

# The Making of Local Socio-economic Space and the Role of Local Government, In Case of Taegu and textile industry

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Local government takes an active role in the (re)making of local socio-economic space. To support such an argument, the three different actions by the local government of Taegu, urban planning and local industrial districts, the establishment of special educational institutions, and textile festival are analyzed. The division of the city's space into residential, commercial, and industrial area by local government constrained the location of local manufacturing industries. It also forced textile industry to move to the outskirts of Taegu. As the education level in South Korea rose after the late 1970s, the local government of Taegu as well as local industrial capitalists had to do something to acquire a stable supply of labor to local manufacturing industries, particularly textile one. After the late 1970s, the special classes for the education of local workers, especially textile ones were established within vocational high school and company-operated high schools were also built in Taegu. Finally, local government started a program of textile festival in 1985. Through textile festival, local government as well as local textile business people tried to reproduce textile industry as the main economic activity of Taegu.

**Key Words** : educational institutions, local government, textile festival, urban planning and local industrial districts

## 1. Introduction

It is well known that capital, labor, government, and society take an active role to (re)make national or local socio-economic space. One of the important subjects in locality studies is the relationships between economic restructuring and local government (Ducan, S. et al. 1988; Fincher, R. 1987; and Page, M.W. 1996). However, the role of local government in the processes of the (re)making of local socio-economic space is not

deeply studied particularly in developing countries. In South Korea, a strong central government has been established during the last forty decades. It implicitly means that the local government of South Korea take a passive role of (re)making her society and economy. When we deeply look at the processes of (re)producing the local society and economy of South Korea, we find a more complex image in the role of central and local government. This paper asserts that the local government of Taegu have taken

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an active role of making local socio-economic space through spatial regulation by urban planning and the development of local industrial districts, the supply of labor force to local manufacturing industries by the establishment of special educational institutions, and the promotion of the city's major industry, textile one by textile festival. The role of local government is analyzed from an institutional and historical perspective, not a statistical one.

### 2. The history of the local government of South Korea

After the establishment of the Syngman Rhee government in 1948, South Korea has been politically operated by a strong central government. It means that the local government of South Korea has been generally subordinated to her central government. To deeply understand the position of local government, we need to look at the historical aspect of the relationships between two political and administrative institutions, local and central government. The history of the South Korean government can be divided into four periods; the Syngman Rhee government(1948~1960), the Chang Myon government (1960~1961), the Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan government(1961~1987), and the Rho Tae Woo government(1987~1992) and Kim Young Sam government(1992~1997).

The Local Autonomy Act was enacted in 1949. It guaranteed the autonomy of local government. But under the Rhee government, the law was revised four times for legally and effectively controlling local government. During the Chang Myon government established by the April 19th Student Revolution in 1960, the autonomy of local government was revitalized by the direct election of local leaders such as the mayors of cities and the governors of provinces. However, the

government established by Park Chung Hee's military coup of May, 1961 had constructed a highly centralized system for both the political control of South Korean civil society and the implementation of several five-years economic development plans. Ideologically, president Park Chung Hee clearly expressed the importance of the autonomy of local governments:

"The basis of democracy lies in local autonomy. If we ignore local autonomy and stress central government alone, we are clinging to the vestigial power concentration and tyranny of our past. .... Some Kyes (such as funeral and marriage kye, work and irrigation kye, parent service kye and so on) were intended to insure mutual security and neighborhood solidarity among peasants, .... They united powerless peasants in villages and localities in opposition to the ruling aristocracy. .... The goal of the revolution(Park's military coup of May, 1961) is to weed out corruption, strengthen the autonomous ability of the people, and establish social justice. .... Both the government and the people will have to develop ability for self-government and the local autonomy system. In the future we must further develop local autonomy in the direction of improving the ability of the general public in self-government and self-help" (Park, Chung Hee, 1962 : 92-94 and 199-204, translation by Hollym Corporation)

In practice, however, the Park military government was almost totally opposed to the ideal philosophy cited above. It strongly controlled both local government and civil society in South Korea. The Chun government followed the well established military government through the controlling of the legislative process and the military's continued hegemony in civilian politics (Eckert, C.J. et al, 1990 : 376). But it is not possible for the central government to completely control the role of local government particularly related to the (re)making of local society and space. The discussion of the reestablishment of

local government's autonomy became possible only under the Rho Tae Woo government. On June 29, Roh Tae Woo had announced an eight-point program of reform including direct presidential elections, the encouragement of local autonomy, the promotion of political parties, and so on. However, the Roh government had continued to use all the old security laws and forces, though with less frequency and more discretion (Eckert, C.J. et al, 1990 : 382, 386). Finally, the autonomy of local government has been legally and practically established in 1995 by the Kim Young Sam government.

