국토연구 제59권 (2008. 12): pp3~36

[특별기고]

Livable Cities: Neoliberal v. Convivial Modes of Urban Planning in Seoul

살기좋은 도시: 도시계획의 신자유주의 서울

Mike Douglass Globalization Research Center and Department of Urban & Regional Planning University of Hawaii
마이크 더글라스 세계화 연구소 및 하와이대학교 도시지역계획학과 교수
(michaeld@hawaii.edu)

Contents

I. The Developmental State and Its Urban Form

Over the past several decades East Asia experienced among the most rapid urban transitions in the world. The speed of urbanization and the resulting scale of major cities that have grown to mega-urban sizes raise the question of why societies have concentrated so much social energy into city building. What is expected of cities? Do they provide the high quality of life for their residents? In other words, are they worthy of being called 'livable cities'?

Until recently answers to these questions were in the hands of the 'developmental state' that created large planning bureaus filled with internationally trained professionals whose expert knowledge was assumed to be sufficient to provide for all of the needs of rapidly expanding cities while maximizing national economic growth. Following major political and economic reforms from the late 1980s onwards, new modes of city planning are appearing that are changing the face of the city. One is expanding under neoliberal policies toward privatization of urban land, deregulation of land uses, and high reliance on market forces as manifested in intercity competition for global investment. This mode is effectively moving questions of livability from state bureaus to corporate management of increasingly large, privately owned and managed zones of the city that are being redeveloped for commerce and global consumption. In creating and linking these sites with transportation and communications networks, the builders of the 'neoliberal city' also diminish public space, older neighborhoods and vernacular architecture, and preservation of the city's past that is reflected in the built environment.

In parallel with the emergent neo-liberal city, citizen movements and a flowering of non-government organizations are seeking a more locally centered, participatory and socially inclusive vision of livability. Political reform for democratically elected government, especially at the municipal level, provides a basis in governance for citizen participation in policy making for cities. Non-government organizations with urban improvement agenda are appearing and gaining successes in projects for historic preservation, walkable cities, and participatory planning. In making these gains, they must confront not only the counter tendencies of the neoliberal city but also the lingering legacies of the inherited developmental city and the planning bureaucracies that are still in place.

From independence to the late 1980s(Korea, Taiwan) and even until today in some countries(e. g, Singapore, Hong Kong) the urban landscape of the 'tiger' economies of Asia was(or continues to be) heavily controlled by political regimes that had formed archetypical 'developmental states' that promised high rates of national economic

growth in exchange for disallowing public dissent or democratic forms of governance(Douglass. 1994). The political justification given for these governments to keep putting off promises for democratic governance, freedom of speech and assembly was to advance material prosperity while ensuring national security and stability in an era of real and perceived problems of internal conflict and violence and adversity with neighboring countries, especially those espousing contrary political ideologies. Economic growth was delivered at the 'miracle' level, but the citizenry was kept from participating in the public sphere of governance, including urban planning, which was typically placed in ever larger government agencies where urban policy, programs and projects were formulated by professionals, often trained abroad, who allied with private developers. Mostly staffed by economists, engineers and architects, the planning and advisory institutions overwhelmingly focused on economic considerations, the built environment, and, more recently, the natural environment of the city in command-style planning. Absent from this developmental city and its implicit concept of livability was a significant consideration in community life, vernacular architecture, popular culture, or participatory planning.

On the plus side, the planning apparatus was able to expand the built environment at a very rapid pace, which, while not always capable of keeping up with population growth, was able to make cities function during a time when the populations of major city regions were increasing by hundreds of thousands of people per year for sustained periods of two decades or more. But this also meant massive destruction of preexisting urban neighborhoods, traditional architecture, and local shops. Housing was woefully inadequate until at least the 1990s; yet hundreds of thousands of people were being dislocated from their houses, most of which were substandard, and their neighborhoods.

Clearing land for the 1988 Seoul Olympics became symbolic of the developmental city. The bidding for this event was made in 1981 and awarded in 1982, after which 'city environment improvement' and 'city beautification' became the code terms for clearance and redevelopment, which entailed forced evictions on a massive scale. Clearing land was not simply to provide for Olympic sites. It was equally one of creating a new city image of a "prosperous, happy and healthy place and not as a squalid, impoverished city" to be shown to the world(Davis. 2007)[1].

1) Housing in Seoul was a chronic problem since at least the 1920s under Japanese colonial occupation. The explosive growth of Seoul through spontaneous migration and repatriation from Japan from the end of World War II onward meant that, like the rest of Asia, an enormous share of housing was built without permit by owners or petty builders. By the late 1980s and 1990s housing construction shifted wholesale to uniform high-rise condominiums grouped into

It marked "the beginning of the end of tolerance of permitless house districts in Seoul" and a new phase of mass-produced middle class housing replacing houses and neighborhoods uniquely made by residents. In the process, the city also removed lower income residents to peripheral areas. From 1982 to 1989 an estimated 48,000 dwelling units housing 720,000 people were destroyed, which led the Asia Coalition for Housing Rights(ACHR. 1989: p23) to declare that "The scale of forced evictions in Seoul is likely to be the largest of any city in the world in recent decades".

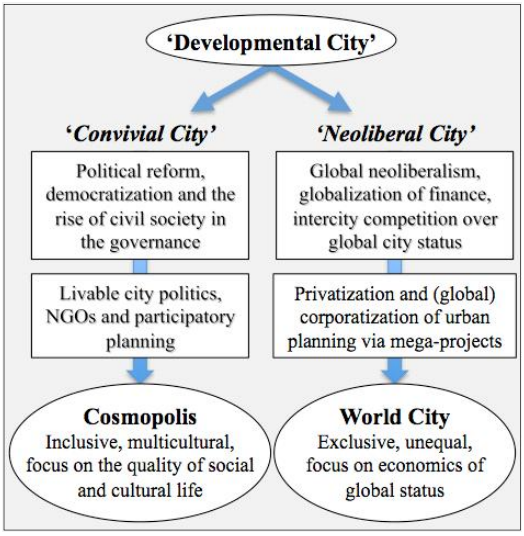
As planning for the Olympics indicates, with manufacturing employment having reached its peaked and services beginning to lead the national economy by the 1980s, government began to shift its focus from industrial growth to city imagery that was thought to be needed to substantially enhance the global recognition and stature of Seoul. In this way, it was setting the stage for its own transition toward a neoliberal city that is now focusing on symbols and name-branding as essential elements of a globally competitive Seoul economy.

The results of the city produced by the developmental state were at least twofold. First, by the end of the 1980s a massively new template of land use was in place that included a large-scale road and rapid transit systems and major infrastructure such as international airports, container ports, free-trade and export processing zones to provide for export-oriented assembly and manufacturing exports. Freestanding communities constructed by residents were substantially reduced in size and number, especially those of lower-income households without land ownership rights. Tall buildings were beginning to be more numerous in the core, and the government and private land developers were geared up to rapidly expand the building new towns and suburban housing in surrounding areas, which took off in the 1990s.

The second outcome of the developmental state era from the mid-1960s to the 1990s was the establishment of a combination of substantial technocratic government apparatus, including a very large planning bureaucracy, and a homegrown chaebol -dominated private sector that had reached very high levels of performance not only in industry but also in urban construction. Together, state and corporate Korea had transformed the city of Seoul in a matter of a few decades. But even this transformation would begin to be overshadowed by the emergence of the neoliberal city in the 1990s. At the same time that the developmental state

large housing estates bearing the names of Korean corporations creating a new skyline of repetitious buildings for Seoul and a new aphorism as the 'apartment city'.

Figure 1 _ After the Developmental City-Two Modes of Making Livable Cities



was shifting toward a neoliberal state, democratization plus the effects of past economic successes in producing a broad urban middle class were creating political openings for a different urban trajectory toward a grassroots, participatory process of creating what is called here a convivial city of public and associational life emerging from urban activists and non-governmental organizations and the advent of elected government at the municipal level.

<Figure 1> introduces the discussion in the follow sections by schematically showing the pathways of the new modes of city making, starting with the developmental city and branching into two streams. By the end of the 1980s the underpinnings of the developmental state were already beginning to seriously weaken. A neoliberal city appeared from not only political reform that would soon lead to democratically elected governments. It also emerged from a new era of private sector mega-projects focused on urban land development; the globalization of finance capital opening banking and finance systems in Asia to international investors; and the coming of age of an affluent urban middle class now able to actively participate in the consumption of global commodities as they poured into the domestic market through franchises and chain stores, big box stores, mega-malls, underground shopping arcades, and upscale department stores(Douglass. 2007a).

For this emergent neoliberal city, livability is implicitly defined as a city that has small government, builds new global urban spaces with architecture and urban design by world famous professionals, creates new types of festivals and gala global events to celebrate the city itself, and provides high-tech, self-contained shopping, commercial and living spaces for middle and affluent classes. It fits well with the actual experiences of similar cities falling into various levels of world city status in that it links the city with global consumption, engages in ever larger mega-projects and building ever-taller buildings that require ever more security and surveillance to keep them from unwanted social uses.

