

Beyond Developmentalism and Neoliberalism: Development Process and Alternative Visions for Korean Geography*

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Abstract : This paper is to consider the developmental process of Korean geography on the context of socio-spatial transformations of Korea, and then to suggest briefly its alternative visions. The development of knowledge including geography seems to be made under imperatives of social functions and structure in a given period, and knowledge in turn gives power for a further development of society. Modern geography in Korea has progressed on the context of capitalist development of Korean society which can be divided into two phases, that is, the period of developmentalism and that of neoliberalism. Korean geography has been developed under influence of ideologies of developmentalism and neoliberalism, and in turn has made some contributions to socio-spatial policies. Korean geography in the future, it can be suggested, should go beyond both developmentalism and neoliberalism, and put socio-spatial welfare, civil society or community, and environmental justice into its central issues.

Key Words : Korean geography, knowledge, ideology, developmentalism, neoliberalism, socio-spatial policies

요약 : 이 논문은 한국의 사회공간적 전환을 배경으로 한국 지리학의 발전과정을 고찰하고, 대안적 전망을 간략히 제시하기 위한 것이다. 지리학을 포함하여 지식의 발전은 주어진 기간에서 사회적 기능과 구조의 규정력 하에서 형성되며, 이렇게 형성된 지식은 다시 사회의 발전에 힘을 제공한다. 한국에서 근대 지리학은 두 단계, 즉 발전주의와 신자유주의의 기간으로 구분될 수 있는 한국사회의 자본주의 발전을 배경으로 발전해 왔다. 한국지리학은 발전주의와 신자유주의의 이데올로기의 영향 하에서 발전해 왔으며, 사회공간적 정책들에 기여를 했다. 발전주의 하에서 한국 지리학은 양적으로 팽창했으며, 단순 서술에서 체계적 설명의 틀을 갖추게 되었지만, 실증주의의 한계를 벗어나지 못했다. 신자유주의 하에서 한국 지리학은 질적으로 발전한 부분도 있지만, 사회공간적 정책들에 거의 영향을 미치지 못했고, 신자유주의적 정책으로 인해 유발된 문제들에 대한 비판과 대안을 제시하지도 못했다. 앞으로 한국 지리학은 발전주의와 신자유주의를 넘어서야 하며, 사회공간적 복지, 시민사회 또는 공동체, 환경정의 등을 핵심주제로 다루어야 할 것이라고 제안된다.

주요어 : 한국 지리학, 지식, 이데올로기, 발전주의, 신자유주의, 사회공간정책

* This paper was presented at the International Symposium on 'The Transformation of Traditional Notions of Geography in East Asia and Its Environs Caused by the Introduction of the Modern Discipline of Geography', The International Research Center for Japanese Studies, March 11, 2007, Kyoto.

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1. Introduction

Knowledge including geography has been formulated and reformulated in social space where people live and societies have developed. Knowledge gives ideas and provides rationale for production and reproduction of social space through human practices where it has been (re)formulated. That is, knowledge is not remained as a pure science within the academic world, but tends to make somehow a contribution to (re)production of society and space. Thus it can be argued that all kinds of knowledge would be ideological, as it can be mobilized explicitly or implicitly to support certain human practices in process of (re)production of social space.

Geography as knowledge of social space is not exceptional. Since the age of Strabo(1917, xxi), “the great part of geography subserves the uses of states and their rulers”. Planning and policies for urban and regional development as well as economic growth have required relevant geographical knowledge, which has made both possible and restrained the direction and scope of geography development in a given period. In such a process, geography has been developed not simply as a pure science but rather as a certain ideology for specific (social and regional) groups to realize their interests.

In the case of Korean society, the capitalist industrialization and urbanization process which has been launched from the 1960s has required certain economic, political, social and spatial knowledge. In particular, the developmentalism as ideology which supported the active role of the state for development of Korean society and space until the end of 1980s necessitated and cultivated proper geographical knowledge.

Geography and other related academic branches on social space made a progress from simple descriptive studies to more sophisticated analyses with positive methodology, and was applied as ‘value-free’ knowledge to developmental policies.

By the end of 1980s, the Korean state has turned gradually towards neoliberalism, as Korean economy matured the Fordist regime of accumulation, overcoming its peripheral character, and its politics came to be democratic with the collapse of the previous authoritarian regime. This period also witnessed externally the globalization of capitalist economy with the resolution of Cold-war system. Korean geography in this period has overcome some limitations of positivism, and pursued diverse perspectives. But, especially since the economic crisis in 1997, as neoliberalism and neoliberalization process compelled by the neoliberal international institutes (eg. IMF and the world bank, etc.) have required market-oriented knowledge, Korean geography has given its priority of attention to, for example, GIS(geographical information system), RIS(regional innovation system), place(or urban) marketing, etc.

No one can deny that Korean geography has been developed through a contribution to development of national and urban/regional space as well as economic growth of Korean society. But Korean geographers seem not to have given much attention to, and hence could not deal with, socio-spatial problems such as uneven regional development between the rural and the urban, between local cities and the core region of the Capital, and various problems of large cities (eg. problems of urban land and housing, transportation, environment, etc). These problems that have been generated and still continue in the process of capitalist development

process of Korea should be a matter of serious concern, even though the main trend of socio-spatial policy has been changed from developmentalism to neoliberalism.

Korean society like other countries in the world would characterize its own vision of socio-spatial development with a proper combination of state-led developmentalism and market-oriented neoliberalism through its own path-dependent process of development. Those problems however would be continuously at the central issues, which can not resolved with a conventional geography which has ignored them or limited its scope of research within tentative and state quo solutions. Alternative geography should be pursued and evaluated, not with respect to whether it orients towards developmentalism or neoliberalism, but to whether it subserves the improvement of human welfare or the accumulation of capital and power in the fetishistic market or state.

On the basis of this kind of subject of inquiry, this paper is to consider the development process of Korean geography on the context of socio-spatial development of Korea, and then suggest briefly alternative visions for Korean geography. First of all, this paper is to see the relation between knowledge, ideology and society, and the definition of developmentalism and neoliberalism, and to provide overviews on the development process of Korean society and of Korean geography since the 1960s. And then it will consider the characters of Korean geography in detail at two phases of its development, that is, at the period of developmentalism and that of neoliberalism. Finally it will suggest alternative visions and tasks for Korean geography, discussing the future of Korean society.

2. Geography, Science, and Ideology

1) Knowledge, ideology and practice

Knowledge is formulated and reformulated in an ongoing process of practice in the world through which people live together and produce and reproduce a society. Knowledge in turn can do much for improvement of human welfare and development of society. This is not except for geography. Geography, once developed through human practice, can be contributable substantially to development of social space. Geography is not confined within a closed academic world, but it can be used/misused for certain purposes of specific groups in name of human welfare and social development. Thus we need to consider first relation between knowledge as science, ideology, and practice.

It is often seen that knowledge is matters of fact and real existence, based upon and vindicated by reference to experience. In particular, one may think that geography as an empirical science in its tradition has been developed with an accumulation of experience on objective facts which appear on the earth surface. But in my view experience on objective facts is not formulated through itself, but presupposes necessarily subjective intervention, when it becomes an explicit knowledge through our conscious interpretation. What is more, experience can be reconstituted through our reflexive imagination and/or discursive communication. In other words, knowledge is not merely constituted with material experiences but also with discursive communication and reflexive imagination (see Figure 1).