## 2. The regulation of socio-economic space by urban planning and the development of industrial districts

The first urban planning of Taegu occurred in 1937 under Japanese colonial rule (Kwon, T.J. and Walker, H.J. 1971 : 479; Choi, S.C. 1994 : 47). The reason for urban planning in the large cities of Korea by the colonial government was to regulate the irregular growth of city space due to the increase of light industries and the concentration of population (Choi, S.C. 1994; Hyung, K.C. 1968). The 1937 urban planning influenced the development of Taegu in two ways: its boundary and industrial location.

“The 1937 planning boundary has been the spatial limit of the government's programs of urban infrastructures as well as urban amenities. Taegu's compactness could, therefore, be attributed to the fact that people do not want to live far from the necessary infrastructures and amenities. …… Important government programs for urban development at least up until the mid-1960s, knowingly and unknowingly, have been following more or less the schemes laid down in the 1937 plan, ……”

(Kwon, T.J. and Walker, H.J. 1971 : 481)

It established the development project of industrial region which included some areas of the city's northern parts, that is, Ch'lsong-dong, Ch'imsan-dong, Wondae-dong, and T'aep'yongno (Hong, K.H. 1969 : 48, Taegugwangyoksi, 1995 : 387). In 1941, 26 factories were located in the industrial district designated in 1936, which is now called the First Industrial District (Cheil Kongoptanji). The establishment of the industrial district concentrated Taegu's large scale textile factories in its northern parts which still remains a major location of the city's industry today. Many smaller industries were widely distributed all over the city because the 1937 plan did not involve a land regulation system like zoning.

The 1965 urban plan was based on the law of urban planning (Tosi Kyehoeipop) enacted by the central government of South Korea. Local government plans had to be approved by the central government's committee of urban planning consisting of urban planning experts, university professors, and government officers. The urban plan by local government were generally accepted by central government (my interview with Hong, Kyong He, retired geography professor, September 1996). The underlying reason of the 1965 urban plan was closely related to the rapid growth of the city's population and industries after the implementation of the first five year economic development plan by the central government in 1962. The local government designated some areas as mixed zones of residential and industrial activity. According to the 1965 urban plan, 17.1 percent of Songso and Wolbae located in Sogu (now Talsogu) were designated as new industrial areas for the location of the city's manufacturing industries (Hong, K.H. 1969 : 53). Wolbae is a semi-industrial zone in which several hundreds of small textile factories were widely distributed over poor residential areas where individual small

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companies could find cheap and unskilled young or married women workers. Picture 1 and 2 taken during fieldwork illustrate typical small and medium-sized textile factories in Wolbe. In picture 1, the textile factory is located in the front of a modernized Korean house. The house owner was both the manager and technician of the factory. The housewife is often also a skilled weaver.

Since 1965, local government has implemented several urban plan both to expand its administrative boundary and to redesign the shape and size of different land zones(Choi, S.C. 1994). The total area of Taegu increased from 230.6 square km in 1965 to 735 square km in 1972. It also expanded slightly in the mid-1980s. The area of the industrial zone was increased in 1972, but after that, it was decreased from 28.76 square km in 1972 to 19.32 square km in 1987 (Choi, S.C. 1994 : 66). Taegu did not need more

industrial areas for the establishment of large scale industries during the 1970s when central government implemented a heavy and chemical industrial policy.

