



All Highways Lead to the City: The Rural-Urban Hierarchy and the Highways in 1970s South Korea

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The highways being constructed in 1970s South Korea appeared to be completing the 'homogenization of space' between the city and the countryside. Newly constructed village roads, which allowed trucks and farm machines to work, were connected to the Seoul-Pusan Highway completed in 1970 and other highways constructed continuously during the 1970s. Through the network of village roads, secondary roads (local roads), primary roads (national freeway), and the highways, rural villages established the foundation for a network of connections to each other and ultimately to the cities. The highway was the space of movement, but it actually revealed the hierarchical views on the relationship between the countryside and the city, satisfying the demands of manufacturing capital and industrial cities. To sustain the economic growth driven by rapid industrialization, it was crucial to provide cheap agri-products to low-paid laborers living in large industrial cities. The highway narrowed the distance between urban consumers and rural producers, and motivated farmers to diversify farm produce to meet the demands of the urban market, saving distribution costs through the use of faster transportation system. Farmers began to pay more attention to the real-time price of rice and other products in the Seoul markets. Yet, farmers still suffered from relatively low commodity prices vis-à-vis manufactured goods, and often did not meet even the cost of production. The expanded urban market was merely the place where the highways delivered the cheap farm products and low-wage workers needed to fuel the growth and meet the needs of cities and manufacturing capital.

[Key Words: Highway, 1970s South Korea, Park Chung Hee, New Village Movement, Spatial Hierarchy]

I . Introduction: The Countryside and the City

In the 1960s and 70s, South Korea was full of rhetoric on the rural and the urban. The so-called “great construction projects (*Taeyŏksa*, 大役事)”¹⁾ of the period was also strategically dependent upon the comparison and contrast between the countryside and the city. In particular, the thatched roof house was remobilized at this time as a marker, demarcating urban space from the countryside. A travel account published in a 1965 issue of the *Kyŏngnyang sinmun* lamented the rural views of shabby thatched houses spreading beyond a train window.²⁾ The traveller wrote that in former times, the desperate view of the fatherland’s poverty was a heartbreaking scene for Korean students returning from studying abroad in Tokyo, the capital city of colonial empire; decades later, these views were still making the travellers of the liberated fatherland feel a similar sentiment. In this instance of temporal reminiscence about space, the rural houses had not changed since the Japanese colonial period, held in stagnant and melancholic time. The thatched houses also drew clear boundaries between the city and the countryside at the moment when the traveller looked out the train window and wrote, “If one or two tile roof houses are seen, it means that city or town is not far off there.”

Such a representation of rural space was furthered by delineating the city as a place of skyscrapers and other vast buildings. Another piece of writing in the same column described walking through downtown Seoul in 1969.³⁾ The

1) As for the pandemic motto of “great construction” and the Rural Housing Improvement Project in the 1970s, see the following publication. Naemubu chibang haengiŏngguk nongch'on chut'aek kaeryangkwa [Division of Rural Housing Improvement at the Ministry of Home Affairs], *Minjok ũi taeyŏksa: Nongch'on chut'aeksa* [*The Great Construction Project of the Nation: The History of Rural Housing*] (Seoul: Naemubu, 1979).

2) “Yŏjŏk [Excursus (Kyŏngnyang sinmun column)],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, May 20, 1965.

3) “Yŏjŏk [Excursus (Kyŏngnyang sinmun column)],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, October 29, 1969.

metropolis was a “startling” space where it was impossible to look at the whole view of high-rising buildings without “raising our nostrils to the air like the muzzles of an anti-aircraft gun.” The pedestrian associated the spectacular urban scenery of Seoul with an image of Manhattan that he (or she) had seen once in a picture. This experience gave the observer a feeling of contentment. Yet, soon in turn, the skyscrapers brought up the contrasting image of the miserable countryside as well as deep sympathy for the residents of that area. The countryside was still a place for “meagre houses which had not changed over the decades and whose insides could be viewed through the holes of a glassless door.” In a spatial and emotional process of articulation, the countryside had become diametrically paired with the city.

The New Village Movement⁴⁾ in 1970s South Korea was based on these spatial and clear-cut representations of the underdeveloped countryside and the affluent city in the period of rapid industrialization.⁵⁾ The comprehensive transformation of rural living spaces – roof, house, interior space, kitchen, and village – was also justified in through a spatio-economic politics under the guise of ‘rural modernization.’ In parallel with the construction campaigns of the New Village Movement, the highways under construction in

4) As for historical research on the Rural New Village Movement, refer to the following publications. Kim Yŏng-mi, *Kŭdŭl ūi Saemaŭl Undong [Their New Village Movement]* (Seoul: P’urŭn yŏksa, 2009); Yi Hwan-byŏng, *Nongch’on Saemaŭl Undong: Sinhwa wa yŏksa sai esŏ [The Rural New Village Movement: Between Myth and History]* (Seoul: Sŏn’in, 2017).

5) As for the strategical displays of difference on the rural and the urban in the New Village Movement, refer to the following studies. Kim Sungjo, “1970-yŏndae nongch’on chut’aek kaeryang saŏp ūi chŏn’gae: Chŏngbu, nongmin, chabon ūi kwan’gyae rŭl chungsim ũro [The dynamics among the state, farmers, and manufacturing capital in the rural housing improvement project in 1970s South Korea],” *Yŏksa wa Silhak* 64 (November 2017); Kim Sungjo, “1970-yŏndae nongch’on chugŏ kong’gan ūi pyŏnhwa wa sobija nongmin: Int’eriŏ kong’gan kwa t’ellebijŏn sobi rŭl chungsim ũro [Televisions and the new interior space: The transformation of rural housing and farmers as consumers],” *Han’guksa Yŏn’gu* 184 (March 2019).

the 1970s physically connected the countryside and the city. The highway was the space of mobility, but it actually revealed the hierarchical views on the relationship between the countryside and the city, satisfying the demands of manufacturing capital in industrial cities.

In 1970s South Korea, the highway was always the first location where the new slate roofs and urban-style houses were placed in order to propagate rural modernization. Housing officials often designed new houses to be oriented towards highways so that vehicle drivers and passengers could look at the displayed development. This directional preference of new houses was sardonically called the “highway-facing aspect (*Kosok toro hyang*).”⁶⁾ When television sets filled the electrified and expanded interior spaces in farmers’ new houses, the temporal impact of TV was often compared with the spatial influence of the highway. Supposing the annihilation of physical differences between the countryside and the city, one writer in 1977 stated that, “If the highway has made the whole nation as a ‘one-day life zone (*1-il saenghwalgwǒn*, 1일 생활권)’ in terms of space, TV is making the city and the countryside as a ‘simultaneous life zone (*Tongsi saenghwalgwǒn*, 동시 생활권)’ in terms of time.”⁷⁾

Most of all, the highway clearly exhibited how the circular production of evenness and unevenness was central to maintaining and strengthening the unequal exchange relationship of the capitalist market. As described above, diverse spatial discourses and visual strategies reproduced contrasting images between the backward countryside and the developing city in the 1970s. These were intended to promote the reconstruction of the countryside for the industrial ideal of spatial homogenization. Yet, through the reconstructed

6) “Nongch’on pom ün wannunde... (chung): Saenghwal kwa üsik [Even if spring comes to rural village... (2): Livelihood and consciousness],” *Tonga ilbo*, April 12, 1980.

7) “Nongch’on sae p’ungsokto (20): TV sidae (6), Kūpkyōkhi chophyōjinūn tonong kyōkch’a [New trend in the countryside (20): Television era (6), Rapidly narrowed gap between the city and the countryside],” *Kyōngnyang sinmun*, June 22, 1977.

new spaces, farmers' debt capital and relatively cheap agricultural produce were exchanged for manufactured commodities, on a more extensive scale and through the mediation of financial capital. To put it differently, the purportedly urbanized or homogenized living spaces actually led to another level of unevenness in the countryside. The highway in this study will provide clearer instances regarding the circular production of unevenness and evenness needed for the rapid industrialization. As the aforementioned discourse of "one-day life zone" implied, the highway represented a physical completion of homogenization between the countryside and the city. Yet, as the following sections will show, it was simultaneously found that the highway reproduced and reinforced city-centrism, the rural exodus, and the spatio-economic hierarchy between the countryside and the city.