Knowledge becomes a science when it is reordered systematically and vindicated in a certain manner. Hence science is not a matter of

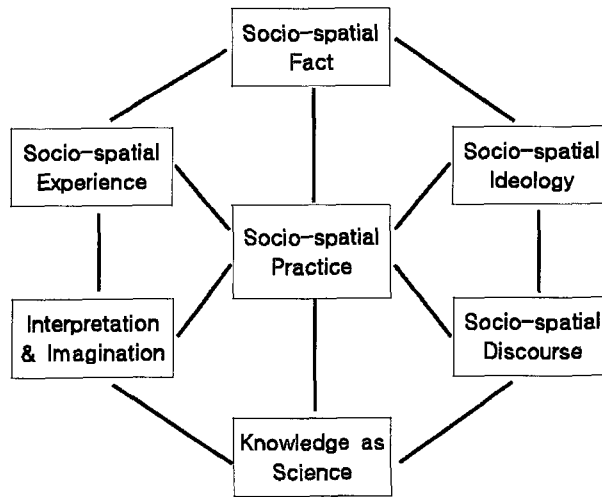


Figure 1. Knowledge, ideology and practice

true or false, as Gregory argues that science “does not claim to provide knowledge which is somehow ‘true’ — but instead to construct and reconstruct sets of theoretical relations which transform the structures of the social world”. Seen from this point of view, knowledge as science is not distinct from ideology, even though Althusser and others suggest, “ideology fastens on the manifest appearances of the social world and reproduces them as provides knowledge which is somehow ‘false’” (Gregory, 1978, 107). One may accept the concept of ideology as false consciousness, but a scientific knowledge can be ideological, when it is used or even distorted for individuals or groups to realize their specific interests, without reflexive, discursive, and self-critical practical moments.

Science presupposes reflexive imagination, a form of mental activity held to be distinct from cognitive or (instrumentally) rational processes: that is a free, creative, ordering of the contents of mind. Imagination is more than production of mental imagery in a sense that the former is based on serious reflection on previous (esp. suffering) experience, while the latter is not.

Imagination enables us to see both relationships between things and their nature which can be revealed in such relationships. Especially in geography, as Harvey (1973, 24) suggested, the geographical imagination “enables the individual to recognize the role of space and place in his own biography, to relate to the spaces he sees around him, and to recognize how transactions between individuals and between organizations are affected by the space that separates them”. In a similar vein, Gregory also suggests “imaginative geographies (inside and outside the academy) are global as well as local. They articulate not simply the differences between this place and that, inscribing different images of here and there, but they also shape the ways in which, from our particular perspectives, we conceive of the connections and separations between them” (Gregory, 1994, 204).

Imagination however does not legitimate itself, but can vindicate its authenticity only when it is represented through discursive practice which can transform theoretical structures of the world. What can distinguish knowledge as science from ideology is discourse. According to Habermas,

discourse is a form of argumentation in which claims to true or false are made thematic. Thus it can be argued that ideology itself does not denote a wrong apprehension of reality (that is, false consciousness), but it is a kind of knowledge which has not examined in discourse. With a reference to his theory of communicative action (Habermas, 1984, 305), we can see ideology as a form of systematically distorted communication, one that functions simultaneously to disguise and defend the suppression of generalizable interests, that is, interests associated with all involved in discourse. His version of ideology is encompassed in his thesis of internal colonization of the life-world which occurs when the mediatization of life-world relations by money and power extends into the process of symbolic reproduction.

Seen from Habermas' view, geography as a science is "obliged to be so self-critical if it is to distinguish itself from ideology" which can be seen as unexamined discourse. What is more, "that there is an urgent need for the problematization of discourse, for the exposure of connections between forms of knowledge and forms of existence concealed in and ultimately by social practice, is surely undeniable"(Gregory, 1978, 63 and 169). But we need to extend his version of ideology to socio-spatial reproduction in general (not only symbolic but also material), that is, practice in everyday life. We can reject the possibility of an autonomous science and insisted that conceptions of science are given in determinate social practices, as Harvey(1973, 13) writes that "the problem of the proper conceptualization of space is resolved through human practice [for both material and symbolic reproduction] with respect to it."

2) Developmentalism vs neoliberalism

East Asian countries including Korea (hereafter Korea) have exciting experiences on dramatical economic growth and socio-spatial development through strong state-led policies. The state in these countries in common, prior to enterprises, has suggested and conducted rational plans for economic growth and socio-spatial development. Among theories (or ideologies) which explain or give a rationale for such a state-led development is developmentalism or the theory of developmental state. But since the end of 1980s, Korean society has transformed itself from developmentalism to neoliberalism in relation with changes of both domestic and foreign affairs. In particular, after the economic crisis in 1997, Korean society has accepted unavoidably the neoliberalisation process guided by international neoliberal agencies such as IMF and the World Bank. Nevertheless, Korean society at the present seems not to give up entirely developmental policies. In deed, Korea has long been an ideological battleground for free market and staist development advocates (Hart-Landsberg and Burkett, 2001). Hence it is necessary to see and define developmentalism and neoliberalism in more detail.

Even though the term, developmentalism can be used very widely, its specific meaning has been used as "a code word for the belief that it was possible for the countries of the South to 'develop' themselves, as opposed to 'being developed' by the North", as some scholars began to discuss about development of the third world countries in the context of decolonization in the post-world war II era (Wallerstein, 2005). That is, developmentalism can be seen as an ideology underpinning of who conceives that a

given important mission is development, usually interpreted to mean high rates of economic growth and industrialization. This ideological component of developmentalism has required his structural or institutional agent, that is, developmental state which establishes as its principle of legitimacy its ability to promote such a development.

In a more specific sense, however, the idea of developmentalism and of developmental state in East Asia is closely associated with Johnson's seminal analysis(1982) of Japan's rapid, highly successful post-war reconstruction and industrialization. Johnson's central contention was that Japan's remarkable development could be seen as a consequence of the efforts of a 'plan rational' state, which constructed a Weberian ideal type of an interventionist state that was neither socialist nor free-market, but something different, that is, the plan-rational capitalist development state. This conception of developmental state came to be seen as causal argument linking interventionism with rapid economic growth - any-where in the world.

Developmentalism and developmental state, seen in this sense, seem not to confine to the Third World countries. According to Chang (1999), both the U.K. and U.S. which seem to be paragons of market rather than state-led development enjoyed significant state assistance in their initial industrializing phase. These advanced Western countries, of course, have deepened its neoliberalism in the later phases, especially after the economic stagnation during the 1970s. The post-war developmental state in East Asian countries also have shifted towards neoliberalization of their social and spatial policies. Thus both the international and the domestic economic climates in recent years have

been dominated by neoliberalism. But it should be argued that neoliberalism in any country in the world cannot have its own process without the role of developmental state as its constituency and supporter.

By neoliberalism in its original meaning we refer to the range of market-oriented policies that finds its ideological roots in Hayek, economic justification in Friedman, and political practice of Thatcher and Reagan(Harvey, 2005). Ideologically neoliberalism claims that economic, political and social relations are best organized through formally free choice of rational actors who seek to improve their own interests in an institutional framework, that is, market, that maximizes the efficiency of rational actors' activities. Economically, it endorses expansion of the scope of market economy - that is, spreading the commodity form to all factors of production (including labor power) and formally free, monetized exchange to as many socio-spatial practices as possible. In practice, the initial rise of neoliberalism as a wide-ranging economic and political strategy was associated with the neoliberal regime shift in Britain and the US in the late 1970s from the Keynesian-welfarist to the neoliberalized state form, modes of governance, and regulatory relations.

