas Hartleb. (2015). "EFF will nationalise land, mines, Malema tells US business". News24, September 30.

⁴¹ RISC. (2015). Op cit.

⁴² Ewert P.J. Kleynhans and Johannes Riaan Labuschagne. (2012). "Human Capital Constraints in South Africa: A Firm-Level Analysis". *Managing Global Transitions*, 10(1): 69-86.

⁴³ Michael R. Carter and Marco Castillo. (2011). "Trustworthiness and Social Capital in South Africa: Analysis of Actual Living Standards Data and Artefactual Field Experiments". *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 59: 695-722.

⁴⁴ Milton Nkosi. (2015). "Has Julius Malema's EFF become one-issue party in South Africa?". BBC News, February 13.

⁴⁵ Institute for Security Studies. (2016). "Zuma versus Gordhan: the stakes have never been higher". March 1.

⁴⁶ See "World Bank. (2016). "Rural population (% of total population)". Databank.

⁴⁷ Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Republic of South Africa. (2014). "South Korean Delegation and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform Discussion Forum". July 31.

1.2 Scope and Methodology

This study employs a critical review method to define, conceptualize, and analyze 1970's Saemaul Undong and to determine the factors of success that lay behind it, if it could be considered to have been successful at all. A critical analysis of KOICA's Saemaul ODA model will constitute a major part of this study.

In determining the context of 1970's Saemaul Undong in addition to the appropriateness of SMART Saemaul Undong, a platform can be created that allows for a framework of comparison between the South Korean and South African contexts. A transferability analysis will be conducted on this foundation, leading to the creation of a matrix of transferability that will allow for issues that pertain to the transferability of SMART Saemaul Undong to be potentially solved.

The scope of analysis is strictly South Korea and South Africa, with reference to other SSA countries. Theoretical discussion will therefore pertain almost exclusively to these two countries, as the units of analysis.

In terms of methodology, relevant individuals from both South Korea and SSA have been contacted in determining the suitability of Saemaul Undong to SSA. This study is essentially a qualitative study, although some quantitative aspects are included, for there is a general dearth of relevant Saemaul Undong-related data as it pertains to South Africa given its nascent stage. Moreover, it was decided that a qualitative study would be more appropriate in identifying and determining gaps to be bridged and how they ought to be bridged if Saemaul Undong is to be adapted to the South African context.

II. Saemaul Undong

This chapter has two main purposes. First, this chapter serves to provide an overview of Saemaul Undong in the 1970's by delineating the factors that paved the way for the now world-renowned achievements of 1970's rural Korea and through a critical analysis of the achievements attributed to Saemaul Undong. Second, this chapter will identify and properly define both Saemaul Undong and KOICA's SMART Saemaul Undong vision.

2.1 Overview of Saemaul Undong

2.1.1 Introduction

It should never be forgotten that in the aftermath of the Korean War, Korea was left utterly devastated⁴⁸ and, to borrow from John F. Kennedy, carried every stain of a broken, "hopeless" nation.⁴⁹ The U.S. Government described Korea as being in a "perpetual state of crisis" in the two decades following its independence from Japan at the end of the Second World War.⁵⁰ Evidently, South Korea's image as a nation was that of a hopeless nation entrapped by the banes of pessimism and poverty.

Korea was left among the world's poorest nations in the aftermath of the devastating Korean War, and in 1961 was poorer than Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Niger,

⁴⁸ Young-Iob Chung. (2007). "Foreign Aid, Loans, and other Sources of Foreign Savings". In South Korea in the Fast Lane: Economic Development and Capital Formation. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁹ "Notes of the 485th Meeting of the National Security Council," 13, June 1961, Foreign Relations of the United States 1961-1963, Northeast Asia, 481.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Chad, the D.R. Congo, Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya, and, indeed, South Africa.⁵¹ Korea's civil war, which scourged the nation from June 1950 to July 1953, had left Korea a broken, flattened nation with only shattered fragments of its past and confronted with a bleak future.⁵² Korea was truly on the highway to permanent destituteness.⁵³ It was on the brink of sinking into an unvirtuous cycle of poverty.

South Korea faced dismal prospects and was largely surviving on U.S. aid, which amounted to more than \$12 billion in the first three decades following 1945.⁵⁴ However, despite enormous financial assistance, Korea's GNP per capita lingered around \$100.⁵⁵ Not only was Korea financially ruined, but its national dignity and global image were in tatters.

As noted in one U.S. Congressional report, in the minds of Koreans, "the pattern of psychological and economic dependence was ingrained, as was the lack of confidence in Korea's economic future without U.S. assistance."⁵⁶ Simply put, Korea was seen as a basket case of a country. It was seen as a mendicant nation, a beggar nation, that "slurped at the trough of the American taxpayer."⁵⁷ Accordingly, Korea was described by one commentator as "a sorry specimen" that was "overpopulated, underskilled, poorly-led, poverty-ridden,

⁵¹ See "International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Economic Outlook (WEO) database, October 2015 edition, gross domestic product (nominal) per capita, current prices, (millions of) U.S. dollars".

⁵² Young-lob Chung. (2007). Op Cit.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Young Back Choi. (1994). "Industrial Policy as the Engine of Economic Growth in South Korea: Myth and Reality". In *The Collapse of Development Planning*. Ed. Peter J. Boettke. New York: New York University Press, p. 236

⁵⁵ See "International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Economic Outlook (WEO) database, October 2015 edition, gross domestic product (nominal) per capita, current prices, (millions of) U.S. dollars".

⁵⁶ House of Representative, 95 Congress, 2nd Session, "Investigation of Korean-American Relations, Report of the Subcommittee on International Organization of the Committee on International Relations," October 31, 1978, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), p.165.

⁵⁷ Bruce Cumings. (1997). *Korea's Place in the Sun*. New York: Norton, p. 354.

corrupt, and embittered”⁵⁸. U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson’s advisor, Robert Komer, summed Korea up as a “mess” and one of the U.S.’s “great failures despite billions in pump priming”⁵⁹. Korea’s global image – its brand – languished. It was well and truly trapped in the doldrums of poverty.

Yettoday Korea is a G20 member country and has a GDP that ranks 13th⁶⁰ worldwide and is the only country that has made the leap from aid recipient to donor. It is home to world-famous brands such as Samsung, Hyundai, KIA and LG. Korea’s capital city, Seoul, is today is one of the high-tech hubs of the 21st century global economy. Brand Korea has become synonymous with excellence, its brand image being ranked 20th worldwide – higher than Spain, Taiwan, Belgium and China⁶¹. Notably, Korea ranks 8th worldwide in terms of its “Made In” position.⁶² Similarly, the 2015-2016 Global Competitiveness Index ranks Korea 26th⁶³ – ahead of Spain, Israel, and Italy – and the IMD World Competitiveness Index ranks Korea 29th⁶⁴.

It has been purported that the 21st century belongs to China⁶⁵, yet now is well and truly the Korean moment. Korea has not only emerged as an economic powerhouse, but also a cultural Mecca.⁶⁶ The Korean Wave has become a global phenomenon, as evinced by the

⁵⁸ Edward A. Olsen. (1985). “Japan and Korea”. In Japan’s Foreign Relations: A Global Search for Economic Security. Eds. Robert S. Ozaki and Walter Arnold. Boulder: Westview Press, p. 171.

⁵⁹ Komer to Bundy, March 26, 1964, “Memos, Vol. I, 11/63 - 6/64,” Box 254, Korea Country File, Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas.

⁶⁰ See “World Bank, World Bank database, April 2016 edition, gross domestic product ranking”.

⁶¹ The FutureBrand Country Brand Index, 2014-2015.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See “World Economic Forum, The Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016.”

⁶⁴ See “IMD, World Competitiveness Ranking 2016”.

⁶⁵ William Rees-Mogg. (2005). “This is the Chinese Century”. The Times, January 3.

⁶⁶ Youna Kim. (2013). “Introduction”. In The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global. New York: Routledge.

2.1 billion-plus YouTube viewings of “Gangnam Style”⁶⁷. Korea’s miraculous development has been far from lopsided. K-pop and Korean TV and film dramas have achieved a global audience. Korean popular culture appeals to and is enjoyed in as far-flung countries as Brazil, the United States, France, Saudi Arabia, China, Australia, and Tanzania, just as it is back home in Korea.⁶⁸ Korean cinema continues to boom and echoes through Hollywood.⁶⁹

Korea had long lurked in the shadow of China, Japan, and Asia’s other ‘tiger economies,’ yet today it is hip and prosperous. It can rather aptly be described as “the little dynamo that sneaked up on the world”⁷⁰.

While its culture blooms, Korea continues to crank out smart phones, computer chips, TVs, oil tankers, container ships, and automobiles, while also building highways, shopping malls, skyscrapers, and even cities, home and abroad.

One cannot help but ask the question, “How did it happen?” How did Korea’s metamorphosis happen? How did it transform from ‘hopeless’ to ‘magnificent’? In short, how did Korea become Dynamic, Sparkling Korea?

One of the key components of the Miracle of the Han River was Korea’s ability to address the needs of its rural poor and virtually eradicate absolute rural poverty within the space of a decade. In 1971, Korea launched a rural revitalization program called Saemaul Undong, or the ‘New Village Movement,’ in an attempt to achieve more balanced

⁶⁷ Aaron Mamiit. (2014). “Gangnam Style by Psy ‘Breaks’ YouTube View Counter: Here’s What Really Happened”. Tech Times, December 6.

⁶⁸ Youna Kim. (2013). Op cit.

⁶⁹ Steve Rose. (2013). “Why Hollywood doesn’t get South Korean cinema”. The Guardian, November 29.

⁷⁰ Scott Duke Harris. (2013). “South Korea: The little dynamo that sneaked up on the world”. The Christian Science Monitor, May 19.

development by redressing the rapidly widening urban-rural income inequality gap.⁷¹ It was a tremendous success and annual rural household income skyrocketed from \$825 in 1970 to \$4,602 in 1979, leapfrogging urban income⁷². In a little less than a decade after Saemaul Undong's implementation average farm household income increased more than ten times and actually surpassed average urban household income in 1974.⁷³ The absolute poverty rate plummeted from 27.9% in 1970 to 9% in 1980.⁷⁴ The rural electrification rate jumped from 20% to 98%.⁷⁵ Water and drinking water supply systems were substantially improved⁷⁶. Today the records of Saemaul Undong are registered as a Memory of the World by UNESCO.

At its heart, Saemaul Undong was a movement that sought to empower rural communities, first and foremost.⁷⁷ It recognized the necessity of the mobilization of public participation in village development projects through the creation of a virtuous developmental cycle, which was based on the principles of "diligence, self-help and cooperation"⁷⁸. It was recognized that rural development could not be based on a passive, top-down approach that excluded active villager participation⁷⁹. Korea could not afford such an approach either, for Korea was still aid-dependent and impoverished at the time⁸⁰. Most

⁷¹ Mike Douglass. (1983). "The Korean Saemaul Undong: Accelerated rural development in an open economy". In Rural Development and the State: Contradictions and dilemmas in developing countries. Eds. Lea, A.M. and Chaudhri, D.P. New York: Methuen & Co.

⁷² Seong Min Hong. (2013). "Korea's Experience on Human Resources Role in the Community Development". Prepared for the International Scientific Conference on "Human Capital in Kazakhstan: Status and Growth Prospects", on February 22, 2013 in Astana, Kazakhstan.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Huck-ju Kwon. (2010). Op cit., p. 95.