At the same time, the push for democratic reform had, in the case of Korea, led to the establishment of open multi-party national

elections in 1987 and, in the next decade, the election of the nation's first President without a military background. Among the results of Korea's democratization was the legitimization of civil society organizations and their right to contest as well as actively participate with government in urban planning projects, leading to the possibilities of recentering urban policy and planning around the idea of a 'convivial city' of local place making for community life through participatory planning processes.

II. Seoul as an Ascendant Neoliberal City

The term 'neoliberal city' is used to underscore the understanding that this mode city making and its associated visions of livability are the outcomes of political and institutional reforms to put private enterprise forward as the unbridled source of economic growth by downsizing government, privatizing increasing shares of urban land, and opening economies more fully to global finance and investment(Harvey. 2005). In urban terms this means a deregulation of land use controls and a decisive shift of urban planning and land development from a public to a private concern. The key words for the city emerging from neoliberal ideology are: private, commodified space, global imaginaries, corporate led, mega-scale, and economically competitive. Missing from the neoliberal city are unscripted public spaces, place-making by residents and their neighborhoods, vernacular architecture, lower income populations, and participatory planning.

Despite the ideology of the private sector as champion, pursuing this purer form of capitalist development does not mean that the state is not called upon to subsidize and substantially assist corporate Korea in such vital tasks as consolidating land for large projects, assisting in land clearance and evictions through the use of government police powers, providing public infrastructure, and financing start up and even long-term operations. Billed as 'public-private partnerships'(PPP), the resulting projects take advantage of the government's already well-established institutional capacities for urban planning and development in conjunction with those of private land developers to create the emergent neoliberal city. At the same time, through deregulation of land-use controls and privatization of agencies of government, the balance of decision making in land development has been intentionally shifted to private ownership and private sector led urban planning and projects.

The neoliberal turn has several sources that reinforce the rise of large-scale private sector developers as the drivers of urban planning in Korea. First, by the late 1980s, the chaebol had already become independent from their past reliance on loans channeled

through and guaranteed by government, which led to political independence from government as well. With democratic reforms this also opened the door to civilian government drawn from chaebol instead of either the military or anti-government protestors from civil society who had filled top levels of government until very recently.

Second, during the same period institutional innovations in finance allowed for the formation of global consortia that were now able to greatly increase private financing of projects, growing from US$ millions in the 1970s to billions by the 1990s and enabling the launching of a new era of fantastic mega-projects on a scale never before seen(Flyvbjerg. et al. 2003; Altshuler and Luberoff. 2004). Added to this were technological advances in construction allowing ever taler buildings to be constructed.

Third, also from the late 1980s, the rising value of the Korean won against the dollar and increasing labor costs in Korea began to see the offshore relocation of labor-intensive manufacturing and assembly operations to other Asian countries. This urge was greatly accelerated as economic reforms in China began to take hold, and by the early 21st century massive shifts of industry from Korea had already occurred. This advent of a post-industrial age in Korea shifted the focus of investment from industry to urban land development for higher order producer services, R&D, and consumption of higher value added goods as well as leisure activities. Propelling this shift in Seoul was a new competitive game of transforming the national capital into a 'world city' through hyper-modern mega-projects designed to give it an identity as one of the most advanced, and therefore most economically dynamic, cities in the world.

In Korea, increasing private sector involvement in world city endeavors was well underway by the 1990s(La Grange and Jung. 2004). Urban sprawl, too, accelerated during this decade as the concentration of people and national economy in Seoul continued to increase to a point that in 1999 the greater Seoul region accounted for 83 percent of all housing construction then underway in Korea(Cho. 2005)[2]. Spurred by a bubble economy rising from land speculation and banks flush with global finance capital, these trends fed into to the financial meltdown that struck several economies in Pacific Asia in 1997/98, including Korea, which proved to be a crucial leap into the neoliberal world. Interventions by the International Monetary Fund to bail out devastated economies required the adoption of strict neoliberal

2) From 1985 to 2000 the population of the greater Seoul Metropolitan Area(Seoul, Incheon and Gyeonggi-do) increased from 13.3million to 21.9million, or from 35.5 to 47.3percent of the national population(Cho. 2005. <Table 1>). By 2006 the population had increased to 23.8million.

doctrine in public policy in the recipient countries. The results were profound. For the first time in its post-colonial experience Korea was opened to direct foreign investment, resulting in acquisitions and mergers of Korean corporations by and with those based in Europe, North America and Japan. Local cities and regions in Korea, once heavily protected through trade barriers and strong governments, now had to compete with others on a global scale. A new era of intensified competition for global capital had begun. And after a major shake-out of chaebol, those that remained found themselves with less domestic competition for land development than ever before.

In the ensuing years companies such as Samsung, LG, Daewoo, Hyundai, and Lotte launched a new generation of mega-projects in concert with the new mayor of Seoul and future President of Korea, Myung-bak Lee, avowedly neoliberal ideology of privatization and global competitiveness. Seoul joined in pursuing globalization through urban design, and by 2008 both government and corporate Korea were proudly promoting a host of plans for the world's tallest buildings and futuristic urban nodes with phenomenal scale and design. Place branding had become a must, with every locality creating a slogan and logo as a way of attracting international as well as Korea's attention to them. Each was backed up by new architectural and urban design plans to match such slogans as 'Dynamic Busan', 'Happy Suwon', and, recently, 'Sparkling Seoul'. Officially Seoul is now marketed by its government as 'Hi Seoul, the Soul of Asia'.

Although corporate privatization of urban development is now the cutting edge of the neoliberal city, the developmental state does not easily disappear. As noted, the mega-projects underway in Seoul all have government involvement. The heavily government supported Korea Land Corporation(and the Korea Housing Corporation), reincarnated as a for profit entity under its KLC name in 1996, has grown to ever larger proportions in preparing land for vast new towns, new cities, including a multi function administrative city, innovation cities and newly-coined 'ubiquitous cities'. In just four months from December 2006 to March 2007, it and the Korea National Housing Corporation together paid about US$12 billion in land acquisitions for large scale projects. In this manner, the developmental city morphs into the neoliberal city as government leaders are drawn from major corporations and city plans go hand in hand with neoliberal modes of changing land uses.

The imagery typically allied with these projects includes reference to the term 'global' to indicate that the city will become more globally competitive as a result of the projects. Thus Seoul City has launched an urban makeover to create 'a clean and

attractive global city'(SMG. 2008a). Among the components of its strategy is the now everywhere popular city marketing centered on a culture economy based on Seoul's dynastic past and ultra modern cultural creations. A major element of the latter dimension of the strategy is the 'Hangang Renaissance' plan covering a twenty-year period and composed of 22 mega-projects that are expected to 'enhance the image of Seoul'.

Although to be built by private companies, Seoul City government plans to invest 672.6 billion won in the various Hangang Renaissance projects up to 2010(Seoul Global Center. 2008). According to the mayor, its central intention is to remake Seoul into city with a new image with a global identity by redeveloping the entire Han River area into an "iconic landmark, which will allow the city to have competitiveness" in the world(quoted in Kim. 2008). Divided into 'restoration and creation' as its themes, it seeks to restore the ecology of the river and surroundings while creating massively new urban landscapes for 'culture, business and tourism'. Included in the plan is an international terminal linking Seoul and Shanghai via a Han River West Sea route. All of this is intended to create a 'Second Miracle on the Han River', the first being Korea's miraculous economic successes through industrialization in the previous decades.

The central feature for the Yongsan area of the Hangang Renaissance is a skyscraper that currently would be the second tallest building in the world. The winner of the bidding, Samsung Corporation, will join with the Korea national pension fund service to finance its share of the project(Donigan. 2008). The anchor is the 620 m, 152 story tower in the shape of a water drop, with the rest of the 'Dreamhub' to consist of offices, a hotel, residential units and entertainment and cultural center<Figure 2>. Completion is set for 2016.

Figure 2_The Yongsan 'Dreamhub' of the Hangang Renaissance Plan

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

Similar projects are proliferating throughout the greater Seoul metropolitan region including Incheon and Gyeonggi Province. One of the most touted is 'U-Town', short for Ubiquitous Town. The idea is to create a 'ubiquitous life' by creating self contained, autonomous living, work, shopping, entertainment and leisure complexes. As described by a director of its project in Daejon, by adding residential units

to a shopping and business complex, all of life's needs are met without leaving the interconnected complex of U-Town:

Imagine a town where everything could be taken care of at once within a building complex. COEX Mall, for an instance, is always crowded because it is convenient and easy to access for most common activities[3]. Think of what is in COEX Mall. As soon as one is dropped at the subway station, he can access Hyundai Department Store, the Intercontinental Hotel, movie theater, aquarium, Assem Tower, Korea City Air Terminal, shopping centers, food court, book store, and post office, all in one area. But what is it missing? The resident area…. Not only will ubiquitous life add safety to living, but also an easy to access living condition where one can take care of errands at one place, within one building, if possible…. How much walking can people handle in a day?(Sang-yeul Yu quoted in The Korea Times. 2007).

U-Town is all about profit and spending money:

I think of two things as I design the city. One is to make it as a business model so that it will be profitable. Next is to attract merchants, residents, and visitors to spend money and fully use the building.(Sang-yeul Yu quoted in The Korea Times. 2007)[4].

