THE KOREAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM: AN OUTLINE OF THE LOCAL DECISION MAKING STRUCTURE AFFECTING URBAN AND RURAL PROJECTS

LINDA LESSNER

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This document summarizes the salient features of the Korean system of local government and relies heavily upon major studies by Korean and other scholars.

The author wishes to thank Mr. Bertrand Renaud for the use of his extensive collection of materials on Korea and for his helpful comments.
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I. INTRODUCTION

The National Land Development Plan 1972-81 unveiled by the Ministry of Construction in 1971 gives top priority to decentralizing Seoul City and creating a Seoul Metropolitan Area as the capital city of the 1980s. The implementation of this official policy is particularly affected by two factors outside the development planning process: The Korean legal system (see Legal Framework, Paper) and the administrative structure. This paper provides background on the administrative organization of the local government units of Korea. It outlines the constitutional and related legal provisions concerning central and local autonomy, describes the management structure of the bureaucracy and the four-tier system of government and presents brief overview of the administrative structure of physical planning. The Korean administrative system is quite compatible with the concept of the rational, efficient allocation of resources as embodied in the National Land Development Plan, but the decentralization policy outlined in the Plan raises some administrative issues which are discussed in the concluding section.

II. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING LOCAL AUTONOMY

The concept of local self-government was formally recognized in the constitution of 1948 and elaborated in the Local Autonomy Law enacted in 1949. Prior to the promulgation of the Local Autonomy Law during the reign of the Yi dynasty, the 35-year period of Japanese occupation, and the three years of United States military occupation, local government units were expected to function in a purely administrative way, unrelated to the political process at the local level. National tradition dictated that local governments were subject to the bureaucratic control of the national
government. After independence, there was an attempt under the influence of
the United States to adopt a Western type system as embodied in the first
Local Autonomy Law in which a publicly elected local council voted to choose
local officials to manage local administration. A lack of familiarity with
these concepts of government resulted in the breakdown of the system because
of the frequent use of non-confidence votes against local officials. In
1956, under an amendment to the Local Autonomy Law, the indirect election of
local officials was replaced by a system of direct election for a term of
three years, the main objective of which was to restrain councilmen and limit
the number of local council meetings, thereby removing the local council's
authority to cast non-confidence votes against local officials and deleting
the power of the local officials to dissolve the local council. Another
amendment to the Local Autonomy Law, also passed in 1956, allowed mayors to
appoint officials above the level of ward chiefs in cities other than Seoul.
The movement away from popular participation in the local governing process
continued with an amendment allowing the national government to appoint city
mayors and chiefs at lower levels of local government and renewing the power
of no-confidence vote by the local council and the power of mayors and chiefs
of lower local governments to dissolve the local council.

The Student Revolution of 1960 ousted the Sygman Rhee regime and
restored local autonomy with heads of local governing units chosen by universal,
direct, secret ballot. But, the system was never implemented because the mili-
tary coup of May 1961 suspended the new local autonomy provisions. Under the

1/ S. Choe, A Critical Review of Regional Development Planning with Special
Reference to Local Industrial Development Program in Korea, (Ph.D. Disser-
tation, the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University
of Pittsburgh, 1974), pp. 91-100.
Local Autonomy Law of 1961, the lowest local autonomous units, eups (towns) and myons (townships) were abolished and replaced by guns (counties) with appointed local officials and many city boundaries were redrawn.

The Ministry of Home Affairs took over the powers exercised by the local administrative units. Civilian government was restored in 1963, but local autonomy was deferred because the enactment of Presidential Decrees (procedural by-laws), which explain and implement National Assembly legislation, had been delayed. No office below the national level is elective. All local officials from provincial governors to county chiefs and city mayors are appointed, reflecting a political form which resembles a vortex in which the dynamic elements of society are swept upward toward central power. This is reinforced by the complementary nature of the weak horizontal structure of government and the strong vertical pressure.

Articles 114-115 of the present Constitution, adopted in November 1972, provide for a local assembly, but it acts only in an advisory capacity, having no decision-making power.


The organizational changes which have been taking place since the suspension of local autonomy in 1961 have indeed influenced administrative behavior as well as the regional planning process. Immediately apparent is the degradation of the status of local government. There has been a proliferation of new administrative units, but some local administrative functions have been assimilated into central agencies. The increase in the number of administrative units has not always been accompanied by expanded functions and decision-making powers for local government. The vertical integration and alignment of central-local functions have been used to expand administrative units while at the same time, reducing or eliminating bottlenecks in the coordination of central and local government functions. In a highly centralized bureaucracy, such as the Korean one, central ministries have their own line structures within local government for establishing a distinct chain of command and execution which would otherwise fall under the authority of the local unit.

Over time, the distinction between local and national government functions has diminished. The national government exerts absolute power over inter-local coordination; it may consolidate or annex local jurisdictions without the agreement of the local governments concerned and may delegate or withdraw authority to and from local governments at will. Gradually, the national government has been circumventing and usurping the functions of metropolitan government in the planning and execution of programs and exercising strong influence over inter-local conflicts. S. Choe has described the organizational alignment of local government as "degrading local government to national government's de facto field office to carry out the assignments given by national governments."

1/ S. Choe, A Study of the Ability of the Legal System to Facilitate Urban Renewal in Korea (SEADAG Project No. 70101, 1972), pp. 32-36. Corporations fully owned by the government include the Korea Water Resource Development Corporation and the Korea Housing Corporation; those initially owned by the government and private sources include the Korea Housing Bank and the Korea Electricity Company. See Legal Framework for further details.

Thus far, the centrally controlled field offices and government enterprises have been able to intervene in inter-local conflicts, overshadowing the authority of local administrative units. The Korea Housing Corporation, the Water Resources Development Corporation and the Korea Highway Corporation are backed by the central government and work with city and local level administrations. These corporations have preempted areas of possible inter-jurisdictional conflict, thus weakening the case for local government solutions to local problems. The development of locally initiated corporations is a possible means of linking local ambitions to centrally formulated programs. Obviously, the spirit of the Constitution has not been reflected in the formulation and implementation of legislation pertaining to local autonomous entities. It is not clear, however, that any constitutional guarantee of local self-government could prevail against an unwilling central government. At issue is not what are the proper roles for central and local government to play but to find what if any residual functions remain after strong central intervention in local affairs.

