

Foundation of Korean Transformation : Saemaeul (New Village) Movement

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ABSTRACT

This paper underlines the shifting process of the Korean rural economy and its impacts on society. The New Village Movement was an innovative idea implemented to change the rural landscape of Korean villages. This paper highlights the policies that brought productivity and prosperity to South Korea. Starting the process with land reform and motivating people to volunteer was instrumental in changing the mindset, colonial social order, and discrimination

Key Words : Korean transformation, Saemaeul movement, South Korea

INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s, South Korea achieved social development with rapid economic growth. However, rural areas lagged in many ways, at a slower pace of development than cities. As the gap between urban and rural areas continued to widen, the Park Chung-hee government promoted the New Village Movement as one of its measures. The New Village Movement was a government-led regional development drive in the 1970s. The New Village Movement, which began in 1970 when President Park Chung-hee proposed it at a meeting of local ministers, considered diligence, self-help, and cooperation as its three main principles. Then, the goal was to improve the lifestyle and environment and increase the income of the rural populace. Since then, activities to improve the basis of rural life have continued throughout the country, such as road expansion, river maintenance,

rural housing improvement, expansion of electricity and telephone facilities, and expansion of farmland. At first, it was mainly implemented in rural areas but gradually expanded to cities, which gradually became a national movement. Though the drive was decentralized, the state directly controlled the movement from the top.¹ This paper deals with the nature of the movement, which changed from a 'well-being movement' to a mental movement emphasizing the right spirit. This movement not only focused on the local headship but also nurtured future leadership,² who propagated the success to the developing countries.

Saemaul Movement: Revitalizing Village as Base of Development:

The New Village Movement of South Korea was proposed under the leadership of the Park Chung-

Note: No romanization system was followed, Korean words remained the same.

1. Jung Won Sonn & Dong-Wan Gimm, 'South Korea's Saemaul (New Village) movement: an organizational technology for the production of developmental subjects,' *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 2013, 34: 1, 27.
2. Han Do Hyun, 'The Successful Cases of Korea's Saemaul Undong (New Community Movement)', Korea Development Institute (KDI) *School of Public Policy and Management*, 2012, 9-12.

How to cite this Article: Gupta, Santosh K. (2023). Foundation of Korean Transformation : Saemaeul (New Village) Movement. *Internat. J. Appl. Soc. Sci.*, 10 (7&8) : 536-542.

heegovernment on April 22, 1970, and was promoted by local community residents. By encouraging voluntary cooperative efforts, residents were empowered to reform their lifestyle and mental attitude. Living condition development has improved the overall lives of village people, including the local economy, society, and culture. This movement was divided primarily into four stages, and government responsibility was to create a favorable environment, provide funds, establish a comprehensive support system, and provide intensive information and technology education at training Center. However, there were three elements of the New Village Movement: Individuals, Seed Capital, and Elementary Ethics.

The movement developed in different stages, and each stage was crucial for the next phase. In the first stage, the core objectives were: forming core leaders; forming core working groups; incorporating existing organizations; forming sectoral organizations; and raising seed money from cooperative projects and works. In the second stage, the objective was: To establish projects; plan a project' Persuading villagers by morally boosting and encouraging spirits General meeting of villagers, letting everybody play a part; Prepare and manage public property, and establish the local center.³

In the third stage, the objective was to improve the houses, eliminate inconveniences in the village, and improve the living environment. Create an environment for increasing income; remove obstacles; Launching cooperative projects; Commercializing; introducing new ideas; modifying the distribution system; Operate a factory; Enhancing morals and communalism In the final stage, the objective was to share the results and prospects. Stabilizing of joint funds; encouraging the activities of sectional organizations; regularizing meetings for technology research; publishing a local newspaper; establishing partnerships with other regions and government offices; setting relationships with foreign countries; and providing feedback at the national level. Thus, it is pertinent to note that 'the Saemaul movement functioned as an integral part of a structural transformation,⁴ moreover, it was oriented to initiate the change at the grass-roots level. What is pertinent to

underline is the role of local people and the state. For example, in 1971, 35 units of cement were built for each of the 3,267 administrative districts across the country. Pilot and state machinery brought a new dimension of development that continued for a decade without any major change. But in 1979, President Park Chung-hee passed away due to the October 26 project centered around the Ri-dong Development Committee. The local people provided labor, and the government supported construction materials. The collaboration between the village community incident and a new government took office, greatly weakening the Saemaul Movement. This is because not only government support but also public interest decreased sharply compared to before. Afterward, the Saemaul Movement changed into a civilian-centered movement with the establishment of a separate central organization. It needs to be underlined that the Saemaul spirit of diligence, self-help, and cooperation was a core philosophy of the transformation of traditional rural communities.⁵ The South Korean village movement developed and continued for many years, finally achieving the goal, and is now emerging as a model for other developing nations.