⁷⁵ Sooyoung Park. (2009). "Analysis of Saemaul Undong: A Korean Rural Development Programme in the 1970's". *Asia-Pacific Development Journal*, 16(2): 113-40.

⁷⁶ Sooyoung Park. (2009). Op cit.

⁷⁷ Huck.ju Kwon. (2009). Op cit., p.93.

⁷⁸ Myungsuk Lee. (1990). "Policy and rule configuration: Korean rural development movement Saemaul Undong". Presented at Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, 28-30.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

importantly, however, such an approach would have but prolonged and reinforced the so-called dependency complex that Koreans were perceived to be suffering from. Rural development could not be based on a purely government-centered and government-executed infrastructure creation and improvement model⁸¹. Rather, it was decided that government and local rural communities would work hand-in-hand in building capacity in rural communities.⁸²

Self-help was emphasized as the underlying foundational spirit of the movement, and villagers were given full responsibility of their own village projects.⁸³⁸⁴ They were not abandoned by government, but were given the opportunity to develop a sense of ownership not only of the village and village development projects, but also their own destiny.⁸⁵ The complementary principles of diligence and cooperation were equally foundational in rural Korea's development effort, for they instilled the motivation to work hard for a better life and also emphasized the need for collective action in achieving community development.⁸⁶ The spirit of cooperation accords seamlessly with Ubuntu's foundational belief, namely, that "I am because you are"⁸⁷. The extrapolation of this tenet, namely, that "I am because of who we

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Huck-ju Kwon. (2010). Op cit., p. 92.

⁸⁴ Do-Hyun Han, Hwajin Song and Christian Joon Park. (2013). "Reforming Governments for Saemaul Undong". In *New Research on Saemaul Undong: Lessons and Insights from Korea's Development Experience*. Seoul: Knowledge Sharing Program, p. 96.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

⁸⁶ Jin Kwang So. (2013). "Reforming Governments for Saemaul Undong". In *New Research on Saemaul Undong: Lessons and Insights from Korea's Development Experience*. Seoul: Knowledge Sharing Program, p. 328..

⁸⁷ Mosana Sonnyboy Mpofu. (2002). "Effectivity and productivity in education: an Ubuntu perspective". *North-West University, Thesis (M. Ed).*, p. ii.

all are” is just as relevant. In time, villages gained the enlightenment and necessary skills to engage in autonomous projects⁸⁸.

The holistic dynamic interlinked triad of central government, Saemaul leaders, and rural communities was the structural engine of Saemaul Undong and, accordingly, emphasized strong political commitment, cooperative governance, the active participation of the public, spiritual and mental reformation and the commitment and tireless efforts of Saemaul leaders.⁸⁹

Saemaul Undong enjoyed prioritized, sustained support from the central government and benefited from both technical and material support. Government also ensured accountability by routinely monitoring and evaluating project efforts and outcomes.⁹⁰

However, although strong political support was instrumental, as a community-led movement, the success of Saemaul Undong was decidedly based on the active participation of villagers themselves.⁹¹ In Korea villagers played a leading role in Korea’s rural modernization drive.⁹² In effect, they threw off the chains of misery and decided that they would become masters of their own fate. They engaged both in a range of infrastructure and income improvement projects.⁹³ They also upgraded and built everything from sewage

⁸⁸ Joon-Kyung Kim and KS Kim. (2013). “Why the Saemaul Undong is so Important to Understanding Korea’s Social and Economic Transformation”. In New Research on Saemaul Undong: Lessons and Insights from Korea’s Development Experience. Seoul: Knowledge Sharing Program, pp. 20-23.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Kap-Jin Chung, Shin Seong Moon and Jong Hee Lee. (2013). “Saemaul Undong and Ideological Reform: Study on Gender Equality”. In Saemaul Undong and Ideological Reform: Study on Gender Equality. Seoul: Knowledge Sharing Program, p. 643.

⁹¹ Do-Hyun Han, Hwajin Song and Christian Joon Park. (2013). Op cit., pp. 238-41.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 153-54.

facilities and hot baths to electric power infrastructure and running water facilities.⁹⁴ In Africa alone, people spend 40 billion hours every year walking for water and the burden typically falls on women and children.⁹⁵

Income-generating and job-creation projects were hugely successful. Cash crop farming, such as ginseng and tobacco farming, and green house farming and dairy farming were but some of the income and job-creation projects successfully undertaken by villagers. Grassroots innovation, employment creation by villages and local government, new crops, village credit unions, and village shops all played a crucial, indispensable role.⁹⁶

Villages had become zones of entrepreneurship and developmentalism, brimming with an air of optimism. Villagers were imbued with active, progressive attitudes. Villagers had gained a ‘can-do’ spirit and sought to continually improve their own lives. They wanted a better life and knew it was possible. Inspired by this belief, this new way of thinking, residents carried a strong faith in the possibility of lasting, sustained, positive change. Villages had become autonomous, self-governing, self-sustaining success stories and the movement spread to every corner of Korea.⁹⁷

Saemaul leaders – both male and female – played an instrumental role in this thorough transformation. Indeed, Saemaul leaders were the engines of modernization in the rural sphere. Saemaul leaders were farmers who were turned into entrepreneurial agriculture business leaders and it was their role to encourage the adoption of a proactive, entrepreneurial culture in their own villages. As village CEOs, they stressed effectiveness,

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Women Watch. “Facts & Figures: Rural Women and the Millennium Development Goals”. United Nations.

⁹⁶ Do-Hyun Han, Hwajin Song and Christian Joon Park. (2013). *Op cit.*, pp. 95-6.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

efficiency and goal achievement as business entrepreneurs. They were supremely practical and skilled people and involved leaders and Saemaul Undong blossomed as a result of their efforts. They played a fundamental role in creating opportunities for income increase in villages, which was the primary aim of Saemaul Undong.⁹⁸

Importantly, none of this would have been possible had women not been empowered under Saemaul Undong. Women's associations played a very proactive and essential role in anti-gambling and alcohol abuse campaigns as well as savings, temperance, and income increase projects. Such projects were of critical importance. In short, empowerment is foundational to success.⁹⁹

Saemaul Undong's success can be attributed to a great extent to capacity building. The aforementioned Saemaul leaders benefited hugely from the time they spent in the Saemaul Leaders Training Institute, which fostered capable leaders through pedagogical techniques such as mutual learning, practice, successful case studies and mindset change. Saemaul leaders had superior social and organizational skills and charismatic and inspiring personas. They were business savvy and had a strong vision.¹⁰⁰

To reiterate a previous point though, none of this would have been possible without the efforts of both the central and local governments. Korea's rural modernization success story involved all spheres of society, from top to bottom. In terms of rural development, Korea really does have a good story to tell.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 97-8.

⁹⁹ Joon-Kyung Kim and KS Kim. (2013). Op cit., pp. 25-27.

¹⁰⁰ Do-Hyun Han, Hwajin Song and Christian Joon Park. (2013). Op cit., pp. 129-143.

Yet, the above story is but the standard story shared through Korea's KSP (Knowledge Sharing Program) program and may appear rather reductionist if not thoroughly analyzed. This will be the aim of the following sections. The first analysis will be a strictly philosophical-cum-psychological reading of Saemaul Undong, whereas the second analysis will center on the economic, social, political, and cultural realities that acted as enabling factors.

2.1.2 Social Capital Analysis

Rural poverty – which will be taken to refer to the general impoverishment of black Africans, be it in rural areas or informal settlements, such as those on the outskirts of cities – has persisted as an affliction faced by the majority of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with rural poverty acting as a weight that has hampered the development effort of most of sub-Saharan Africa. Rural poverty has invariably led to the proliferation of feelings such as hopelessness and indifference among those afflicted by it, which has often been accompanied by a *Weltanschauung* – or world view – which is not conducive to development by virtue of it being afflicted by, inter alia, vices such as greed, laziness, lack of communal and social responsibility, and indifference to the feelings of others – as manifested by widespread corruption.

State-led development models have all invariably failed to deliver SSA and South Africa specifically from rural poverty due to their disregard of the feelings, or emotions, and attitudes of the populace. Stated succinctly, rural poverty has been an affliction that has been the chief bane of most of sub-Saharan Africa, and a number of social ills within sub-Saharan Africa, arguably, stem from it, with the aforementioned development models not being able

to deliver sub-Saharan Africa from rural destituteness because they are based on the thoughtless and slavish worship of rules and principles – or an obsession with them – in the sense of being either based on deontological – in the tradition of Immanuel Kant – and/or consequentialist and utilitarian ethics and thought – in the tradition of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill – or somewhere in-between.

The aforementioned moral approaches are all based on the question of “What should I do?”, which has failed to deliver sub-Saharan Africa from rural poverty because it is entirely based on the idea of external coercion, as reflected in development efforts in sub-Saharan Africa which are often external in origin – such as the Millennium Villages project led by Jeffrey Sachs and also ODA (official development aid) in the form of financial assistance – and it should thus not be surprising that rural sub-Saharan Africa continues to be strongly dependent on foreign aid, and that ‘aid fatigue’ is a reality, for no development can occur if the wrong question is the foundation of development efforts.

The question being asked, which is fundamental to ethics, should rather be “What kind of person should I be?”, which should be the question that development efforts should be based on, for it is based on an intrinsic, internal model of development. Development should be about the cultivation of virtues, within the context of a community. The purpose of this section will be to elaborate on and give substance to the aforementioned claims, for they need to be understood if sub-Saharan Africa is to ever escape from poverty and enact an agricultural revolution of sorts, and in so doing escape, inter alia, the endemic corruption, violence, nepotism, and cronyism that has been plaguing sub-Saharan African societies. owever, be extracted through a thorough dissection of the anatomy of Saemaul Undong.