Neoliberalism, began as a starkly utopian intellectual movement, was aggressively politicized by Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s, then acquired a more technocratic form in the self-styled 'Washington consensus' of the 1990s, and has become the dominant ideological rationalization for globalization and contemporary state 'reform'(Peck and Tickell, 2002, 33; Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism does not exist in its fixed and static state in its logic and system, but rather in its dynamic change from its initial phase,

intersecting with other types of logics and of economic and political systems. Thus neoliberalism should be conceptualized in terms of its dynamic process in which its ideology and practice have been intermingled with other kinds of them.

Seen from this point of view, neoliberalism as a logic oriented towards free-market ideal typically coexists with elements from developmentalism and developmental state in discourse, strategies and organization patterns of society and space. This is in principle because “the economy is embedded in the state and vice versa”. That is, the state has an indispensable role in promoting all spheres of market activities, including production, circulation and consumption. Thus, according to this ‘embedded states’ view, as suggested by Yeung (2000, 155) and others, “we should conceptualize the state-economy relationship as a dialectical process of interdependence and interconnectedness”. Within the dialectically combining matrix of logics and systems, the relative portions and tentative balance between them depend on the changing balance of forces within an institutionalized (but changeable) compromise (cf. Jessop, 2002).

3. Changes in Development of Korean Society

1) Development in the age of developmentalism

It is well known that Korea had enjoyed rapid economic growth for over three decades from the 1960s prior to its 1997 crisis. The real GDP grew by an average of 9 percent during the

1960s, 9.3 percent during the 1970s, and by nearly 10 percent during the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. This performance is impressive not merely in its own growth rate, but in comparison with other developed and developing countries all over the world. This growth was achieved through a structural transformation of the economy. The share of manufacturing in output and employment rose from only 10 percent in 1962 to well over 25 percent by the early 1990s. Commodity exports grew at an annual average rate of more than 25 percent over the same period. It was also accompanied with a massive spatial reconfiguration. The share of urban population rose from 28 percent in 1960 to about 75 percent in 1990 and to about 80 percent in 2000.

In analyzing the success of Korean economic development during the age of developmentalism, some neoliberal economists at the first credited the ‘magic of the market’ for this success. But the neoliberal view on the success of Korea was soon challenged by statist economists who demonstrated the centrality of industrial policy to South Korea’s rapid economic growth and condensed industrial transformation. Following Johnson’s idea of ‘developmental state’ or the so-called ‘statist’ interpretation of Asian economic ‘miracle’, the Korean economy, together with other East Asian economies, could be hailed as a miracle until the early 1990s. Indeed, many scholars and research institutions, even including the World Bank have endorsed the state intervention in the economic development processes of Asia as ‘good governance’ and market-friendly intervention.

Those who want to see the success of Korean economy in terms of developmentalism would accept this endorsement, but they seem to argue

that the success of state intervention is due not merely to its market-friendly character but to its authoritarian one. Thus it can be argued that the term 'developmentalism' characterizes very well the process of Korean economy and its policy to support it until 1987. As Kim (1999, 10) wrote, "economic development was the *raison d'être* for the authoritarian regimes in Korea, which suffered from a lack of legitimacy. Economic development quickly became a state ideology for the ruling military elite in the early 1960s and this relatively autonomous state strove for rapid economic growth until the mid-1980s". But this argument should not be seen as implying that the developmental state alone had conducted and established the success in the economic development of Korea. This success seems to have been possible due to some part of the developmental state' efforts to make capitalist market mechanism operate rationally, which had not been properly developed before the 1960s.

2) Development in the age of neoliberalism

We can find two important moments in the development of Korean society in which the neoliberal character of the state has been introduced and consolidated. The first moment was by the late 1980s when the growth rate of GDP turned gradually to decrease, while the income per capita increased at an accelerating pace. This is also the point that the portion of manufacturing in the whole industry reached at the peak, and that the volume of export surpassed that of import, making Korea a balance-of-payments surplus country for the first time in its capitalist economy. Until this moment, Korean economic and socio-spatial development had been guided by the authoritarian state with

its developmental policies. After this moment, the Korean state has conducted a neoliberal turn, which can be divided into two phases by the second moment, that is, the economic crisis in 1997. While the first is what can be called the voluntary (or roll back) phase, the second is called the compelled (or roll-out) phase in the process of Korean neoliberalization (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Choi, 2007).

In order to see the advent of neoliberalism in Korea, the context of Korean experience during the late 1980s should be considered, which can be divided into two levels, that is, global and national. On the global level, by the end of the 1980s, no region or country was free from the challenge of globalization process, though how to define it still remains in question. Neoliberalism has been inherent in the globalization of capitalism, as neoliberalism/globalism have been treated in a parallel way, and presented as twin external forces. Under this process Korea attempted actively to carry out new social and spatial policies which were typically neoliberal, in order to manage the increasingly global economies upon which its economy depended.

This globalization process has proceeded hand in hand with the disintegration of the Cold War political system at the end of the 1980s. In fact, the strategic intervention and protection of key industries by the developmental state in Korea might be possible only during the Cold War era. For the economic nationalism inherent in developmental policies of the national states such as Korea, Japan, and Taiwan at the front line confronting with communism of the former USSR and China were allowed to use their geopolitical (dis-)advantages to maximize the national interests through defensive protectionism. But in

the post-Cold War era, this kind of geopolitical advantages which once those countries enjoyed was disappeared, and instead they were forced to accept more positively the global standards by the Western advanced countries.

Under the context of global changes during the late 1980s, Korean society was changed rapidly in its politics and economy. In politics, the Chun regime, characteristic of a harder authoritarian state than the previous Park regime, was faced with continuous resistance of Korean populace with serious discontents to the military regime. Eventually a long and earnest desire of Korean populace for democracy who had been suffered under the successive authoritarian regimes erupted on June 1987. The democracy movement in June 1987 drew a clear line in Korea's political and social development, a turning point from the military authoritarian developmental state to relatively more democratic neoliberal state.

The final, but most important, component of the context of advent of neoliberalism in Korea during the late 1980s is the maturing of the Fordist economy in Korea. It seems that Korea could not meet the requirement of neoliberalism until the end of the 1980s when its economy matured the Fordist regime of accumulation with a rapid development of its domestic market which enabled to complete its own relation between mass-production and mass-consumption. Thus it can be argued that the maturing of the Fordist economy by the end of the 1980s was another highly important factor, intermingled with those external forces, for the advent of neoliberalism in Korea.

Neoliberalism as a new ideology of development with free market and economic growth as its two axes, replaced the developmentalism. Thus, pursuing 'small

government', the Kim Young-Sam regime emphasized the logic of market principles as the engine of economic development. A series of neoliberal projects implemented by the Kim regime, however, resulted in a serious erosion of economic (both ideological and institutional) foundation in Korea, and eventually the economic crisis in 1997. Korean economy, once enjoyed a rapid economic growth, was faced with a sudden financial crisis together with other East Asian countries such as Thailand, Indonesia, etc. Facing with the crisis, Korea had no way except accepting IMF packages which came with neoliberal economic programme.