Land Reform in South Korea: As Foundation of Transformation:

Despite the positive relationship between landownership and agricultural productivity, it is not necessarily true that there has been a direct positive relationship between land reform and economic development in South Korea. The country's economic development was not mainly based on the growth of the agricultural sector, and some scholars perceive its land reform as a failure because it did not create an agricultural sector that was dominated by middle-class farmers. The mechanism by which land reform contributed to economic development has been discussed by several scholars; this paper focuses on the link between land reform and the New Village Movement.

After World War II, the American military government (1945–48) took the first step toward land reform in 1946. It limited peasants' rental revenue for

3. Community Centers establishment, see Kim, Djun Ki, 432.

4. Jung Won Sonn & Dong-Wan Gimm, 'South Korea's Saemaul (New Village) movement: an organizational technology for the production of developmental subjects,' *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 2013, 34: 1, 34.

5. Kim, Djun Ki, A Schumpeterian Analysis of the SaemaulUndong Movement in 1970s South Korea within the CDD Framework, *Seoul Journal of Economics* 2015, Vol. 28, No. 4, 432

land to one-third of the value of the land's annual harvest, which was a drastic reduction in terms of land revenue. These included three basic principles that put more emphasis on equality than growth: (1) only farmers could own farmland; (2) land could be owned up to a maximum of three hectares; and (3) farmers could not contract out their land to others for farming. Although some landowners sold their land before the implementation of land reform, more than 60 percent of the farmland was bought by the government. Landowners were paid with government bonds, while tenant farmers were able to buy the land from the government at a price equivalent to one and a half times the annual harvest, which they could pay over three years. The farmers sacrificed their land as the planned expansion of the village development program, particularly the main road construction, needed huge amounts of private land.⁶

Land reform provided two vital conditions for the success of the New Village Movement. It created a pool of farmers who owned their land and whose economic interests were in line with community development in rural areas. The New Village Movement's core program was the construction and renovation of rural infrastructure. For independent farmers, modernizing the infrastructure of their community would directly lead to increased productivity on their agricultural land. However, tenant farmers would not necessarily see the direct benefits of such efforts. Thus, we find that the tenant farmers sacrificed their land in the interest of public work.

Socio-political and Economic Aspects

After liberation in 1945, until the end of the 1960s, the liberation, division of North and South Korea, the dictatorship of the President Syngman Rhee regime, the April 19 Revolution, the May 16 military coup, and the initiation of the ParkChung-hee regime caused serious chaos in Korean society.⁷ And many scholars assert that it was a turbulent time. However, even in this chaotic situation, social activities such as the economic

development movement continued and were limited to certain areas, mainly rural areas. Afterward, in the 1970s, the government-led New Village Movement proposed various activities across the country. What is significant is that the authoritarian dictatorship applied the tactic and spread the slogan 'Growth First, Distribution Later' between 1961 and 1987.⁸

Before 1960, it is pertinent to note that Korea's economic situation was at the level of one of the world's poorest countries, and the Gross National Product (GNP) was less than \$100. In order to overcome these economic difficulties, under the Jang Myeon regime in 1961, the central government prioritized village economic development. Later on, based on the annual plan, the Park Chung-hee administration's five-year comprehensive economic reconstruction plan was launched in 1962, which focused on heavy industry and export-oriented economic development. This initiation resulted in a sharp growth in per capita gross national product that reached \$257 in 1970. However, due to excessive metropolitan and industry-oriented policies, a dual economic structure was created in which the income gap between rural areas and cities and between agriculture and industry worsened. This resulted in a decrease in the rural population and an increase in the urban population. It was in this context that the government launched a village movement, and the Saemaul Movement began to bridge the gap between rural and urban areas. In particular, the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1962–1966) was promoted, resulting in high overall growth of the national economy, with an average annual economic growth rate reaching 7.8%. This achievement continued for more than three decades, and if we examine it in terms of per capita income, South Korea's per capita income was approaching the OECD level by 1997, which further recorded US\$20,000 in 2007.⁹