2.1.2.1 Understanding Virtue Ethics

Virtue ethics is an approach to ethics which holds that there are certain ideals toward which humans should strive in fully developing their character, and humanity. Humans discover these ideals through thoughtful reflection on the nature of human beings and the inherent potential of human beings as moral beings, as well as the developmental potential of human beings (i.e. what humans beings have the potential to become).¹⁰¹

“Virtues” can be defined as attitudes, character traits, and dispositions that allow us to act, or behave, in ways that allow for the development of our inherent potential as human beings. Virtues allow us to pursue the ideals we have decided, or opted, to adopt. Compassion, courage, fairness, fidelity, generosity, honesty, integrity, prudence, and self-control are all examples of virtues.¹⁰²

Virtues are developed through learning and practice. Aristotle writes that an individual can improve his or her character by practising self-discipline, while, conversely, a good character can easily be corrupted through repeated acts of self-indulgence. To draw an analogy for illustrative purposes, just as the ability of an athlete develops through much practice and training, so too does a person’s capacity of to be compassionate, courageous, or fair.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Claire Andre and Manuel Velasquez. (1988). Ethics and Virtue. Issues in Ethics, 1(3) (Spring 1988). Website: <http://www.scu.edu/ethics/publications/iie/v1n3/virtue.html>

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Virtue ethics theory thus holds that virtues are habits; and, once a virtue is acquired, it becomes character it becomes characteristic of the person which acquired it. The more virtues a person acquires, the better. For instance, if a person has developed the virtue of frugality – or self-control vis-à-vis his or her material lifestyle – then said person can be referred to as a frugal person since he or she will tend to be frugal – in the sense of having a frugal mindset – in most, if not all, circumstances. Similarly, if a person has developed the virtue of generosity, then he or she will tend to behave generously in most, if not all, circumstances, and be known as a generous person.¹⁰⁴

At the heart of virtue ethics theory is the belief in the importance of “community”, with virtue ethics theory placing huge emphasis on the contours of communities and the character traits and habits they encourage and instill – with such emphasis also making student of virtue ethics, amongst others, cognizant of this truth. Virtue ethics stresses that an individual’s attitudes, dispositions, and character traits do not develop in isolation, or in a bubble of some sort, but is rather developed within and by the community of which he or she is a member. Our public and private associations – such as church, family, school, et cetera – are deeply influential in the development of an individual’s character traits. As an individual grows and matures, his or her personality is deeply affected by the ideals and values held and prized by his or her community – in a form of socialization – which are often instilled through traditional stories, myths, and fairy tales, and other kinds of fiction; television; movies, et cetera.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Virtue ethics thus emphasizes that the moral life is not merely a matter of adhering to moral rules and learning and knowing how and when to apply them when confronted with specific situations, but is rather about determining the kind of people we as humans should be, and attempting to develop and foster a certain kind of character within both our communities and ourselves.¹⁰⁶

2.1.2.2 Virtue Ethics in Rural Development

The famed American philosopher Martha Nussbaum and Indian Bengali economist Amartya Sen point out in *The Quality of Life* (1993) that a virtue ethics approach to development issues is needed, as encapsulated by their notion of a “capabilities approach” to development – or, the capability approach, as it is formally known – which is fundamentally Aristotelian in nature in the sense that it emphasizes the capabilities – or “substantive freedoms” – such as the ability to engage in economic transactions, participate in political activities, or to live to an old age. In the aforementioned book, both of them, notably, strongly oppose the utilitarian view of development, which measures development merely in terms of economic growth and rigidly equates poverty with income-deprivation.

In a similar sense, the problem of rural development will be approached from a virtue ethics approach. In doing so, much emphasis will be given to the rural Saemaul Undong movement of South Korea which had its heyday in the 1970’s, for it is during this period which rural poverty was eradicated in South Korea.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

2.1.2.3 The Workings of Saemaul Undong – an Aristotelian-Communitarian

Analysis

To understand why Saemaul Undong was so successful, an Aristotelian reading of it might be proposed. The logic of the transformative process of Saemaul Undong can perhaps be best understood via the adoption of an Aristotelian vocabulary, as read by preeminent political philosopher Michael Oakeshott, particularly Aristotle's virtue ethics, teleology, and understanding of the Polis (πόλις) in *Lectures in the History of Political Thought* (2006). The adoption of an Aristotelian vocabulary, in other words, can allow for an understanding of how Saemaul Undong managed to transform those who participated. It is recognized, however, that not all aspects of Aristotle's ethics and politics will conform to the logic of the transformative process of Saemaul Undong, with the emphasis rather being placed on specific aspects of Aristotle's ethics and politics, as encapsulated in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (Ἠθικὰ Νικομάχεια) and *Politics* (Πολιτικά).

Aristotle's virtue ethics is essentially concerned with the cultivation of character. Aristotle argued that there are certain excellences, or virtues – or Areté (ἀρετή) – which pertain to the practice of being a human. Aristotle argued that humans, like all other things that constitute the Cosmos (κόσμος), have a certain potentiality and that in order to fulfill this potentiality humans need to achieve Eudaimonia (εὐδαιμονία) – the state of having reached a type of non-subjective, non-pleasure-based happiness defined by moral, prudential, and intellectual excellence and other virtues that are a mixture of the aforementioned, such as moral courage – which requires habituation. Aristotle argued that the virtuous character, the character which has achieved Eudaimonia, is defined by attitudes such as empathy and

compassion, forgiveness and understanding, temperance and moderation, self-respect, and remorse – and all other attitudes and emotions associated with the golden mean. It is important to note that Aristotle’s notion of potentiality is based on freedom and participation in the Agora (Ἀγορά) life, which implies that only those who are free can achieve Eudaimonia, and through this achievement conform to the Aristotelian notion of Megalopsychos (μεγαλοψυχος), or the ‘great-souled man’, the archetype of goodness and virtue and who deems himself or herself worthy of great things and actually deserves great things – which is an important belief if developmental confidence and pride is to be instilled.¹⁰⁷

Aristotle furthermore held that, like humans, the Polis has an intrinsic potentiality and the ability of humans to fulfill their own potentiality is directly correlated to the achievement of the potentiality of the Polis, which is dependent on the degree of the achievement of justice, or Dikē (Δίκη), which is dependent on a life centered on the Agora and the spirit which it encapsulates, that of deliberation, which implies an effort to facilitate mutual understanding and the advancement of mutual understanding, such as in the Gadamerian dialectic. Notably, Aristotle’s Polis plays a significant role in combating Akrasia (ἀκρασία), or the weakness of will, among the population, and, instead, fosters temperance, or self-mastery – notably, this belief runs contrary to the notion held by Plato that Akrasia cannot exist¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁷ Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2010). Aristotle’s Ethics. Website: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-ethics..>

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Saemaul Undong can be understood as being a reflection of the emphasis that Aristotle placed on the Polis and the potential of the Polis to habituate a virtuous character within its members. The villages that were involved in Saemaul Undong acted in a very similar way to the way in which the Polis, as envisioned by Aristotle, acted in habituating a virtuous character within the rural population, primarily through the transformation of the attitudes and emotions of the rural population through various Saemaul Undong projects and cooperatives. Saemaul Undong inserted, *inter alia*, emotions and attitudes such as hope, courage, diligence, compassion, and camaraderie and feelings of communal, and social, responsibility within the rural population. Through participation in communal activities – something which was emphasized – the existence of a something akin to the Agora in the sense of the general meeting hall, general meetings, and communal facilities, the villagers of successful villages could, through development towards Eudaimonia in the sense of developing the following: (1) courage and values which act as the conditions for courage, such as persistence, integrity, vitality, and bravery; (2) wisdom and knowledge, and, by extension, creativity, curiosity, open-mindedness, love or learning, perspective; (3) humanity, and, by extension, love, kindness, and social intelligence; (4) temperance, and by extension notions such as forgiveness and mercy, humility and modesty, prudence, and self-regulation; (5) transcendence, and by extension, an appreciation of beauty and excellence, gratitude, hope, humor, and spirituality; and, finally, a sense of (6) justice, and via this an understanding of fairness, what citizenship means and requires, such as active participation, and the qualities of good leadership. Villages, moreover, played an important role in (1) combating Akrasia – the majority of villagers understood what kind of life they should live even before the introduction of Saemaul Undong due to the massive influence Confucianism

had on the Korean peninsula, but lacked the will to live this kind of life – and also in (2) instilling and reinforcing a communal identity, something which is essential if something akin to the Polis life, and the benefits thereof, is to be enabled, and in (3) providing villagers with practical skills, a process which both allowed for character development and economic progress – and through this dual process allowed for the development of a character among villagers that understood the position of the Oikos (οἶκος), or household, and the necessity of thoughtful consideration in regard to its welfare, and, hence, furthermore, the embracement of the concept of Phronēsis (φρόνησις), or practical wisdom, or practical philosophy, in both the micro-context of the household and also the macro-context of the village with the village chief acting as the Phronimos at a macro-context and the household head as the Phronimos in the micro-context.

Naturally the six aforementioned concepts are based on the understanding of a character which is attuned to its emotions, one which embraces the concept of emotional intelligence – an idea which features strongly within Saemaul Undong doctrine and Aristotle’s ethics and politics through an emphasis of our situatedness within emotions and the impossibility of emotionless reasoning, or, stated differently, the embracement of the notion that the world is understood through emotions and that reason functions as part of and within these emotions, not separately, as argued by Robert Solomon in his lecture series entitled *Passions: Philosophy and the Intelligence of Emotions* (2006). An embracement of the concept of emotional intelligence implies a character which is defined by adaptability, assertiveness, low impulsiveness, self-esteem, self-motivation, social competence, effective stress management, emotion regulation, optimistic, cheerful and satisfied, and capable of communicating their feelings to others and to influence and understanding the feelings of

others. Solomon (2006) envisioned emotions as being engagements with the world and as being rational and intelligent and even judgmental, in contravention with the conventional Western notion of a dualism between emotion and reason. Solomon's (2006) research centred on the question of what exactly constitutes an emotional experience, with his conclusion eventually being that it encapsulates our experience of the world, our sense of engagement, or activity or passivity, and all sorts of feelings about the self, whether they are conscious or not.

Essentially, Saemaul Undong, like the Polis, allowed for the awakening of the understanding of individuals of their role and function within a communal context, and through this the awareness that they have, or should have, a certain kind of relationship with the 'Other' and that their being can only be satisfactory if they embrace this relationship with the 'Other', and through this understanding the Aristotelian notion, or understanding, of friendship and the types of values associated with it could flourish.

In some sense Saemaul Undong allowed for the fostering and reinforcement of a communal identity, in the sense of Aristotle's understanding of the Polis and its relation to moral and social development, implying that the nature of humans should be understood as conforming to the notion of Homo Sociologicus¹⁰⁹, as opposed to Homo Economicus¹¹⁰, which implies in a very Aristotelian sense that the being of humans can only be manifested within and through the community.

¹⁰⁹ Or 'social man' – a concept based on the notion of the behaviour – the interests, code of conduct, et cetera – of human beings being defined by society. Human beings are thus viewed as part of a society or community, which implies a disposition towards legality, humaneness, and responsibility. (Boekle et al 2001: 106-107).

¹¹⁰ Or 'economic human' – a concept based on the notion of human beings adhering to rational choice theory, consequentialist reasoning, and being broadly self-interested and viewing themselves individually. (Boekle et al 2001: 106-107).

It must be noted, however, that the villages involved in Saemaul Undong differed from Aristotle's Polis in a number of ways, of which a few important way will be made mention of. Firstly, there were no slaves. Secondly, women were seen as the equals of men. Thirdly, the concept of Agora found within the Polis and the level of deliberation it involved as well as the contents of its deliberation differed to some extent, though not tremendously, from that found in the public sphere of villages involved in Saemaul Undong.

Finally, although not a notion coined by Aristotle or readily employed by him, the ancient Greek notion of Agon (ἀγών) which can be understood as a “contest”, or a “struggle”, or a “contest within the soul” is also analytically useful in interpreting Saemaul Undong in a communitarian sense for it emphasizes our own internal struggle within and with others for internal and external validation and recognition, and thus stresses the value of competing with others and also the importance of being challenged, or being confronted by a challenge¹¹¹. The impact of villages competing with one another for national local, regional, and national recognition during the course of Saemaul Undong in the 1970's was palpable to the highest degree, with competition being a strong driver of rural development at the time.

Park Chung-hee realized the value of competition, and as such gave recognition to successful villages and successful Saemaul leaders in the form of presidential medals, amongst other things, and also gave successful Saemaul leaders the platform to share their success stories nationally. The sharing of success stories – even within villagers when Saemaul leaders from less successful villages were encouraged to go to more successful

¹¹¹ Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2011). Friedrich Nietzsche. Website: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nietzsche>

villages – had a significantly positive developmental effect, with it greatly spurring on development efforts.

An Aristotelian-Communitarian reading of Saemaul Undong is, however, not complete without considering the economic motivations associated with Saemaul Undong, and so the importance of economic activity in habituating virtues needs to be given attention to.