With a nod to Kunstler's(1994) observation that the replication of elements of cities in the form of shopping malls all having the same stores is a 'geography of nowhere', in the minds of its promoters, U-Town wants to be the geography of everywhere. There is no mention of spontaneity beyond shopping, no religious or cultural practices, no unscripted spaces, and certainly no chance for people who live in them to build a house or design an outdoor space[5]. As observed by Galilee(2008) about the COEX referred to by U-Town Director Yu:

[COEX is] a labyrinthine underground mall the size of a small English town, various cinemas, a tube station and my hotel. If you remove the Koreans, there is no sense of place, let alone night or day-with overwhelmingly colourful storefronts and advertising, it's a hyper-mall experience… an air-tight, vacuum-sealed consumer experience.

One of the first U-Towns, called

3) COEX Mall, located in the Kangnam area of Seoul, is the largest underground mall in Asia with an area of about 85,000 square meters consisting of about 200 name brand shops and franchises linked with a World Trade Center, international hotels, in-city airport terminal, exhibition center, gambling casino, and department store.

4) "Let's say a woman in Eunhangdong Future-X is looking for a coke in the nearest place from where she stands. Her cell phone will find a coke that is closest to her and navigate the location on the screen by finding the radio frequency identified [RFID] coke", Director Yu said.

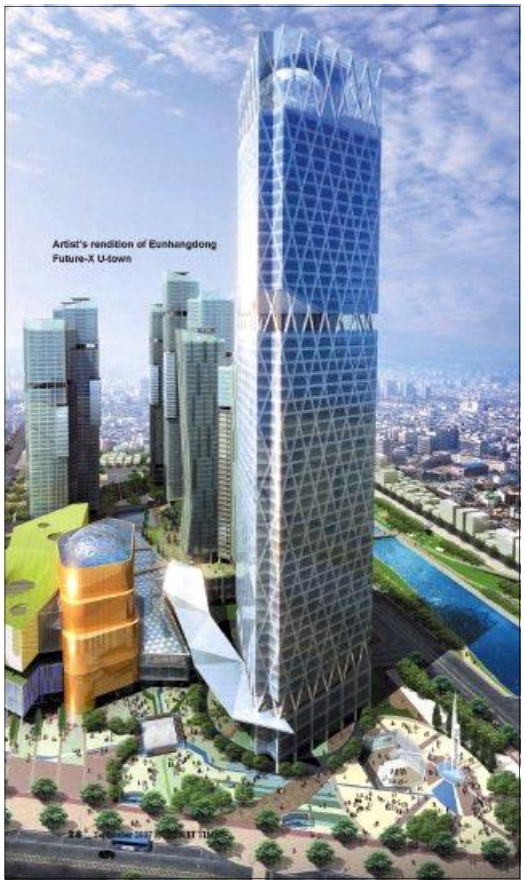
5) The entire U-Town is wired so that everything transaction can be done with equally ubiquitous cell phones that, if you are a member, recognizes who you are by your voice and allows you to find where a product is in a shop, order and pay for it, too.

Future-X<Figure 3>, began construction in 2008 and is slated for completion in 2012 in Daejeon Province south of Seoul where many national capital functions are to be relocated. Covering 1,000 ㎢ and at an estimated total cost of US$ 2 trillion it will replace the entire pre-existing ward of Eunhangdong. Several major corporations, including Samsung SDS, KT, LG, CNS, and LG Electronics, are working together on this project.

U-Towns are in planning stages in many parts of the Seoul metropolitan region, including Dongtan New City in Gyeonggi-do and in the landfill high-tech free trade global business hub on Songdo Island in Incheon as well as in cities such as Busan and Unjeong. To facilitate the spread of U-Towns, in 2005 the Korean Ministry of Information and Communication, in collaboration with the Ministry of Construction and Transportation, set up a task force for standardization, stating that its most important task was "to prepare legal, systematic frameworks for ubiquitous cities"(quoted in Hwang. 2005).

Because of the technological interdependencies of infrastructure in the wired U-Town, nothing from the past is to be retained. As one official remarked, "U-cities will be realized mainly in newly built cities. It's easier to start from a white blank canvas than on the existing urban infrastructure"(Hwang. 2005). In just the case of the 22 km^2 site for the new Dongtan U-Town construction in Gyeonggi-do, this would mean the displacement of more than 500 existing businesses(Sample. 2008). As residents and users of U-towns, the Korean citizenry is not to be involved in producing these urban spaces at any scale. Instead, they are expected to consume(buy, rent, lease) these spaces and the commodities that flow through them. The entire mega-project is specifically designed to link local consumers with global consumption, especially to products and services provided by or through Korea's global corporations.

Figure 3_Future-X U-Town - "Everything in a Single Building Complex"



Source: The Korea Times. [2007.12.6]

Figure 4 _ Dongdaemun Design Park and Plaza 2010

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government. 2008.

Figure 5 _ Entrance to the Dongdaemun World Design Plaza 2010

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government. 2008.

In the center of Seoul, massive projects are also underway in the neoliberal mode and its strategy of economic revitalization. One is the Dongdaemun World Design Park and Plaza that is being constructed by the city as manifestation of Seoul selection by an international committee as the designated World Design City 2010. It is aimed at rivaling cities like Paris and Milano in all types of design, particularly fashion. It is now being constructed on the former site of Seoul's famous twin sports stadia built in 1925 that have in recent years hosted a large flea market in an area where poorer households and petty vendors dwell and make a living. The stadia were also of historical significance

in anti colonial movements and other political events of the 20th century. Deemed by government to be a sign of economic decay and urban chaos, the area was bulldozed in 2005 to make room for the Park and Plaza complex<Figures 4 and 5>, with a cost expected to be US$ 425 million(Park. 2008).

Both the Park and Plaza are ultra-modern designs of mega-proportions that will be linked to a number of other functions. The 66,500 square meter park is designed as a 'metonymic landscape', which is meant to indicate that it is in harmony with nature. It will have two levels above ground and one underground, and includes a convention hall, exhibition space, offices and park. Although the design was honored by the international judging committee for embodying the neighborhood's historical, cultural and economic character, the Korean architecture community criticizes it for having no historical relevance to the area or to Korea and for its displacement of existing historically important sites(Park. 2008)[6].

What is also not clear from the architectural images is how ordinary people are supposed to use the area for either every day activities or neighborhood events. Local shop owners who asked to be included in the new mall were told that they 'do not fit into the concept' but have not been offered places to relocate(Park. 2008). In the flea market held in the stadium alone nearly 1,000 merchants had been selling their goods. All were removed from the area in 2005.[7]

According to Jin-ae, Kim, an urban planner, the attitude about not including existing merchants results from the government's current 'luxury craze' in contemporary public architecture that, in this case results in 'wasteful and shallow design' that 'does not convey the life of the stadium', but 'instead makes us bleak and pathetic', with the city more interested in world design than civic identity or the restoration of historical places such as the ancient fortress at the site(Park. 2008). A shop owner in the area lamented that "I lose my sense of place every time I walk out of this subway station". When looking at a slogan on one of the posters

6) As stated by In-Seok Yun, Director of Docomomo Korea, an international organization concerned with historic preservation, this is another example of the destruction of Seoul's historical landmarks:
If they really wanted to, there were many options for preserving parts of the area. It's an architect's job to solve these issues … It's the same with numerous other heritage buildings that have been demolished in Korea. There is always a way to integrate the old and new, but they just don't have the mindset to see it as our cultural heritage(Quoted in Park. 2008).

7) Like the work of other international designers before her who won competition to transform spaces in Seoul, the winning architect for World Design Park did not visit the site even once, leading Lee to state:
You can't design a place without visually understanding the site. One architect I know from this competition rented a motel room near the stadium for five months. He talked to merchants and studied the area closely. He lost the competition because his idea wasn't simple enough. If you know the full story, you lose because you can't provide a simple vision(Quoted in Park. 2008).

that reads, 'Architecture Beyond Imagination', he observes that "There's nothing in the picture that tells you that you're in Seoul".

More sobering, as concluded by Ha(2007) concerning all neighborhood redevelopment programs in Seoul:

Urban redevelopment projects are basically profi-oriented rather than upgrading-oriented for a community by means of community dynamics and residents' participation…. In fact, most renewal projects displaced low-income resident.

Innumerable large-scale projects that contribute to constructing the neoliberal city are underway in Seoul. As noted, the Hangang Renaissance Plan alone has 22 such projects. The National Land Corporation continues to prepare land for many suburban new towns in Gyeonggi-do. Incheon has land development programs underway that are in excess of US$ 50 billion in total. Government is partnered with large corporations in all of these.