II. One-day Life Zone

The highways being constructed in the 1970s appeared to be completing the 'homogenization of space' between the city and the countryside. Newly constructed village roads, which allowed trucks and farm machines to work, were connected to the Seoul-Pusan Highway completed in 1970 and other highways constructed continuously during the 1970s. Through the network of village roads, secondary roads (local roads), primary roads (national freeway), and the highways, rural villages established the foundation for a network of connections to each other and ultimately to the cities.⁸⁾ People widely began to coin and use a new phrase, the "one-day life zone (*1-il saenghwalkwŏn*, 1일 생활권)," which referred to the fact that the improved traffic environment

8) "Saemaül Undong 10-yŏn ūi ūmni, Nongch'on sŏ tosi ro chŏngsin hyŏngmyŏng hwaksan [Close examination on 10 years of the New Village Movement: Expansion of spiritual revolution from the countryside to the city]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, December 10, 1980.

permitted every corner of the country to be reached within a day of travel.⁹⁾ In the discourse of the one-day life zone, there seemed to be no distinction between the city and the countryside any longer; they were both part of only “one village (*Han maül*)” – an undifferentiated nation.¹⁰⁾

When the Seoul-Pusan Highway (428 km) was completed in 1970, it was often called the “nation’s main artery (*Minjok üi taedongmaek*).”¹¹⁾ It was a

9) “Nongch’on sae mosüp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yöngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosön ilbo*, December 17, 1971; “Han’guk üi chölmüni (2): Nongch’on ch’öngnyöñ [Young people of Korea (2): Rural youth],” *Kyönghyang sinmun*, January 9, 1971; “T’ül chap’inün 1-il saenghwalkwön [One-day life zone established],” *Kyönghyang sinmun*, February 10, 1971; “1-il saenghwalkwön’ e tallajinün sisok [Changing society by ‘One-day life zone’],” *Chosön ilbo*, January 12, 1973; “Chido ka pakkwinda (1): P’ürollogü [Map changing (1): Prologue],” *Maeil kyöngje*, August 15, 1973; “Minjok üi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyönghyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975; “Suhwakki nongch’on üi kada (5): Tallajin saenghwal hwan’gyöng [At rural villages in harvest season (5): Changed living environment],” *Tonga ilbo*, November 11, 1978; “Sön’gö kongyak Konghwa hwakchöng, Chön’guk panil saenghwalkwön üro [Konghwa Party confirms election pledges: The whole country to become half-day life zone],” *Kyönghyang sinmun*, November 17, 1978; “Han’guk 70-yöndaek namgin kyohun, Muöt üi kyesüng hago muöt üi pöril köt in’ga (40): Chön’guk ‘1-il saenghwalkwönhwa’ kosoktoro kaet’ong, Tonong ilch’ehwa iröbörin chibang t’üksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of ‘One-day life zone of the whole country’; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside],” *Chosön ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

10) “Hanül esö pon minjok üiji üi tongmaek, Kyöngbu Kosoktoro üi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ölli, Tallinün 1-il saenghwalkwön [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky: Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chölli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosön ilbo*, June 30, 1970.

11) “Hanül esö pon minjok üiji üi tongmaek, Kyöngbu Kosoktoro üi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ölli, Tallinün 1-il saenghwalkwön [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky: Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chölli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosön ilbo*, June 30, 1970; “Minjok üi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyönghyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975; “Kosoktoro üi kyot’ong kyöngjehak, Yut’ong sudan e k’ün pyönhwa [Traffic economics of highway; Great change in means of distribution],” *Maeil kyöngje*, April 21, 1970.

four-lane highway connecting the largest two cities Seoul and Pusan, through the Provinces of Kyŏnggi, North and South Ch'ungch'ŏng, and North and South Kyŏngsang. It was soon combined with other highways such as the Seoul-Inch'ŏn Highway (29.5 km, completed in 1968), the Ŏnyang-Ulsan Highway (14.3 km, 1969), the Honam Highway (261 km, 1973), the Namhae Highway (176.5 km, 1973), the Yŏngdong Highway (201 km, 1975), the Tonghae Highway (30 km, 1975), and the Taegu-Masan Highway (84.2 km, 1977).¹²⁾ As of 1979, the length of the eight highways was over 1,224 km in total.¹³⁾ Indeed, the 1970s was an era of road building. The main arteries of the highways built at this time were constructed in parallel with the expansion and pavement of various rural roads.¹⁴⁾ During the 1970s, farmers and local officials expanded 417 km of village entry roads, 43,558 km of village roads, and 61,797 km of farm roads.¹⁵⁾ To use the analogy of arteries, these village roads could be called 'capillaries.' The micro village roads were gradually combined with the highways, allowing trucks and cars to travel from the cities to distant rural villages, and vice versa.¹⁶⁾

12) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnsa* [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway] (Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam-si: Han'guk toro kongsa, 1980), 179-180.

13) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnsa* [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway], 179.

14) "Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro kaet'ong i molgo onŭn ch'ŏlli kil saebaram (3): Kippŭm kwa chŏhang sok ūi nongch'on [New trend in journey of a thousand miles by Seoul-Pusan Highway's opening (3): Pleasure and resistance in rural villages]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, July 3, 1970.

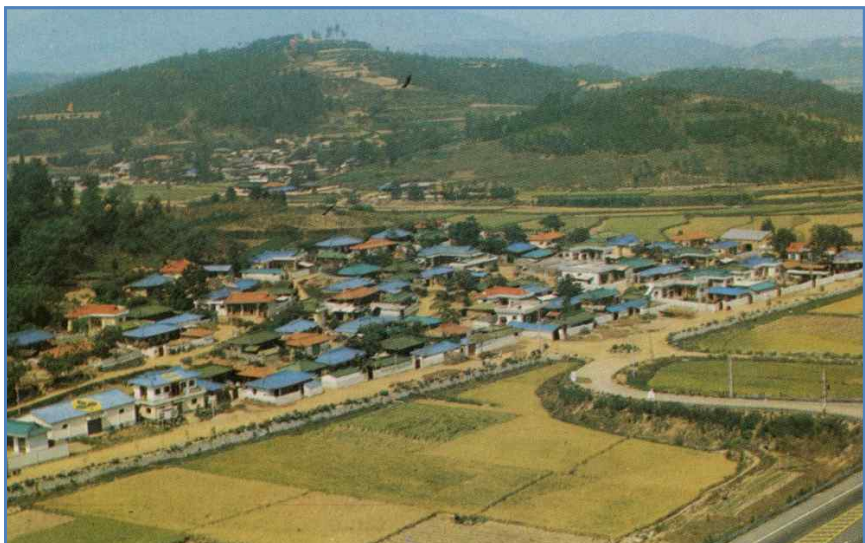
15) Naemubu [Ministry of Home Affairs], *Saemaül Undong 10-yŏnsa (Charyo P'yŏn)* [A 10 Year History of the New Village Movement: Data] (Seoul: Naemubu, 1980), 28-29.

16) "Saemaül Undong 10-yŏn ūi ūmni, Nongch'on sŏ tosi ro chŏngsin hyŏngmyŏng hwaksan [Close examination on 10 years of the New Village Movement: Expansion of spiritual revolution from the countryside to the city]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, December 10, 1980.