Aristotle asked himself rhetorically “For what will be the art that will manage the contents of the will manage the oikia (οἶκος; households) if not the art of economics?”¹¹², with oikia being “the partnership [...] that comes in the course of nature for everyday purposes”. By applying an Aristotelian-communitarian vocabulary, and using the oikia as the unit of analysis, with a village being understood as consisting of numerous oikia, and then focusing on the pioneering role that women played in Saemaul Undong and emphasizing the virtue of prudence – one of the virtues that Adam Smith also praised, coincidentally, when he wrote that “what is prudence in the conduct of every private family can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom”¹¹³. It is especially the virtue of self-interested prudence that needs to be emphasized here with regard to the running of the household. Although not formulated by Adam Smith, it was commonly believed at the time that the virtues of courage and prudence yield enterprise – Adam Smith did not like this combination much, and instead recommended safe investments in agriculture¹¹⁴ Adam Smith preferred the combination of temperance and

¹¹² Dotan Leshem. (2011). Aristotle vs. the Economists: Attaining Public Happiness by Economizing Virtue or by Economizing Vice? HEIRs – Happiness and Interpersonal Relations. Website: <http://www.happinesseconomics.net/ocs/index.php/heirs/markethappiness/paper/view/256>, p.1.

¹¹³ Deirdre McCloskey. (2008). “Adam Smith, the last of the former virtue ethicists”. *History of Political Economy*, 40: 43-71., p. 47.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

prudence, which created thrift. Adam Smith essentially held that “Prudence is the executive function, and especially when pursued alone can be thought of as self interest or rationality in attaining ends”¹¹⁵.

As previously stated, this almost Aristotelian revolution in villages was led by women, who already had many of the virtues Aristotle wrote about. Although it might be conjectured that most of them only participated in Saemaul Undong for practical purposes, such as providing their offspring with a better future, but this point is irrelevant for, ultimately, the practical and theoretical are inextricably connected, at least in the social realm as encapsulated by the Ancient Greek notion of Phronēsis, as defined by Aristotle.

Using Adam Smith’s understanding of virtues, as an adaptation of the Aristotelian vocabulary adopted here, it is quite clear how the virtues of prudential self-interest, thrift, and enterprise – all of which are intensely selfish and also partially based on our need for recognition – interplayed with the core goal of Saemaul Undong to foster income increase – and also the desire therefor - amongst villagers. It is through their own selfish desire and interest for a greater income and more material comforts that villagers mastered certain virtues.

2.1.3 Analysis of Economic, Political, Social, and Cultural Constituent Factors

Defining the constituent sociopolitical, economic, and cultural factors that laid the groundwork for Saemaul Undong’s rapid transformation of the Korean countryside depends

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

on how Saemaul Undong itself is defined within this context¹¹⁶, and especially so if Saemaul Undong as a movement is meant to inform the adoption of a similar movement with the South African context, and specifically in the form of a movement that raises incomes (through the growth engine of ever-improving productivity), improves rural living standards, and narrows the urban-rural divide within a relatively short period of time. Anachronistic and presentist thinking should be avoided in pursuing this endeavor as the context of Saemaul Undong's implementation is inextricably attached to its relative success. Valid developmental principles can, however, be extracted through a thorough dissection of the anatomy of Saemaul Undong.

Edward Reed's *Is Saemaul Undong a Model for Developing Countries Today?* (2010)¹¹⁷ is supremely instructive for achieving said aims. Reed notes that Saemaul Undong was implemented with a context that was favorable to success, and outlines the following factors as having been key factors to the success of Saemaul Undong:

- 1) *A relatively egalitarian rural sector*¹¹⁸: Land-to-the-tiller land reform (which made farmers owners of the land they tilled, so to speak) in Korea following the Second World War saw the transformation of the Korean countryside from a landlord-dominated economy and social structure to a rural society characterized by the relative egalitarian existence of smallholder farmers. This shift from a rural sphere characterized by exploitation to one which was mostly egalitarian served

¹¹⁶ Edward Reed. (2010). "Is Saemaul Undong a Model for Developing Countries Today?" Prepared for International Symposium in Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of Saemaul Undong, Hosted by the Korea Saemaul Undong Center. September, 30, p. 7.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Edward Reed. (2010). Op Cit., p. 4.

the instrumental function of allowing for investment in human capital by farmers themselves (i.e., grassroots-led human capital investments)¹¹⁹.

2) *Socially integrated rural communities*¹²⁰: Korean villages of the 1970's benefited from the social capital and cohesion (i.e., social bonds) they had inherited from previous generations, which were founded on the notions of birthplace (*gohyang*, 고향/故郷) and shared family lineages (*dongjok*, 동족/同族).¹²¹ Villages already practiced a form of bounded democracy in the sense that they chose their own leaders and convened meetings to address problems. To this end villages, rooted in Confucianism, benefited from already-established *hyangyak* (향약/鄉約) systems which served as a contractual arrangement that permitted some degree of local government and thus served as the foundation of villages' informal social common law and acted as a vehicle for local autonomy.¹²² *Hyangyak* served the function of educating villagers by acting as a pledge based on the notions of seeking only what is good for one another (*deogeob-sanggwon*, 덕업상권/德業相勸), regulating negativity (*gwasil-sanggyu*, 과실상규/過失相規), teaching rules of etiquette to one another (*yesog-sanggyo*, 예속상교/禮俗相教), and aiding fellow villagers who are facing difficulty

¹¹⁹Myung Ho Park. (2013). "2012 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience: Land Reform in Korea". Seoul: Knowledge Sharing Program, p. 97.

¹²⁰Edward Reed. (2010). Op cit., p. 4.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Jin Kwang So. (2013). Op cit., p. 358.

(*hwannan-sanghyul*, 환난상휼/患難相恤).¹²³ The Confucian notions of self-cultivation (*sugi-chiin*, 수기치인, /修己治人) and governance (*chigug-pyeongcheonha*, 치국평천하/治國平天下).¹²⁴ *Hyangyak* credit unions (*hyangyak-gye*, 향약계/鄉約契) were autonomously established in this spirit in order to meet the shared desires and interests of villagers.¹²⁵ Accordingly most villages benefited from already-existing organized mutual aid societies (*gye*, 계/契).¹²⁶ Furthermore, a tradition of cooperative teams for rice transplanting, harvesting, and engaging in village projects as well as other forms of labor already existed in the form of *pumasi* (품앗이), which was a help-for-help-in-harvest system of mutual help, and *dure* (두레), which was another type of collective laboring operation.¹²⁷ It could be speculated that folk music traditions such as *pungmul* (풍물/風物), which are rooted in the collective labor (*dure*) dynamic of farming culture, was a further boon.¹²⁸

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Kyong Mann Cho. (2008). "Body, Dance and Pungmul as Expressions of Social Being and Social Relation". The Korean Society for Dance Documentation, Vol 15: 175-214.

- 3) *Declining rural population*¹²⁹: The 1960's and 1970's saw a rapid decline in the rural population as the industrialization drive initiated in the 1960's accelerated rural to urban migration as new jobs were created. Concerted family planning programs implemented at the time also combined to reduce population pressure on rural land.¹³⁰
- 4) *Strong agricultural support institutions*¹³¹: Substantial assistance from the US and other donors during the 1950's and 60's aided Korea in establishing very robust and responsive agricultural and rural extension services. Furthermore, a government-sponsored rural cooperative, *Nonghyeop* (농협), was established and enjoyed near-universal membership and served the functions of providing credit, selling inputs, and purchasing the bulk of farmers' produce at government-set prices.¹³²
- 5) *Effective authoritarian governance*¹³³: Korea's tradition of strong, centralized administration with direct, effective control over local government units was a major boon. Under President Park Chung-hee (박정희/朴正熙), this administrative system was streamlined and mobilized at every level of implementation of development policies. Although President Park's rule turned increasingly authoritarian, public administration during his tenure was mostly free of corruption and effective, with promotion being performance-based. Civil

¹²⁹ Edward Reed. (2010). Op cit., p. 4.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 4-5.

¹³¹ Ibid., p.5.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

servants at the country (*gun*, 군) and sub-county (*myeon*, 면) levels were appointed and made to carry the responsibility of being frontline agents of change.¹³⁴

- 6) *Near-universal literacy*¹³⁵: As a result of the major investments made in education by Korea in the 1950's and 60's, by the 1970's the rural literacy rate was exceptionally high. Consequently, farmers had the confidence to embrace and partake in development projects and implement technical innovations.¹³⁶

These critical success factors coincided and were dependent on a rapidly expanding, industrializing economy that generated jobs outside of agriculture, as well government's willingness to invest in the rural sector through pricing policy and investments infrastructure and new technology.¹³⁷ This government-directed support was founded on earlier investments in agriculture in the 1960's, such as the establishment of the National Institute of Agricultural Sciences (*guglib-nongeob-gwahag-won*, 국립농업과학원)¹³⁸ in February 1962 in Suwon¹³⁹ as well as investments in marketing facilities and irrigation systems¹⁴⁰. Moreover, the Community Development Program (CDP; 지역사회개발사업), a predecessor

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹³⁸ Originally named the Institute of Plant Environment (*sigmul-hwangyeong-yeongu-so*, 식물환경연구소). The Central Agricultural Technology Institute (*jungang-nongeob-gisul-won*, 중앙농업기술원) had previously been established in January 1949 during Syngman Rhee's (이승만/李承晩) tenure, though it was disbanded in May 1957.

¹³⁹ Rural Development Administration. "History". Internet: http://www.rda.go.kr/foreign/eng/rda_his.jsp.

¹⁴⁰ Edward Reed. (2010. Op cit., pp 5-6.

of Saemaul Undong, was initiated in 1958, although it only involved 2,137 villages at its height in 1961, and was eventually absorbed into Saemaul Undong.¹⁴¹

In the 1960's agriculture remained relatively neglected however, and it is only with the implementation of Park Chung-hee's Third Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1972-76)¹⁴², as a result of social and political pressures due to rising rural contra urban inequality (which made rural development an urgent issue vis-à-vis income disparity and poverty alleviation, which implies that rural sector investment was reactionary), that investment in the rural sector was emphasized, with already-existing programs accelerated and new programs being introduced¹⁴³. Major investments followed in irrigation expansion, the consolidation of rice paddies for mechanization, the introduction of new hybrid rice varieties (which increased rice yield), greater use of fertilizer and other chemical inputs, rural electrification, and the expansion of transportation networks.¹⁴⁴ The most significant change was, however, the adoption of pro-agriculture policies that adjusted the terms of trade in favor of the rural sector by increasing the price at which government would purchase rice and by implementing protectionist measures to shield the agricultural sector from cheaper imports.¹⁴⁵

The pro-rural policies implemented during this period had the combined net effect of steadily increasing rural incomes throughout the 1970's, to the point that rural household

¹⁴¹ Ki-Whan Chung. (1986). "A Model Comparison Between the Community Development Program and the Rural Saemaul Undong in Korea". *Journal of Rural Development*, 9: 210-11.

¹⁴² Edward Reed. (2010). *Op cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁴³ Sooyoung Park. (2009). *Op cit.*, p. 115.