The local government of Taegu had actively promoted the location of many small and medium factories within its administrative boundary through the establishment of local industrial districts from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s. The industrial districts were first built after 1962 when the first five-year economic development plan was started. A law on the establishment of industrial districts for export-oriented industries (Such'lsanop kongoptangi kaebalchosongbop) was enacted in 1964 and a law on the development of local industries (Chibanggongop kaebalbob) was passed in 1970 (Taegu kwangyosi, 1995 : 387). Based on the two laws , many industrial districts were built in and near the major cities of South Korea. There are two types of industrial districts



Picture 1. Small Textile Factory within Modern House Located in Wolbe (Semi-Industrial Zone), Talsogu



Picture 2. Medium-sized Textile Factory Located in Wolbe, Talsogu

in South Korea, national and local one (Taehan sanggong hoeuiso, 1995). Kyongnam, Kyonggi, and Inch'on have established large national industrial districts in South Korea since the 1970s. Several national industrial districts have been built in the Cholla provinces since the 1980s. The establishment of national industrial districts were intended to develop industries in the Cholla province mostly neglected in the processes of the South Korean economic development during the 1960s and 1970s. The central government of South Korea did not indicate any intention to establish a national industrial district within an administrative boundary of Taegu.

The local government of Taegu had built several industrial districts since the late 1960s. There are five local industrial districts in Taegu, Che Sam, Sodaegu, kumdan,

Yonsaek, and Songso Kongoptanji (Han'guk

Kongdan Yon'guso, 1994 : 901-1011). Local government has established them to achieve three goals: 1) to supply industrial land to small and medium manufacturing industries, mainly textile ones, located in non-industrial zones, 2) to protect city residents from environmental problems, and 3) to achieve agglomeration economies through the concentration of manufacturing factories. Table 1 represents the general conditions of the Taegu's five local industrial districts located in Pukku, Sogu, and Talsogu. There are no industrial districts in Chunggu, Nangu, Tonggu, and Susonggu only assigned as commercial and residential areas by the urban plan of local government. Pukku was developed as an industrial area after the mid-1930s by the Japanese colonial government. The three industrial districts in Sogu and Talsogu were built after the mid-1970s. Songso Kongoptanji in Talsogu is the biggest one among all the city's

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**Table 1. The conditions of the five industrial districts by the Taegu local government**

	location	construction period	size (square meter)	infrastructure	
				road (km)	water supply** (ton/day)
A*	Pukku	1967~1968	1,094,219	4.0	20,000
B	Sogu	1976~1977			
		1978~1979	...	15.0	22,000
C	Pukku	1974~1975	790,086	4.7	1,000
D	Sogu	1979~1980	817,392	10.1	90,000
E	Talsogu	1984~1994	2,905,000	35.8	41,000

\* A, B, C, D, and E stand for Che Sam, Sodaegu, Kumdan, Yomsaek, Songso Kongoptanji, respectively.

\*\* Water supply means industrial water supply.

Source : Han'guk Kongdan Yon'guso, 1994; Taegugwangyoksi, 1995

industrial districts. It is located in the western parts of Taegu. After the mid-1970s, Sogu and Talsogu became the center of manufacturing industries in Taegu. Each industrial district had incentives for the relocation or construction of old and new local companies, and it was managed by the corporation of industrial districts (Kongop Tangihyophoe).

The establishment of Songso industrial district was planned in 1983 by the local government of Taegu, and the construction of infrastructures was started in 1984. The infrastructures constructed by local government included road (35.8km), electricity (120,263kw), supply of

industrial water (40,500 ton per day), and waste treatment facilities (Han'guk Unhang Taegu chijom, 1988:17). The newly built and expanded companies of Songso industrial district received some tax reduction such as 3 percent of registration tax and 0.3 percent of property tax (Han'guk Kongdan Yon'guso, 1994 : 985). According to a study of the companies in Songso industrial district, the easy of getting land and the good condition of infrastructures were the first and second most important factor for the companies to select the industrial district as a location of factories (Han'guk Unhang Taegu chijom, 1992 : 25).

**Table 2. The industry and employment of the industrial districts in Taegu, 1994**

	A*	B	C	D	E
Number of factory**	353	355	38	111	744
Textil	90	166	17	111	298
Chemical	5	19	—		28
Metal and machine	200	87	16		300
Number of worker	13,712	23,890	—	13,455	21,023
Male	8,282	11,710	—	8,818	13,191
Female	5,430	12,180	—	4,637	7,832

