selecting potential regional hubs in the area to form Korean soft territory, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Venezuela and Columbia in the northern part of the area should be considered first. Particularly, Brazil and Argentina are seeing explosive demand for territorial infrastructure(e.g., high-speed railways). In order to utilize this opportunity for mutual benefits, Korea should adopt a strategic approach that allows it to systematically utilize its relevant knowledge of construction on major territory infrastructure projects in a partner country.

Establishing a center dedicated to education and training on territorial development

A top wish for developing countries is to learn from the nation's accumulated experience and policies on its national territory development over the past half century. In response to this wish, KRIHS in December 2010 opened the Global Development Partnership Center(GDPC). The GDPC is designed to disseminate and share Korea's experience in territorial development through educating and training programs, in collaboration with international organizations. Training programs include areas such as an establishment of territory plans, regional development, new city development, industry locations, water resource development, building infrastructure, land and housing policies, and geographic information systems(GIS). Additionally, the GDPC aims to support developing countries as they establish their territorial plans. The hope is to link these plans with Korea's investment projects or aid programs to enhance the effectiveness of GDPC support. Ultimately, Korea and developing countries will enjoy mutual benefits.

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Korea's Spatial Restructuring through 'Saemaul Undong'

Following the advent of the new millennium, the world started reflecting on the sea of changes made within the last three or four centuries and bracing for another change with renewed determination. Change herein refers to an effort to pursue "novelty"-namely, a difference from the conventional approach or behavior. However, it also means the process of recovering the dimension or way of life that has been forgotten or lost over time. Korea's Saemaul Undong (New Community Movement), which began in line with the industrialization of the country, is related to this historical context.

Saemaul Undong has been touted as an ingenious local community development model marking a departure from other Western-oriented local community development models and succeeding by mobilizing the full potential of local communities. Of course, Saemaul Undong is evaluated differently by individual scholars in various disciplines. Nonetheless, the consensus is that the movement was hugely successful in eliminating the then-chronic poverty in farming villages. As such, although scholars may cite different success factors of Saemaul Undong, they more or less agree on popular awareness, incentives for public engagement, the introduction of a new educational system catering to the needs of the times, and leadership stemming from the combination of conviction and ambition.

Such success factors imply that Saemaul Undong is not a one-off initiative, but is adaptable to changes in all circumstances. In the 1970s, industrialization was driving economic growth nationwide in Korea, yet creating an imbalance between urban and rural areas as well as between industrialized and agricultural regions; this in turn led to a variety of issues simultaneously facing urban and rural areas while posing a burden on

government operations. Consequently, the Korean government began to focus on the issues of the rural area while proactively driving industrialization.

Notably, traditional Korean villages built primarily on blood ties made it difficult for the community to recognize common issues and come up with viable solutions, hampering the momentum of national development in the modernization process. Fortunately, Saemaul Undong, which kicked off in 1970, enabled the government to provide materials (Cement 335 Unit) to villages as a unit of space while encouraging villagers to form the necessary assets for common use, contributing to the introduction of "novelty" by converting "blood tie-centric villages" into "communities."

As the conversion process proceeded, community governance came into being. The conventional spatial structure of the village began to change, serving as a kind of catalyst prompting all villagers to act. As such, Saemaul Undong did not simply focus on the physical dimensions such as the construction of infrastructure, improvement of the living environment, and promotion of income generation platform; it also stimulated community residents to work hard, help themselves, and cooperate with each other, contributing to the creation of a governance structure for community-wide, common prosperity. Ultimately, Saemaul Undong aimed at creating conditions conducive to the restoration of such community.

The assembly of villagers as a decision-making mechanism determining the priorities of Saemaul projects demonstrated how much Saemaul Undong contributed to the creation of a community governance structure and the formation of social capital at the village level. Villagers' common interest in the spatial structure led to the accumulation of social capital, improved mutual trust among them, encouraged them to work on issues of common interest actively, networked resident organizations at the level of diverse Saemaul projects, and induced community members to care for one another.