The neoliberal view of the city sees the city as an economic engine that, at the contemporary moment, can only keep running if the urban landscape can be turned into a beacon of international recognition through world-class global functions and emblematic architecture that re-enforces efforts for name-branding Seoul as a global city region. In moving land development to support private developers it sees profit as the principal motive and views the city as a composite of functional spaces, each in its place and each with predetermined, highly controlled uses. A mall is for shopping, not for spontaneous social gatherings. A large open space, such as the above ground areas at the gigantic COEX Mall, is landscaped to allow only walking or standing, lacking sufficient seating for people to sit and chat, let alone meeting in larger numbers for non-commercial events. Paradoxically, to allow for such rigid uses and privately controlled spaces, land use deregulation is a must to allow mega-projects to rapidly rebuild the inner city, which holds the richest of Seoul's historical sites, as well as continue to fill in suburban and ex-urban areas to create what amount to privately managed districts.

III. The Convivial City

Another city, which stands in striking contrast to the neoliberal city, is trying to emerge in the post-developmental state era. Here called the 'convivial city', it draws from Peattie's(1998) advocacy that above all else a city should provide for associational life among its residents. For this to occur, a city must produce a sense of community that can only emerge from spaces that encourage repeated encounters among people who come together for 'pure social ability'(Peattie. 1998) rather than simply providing functional spaces for consumption and business that are

the hallmark of U-Towns and other neoliberal formulations of cities and city planning. The idea of the convivial city is also consistent with the views put forth by Jane Jacobs about the life and death of cities(Jacobs. 1961). For Jacobs, the life of a city is sustained in neighborhoods and streets with small local shops and public sidewalks where people can associate freely by intention or by chance.

Public space is a crucial element of a convivial city. As Carr, et al.(1992) state:

Public space is the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds. The streets, squares, and parks of a city give form to the ebb and flow of human exchange. These dynamic spaces are an essential counterpart to the more settled places and routines of work and home life, providing the channels for movement, the modes of communication, and the common grounds for play and relaxation. There are pressing needs that public space can help people to satisfy, significant human rights that it can be shaped to define and protect, and special cultural meanings that it can best convey.

This interpretation of the term 'public space' does not simply mean a space that the state owns, which under the developmental state meant highly controlled sites where most liberties such as freedom to gather and speak were severely curtailed. Nor does it mean the pseudo-public spaces of the shopping mall, which are in fact privately owned and highly regulated to prohibit or at least highly inhibit most social uses of space. It is instead taken to indicate a civic space "in which people of different origins and walks of life can co-mingle without overt control by government, commercial or other private interests, or de facto dominance by one group over another"(Douglass et al. 2002). Such civic spaces are the key to convivial city life(Douglass et al. 2007; Daniere and Douglass. 2008)[8].

The convivial city focuses on connections with history and with neighborhood and community through place-making in the form of vernacular architecture and identity with neighborhood markers, including old trees, common meeting areas, and elements of lanes often unnoticed by non-residents. Enthusiasts who support this paradigm argue for human-scale urban design rather than heroic architectural feats that dwarf people and make them feel insignificant in the face of giant edifices and gigantic photos of models gazing down on them. They often focus on what the city has lost or is at risk of losing, such as open markets and older buildings. They champion popular participation in planning, with people initiating rather than merely being given information about urban

8) Civic spaces are not always public spaces, but can also be found in private establishments, such as local coffee shops or pubs that have long traditions of allowing customers to gather and stay in them without constant commercial pressures(Douglass. et al. 2002).

projects.

An example of an international organization proposing a convivial city concept is LivCom(Livable Communities) (2008), a non-government organization, which since 1997 has annually given out awards for best practices. In its list of criteria are: landscaping that "generates civic pride, facilitates enjoyable recreational experiences and improves the quality of life within your community"; heritage management; sensitivity to the natural environment; community sustain ability through community empowerment; healthy lifestyles, and ability to plan for the future.

As a similar organization, International Making Cities Livable(2008), focuses on the 'Public Realm', which celebrates diversity and creates public spaces to enhance social life. Citing such luminaries as Aristotle and Lewis Mumford, the organization states that the public life that emerges in a cities streets and squares, not its shopping malls, is the 'ultimate expression of life in the city', and that "Frequent meetings, encounters and exchanges of ideas among citizens-these qualities of the public realm are a fundamental requirement for citizens" well-being.

In addition, the social life that is fostered by the existence of public spaces and associated public realm also contributes to innovative cities by:

- Building social capital by cementing social relations through repeated contact among inhabitants in multiple overlapping role relationships.
- Being an incomparable teacher of social skills and attitudes; children and youth [concerning] how to relate and behave with a diversity of others(young and old, poor and well-to-do, healthy or disabled).
- Contributing to a more democratic way of life and encouragingall to linger, share observations and perspectives, and thereby humanizes all who participate.

It announces 6 goals for all cities for the coming 20 years:

- Rebuild community by replacing sprawl with compact, human scale urban fabric.
- Recognize and combat the negative impact of our built environment on physical, social and mental health.
- Adopt planning and urban design decisions that will make our cities more livable for children and the elderly.
- Emphasize ethical land use patterns to reduce extreme economic disparities.
- Strengthen compact urban neighborhoods to maintain diversity of ethnic and cultural identity.
- Build multifunctional town squares that, like the ancient Greek agora or medieval marketplace, are capable of regenerating civic engagement and democratic participation.

Urban design is to be used to support associational life. The elements of high priority are squares and open market places, outdoor cafes and restaurants, farmers markets, community festivals, mixed use shops and shop houses, pedestrian networks making the city walkable, traffic calmed streets, public transportation, and public art. As the Mayor of Salt Lake City, Utah, declares:

The best cities are places where we interact with each other and experience that teach us something new about other people, about the world, and about ourselves. Great cities are places where creativity and artistic expression is welcomed, where design on a human scale is honored; where children play joyfully on sidewalks and in attractive, interesting parks; where the elderly are welcomed and honored and their wisdom is genuinely utilized; where recreational opportunities and community gathering places are abundant; where people can walk and bike safely; where those with resources help those who are without; and where gardens, trees, and all people thrive. They are also places where diversity is viewed not as a threat, but as strength a quality that can enrich each of our lives as well as our community(OCA. 2008).

San Francisco's mayor(SF Environment. 2005) echoes the above sentiments by announcing that the city's strategy for its Livable City Initiative focuses on "dramatically improve the beauty, safety, and sustain ability of San Francisco's streets, parks and plazas" by "empower(ing) residents and business with new programs that allow them to take the lead". He identifies a number of NGOs as 'community partners', including such organizations as the Alliance for a Clean Waterfront, Friends of the Urban Forest, Neighborhood Parks Council, San Francisco Beautiful, and San Francisco Bicycle Coalition.

In preparing for the 2006 United Nations World Urban Forum(WUF) in Vancouver, the WUF Vancouver Working Group(2006) stated that:

Livability refers to an urban system that contributes to the physical, social and mental well-being and personal development of all its inhabitants. It is about delightful and desirable urban spaces that offer and reflect cultural and sacred enrichment. Key principles that give substance to this theme are equity, dignity, accessibility, conviviality, participation and empowerment.

IV. Participatory Practices for a Convivial Seoul

Along with democratic reform has come a flowering of community and non-governmental organizations in Korea, especially in Seoul. Although few deal directly with urban planning issues, some notable successes have been accomplished. Two of the more well known ones are the preservation of

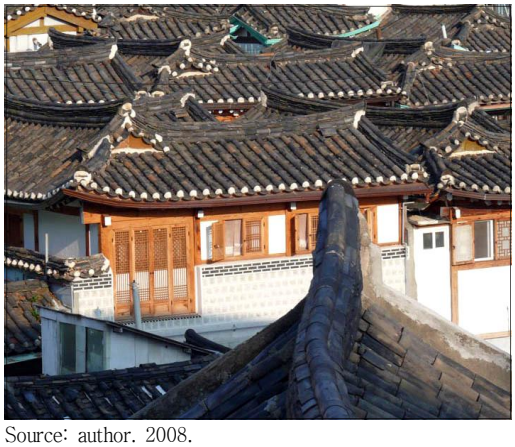
traditional Korean houses, hanok, in the Bukchon area of Seoul and, not too far away, the revival of Insadong, Seoul's area of merchants selling Korean antiques, ceramics, paintings and art supplies. Both activities were the outcome of citizen groups working with local communities and businesses as well as city government.

1. Hanok

Concerning hanok preservation, a non-government organization, Citizen's Solidarity for Sustainable City(hereafter Citizen's Solidarity), composed of activists and university scholars, petitioned the Seoul Metropolitan Government(SMG) in the late 1990s to act quickly to stem the rapid disappearance of traditional Korean houses as land values were skyrocketing and the old houses were being replaced with multi-unit apartments with no traditional architecture. Bukchon and Insadong areas near Gyeongbuk Palace were targeted as the areas where most hanok still existed and were worthy of preservation not only as houses but also as neighborhoods<Figure 6>. In 2005 there were still an estimated 20,000 hanok in Seoul, but they were rapidly decreasing in number.

A survey of residents of these houses found that at least two-thirds were quite satisfied in living in them but that they would need financial assistance to preserve them in good order. Market forces worked against the preservation of these houses, which are of cultural importance and provide attractive vistas in the city. The autonomous Seoul Development Institute, resident representatives, Citizen's Solidarity and SMG established a hanok registration system in 2001 as a basis for the full-scale preservation and regeneration of Bukchon's hanok and its neighborhoods.