¹⁴⁴ Edward Reed. (2010). *Op cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

incomes eclipsed urban household incomes.¹⁴⁶ Yet, this occurred within a context of rapid economic growth, underlining the importance of economic growth as a condition for rural development.¹⁴⁷

Thus, when defining Saemaul Undong it should not be perceived as having been merely an integrated community development initiative, introduced by government and implemented by villages, which sought to improve villages' physical living environment by changing attitudes and introducing new skills and the accompanying small-scale self-help projects for income increase. If defined in this manner, it can only be concluded that Saemaul Undong's impact was limited, as was the case with the CDP. The three guiding spirits of self-help, diligence, and cooperation and their associated village-level projects and income-generating projects alone cannot account for the rapid increase in rural incomes in the 1970's. Rapid rural income increase was predicated upon the massive agricultural investments in the 1970's. In terms of scope, Saemaul Undong should rather be understood as encompassing Korea's entire rural development program of the 1970's.¹⁴⁸

Saemaul Undong as a national brand for the pro-developmental mobilization of the rural sphere was largely successful, and, in as much as direction from Korea's authoritarian government of the time guided the rural development process, traditional forms of cooperation and an egalitarian rural sphere ensured for an easy transition to collective action.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Sooyoung Park. (2009). Op cit., p. 117.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁴⁸ Edward Reed. (2010). Op cit., pp. 6-7.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Although Saemaul Undong can be seen as a form political branding – or even propaganda – by Park Chung-hee in an effort to boost political support in rural areas, and he definitely did achieve the desired result as his popularity soared to the point that his own personality cult formed in the rural sphere, it proved successful as a national brand in mobilizing all villagers and every level of the bureaucracy to participate, which accelerated the speed of rural development by shifting agriculture from the periphery to the center of Korea’s modernization drive, alongside industrialization.¹⁵⁰ Saemaul Undong as a campaign also served the function of improving the status of village life and the perception of farming as a profession.¹⁵¹

Social capital clearly played a significant role in the rapid development of Korea’s rural sector in the 1970’s. Accordingly, from Saemaul Undong’s socio-political developmental narrative the following Saemaul Undong-based pro-developmental principles can be elicited:

- 1) *Positive political and social environment*: President Park identified Saemaul Undong as Korea’s flagship campaign of the 1970’s and mobilized the entire population through brilliant marketing and branding strategies. Consequently, the image of farming as a profession was improved and farming communities enjoyed greater prestige.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

- 2) *New farmer-government relationship*: Saemaul Undong as a movement encouraged a more cooperative relationship between villages and local public officials by making public officials accountable for the performance of villages.¹⁵³
- 3) *New village leadership*: Although traditionally Korean village have always selected their own *rijang* (village chief; 리장) who played an important role in resolving disputes and negotiating with higher authorities, Saemaul Undong saw the selection of younger, development-oriented leaders who sought change, although they did not challenge the authority of village leaders. Selected leaders received training and enjoyed government support.¹⁵⁴
- 4) *Enhanced economic role of women*: The creation of Mother's Clubs (*eomoni-hoi*, 어머니회) and other activities that sought to ensure women's equal participation and benefit were encouraged by Saemaul Undong.¹⁵⁵ At the time of its implementation in the 1970's, rural women in Korea were considered relatively inferior to men and had to accept a subjugated existence. Saemaul Undong improved the role of women and led to a significant decrease in gender discrimination in villages both in the household and public spaces, with gender equality becoming the basis for the organization of Saemaul Undong in terms of rights, obligations and equal opportunities for women. From the outset, Saemaul Undong stressed the importance of women, and as a result of women's participation in Saemaul Undong their role and status improved dramatically.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

Saemaul Undong involved women in ideological reform projects, living standard improvement projects, and, importantly, income raising projects. Crucially, every village had a female Saemaul leader alongside a male one. Traditional village leaders were also strongly encouraged to cooperate.¹⁵⁶

- 5) *Development-oriented cooperation*: SMU's successful mobilization of villagers for development-oriented cooperative projects was built on the already-existing cooperative traditions of villages. These projects ranged from infrastructure creation, to micro-enterprises, the implementation of new farming techniques, and the establishment of village banks (*geumgo*, 금고) for increased saving rates.¹⁵⁷

In summary, Saemaul Undong's success as a socio-political brand can be attributed to both the comprehensiveness of the campaign – as a result of the fervent political backing it enjoyed – and the mobilization of villages nationwide. Although the spirits of self-help, cooperation, and diligence might have yielded some short-term local improvements, it is unlikely that Korea's rural sector would have developed had it not benefited from very favorable national supporting programs and investments.¹⁵⁸

Saemaul Undong should not be seen as a model that can simply be transplanted though given the unique context within which it was implemented. The vast majority of countries who have shown interest in Saemaul Undong have not been able to successfully implement land reform, struggle with weak governance, have high levels of corruption, and

¹⁵⁶ Kap-Jin Chung, Shin Seong Moon and Jong Hee Lee. (2013). Op cit.

¹⁵⁷ Edward Reed. (2010). Op cit., p. 9

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

have a dearth of financial and technical resources. At a macro-level, the following general principles are relevant in terms of the transferability of Saemaul Undong¹⁵⁹:

(1)

Establishing a platform for rural development

- Sustained investment in rural education and health so as to foster human capital capable of identifying and exploiting economic opportunities.
- Improving the competency of local governance institutions.
- Investing in agricultural research and extension services.
- Creating rural sector-focused infrastructure and institutions

(2)

Cultivating leadership skills

- Fostering strong national-level leadership.
- Identifying and training village transformation leaders.
- Support inter-village leader knowledge sharing.
- Supporting women's empowerment.

(3)

Enacting pro-agriculture policies

- Identifying rural development as a key national developmental objective.
- Creating incentives for production.
- Supporting increasing farm incomes.
- Promoting industrial development so as to ensure non-agricultural employment.

(4)

Creating the Saemaul Spirit (Social Capital)

- Promote and dignify farmers as development leaders.
- Ensure active engagement with rural communities in order to get an understanding of their needs and priorities.
- Provide communities with resources and reward successful ones with even more resources.
- Ensure performance-based evaluations and rewards for bureaucrats linked to villages.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 10-12

At a micro-level, within the context of weak governance, as prevails in the vast majority of developing countries, the bottom-up approach that constituted Saemaul Undong in 1970's rural Korea clearly becomes more relevant. The role of pro-rural civil society leaders and village leaders becomes critical in this context, and thus such individuals should be identified for further training as potential catalysts for the establishment of a nationwide movement.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

III. South African Village Context

Determining whether and how Saemaul Undong may be transferred is critical to determining what potential Korea's KSP as ODA has in addressing issues of rural poverty. In determining transferability, first an ideational analysis will be conducted to determine to what degree South African villages conform to the six pre-implementation factors that proved critical to the success of Korean villages, as identified by Reed (2010). This will be followed by a more general analysis of commensurability.

Reed identified six pre-implementation factors that allowed for the easy implementation of Saemaul Undong, namely (1) *a relatively egalitarian rural sector*, (2) *socially integrated rural communities*, (3) *a declining rural population*, (4) *strong agricultural support institutions*, (5) *effective authoritarian governance*, and (6) *near-universal literacy*. The present South African village context will be compared to that of Korean villages in the 1970's with this frame of reference in mind.

In terms of pre-condition (1), South Africa's rural sector is distinctly non-egalitarian. In 1994 the ANC (African National Congress) earmarked 30% of the land that belongs to white commercial farmers to be redistributed, yet less than 10% of the earmarked land has been redistributed to date.¹⁶¹ At present South Africa's rural sector is defined by its dual structure, namely large-scale (mostly white) commercial farmers versus small-scale commercial and subsistence farms.¹⁶² Pervasive poverty, entrenched inequalities, and relatively high unemployment are corollaries of this dualism. As a result, small-scale farmers

¹⁶¹ Africa Research Institute. (2013). "Waiting for the green revolution: Land reform in South Africa". Briefing Note.

¹⁶² Ibid.

do not possess the disposable income to invest in human capital.¹⁶³ Furthermore, rural land in South Africa is typically communally-owned, with more than 90% of South African's 16-19 million rural inhabitants located on communal land, where South Africa's constitution recognizes traditional rights and traditional tenure – i.e. the land is vested in the hands of the king as South Africa recognizes traditional leaders.¹⁶⁴ As such, smallholders have no guaranteed tenure security (i.e. no registered land rights), which not only acts as a disincentive but also precludes the possibility of selling lands, obtaining loans (since no collateral can be offered), and investing with security.¹⁶⁵

With regard to the degree of social integration in rural communities (2), traditionally the notion of *Ubuntu* – a Nguni Bantu term meaning ‘humanity to others’, or “a person is a person through others”¹⁶⁶ – acted as force for social cohesion and capital in villages throughout South Africa. The philosophy of *Ubuntu* has much in common with the Confucian precepts that pervaded village life in Korea, even to the point of involving the ancestors of villagers. *Ubuntu* emphasizes *enhlonipho* (i.e., respect)¹⁶⁷ between villagers, *abantu* (i.e., fellowship)¹⁶⁸, sharing¹⁶⁹, and human dignity¹⁷⁰. Traditionally, in South African villages the group superseded the individual and the community promoted group self-reliance, as opposed to individual material gains.¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² Cooperative societies, called *stokvel*,

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ F. Kitchin and W. Owens. (2013). “Land Governance in South Africa: Implementing the Land Governance Assessment Network”. Urban LandMark., p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Mosana Sonnyboy Mpofu. (2002). Op cit., p. ii.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 60.

characterized villages in South Africa.¹⁷³ Likewise, a form of bounded democracy also pervaded villages. *Lekgotla* existed, which were essentially forums for communal dialogue, public debate, and consensus-building.¹⁷⁴ Traditionally, villages in South Africa were defined by their strong sense of solidarity.¹⁷⁵ Yet, this culture has largely been relegated into obscurity in South African villages.¹⁷⁶ The implementation of the Natives Land Act in 1913 effectively legislated the destruction of the black African family since it forced fathers to leave their homes in search of gainful employment.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, globalization has completely altered the values of even rural South Africans, and villagers have become cultural strangers vis-à-vis the traditions of their ancestors.¹⁷⁸ To conform to traditional values in the present age is perceived as a form of backwardness. The traditional community-focused value orientation of villages is clearly no longer standard in South Africa today and villagers have become largely self-centered, as opposed to community-centered.¹⁷⁹ The high crime rate, which often involves brutal forms of crime, in rural areas is a testament to this.¹⁸⁰ Social trust remains low in rural communities.¹⁸¹

¹⁷² Gerald West.(2010). "The ANC's Deployment of Religion in Nation Building: From Thabo Mbeki, to "The RDP of the Soul, to Jacob Zuma". In *The Bible and Politics in Africa*. Eds. Masiwa Ragies Gunda and Joachim Kügler. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press., p. 122.

¹⁷³ Yusef Waghid. (2014). "On educational change and the illusion of inclusion: against exclusion on the African continent". In *African Philosophy of Education Reconsidered: On Being Human.*, p. 116.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Wim M.J. van Binsbergen. (2003). "Intercultural Encounters: African and anthropological lessons towards a philosophy of interculturality". Münster: LIT VERLAG., p. 423.