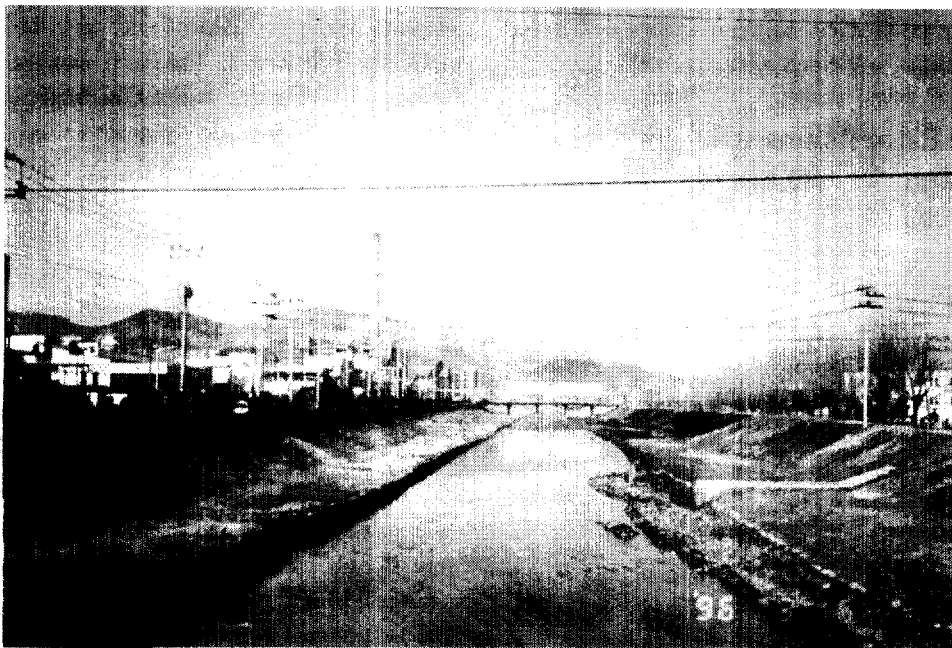
\* A, B, C, D, and E stand for Che Sam, Sodaegu, Kumdan, Yomsaek, Songso Kongoptanji, respectively.

\*\* The total numbers of factory includes other industries like food, wood, and so on.

Source : Taegugwangyoksi, 1995



Picture 3. View of Factories and Street within the Songso Industrial District, Talsogu



Picture 4. View of the Yomsaek Industrial District, Sogu

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Table 2 represents the structure of industry and employment in the five industrial districts of Taegu. The major industry is textile ones, although there are also many small and medium metal and machine ones. In the Sodaegu Kongoptanji, the number of textile factories are twice that of metal and machine ones. The Taegu Yomsaek Kongoptanji was built by local government exclusively for textile dyeing factories. Picture 3 was taken within the Songso Kongoptanji. The bus beside the factory is used for transporting the workers between factory and home. Most middle managers and some senior workers use their own cars to come to the factory. Picture 4 presents a view of the Yomsaek Kongoptanji. Many small and medium textile dyeing factories are located along small river whose water is almost black. The middle managers interviewed said that the benefits of location within the Yomsaek Kongoptanji include infrastructure, sharing of information, tax reduction, no conflicts between factory owner and residents due to air and water pollution.

### 3. The Establishment of Educational System for the Supply of Labor Force

I asserts that the local government of Taegu has played an active role in the supply of both unskilled and skilled workers through the establishment of an educational institution. Only the relationships between the establishment of a special educational institution and textile industry as a major manufacturing sector in Taegu will be mentioned in this section.

The main source of workers in the textile industry of Taegu were the students graduating from primary, middle, and high school in both Taegu and its neighboring Kyongsang provinces. At least until the early 1970s, the

textile industry of Taegu had few problems to the supply of unskilled and low paid (female) workers because of a local surplus labor force. In the 1960s and 1970s, many rural residents came to big cities like Taegu to get their jobs. Also there were a large number of people who graduated only from primary and middle schools before the early 1970s. The conditions of local labor market was largely changed from surplus to shortage after the mid-1970. According to the senior textile worker, local textile industry found difficulty in the recruiting of unskilled and low paid workers due to the increase of (female) education level and job opportunities. One research shows that many textile business people in Taegu consider vocational high school as an important institution for the training of textile workers (Taegu & Kyongbuk Kaebal Yon'guwon, 1993 : 133) Table 3 represents the departments of vocational high schools in Taegu. Generally speaking, the number of students of heavy and chemical industry department in the city's vocational high schools had been increased from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s, while those of both light industry and commercial department decreased at the same period. Also the number of female students had been decreased in all the departments. There were gender differences in vocational high schools of Taegu. Males were the majority in manufacturing industry departments, while females were mostly in commerce department. Such a gender difference influenced job assignments in the city's industrial sectors. In the Taegu's textile industry, male worker's jobs were usually related to the repair and maintenance of textile machines and female ones were the observation of the machines and office maintenance and accounting. According to my fieldwork, there were many young females who graduated from commercial high schools and got simple office jobs.