The implementation of local autonomy has been inhibited by three factors: (1) the lack of preparation for local autonomy, which resulted in inefficiency in the operation of the councils, in conflicts between the council and the independent chief and in weak local control over the population; (2) the lack of local financial resources and (3) the central government's detailed supervision of local government. When local autonomy was initiated, it was never provided with the necessary supportive assistance in the form of substantive local and regional development programs. Thus, deprived of the basic elements which could breathe life into the system,
local autonomy, except in the case of the Seoul Special City Government has remained a legal creation of no real significance. When the number of substantive programs increased, there was no efficient autonomous local machinery to implement them. If the fiscal dependency of local authorities upon the central treasury decreases, and if local administrative units put forth their own development projects, it is possible that the atmosphere for local autonomy will improve.

Greater local emphasis on development programs has changed the functional balance within the local administrative structure by gradually removing the traditional focus of administrative control from the Home Affairs Bureau of the provinces to the planning unit of the governor's office. The decentralization of new industrial centers to various provinces should create new sources of income and wealth which may stimulate greater demand for local autonomy in the long term. Another vehicle for increasing local autonomy is the growing pressure of environmental concerns, especially in Pusan. Local autonomy cannot be realized without the necessary human resource of competent administrators at the local level and requires a closer examination of the personnel structure as administered through the National Public Service and the Local Public Service. (See Chapter IV).

III. THE FOUR TIER SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

A. Background

Korea is administered by a centralized presidential form of government with nominal division of state powers into the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Constitutional amendments in 1972 lessened the independence of the judiciary from the executive and reduced the powers of the National Assembly.

Historically, there is no record of local autonomous governing units in Korea. There have, however, been a few instances of local autonomous institutions, such as the Hyangoo and the Hyangyak which were developed by Korean scholars of the Chinese classics, but these institutions functioned in a moral rather than in a political sense. Because local government has always been subject to central government control, strong hierarchical relationships between the traditional role has been two administrative divisions have developed since the local government's to carry out the local programs advocated by the central government. With the increasing number of programs and the expansion of existing projects closer contacts continue to grow because of the central government's broad powers and control over local government administration.

1/ See C. Cho, The Systems of Local Government in South Korea as Affected by Patterns of Centralized Control, (D.P.A. Dissertation, Political Science, Public Administration, the George Washington University, 1968), Chapter II, pp. 12-46 for an historical review of the features of local government from the pre-Yi dynasty to the United States military occupation. This section relies to a great degree on Mr. Cho's dissertation.
The hierarchy of local government is based on a four-tier system. These four tiers being the central authority, the provincial-level of government, the county or city level and the town or village level. This highly centralized system has existed nearly as long as Korean history, no matter what political group has been in power. Its deep historical roots and sociological significance have not diminished with the passage of time. The current system stems from the Chinese administrative practices adapted by the Silla Dynasty in the sixth century.

At times one or two tiers have been added to or removed from the basic four-tier system, but the separate entities have continued to exist. The structure of the decision-making process is characterized by top-down leadership where the central government controls the provincial governments, which control the county governments, which control the town and village governments. Below the town and village governments are semi-governmental organizations called ri or tong which may be considered neighborhood associations outside the formal governmental structure. The neighborhood associations are more important sociologically than legally.

At each level of local government is the local chief or head and a local assembly which has little effective power. The heads of government at each level are in theory responsible for local administration and the local assembly, for making rules and passing ordinances pertaining to local interests. In effect the local units administer the programs initiated, financed and controlled by the central government. There is no local judiciary function.

Legally, each ministry is given authority to direct and supervise the local government on matters in its functional area, especially at the provincial level. In spite of the authority given to other ministries, local governments basically remain under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The
MOHA has a Minister, Vice-Minister and under them is the Bureau of Local Government which controls not only the personnel of the local governments who belong to the central personnel systems (governors, mayors, county commissioners, etc.), but also the financial affairs of local governments which include budgets, accounting and auditing, tax collection and disbursement, local borrowing and central grants and subsidies. Previously the MOHA supervised local and national elections, while less important now, the electoral responsibility emphasizes the political character of the Ministry and its sensitivity to political forces.

Besides its role in the administration of local government affairs, the MOHA plays an important role in the development planning process of local units.

Heads of administrative units other than Seoul and Pusan are recommended by the Minister of Home Affairs for formal appointment by the President. Mayors of cities other than the two special cities and Taegu and county chiefs (Kunsu) are members of the civil service and recommended by the provincial governor for appointment by the President. Heads of towns (eupchang) and townships (myun jang) are appointed by county chiefs; heads of wards (ku chong jang), by mayors or heads of towns and village chiefs (rijang), by heads of townships.

There are two categories of local administrative organs: Ordinary and special. The former refers to general administrative offices related to provincial and county governments, the latter to specialized organs such as local tax bureaus and construction offices. At the local level, the structure and personnel of government is largely oriented toward the central organs--i.e., the Ministry of Home Affairs. The MOHA contains one office and two bureaus: A Planning and Management Office; a Local Administration Bureau and Police Bureau. The Planning and Management Office is responsible for establishment, consolidation and coordination of guidelines for the Ministry's basic operation programs; formulation and

1/ C. Cho. The Systems of Local Government in South Korea, p. 79.
execution of the budget and personnel management and management improvement programs. The Police Bureau is responsible for all police and fire activities in the nation, and directly supervises all police and fire personnel. The Local Administration Bureau consists of five divisions: Administration, Guidance, Planning and Inspection, Finance, and Local Tax. The Local Administration Bureau provides the staff arm for the Minister of Home Affairs.