Figure 6 _ Hanok in Bukchon, Seoul



Source: author. 2008.

By 2006 the preservation of hanok was declared to have achieved major successes, not just in keeping the traditional houses, but also in generating a new economy of art and craft shops, restaurants and souvenir shops as well as attracting upscale businesses to the area. However, a review committee from SDI(Jeong. et al. 2006) found that SMG had lessened its attention to the program, which was still in need of significant public investment to rehabilitate neighborhoods in which the hanok are located. The 2006 Seoul Development Institute(SDI) review called for a

Figure 7_Crowded Insadong Gil

Source: author. 2008.

long-term vision for Bukchon to guide policies and action, which should include the expansion of the area as a Historical and Cultural Aesthetic District to sufficiently manage the landscape of Bukchon[9]. Parking lots, for example, were greatly needed to keep vehicles from excessively parking in the narrow lanes of the hanok housing areas.

SMG(2008b) states that it has stepped in to buy hanok that owners could not afford to keep in good condition. It also established a Bukchon Cultural Center, which it operates, hold events and celebrate Korea's culture. Among the 2008 events, the Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra gave a concert at the center on the theme of 'Hanok meets Chamber Music'. SMG also plans to build a 'Bukchon Information System' to provide virtual experiences of traditional Korean housing culture, which it expects to draw more foreign visitors to the area.

2. Insadong

Insadong, which occupies one of the oldest areas of central Seoul, dates back nearly 600 years when it originated as a residential area for high-court officials. From the 1930s its streets were filled with antique dealers selling old books, calligraphy, and arts and crafts, including ceramics. As surrounding areas yielded to new construction, particularly from the 1980s, its unique character became more obvious as commercial interests began to target it for more intensive, high value-added land uses. Shortly after the first democratic elections for mayors in 1995, a movement by an NGO, Citizen's Solidarity, and some of the merchants in Insadong joined together to petition for a once a week no car day on one of its major streets, Insadong Gil. The Mayor agreed with the plan, and when implemented it became an instant success in revitalizing the cultural economy of area and drawing people to it<Figure 7>.

In 2000 a petition drive by merchants and NGOs convinced SMG to take the unprecedented step of putting a 2 year moratorium on all new construction in Insadong(Krich. 2000). A fear expressed by

9) 353 out of 912 remaining(at least 1500 were in Bukchon in the early 1990s) hanok had been registered by 2006. Of those, 230 had significantly improved exteriors and living conditions.

shop owners was that the area would be pushed to widen roads and would also be invaded by trendy eateries, coffee shops and upscale stores that would destroy the culture and atmosphere of its narrow alleys and 500 or so shops that gave visitors the feeling that this was a genuinely Korean neighborhood of artists and craftsmen rather than a commercial area for tourists. With the merchants in the area not experienced in mobilizing for common interests, the NGO proved to be key in bringing the disparate interests together for the petition.

In 2002 Insadong was re-classified from a commercial area to the nation's first National Cultural District, which was put in place to preserve and promote the traditional cultures against uncontrolled development and commercial encroachment not related to its cultural activities and traditional architectural styles. Several non-government organizations and city agencies became involved in overseeing the area for the purpose of cultural preservation and encouragement of new cultural activities.

Even before the time of the main street totally closing to traffic in 2003, Insadong had become a magnet drawing people from Seoul, the country and abroad to experience walking and shopping in its cultural milieu. Today approximately 100,000 people are estimated to be coming to the area on Sundays, and special events can draw as many as 200,000 visitors. In the process, however, the street also began to be invaded by pseudo-cultural events such as hip-hop dancers selling Mini-Cooper automobiles on the street, Vitamin C drinks sold by platoons of young women in bathing suits, and even a staged yogurt fight with unclothed women hired by a milk company. Street venders of all kinds have appeared, selling alcoholic beverages, food, and cheap copies of Korean art made in China. On its busiest days just trying to walk along the street proves to be extremely difficult due to the density of the crowds. Some merchants have also begun relandscaping shop fronts in new styles to attract customers.

Merchants are by no means in harmony with each other about their neighborhood of shops. Some yearn for the former days of narrow, complicated lanes and the authentic shops from the past. Early on, the Association for the Return of Insadong's Original Appearance was organized, saying that many traditional artists had fled the area due to its commercialization. They adopted the goal to "keep every old structure untouched and restore this place as it was, clean and calm instead of dizzy and dirty, a neighborhood that offers its own mental rewards to those genuinely interested in art and beauty"(Krich. 2000). It was this group with others such as Citizen's Solidarity that organized for the moratorium and land development, which was sparked by the imminent sale of a large area in the middle of Insadong that had 12 traditional craft shops and the well known

Young Vin Garden Restaurant with its traditional architecture. The petition had 35,000 signatures when handed to the government.

Other merchants and landowners want bigger festivals and events to attract the youth who are thought to be most willing to spend money at them. The leader of the Insa Association called the old buildings 'eyesores' and anyone not from the area who would want to preserve the old structures was labeled 'outside agitator'. As the differences continue to be marked in a new kind of hodge-podge of craft and corporate sponsored sales promotions, some of the more prestigious galleries that gave Insadong its reputation of quality in the art and crafts have moved to other locations.

Insadong illustrates the tenuousness of all grassroots efforts composed of voluntary associations and that have minimal or sporadic government support in maintaining a convivial ambience through historic preservation, eliminating cars or other means that continue to encounter the logic of market forces and powerful commercial interests. Being for some time the only such non-car street in Seoul, it now has the reputation of being over crowded. As noted, the streets are also being colonized by all manner of corporate-sponsored street sales and promotion activities and a general lowering of the quality of the experience there from one of unique shops with genuine Korean art and craft to mass produced items in chain shops such as Starbucks, which now has a shop on Insadong Gil. To some shop owners and visitors, the street has already declined in cultural value, which can be seen more positively as the result of a high social demand for such places that are so rare in the city.

As this case shows, a dilemma for most convivial places, whether a public park or ancient street, is that they encourage rising land prices, colonization by commercial interests and gentrification in and around them. According to the report of Jongno district council about the management of Insadong cultural district(Jongno district. 2004), land values are so high that many shop owners in traditional activities cannot pay the rising rents. Several are reported to have turned to sellinglow quality souvenirs and traditional Korean style goods now made in China(Jeong. 2008). Even though land use and other restrictions against changing the built environment exist, economic interests that counter them still find their way to begin to occupy spaces through more itinerant sales campaigns and street events, rented spaces, signs and very loud music and sales pitches via megaphones that can undermine the conviviality of places such as Insadong.

Despite these obstacles, Insadong is still a rare living cultural center Seoul. As the head of People Loving Insadong organization stated, "The alleys of Insadong are the only

place left where we can still live with a human scale"(quoted in Krich. 2000). The more that the footprint of the neoliberal city widens, the dearer are these remaining areas that reach into the past while thriving in the present to provide a convivial oasis of places with collective memory and authentic roots in Korean history[10].

V. Toward a Convivial Cosmopolis

The convivial city's broader orientation is toward the Cosmopolis ideal of an inclusive multicultural city in which people of different origins, interests, life styles and economic circumstances can express their identities while accommodating each other in the spaces of the city. In contrast, the neoliberal city leans toward exclusiveness, wide economic and social disparities, economic exchange relationships, homogeneity and private interests. The neoliberal city is, in its broader form, the contemporary 'world city' of mega-projects created for global recognition with mega-sites to host franchise outlets, chain stores, 'masstige' name-brand products, and services that are all to be represented in the COEX malls of today and the U-Towns of tomorrow[11].

While the convivial city mode of participatory planning struggles for more room in planning in Seoul, the neoliberal mode will find new difficulties in sustaining itself for at least three reasons. Two are related to Korea's population dynamics, namely, its demographic transition and impending multicultural society. The third falls into the realm of global competition itself. Addressing all three issues finds the idea of a convivial cosmopolitan Seoul increasingly compelling.

Concerning population dynamics, like neighboring Japan and Taiwan, Korea has decisively, and probably irreversibly, entered a new era that within the next two decades will see a number of trends that seemed unthinkable just a few decades ago. First, around the year 2030 the national population will begin to decline in absolute terms[12]. Projections show that for the nation as a

10) Similar comments can be made about government projects such as the building of an artificial river over an ancient river, Cheonggyecheon, running through central Seoul, which has become probably the most celebrated visitor destination to a contemporary public place throughout the country and catapulted the then Mayor, Myung-bak Lee, into the Presidency of the nation. Though having serious environmental concerns, it has provided a quiet walking area by a stream and its inviting sounds of water running from central Seoul all the way to the Han River. However, less tranquil features have been added, such as a giant digital screen showing sports, music and other events with loud speakers blasting live hip-hop performances. The government, including the national tourist bureau, is making many of these additions to enhance its attractiveness to youth and global tourism.

11) Italian architect and designer Simone Carena coined the term 'masstige' to indicate "a combination of mass and prestige - the idea that 'I must have this unique thing because everybody has it'"(Galilee. 2008: p1).