Figure: River Cleanup Project

Source: Korea Saemaul Undong Center, 2011

Dating back to 1970 in Korea, Saemaul Undong has been known as a successful example of changing the spatial structure at the village level to create a local community, build a governance structure, and accumulate social capital. However, no positive research studies have examined how Saemaul Undong changed the spatial structure at the village level. Thus, it is important to revisit Saemaul Undong from the perspective of change in the spatial structure of the village.

Against such backdrop, four villages were selected based on the availability of data and accessibility of the geographical location and the changes in spatial elements in terms of point, line, and space in the four villages were analyzed. In addition, all changes in each spatial element were examined, together with empirical studies including analysis on the minutes of community assembly meetings, site visits, consultations with experts and interviews with the then-leaders of Saemaul Undong.

Spirit and Development of Saemaul Undong

Initially, Saemaul Undong began within the same context as "Saemaum Undong (New Spirit Movement)." Born from such context, Saemaul Undong derived its momentum for expansion from the spirit of diligence, self-reliance, and cooperation. The spirit of diligence enables people to accept novelty and seek "better" values. Meanwhile, self-reliance emphasizes self-awareness and self-accountability. Finally, cooperation encourages people to share strengths with each other for co-prosperity.

At the same time, community members grow confident that all of them can benefit from the group synergy transcending the mere sum of individual capabilities. Such a transition is facilitated by combining the three spirits of Saemaul Undong: diligence, self-reliance, and cooperation. Notably, Saemaul Undong evolved into an "initiative to be better off economically" by enhancing the capability of rural community

residents. As a result, the collective pursuit of a better life followed in Korean society, and group genius contributed to the improvement of efficiency across the entire spectrum of organizations.

Saemaul Undong subsequently developed into a process by which community residents would become more competitive and maintain a mindset more adaptive to new factors as well as a positive attitude to control changes, growing more confident in themselves as physical infrastructures improved to ensure a better life. Thus, the factors behind the success of Saemaul Undong in strengthening local communities' capability and expanding such development can be summarized as follows: Saemaul education, visibility of returns of community initiatives, and arrangement of competition at the village level.

Saemaul education did not just try to infuse new elements; it succeeded in mainstreaming all community members by disseminating the best practices and emphasizing problem resolution via group discussion. In addition, the visible and specific Saemaul projects enabled community residents to observe how the enhancement of their capability translated into tangible benefits, thereby ensuring the sustainability of Saemaul Undong.

Finally, the promotion of competition at the village level and the adoption of a performance-centric reward system served as key elements of the Saemaul Undong governance structure. The Korean government rated each village in terms of the performance of Saemaul Undong as basic, self-reliant, self-sustaining, and welfare villages, differentiating the support accordingly.

Saemaul Undong and the Logic behind the Rearrangement of Villages' Spatial Structure

From the perspective of interaction between human activity and space, changes in spatial elements via Saemaul Undong in the 1970s were examined based on point, line and space.

The rearrangement of villages' spatial structure via Saemaul projects can be understood in terms of points relating to the installation and movement of facilities, expansion, and the extension of line-linking movements as well as the expansion of space. Saemaul projects created significant changes in terms of points such as the construction of new community centers and other income-generation infrastructures(e.g., storages, workshops, cattle sheds, Saemaul factories).