But perhaps no one can deny that the major policies for overcoming the economic crisis in Korea have been conducted by the government. As such, neoliberalism might not be implemented without the strategic role of nation-states as its constituency and supporters. Even though free market ideology has been committed by international neoliberal agencies, and become dominant in elite discourse, Korean economy could not be departed from strong state intervention in market mechanism in order to recover from the economic crisis. "Neoliberalism as a theoretical and practical logic of free market reveals itself as illogic. It is mystified and deployed through political discourses to create its own conditions of existence"(Yeung, 2000). Thus it can be argued that neoliberalism has been internally combined with the developmental state, which hence can be called as 'developmental neoliberalism' with 'hybridity' of spatial policy (Choi, 2007).

4. Changes in Development of Korean Geography

1) Overview of development of Korean geography

Even though modern geography in Korea had been introduced during the late 19 century, that is, the end of Chosun Dynasty, it could not be embedded into Korean society during the period of Japanese colonization. In 1945, just after the liberation some faculty members in colleges of education and teachers in middle schools founded 'The Korean Geographical Society'. At the end of the 1950s, two Korean geographers, after completing Ph.D. courses at universities in U.S., took places at universities. And three departments of geography were established at colleges of social science. Thus it can be said that modern geography in Korea was launched during the 1950s. But major tasks of geographers in this period were to introduce some geographical theories and concepts developed in U.S. or Japan, or to present papers analyzing descriptively geographical phenomena at a basic level.

As shown in Table 1, in 1960 there were 10 departments of geography (including those of geography education) at universities, with only 19 professional geographers as appointed faculty members of the universities. This situation was hardly changeable until 1970; The number of department of geography was fixed with 10,

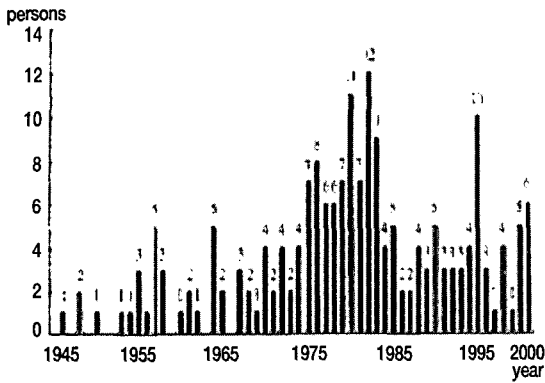
while that of faculty members increased slightly, among whom only 4 members had their Ph.D. title. It was during the 1970s that some apparent indices of Korean geography were increasing rapidly: for ten years from 1970 to 1980, the number of department increased with 2.3 times, that of new students entering into universities with 4.5 times, and the number of faculty members with 2.4 times. The increasing rates of these indices continued during the early 1980s, as we can see in Figure 2. Seen from these data, during the age of developmentalism from the 1960s to the middle of the 1980s, it can be said, Korean geography was developed rapidly in its quantitative aspect, but not in its qualitative one, as the portion of persons qualified with the Ph.D. title was still quite low among the total faculty members until the end of this age.

Those quantitative growth of Korea geography however does not imply that it was developed to serve directly the extensive national and regional development of Korea in the same period. This can be rather seen as an secondary effect of economic development. That is, a rapidly increasing demand for geography teachers at middle schools in correspondence to increasing demands for education in general needed more departments of geography education, as 8 departments among 13 which were newly set up in the 1970s were those of geography education. Moreover, there was little academic accumulation of geographical knowledge, while research

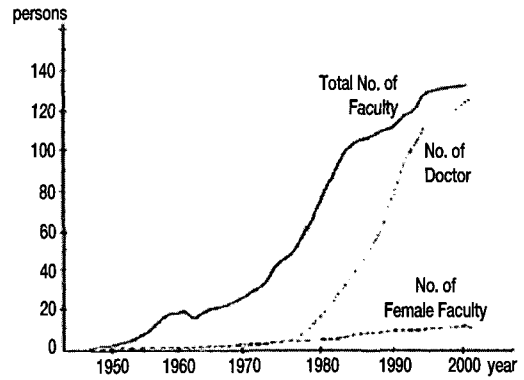
Table 1. Indices of development of geography in Korea

Year	1960	1970	1980	1990	2001
Number of Department	10	10	23	26	29
Number of Faculty Member at Universities (no. of Doctor)	19(2)	29(4)	70(17)	112(88)	134(127)
Number of Faculty Members per Department	1.8	2.9	3.0	4.3	4.6

Source: Kim (2001).



2-1. Number of faculty members appointed each year



2-2. Accumulation of faculty members appointed

Figure 2. Number and accumulation of faculty members appointed each year

Sources: Kim, 2001, 299-300.

subjects restricted to traditional fields of geography, and had little relation to other branches of social science.

During the age of neoliberalism which began from the end of the 1980s, the number of department of geography and that of its faculty members in universities have made little increase. The figure of accumulation of faculty members has shown a typical S-curve with a saturated stage by 1990. But the faculty members of geography departments have seemed to be qualified themselves. The accumulative number of members with Ph.D. has rapidly increased, as shown in the figure 4-2, and hence the percent of faculty members with Ph.D amounted to 94.7% in 2001 (see Table 1).

What is more, research in human geography has remarkably progressed since the middle of the 1980s, as changes in major topics of interests have shown (see Table 2) For example, in the research of economic geography in Korea, agricultural geography was a leading field before the mid-1970s, locational changes, regional industrial structure, and formation of industrial region were the major topics of interest before 1980, and then, in addition to those topics,

changes of industrial restructuring, changes of production system and industrial space, development of high technology industries and science parts, etc. have been the major research themes of economic geography (Park, 1996). That is, major research topics in economic geography which were quite simple and basic before the mid 1980s have been diversified in interests and sophisticated conceptually, as the Korean economy has become more diversified with new sources of development. A similar quantitative progress can be found in urban and social geography in Korea.

2) Geography in the age of developmentalism

The age of developmentalism in Korea, governed by the Park regime(1961-1979) and the Chun regime(1980-1987), set economic growth as the most important national agenda. The basis on which these regime promoted export-led economic development was the national plans, established and implemented by military elite. As Johnson(1982) emphasized the modal economic planning bureaucracy in Japan as a Weberian ideal type of an interventionist state, the efforts

Table 2. Changes in major topics of economic, urban, and social geography

Period	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Age	Developmentalism			Neoliberalism	
Economic geography	Agricultural geography, development of manufacturing industry	Locational change, regional industrial structure, industrial region, Urban & regional economy	Industrial restructuring, production system, Service & transportation geography	Fordist economy, uneven development, industrial districts, foreign direct investment,	High-tech (esp. IT), national & regional economic innovation, producer service
Urban geography	Urban growth, urbanization process, urban function analysis	Central place theory, urban system, growth centre, models of urban space	Residential area, urban poverty, urban system & economy, urban development	Residential differentiation, suburbanization, urban land(rent), urban culture	Urban innovation and network, world city, eco-city, urban marketing
Social geography	Descriptive analysis of local (rural) communities	Factorial ecology analysis, Urban and behavioristic social geography (perception study)	Studies on segregation, urban redevelopment, housing & other social problems	Social theory, social welfare, feminism, environmental problems	Postmodern city, urban social movements, multi-cultural space

Notes: Major topics are extracted with modification from Park (1996), Nam (1996), Choi (1996), and those after these papers are added.

of the Park regime was epitomized by the 'five-year national development plans' began in 1962 and the first 'ten-year comprehensive plans for the national land development' began in 1972. The second 10-year comprehensive development plan was made during the Chun regime for the national land on the basis of the concept of balanced zones of living space. But these efforts were mainly to conceal its deficiency of legitimacy, as the actual policies were oriented towards economic growth.