Table 3. Numbers of student of the departments of the vocational high schools in Taegu, 1982~1995

	A		B		C	
	total	female	total	female	total	female
1982	10,652	—	7,340	2,395	29,335	20,489
1984	6,708	—	6,052	2,725	20,617	14,886
1991	7,583	—	3,114	—	15,191	11,693
1993	10,972	—	3,413	—	14,950	11,582
1995	15,009	63	4,244	155	16,170	12,783

\* A, B, and C stand for the number of the students of heavy and chemical industry, light industry, and commercial department of vocational high schools, respectively.

Source : Taegu Kyongbuk T'onggyeyonbo, various years

Also they were employed in the simple and repeated operation of spinning and weaving machines in the Taegu's textile industry. The textile industry of Taegu has become more mechanized and male-oriented since the early 1980s. Such a change was closely related to the structural change of the South Korean economy from a light industries-oriented one to a heavy and chemical industries-oriented one after the mid-1970s.

After the late 1970s, the textile industry of Taegu had problems maintaining a stable supply of unskilled and low paid workers. To solve the problem, local government established special classes for manufacturing workers within regular vocational high schools (Sanopch'e t'ukpyolban) and licensed company-operated schools for workers (Sanopch'e pusolgodung hakkyo) after the late 1970s. In 1977, the establishment of Sanopch'e t'ukpyolban and Sanopch'e pusolgodung hakkyo in the cities and provinces of South Korea had to be officially permitted by central government. However, local government had the power to operate such a special educational institution:

"The establishment of special classes in regular middle and high school for the workers of industrial districts is implemented by the request or corporation of city mayor or province

governor. The establishment and management of licensed company-operated schools for workers is permitted by the department of education in cities and provinces. The city and province government should be responsible for part of the costs due to the operation of the special classes in the regular schools" (Department of Education, Taegu, 1996)

Most of the students of special classes and company schools were female and also most of them textile workers. In 1985, 5,505 out of 5,815 students of special classes in Taegu were female. Among the 2,012 new students of special classes in 1985, 1,866 students were textile workers, and they were supported by 75 textile companies in Taegu (Somyugisul Chinhungwon, 1990:497 and 500). In 1988, Taegu had 137 special classes in one middle school and eight high schools. But in 1996 the number of special classes were reduced to 30 in six high schools (Department of Education, Taegu, 1996). There were about 200 private companies in Taegu which supported special classes. Those companies were not large enough to have their own company-operated school.

There were three large textile companies which had their own company-operated high school (Sanopch'e Pusolgodung Hakkyo) in Taegu: Cheil Mojik (Cheil woolen company), Hanil Hamsom (Hanil synthetic company), and Kabul Pangjok (Kabul spinning company)

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**Table 4. The number of students in the company-operated high school (Sanopch'e Pusolgodung hakkyo) of Taegu, 1982~1995**

	1982	1984	1991	1993	1995
Students					
Total	2,610	3,405	2,304	1,391	600
Female	2,610	3,405	2,304	1,391	600

Source : Taegu kyongbuk tonggyeyonbo, various years

(Somyugisul Chinhungwon, 1990 : 498). All the students of the three company high school were female workers. Since the late 1980s, the number of the students in the company high school has declined (Table 4). The decrease of the students in the company high school is related to the increase of household income and education level, the reduction in the number of the rural population migrants, and the automation of large textile companies. First, with the growth of income in both South Korea and Taegu, most male and female school went to regular high schools. Second, as the rural population continue to decline, it was difficult to recruit middle school graduates in rural areas. Third, local textile companies installed high speed and automatic machines due to the increase of worker's wages and strikes after 1987. Those machines could reduce of the need for female textile workers. Thus, in 1988, Taegu had four company-operated high schools which consisted of 79 classes, but there was only one school in Taegu operated and managed by Kabul spinning and weaving company (Department of Education, Taegu, 1996).