The framework of the component of the village

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6. Jung Won Sonn & Dong-Wan Gimm, "South Korea's Saemaul (New Village) movement: an organizational technology for the production of developmental subjects," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 2013, 34: 1, 31.
 7. Han Do-hyeon, "2011 Economic Development Experience Modularization Project: SaemaulUndong Exemplary Case," *Ministry of the Interior and Safety*, 2012, 9-14
 8. Hyun-Hoon LEE, Minsoo LEE, Donghyun PARK, Growth Policy and Inequality in Developing Asia: Lesson from Korea, *ERIA Discussion Paper Series, ERIA-DP-2012-12*, 7, 23w.
 9. Hyun-Hoon LEE, Minsoo LEE, Donghyun PARK, Growth Policy and Inequality in Developing Asia: Lesson from Korea, *ERIA Discussion Paper Series, ERIA-DP-2012-12*, 3

project focused on village seedling farming, cow breeding, pig raising, land reclamation, and village fund profit (labor), where the government grant provided to villager resulted in a 50% profit sharing.¹⁰ It is significant to underline that a significant portion of the increased income resulted from the implementation of the five-year economic development plan that came from the secondary industry. The export-led economy and industrial growth strategy resulted in positive outcomes and finally contributed to the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors. However, relatively, the primary sector based on agriculture and fisheries deteriorated, leading to a decline in rural community development. The proportion of industrial structure in 1965 was 23.3% for the secondary industry, 39.1% for the tertiary industry, and 39.1% for the agricultural industry. The primary sector, which was restricted to agriculture and fishing products, was relatively balanced, accounting for 37.6%. In 1970, the secondary sector was 27.5%, the tertiary sector was 46.1%, and the primary sector was 26.4%. The primary sector shrank, while the secondary and tertiary sectors increased dramatically. This change in industrial structure led to a relative decline in farm income. As we noticed in the late 1960s, farm household income in rural areas was only 50–60% of that in urban areas. Another achievement was the advancement and foundation of greenhouse farming¹¹ that became the core base for sustainable development in later decades.

Due to economic and structural changes, the rural-urban population ratio decreased from 72.0% in 1960 to 58.9% in 1970, as did the phenomenon of rural migration, in which the population flocks to cities. This was due to the social conditions of rural areas, which affect the residential environment in which people live, such as residential facilities, village structures, water supply, sewage, and roads. The condition was in dire need of

improvement. The government's budget alone was insufficient to provide the necessary financial resources to expand social infrastructure. Accordingly, to produce healthy people, a healthy society, and a strong nation, as the New Village Movement aims, efforts to reform consciousness and behavior were required across the nation. And the Saemaul movement provided the base, at least, in the initial state of economic development.

Optimistic and Adverse Aspect of Saemaul Movement:

In the 1980s, the movement spread to urban factories, workplaces, and regional Saemaul centers, and we noticed that the role of the government was reduced and the role of private organizations such as 'Saemaul Leaders' increased. During the course of development, we find positive changes in terms of "technological leaders, CEOs, and women's empowerment."¹² Also, it appears that the movement nurtured a pool of village leaders who established the Saemaul Leader Training Institute. We also find that the strengthening of pride through rituals was initiated, and the national convention of Saemaul Leaders was called, particularly to pacify the political conflict and further garner the support from the top leadership.¹³

Since the 1990s, the nature of the movement has evolved from a 'well-being movement' to a 'local community movement' led by the private sector. And the role of Saemaul leaders and members has begun to change to a volunteer function. In this way, the development process of the New Village Movement can be broadly divided into several stages: the 1970s primary stage, the 1980s growth stage, the 1990s extension stage, and the 2000s maturity stage. After 2010, it was a global expansion stage, with tasks such as economic revitalization and conflict resolution in 2013 when the Park

10. Source: Kim, Jongho. 1973: 106 cited by Han Do Hyun, *The Successful Cases of Korea's SaemaulUndong (New Community Movement)*, Korea Development Institute (KDI) School of Public Policy and Management, 2012, 49

11. Kim, Djun Ki, *A Schumpeterian Analysis of the SaemaulUndong Movement in 1970s South Korea within the CDD Framework*, *Seoul Journal of Economics* 2015, Vol. 28, No. 4, 445.

12. Saemaul Women's Association was formed in the 1970s but lacked much behind target, see delivery note prepared by Jacob Bathanti, 'Catalyzing Women's Leadership and Participation in Rural Development: The Case of Saemaul Women's Associations in the Republic of Korea, 1970–79', Ministry of Economy and Finance, Republic of Korea (MOEF), Korea Development Institute (KDI) *School of Public Policy and Management*, 2020, 1-4.