The Park regime used resources and external borrowing to develop manufacturing and services in large cities including Seoul and Pusan. Then, it created the country's heavy industry complexes along the southeast coast by building such industrial cities as Ulsan, Pohang, Changwon, etc. Tax incentives and financial assistance were given to firms locating in the designated zones. Indeed, as Douglass(2000, 9)

writes, "nationalized banks and the bringing together of a highly trained technocracy enabled Park to transfer national wealth into creating the urban infrastructure and industrial organizational structure that would be the basis for national economic growth for the next four decades." As economic growth was the foremost goal of the development state, urban development was considered as an instrument for economic growth. That is, under the developmental state, cities were extended or newly constructed as 'production platforms for exports'.

The developmental regimes which required and constructed a huge material and spatial basis for its vigorous pursuit of economic growth have transformed fundamentally urban and regional patterns in Korea. National projects for development were focused mainly on the construction of the spatial axis which connected Seoul and the Capital region with Busan and the

South-east coastal region around it. But the developmental projects have brought about several serious problems, though it might contribute to economic development of Korea.

First of all, uneven regional development was deepened between the rural and the urban. Most of all urban growth by mass migration from the countryside to the city was phenomenal, and made a fundamental change in uneven spatial configuration. Secondly, the rapid urbanization process in turn instituted new modes of urban life, and at the time brought about the disintegration of traditional social relations. But housing and other infrastructure needed for daily urban life were largely ignored until the mid-1980s. Thirdly, national projects for development which gave priority to economic infrastructure investment ignored destruction of nature and environmental degradation, which caused several big environmental accidents happened the early 1990s.

On the basis of the above consideration of a dramatical change in spatial configuration of Korea during the age of developmentalism, we can examine the development process of Korean geography in this period. It would be wrong, of course, to say that Korean geography during this period was entirely dominated by developmentalism. Indeed, the research level of Korean geography in the 1960s was quite low, mainly dealing with phenomenal changes of regional population and industry with descriptive terms (including a chorographic approach to individual regions). Even though Korean geography in the 1970s came to be interested in theoretical concepts and analytical methods to explain geographical changes in Korea, such interests could not go beyond the level that such concepts and/or methods (for example, central

place theory, rank-size rule etc) were introduced and applied to Korean empirical data.

During this period, various socio-spatial plans on both the national and the urban/regional scales, including the comprehensive national development planning, were designed and performed to support the state-led rapid economic growth. In relation to these plans, massive projects to construct industrial complexes and physical infrastructures were conducted, and other social and regional policies were performed (for example, *Saemaul* movement for socio-spatial integration and improvement of rural areas). These kinds of plans, projects and policies might require necessarily geographical knowledge. To meet this requirement, there might be, one may suppose, a corresponding development of geography in this period. But this supposition is mainly wrong, even though it is true that there was a quantitative expansion of Korean geography in this period, as we have seen above.

Instead of founding geography departments, new departments were emerged in universities: departments of regional development, of community development, and of urban planning in the 1970s; and those of urban engineering, and of transportation in the 1980s (and that of environmental engineering in the 1990s). Even though these departments were obviously related with geography knowledge, what they needed were not pure but applied knowledge. These departments in general tended to provide knowledge which could be applied directly to planning and construction of cities and physical infrastructures, and hence could not point out critically, and suggest alternatives to, serious problems which had been generated as results of such planning and construction: uneven regional

development and several kinds of urban and environmental problems.

By the mid 1970s, Korean geography began to accept the positivist methodology, as increasing numbers of geographers received Ph.D. degree largely from universities in the U.S., and then came back to Korea to teach and research their more specified themes. Some papers in academic journals and dissertations for MA or Ph.D. degree at the graduate course, set up few universities at that time, took a common framework in which research hypotheses suggested at the beginning part and then some research processes to verify or reject them were described in a deductive method. Positivism - more specifically, logical positivism - seems to have been regarded not only explicitly as a scientific method which might guide researchers to overcome the previous descriptive method, but also implicitly as an ideology which made geography a value-free knowledge applicable to spatial policies.

But during the early 1980s, a few geographers were concerned with socio-spatial problems such as disparity between regions, urban poverty, land and housing problems, urban redevelopment and so on which were generated as results of rapid economic growth and urban development. They also became reflective to positivist methodology, suggesting controversially some critical comments. Mainstream geographers however did not want to accept such critique, as Lee (1983, 82-83) argued,

“I believe that, although some critique has been posed gradually against thought of logical positivism, we need an endeavor for rigidly scientific approach in order to explain and interpret structural characteristics of geographical phenomena”.

As implied here, some geographers in Korea in the early 1980s questioned the significance of positivistic methodology and to search for alternatives, introducing concepts and methodologies of humanist geography or of structuralist geography, as had been done in Western geography in the 1970s.

In sum, there seemed not to be an direct or inherent relation (either reciprocal or oppositional-critical) between developmentalism as ideology and geography as science. But it can be well supposed that developmentalism which dominated socio-spatial policies for economic growth and invoked the legitimation of military regimes made an overall influence upon development of geography and other academic fields related to it in Korea. As new departments that aimed to develop geographical knowledge applicable to urban and regional development were set up, development of Korean geography in this period were confined to a certain limit. In such circumstances, geography could play roles neither to provide proper knowledge and hence to contribute to economic and spatial development nor to point out critically serious problems and to suggest alternative visions, except introducing and defending logical positivism as a (even the) scientific, value-free and hence policy-oriented methodology.

3) Geography in the age of neoliberalism

The age of neoliberalism, starting from the late 1980s, was propelled by four decisive factors: globalization of capitalism and disintegration of the Cold war system on the global level and maturing of the Fordist economy and collapse of the authoritarian regime on the national level, as mentioned above. Especially the social

movement in June 1987, erupted against the military authoritarian regime, initiated a crucial turning point of development both of the actual and the academic worlds in Korea. The hard developmental state underwent a transformation towards seemingly more democratic neoliberal state, even though it still incorporated developmentalism in its strategies intervening into market economy. The neoliberal tone of policies became more explicit under the Kim, Young-Sam government(1993-1997). Rejecting the initiative role of the state, for example, it abolished the Economic Planning Board which once had taken a great role as a pilot agency in the developmental state, and abrogated the social and economic national plan.

A series of neoliberal projects implemented by the Kim regime, however, resulted in a serious erosion of economic (both ideological and institutional) foundation in Korea, and eventually the economic crisis in 1997-1998. Championed by the IMF, the standard neoliberal prescription for the Korean economic crisis was given to get rid of state intervention altogether and to liberalize near-bankrupt economies further to attract global capital in order to reverse short-term capital outflows. We can identify some major spatial projects which were designed to meet such a neoliberal prescription under the Kim, Dae-Jung government(1998-2002). All of these spatial policies reflected the neoliberal concern with deregulation of spatial development and naturalization of market logics. Most of these spatial development projects were planned to be conducted by private capital or private-public partnership, which could find new opportunities of investment and profit. What is more, the Kim D-J regime pursued privatization of massive state-owned or public properties and

disposal of government assets.