12) The birth rate in Korea, at 1.08 children per woman of childbearing age(2006), is the lowest among all OECD countries.

whole the population will decline from a peak of about 48.5 million people in 2010 to 42.5 million in 2050, a loss of 6 million people or 12 percent of the total population(RICS. 2008). In that same year approximately 40 percent of the Korean population will be over age 65, making it both the most rapidly aging and the most aged society in the world(Howe. et al. 2007). The nation's working age population(age 20~64) will decrease by more than one-third from 2005 to 2050.

The imminent decline in Korea's labor force is already being met by the hiring of hundreds of thousands of foreign workers. Most are working in the Seoul metropolitan region. Nearly half a million legal and an estimated 230,000 illegal foreign workers are in Korea now(Migration News. 2008; Woo. 2008; Asian Journal. 2008). While these people will never be given permanent residence or citizenship, for legal foreign workers the Korean government has just extended the period of visa from 3 to 5 years. Non-government organizations are also emerging to advocate better treatment for legal and illegal worker s[13]. Quotas on the number of foreign workers also continue to be increased. Such trends suggest that not only will their numbers continue to grow but they will also be increasingly in need of and supported by Korean people in getting the right to the city in terms of housing and community spaces. Given their low wages, the alternative would be to ghettoize them into ethnic enclaves in remaining pockets of dilapidated low-cost housing.

More important for the longer-term transformation of Korea into a multicultural society is the globalization of its households(Douglass. 2006; 2007b). This has at least two major dimensions. One is multiculturalism arising from within Korean households through extended living abroad, including the phenomenon of mothers and children establishing residences abroad while the father remains in Korea to work and support them(Lee and Koo. 2006)[14]. Returning to Korea brings with it new expectations about city life, housing, neighborhoods and public spaces that do not fit so neatly into the neoliberal city of high rise apartments packed into large compounds or the vast new globally designed parks that are not made for spontaneous uses by city residents.

The second aspect of global household is taking the form of rapidly increasing marriages between Korean and non-Korean

13) More than three-quarters work in smaller companies with less than 30 paid employees(Asian Journal. 2008).

14) At least 40,000 Korean children are living abroad with their mothers for the purposes of schooling and learning English(Onishi. 2008). In 2006 alone 29,511 school aged(primary to high school) children left Korea, almost seven times the number in 2000. Further, more than 100,000 Koreans are studying in the U. S.(2007). About 50,000 foreign students from other countries are studying in Korea(Migration News. 2008).

spouses(Asia Pacific Post. 2006). Now averaging around 10-15 percent of all new marriages annually, the number of marriages involving a foreign spouse doubled from 2004 to 2007 to reach more than 45,000 per year(Lee. et al. 2006; Song. 2008). By 2007 foreign spouses of Koreans living in Korea totaled 144,000, with 58,000 children in Korea from these marriages. Two-thirds of these couples live in the greater Seoul region(The Chosun Ilbo. 2006).

Late or no marriage, higher divorce rates, changing preferences for spouses, particularly among highly educated women, are among the many changes in Korean society that are also inverting past trends dominated by Korean women marrying foreign men to Korean men marrying foreign women. With the very high male: female ratio in Korea due to parental preferences for boys, these trends will continue to climb as children of the high gender imbalanced age groups reach marriageable age, which is about now, and men turn even more to other countries in search of a spouse.

In agricultural areas about 40 percent of new marriages of Korean men are now with foreign wives, a very large share of whom are coming from Southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam and more recently Cambodia(Song. 2008; Migration News. 2008).These couples also have higher fertility rates than to Korean-Korean spouses, meaning that they disproportionately add more children to the population[15].

The Korean government and society are by now well aware of the multi-cultural society that will undoubtedly emerge in Korea in this century. Programs are being adopted to facilitate their integration into Korean society through, for example, Korean language training, information services and help with education. Missing from these programs so far is consideration of how the new society is very likely to go beyond assimilation to form minority cultures and how, for example, this would be accommodated in Seoul. With a very large share of these couples having moderate to low income and thus live in poorer housing, this is already a phenomenon in need of attention.

The neoliberal world city, which focuses on housing and amenities for affluent populations, will be of little help in this regard. The burden will be principally placed on government and self-help to provide room in the city for not only housing but also for the cultural practices needing a supportive built environment in Korea's emerging multi-cultural society. These observations

15) The Ministry of Public Administration and Security announced for May 2008 foreigners in Korea totaled 891,000 foreigners compared to 723,000 a year earlier, or about 25 percent increase in just one year. Most(58 percent) are ethnic Koreans from China; 22 percent are from Southeast Asia 4 percent are from South Asia(Migration News. Oct. 2008).

lead again to ideas about a more cosmopolitan city, a city in which city planning is part of a larger social project of people learning to live with each other through processes of governance and spaces for associational life. The accommodation of multiple publics calls for planners to assist in mediating and negotiating among people of different national and ethnic origins and cultural values(Sandercock. 1998; 2003). This includes equitable treatment of all religious affiliations, an issue already prominent in Seoul that was clearly shown by the August 2008 large-scale demonstrations by Buddhists against perceived marginalization by the city government. As stated by Davey(2000: p149)

The monolith cities of planning theory have little in common with the cities that are emerging shaped by migration, new minorities, multiple layers of expectation and activity. The demands for new types of space on a human scale must force a re-assessment of how planning and architecture are discussed and exercised. Pluralism poses the greatest challenge to the practice of planning, which has led to socially and ethnically polarized cities where planning is primarily capital-led.

If Seoul is to move toward a more cosmopolitan style of conviviality, planning for the city would have to be based on "genuine acceptance of, connection with, and respect and space for 'the stranger'(outsider, foreigner), in which there exists the possibility of working together on matters of common destiny"(Sandercock. 1998 p.xiv).

It also would require specific attention to lower income families in its midst. The developmental and the neoliberal city have displaced tens of thousands of residents from lower-income areas. Shin(2008) details how the process of urban renewal since the advent of neoliberal planning in late 1980s was "based on profit-led partnerships between property owners and developers", with clearance and removal of the less well-off without sufficient compensation for them to find nearby places to live.[16)]

The inequalities in the neoliberal city are not only about housing and access to high quality life spaces. The changing face of employment in Korea is also a major factor. The offshore relocation of industrial production, particularly to China, is one of the major reasons why hiring new employees in Korea proceeds at a pace that is below previous expectations of the relationship between strong GDP growth and jobs and is creating a situation of jobless growth(Lee. 2008). But this global redeployment is not the only reason for the declining symmetry between economic growth and employment.

16) From 1973-1995 about 17 percent of all the dwellings constructed in Seoul involved the removal of low-income neighborhoods(Shin. 2008: p411). In citing the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, Shin states that any policy to deal with this issue "needs to start from the recognition that 'the poor have a right to live in the city'."

Since the 1997-98 crisis, business has been able to shift away from offering permanent or regular full time jobs by hiring only temporary workers as part of a new strategy for competitiveness. Approximately 8-10 million Koreans now hold only temporary jobs at low wages with very limited benefits(Kim. 2003; KNSO. 2008; KILF. 2008). This has become a major source of social discontent among younger workers(KILF. 2008) who have lost the prospects of lifetime employment and the idea of owning a house.

With approximately half of the households of Seoul renting rather than owning the dwellings in which they live, the current glut of unsold housing units in Seoul and the rest of the country is emblematic of the mismatch between the economy of the neoliberal city, including the urban projects it undertakes, and social needs for affordable housing under in a system that has moved toward low pay, temporary employment as its major form of job creation. At the end of July 2008, the Construction Association of Korea stated that 250,000 new housing units completed through the projects of the National Land Corporation, National Housing Corporation and private developments remained unsold.[17] In response to the increasing numbers of unsold units, the national government has started to buy the empty units from the developers to shore up real estate sales and market(Choi. 2008). Little is being done, however, to provide for regular employment at regular levels of wages for the millions of temporary workers.

The neoliberal project places its emphasis on the material aspects of the city and its commercial functions while dressing it in global aesthetics. In calling upon architects to make unique designs through international competitions, it disguises the uniformity and narrowness of choices provided in its interior spaces of shopping malls and other points of commerce. It presents an equally homogenized view of how people want to live and what their values are. As such it is ill equipped to incorporate an increasingly diverse and active society emerging from international migration, the globalization of households, and the rise of organized civil society.

In sum, the portent of absolute decline in the Korean population coupled with acknowledgment of the country's multi-cultural future point toward the need for a new vision of the future of the city, one that pulls away from large-scale new towns with cookie-cutter apartment complexes, and toward a more decentered approach to diverse forms of housing and urban neighborhoods that rise from a politics of planning that includes civil society and its organizations in city building and place-making. Growing

17) This number of unsold units, which includes unreported housing units, exceeds the 160,595 total officially identified by The Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs(Chosun Ilbo. 2008).

inequality and stress on Korea's temporary job holders adds to the need to make housing for a wider range of income groups than is now being produced by the style of new town and housing estate mode eliminating older neighborhoods and their houses to create what is now an enormous supply of unsold housing that is priced out of reach of those in need of affordable housing.