Generally, the local government's planned expenditure must be approved by the appropriate central government ministry according to the overall budget, and by the central government through the mayor. Local governments currently submit development plans to both the Ministry of Construction and the Administration Division of the Local Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs; local government plans must be adjusted to national plans and objectives. The only exception to this is the Special City of Seoul which submits its budget and development plans to the Office of Prime Minister for approval. Local tax rates and bases are specified by national tax structures. Any changes in tax and user charges are subject to the approval of central government. All local government borrowing also requires central government approval. Ties between the central government and city government are reinforced through a system of grants from the central government and shared taxes.


2/ Roy W. Bahl and Michael J. Wasylenko, Urban Public Finances in Developing Countries: A Case Study of Seoul, Korea, The World Bank, Developing Economics Department, Urban and Regional Economics Division, Urban and Regional Report No. 77-3, April 1976.
When appointment and lines of responsibility are centrally-oriented as in Korea, independent local initiative in policies and programs is kept to a minimum. Nonetheless, provincial governors and selected mayors, because of their direct relationship to the central government, can take administrative actions within the framework of established law, and can issue municipal or provincial regulations without reference to local organs. Most provincial and municipal governments have bureaus for home affairs, finance, industry, education, social affairs, and police. While lower level personnel are not in a position to instigate significant innovations or to take policy decisions, they do have a stabilizing role providing administrative continuity during times of crisis or changeover in higher level staff who may not be well informed on local circumstances. In sum, the system is highly centralized, local autonomy is practically nil and top-down planning and financial links serve as a means to control subordinate administrative units.

B. Provincial Level Government

Korea is currently divided into eleven provincial level administrative units -- nine provinces, each headed by a governor, the Special City of Seoul, and the direct control city of Pusan, both headed by mayors. The eleven units differ in size, population, degree of urbanization, political sophistication and income levels, but they share the same legal status.

The provinces are based on the units established in the fifteenth century during the Yi dynasty. These units are associated with major river basins (see Map 1). Some of the original provinces were divided during Japanese occupation and further changes were made after World War II when Cheju Island was accorded provincial status and the capital city of Seoul was given special
status as an entity independent of the province in which it was located. and other large cities
Pusan was given similar status in 1963. Currently Seoul and Pusan are
divided into gas, which are sub-divided into dong. The Military Demarcation
Line splits off portions of the two northernmost provinces of Gyeongyi and
Gangwon in South Korea. The provincial level governments, with the exception
of Seoul whose mayor reports directly to the Prime Minister, are under the
direct supervision of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Special City of
Seoul and the direct control city of Pusan are unique in that they are not
under the jurisdiction of the provinces in which they are geographically
located. This frequently leads to coordination problems in terms of overall
metropolitan development planning.

1. Special City of Seoul

In 1966, Seoul was elevated to the status of special city, which
meant it could manage its affairs by direct contact with the central govern-
ment, was not under provincial jurisdiction and could raise some of its own
financial resources. The rank of the Mayor of Seoul and his immediate sub-
the Vice-Mayors, ordinates was equated with their provincial counterparts. Because Seoul was
the fastest growing city in the country in terms of population and was adminis-
tratively the most complex, its unique requirements had to be taken into account.
Under the Special Measures Law on Administration of the Special City of Seoul,
promulgated in 1962, Seoul was from the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs.
By reporting directly to the Prime Minister and being allowed to attend cabinet
meetings and speak on behalf of the city, the Mayor of Seoul has greater inde-
pendent authority than any of the other governors or mayors at the provincial
level. The Mayor of Seoul is appointed by the President upon the recommendation
of the Prime Minister and is assisted by two Vice-Mayors. Seventeen other
bureaus report to the Mayor through the two Vice-Mayors. The Mayors’ functions cover the preparation and implementation of the budget and the levying and collecting of all local taxes, rents and fees. Within the limits established by the central government, the Mayor can exercise broad decision-making and/or executory powers, with little or no check at the local level.

In fiscal matters, there is little decentralization in decision-making within the city, either in terms of local government units operating within Seoul or in terms of influence on expenditure decisions at the neighborhood level. The single exception is school finance, which in Seoul is administered by a semi-autonomous Education Commission. The Mayor of Seoul is the Chairman of the Commission, which is responsible for educational planning, including expenditure decisions, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education at the national level. Although the education budget is approved by the Ministry of Education and not the city government administration, it is recorded as a special account of the Seoul City budget.

Seoul is divided into twelve wards (gus): Jongro-gu, Jung-gu, Dongdaemun-gu, Seongdong-gu, Seongbug-gu, Dobong-gu, Seodaemun-gu, Mapo-gu, Yongsan-gu, Yeongdaungpo-gu, Gwanag-gu, and Gangnam-gu. Each ward has an office, which is a branch office of the municipal government under the supervision of the city government charged with transmitting neighborhood problems to the central administration, assessing and collecting taxes and issuing licenses, permits, registration documents, etc. Under the wards, there are 317 dongs. Decisions concerning the level and function of expenditures within any given neighborhood (dong) are taken at the city level.

2/ Hapdong News Agency, Korea Annual: 1975, p. 82.
### LOCAL AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATIONS

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<th>Lowest Sub Division</th>
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<th>Appointed by</th>
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<td>County (GUN)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>President</td>
<td>City (SHI)</td>
<td>Precinct (DONG)</td>
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<td>Ward (KU)</td>
<td>Precinct (DONG)</td>
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<td>Seoul</td>
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<td>(Rank 3-A/B)</td>
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<td>Chief (KUCHUNGJANG)</td>
<td>President (Rank 3-A/B)</td>
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<td>over 1,000,000)</td>
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<td>(Rank 3-A/B)</td>
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<td>City (Population</td>
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<td>County (Rural District)</td>
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<td>(GUN)</td>
<td>(Rank 3-A/B)</td>
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<td>Township (Population Precinct (RI) less than 20,000)</td>
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<td>Chief (MYUNJANG)</td>
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<td>(RI)</td>
<td>(Special Category)</td>
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Source: USAID/Korea, Local Administration System in Korea, 1968.
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<td>Cheju Province (Cheju-do)</td>
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Map 1. Republic of Korea, Administrative Subdivisions