From the perspective of spatial elements including point, line, and space, the spatial structure of the four reference village was explored. The four reference villages, as well as changes in spatial elements resulting from Saemaul projects, are summarized in the following list:

First, changes in spatial elements of the four villages pertaining to the point were sought by categorizing them into things in common and unique by village. As part of the Saemaul project, Seon-Ri Village changed eight points of spatial elements, including the construction of a village center, the improvement of house roofs, the upgrading of house, the installation of a water supply facility, the rebuilding of fences, the construction of a cattle shed, the improvement of kitchens, and the upgrading of toilets. Deokdeul Village worked on all of these eight points as well as a wash place for community use. Given its proximity to a river, Euri 3 Gu did not include the installation of a water supply facility in the project scope, but added points such as storage and a community factory pertaining to the village's revenue stream. Finally, Yeongyang 1 Ri engaged in relatively simple changes on these points, which included only the construction of a village center, improvement of house roofs, and the digging of a well for community use. Notably, all four villages built village centers, indicating that Saemaul Undong encouraged villagers to communicate with each other more frequently.

Second, changes in spatial elements of the four villages pertaining to the line were broken down into things in common across all the four villages and unique to each other. All four villages built

Figure: Saemaul Undong Training Course

Source: Korea Saemaul Undong Center, 2011

small bridges, maintained streams, paved farming roads, and installed or maintained ditches. The Seon-Ri and Deokdeul villages installed or maintained a water duct while the Yeongyang 1 Ri village built a reservoir for irrigation. As such, changes in the four villages pertaining to line resulting from Saemaul projects revealed some differences subject to the terrain features of each village.

A review of the minutes of resident assembly meetings in relation to Saemaul projects revealed that project priorities were determined in full reflection of the opinion of residents after sufficient discussion. Had this not been the case, Saemaul projects would have suffered resistance and antagonism from some villagers, resulting in conflict from within the villages. Of course, the decision-making process among the residents could have been further expedited in the early days of Saemaul Undong. In other words, in some cases, it may not be fair to say that a generic planning process including the recognition of common issues, the establishment of common objectives, and the exploration of appropriate alternatives was completely followed. Yet this does not mean that some villagers were denied the opportunity to present their opinion.

Third, changes in terms of space resulting from Saemaul Undong in the 1970s were rather insignificant in the four reference villages. In Seon-Ri Village, only a tree nursery was built in support of the reforestation program in 1972; however, Deokdeul Village was relatively more active, pursuing reforestation programs, building a cooperative farm, and purchasing public land jointly. Meanwhile, Euri 3 Gu created a community rice paddy spanning 1.63 acres in 1972. Nonetheless, a review of meeting minutes and other diverse documents showed no superficial change in the Yeongyang 1 Ri village.

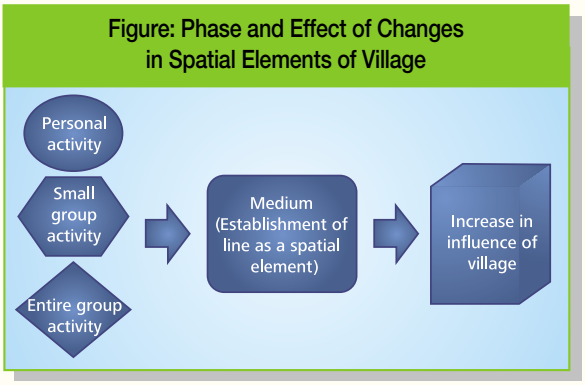
The fact that spatial elements in terms of space were not notable in the four villages seems to be an initial feature common to Saemaul projects in the 1970s, suggesting that Saemaul Undong in its early days prioritized points representing the origin of activity and innovation as well as lines linking the activities of villagers. Restructuring efforts based on the comprehensive spatial structure of the community at the village level, such as the village structure improvement project, likely emerged in the maturing phase of Saemaul Undong.

In conclusion, changes in spatial elements such as point, line, and shape of the reference villages as part of Saemaul Undong prompted villagers to engage in community activities and propagated their engagement in strengthening the overall influence village-wide. In other words, Saemaul Undong opened, expanded, maintained, or paved in-village roads, access roads, streams, ditches, water ducts, bridges, and farming roads-all of which represented lines linking points pertaining to the activities of each and every villager; such spatial elements bridged residents with residents, individuals with groups, and groups with groups, thereby facilitating the flow of resources and communication.