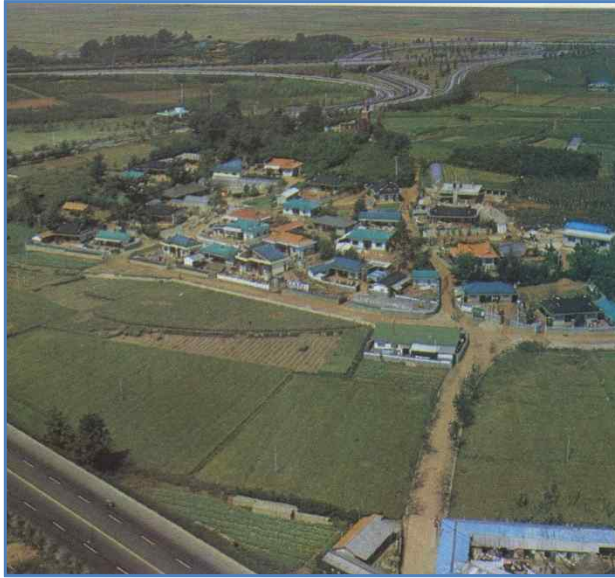
〈Picture 1〉 The Intersection of Village Entry Roads, National Roads, and Highways



(#1-1) Tongch'ŏn Village, Pukil Township, Ch'ŏngwŏn County, Ch'ungch'ŏng Province



(#1-2) Ibang Village, Taehap Township, Ch'angnyŏng County, Kyŏngsang Province



(#1-3) Södang Village, Choch'on Township, Wanju County, Chölla Province



(#1-4) Söngch'ön Village, Habuk Township, Yangsan County, Kyöngsang Province

Source: Naemubu chibang haengjöngguk nongch'on chut'aek kaeryangkwa [Division of Rural Housing Improvement at the Ministry of Home Affairs], *Minjok üi taeyöksa: Nongch'on chut'aeksa* [*The Great Construction Project of the Nation: The History of Rural Housing*] (Seoul: Naemubu, 1979), (#1-1)142, (#1-2)27, (#1-3)21, (#1-4)26.

With the expansion of roads and highways, people began to report with greater frequency a sense of the “compression of time and space.”¹⁷⁾ Newspapers competed to write about the experience of “nature-challenging”¹⁸⁾ speed and “narrowed”¹⁹⁾ distance facilitated by the new highways, saying, “Passenger cars can run between Seoul and Pusan within four hours, and good trucks within six hours.”²⁰⁾ “(Old-fashioned) peddlers and travellers, who did not know of wheels, can go 300 ri (120 km) per hour now.”²¹⁾ “Five hours travel by train between Seoul and Ch’ŏnju was shortened to three hours

17) “Kosoktoro ūi kyot’ong kyŏngjehak, Yut’ong sudan e k’ŭn pyŏnhwa [Traffic economics of highway; Great change in means of distribution],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, April 21, 1970; “Han’guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ūl kyesŭng hago muŏt ūl pŏril kŏt in’ga (40): Chŏn’guk ‘1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa’ kosoktoro kaet’ong, Tonong ilch’ehwa irŏbŏrin chibang t’ŭksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of ‘One-day life zone of the whole country’; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

18) “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

19) “Hanŭl esŏ pon minjok ūiji ūi tongmaek, Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro ūi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ŏlli, Tallinŭn 1-il saenghwalkwŏn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky; Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chŏlli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, June 30, 1970; “Kosoktoro ūi kyot’ong kyŏngjehak, Yut’ong sudan e k’ŭn pyŏnhwa [Traffic economics of highway; Great change in means of distribution],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, April 21, 1970; “Nongch’ŏn sae mosŭp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yŏngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, December 17, 1971; “‘1-il saenghwalkwŏn’ e tallajinŭn sisok [Changing society by ‘One-day life zone’],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, January 12, 1973; “Chido ka pakkwinda (1): P’ŭrollogŭ [Map changing (1): Prologue],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, August 15, 1973; “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

20) “Kosoktoro ūi kyot’ong kyŏngjehak, Yut’ong sudan e k’ŭn pyŏnhwa [Traffic economics of highway; Great change in means of distribution],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, April 21, 1970.

21) “Hanŭl esŏ pon minjok ūiji ūi tongmaek, Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro ūi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ŏlli, Tallinŭn 1-il saenghwalkwŏn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky; Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chŏlli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, June 30, 1970.

on the highway, and two and half hours between Seoul and Taejŏn shortened to only one and half hours.”²²⁾ “The endlessly far away T’aebaek areas of high and steep mountains contracted by three and half hours of traffic distance .”²³⁾ “Visiting local areas became as easy as going on a visit to a neighbouring village, one can depart from Seoul for Pusan in the morning and come back after eating lunch, completing one’s business within the day.”²⁴⁾ One reference likened riding on the new roads to the “magical method of contracting distances (*Ch’ukjisul*).”²⁵⁾

Situated within the politics of its day, the so-called “era of the highway (*Haiwei sidae*)”²⁶⁾ was at times directly associated with the rhetoric of the Cold War era. A *Chosŏn ilbo* article, written to celebrate the opening of the Seoul-Inch’ŏn Highway in 1970, said, “An asphalt-paved main road, where jet airplanes can make a landing, connects a thousand miles (*Ch’ŏlli*).”²⁷⁾ This article ends with a hopeful sentence: “The Seoul-Inch’ŏn Highway, which is entangled with the national will of penetrating mountains, filling up valleys, and crossing rivers, might be playing the great role of a main blood artery

22) “T’ül chap’inŭn 1-il saenghwalkwŏn [One-day life zone established],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, February 10, 1971.

23) “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

24) “Han’guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ūl kyesŭng hago muŏt ūl pŏril kŏt in’ga (40): Chŏn’guk ‘1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa’ kosoktoro kaet’ong, Tonong ilch’ehwa irŏbŏrin chibang t’ŭksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of ‘One-day life zone of the whole country’: Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

25) “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

26) “Nongch’ŏn sae mosŭp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yŏngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, December 17, 1971.

27) “Hanŭl esŏ pon minjok ūiji ūi tongmaek, Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro ūi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ŏlli, Tallinŭn 1-il saenghwalkwŏn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky: Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*ch’ŏlli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, June 30, 1970.

running along the unified Korean Peninsula sometime in the future.”²⁸⁾

Most importantly, however, the roads and highways furthered the representation of ‘homogenization’ between the city and the countryside. People were more likely to replace and calculate distance with hour-units, often categorizing the local areas into groups from one hour distance to five hours.²⁹⁾ (Picture 2) At the time the expression, “The whole country became a ‘one-day life zone’”³⁰⁾ was almost a cliché, which meant that every corner of the nation was reachable within a day. According to the discourse of one-day life zone, the “gap between the city and the countryside” seemed to be disappearing.³¹⁾ The gap usually indicated that of lifestyle and living