LEGEND

--- Internal Administrative Boundary
○ Internal Administrative Capital
⊙ National Capital
------------------- Military Demarcation Line

THE ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KOREA
(As of 1975)

President

National Assembly

Prime Minister

Ministry of Home Affairs

Special City of Seoul

Gu/Ward

Dong/Precinct

Gu/Ward

Dong/Precinct

Si/City

Gu/Ward

Dong/Precinct

Gun/County

Eup/Town

Myon/Village

Tong or Ri

Puraks or T'ongs

Pans

1/ Branch Offices of Municipal Governments
2/ Community Associations
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>1,519</td>
<td>6,382</td>
<td>11,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chungcheong Nam Do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>4,338</td>
<td>10,710</td>
<td>22,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeongra Bug Do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1,580</td>
<td>6,560</td>
<td>2,624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeongra Nam Do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>6,229</td>
<td>7,740</td>
<td>27,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyeongsang Bug Do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>5,534</td>
<td>14,463</td>
<td>40,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyeongsang Nam Do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>4,964</td>
<td>10,063</td>
<td>26,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeju Do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>3,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL TOTAL</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>1,374</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>30,545</td>
<td>82,615</td>
<td>242,411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

1. Governor

2. Deputy Governor

3. Public Information Office

4. Planning and Inspection Office

5. Home Affairs Bureau
   1) General Affairs Section
   2) Local Affairs Section
   3) Surveys and Statistics Section
   4) Finance Section
   5) Accounting Section

6. Public Health and Social Affairs Bureau
   1) Social Affairs Section
   2) Public Health Section
   3) Medicine Section
   4) Women's Affairs Section (Kyunggi-Do only)
   5) Sanitation Section (Chungchong-Namdo only)
   6) Child & Maternal Health Section (Chungchong-Namdo only)

7. Agriculture & Forestry Bureau
   1) Agriculture Administration Section
   2) Agriculture Production Section
   3) Farmland Improvement Section
   4) Farmland Reclamation Section (except Chungchong-Pukto and Kangwon-Do)
   5) Forestry Section

8. Production Bureau
   1) Commerce & Industry Section (except Kyungsang-Pukto)
   2) Food Administration Section
   3) Livestock Section
   4) Fishery Section (Except Cholla-Namdo and Kyungsang-Namdo)
   5) Sericulture Section

9. Commerce & Industry Bureau (Kyungsang-Pukto only)
   1) Commerce Section (Kyungsang-Pukto only)
   2) Industry Section (Kyungsang-Pukto only)

Local Admin. AID (1968).
10. **Fishery Bureau** (Cholla-Namdo & Kyungsang-Namdo only)
   1) Fishery Administration Section (Cholla-Namdo & Kyungsang-Namdo only)
   2) Production Section (Cholla-Namdo & Kyungsang-Namdo only)
   3) Facilities Section (Cholla-Namdo & Kyungsang-Namdo only)

11. **Construction Bureau**
   1) Regional Planning Section
   2) Construction Section (Kyunggi-Do & Chungchong Pukto only)
   3) Highway Section (except Chungchong-Pukto & Kyunggi-Do)
   4) Flood Control Section (except Chungchong-Pukto & Kyunggi-Do)
   5) Tourism & Transportation Section
   6) City Planning Section (Kyunggi-Do & Kyungsang Namdo only)

12. **Police Bureau**
   1) Police Administration Section
   2) Public Safety Section
   3) Security & Communications Section
   4) Criminal Investigation Section
   5) Intelligence Section

Local Admin. AID (1968)
Source: USAID/Korea, Local Administration System in Korea, 1968.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gu</th>
<th>No. of Dong Offices</th>
<th>No. of Dong</th>
<th>No. of Tong</th>
<th>No. of Ban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jongro-gu</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>2,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jung-gu</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>2,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongdaemun-gu</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>4,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seongdong-gu</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>4,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seongbuk-gu</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>4,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobong-gu</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>3,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seodaemun-gu</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>3,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapo-gu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>2,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongsan-gu</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>2,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeongdeungpo-gu</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>5,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwanag-gu</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>4,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangnam-gu</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eunpyung Branch Office</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>2,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheunho Branch Office</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>1,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangseu Branch Office</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>1,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul City</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>8,717</td>
<td>45,512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Seoul Statistical Yearbook, 1976
2. **Direct Control City of Pusan**

By the early 1960s, Pusan's population had grown to over one million. Its administrative requirements were no longer able to be met within the framework established for cities of 50,000 people or similar orders of magnitude. In 1963, Pusan was elevated to the status of direct control city. No longer was the city under the jurisdiction of the provincial government of Gyeonsang Namdo. The legal significance of direct control is similar to the pre-1962 special city policy applied to Seoul in which the Mayor of Pusan and his directors have the same rank as the provincial governor and provincial directors. Pusan, as in the case of the provinces, but unlike the Special City of Seoul, is directly responsible to the Minister of Home Affairs.

3. **Provinces**

The boundaries of the nine provinces were historically determined in the fifteenth century by the physical geography of the country and are associated with major river basins (see Map 1). Administrative practices established under the Japanese occupation served as a basis for the institutional arrangements established under the 1948 constitutional guarantee of local autonomy. The provinces function under the control of the central government with the major source of funds being the central treasury. The present system of provincial government is no less centralized than that of the Japanese colonial regime. The governor and vice-governor are appointed by the central government. Despite constitutional provisions, there is no local assembly to direct provincial affairs on an autonomous basis.