¹⁷⁶ Ruth Hall. (2014). The Legacies of the Natives Land Act of 1913. *Scriptura*, 113(1): 1-13., p. 9.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

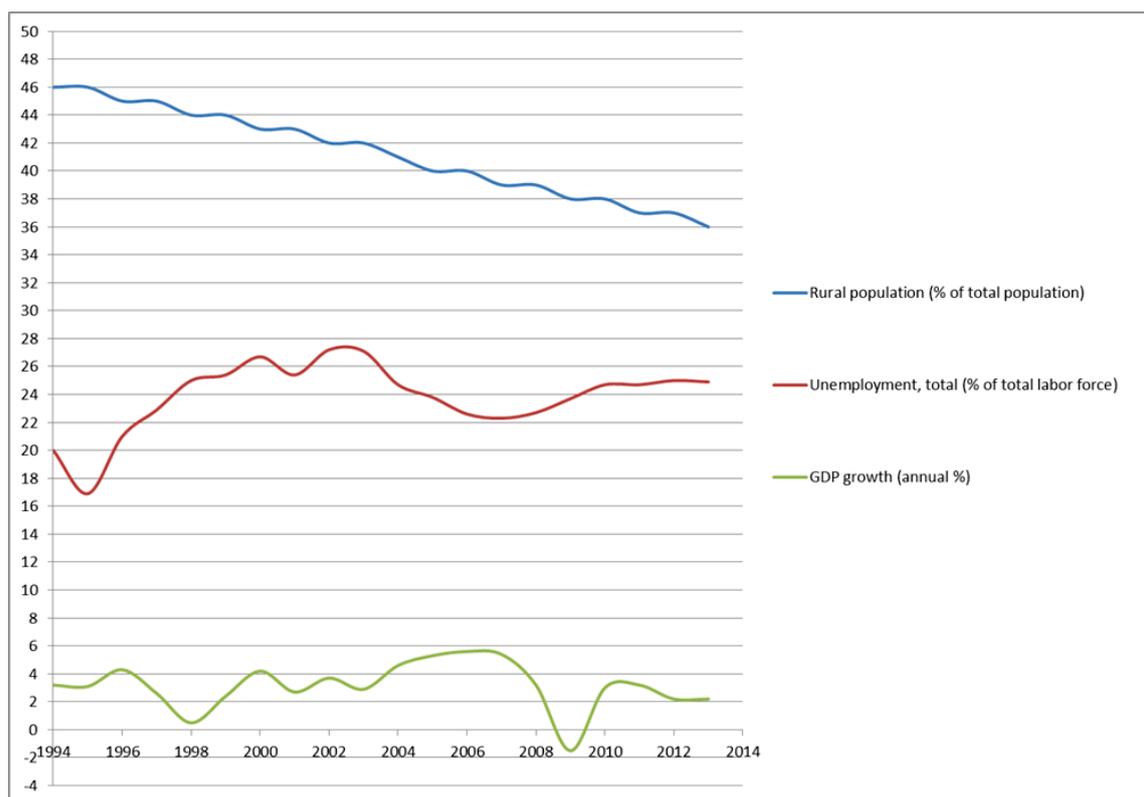
¹⁷⁸ Wim M.J. van Binsbergen. (2003). *Op cit.*, p. 439.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

In terms of point (3), South Africa’s rural population has shown a gradual, steady decline.¹⁸² This decline cannot be explained by the creation of new jobs, however, given the high unemployment rate of South Africa.¹⁸³ In the South African context, urban migration occurs largely as a result of desperation and does not promise any real chances for gainful employment, as indicated by South Africa’s sluggish GDP growth rate and relatively high unemployment rate.¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵As a result, South Africa’s rural population as a percentage remains relatively high, which increases pressures on land and sustains a constant, undeliverable demand for rural social welfare provision.¹⁸⁶



¹⁸² Peter Jacobs and Tim Hart. (2014). “Pro-poor rural development in South Africa?”. In *State of the Nation 2014*. Eds. Meyiwa et al. Cape Town: HRSC Press., p. 161.

¹⁸³ Lynn Donnelly. (2012). “A country in a state of influx”. *Mail & Guardian*, November 2.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ See “World Bank. World DataBank.”

¹⁸⁶ Peter Alexander. (2010). “Rebellion of the poor: South Africa’s service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis”. *Review of the African Political Economy*, 37(123): 25-40.

In terms of agricultural support provisions (4), it is widely acknowledged that the lack of capacity in villages (i.e., a significant skills shortage) has been one of the key obstacles to enacting economic development and transformation in rural areas.¹⁸⁷ Extension services have failed to be effective when implemented due to low education level of extension workers, and thus a real need exists to improve extension services in terms of technical skills and communication.¹⁸⁸ Extension services that transmit agricultural, business and marketing skills as well as health awareness have been inadequate.¹⁸⁹ According to LARP (The Land and Agrarian Reform Project), South Africa has a mere third of the required number of extension officers, and 80 percent of them are inadequately trained.¹⁹⁰ There is, furthermore, a general lack of support for agricultural production and group administration.¹⁹¹ Small scale farmers typically have no access to credit and cannot use the land they own as collateral since it is usually owned by the state.¹⁹²

In terms of effective governance (5), according to Transparency International, South Africa is a relatively corrupt country, with a score of 44 out of a 100 and a ranking of 61 out of 168 countries,¹⁹³ and the government is widely perceived as ineffective and weak in combating corruption¹⁹⁴. A general distrust of government pervades South Africa.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, South Africa's national leadership has expressed no interest in addressing rural

¹⁸⁷ Peter Jacobs and Tim Hart. (2012). "Skills Development in Rural Areas – A Brief Review of Evidence". RIAT Concept Paper #1., p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Edward Lahiff. (2011). "Land reform and poverty reduction in South Africa". In Reforming Land and Resource Use in South Africa. Eds. Paul Hebinck and Charlie Shackleton. New York: Routledge.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

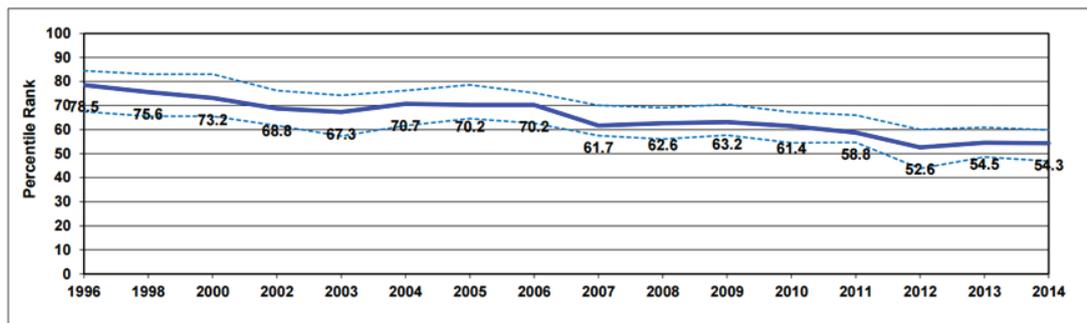
¹⁹³ See "Transparency International. (2016). Corruption Perceptions Index 2015."

¹⁹⁴ Genevieve Quintal. (2016). "SA stabilises in Transparency International corruption index." Business Day Live, January 27.

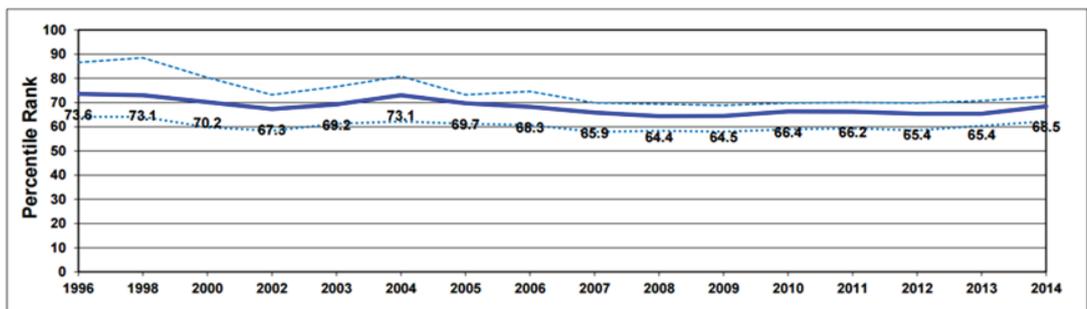
¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

poverty through a concerted national campaign, preferring to leave rural poverty to the relevant government departments. The World Bank’s worldwide governance indicators are of supreme relevance. They ‘control of corruption’, ‘government effectiveness’, and ‘voice & accountability’ indicators are of particular relevance, and will thus be reproduced here.¹⁹⁶

South Africa, 1996-2014
Aggregate Indicator: Control of Corruption

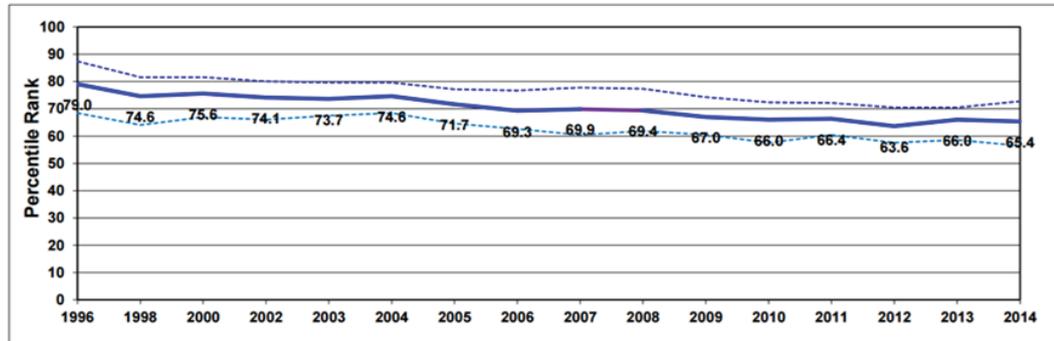


South Africa, 1996-2014
Aggregate Indicator: Voice & Accountability



¹⁹⁶ World Bank. (2015). “Country Data Report for South Africa, 1996-2004”. World Governance Indicators.

South Africa, 1996-2014
Aggregate Indicator: Government Effectiveness



Finally, rural areas in South Africa have high rates of illiteracy.¹⁹⁷ Arguably, illiteracy has been the biggest obstacle to achieving development in rural areas, as illiteracy has severe socio-economic impacts on rural families and perpetuates the cycle of poverty since illiteracy limits productive capacity, implies a lack of skills, limits the extent to which a child can be educated by a parent, leads to the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS, and leads to insufficient access to basic social services.^{198 199}

In terms of the role that women play in development, it should be pointed out that in South Africa no group of people is as deprived as women in rural areas.²⁰⁰ Yet, women constitute the majority in rural areas. Fifty two (52) per cent of South Africa's total population is women, while fifty seven (57) per cent of black African women live in rural areas. Fifty three (53) per cent of the rural population is comprised of adult women, and seventy one (71) per cent of them lived under the thirty (30) USD per month poverty line,

¹⁹⁷ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2012). "Country Profile: South Africa". Adult Literacy and Skills Training Programme.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Anton. A. van Niekerk. (2005). "Moral and social complexities of AIDS in Africa". In *Ethics and AIDS in Africa: The Challenge to Our Thinking*. Eds. Anton A. van Niekerk and Loretta M. Kopelman. Claremont: David Philip Publishers., pp. 60-61.