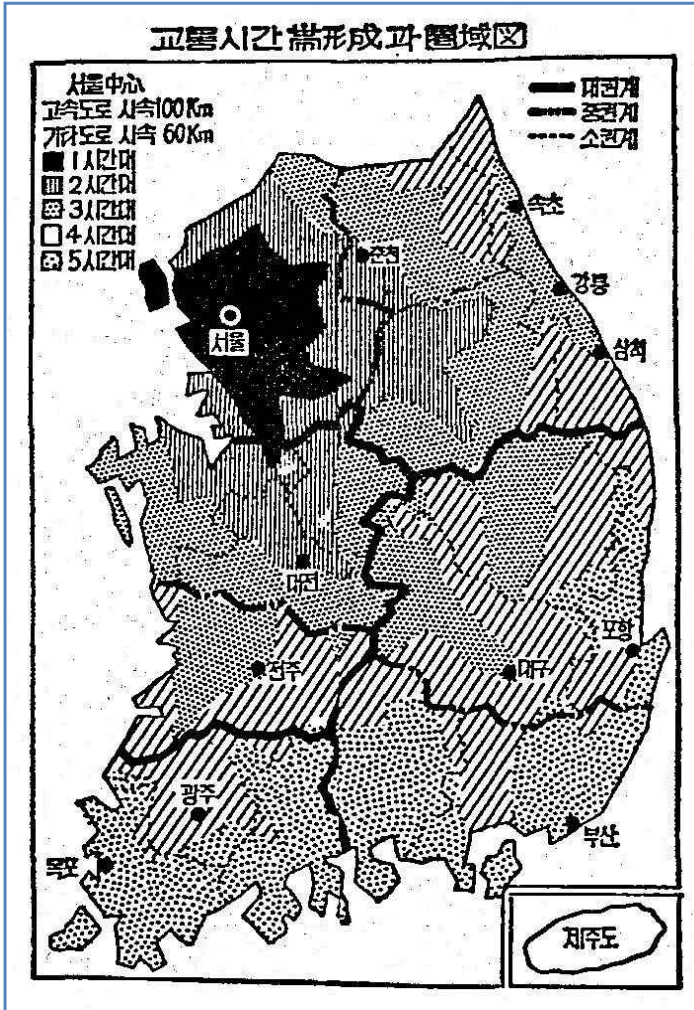
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- 28) “Hanül esõ pon minjok üjji üi tongmaek, Kyõngbu Kosoktoro üi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’õlli, Tallinün 1-il saenghwalkwõn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky; Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chõlli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosõn ilbo*, June 30, 1970.
- 29) “Ch’ochõm: Kinüngbyõl ro kukt’o kujo kaejo, Kõnsõlbu üi chonghap kaebal kyehoek naeyong [Focus: Reconstruction of national territories by function; Contents of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan by Ministry of Construction],” *Chosõn ilbo*, November 14, 1972.
- 30) “Nongch’on sae mosüp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yõngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosõn ilbo*, December 17, 1971; “‘1-il saenghwalkwõn’ e tallajinün sisok [Changing society by ‘One-day life zone’],” *Chosõn ilbo*, January 12, 1973; “Chido ka pakkwinda (1): P’ürollogü [Map changing (1): Prologue],” *Maeil kyõngje*, August 15, 1973; “Minjok üi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyõnghyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975; “Suhwakki nongch’on ül kada (5): Tallajin saenghwal hwan’gyõng [At rural villages in harvest season (5): Changed living environment],” *Tonga ilbo*, November 11, 1978; “Han’guk 70-yõndae namgin kyohun, Muõt ül kyesüing hago muõt ül põril kõt in’ga (40): Chõn’guk ‘1-il saenghwalkwõnhwa’ kosoktoro kaet’ong, Tonong ilch’ehwa irõbõrin chibang t’üksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of ‘One-day life zone of the whole country’; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside],” *Chosõn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.
- 31) “Hanül esõ pon minjok üjji üi tongmaek, Kyõngbu Kosoktoro üi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’õlli, Tallinün 1-il saenghwalkwõn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky; Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chõlli*) of highway; Running

standard.³²⁾ Occasionally, going even further than the present progressive or future tense, some declared, “the rural areas have already lost their features as rural areas by becoming a one-day life zone with the cities or even Seoul and the capital region.”³³⁾ Another wrote, “Seoul and local areas began to breathe and feel together.”³⁴⁾ Such representations of ‘homogenized’ national space appeared to prelude the presence of an overarching single ‘body’ of territory.

one-day life zone],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, June 30, 1970; “Kosoktoro ūi kyot’ong kyŏngiehak, Yut’ong sudan e k’ūn pyŏnhwa [Traffic economics of highway; Great change in means of distribution],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, April 21, 1970; “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

- 32) “Hanŭl esŏ pon minjok ūiji ūi tongmaek, Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro ūi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ŏlli, Tallinŭn 1-il saenghwalkwŏn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky; Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (*chŏlli*) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, June 30, 1970; “Han’guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ūl kyesŭng hago muŏt ūl pŏril kŏt in’ga (40): Chŏn’guk ‘1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa’ kosoktoro kaet’ong, Tonong ilch’ehwa irŏbbŏrin chibang t’uksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of ‘One-day life zone of the whole country’; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.
- 33) “Han’guk ūi chŏlmŭni (2): Nongch’on ch’ŏngnyŏn [Young people of Korea (2): Rural youth],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, January 9, 1971.
- 34) “Chido ka pakkwinda (1): P’ŭrollogŭ [Map changing (1): Prologue],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, August 15, 1973.

〈Picture 2〉 Commuting Zones According to Hours Spent in Transit



Source: *Chosŏn ilbo*, November 14, 1972.

III. The Exodus to the Cities

The complicated feature of the highways is that these sites of the

homogenization also functioned as modes of unevenness. To put it differently, unevenness took place simultaneously at the site of the homogenization. The ‘homogenized’ space by the highways always accompanied an incessant and corresponding re-differentiation between agriculture and manufacturing or between the city and the countryside. The “compression of time and space” on the highways represented the annihilation of the distinction between the city and the countryside,³⁵⁾ but thereby strengthened the central position of cities more firmly. This seemingly contradictory aspect itself was crucial to sustaining the rapid economic growth that was dependent on hyper-industrialization, which required a constant influx of people willing to work for low wages, and large stronghold cities to provide cheaper factory locations. In this system, rural areas were to play a supporting role as the source of cheap agro-products to support the low wage system.

From the beginning, the conception of the ‘center’ was inherent inside the logic of the highway-led discourse of one-day life zone.³⁶⁾ The direction or

35) “Kosoktoro ūi kyot’ong kyŏngjehak, Yut’ong sudan e k’ŭn pyŏnhwa [Traffic economics of highway: Great change in means of distribution],” *Maeil kyŏngje*, April 21, 1970; “Hanŭl esŏ pon minjok ūiji ūi tongmaek, Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro ūi kaet’ong, Haiwei ch’ŏlli, Tallinŭn 1-il saenghwalkwŏn [Artery of national will that is seen from the sky; Opening of Seoul-Pusan Highway; A thousand miles (chŏlli) of highway; Running one-day life zone],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, June 30, 1970; “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975; “Han’guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ūl kyesŭng hago muŏt ūl pŏril kŏt in’ga (40): Chŏn’guk ‘1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa’ kosoktoro kaet’ong, Tonong ilch’ehwa irŏbŏrin chibang t’ŭksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of ‘One-day life zone of the whole country’; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

36) “Nongch’on sae mosŭp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yŏngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, December 17, 1971; “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

desire of the one-day life zone was simply reflected in the following news reports: “Seafood caught in the East or South Sea in the morning can arrive on the dinner table of Seoul citizens on the same day,”³⁷⁾ or “[Local] merchants of tailor shop, boutique, and construction materials store feel all gloomy because their regular customers go to Seoul for shopping in pursuit of new fashions and trends.”³⁸⁾ Indeed, the one-day life zone indicated the market centrality and expanded commercial supremacy of Seoul. One of the reports enunciated this in a more outspoken manner, saying, “With the opening of highways, the city and the countryside of the whole nation became narrowed into a complete one-day life zone centering on Seoul.”³⁹⁾

Highways not only reinforced the central position of the capital city but also helped accelerate the rural exodus to other manufacturing cities. According to a 1971 sociological research paper on the influence of the Seoul-Inch’ŏn Highway on nearby rural areas,⁴⁰⁾ farming residents often became less motivated to farm due to relatively high wage levels available in the construction industry. The researchers found that many young farmers left their home village to work for urban construction companies. Increased farmland prices especially around interchange areas also encouraged farmers to sell their land and move out to the city. These research cases were found most frequently among the farmers whose village had a direct and close contact with highways. The wide-ranging change in rural population also came from the flexibility in selecting locations for new factories. The

37) “Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation],” *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975.

38) “Nongch’ŏn sae mosŭp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yŏngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, December 17, 1971.

39) “Nongch’ŏn sae mosŭp, Kosoktoro ttara p’yŏngjun [New landscape of rural villages equalized along highway],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, December 17, 1971.

40) Hong Sŭng-jik and Yi Pok-su, “Kosok toro wa chubyŏn nongch’ŏn ūi pyŏndong kwajŏng [The changing process of rural villages near highway],” *Asea yŏn’gu* [*The Journal of Asiatic Studies*] 14, no. 4 (December 1971): 1-57.

convenience of highway transportation allowed industrial factories and complexes to leave Seoul and Pusan and locate in the local areas.⁴¹⁾ As seen in Picture 3, manufacturers built new factories mainly on highway corridors in the 1970s.⁴²⁾ The number of operating factories in and around inland cities near the highways increased from 337 in 1973 to 1,105 in 1979.⁴³⁾ These data did not include industrial plants in Seoul, Pusan, and coastal cities; thus the total number of newly built manufacturers in the neighbourhood of highways was even more considerable than the given figures.⁴⁴⁾ These industrial complexes brought about the growth of nearby cities that could accommodate and supply the necessary labour power, and given their proximity, the rural areas were an increasingly important source of labour supply.