Cities are divided into three categories. The first category includes six cities (Incheon, Daejeon, Gwangju, Daegu and, of course, Seoul and Pusan) with populations over 500,000. The cities usually employ a greater number of civil servants and have a more complex administrative structure.
These cities have bureaus (kuk) in their internal administrative structure, as stipulated by the March 1973 revision of the Temporary Measures for Local Autonomous Law. The second category includes ten cities, each with a population of 150,000 - 500,000 or cities serving as provincial capitals. These cities usually have one or two more sections in their internal structure than the third category of cities, which covers the rest of the municipalities of city status with a population of 50,000 - 150,000 and which are not provincial capitals. The other cities fall into the third category.

C. City/County Level Government

1. City

In theory, the city and county are "local autonomous entities." Legally, both are under the supervision of the provincial government, which including Seoul and Pusan. is responsible to the central government. As of 1975, there are 35 cities.

Cities (shis) have populations of more than 50,000 and are usually urban in character. When a municipality is given the status of a city, it no longer comes under the jurisdiction of the county. Because the city is at the same level as the county, the city in effect deals directly with the provincial government, not through the county government which acts as an intermediary between the provinces and municipalities of less than 50,000.

The city mayor is of the same rank as a county commissioner. City government is divided into divisions (kwa) for internal administrative purposes. In the towns and villages, a division is not allowed. Administrative divisions are limited to units (kye). The names of the internal subdivisions indicate the legal status of the municipality.
ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY (GUN) OFFICE

COUNTY CHIEF
(GUNSOO)

Public Information Office

Home Affairs Section
Social Affairs Section
Finance Section
Industry Section
Construction Section

Fishery Section
Forestry Section

Source: USAID/Korea, Local Administration System in Korea, 1968.
TOWN (EUP) ORGANIZATION

CHIEF
(EUP-CHANG)
Deputy Chief
(Boo Eup-Chang)

General Affairs
Sub-Section

Social Affairs
Sub-Section

Finance
Sub-Section

Census Regist.
Sub-Section

Industry
Sub-Section

Construction
Sub-Section

Source: USAID/Korea, Local Administration System in Korea, 1968.
TOWNSHIP (MYUN) ORGANIZATION

CHIEF
(MYUN CHANG)
Deputy Chief
(Boo Myun Chang)

General Affairs Sub-Section
Finance Sub-Section
Census Registration Sub-Section
Industry Sub-Section

Source: USAID/Korea, Local Administration System in Korea, 1968.
South Korea has 35 cities (including the Special City of Seoul and the Direct Control City of Pusan). With the exception of Seoul and Pusan, all cities regardless of size of population share the same legal status. However, the larger cities occupy a different place in the hierarchical order and have a different internal structure from the smaller cities. Although Taegu has not been designated as a special city, its Mayor is also directly responsible to the central government on urban matters.

2. Counties

In 1961, the "Extraordinary Measures Law on Local Autonomy" made the county a local autonomous entity equal to the city in legal status, while abolishing the local autonomous entity status of towns and villages. The county government was given complete charge of administering the towns and villages which have no legal autonomous status. Prior to 1961, the county had served as an election district and the county government occupied an intermediate position between the provincial government and the municipalities, serving as a branch office of the provincial government without the legal status of a local autonomous entity.

Although the Extraordinary Measures Law made the county government a legally autonomous entity, the practice of local self-government has been limited since there is no election of the county council nor of the head of county government. The county commissioner is named by the central government and the functions of the county assembly are controlled by the provincial government. There are four section level units, under the county commissioner, to handle internal affairs and, economics and finance, and construction; and offices of community development, public health and public information.
Since gaining the status of a local autonomous entity, the functions and authority of county governments have been strengthened by an enlarged tax basis because of the inclusion of town and village residents under their tax jurisdiction and by the integration of a few of the local branch offices of the central government into the county government with elevation of the civil service rank of some commissioners. According to EPB, the 1975 budget in the Statistical Yearbook, the provincial level governments received 54 percent of central government grants and subsidies and the counties, 36 percent and the cities, 10 percent.

Before 1961, no local differences in tax rates or kinds of tax were allowed. In 1961, these separate local tax measures were incorporated into a single tax law, known as the Local Tax Law, which deals with the local taxes of the provinces, cities and counties. The Law does not allow the governments of towns and villages to levy local taxes upon their residents. The taxes formerly collected by the towns and villages have been transferred to the supervision of the county governments. The only local autonomous entities which have the power to tax their residents are the 138 counties, 33 regular cities, nine provinces, and Seoul and Pusan.

Except for the special purpose tax authority allowed Seoul and Pusan, local taxes for each level of local government are uniformly regulated and thus leave little room for local adjustments which local differences may require. Central determination of the kinds and rates of local taxes for the diverse local entities tends to create, on the one hand, an unrealistic assessment of the financial needs of local governments and on the other, an irresponsible management of these financial resources.
The gaps created from one locality to another in applying the nationally standardized local tax system have charged the central government with the additional role of equalizing the financial position of local governments by collecting more taxes for the central government (which means fewer tax resources for the local units) and distributing them to local governments according to their needs. This is an example of self-perpetuating central government control over local government finance.

If the special account expenditures, which are financed mainly by revenues other than ordinary local government revenues, are separated from the general account expenditures, the impact of the central government's dominance over local finance is seen in the Table below.

Local government finance is characterized by local dependence upon central government grants and subsidies, because of weak local financial resources which force local units to seek the central government's help. In 1974, the central government's subsidies, grants and capital transfers to local governments totaled W 255.47 billion and in the 1975 budget, W 375.58 billion. Grants and subsidies amounted to about 85 percent of the total amount in each year.