13. Han Do Hyun, *The Successful Cases of Korea's SaemaulUndong (New Community Movement)*, Korea Development Institute (KDI) *School of Public Policy and Management*, 2012, 25.

Geun-hye administration came into power and the ‘Second New Village Movement’ was being promoted. In the word New Village, ‘new’ refers to something that is developing and changing based on past experiences, and ‘village’ refers to a social living community and a spatial regional community. The New Village Movement can be said to be a systematic movement that continuously tries to change the rural community. Looking at the development process of the New Village Movement, one may find four characteristics.

The New Village Movement is being benchmarked in many developing countries. Korea is a typical example that shows fast economic development stages, which have been showing a maturity stage of integration with the world economy from the prerequisite stage for take-off and are evaluated as the development structural-change model. In the 1970s, agricultural labor productivity increased rapidly due to the Saemaul Movement, showing the crucial point where surplus labor and marginal labor productivity fell to the lowest point, and that was gradually eliminated. Despite the focus on economic growth for five decades, particularly labor empowerment since the 1970s, the female employment rate and participation rate in the labor force are some of the lowest among OECD member countries.¹⁴

The necessity of spreading the New Village Movement overseas was found to be actively supported by the government (81.6%), with other reasons such as increasing Korea’s international influence (31.7%) and eradicating global poverty (27.1%). In addition, there were opinions over the international Saemaul movement, particularly over transferring ideas overseas. There was an opinion that it was necessary to develop a Saemaul model suited to each country’s characteristics (41.4%) and to train human resources to transfer technology (26.1%). The opinion also suggested practical support for local leaders and human resource education and training abroad,¹⁵ which was an integral part of Saemaul rural development in South Korea. It needs to be underlined that the Korean government strongly changed the education policy: ‘an equal opportunity of education

for all, and no citizen shall be discriminated against in education for reasons of sex, religion, faith, social standing, economic status, or physical conditions,¹⁶ which were emphasized during the implementation of the Saemaul movement. But finding similar conditions abroad for the success of the New Village Movement is difficult which limit the scope.

Despite several achievements of the New Village Movement, progress was very slow, and it faced a lot of criticism and controversy. Some scholars assert that the New Village Movement was under government control and had a unilateral plan. Although it was promoted under the leadership of the government, the uniform project content was consistent with the characteristics of the region. The criticism is that it failed to reflect the positive results and forced rural people to work excessively. Throughout the 1970s, the Saemaul Movement was an authoritarian means of modernization, an instrument of dictatorial politics, and a mobilized movement. There were also critical views on sanctification, and many scholars assert that contemporary politicians used it as a tool to pacify autocracies. When looking at the Saemaul Movement’s farmer participation from various aspects, there were cases where it was a modernization project with a dual nature of formal participation and actual mobilization rather than voluntary participation. The government proposed several awards for voluntary participants, and the service merit was divided into five classes. The grades are as follows: 1. Jarip Medal: self-reliance medal; 2. Jajo Medal: self-help medal; 3. Hyeopdong Medal: cooperative medal; 4. Geunmyeon Medal: medal for diligence; 5. Noryeok Medal: medal of effort. Some scholars found such initiatives instrumental; however, some scholars assert that they are government tools of propaganda.

International Orientation and Recognition:

The New Village Movement has been organized in collaboration with international organizations such as the United Nations and the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA).¹⁷ It is in the spotlight as a new

14. Hyun-Hoon LEE, Minsoo LEE, Donghyun PARK, Growth Policy and Inequality in Developing Asia: Lesson from Korea, *ERIA Discussion Paper Series*, ERIA-DP-2012-12, 21.

15. Saemaul education center and program, see Kim, Djun Ki, A Schumpeterian Analysis of the SaemaulUndong Movement in 1970s South Korea within the CDD Framework, *Seoul Journal of Economics* 2015, Vol. 28, No. 4, 435.

16. Hyun-Hoon LEE, Minsoo LEE, Donghyun PARK, Growth Policy and Inequality in Developing Asia: Lesson from Korea, *ERIA Discussion Paper Series*, ERIA-DP-2012-12, 15.

methodology. In July 2009, U.S. President Obama visited Kenya's village movement and announced that Kenya would be free from poverty. It was said that to improve, Korea's New Village Movement should be used as a model. United Nations (UN), United Nations Development Program (UNPD) support centered on material resources that are provided to developing countries. With the awareness that the causes of hunger and poverty cannot be fundamentally solved by one program, But, in the international community, Korea has promoted its development from an aid-recipient country to an aid-donor country. Realistic and effective poverty eradication and economic development can be instrumental in eradicating poverty in developing countries. Koreans assert that the meaning lies in experience, and the New Village Movement is a "global village." It can be said to be the driving force behind poverty eradication in developing countries.¹⁸

Recently, discussions on the New Village Movement in Korea have been actively underway, but research on the New Village Movement is at a low level. Most of the recent studies related to the internationalization of the New Village Movement only mentioned the period and targets of the New Village Movement and did not address clear definitions or specific contents.