The expansion of local cities corresponded with the government's policy to

41) "Nonghyŏp chika chosa, Tosi rūl apchirūnūn nongch'on chika sangsūng ūi chŏbyŏn, Pakkuŏjin 'chudo p'aet'ŏn' [Agricultural Cooperatives' investigation of land price; Reasons for rising land price in the countryside ahead of the city; Reversed role pattern in forming land price]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, May 3, 1973; "Chido ka pakkwinda (2): Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro [Map changing (2): Seoul-Pusan Highway]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, August 16, 1973; "Minjok ūi taedongmaek kosoktoro [Highway, the main artery of the nation]," *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, November 28, 1975; "Han'guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ūl kyesūng hago muŏt ūl pŏril kŏt in'ga (40): Chŏn'guk '1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa' kosoktoro kaet'ong, Tonong ilch'ehwa irŏbŏrin chibang t'ŭksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of 'One-day life zone of the whole country'; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside]," *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

42) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnsa [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway]*, 640.

43) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnsa [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway]*, 639-640.

44) As for the details about the relocation and distribution of industrial complexes, refer to the following report. Kŏnsŏlbu and Han'guk toro kongsa [Ministry of Construction and Korea Expressway Corporation], "Kosok toro hyokwa chosa pogosŏ [An investigation report on highway's effects]" (Seoul: Kŏnsŏlbu and Han'guk toro kongsa, 1979), 198-251.

decentralize population concentrated around the capital as well. The populations of Seoul had explosively increased from 2.5 million in 1960, to 5.4 million in 1970 and 8.4 million in 1980; the population of the capital region including Seoul was already over 10 million in the 1970s.⁴⁵⁾ The government knew that the influx of population to Seoul was due mainly to the rural exodus,⁴⁶⁾ and expected to solve the problem by developing other large cities so that they could absorb the rural population rushing into Seoul.⁴⁷⁾ For the purpose of dispersing the population this way, the government

45) T'onggyech'ōng [Statistics Korea], *In'gu chut'aek ch'ong chosa* [Population and Housing Census] (Seoul: T'onggyech'ōng, Each year) (Quoted from T'onggyech'ōng and T'onggye kaebarwōn [Statistics Korea and Statistical Research Institute], *Han'guk ūi sahoe tonghyang* [Korean Social Trends, 2010] (Taejōn Kwangyōk-si: T'onggyech'ōng and T'onggye kaebarwōn, 2010), 12).

46) "Chibang tosi chipchung kaebal nongch'on in'gu yuip, Sōul kwamil makke p'yōngka kyosudan pogo [A government panel of professors advises to develop local cities intensively to stop influx of rural population and overcrowding in Seoul]," *Kyōnghyang sinmun*, June 4, 1975.

47) "Kōdae tosi, kōchōm tosi, chungso tosi, nongch'on tosi tūng chōn kukt'o rül 4-tanwi ro kaebal [Government to develop whole country under four regional categories of metropolitan cities, stronghold cities, small and medium cities, rural cities]," *Kyōnghyang sinmun*, February 28, 1970; "Sasōl: Kukt'o ūi chonghapchōk kyunhyōng kaebal ūl wihan chōnje [Editorial: Preconditions for comprehensive and balanced development of national territories]," *Chosōn ilbo*, March 1, 1970; "Ch'ochōm: Mammosū yōksa kukt'o chaep'yōnsōng, Chonghap kaebal 10-kaenyōn kyehoek kū naeyong, Tosi kongōp ūl punsan, T'ongje sok kyunhyōng kaebal mokchōk [Focus: Mammoth construction work rearranges national territories; 10-Year Comprehensive National Territorial Plan aims to decentralize urban population and industry for balanced development under control]," *Chosōn ilbo*, September 10, 1971; "Ch'ochōm: Kinūngbyōl ro kukt'o kujo kaejo, Kōnsōlbu ūi chonghap kaebal kyehoek naeyong [Focus: Reconstruction of national territories by function; Contents of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan by Ministry of Construction]," *Chosōn ilbo*, November 14, 1972; "Chibang tosi chipchung kaebal nongch'on in'gu yuip, Sōul kwamil makke p'yōngka kyosudan pogo [A government panel of professors advises to develop local cities intensively to stop influx of rural population and overcrowding in Seoul]," *Kyōnghyang sinmun*, June 4, 1975; "Kiōpch'e Sōul yuip ōkche, Taegu tūng 4-kae kōchōm tosi kaebal [Government restrains factories and companies from coming into

drafted policies to foster what they called “stronghold cities (*Kŏchŏm tosi*)” in Taejŏn, Chŏnju, Kwangju, Taegu, Ulsan, and Masan.⁴⁸⁾ These cities were located along the highways and already equipped with urban infrastructure to accommodate a large influx of people. The government expected these large stronghold cities to absorb 2.6 million by expanding industrial complexes around their suburban areas.⁴⁹⁾ In parallel with that, the government also developed the so-called “industrial belt” connecting P’ohang, Ulsan, Pusan, Masan, and Yŏsu in the expectation to induce one more million migrants.⁵⁰⁾

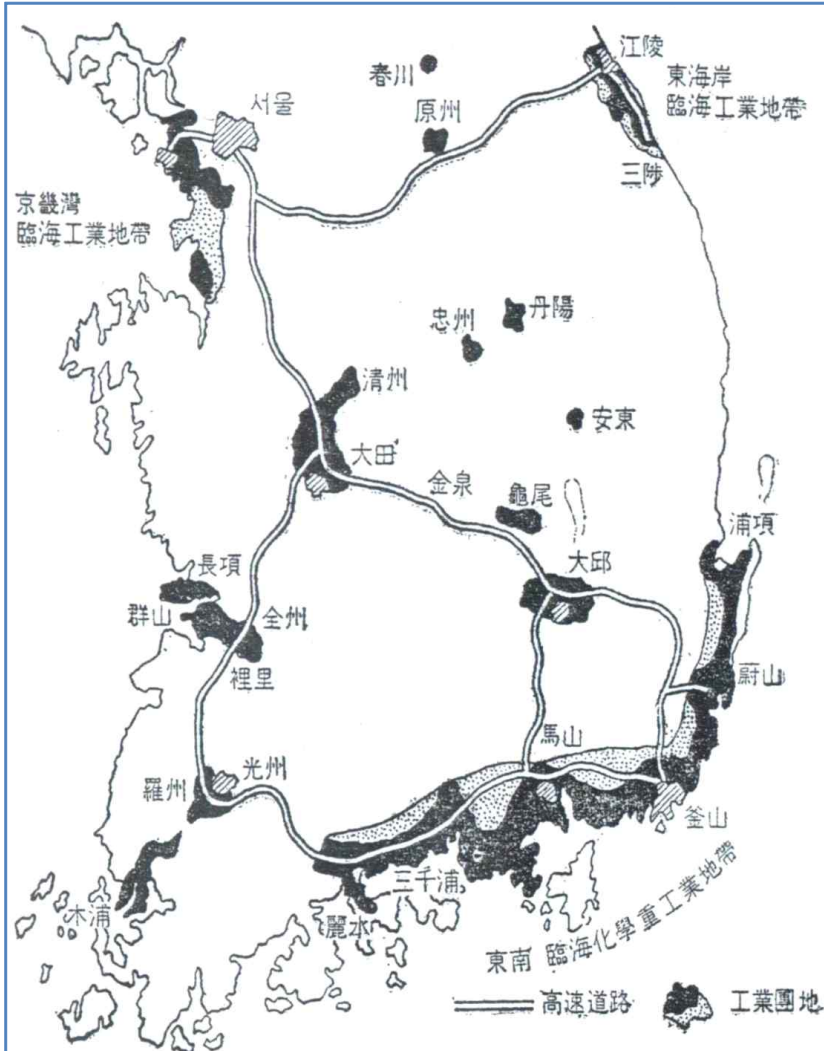
Seoul: Four stronghold cities including Taegu to developed,” *Chosŏn ilbo*, July 13, 1975; “Kukt’o kaebal kyehoek sujŏng pulgap’i, 5-kae kŏchŏm tosi pugak ūro P’ohang-Yŏch’ŏn haean kongŏp pelt’ŭhwa [Revision of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan is inevitable; Emphasis on five stronghold cities leads to the construction of an industrial belt between P’onghang and Yŏch’ŏn coasts],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 10, 1977; “Sudokwŏn in’gu chaep’yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch’ujŏk handa [In-depth report on the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark; Expectation on stronghold cities],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