## EXPENDITURES BY CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

(In Million Wons)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1975 (Budgeted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Government</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Accounts</td>
<td>569,992</td>
<td>929,267</td>
<td>1,419,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Accounts</td>
<td>734,225</td>
<td>989,118</td>
<td>1,742,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Governments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Accounts</td>
<td>235,503</td>
<td>324,939</td>
<td>348,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Accounts</td>
<td>281,075</td>
<td>366,022</td>
<td>462,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Expenditures</strong></td>
<td>1,820,795</td>
<td>2,609,346</td>
<td>3,973,224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local Expenditures as a Percentage of Total Expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Town/Village Level Government

The town and village governments are the lowest and most numerous local units in the four-tiered hierarchy. The 1961 Extraordinary Measures Law took away their autonomous status. Town (eup) status is given to a village with a population of at least 20,000; these 122 towns are usually more urban in character than the villages. There are 1340 townships (myon) as of 1975; each has a population of less than 20,000 and are basically rural in character. There are more village units than any other local government units in Korea. Prior to 1961, the town and village elected its own chief executive officer and local assemblyman. The village units were largely autonomous, although the lack of locally generated finance compelled them to seek subsidies and thereby to incur some administrative control from above.

Since 1961, town and village chiefs have been appointed by the county commissioner of the area in which they are located. Under the present system there is no longer a local assembly and the governments of the towns and villages function simply as administrative extensions of the county governments.

1. Neighborhood Associations

In municipalities of all sizes, there are many quasi-administrative units called tong or ri. They may be characterized as branch offices of the municipal governments. The size and function of the tong or ri differs from one jurisdiction to another. There are more than 18,000 tongues or ris in the municipalities. Tong is the name more commonly used in urban areas, and ri is more common to rural areas. The tong or ri cannot be classified as a governmental unit in the formal sense nor as a voluntary organization. The establishment of a tong or ri is regulated by local ordinance.
This neighborhood system was used by the Japanese colonialists for political reasons and enforcement of administrative compliance. The head of the unit was selected by the government authorities from among the village elders. He served without pay, primarily functioning as a link between the municipality and the inhabitants of its tongs or ris. The Korean government is now devising a plan to use this quasi-administrative structure as a forum for urban development movements. Now these neighborhood organizations perform multiple tasks ranging from delivery of tax notices to the collection of statistical data. The process of receiving and initiating communications between the neighborhood organization and the municipality makes these units an important part of the administration of the municipality. The neighborhood associations have no financial base. The municipality usually takes care of office expenses at the level of tongs and pans, but officials at this level do not receive wages. In rural municipalities, personnel receive compensation by grants of grain from the local residents.

2. Community Groups

Below the tong or ri are purak or (t'ong) and the pan which is composed of only a few households. They do not maintain their own offices; their chiefs are appointed by the head of the tong or ri from the area residents; and they work without compensation. These smaller groups are dedicated to the betterment of community life, meeting monthly to discuss the complaints of residents regarding the municipality and the neighborhood associations. The community groups have been targets of political criticism as sources of political abuse and unwillingness to comply with higher authority.

In the mid-60s, 14 Metropolitan Area Administrative Coordinating Councils were established as a response to urbanization, but because of the strong control of the national government, the proliferation of these units
does not indicate increasing autonomy for local government. In fact, the reverse is probably the case. In most Western countries, local governments have considerable local autonomy, financial independence and well-defined functions as to the coordination of public services with neighboring local units. Because local autonomy is practically non-existent in Korea, these issues are not of great concern. The central government still exercises strong control over metropolitan issues at all stages from planning to execution. The Coordinating Councils do provide an official, if neglected, channel for coordination and cooperation between the core city and the neighboring local entity, without resorting to drastic administrative changes.

When an inter-jurisdictional dispute has arisen, the problem was usually solved by consolidating or annexing the adjacent local government unit, resulting in areas adjacent to a city being transferred from a rural to urban classification by incorporation into the neighboring city. Incorporation has followed a cyclical pattern, with 1963 being the period of most intensive annexation since the independence of Korea. Past trends of annexation may be characterized by a pattern of converting land from rural to urban use, but recent trends have been in the direction of protecting agricultural land, with some land being returned to rural use.
IV. THE MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE OF THE BUREAUCRACY: THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE AND THE LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE

The problem of recruiting competent administrators at the local level stems from the duality of the local personnel system, which reflects the centralized control over the local administrative structure. Local government officials and employees may belong to one of two separate personnel systems - the National Public Service, a personnel system for the central government, and the Local Public Service, for local government employees not attached to the central government. In formal structure and basic characteristics, such as political neutrality, the merit principle, post classification and the personal rank concept relating to the individual and his status relative to other individuals in the organization, the Local Public Service and the National Public Service are quite similar. Both personnel systems are controlled by the central government through the administration of the respective civil service laws. But members of the NPS, as explained later, enjoy certain career opportunities and prestige which do not present themselves to members of other service.

The National Public Service Act was enacted in 1949 and subsequently revised. The guiding principles of the Act are the merit system, maintained through competitive exams, and political neutrality, based on forbidding active participation in politics by government employees. The system was originally established along the lines of the Japanese Imperial Services' pre-World War II system. The Japanese rank system was never fully implemented because of the

1/ This section draws heavily upon the doctoral dissertation of C. Cho, *The Systems of Local Government in South Korea as Affected by Patterns of Centralized Control*. 
introduction of the position classification concept during the United States military occupation. The system became a compromise between the oriental model of rigid rank and the American model of position classification. In 1961, after the military revolution, the central government adapted the position classification. This system, however, could not fully absorb nor overcome the traditional remnants of Korean bureaucratic customs. The result is that the current system embodies a combination of rank and position models in that the employee is ranked according to his qualifications, while each position is classified according to the type of duties and responsibility of the position. Thus, an employee is classified by rank (e.g., Samukwan) and by position (e.g., Chief of Section). The central government administers this system. Those above the rank III-B are considered members of the higher civil service possessing supervisory responsibilities and the rest are within the operative level. The ranks of the higher civil service roughly correspond to the following positions in a central government ministry:

1/

Higher Civil Service Positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Director of an Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-A</td>
<td>Director of a Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-B</td>
<td>Director of a Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III-A</td>
<td>Chief of Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III-B</td>
<td>Chief of a Sub-Section</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historically, the personnel administration of the local government has been dominated by the central government which holds the power to appoint, examine, promote and fire local officials. Traditionally, the central government, through an examination system, appointed the most intellectually qualified for the posts of provincial governors, who carried out their tasks under the supervision of the central government. Other political, administrative or judicial tasks were left entirely to each centrally appointed provincial governor. The central government's control over local government personnel surpassed any other means of institutionalized control by the central government. Consequently, the control of local personnel, including the appointment of governors, has been an issue of contention between those who favor complete local autonomy and those who adhere to the traditional central control system.