Facilitating the flow of resources and expediting communication optimize resource use; community resident assembly meetings provide a platform on which decisions can be put into action. Therefore, changes in points such as the construction of a village center to prompt the activities of individuals or groups, the improvement of house roofs, the arrangement of a community wash place, the improvement of cattle sheds, the remodeling of kitchens, the improvement of toilets, and the rebuilding of houses revealed links in in-village roads, access roads, streams, ditches, and farming roads with other points, interacting with them and contributing to the improvement of the overall governance structure of the villages.

Usefulness of Reference Cases and Policy Implications

Changes in points, lines, and spaces of the four reference bridges resulting from the Saemaul projects significantly affected the implementation strategy of Saemaul Undong in effect at the time. Notably, specific projects seemed to have enabled Saemaul Undong, which strongly focused on the comprehensive development of regional society, to link with changes in specific points, lines, and spaces, thereby sustaining the implementation of Saemaul Undong. Enlightenment via Saemaul education alone cannot ensure the continuation of a specific project. One of the reasons Saemaul Undong succeeded was that the accomplishments in each phase were manifested to influence changes in the subsequent phase and secure the required momentum.



In such a context, this research is expected to verify conventional theories pertaining to the interaction between spatial structure and human activity. Theories have approached human activities from the perspectives of environmental determinism and environmental possibilism. The reason the evaluation of Saemaul Undong results in two extreme schools of thought is that the research methods are influenced by such different perspectives to some extent. Therefore, this research may verify J. Friedmann's (1972) argument, which combines both environmental determinism and environmental possibilism by analyzing the changes in spatial elements and decision-making process.

On the other hand, the analysis herein has made it clear that Saemaul Undong included a logic of practice that dependence theory-one of the two significant development models that originated with the Third World-failed to suggest. Therefore, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) singled out Korea's Saemaul Undong as one of the best practices for eliminating poverty in rural communities and resolved to promote it as a solution to the poverty issues in the region during its 2002 annual conference. Therefore, it is essential to examine how Saemaul Undong eliminated poverty in rural communities from a practical perspective.

The practical benefits and policy implications of this study are as follows. First, the knowledge of changes in the spatial elements at the village level stemming from the Saemaul projects provides a rationale for Korea to share its experiences with the global community. The specific and visible rearrangement of spatial structures made in Korea will provide basic inputs for subsequent efforts to turn our best practices into global standards, as studies on such changes in spatial elements will demonstrate how Saemaul Undong alleviated poverty in rural villages, enhanced the capability of rural villagers, created social capital in farming villages, and established the local communities' governance structures. Logic shedding light on such chain reactions will provide evidence that Saemaul Undong was not merely a campaign, but also served as momentum for practical change. Therefore, studies as to how Saemaul Undong changed the spatial structure of villages will provide the rationale that Korea's experience in relation to Saemaul Undong could provide our own brand of an official development assistance(ODA) program.

Second, such specific studies will provide a basis through which we can address our pending issues by banking on the experiences in Saemaul Undong during the 1970s. Saemaul Undong was a useful experience wherein community members produced common goods based on the spirit of diligence, self-reliance, and cooperation. Therefore, the re-evaluation of Saemaul Undong is expected to confirm our common issues-be it from the spatial or spiritual perspective-and suggest how we can address such issues collectively.

The buzzwords of space management in the 21st century are the establishment of a community governance structure and the rebuilding of community by accumulating social capital. In other words, if Saemaul Undong is revisited from the perspective of community governance and social capital and the achievements of Saemaul projects are reviewed by the spatial element, it will affect the roles to be played by the state (public sector) and civil society(private sector), respectively.

Finally, an analysis as to how spatial elements at the village level changed under the influence of Saemaul Undong will contribute to the establishment of grassroots democracy in Korea. The process of assembly of community members to discuss and determine project priorities over specific spatial elements will provide references for efforts to use community activities as a medium for strengthening community residents' capabilities.

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