48) “Chibang tosi chipchung kaebal nongch’ŏn in’gu yuip, Sŏul kwamil makke p’yŏngka kyosudan pogo [A government panel of professors advises to develop local cities intensively to stop influx of rural population and overcrowding in Seoul],” *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, June 4, 1975; “Kiŏpch’e Sŏul yuip ōkche, Taegu tŭng 4-kae kŏchŏm tosi kaebal [Government restrains factories and companies from coming into Seoul; Four stronghold cities including Taegu to developed],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, July 13, 1975; “Kukt’o kaebal kyehoek sujŏng pulgap’i, 5-kae kŏchŏm tosi pugak ūro P’ohang-Yŏch’ŏn haean kongŏp pelt’ŭhwa [Revision of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan is inevitable; Emphasis on five stronghold cities leads to the construction of an industrial belt between P’onghang and Yŏch’ŏn coasts],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 10, 1977; “Sudokwŏn in’gu chaep’yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch’ujŏk handa [In-depth report on the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark; Expectation on stronghold cities],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

49) “Sudokwŏn in’gu chaep’yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch’ujŏk handa [In-depth report on the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark; Expectation on stronghold cities],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

50) “Sudokwŏn in’gu chaep’yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch’ujŏk handa [In-depth report on

<Picture 3> The Networks of Highways and Industrial Complexes



Source: Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnſa* [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway] (Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam-si: Han'guk toro kongsa, 1980), 640.

the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark; Expectation on stronghold cities,” *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

The highway was like a conveyor belt that satisfied unilaterally the demands of manufacturing capital and state governance by conveying rural labour power to industrial cities in a speedier and more massive way. To invest in and support the stronghold cities and industrial belt near highways met the needs of both industrial capital and the government. The growing manufacturing industries needed to secure enough labour power and cheaper real estate in local areas. The government was in need of controlling the rate of population growth in the capital city.⁵¹⁾ As compared to 1970, the total population of South Korea increased by 16.5% in 1978; for the same period, that of Seoul and Pusan increased by 44.6% and the other cities increased by 58.1%, while the rural areas decreased by 7.1%.⁵²⁾ Some of the early 1980s reports regarding the effect of highways on the decentralization of population concluded that the rate of population growth in Seoul slowed down due to the growing local cities near the highways in the 1970s;⁵³⁾ less consideration was given to the swiftly increasing rural exodus and the hollowing out of the agricultural sector. Consequently, further mechanization and collective farming at the local village level was emphasized much more as the only solution to the reduction of agricultural workforce.

51) "Sudokwŏn in'gu chaep'yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch'ujŏk handa [In-depth report on the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark: Expectation on stronghold cities]," *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

52) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnŏsa* [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway], 675-676.

53) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏnŏsa* [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway], 676-677; "Han'guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ūl kyesŭng hago muŏt ūl pŏril kŏt in'ga (40): Chŏn'guk '1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa' kosoktoro kaet'ong, Tonong ilch'ehwa irŏbŏrin chibang t'ŭksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of 'One-day life zone of the whole country'; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside]," *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

IV. *In Lieu of Conclusion: The Hierarchy of Spaces*

Behind the growing industrial cities along the highways, there was the developmentalist state's hierarchical understanding of space, where manufacturing cities positioned at the top and rural villages at the bottom. From the early 1970s, the government's diverse plans for population 'control' and regional 'development' categorized the whole country into the groups of metropolitan cities, stronghold cities, small and medium cities, and rural cities,⁵⁴⁾ foreseeing that each city unit would function as the centers of consumption and cultural activities in different scale for rural residents as well as urban workers.⁵⁵⁾ In particular, stronghold cities were designed to work as the center of the locally subdivided life zones in the areas other than metropolitan Seoul and Pusan.⁵⁶⁾ In this hierarchical grouping of space, only cities appeared to complete and maintain a sustainable unit of local communities.

Such a city-centered approach to demographics and regional planning was reflected in the New Village Movement itself as well. In the expanded design of the Village Structural Improvement Project, government authorities thought that the rural communities would achieve their self-sufficiency ideally by belonging to larger life zones hierarchically; first, by joining a basic

54) "Kŏdae tosi, kŏchŏm tosi, chungso tosi, nongch'on tosi tŭng chŏn kukt'o rŭl 4-tanwi ro kaebal [Government to develop whole country under four regional categories of metropolitan cities, stronghold cities, small and medium cities, rural cities]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, February 28, 1970.

55) "Sudokwŏn in'gu chaep'yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch'ujŏk handa [In-depth report on the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark: Expectation on stronghold cities]," *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

56) "Sudokwŏn in'gu chaep'yŏnsŏng kibon kyehoek ūl ch'ujŏk handa [In-depth report on the basic plan for dispersing the population in the capital area: Successful case in the city of Paris becomes a benchmark: Expectation on stronghold cities]," *Chosŏn ilbo*, March 11, 1977.

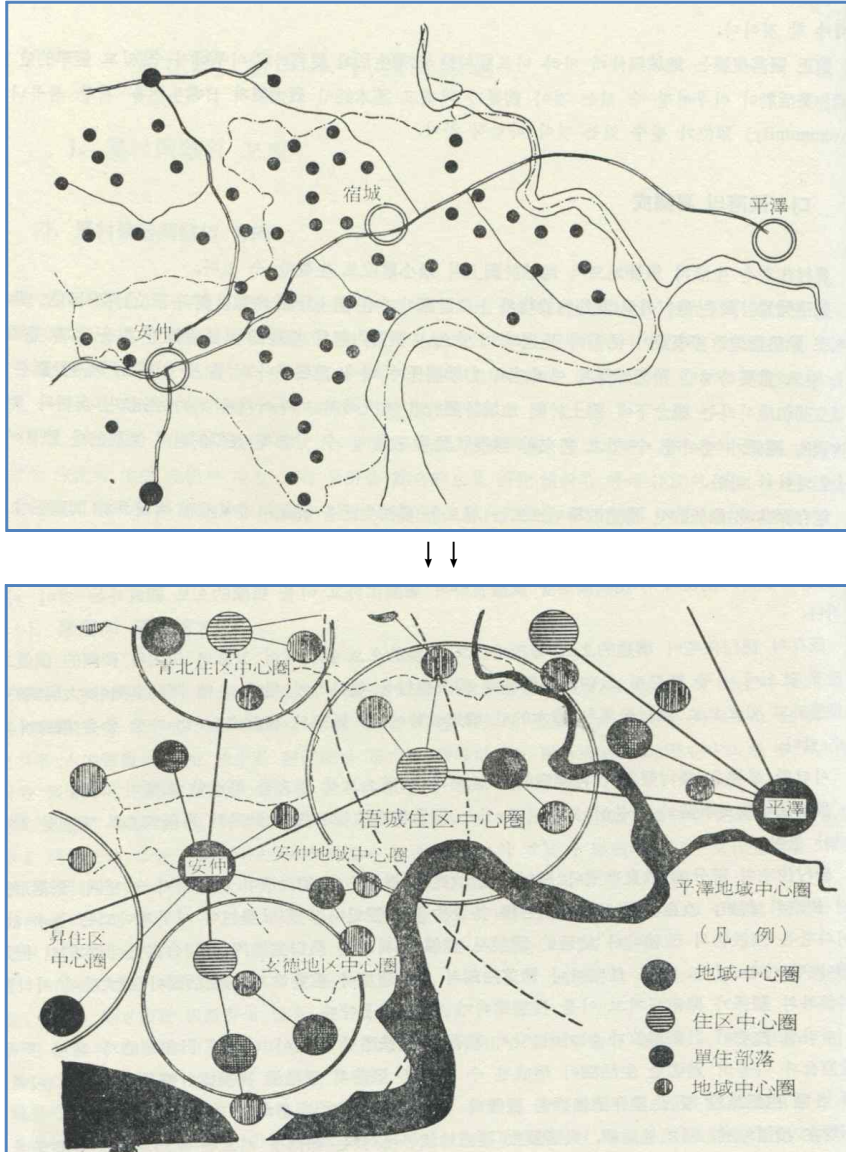
life zone, which would be formed through grouping small rural villages equipped with minimum amenities; secondly, a larger daily life zone in township (*Myŏn*) level, structured by connecting the basic life zones; thirdly, a town (*Ŭp*) or local city (*Si*) level's life zone, composed by collecting the smaller zones; and finally, a great-sphere life zone, completed by expanding the life zones to the scale of large stronghold cities.⁵⁷⁾ (Picture 4) The so-called Small Town Development Project (*Sodoŭp Kakkugi Saŏp*) was part of this stage-oriented rural planning in the New Village Movement. According to the organization system of life zones, small towns in the rural areas were viewed as a "middle zone" or "connecting town"⁵⁸⁾ between rural villages and large cities that the government had to develop through intensive and intentional support.⁵⁹⁾ In this way, diverse new village projects supported a hierarchical space strategy that was oriented towards maintaining the centrality of large manufacturing cities.