Nearly ninety percent of the officials and employees of the local governments belong to the Local Public Service, but most of the high level positions in the various government units (except the towns and villages) are staffed by National rather than Local Public Service personnel. More importantly, the positions of heads or chiefs of local autonomous units are members of the National Public Service. These positions fall into two categories: Special and general posts. The general civil service laws are not applicable to special posts which are of a political nature. General posts are non-political and general civil service laws apply in this case.

The posts of provincial governors and the mayors of Seoul and Pusan are classified as special positions of the National Public Service, while the chiefs of other local government units are classified as general positions. There has been one popular election of governors during the Second Republic
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Units</th>
<th>National Public Service</th>
<th>Local Public Service</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Amount)</td>
<td>(Amount)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(% of Total)</td>
<td>(% of Total)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul, Gu and Dong</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>10,855</td>
<td>11,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusan, Gu and Dong</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>4,215</td>
<td>4,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinces</td>
<td>1,226</td>
<td>4,190</td>
<td>5,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities and Counties</td>
<td>9,209</td>
<td>20,375</td>
<td>29,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Si and Gun)</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns and Village</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37,403</td>
<td>37,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bub and Myeon)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Government Units</td>
<td>10,875</td>
<td>77,038</td>
<td>87,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of 1960. Since the 1961 revolution, provincial chiefs have been appointed by the President, with career bureaucrats including career military offices, predominating. The history of the appointment of career civil servants to governorship posts dates from the Yi dynasty. This practice was reinforced during the Japanese occupation. Generally, the mayor of Seoul has been aligned with the political leadership, while most of the provincial governors have been career civil servants. Governors used to be chosen from the provincial political leadership, but the current tendency is to select governors from the senior officials of either the MOHA or the provinces, in what has come to be known as "open competition" among the local and MOHA bureaucrats. The term of office of the governors has generally been very short, averaging under a year and one-half during 1950-68. C. Cho attributes the high rate of turnover to the political sensitivity of the office and to the central government's response to real or imaginary threats to its control.

Other civil servants of the National Public Service in the general category assigned to local governments are: The two Vice-Mayors of Seoul with highest civil service rank, Kwallikwan (Grade I), the deputies to the provincial governors and the mayor of Pusan, with rank Isakwan (Grade II-A), and the lieutenant governors in each province, with rank Puisakwan (Grade II-B). The lieutenant governor are five bureau chiefs with rank of Sokikwan (Grade III-A); under them are the section chiefs, with rank Samukwan (Grade III-B).

At the city-county level of government, the cities have more freedom in personnel matters, but the counties have a higher proportion of National Public Service personnel than the cities, because until 1962 the county served primarily as an administrative subdivision of the provincial government unit to ease the administrative burden of the provincial governments. While nominally, and legally considered as a local autonomous entity, the county level unit is characterized by remnants of its past role as an administrative intermediary.

The city mayor and the county commissioner are appointed by the provincial government or the MOHA, subject to approval of the President. The cities are classified into three categories and the counties, into two.

The classification of the cities of the central authority affects the scope of authority as well as the hierarchical rank of the mayors. Cities are classified by size of population and administrative importance. The classifications of cities are issued in the form of Presidential Decrees and are constantly being revised. Mayors of cities belong to the National Public Service and are ranked according to the administrative category of the city they govern. The mayors of first category cities are Isakwan (Grade II-A), of second category cities, Puisakwan (Grade II-B) and of third category cities Sakikwan (Grade III-A). The same ranking system is applied to the mayors' immediate subordinates (below the level of chiefs of bureaus or sections). Staffing of the city government is regulated by central control over the internal organization of each municipality. The organizational structure below the mayor and vice-mayor is determined by the central government and is uniform throughout the country. The title of each unit of internal organization usually represents the rank of the national civil servants who head it.
For example, only cities with populations over 500,000 use the name "bureau" as the highest internal unit; the others call their highest internal unit "section."

Originally, the county governments were divided into two classes, based on population size and administrative importance. Because of complaints and problems, the classification system was abandoned, but the classification of county commissioners does remain. There are first-class county commissioners of Sokikwan (Grade III-A) and second class, of Samukwan (Grade III-B). Most of the supervisory, technical or professional posts at the county level are staffed by the National Public Service.

The use of the National Public Service personnel to staff major local government posts gives the central service almost exclusive access to staffing the lower local positions as well and also gives powerful leverage to National Public Service personnel over the careers of Local Public Service employees. This system of centralized control over local personnel means the National Public Service provides greater career opportunities and usually attracts higher caliber personnel than the Local Public Service. Although the pay-scale and other benefits are the same in comparable ranks, there are fewer higher ranking jobs open to Local Public Service employees. The chiefs of local government share, or, in effect, submit to the authority of their hierarchical superiors in internal staffing matters except for the most minor positions. Such personnel functions as training and compensation have not been entrusted to the local government. Thus, through its functions as teacher, trainer, and administrator of local government units, the central government has been able to establish an enormous amount of leverage over these units.
The Local Public Service system, which accounted for about 88 percent of local government employees in 1975, operates as a centralized civil service applicable to the entire structure of local government units. The Local Public Service Act of 1963, governs the Local Public Service, which is patterned after the National Public Service with regard to rank and classification structure, examination procedure, compensation, and job security provisions. Policy on all of these is determined by the central government. Basically, Local Public Service personnel make up the clerical, non-professional and non-supervisory staff of local government.