This kind of neoliberal policies for spatial development has been more explicitly pursued under the current 'participatory government' of the President Rho Moo-Hyun. Spatial policies for urban and regional development under this government have been based on twin presuppositions of over-concentration of the Capital region and lack of available land which respectively have induced specifically a logic of balanced national development, and that of deregulation of land use in the context of Korean society. Even though the participatory government defines itself as a flexible progressive, and tries to do a developmentalist role with more active intervention into or regulation of market (esp. land and construction market), it's major economic and spatial policies including company town, innovation town, and free economic zones can be obviously characterized as neoliberal.

The shift from the authoritarian developmental state to the neoliberal state in Korea has made considerable changes not only in development process of Korean economy and socio-space but also in development process of the academic world. At the beginning stage of neoliberalism in the late 1980s, the circumstance of academic work in most fields (especially in social science) in Korea became quite liberal (at least, outwardly), as some young researches and graduate students were engaged in active academic movement in corresponding to social liberal movement which was conducted against the military regime and celebrated with its winning. Geography and other academic fields related with it were also put under similar situation. Even though there had been already some critical-alternative arguments or suggestions

(from perspectives of dependency theory, humanistic geography, and radical geography) to traditional and positivist geography, they could make themselves more explicitly critical and alternative, as the ideological domination and military repression of hard developmental regimes had been partly removed.

But such an academic movement in geography could not be diffused widely among geographers, even though it was true that most geographers were qualified with the Ph.D. degree, and that major research themes became more diverse and more sophisticated. An introductory text of human geography published at that time wrote,

“Radical geographers who stand on socialism, i.e. Marxist philosophy express a view that geography needs a fundamental reconstruction of its academic role, that is, an academic revolution. Major tasks of their research are summarized as studies on problem of human poverty, that of social inequality in relation to location, and modernization of the third world” (Kim, 1986, 41).

The writing however continues that “but ... among geographical researchers on social problems, those who are of contributable actually are mainly scholars who have a liberalist perspective”.

Entering into the 1990s, Korean geographers could be concerned with more diverse research topics, and make their research interests more theoretical. As Korean society has developed its economy expanding its domestic as well as foreign markets, and institutionalized neoliberal strategies, many new research themes were generated and attracted geographers' concerns. Some of important themes included the

functional and spatial division of the head offices and branch plants with the maturation of Fordist economy, development of new industrial districts and construction of science parks with increasing investment into high technology (especially Informational technology), the new international division of labour and increasing foreign direct investments, the enforcement of local autonomy by introduction of local parliaments in 1991 and local election of governors from 1995, regional developmental strategies of entrepreneurial state and local governments, local festivals and place or urban marketing, etc. What is more, various theories and concepts were introduced applied to geographical researches on these themes. Not only grand theories and philosophies such as humanistic tradition, political economy of Harvey, critical theory of Habermas, Giddens' theory of structuration, postmodernism but also meso-scale theories and more concrete concepts such as regulation theory, new institutionalism, flexible accumulation, new industrial space, learning region, regional innovation, social capital, etc. have been introduced and used competitively to analyze the above themes.

But Korean geography in the 1990s could neither anticipate the economic crisis in 1997 nor took topics related with the crisis into research seriously even after its breakout. Korean geography in general was very insensible to the crisis, as if it had nothing to do with the spatial dimension of Korean society. Even though there were few scholars on the statist position which celebrated the usefulness of industrial policy and state direction of the economy against neoliberal critics, protagonists of neoliberalism argued that their agenda was becoming a global orthodoxy, when Korean economy accepted IMF packages with neoliberal programmes. The neoliberal

programmes (either compelled by the IMF or implemented by the neoliberal state to recover Korean economy from the crisis) obviously make great impacts on Korean space and environment, one can scarcely find research papers or books dealing with themes related with the crisis from geographical perspective.

During the early 2000s until recently, Korean geography tries to tackle new themes emerged with spatial reconfiguration through neoliberal projects for economic development. Among various kinds of urban and regional development projects pursued by the current government for balanced national development and regional innovation systems, some major spatial projects are the construction of new administration city, company town, innovation town, free economic zones, and so on, which would exercise a cumulatively significant influences on the structure and dynamics of interurban competition and intraurban development. Some of Korean geographers have participated into these developmental projects, but in doing so, they seem neither to make a big contribution to the developmental projects in the real world nor to develop further geographical knowledge in the academic world.

What is worse, Korean geographers, except only few if any, have no interests in considering serious problems, such as economic and spatial polarization, *dramatical increasing of apartment price*, which have been generated with the impacts of the economic crisis and neoliberal policies since then. The Gini coefficient and the p50/10 percentile, indicators of unequal distribution of income, which once decreased from the peak in 1985 to the mid 1990s, has rapidly increased after the economic crisis in 1997 and still remains on the quite high level.

With a result of this increasing gap of income groups, increase of the urban poor and the homeless has required a more close attention of geographers. In addition, as shown in Figure 6, the abruptly changing price of house in Korea, occasionally rising up to more than 30% per year, which has given sufferings to lower classes without their own house, while making upper classes with one more houses earn a lot of capital gain, also needs geographer's thorough study on it. But Korean geography has seemed to meet hardly this kind of requirement.

5. Alternative Visions of Korean Society and Geography

1) Visions beyond developmentalism and neoliberalism

Neoliberalism which has developed its influence more than thirty years in Western advanced countries and spreaded into peripheral regions, and today becomes a seemingly all-mighty ideology throughout the world. And this ideology appears so strong and robust that it seems not be replaced easily with new one in a near future. This is true partly in Korea. when Korean economy eliminated some of peripheral characters and matured the Fordist accumulation at the beginning phase and accepted IMF packages with neoliberal programmes to overcome the 1997 economic crisis. Even though there are some scholars on the statist position which defends the usefulness of state intervention into or direction of the economy against neoliberal critics, protagonists of neoliberalism argue that their agenda is now a global orthodoxy. In their view, the state in the

globalized world is expected to play a role of a referee in the market, setting and enforcing the fair rules of competition and ethical codes of economic conduct.

This is, however, not the case in the reality. Even though we may accept partly the progression and success of neoliberalism as a set of ideologies and policies, it has always been combined internally with the developmental state (Yang, 2005). Even though a shift to neoliberal development strategy after the crisis has enhanced the logic of market under the banner of global capitalism, the legacy of developmentalism still lingers in the minds of Koreans (Kim, 1999). This is not confined to a case of Korea, but as Peck and Tickell (2002, 35-37) find out from their study mainly focusing on urban restructuring in North America and Western Europe, “more recent pattern of institutional and regulatory restructuring can be characterized as a “radical, emergent combination of neoliberalized economic management and authoritarian state forms”. That is, “‘actually existing’ neoliberalisms are always (in some way or another) hybrid or composite structures”. It is on the basis of this kind of conception of neoliberalism internally combined with the developmental state that we can discuss about ‘developmental neoliberalism’ and ‘hybridity’ of spatial policy in Korea. The socio-spatial policies pursued in support of the neoliberal project generally seem to involve a paradoxical increase in intervention; thus, developmental neoliberalism implying market mechanism as the developmental engine and state intervention as operator and manager of the engine.