57) Naemubu chibang haengjŏngguk nongch'on chut'aek kaeryangkwa [Division of Rural Housing Improvement at the Ministry of Home Affairs], *Minjok ūi taeyŏksa: Nongch'on chut'aeksa* [*The Great Construction Project of the Nation: The History of Rural Housing*], 545.

58) Naemubu [Ministry of Home Affairs], *Saemaül Undong 10-yŏnsa* [*A 10 Year History of the New Village Movement*] (Seoul: Naemubu, 1980), 512.

59) Naemubu [Ministry of Home Affairs], *Saemaül Undong 10-yŏnsa* [*A 10 Year History of the New Village Movement*], 511-516: "Naemubu chŏn'guk sodoŭp modu chŏngbi [Ministry of Home Affairs to organize the small towns of the entire country]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, July 26, 1978; "Naemubu chibang chungso tosi nongch'on kyŏngje kŏchŏmhwa [Ministry of Home Affairs to use small and medium-sized local cities as strongholds of rural economy]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, June 26, 1979; "Naemubu 130-kae sodosi chungchŏm kaebal [Ministry of Home Affairs to develop 130 small cities intensively]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, December 22, 1979.

〈Picture 4〉 The Rearrangement of Villages Conceptualized by Life Zones



Source: Naemubu chibang haengjŏngguk nongch'on chut'aek kaeryangkwa [Division of Rural Housing Improvement at the Ministry of Home Affairs], *Minjok ūi taeyŏksa: Nongch'on chut'aeksa* [The Great Construction Project of the Nation: The History of Rural Housing] (Seoul: Naemubu, 1979), 544.

While the center of rural life moved to the cities following the highways, the countryside was being redefined as a place only for agricultural production, though farmers were viewed as growing consumers in and outside their new house and village. To address the role of rural areas in the way was more systemized in the Comprehensive National Territorial Plan 1972-1981.⁶⁰⁾ In the 1970s, diverse regional development projects appeared and disappeared, sometimes overlapping with each other. The Comprehensive National Territorial Plan was chief among them, promising the “balanced and comprehensive development of the national territories.”⁶¹⁾ The plan divided the whole country into several large zones, such as regions for pivotal management (capital region), food supply, raw material supply, manufacturing, commerce, and sightseeing.⁶²⁾ The plan purposed to

60) “Kukt’o kaebal ūi ch’ōngsajin [Blueprint for developing national territories],” *Maeil kyōngje*, August 31, 1971; “Ch’ochōm: Mamosū yōksa kukt’o chaep’yōnsōng, Chonghap kaebal 10-kaenyōn kyehoek kŭ naeyong, Tosi kongōp ūl punsan, T’ongje sok kyunhyōng kaebal mokchōk [Focus: Mammoth construction work rearranges national territories; 10-Year Comprehensive National Territorial Plan aims to decentralize urban population and industry for balanced development under control],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, September 10, 1971; “Sasŏl: Kibon sŏlgye ihu ūi kwaje, Kukt’o chonghap kaebal kyehoek ūi hwakchōng ūl pon sogam [Editorial: Assignments after basic planning; My thoughts about confirmation of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, September 10, 1971; “Kukt’o kujo chōnmyōn kaep’yōn [The complete reorganization of national territories],” *Kyōngnyang sinmun*, November 10, 1972; “Ch’ochōm: Kinūngbyōl ro kukt’o kujo kaejo, Kōnsŏlbu ūi chonghap kaebal kyehoek naeyong [Focus: Reconstruction of national territories by function; Contents of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan by Ministry of Construction],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, November 14, 1972.

61) “Kukt’o kujo chōnmyōn kaep’yōn [The complete reorganization of national territories],” *Kyōngnyang sinmun*, November 10, 1972; “Kukt’o kaebal ūi ch’ōngsajin [Blueprint for developing national territories],” *Maeil kyōngje*, August 31, 1971.

62) “Kukt’o kaebal ūi ch’ōngsajin [Blueprint for developing national territories],” *Maeil kyōngje*, August 31, 1971; “Kukt’o kujo chōnmyōn kaep’yōn [The complete reorganization of national territories],” *Kyōngnyang sinmun*, November 10, 1972; “Chōn kukt’o kinūnggiōk kaep’yōn [The reorganization of the whole national territories by function],” *Maeil kyōngje*, November 13, 1972; “Ch’ochōm: Mamosū yōksa kukt’o chaep’yōnsōng, Chonghap kaebal 10-kaenyōn kyehoek kŭ naeyong, Tosi kongōp ūl punsan, T’ongje sok

consolidate infrastructural facilities for the regional functions of production. In 1972, the Minister of Construction, Chang Ye-jun, proudly forecasted that, “In the 1980s when this plan will have been completed, all of our national territories will be directly connected to production following the land use planning, without leaving even an inch of land unproductive. We will construct well-planned cities, mechanized and rearranged farmland, highly efficient industrial complexes, wide and paved roads, and paradise free from damages by storm, flood, and drought.”⁶³⁾ As expressed in Chang’s statement, the plan placed great value on production in the slogan of “Transform the Whole National Territory into ‘Industrial Base.’”⁶⁴⁾ For the productive use of land, the plan applied the principle of division of labour on a geographical level, expecting rural areas to remain as a base for ‘food supply.’ According to this plan, Kyöngsang Province in the southeast of the Korean Peninsula included substantially more industrial complexes and base cities as compared to Chölla Province, the largest granary located in the southwest. The government’s financial investment converged on the manufacturing zones throughout the rapid industrialization in the 1970s. Meanwhile, residents of Chölla Province had a sense that they had been “discriminated” in the ‘development process,’⁶⁵⁾ which resulted in acute political conflicts

kyunhyöng kaebal mokchök [Focus: Mammoth construction work rearranges national territories; 10-Year Comprehensive National Territorial Plan aims to decentralize urban population and industry for balanced development under control],” *Chosön ilbo*, September 10, 1971; “Ch’ochöm: Kinüngbyöl ro kukt’o kujo kaejo, Könsöllu üi chonghap kaebal kyehoek naeyong [Focus: Reconstruction of national territories by function; Contents of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan by Ministry of Construction],” *Chosön ilbo*, November 14, 1972.