²⁰⁰ Darren Taylor. (2012). Op cit.

while sixty two (62) per cent are unemployed. The implication is that the majority of South Africa's black African women live under conditions of extreme poverty in rural areas, and do not enjoy full participation in society and thus lack access to basic healthcare services.²⁰¹ Women, in the main, are largely repressed in rural village context as the result of the typically prevailing patriarchal, misogynistic rural culture. Illiteracy and school drop-out rates are relatively high among rural women, fostering reliance on men. Rural South Africa is made up of a 'patchwork of patriarchies' – women being subordinate in the majority of Southern African societies, subject to the whims of their chief or head of the family. This fact was evinced during current President, then deputy-president, Jacob Zuma's 2005/2006 rape trial in which he employed Zulu culture as his main defense. In traditional Zulu culture ideological controls which "served to socialize females into accepting a position of inferiority" were incorporated. Importantly, rural women are often seen as lacking the right to refuse the advances of men, as substantiated, with the following observation having been made regarding Zuma's court case: "the relationship with/between the accused and the complainant could have been culturally and politically structured in such a way as to make it extremely difficult for the latter to reject and resist sexual advances and demands of the accused". Zuma's trial provided "a lens onto a deeply embedded authoritarian culture of patriarchy, misogyny, and sexual violence". Stigmatization of women in rural districts remains an issue of concern.²⁰²

²⁰¹ Murray Leibbrandt, Ingrid Woolard, Hayley McEwen and Charlotte Koep. (2014). "Employment and Inequality Outcomes in South Africa". South Africa Labor and Development Research Unity (SALDRU), University of Cape Town.

²⁰² Steven L. Robins. (2008). "From Revolution to Rights in South Africa: Social Movements, NGOs & Popular Politics after Apartheid". University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg.

In sum, modern rural villages in South Africa lack social and human capital. An atmosphere of indifference and hopelessness pervades and joblessness and poverty are the defining features of rural communities. There is little faith in government, and villagers live with a short-term perspective, with no hope for the long-term

IV. Addressing Rural Poverty in the South African Context

The challenge in the South African context is to address rural poverty in a context of low human and social capital at the village level and low economic growth at the macro-level. Yet, a focus on rural communities is imperative in South Africa, and investment in agriculture is central to food security and job creation in rural communities. Although currently productivity levels are low, investment in smallholders would enable them to produce enough food not only to feed themselves, but also to sell on formal markets.²⁰³

Greater focus agriculture would certainly challenge the rural misconception that rural people can only expect a prosperous future in an urban setting, which is a misperception that has too often led to ballooning urban slums. If inequality is to be lessened in South Africa, then small-scale agriculture needs to be commercialized.²⁰⁴

The success of any agricultural revolution depends ultimately on the political will of the ruling party of the government of a state.²⁰⁵ Without sufficient political will, agricultural revolution remains but a dream. It is therefore the duty of a government to improve the skills of producers, or farmers, by teaching them the techniques necessary to increase their productive capacity.²⁰⁶ Access to proper tools is necessarily critical to this process. In addition, investment in agricultural research is important, as is the creation of a link between agricultural research and farmers' implementation of research outcomes.²⁰⁷ Governments

²⁰³ M.N. Baiphethi and P.T. Jacobs. (2009). "The contribution of subsistence farming to food security in South Africa". *Agrekon*, 48(4): 459-482., p. 459.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Calestous Juma. (2011). "The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa". New York: Oxford University Press., p. 29.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

need to supervise assistance to farmers and continuously educate them via supporting training sessions.²⁰⁸ Such training, acquisition and proliferation of tools and technology, and research should emphasize harvest storage mechanisms in order to cut losses²⁰⁹ and optimize productivity.²¹⁰ Success via governmental assistance would change the image of farmers from impoverished survivors to successful entrepreneurs.²¹¹ A positive and confident image of farmers holds untapped potential for attracting investment and improving the capacities of farmers.²¹² Governments need to support the development of logistical infrastructure – be it rail, road, or air – and communications infrastructure that would enable to farmers and associated staff to obtain a comparative advantage in selling their produce.²¹³ Whilst large commercial farms have their place, they cannot accommodate the majority of the rural population in South Africa. Smallholdings and community farms involve the community and address unemployment and food insecurity by creating a system of shared profit and distributed responsibility through a set of defined responsibilities and checks and balances. As such the South African government ought to adopt a can-do attitude, gather the necessary funds and commit to nationally-led agricultural development that will uplift its citizens. Women need to play a central part in this movement.

It is quite evident that smallholder agriculture can and is transforming the lives of impoverished Africans. Equipping communities to move beyond subsistence farming promises economic independence, not only for the involved communities, but also for the future of South Africa. Investing in agriculture means investing in people and this does not

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

have to equal piecemeal charity with no returns. With the right approach, investment outcomes could be measurable, sustainable and ultimately affect the quality of life of millions of African people.²¹⁴

It is important to note that in South Africa the market has been deregulated (i.e., minimal subsidies and financial concessions cannot be easily granted)²¹⁵ which makes it hard for the government to implement policies (such as the pricing policies that existed in Korea in the 1970's) to support smallholders. Yet, the free market by itself will not address poverty in rural South Africa, and thus it needs to be harnessed so as to address development needs in an economically-sound and sustainable manner, for the market is not motivated by developmental needs.

Small-holder farmers are characterized by small plots, labor intensive methods of production, low levels of technical farming skills and limited access to critical input and output markets. They are risk-averse (e.g., peasants use significantly lower rates of fertilizer when faced with ex-post risk of lower consumption, and since peasants live on a minimal budget, they tend to avoid buying such risky inputs) as a result of a combination of minimal resources, the lack of credit and insurance, and the presence of high risks leads to avoidance of risky agricultural inputs. This leads to a sub-optimal allocation of resources, and foregone income opportunities.^{216 217}

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 212-13.

²¹⁵ Ronald A. Sandrey and Nick Vink. (2007). "The deregulation of agricultural markets in South Africa and New Zealand: a comparison". *Agrekon*, 46(3): 323-350., p. 324.

²¹⁶ International Finance Corporation (IFC). (2013). "Working with Smallholders – A handbook for firms building sustainable supply chains". World Bank Group., pp. 15-16.

²¹⁷ Joseph Chisasa. (2014). "A diagnosis of rural agriculture credit markets in South Africa: empirical evidence from North West and Mpumalanga provinces". *Banks and Bank Systems*, 9(2): 100-11., p. 109.

Due to the risk-averse nature of smallholders, in a free market setting they are unable to compete without government intervention since they are at a comparative disadvantage vis-à-vis commercial farmers in terms of economies of scale and size. This implies that the free market has no trickle-down effect in rural communities, which in turn justifies government intervention since there is a very obvious need for non-financial and financial supports to be improved in rural communities.

Furthermore, there is also a need for land tenure reform that sees a move away from communal ownership to individual property rights. Such a transformation is foundational, although not definitively essential, to the two-pronged approach suggested below.

Consequently, this chapter proposes two approaches for redressing income inequality and alleviating poverty, namely (1) smallholder-oriented innovation and (2) inclusive value chain creation.

4.1 Smallholder-oriented Innovation

A smallholder-oriented innovation approach is relevant to South Africa in addressing rural poverty. Innovation can be a powerful tool for addressing inequality and alleviating poverty. Yet, ratios relevant to R&D expenditures, extension expenditures, and the education level of farmers differ significantly and predominantly favor large commercial farmers.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Keith D. Wiebe, David E. Schimmelfennig and Meredith J. Soule. (2001). "Agricultural Policy, Investment and Productivity in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparison of Commercial and Smallholder sectors in Zimbabwe and South Africa". Agriculture and Economic Development Analysis Division, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

Traditionally, the Agricultural Research Council (ARC) still predominantly supports commercial farms.²¹⁹

However, the technological and institutional needs of small-holders, for whom mechanization is not an option to be considered in the short-term, ought to receive greater attention. Biological advances, such as high-yielding, fertilizer-responsive seed varieties, to raise the average productivity of land (Q/A) (i.e., biological/chemical technical change) should be raised.²²⁰ This conforms to the Japanese and Korean models of research-orientation.

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Commercial farms in South Africa conform to American Model (abundance of land & inelastic supply of labor) and have lobbied for continued mechanical technical change (A/L; land area per worker) given the introduction of a minimum wage in 2013.^{222 223} Increased costs and transaction costs of labor (supervising, negotiating, and information costs) have maintained this trend.²²⁴ It is important that commercial farmers continue to receive institutional support so as to international competitiveness.²²⁵ Prior to 2013, South African commercial farms were mostly labor-intensive and enjoyed an elastic supply of labor; however this is no longer a reality²²⁶.

²¹⁹ Agricultural and Research Council (ARC). (2015). "Annual Report 2013/2014" ., pp. 10-11.

²²⁰ Vernon W. Ruttan. (1977). "Induced innovation and agriculture development". *Food Policy*, 2(3): 196-216., pp. 204-6

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

²²² Chris Garbers. (2015). "The Impact of the Agricultural Minimum Wage on Farmworker Employment in South Africa: A Fixed Effects Approach". Draft, Stellenbosch University.

²²³ Lehrani Saayman and Sanlie Middelberg. (2014). "The effect of higher wages on production cost and mechanization: A South African maize sector study". *Journal of Applied Business Research*, 30(2): 341-352.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ Mbuso Nkosi. (2013). "THE CHANGING WORKING CONDITIONS IN COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE IN

Yet, given the fact that observed rates and biases of technological change are influenced by average farm size, spending on research and extension, and favorable tax and interest-rate policies, the lobbying power of large commercial farmers, combined with policies followed under apartheid, have influenced the allocation of research and development funds between labor- and land-saving technology, with technological bias being distorted toward labor-saving technical change, which is not appropriate for a labor-surplus economy in which small-scale and subsistence farmers in the former homelands face a chronic scarcity of land. The ratios relevant to R&D expenditures, extension expenditures, and the education level of farmers differ significantly accordingly and largely neglect the needs of smallholders.^{227 228}

In the South African context, smallholders require institutional support and innovation for greater agricultural productivity growth. Accordingly, (1) education and extension services (for improved farm management for increased productivity) and (2) R&D support (for improved soil management, shortened fallow periods, etc.) are critical²²⁹. The induced innovation approach may be very useful in the smallholder setting if it incorporates factors of resource access, measures to deal with risk, and institutional setup. Knowledge and knowledge transfers should be included in this setup (i.e., social learning), for inadequate knowledge has been a hindrance to the adoption of new techniques. In South Africa, rather

SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF HORTICULTURE IN GAUTENG". Conference "Political Economy, Activism and Alternative Economic Strategies", International Institute for Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, The Netherlands, July 9-11.

²²⁷ Colin Thirtle, Robert Townsend and Johan van Zyl. (1999). "Testing the Induced Innovation Hypothesis in South African Agriculture (An Error Correction Approach)". Policy Research Working Papers, World Bank Group.

²²⁸ Rogier van den Brink, Glen Sonwabo Thomas and Hans Binswanger. (2007). "Agricultural land redistribution in South Africa: towards accelerated implementation". In *The Land Question in South Africa: The Challenge of Transformation and Redistribution*. Eds. Lungisile Ntsebeza and Ruth Hall. Cape Town: HRSC Press., pp. 156-57.

²²⁹ Colin Thirtle, Robert Townsend and Johan van Zyl. (1999). Op cit.

than learning by doing or by using, learning by interaction should be emphasized (i.e., continuous interaction between designers of techniques, diffusion agents, and users), with the establishment of a functional feedback mechanism.