There has been another important educational institution for the supply of workers to local textile industry since the late 1970s, the Institute of Development of Textile Technology (Somyugisul Chinhungwon). In 1981, Kyongbuk Somyugisul Chinhung center was established by the combination of Somyugisul Chonmunhullyonwon and Chidoso. It was then transferred to the local

government of Taegu in 1982. From the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, the institution had trained and supplied many textile workers to local textile companies. Table 5 shows the changing number of the textile workers trained in Somyugisul Chinhungwon from 1978 to 1986. The total number of the trained workers were almost 11,565, and they were divided into beginners and established workers. The number of the latter were almost twice those of the former. The number of the workers trained increased until the early 1980s and then decreased. The program for training both new and established workers in Somyugisul Chinhungwon was closed in 1987 when it opened textile college having weaving, dyeing, and designing department. The beginning of the textile college indicated that the textile industry of Taegu

**Table 5. The number of the textile workers trained in Somyugisul Chinhungwon, 1978~1986**

	new workers	established workers
1978	394	270
1979	500	687
1980	563	1,005
1981	529	1,643
1982	599	1,527
1983	346	1,095
1984	239	884
1985	254	806
1986	224	—
Total	3,648	7,917

Source : Somyugisul Chinhungwon, 1990 : 675 and 678

needed more skilled workers due to its mechanization. Both local government and textile companies repeatedly stated that textile industry needed to change its structure from labor intensive to technology and capital intensive. Based on my fieldwork, there are many small and medium textile factories which are highly dependent upon a limited amount of capital and a few semi-skilled and low paid workers.

#### 4. Festivals for the Promotion of Taegu as a Center of Textile Industry

After the mid-1970s, the importance of textile industry in the South Korean economy was declined, and it faced many problems, such as the shortage of cheap labor and the increase of competition in the world textile consumer market. But even in the 1980s, the local economy of Taegu was highly dependent on textile industry. Consequently, the local government of Taegu had to do something for its major industry in crisis. In 1985, local government started a textile festival whose aim was both to improve textile workers' production consciousness and to promote the image of Taegu as a center of textile industry through various programs. After 1989, the textile festival of Taegu was implemented by both the private corporation of the Taegu's textile industry (Teagu and Kyongbuk somyusanop hyouihoe) and local government.

Also the activities of textile festival included textile exhibition, fashion show, and textile beauty contest (Taegu mail sinmun, October 26, 1990)

The city's textile festival emphasized the involvement of all local residents and textile business people in the development of the Taegu's textile industry. During the period of the festival, several celebration towers were usually

built in the main streets of Taegu. The slogan written on the tower is "warm and kind civic spirit (chongdawon simin chongsin) and cultural citizen having one (or unified) mind (hanmaum munhwa simin)". However, the textile festival was criticized because it did not actually include the citizens and textile workers of Taegu :

"There were not the programs in the textile festival which enhanced the spirit of the textile workers for the growth of textile productivity" (Taegu mail sinmun, December 12, 1990).

"As well as its participation of local citizens, the textile festival did not have any programs in which the textile workers as a key actor of textile production could participate. So it gave the workers much disappointment" (Youngnam ilbo, October 10, 1995).

The following statement clearly express local textile worker's perspectives on the city's textile festival :

"The private corporation of textile industry (somyusanop hyopuihoe) which we (local textile workers) did not see and hear, loudly advertised a big textile festival for the increasing activity of textile industry and the increasing competition in global consumer markets. ....

On television, we saw the beautiful ladies selected in textile beauty contest, and worker's singing was highly praised by professional singers. When the ladies who wore the clothes made of the yarns and fabrics produced by us (local textile workers) gave a fashion show, we saw and envied their beauty and then we temporarily forgot both hot working place and everyday life similar to machine. .... The textile festival was not to improve the well being of workers, but to increase the endurance of workers" (Somyu nodongjahoe, November 17, 1989 : 7, my translation).