Towns and villages are staffed only with Local Public Service employees. Traditionally these local government units have enjoyed local control over their personnel with general legal and administrative supervision from the units above them, and with the chiefs being elected by their residents or named by the county commissioner. Since 1961, the chiefs' positions were classified as part of the career civil service, but generally the chiefs are more civic spirited than career minded in spite of the fact that they are occupying paid positions. This experiment lasted for about two years, after which, village and town chiefs were reclassified into the non-career Special Position category of Local Public Service, with the same privilege that political appointees enjoy, such as being allowed to participate in political activity. Local Public Service personnel arrangements vary according to the level of government. Since World War II, this bureaucratic system has managed to survive two revolutions and various changes in regimes because it has been bound together by three commonly accepted authority patterns which briefly are: (1) Hierarchy as the formal basis for governing inter-personal relations within the bureaucracy;

(2) administrative specialization, and (3) personalism which is reflected in the deeply rooted personal relationships underpinning the formal lines of administrative authority.  

V. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF PHYSICAL PLANNING: AN OVERVIEW

From the outset of urbanization strong governmental intervention has characterized Korean urbanization policies. The highly centralized power structure is well-suited to the administrative framework of Korean planning and has provided a degree of efficiency and promptness in decision-making sometimes at the expense of coordination of the planning process. The entire planning system was rather fragmented; each ministry does its own long-term physical planning with the Economic Planning Board in charge of economic planning. Each ministry of the triumvirate (MOHA, EPB and MOC), has contributed important elements to the planning process. MOHA provided strong leadership of local authorities; EPB had power over budgetary-decisions and expertise in economic planning; and MOC, had expertise and experience in physical and spatial planning. There was, however, no formal means of coordination among the Ministry of Construction's plans, the National Physical Development Plan, the provincial, county and city plans, the Economic Development Plan and the Ministry of Home Affairs' overall control of local budgets.


2/ Based on S. Choe, A Critical Review of Regional Development Planning with Special Reference to Local Industrial Development Program in Korea (University of Pittsburgh, Ph.D., 1974, Urban and Regional Planning).
Recently, the emphasis has switched to a more comprehensive approach to urban and regional development, especially with regard to the physical and spatial aspects of planning. In October 1971, the National Land Development Plan 1972-81 became official policy. A major goal of the Plan is the integration of the planning functions of the various ministries into a single harmonized structure. This is translated into a complicated administrative system in which a coordinator in each of the three major planning units--Economic Planning Board, Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Home Affairs--is responsible for implementation of various sections of the Plan. Under the Ministry of Construction are four bureaus whose tasks are divided along the following lines: (1) the National Planning Bureau is in charge of overall planning; (2) the Bureau of Industrial Location establishes the sites of all major new industries, and sets their material needs, number of employees, size of site, etc.; (3) the Bureau of Housing, recently separated from the Urban Planning Bureau because of strong focus on housing in the Fourth Five Year Plan, is concerned with housing in the new towns to be created, and (4) the Bureau of Urban Planning refers the planning programs (including "land readjustments" projects) of Korean cities. The four bureaus refer major issues or disagreements among ministries to the Comprehensive National Land Development Review Board which is chaired by the Prime Minister and made up of the two Vice-Chairmen, the Deputy Premier and the Minister of Construction, nine Ministers (including the head of the Economic Planning Board) and other non-governmental experts and specialists.
The Bureau of Housing and Planning is also advised by the Central Committee for City Planning. Plans prepared by city governments are first submitted to the Bureau of Housing and Planning, then to the Central Committee, with the Minister of Construction granting or denying the final approval thereby ensuring that the planning process at the local level is consistent with national objectives.

Under the Land Management and Control Act of 1973, the National Planning Bureau took on functions related to the territorial division of Korea into six land use categories: (1) agricultural; (2) forest; (3) urban; (4) industrial; (5) cultural and natural conservation and (6) other. The Land Use Control Committee, under the Bureau, recommends the boundaries of the above land classifications. The Comprehensive National Land Development Review Board gives final approval. If approved, all land use policy in urban areas is under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee on City Planning. The National Planning Bureau, via the Minister of Construction, also has the power to standardize land prices.

In matters relating to certain agricultural land use and highways, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Highway Bureau of the Ministry of Construction, respectively have broad powers.

The 1972-81 Plan attempts to provide administrative coordination among national Ministries, procedures for review and refusal of planning issues and a more precise allocation of power among government agencies, although there is some cost in terms of efficiency.

1/ See William A. Doebele, Land Policy in Seoul and Gwangju, Korea with Special Reference to Land Readjustment, January 1976, pp.1-10, for a more complete description of national physical planning and land price standardization.
MAJOR PLANNING UNITS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

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Legend —- Mandatory referral relation
--- Advisory information exchange

VI. CONCLUSION

Throughout the 1960s little attention was paid to the administrative aspects of regional planning, but in the 1970s and thereafter, the institutional framework will play a more important role in the successful implementation of urbanization policies.

There is no evidence to support the expectations that decentralization as stipulated in The National Land Development Plan policies can and will be implemented by local government units. In spite of strong central government control, industrial decentralization will spark concern amongst municipal authorities responsible for city administration and many municipal authorities may be operating policies which run counter to decentralization because such policies may be linked to certain commitments or sources of funds. Decentralization will require strong leadership from the central government. Although there is little local autonomy, the activities of government units not directly involved in decentralization policy-making may indirectly affect the basic conditions necessary for a successful policy. This means that industrial development within certain locations is unlikely to succeed if transportation, education, health and other service programs are not coordinated with industrial decentralization. There is no simple, legal or administrative solution to decentralization problems which can be implemented without the necessary base of political interest and will.

Basically, the administrative problem revolves on the clear articulation of the role of central government in local affairs and the role of local governments within the framework of overall governmental activities. From this starting point, arises a multitude of issues concerning coordination between national and local administrative units and amongst the various units within each level of

government, the mechanism to be used or established to resolve conflicts of interest, sources of financing and financial control, administrative costs, the possibility of political intervention in the execution and operation of policies, and the establishment of institutions on a continuing basis to facilitate the exchange of information in the form of reports and meetings and open communication lines between those involved in decentralization policies.