In addition to population decline and the emergence of an active and multicultural society, the third limitation of the neoliberal city is the economy it is attempting to stimulate and sustain through world city mega-projects and architecture. As Korea's economy continues to shift to higher order services, the conviviality of the city becomes more important. But the neoliberal city instead sees the economy as one centered on large-scale global spectacles, symbolic architecture, and mega-projects for ensembles of non-local sameness in shops and business.

None of these will create a long-lasting economy based on the uniqueness of Seoul and its convivial spaces. Concerning tourism, for example, studies consistently show that return tourism is all about local culture and first-hand encounters with local people through such activities as eating in local restaurants, visiting traditional open markets, and other interactive experiences that bring out the uniqueness of a place and its establishments. To think that tourists would return to Seoul solely to visit a mega shopping mall strains credulity. Similarly, the world's tallest buildings or globally iconic architecture is not why people return to cities such as Paris, London or New York. They return to those and other cities because of the life on the streets of the city. Places like Namdaemun, Itaewon, Insadong, hanok neighborhoods, forest parks, riverside pathways, Cheonggyecheon, and other uniquely Korean places and urban experiences with nature are the attractions of Seoul that will sustain its cultural economy.

As suggested by recent writing on the 'creative city', the real attraction of a city such as Seoul for globally footloose high-skilled innovators and entrepreneurs is not in its vast mega-projects, but is instead in its 'bohemian' quarters and other places of unique interactive experiences rather than those for passive consumerism or viewing(Florida. 2002; Ewers. 2007; Mc Cann. 2008; Zimmerman. 2008). Cities might try to substitute simulations of such experiences, but these Disneyland effects are soon seen for what they are, namely, highly artificial and controlled spaces. Park(2005: p4), in citing Zukin's(1998) observation about 'the appeal of Disney World's consumption regime' describes how it works:

This regime inspires big city governments to 'Disneyfy' by sponsoring urban 'festivals' and themed shopping districts, by cleaning up public space, by installing private agents of

surveillance and control and by turning over the management of public spaces to private associations of commercial property owners. Last but not least, we cannot ignore the phenomenon of 'urban space standardization'. We find similar franchised retail shops and multiplexes everywhere… This standardization applies not only to component shops in such spaces, but we can also notice even urban strategy itself becoming 'standardized' from one city to another. After the success of the Guggenheim in Bilbao, huge cultural complexes designed by 'star architects' are present everywhere. Despite the fact that mega events or grand cultural flagship projects can generate strong advertisement effects, we should always remind ourselves that emulating a successful case will not automatically create other attractive places.

In contrast to the type of world city described above by Park, in the case of Seoul Korean people as well as foreign visitors are more likely to return to Insadong or other areas of active city life where people mingle and experience the uniqueness of place. In other words, whether the term is cultural economy(Gibson and Kong. 2005) or creative city, the convivial city can generate a vibrant and sustainable urban economy. In both instances of hanok preservation and car-less Insadong Gil, the economies of those areas dramatically increased because of the authenticity of the places they enhanced. Insadong, as part of the urban economy, has also proven to be resistant to global economic fluctuations. Even when other indicators about employment or economic growth were showing turbulence and downturns, Insadong has continued to prosper. Land values in Bukchon as a result of historic preservation also increase, showing how cultural value translates into urban economy.[18)]

Park(2005: p3) clarifies the points made above by distinguishing between consumption as shopping convenience versus consumption as authentic experience in interaction in and with unique settings:

We should not enclose the concept of consumption place in the boundary of the ordinary suburban shopping mall of the 60's and 70's, which were often considered 'non-lieu'(Aug. 1992) [no place]. Consumption spaces, often located in public spaces, attempt to be 'real places' as living quarters of city where citizens can rest, consume and enjoy themselves.

18) Concerning hanok, according to Jeong(2008), the IMF crisis of 1997/98, which leveled the Korean economy overnight, made owners of the houses abandon the idea of tearing them down to construct apartment buildings that would bring high rents. They instead began to realize the future value of historic neighborhoods such as theirs would be very high. Thus they could both contribute to historic preservation for society while the value of their property would also rise, which is what has happened.

Table _ Comparing the Neoliberal and the Convivial City

Dimension	Neoliberal World City	Convivial Cosmopolis
Orientation	Global, hyper-modern, 'starchitecture'	Local, Historic preservation, vernacular
Planner	Private sector with expert knowledge, professional skills	Residents with local govt, NGOs and private sector -- local knowledge and skills
View of the City	Private sphere with some public spaces, functional, commercial, economic engine, culture as commodity	Public sphere with private spaces, associational life, active society, diversity in culture
View of Process	Construction project by professionals	Place-making by residents
Purpose	Economic, profit-making, raise material quality of life and human capital	Conviviality, social identity, quality of social life and social capital
Public/common space	Limited, pseudo-public/exclusive	Plentiful, inclusive
Scale	Mega	Human
Landscaping	Ornamental, used to limit, prescribe and control uses(scripted), exclusive	Facilitates unscripted, flexible use, inclusive
Streets/sidewalks	Dedicated to vehicular use, system-wide flows connecting people to functions	Walkable, enhances spontaneous encounters connecting people to people
Implementation	Top-down government-corporate partnerships	Participatory/citizen-government partnerships/local business
Governance	Corporate management with some state regulation	Citizen-government engagement in policy making, planning, implementation, monitoring
Outcomes	Fragmented, privatized cityscapes fixed and inflexible in form and use, privileged access	Inclusive, open city with flexible social and public spaces

IV. Conclusions

<Table> summaries and contrasts the two emerging modes of creating the post-developmental city. The neoliberal city continues with many of the modernist approaches of years past by placing the city's development exclusively into the hands of 'experts' employed by large-scale, globally oriented private sector developers who have little experience in engaging in participatory planning. Its historic preservation efforts are directed toward sites of dynastic or epochal importance, not of the 'people's city' of place-making. Public space is minimized in the neoliberal city and maximized in the

convivial city. The neoliberal city is designed for functions, most of which are commercial or business and economy oriented. The convivial city is oriented toward neighborliness, chance encounters and social gathering, unscripted spontaneity in use of common and public spaces, and place-making by urban residents. Walkability is crucial to the convivial city; accelerating flows across urban space from residence to shopping and other functions is most important to the neoliberal city.

Looking at the interplay between visions of a future city and practices of city building, Korea stands at a fork in the road between two very different paradigms of what is a livable city and how realize it in the post-developmental state. One, the neoliberal world city vision, is substantial a continuation of the developmental state version of top-down, large-scale production of urban space, with the major differences being twofold: a more decisive shift to the private sector and a huge leap in the size of urban projects. The other path is toward a convivial Cosmopolis promoted by citizen and local business organizations that have received ad hoc support of government. Each is quite different from the other in both implicit ideas about the livability of a city and who is to be included in making it livable. The foothold for participatory planning for a convivial city is as yet not firm in Seoul. As observed by Ha(2004: p219), however, non-government organizations began to flower in the 1990s, and today the settings are substantially open to routinizing ways to support citizen-government partnerships in urban policy, planning and implementation. The changes in Bukchon and Insadong are cases in point. Whether such experiences can generate more of such partnerships and can scale up to higher levels of citizen input into the planning process remains to be seen.

In the meantime, the important initial task is to put the ideas of convivial cities more centrally into government and popular imagination. One way to do this is for NGOs and citizen organizations in Seoul to join hands with international livable city organizations, such as those previously discussed, that share similar perspectives on rooting planning in the city's history and with its residents and to keep it on a human scale. The neoliberal city is a product of global networks of finance, urban design, architects, engineers and other professionals. The convivial city can develop its own networks of advocates, comparative experiences in urban design, and lessons about what works and what does not work when building cities with the grassroots.

The convivial city is of value in its own terms, and is not just the means to other ends. As cautioned by Lisa Peattie(1998: p253):

If we turn to promoting conviviality because of its economic or its political utility, we will surely miss the point. We will also

miss the conviviality. Conviviality is not a way to solve problems but a way to rise above them by celebration. Conviviality is something that can happen when resources are scarce and when the serious problems do not go away.

Given the forces at play, namely, large-scale developers with government agencies as powerful entities pushing the neoliberal city, on one hand, and the rise of civil society and its organizations on the other, elements of both modes of city-making will continue to show themselves in urban design and built environment of Seoul. Where the balance between the two will be set in the coming years is a matter for public policy, but as yet it is not posed as one. In place of public debate over these different types of cities, the neoliberal world city continues to carry the day both explicitly through government promoted world city mega-projects and implicitly through deregulation and continuing visions of Seoul as a functional landscape rather than one of life spaces and people's communities. For the production of urban spaces to become more open to issues of conviviality and diversity, the idea of a livable city needs be reconstituted both as an idea and as a process that includes the very people for which it is intended. To accomplish this, social and cultural life as seen from the household, neighborhood and community level by residents needs to be more explicitly given voice and routinely included in defining and pursuing the idea of a livable city.

References

ACHR(Asia Coalition for Housing Rights). 1989. "Evictions in South Korea". *Environment and Urbanization* vol. 1, no. 1. pp89-94.