Among the many programs, the textile festival of Taegu focused on national and international

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textile marketing, fashion, and design, reflecting the changing image and marketing strategy of the textile industry of Taegu. Since the early 1970s, Taegu has become a center of fabric production in the textile industry of South Korea. Since the early 1980s, the production of textile fabrics has been in crisis due to the shortage of cheap labor and the growth of international competition. The emphasis on textile fashion and design is one of the strategies for the Taegu's textile industry to restructure in a crisis. The textile festival advertised Taegu as a center of textile industry through the invitation of foreign textile business people and fashion designers and by sending of the young girls selected in textile beauty contests to foreign countries.

There are some conflicts between the reproduction of local textile industry through the textile festival and the future direction of local economic development. The former city mayor stated that "there are no textiles without fashion" (Taegu mail sinmun, July 12, 1995). His thought meant that the textile industry of Taegu had to be changed from low value added of fabric production to high value added textile fashion and design. Later, another city mayor planned a city economy which was focused on both textile and machine industry (Taegu mail sinmun, July 12, 1995). Does local government support the continuous development of the already established textile industry as a main force of the city economy? or does it develop machine industries, auto and electronic parts, and information technologies at the expense of textiles? The South Korean economy has changed from labor intensive and light industry oriented structure to technology and capital intensive oriented structure since the late 1970s. However, Taegu's local economy still remains largely dependent upon textile industry. Among the 300 companies interviewed by Taegu sangui (Taegu's chamber

of commerce) in 1993, more than 200 companies (70.5 percent) emphasized the simultaneous growth of the textile and machine industries as the restructuring direction of the Taegu' economy, while less than 30 (8 percent) emphasized the growth of high technology oriented industry (Taegu sangui, 1993 : 20). Even though it tries to reproduce textile industry through textile festivals, local government must deeply consider the interests of various industrial capitalists and the changing situation of national and international economy.

## Conclusion

This paper asserts that the local government of Taegu took an active role in the (re)making of local socio-economic space. To support my assertion, three different actions by local government, urban planning and local industrial districts, the establishment of special educational systems, and the implementation of textile festival are analyzed from a historical and institutional aspect.

First, the division of the city's space into residential, commercial, and industrial area by local government constrained the location of manufacturing industries. Local government separated residential and commercial areas from industrial ones by zoning, and the implementation of zoning also forced textile industry to move to the outskirts of the city. The local government of Taegu also built several industrial districts for small and medium manufacturing companies. The majority of the factories located in the local industrial districts were textile ones. The present concentration of the textile industry on the city's western and northern parts was closely related to the location of the industrial districts in Sogu and Pukku.

Second, until the mid-1970s, the majority of

the workers in both South Korea and Taegu were people graduating from primary and middle school. However, as the educational level of students rose after the late 1970s, the local government of Taegu as well as local industrial capitalists had to do something to acquire a stable supply of labor to manufacturing industries, particularly textile one. After the late 1970s, special classes for the education of local workers, particularly textile ones were made within vocational high school and a company-operated high school were also established in Taegu. Almost all the students of such a special educational institutions were young females. The number of students in those educational institutions decreased in the early 1990s. Finally, the training programs of textile workers in Somyugisul chinhungwon were also established for the supply of both unskilled and skilled labor to local textile industry.

Third, local government started a program of textile festival in 1985, and from the late 1980s, both local government and local textile business people have regularly implemented the textile festival both to increase the production consciousness of local textile workers and to advertise Taegu as a center of textile industry. Through its textile festival, local government tried to reproduce textile industry as the city's main economic activity. However, the reproduction of the textile industry of Taegu will conflict with the development of other industries. Even among the textile business people of Taegu, there are conflicts over the future development direction of textile industry. In textile festival, fashion and design was emphasized, but the majority of the Taegu's textile industry is still small and labor intensive and fabric production-oriented.

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## 지역사회·경제 공간의 형성과 지방정부의 역할, 대구시와 섬유산업의 경우