Furthermore, in a smallholder setting, an adapted induced innovation approach needs to account for coordination problems regarding the simultaneous handling of resources, risk management, and knowledge need to be addressed. Support institutions that provide access to credit & insurance (e.g., rural cooperative bank) need to be created for the induced innovation to become applicable as a tool for development. Such a framework should emphasize the importance of indigenous and societal institutions. An adapted model for increasing rate of innovation in smallholder farming in South Africa would be very applicable and useful if it conforms to the below schematic.

4.2 Inclusive Value Chain Creation

The establishment of inclusive value chains can play an important role in addressing the needs of rural communities in South Africa. Agricultural enterprises have long recognized the benefits of the economies of size and scale and thus the need for consolidating activities such as purchasing inputs, collecting, transporting, and marketing of produce.²³⁰ Similarly, access to markets is essential for smallholder farmer commercial development. Yet, for rural communities access to value chains is hampered not only by the inaccessibility of

²³⁰ Michael Duffy. (2009). "Economies of Size in Production Agriculture". *Journal of Hunger and Environmental Nutrition*, 4(3-4): 375-392.

formal and informal markets, but also a lack of resources and infrastructure and the dysfunctional nature of local institutions²³¹.

Small-holder produces are typically reliant on traditional production systems and do not comply with retail food and phyto-sanitary standards, which means that small-holder farmers cannot sell to retailers. Surplus produce, if there is any, is sold to informal markets, which implies that smallholder farmers have little incentive to produce high quality produce, which results in small-holder farmers neither being commercially sustainable nor profitable.²³²

This precarious situation is compounded by the fact that smallholders lack access to cold storage facilities, equipment, and vehicles (which act as a disincentive to produce fresh produce with a short lifespan); lack of access to price information (produce is sold below market price and end up being non-profitable); market information (produce is supply-led, and not demand-led); produce low volumes and low quality produce (which implies that produce is not attractive to the formal market); are unable to create an integrated plan for the annual production needs in terms of supply-chain, crop selection, funding, and marketing; cannot afford the high land cost (which implies that farming may not be commercially viable since economies of scale cannot be achieved); and lack market opportunities and access to contracts, which makes attaining the finances (no collateral) to purchase equipment and vehicles almost impossible to obtain.²³³

²³¹ Joshua Kenneth Baloyi. (2010). "An analysis of constraints facing smallholder farmers in the Agribusiness value chain: A case study of farmers in the Limpopo Province". University of Pretoria, Masters Thesis., pp. 22-28.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

As a solution, it may be suggested that communication between retailer and smallholders should be fostered; that small-holder farmer organizations should sell to agri-processors (with assistance from extension officers); continue to sell to informal markets (while receiving capacity-building research support from universities and research institutes); link up with large commercial farmers as a customer channel (joint infrastructure usage agreements and outsourcing of produce(i.e., quotas)); link up with marketing agencies and build up relationships with exporting companies while bulking up their volumes and improving the quality of their produce (which is predicated upon access to finance); get training with regard to the creation of business plans and enterprise budgets; and, receive access to development finance.²³⁴

For inclusive value chains to be consolidated, it is imperative to understand that retail chains and agri-business enterprises are only willing to make commitments to purchase produce from smallholders once an understanding in terms of quality and supply of produce is achieved (i.e., dialogue between producers and sellers is critical). Concurrent capacity-building (through extension programs), marketing, and general village and agricultural infrastructure improvement are essential. Moreover, small-holder organizations are critical in achieving economies of size and scale, although forming successful small-holder organizations necessitates social capital. The implication here is that Government intervention that fosters such horizontal (inter-farmers) and vertical (producer-seller) integration is required in establishing inclusive value chains.²³⁵²³⁶

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid., pp. 82-3.

It is important to recognize that actual farming only constitutes a single part of the agricultural value chain, and for the target of sustainable commercialized income increase to be achieved, other constituent factors ought to be considered as well, such as resource data processing, input provision, production, aggregating (i.e. bulking, cleaning and grading), processing and packaging, retailing and recycling. Value chains can only work for farmer income increase if all of the outlined factors are considered in connecting farmers to markets, and efficiency in achieving such is predicated upon effective information flow.²³⁷

Effective value chain creation is an important constituent part of transforming South Africa's subsistence farmers into agricultural entrepreneurs that can tap into South Africa's agribusiness market.

4.3 Benchmarking Wanju County

In terms of creating inclusive value chains, Wanju County in South Korea may be benchmarked. Wanju County, like much of rural South Korea, faced the very real prospect of agricultural collapse, as an industry, due to the pressures of global competition. It opted to pursue an alternative strategy of rural revitalization based on a propulsive local food system model.

²³⁷ Calestous Juma. (2016). "Why our stereotypes of African agriculture are all wrong". World Economic Forum, June 1.

As a primarily grassroots-led movement, that enjoyed adequate government support, Wanju County developed a smallholder-centered model that encourages community participation. The results have been outstanding, with there currently being an estimated 91 local food community businesses, a farmer-run food processing facility, local food stores that ensure direct sales (and which ensure that profit is distributed to farmers directly). The model is based on direct marketing and has played an important role in stabilizing and increasing farmer incomes, while also promoting agricultural diversification, activating local rural communities, and improving the quality and safety of local agricultural products.^{238 239}

²³⁸ Baram Hwang. (2014). "Local Food System for Rural Revitalization: A Case Study of the Wanju County, South Korea". International Conference on Latest Trends in Food, Biological & Ecological Sciences (ICLTFBE'14) July 15-16, 2014 Phuket (Thailand).

²³⁹ Eunjin Cho and Jong Oh Lee. (2014). "Local Food Station of Wanju-gun as a Platform". *Advanced Science and Technology Letters*, 52: 153-59.

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

Korea's own development experience appears relevant and comparatively valid to African countries given that Korea was as impoverished as the typical African state in the 1960's, whilst sharing similar populations and colonial experiences, and in particular the feelings of shame and humiliation and their derivative feelings of hopelessness and indifference as a result of systematic dehumanization. It would therefore be in Africa's interest to consult Korea in terms of its development experience through its KDI(Korea Development Institute)-run KSP.

Humanitarian assistance and financial aid largely appear to have failed in Africa, and the Korean model of development founded on social development, human capital investment, and technological innovation is very relevant as a means for poverty alleviation and advancement. In order for SSA and South Africa to escape rural poverty and emerge as prosperous, stable entities, it can be suggested there should be a concerted effort to bridge the continent's and country's pernicious, even virulent, rural-urban divides that have not yet been reconciled; and, where a potentially destructive cocktail of comparatively high rural populations and poverty ratios alongside high unemployment rates (specifically youth unemployment) and unflattering Gini coefficients predominate, with some indicators more prominent in some African countries than others, Korea's experience with Saemaul Undong is of supreme relevance – both in terms of its policy and systemic aspects and its humanistic aspects – in potentially averting rural-led national crises and has the potential to gain significant traction as the movement for rural development in Africa. Agriculture remains

essential for Africa's growth and the achievement of the SDGs (sustainable development goals) in Africa.

An agricultural revolution should be sustained by human networks characterized by increasing numbers of rural people and skilled urbanites who seek to facilitate or engage in or with agriculture enterprises. Capacity building and vocational training as well as exchange programs could be considered as a medium for aiding in the development of this process.

Indeed, while it may be difficult for African firms to penetrate into already saturated manufacturing and services industries markets, African agriculture may evolve as a source of economic growth if technological and scientific advances can be harnessed to support agricultural development within the context of integrated regional markets with profitable value chains that are traversed by capable entrepreneurial leaders. Doing such would require the incorporation of government, civil society, academia and the private sector so as to focus technological innovation, entrepreneurship and local knowledge and resources so as to improve agricultural output and the infrastructure needed for such improvements as well as the creation of the eventual markets to which such products would be sold.

Agriculture has the potential to transform Africa and if Korea can contribute in the value addition process for agricultural goods and share its expertise in enabling farmers to access markets, credit, and insurance and other means to minimize risk in agriculture, then Korea stands to gain enormous leverage in Africa as partner to a truly pro-Africa developmental partnership. Investment in agriculture can lift millions of Africans out of

hunger and poverty, according to the United Nation's International Fund for Agricultural Development's (IFAD) president Kanayo Nwanze²⁴⁰.

The great challenge for Korea in Africa is thus how to make Saemaul Undong transferable to the African context. Given the almost incomparably different contexts of rural Korea in the 1970's as well as the different geographical realities, doing such will require serious analytical study. However, if Korea can provide a blueprint for rural development in Africa, then Korea can leave an indelible, positive impact on Africa's development while securing not only Korea's own food security and a market for Korea's firms, but also establishing Korea as a global player in the new 'scramble of Africa'.

In the South African context, a Saemaul Undong-based rural development model coupled with government-led investments in rural energy, transport, irrigation and telecommunications infrastructure as well as rural training schemes (including higher technical training, knowledge centers – accessed through broadband services – and extension services) that target both the generation of human and social capital are critical if South Africa is to avert a rural-led national crisis of inequality. Investment in agriculture would lead to the generation of auxiliary industries, which would further bolster employment and stability. Without investing in basic rural infrastructure, neither production nor markets can function to enrich subsistence farmers.²⁴¹

Smallholder farming in South Africa needs to be redefined in terms of agribusiness with set business plans as a means to create a platform that offers significant opportunities in terms of entrepreneurial development and innovation; the focus should not be exclusively on

²⁴⁰ AllAfrica. (2016). "Africa: Invest in Agriculture to Unlock Untold Prosperity in Africa". May 13.

²⁴¹ Calestous Juma. (2016). Op cit.

farming. Incentives to success can be created through establishing prizes for successful communities and farmers.²⁴²

Farmers need to be seen as entrepreneurs and innovators, and so be granted access to credit (for investment in capital), insurance and technical support just as urban enterprises would. Evidently, given the importance of property rights in terms of development, land reform is imperative in communally-owned lands.²⁴³

Social capital – which includes a sense of mutual trust and responsibility as well as a cooperative spirit – can be generated through possibly reviving Ubuntu as a guiding communal philosophy. Alternatively, social training and support programs as well as social networks that build a sense of trust and responsibility can be established.

In South Africa such a movement would have to be a unified national effort led by the Presidency itself, for if rural development is relegated to the preserves of individual departments, success will be very limited given the lack of interaction between different departments.

A Presidency-led effort which create a positive political and social environment, introduces a new farmer-government relationship, introduces new village leadership, gives an enhanced economic role for women, and which is based on pro-rural development-oriented policy is essential if subsistence farmers are to be transformed into viable economic agents characterized by a cycle continued income increase as a result of increases in productivity

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

(through better information access and usage) within the framework of the virtuous cycle that is the Harrod-Domar growth model.

Indeed, resolving rural South Africa's rural poverty crisis and lifting it from its unvirtuous cycle of poverty and hopelessness will require more fundamental change. Change should be fundamentally community-based, female-inclusive, grassroots, bottom-up and decentralized with the government providing appropriate support, especially in terms of establishing proper institutions for rural development. Community participation, especially in terms of improving the plight of rural women, will be instrumental in addressing South Africa's rural woes.

A collective effort is required in South Africa if subsistence farmers are to be lifted from the mire of poverty.²⁴⁴ Government, business, academia, civil society, and villagers²⁴⁵ themselves will have to cooperate within the context of a framework that recognizes the importance of both humanistic and systemic factors to sustainable development. Such is imperative if political and social tension, economic stagnation and rampant crime are to be addressed in South Africa.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

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