In addition to such a hybridity of socio-spatial policy, we can point out a serious problematic inherent in the shift from developmentalism to

neoliberalism. Even though this shift in Korea has made considerable changes in the state’s strategies for economic and spatial development, policies of both stages have been common in supporting economic growth or capital accumulation. Most of urban and regional plans under the developmental state simply served the purpose of economic growth and provided opportunities and a rationale for the developers’ maximization of profit. Such spatial plans and development projects, pursued by the authoritarian regimes with the top-down approach, promoted market economy driven by a logic of accumulation while excluding citizen or local residents’ preference and participation. This kind of spatial planning continues in neoliberal spatial policy. Neoliberalism, just like developmentalism, has promoted and normalized a ‘growth-first’ approach to urban development, regarding social welfare as one that would only be considered either for increasing productivity of economy or after economic growth of wealth.

Neoliberal spatial planning and development policies under the post-crisis governments have been pursued in terms of liberalization of competitive market forces and promotion of good environment for business. But in this process real welfarism has been abandoned and citizens’ participation has been rejected. This kind of neoliberal spatial policies have not only promoted privatization, deregulation and speculation, but also would undermine or foreclose alternative paths of urban and regional development. Crucially, this has massively enlarged the space for extensive forms of neoliberalized accumulation and policy formation. These economic and spatial policies have been justified their installation as the dominant metrics of policy evaluation on the

grounds of efficiency, reform, and even 'equity' or 'fairness'. Despite its language of balanced development, innovation, learning and openness, neoliberalism is associated with an extremely skewed or distorted urban policy repertoire based on capital subsidies, place promotion, supply-side intervention, and local boosterism. Reform dynamics has led to a deepening and intensification in the process of neoliberalization.

Seen from this point of view, the shift from developmentalism to neoliberalism can be interpreted in the context of global transformation of capitalist economy which tends to increase the tension and contradictions inherent in it. That is, neoliberalism is fundamentally a new economic and social order (counter-) revolutionally established by capital to promote its own accumulation against the 'Keynesian compromise' and by the upper fractions of the ruling classes to regain their material and ideal interests (Dumenil and Levy, 2005). In this vein, we can see how ideological is "the 'Washington Consensus' when it claims that global neoliberalism — is the only realistic alternative to misery and disaster" (Tabb, 2003). Rather it would be true to say that the neoliberal (counter-)revolution would increase the tension between the contradictory needs of the state (or the ruling class) to maintain legitimacy on the one hand and to secure conditions for the accumulation of capital on the other.

In order to overcome the tension and contradictions inherent in neoliberalism in intermingling with developmentalism, we need to envisage alternative visions with our social and geographical imagination. For alternative visions for Korean society and geography, neither market liberalization nor state's reregulation can successfully ensure development in the future. As

Yeung (2000, 139) suggests, It is indeed not a question of choosing between neoliberalism and developmentalism, because "markets are state-constrained and state-regulated, thereby incapable of operating in a neoliberal environment." Moreover, both neoliberalism with free market and developmentalism with state intervention have been oriented towards capital accumulation, paying little, if any, attention to human welfare.

Thus what is needed for alternative visions is welfare-oriented decision making of government and welfare-oriented management of market. As shown in Figure 3, what is common problematic in the shift from developmentalism to neoliberalism in both Western European welfare states and East Asian developmental states are not merely transformation from state-centered policy to market-centered policy, but rather abandonment or withdrawal of the state from welfarism in Western European countries and ignorance or nonperformance of the state's responsibility for human welfare in East Asian countries.

In order to orient socio-spatial policies towards welfarism, decision-making should be centered into civil society or community. Civil society is indispensable in the normal functioning of the state and market. Even though citizens played a critical role in bringing democracy to Korea, they are not well organized to lead socio-spatial changes. Korean civil society has been successful in its resistance against dictatorship, but it has been rather passive in solving problems of socio-spatial conflicts, as seen in numerous incidents. What makes more difficult for the development of civil society is that it has been more and more eroded or colonized by the logics of capital and of power, as can be identified in conflicts in

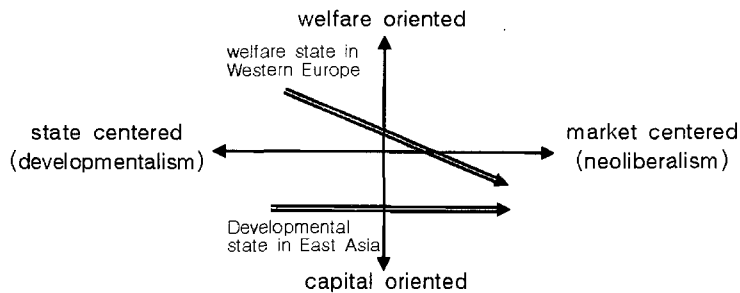


Figure 3. Shift of states from developmentalism to neoliberalism

labor-management relations and political regionalism in Korea.

Instead of such a logic of capital or of power, we need alternative logic, that is, what can be called the logic of community. As Kim (1999) suggests, “given the increasing power of global capitalism, constructing associational space is not enough to build a sustainable city with both depth and order”. Thus it can be argued that the most important task for Korean cities is to resurrect the logic of community, instead of or perhaps in parallel with the logic of capital accumulation or of state authoritarianism. If capital accumulation reflects economic forces driving a society, community reflects the cultural and moral order of a society. Moreover, in Korean society which experienced highly centralized and authoritarian regimes, in order to transcend the limitations of developmentalism a communal ethos which is rooted in the Korean tradition should be promoted so as to complement the potential defects of individualistic civil society.

2) Tasks for alternative geography in Korea

Today’s world is undergoing a seismic change in the context of the so-called globalization process with information technologies, leading some to proclaim the emergence of a new kind

of ‘information society’ or of ‘knowledge-based society’. This twin processes of globalization and informationalization which have produced a particularly intensive burst of what Harvey called ‘time-space compression’ have created many new phenomena which have attracted or required serious geographical concerns. This is the same situation in Korean society, as Park (2004, 3) describes,

“Recently the economic and political circumstance of Korea is going through a rapid change, and this change tends to make an important influence upon use and planning of national land space. This implies that geographical theory and research results would contribute in several ways to use of national land space and actual life”.

The Korean situation seems more serious than other countries, where those global processes are combined with several specific inner factors of Korea, such as the rapid increasing of ageing population and the serious decreasing of birth rate as well as economic, social and spatial polarization, which require urgently geographical research and alternative policy to tackle with.

This kind of change which can be identified on both the global and the national (and urban, of course) has been directed and implemented

voluntarily or coercively in relation to neoliberalism. Even though neoliberal programs have had profound ramifications for urban development in cities and city-regions throughout the world economy, deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many cities or regions of social provision have been all too common. These policies have made and would make numerous impacts upon space. Indeed, as Brenner and Theodore (2002, vii) observe, “neoliberalism represents a strategy of political-economic restructuring that — uses urban space as its ‘privileged instrument’”. That is, “neoliberalism affects cities, but also that cities have become key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism is itself evolving.”