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## 국문요약

1980년대 이후 인문 지리학은 사회과학의 다양한 이론들을 적극적으로 수용하여 공간의 형성, 지속, 위기/재구조화를 사회, 정치, 경제, 문화와 밀접하게 관계시켜 설명 혹은 해석하고 있다. 구체적으로 공간의 형성, 위기, 재구조화는 자본, 노동, 사회 그리고 정부의 능동적 작용에 의해 이루어지고 있으며, 이에 대한 이론적·경험적 연구결과물이 축적되어 왔다. 자본, 노동, 지역사회와 공간, 특히 국가공간의 형성과 변화 혹은 재구조화 상호관계에 대한 연구는 많지만, 개발도상국에 있어서 지방정부가 지역사회·경제공간을 (재)형성·지속시키는 데 어떠한 적극적인 역할을 하고 있는지에 대한 경험적 연구는 거의 없다. 1948년 정부가 공식적으로 수립된 이후 한국의 사회·경제는 강력한 중앙정치·행정의 지배를 받아왔기 때문에 지역사회를 형성·유지시키는데 지방정부가 역할을 거의 담당하지 못한 것으로 인식되고 있다. 그러나 지역사회·경제를 세부적으로 분석해 보면 지방정부는 지역사회의 형성·지속에 능동적인 역할을 담당하였다. 본 연구는 지방정부가 지역사회·경제 공간의 형성과 지속에 어떻게 작용했는가를 도시계획과 지방공단의 설립, 산업체특별반과 산업체부설고등학교의 교육제도 수립을 통한 노동력 공급의 안정화, 그리고 섬유축제의 관점에서 구체적으로 분석하였다.

대구시가 실시한 도시계획은 지역 사회·경제공간을 상이한 용도(상업용, 주택용, 공업용 그리고 녹지용)으로 인위적으로 분류시켰고 다양한 형태의 사회·경제활동은 제한을 받게 되었으며, 국지적으로 상이한 경관들이 나타나게 되었다. 용도별 토지이용 제도는 섬유산업의 입지에 영향을 미쳐 생산시설 공간을 축소시키는 결과를 초래했다. 즉 1970년대 이전까지 섬유공업의 핵심지역인 시가지 중심과 주변이 상업과 주택지역으로 용도가 전환됨에

따라 기존의 섬유생산시설은 시 외곽지역에 지정된 (준)공업지대로 이전하게 되었다. 이와 반대로 지방정부의 주도 하에서 실행된 지방공단 조성은 지역의 중심산업, 즉 섬유와 기계공업이 생산공간을 안정적으로 확보하는데 기여를 했다. 그러나 지방공단 위치는 대구시의 산업활동들을 북구, 서구, 달서구로 편중시키는 결과를 초래했다. 또한 지방정부는 시가지에 분산된 기존의 제조업체 혹은 신생 기업들이 지방공단 내부에 입지할 수 있도록 도로, 상·하수도, 전력 등 하부시설과 금융과 세제 등을 지원하였다.

1970년대 중반이후 지역노동시장이 공급과잉에서 부족상태로 전환됨에 따라 지역기업들, 특히 섬유기업들은 노동력을 안정적으로 확보할 수 있도록 산업체 특별학급 및 부설고등학교 그리고 섬유기술진흥원 등의 특별교육기관이 중앙정부와 지역 대기업들의 협조를 받아 지방정부에 의해 수립되었다. 1977년 중앙정부는 근로청소년 교육을 명분으로 산업체에 인접한 중학교 또는 실업계 고등학교에 특별학급과 산업체 부설학교의 설치·운영을 공식적으로 허가함에 따라 대구시는 지역경제의 핵심을 담당하고 있는 섬유기업체들의 협조를 받아 산업체 특별학급과 부설학교를 설립하여 저임금의 단순 혹은 숙련 노동력 공급을 안정화시키는데 능동적인 역할을 담당했다. 1977년 9월에 설립된 섬유기술진흥센터는 여성 기능공 양성훈련을 실시하여 노동력 확보에 어려움을 겪고 있는 지역 섬유업체에 기능인력을 공급하였다.

1980년대 이후 대구지역경제의 중심을 형성하고 있는 섬유산업이 위기에 직면함에 따라지방정부는 노동자들의 생산의욕을 고취시키고 섬유산업을 국내·외에 홍보하기 위해 섬유축제를 기획하고 실천했다. 지방정부와 섬유기업가들은 섬유축제를 통해

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지역섬유산업의 이미지를 직물생산 중심에서 디자인과 패션 중심으로 전환시키려고 노력하였으며, 또한 지역 노동자와 시민이 참여하는 축제로 기획하였다. 그러나 축제의 실천과 결과는 의도한 목표를 거의 달성하지 못한 것으로 평가되고 있다.

주요어 : 지방정부, 사회·경제공간, 도시계획과 지방  
공업단지, 산업체부설학교, 섬유축제

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