63) “Chön kukt’o kinüngjök kaep’yön [The reorganization of the whole national territories by function],” *Maeil kyöngje*, November 13, 1972.

64) “Ch’ochöm: Kinüngbyöl ro kukt’o kujo kaejo, Könsöllu üi chonghap kaebal kyehoek naeyong [Focus: Reconstruction of national territories by function; Contents of Comprehensive National Territorial Plan by Ministry of Construction],” *Chosön ilbo*, November 14, 1972.

continuing until now.

According to the Comprehensive National Territorial Plan, the highway was fully functional for the purpose of the food supply. To sustain the economic growth driven by rapid industrialization, it was crucial to provide cheap agri-products to low-paid laborers living in large industrial cities. The highway narrowed the distance between urban consumers and rural producers, and motivated farmers to diversify farm produce to meet the demands of the urban market, saving distribution costs with mass faster transportation system. Farmers began to pay more attention to the real-time price of rice and other products in the Seoul markets.⁶⁵ In particular, vegetables and fruits, whose freshness was an important factor in marketability, became a much more attractive commercial agricultural product for farmers to grow.⁶⁷ It was around the time of the opening of highways that the traditional slash-and-burn farming zones in Yŏngdong region, Kangwŏn Province, changed into large agricultural complexes where farmers produced profitable highland vegetables and sent them directly to

65) "Nongch'on sae p'ungsokto (123): Kongdan sahoe (20), Sanŏp ipchi [New trend in the countryside (123): Industrial complex society (20), Location of industrial complex]," *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, March 14, 1978.

66) "Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro kaet'ong i molgo onŭn ch'ŏlli kil saebaram (3): Kippŭm kwa chŏhang sok ŭi nongch'on [New trend in journey of a thousand miles by Seoul-Pusan Highway's opening (3): Pleasure and resistance in rural villages]," *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, July 3, 1970.

67) "Nongsanmul yut'ong ŭi kŭndaehwa [Modernized distribution of agricultural products]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, May 29, 1971; "Kyŏngbu Kosoktoro kaet'ong i molgo onŭn ch'ŏlli kil saebaram (3): Kippŭm kwa chŏhang sok ŭi nongch'on [New trend in journey of a thousand miles by Seoul-Pusan Highway's opening (3): Pleasure and resistance in rural villages]," *Kyŏngnyang sinmun*, July 3, 1970; "Han'guk 70-yŏndae namgin kyohun, Muŏt ŭl kyesŭng hago muŏt ŭl pŏril kŏt in'ga (40): Chŏn'guk '1-il saenghwalkwŏnhwa' kosoktoro kaet'ong, Tonong ilch'ehwa irŏbŏrin chibang t'ŭksan·migak [Lessons of 1970s Korea, What to inherit and what to abandon (40): Opening of highways and the achievement of 'One-day life zone of the whole country'; Loss of local specialties and tastes by unification of the city and the countryside]," *Chosŏn ilbo*, August 18, 1981.

urban markets.⁶⁸⁾ For the public, however, the most important issue was how much highways could deflate the consumer price of rice by reducing distribution costs.⁶⁹⁾ Farmers still suffered from relatively low rice prices vis-à-vis manufactured goods, and often did not meet even the cost of production.⁷⁰⁾ The expanded urban market was merely the place where the highways delivered the cheap farm products and low-wage workers needed to fuel the growth of cities and to meet the needs of manufacturing capital.

68) Han'guk toro kongsa [Korea Expressway Corporation], *Han'guk kosok toro simnyŏn* [A Ten Year History of Korean Highway], 653.

69) "Kosoktoro ūi kyot'ong kyŏngjehak, Yut'ong sudan e k'ŭn pyŏnhwa [Traffic economics of highway; Great change in means of distribution]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, April 21, 1970.

70) "Nongch'on ūl pŏtkinda (5): Nŏmu ssan nongsanmulkap [Disclosure of reality in the countryside (5): Underpriced agricultural products]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, January 19, 1970; "Kŭmnyŏn ch'ugok saengsanbi wŏnka kyesan ūi kŭn'gŏ pagyak [Unsubstantiated calculation for this year's production cost of fall-harvested grain]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, November 16, 1971; "Nongga kyoyŏk chokŏn ūi akhwa [Deteriorated exchange conditions for farm households]," *Tonga ilbo*, March 25, 1974; "Chŏgokka chŏngch'aek sijŏng ūl [Rectify low grain price policy!]," *Maeil kyŏngje*, October 26, 1974; "Chŏgokka ro singnyang chaebae kip'i [Farmers avoid cultivating staple grains due to low grain price]," *Tonga ilbo*, October 31, 1974; "Chŏkchŏng mika ro chŏngsan ūiyok ūl, Nonggyŏng chŏnmun'ga t'oronhoe [Agricultural experts' debate calls for fair rice price to encourage production increase]," *Tonga ilbo*, October 14, 1975; "Nongmin hŭisaeng kangyo chŏngsan chŏhae [To force farmers to be sacrificed impedes the increase of production]," *Tonga ilbo*, November 3, 1975; "Sinmin sŏngmyŏng, Nongmin ch'urhyŏl ūl kangyo, Pihamnijŏk chŏgokka [Sinmin Party criticizes unreasonable low grain price that forces farmers to be sacrificed]," *Tonga ilbo*, October 14, 1977; "Sinmin sŏngmyŏng, Silsaengsanbi edo midal [Government's purchasing price of rice is below the cost of production, criticizes Sinmin Party]," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, October 14, 1977; "Kokka, imgŭm, kŭmni, hwannyul hyŏnsilhwa rŭl [For the realistic adjustment of grain price, wage, interest rate, and exchange rate]," *Tonga ilbo*, May 11, 1979.

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모든 고속도로는 도시로 통한다: 1970년대 고속도로의 건설과 도시·농촌의 위계 관계

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1970년대 한국에서 건설되고 있던 고속도로는 도시와 농촌 사이의 '공간적 균질화'를 완성하는 듯 보였다. 트럭이며 각종 농기계가 다니도록 새롭게 조성한 마을길은 1970년의 경부고속도로 및 이후의 여러 고속도로와 연결되기 시작했다. 마을길, 지방도로, 국도, 고속도로의 연결망은 지방과 지방 사이 또 궁극적으로 지방과 도시 사이를 잇는 하나의 거대한 네트워크 기반을 완성해갔다. 당시 고속도로는 분명 흐름의 공간으로 기획되었으나, 실상은 도시와 농촌 사이의 위계적 관계를 드러내며 제조업 자본과 산업 도시의 수요를 일반적으로 만족시키는 역할을 수행하였다. 주지하듯, 급속한 산업화와 경제성장을 견인하기 위해서는 거대한 산업 도시의 저임금 노동자들에게 값싼 농산물을 안정적으로 공급하는 것이 무엇보다 중요했다. 이 때, 고속도로는 농업 생산자와 도시 노동자들 사이의 거리를 좁히고, 농민들이 도시 지역 소비자들의 수요에 맞게 농업 상품을 다변화하도록 동기 부여를 했으며, 신속한 교통 시스템을 통해 유통비용을 크게 절감시켰다. 농민들은 곧 서울에서의 실시간 농산물 가격 변동과 그곳 소비자들의 요구에 대해 전보다 예민하게 반응하며 확대되는 농업 시장에 관심을 갖기 시작했다. 그러나 농민들은 여전히 제조업 상품에 비해 낮은 농산물 가격으로 경제적 어려움을 겪고 있었으며, 때로는 생산비용 회수도 힘든 상황에 처해 있었다. 고속도로가 농업 상품의 도시 시장을 확대하였지만, 제조업 자본과 산업 도시의 필요를 충족시키고 성장을 지속시키기 위한 불균등 교환 역시 확대된 것이었다. 결국, 기존의 도시·농촌의 위계는 새롭게 건설되는 고속도로 위에서 더욱 강화되고 있었다.

[주제어: 고속도로, 1970년대, 박정희, 새마을운동, 공간적 위계]

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