In the late 2000s, prior research on the global New Village Movement increased rapidly. The causes of this phenomenon can be found in the changes in the international community regarding the basic principles of ODA, the quantitative increase in domestic ODA projects, and the implementation of the global New Village Movement pilot project. Studies on the global New Village Movement have been conducted using various terms such as Saemaul ODA, overseas Saemaul, globalization of the Saemaul Movement, and internationalization of the Saemaul Movement. However, since the content discusses Korea's New Village Movement as an object of transfer to regional development projects in developing countries, it is collectively referred to as the Global New

Village Movement. After the slogan of Global Korea (President Lee Myung-bak), the South Korean government has strived to establish its own ODA model to globalize its development experience. To this end, the government launched the Saemaul Undong ODA program.¹⁹ A strategy for systematic promotion of the global Saemaul Movement was presented. First, the establishment of a permanent system based on domestic and international infrastructure, understanding local circumstances, nurturing professional manpower, securing stable funds, establishing strategies for promotion, and creating new strategies, including the promotion of international events, to help understand the movement as a developmental model.

The New Village Movement, which was aggressively developed in Korean society, served as a successful model for rural development. It is receiving favorable reviews as it has become the subject of benchmarks outside the world. In the case of Vietnam, the Korea International Cooperation Agency conducted seven local projects during 2001–2002. The New Village Movement was carried out in 500 villages by granting 500 million won over 5 years. The Vietnamese-style Saemaul Movement was promoted nationwide, targeting 100 villages. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) supports the Korea International Cooperation Agency. Following the developmental model, the Saemaul Movement spread to Cambodia, Laos, and Nepal from 2002 to 2005. Kim Hyo-Sook notes that 'South Korea's ODA to ASEAN members, including the CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam) countries, has been driven by economic motivations, principally expanding trade and investment by South Korean enterprises.²⁰ The pilot project also showed satisfactory results, except for politically volatile Nepal. Saemaul Training Center, located in South Korea, provided an opportunity to learn about the New Village Movement

17. Jong-su Lee and Chan-ho Kwon, "Study on ODA integration - Mongolian Saemaul Undong ODA" Focus, *Collection of papers presented at the Korean Society for Policy Studies Winter Conference*, 2011, 157-165. Also see, *JoongAng Ilbo*, July 22, 2009.

18. *JoongAng Ilbo*, November 9, 2010

19. Kim Hyo-Sook, The Political Drivers of South Korea's Official Development Assistance to Myanmar, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2018, 485.

20. Kim Hyo-Sook, The Political Drivers of South Korea's Official Development Assistance to Myanmar, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2018, 480.

for 30 years, from 1974 to 2004. The number of foreigners who have visited is 41,610 from 133 countries. Meanwhile, the dissemination project of the movement is mainly carried out directly by foreign officials and scholars in Korea. It extended help in various forms, such as visiting centers, receiving training, and going on field trips. In addition, dispatching instructors directly to foreign training centers (such as Malaysia) or missionaries There were also individual activities undertaken by farmers and philanthropists. The New Village Movement started with the three village development projects in Vietnam's Hatay Province in 1999. The center is also working in East Timor, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Congo, Mongolia, Russia's Sakhalin, and China. Recently, universities and local governments have actively responded to internationalization, such as sending college students overseas as Saemaul leaders, educating and training foreign village leaders, and conducting Saemaul-related research overseas.²¹

Conclusion:

In conclusion, the Saemaul Movement contributed to achieving the Korean rural development program, agricultural productivity, and rural income improvement. There are different opinions about the developmental model and role of political leaders in the success of the Saemaul Movement. However, the Saemaul Movement encapsulated the entire endeavor to economically and socially improve rural areas into a sweeping national movement. The all-encompassing movement rallied the bureaucracy, elevated village life and farming as a profession, and recruited volunteers for the campaign. This movement not only created a national sentiment about development but also formed a rural community committed to rural development and welfare. This movement has been attracting the attention of developing countries, and even some South Asian countries are implementing it successfully.

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