Seen from the above consideration, it can be said first that Geographers should be more sensitive and more active to current change in Korean society, and endeavour to incorporate into shifting processes of society, in order to suggest a proper direction and strategies of the change. In this sense, for example, Park (2006), examine the mechanism of the new economic spaces in terms of network, embeddedness and agglomeration and dispersion, and suggests three directions for future geographical research such as research from an integrative viewpoint, development of new methodologies of geographical research, and policy directed research in geography. This suggestion in economic geography would be well applied to the whole (human) geography. Thus it can be suggested that we need to illuminate the ways in which the developmentally oriented state in Korea has adjusted to meet new neoliberal challenges in its industrial restructuring and spatial reconfiguration for urban development, public policy-making and social welfare reform

for urban life, etc.

This kind of suggestion, however, should not be seen as implying that Korean geographers can be incorporated into neoliberalization process in general, or take a part in neoliberal spatial policies in particular, without reflection upon its limits, tensions, and contradictions. Rather we should explore the contradictory and continually evolving geographies of neoliberalism in Korea. Neoliberal economic reforms and restructuring have changed urban life and landscape tremendously, deepening socio-spatial polarization. The logic of deregulation in the context of new form of urban development has pushed urban residents - except for lower income classes - towards rent-seeking activities in land and housing. Thus Korean geographers need to explore both the contexts and results of the ongoing process of uneven regional development, of the adjustment in the urban labour market, and of the deregulation of land and housing development. Pointing out these socio-spatial problems inherent in neoliberalization process, and criticize the context of which those problems have brought about, Korean geography would suggest alternative policies for the future development of Korean society.

Korean geography needs to conduct urgently this kind of task, because neoliberal spatial policies tend to have not only promoted privatization, deregulation and speculation, but also undermined or foreclosed alternative paths of urban and regional development. Neoliberalization includes policies to compete by cutting social and environmental regulatory standards and eroding the political and institutional collectivities upon which more progressive settlements would be constructed.

These policies have been justified their installation as the dominant metrics of policy evaluation on the grounds of efficiency, reform, and even 'equity' or 'fairness'. Despite its language of balanced development, innovation, learning and openness, neoliberalism is associated with an extremely skewed or distorted urban policy repertoire based on capital subsidies, place marketing, good environment of business, and local boosterism. We should keep in mind the fact that neoliberalism is not just promoting socio-spatial policies for capital accumulation and for restoration of class power but also leading to ideology for legitimating such policies.

In order to get rid of the ideological trap of neoliberalism, we should turn our main concern to social welfare to improve our standard of living, to community to restore our socio-spatial identity, and ecosystem to realize social and environmental justice. Social welfare cannot be regarded as one that would only be considered after economic growth, but as one that should be considered both as a primary purpose of economic development and as one which enable us to work for further economic development through reproduction of our labor, maintaining healthy body and mind. Even though there might be several common elements shared by neoliberalization of Western advanced countries and that of Korea and other East Asian countries, what makes different between them is Western countries have turned from the Keynesian welfare state to neoliberalism, and hence still maintain a considerable level of social welfare, though it has been weakened and undermined since then, while Korea in its modern history has no period to institutionalize the welfare state, keeping always the growth-first ideology and

policy. Thus Korean geography should consider human welfare as major criterion to suggest and evaluate socio-spatial policies.

A new welfare geography would put civil society or community, and neither the state nor market, at the center of its theory and practice. To transcend the limitations of developmentalism and neoliberalism, we need to move forward to resurrect a new urban community for our everyday life. Community as 'life-space' would be resurrected by indigenous forces of city local residents within a city or region. Intermediate social organizations such as residents within an apartment complex, small groups in schools or work-places, as well as non-governmental organizations, can play a central role in the community movement. In order to make cities livable in Korea, alternative geography should take an essential task the rediscovery and recreation of community as life-space, struggling against neoliberal projects to extend 'production space' to every corner of the globe.

Alternative geography's task for recreating urban community would not easy to be performed, of course. One may argue that if we can utilize the inherited community norms in the Korean tradition as a generalized morality, we would succeed in reconstructing a more livable city of the future. But in my view, turning back to traditional norms is not a useful strategy to restore urban community, because Korean society is now too urbanized and individualized to restore a sense of urban community, only through invoking them. We need a new and more robust alternative. One of candidates would be what Giddens(1984) calls 'ontological security', the sense of which enables us to respond to changing situations. The more endangered we are under an ever-increasing

repression of money and power, the more sense of security would be promoted through our reflexive and self-monitoring ability. Alternative geography can examine and use this concept of ontological security to recreate a new urban community, by investigating the connection between place and ontological security - what would be called 'place security' in society. A sense of security connected to place in the natural and social worlds through our reflective ability of ecological imagination would be essential for our well-being in this vulnerable period of transition.

6. Conclusions

Korean geography has been developed under the direct or indirect influence of those ideologies of developmentalism and neoliberalism, and in turn has made some contributions to socio-spatial policies. But Korean geography could not be expanded contrary to the expectation that one may have in terms of development of Korean society, especially Korean economy. This is mainly because even though Korean society might require increasingly more geographical knowledge in its development, this requirement has been met with the foundation of other applied departments adjacent to geography, while most newly founded departments of geography were to serve the training of geography teachers in middle schools which had been rapidly increased until the 1980s.

The development of Korean geography can be examined under the context of this development process of Korean society, and characterized as follows. Korean geography in the age of

developmentalism from the 1960s to the mid 1980s, first of all, had get rid of a simple and descriptive method before 1960s, and progressed towards research methods with introduction of some concepts and theories applicable to Korean circumstance. Secondly, in this shifting process, positivist geography was introduced and dominated research methodology of Korean geography, which was defended against its critiques. Thirdly, even though the development of Korean society resulted in a serious regional uneven development and urban problems of land and housing, transportation, education, and environment, Korean geography had little if any attention to them.

As Korean society in the mid 1980s has turned to neoliberalism under the context of the globalization of capitalist economy and the dissolution of the Cold War system on the global level and of the collapse of the authoritarian regime and the maturing of Fordist economy on the national level, Korean geography has made a considerable development. First of all, it has accepted diverse research methodologies and theories including critical geography with political economy perspective. Secondly, as Korean society has grown and developed new events and institutions in economy and politics, Korean geography has found and conducted new research themes, but usually reflecting implicitly the neoliberal tone. Thirdly even though a large part of government's neoliberal policy has been given to spatial projects, Korean geographers have not actively participated into the projects, nor they did tackle with geographical problems resulted from such projects, especially socio-spatial polarization and soaring price of land and apartment.

Korean society would have an option on its

future development how to combine the state intervention and the free market mechanism, rather than choosing either developmentalism or neoliberalism. But what would be a central issue in socio-spatial policy is not whether the state or the market would be centered, but whether the welfare or the industry (or capital accumulation) would be oriented. First of all, Korean geography in the future should be more concerned with and try to follow up dynamic development of society, and to take part in the development process, if possible. Secondly, rather than simply joining in policies or projects of the process, Korean geographers should give more attentions to socio-spatial problems and provide alternative visions for the future of Korea society. Thirdly, in particular, Korean geography should go beyond both developmentalism and neoliberalism, and put socio-spatial welfare, civil society or community, and environmental justice into its central issues.

Acknowledgement

The author is grateful to Professor Kim, Doo-Chul at Okayama University in Japan who provided me with an exciting opportunity to present this paper at the International Symposium on 'The Transformation of Traditional Notions of Geography in East Asia and Its Environs Caused by the Introduction of the Modern Discipline of Geography', organized by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, March 11, 2007, Kyoto. The author would also like to express many thanks to three anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

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Received May 17, 2007
Accepted June 19, 2007