Altshuler, A. and D. Luberoff. 2004. *Mega-Projects: The Changing Politics of Urban Public Investment*. Washington. D.C. : The Brookings Institution and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Asia Pacific Post. 2006. Koreans Marry International Soulmates. (http://www. asianpacificpost.com/portal2/ff8080810d224e23010d23).[2008.8.10]

Asian Journal. 2008. Foreign Workers Can Now Stay up to 5 years in South Korea. (http://www.asianjournal.com/).[2008.8.1]

Auge, Marc. 1992. *Non-lieux: Introduction à une Anthropologie de la Surmodernit*. Paris : Verso.

Cho, Jaeseong. 2005. "Urban Planning and Urban Sprawl in Korea". *Urban Policy and Research* vol. 23, no. 2. pp203-218.

Choi He-suk. 2008. "South Korea's Housing Market Buckles under Economic Pressure". *The Korea Herald.* 2 October.

Chosun Ilbo. 2006. More Koreans Marry Foreigners or Tie the Knot Again. (http://english.chosun.com/w21data/html/news/200603/200603300034.html)[2008.10.22]

Chosun Ilbo. 2008. Record Numbers of Unsold Homes. (http://english.chosun.com/w21data/html/news/200810/200810010002.html).[2008.10.1]

Daniere, Amrita and Mike Douglass. 2008. *Building Urban Communities: The Politics of Civic Space in Asia*. London : Routledge.

Davey, Andrew. 2000. "Towards Cosmopolis". *City* vol. 4, no. 1. pp149-151.

Davis, Lisa Kim. 2007. "Housing, Evictions and the Seoul

1988 Summer Olympic Games". Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. (www.cohre.org/mega-events). [2008.12.17]

Donigan, Kelli. 2008. "Ambitious Design Projects to Transform Seoul's Urban Landscape". Seoul Today. 10 Jan.

Douglass, Mike. 1994. "The 'Developmental State' and the Asian Newly Industrialized Economies". *Environment and Planning A* vol. 26. pp543-566.

Douglass, Mike. 2006. "Global Householding in Pacific Asia". *International Development Planning Review* vol. 28, no. 4. pp421-445.

Douglass, Mike. 2007a. "Civil Society for Itself and in the Public Sphere: Comparative Research on Globalization, Cities and Civic Space in Pacific Asia". ed. M. Douglass, K. C. Ho, O. G. Ling, *The City and Civil Society in Pacific Asia*. London : Routledge. pp27-49.

Douglass, Mike. 2007b. "The Globalization of Householding and Social Reproduction in Pacific Asia". *Philippine Studies* vol. 55, no. 2. pp157-181.

Douglass, Mike, Kong Chong Ho, and Giok-Ling Ooi. 2002. "Civic Spaces, Globalisation and Pacific Asia Cities". *International Development and Planning Review.* vol. 24, no. 4. pp345-361.

Douglass, Mike, Kong Chong Ho, and Giok-Ling Ooi. 2007. *Globalization, the Rise of Civil Society and Civic Spaces in Pacific Asia Cities.* London : Routledge.

Ewers, Michael C. 2007. "Migrants, Markets and Multinationals: Competition among World Cities for the Highly Skilled". *GeoJournal* vol. 68. pp119-130.

Florida, R. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class.* New York : Basic Books.

Flyvbjerg, B., Bruzelius, N. and Rothengatter, W. 2003. *Megaprojects and Risk : An Anatomy of Ambition.* Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press.

Galilee, Beatrice. 2008. "Seoul". Iconeye 057, March. (http://www.iconeye.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3292:seoul). [2008.10.2]

Ha Seong-Kyu. 2001. "Developing a community-based approach to urban redevelopment". *GeoJournal* vol. 53, no. 39. p4.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* U. S. : Oxford University Press.

Howe, Neil, Richard Jackson, and Keisuke Nakashima. 2007. *The Aging of Korea - Demographics and Retirement Policy in the Land of the Morning Calm.* Seoul: MetLife, Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Hwang Si-young. 2005. "Korea: U-city project - next IT agenda". *The Korea Herald.* 13 December.

International Making Cities Livable. 2008. "Making Cities Livable". (http://www.livablecities.org/). [2008.10.11]

KILF(Korea International Labour Foundation). 2008. "Wage gap between regular and irregular workers appears average 15.2%". (http://www.koilaf.org/KFeng/engStatistics/bbs_read_dis.php?board_no=122&page=1&keyField=&keyWord=). [2008.10.11]

Kim Tae-jong. 2008. "Mayor Eyes Second Miracle on Han River". *Korea Times.* 22 July.

Kim Young Vae. 2003. *Changing Employment Structure and Industrial Relations in Korea.* Seoul: Korea Employers Federation.

KNSO(Korea National Statistical Office). 2008. *Labor Force Survey.* Seoul : KNSO.

Korea Herald. 2008. "Korea grappling with multicultural society". 23 June.

Korea Times. 2007. "U-City". 11 September. (http://www.kdcstaffs.com/it/main_view.php?nNum=4384&page=&part=U-City). [2008.8.18]

Korea.net. 2007. "Korea to Test Run 1st U-city this March". 7 March.

Krich, John. 2000. "Decision to Stop Building in Insadong Triggers a Battle Over What to Save". *The Wall Street Journal.* 27 April.

Kunstler, James H. 1994. *The Geography of Nowhere.* New York : Touchstone.

La Grange, Adrienne and Hee Nam Jung. 2004. "The Commodi fiation of Land and Housing: The Case of South Korea". *Housing Studies* vol. 19, no. 4. pp557-580.

Lee Hyo-sik. 2008. "Korea Fails to Create Jobs Despite Favorable Growth". Korea Times. 9 August.

Lee Yean-Ju and Hagen Koo. 2006. "Wild Geese Father's and a Globalised Family Strategy for Education in Korea". *International Development Planning Review* vol. 8, no. 4. pp533-554.

Lee Yean-Ju, Dong-hoon Seol and Sung-nam Cho. 2006. "International Marriages In South Korea: The Significance Of Nationality And Ethnicity". *Journal of Population Research* vol. 23, no. 2. pp165-182.

LivCom(Livable Communities). 2008. "Whole City Awards 2008". (http://www.livcomawards.com/2008 -awards/whole-city-awards.htm). [2008.10.12]

McCann, Eugene J. 2008. "Livable city/Unequal City: The Politics of Policy-making in a 'Creative' Boomtown". *Interventions Economiques* vol. 37, no. 1.

Migration News. 2008. Asia-Korea. vol. 15, no. 3. (http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=3402_0_3_0 [July]). [2008.8.19]

Onishi, Norimitsu. 2008. "For English Studies, Koreans Say Goodbye to Dad". *The New York Times*. 8 June.

Park Soo-mee. 2008. "Local Architects Lash Out as Bulldozers Raze Dongdaemun". *JoongAng Daily*. 25 January.

Park Jungyoon. 2005. "Role of the Culture and Tourism Development in the Strategic Planning for City Attractiveness". *Laboratory Creteil*. IUP : University XII of Paris.

Peattie, Lisa. 1998. *Convivial Cities*. eds. Mike Douglass and John Friedmann. 1998. *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*. London: John Wiley. pp247-253.

RICS(Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors). 2008. Asian Housing Review 2008-Korea. Hong Kong : *RICS*.

Sample, Todd. 2008. "Permission to Stay". *Invest Korea Journal*. Sep-Oct.(http://www.ikjournal.com/InvestKoreaWar/work/journal/content/content_print.jsp?code=4580223).[2008.12.17]

Sandercock, Leonie. 1998. *Towards Cosmopolis—Planning for Multicultural Cities*. London : John Wiley and Sons.

Sandercock, Leonie. 2003. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*. London : Continuum.

Seok Jeong, Jang Ok-Yeon, Lee Ki-Wan and Kim Dae-Gun. 2006. *"Mid-term Evaluation of 'Preservation & Regeneration of Bukchon'"*. Seoul: Seoul Development Institute(SDI).

Seoul Global Center. 2008. Master Plan. (http://global.seoul.go.kr/global/view/business/bus05_03.jsp). [2008.10.11]

SF(San Francisco) Environment. 2005. San Francisco's Livable City Initiative. (http://www.sfenvironment.com/livablecity/index.htm). [2008.10.11]

Shin Hyun Bang. 2008. "Living on the Edge: Financing Post-displacement Housing in Urban Redevelopment Projects in Seoul". *Environment and Urbanization* vol. 20, no. 2. pp411-426.

SMG(Seoul Metropolitan Government). 2008a. "A Clean and Attractive Global City". *Seoul Today*. (http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/news/newsclip/1260550_3675.html). [2008.10.15]

_____. 2008b. "Bukchon Hanok Village Keeps Tradition Alive in Seoul". *Seoul Today*. (http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/news/city/1259099_3326.html). [2008.6.23]

Song Sang-ho. 2008. "Korea grappling with multicultural society". *Korea Herald*. 24 June.

Woo, Yang Hae. 2005. "Winning Foreign Workers a New Deal in Korea". *Business Week Online*. 11 July. (http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_28/b3942404.htm). [2008.4.24]

WUF Vancouver Working Group. 2006. "The Livable City". *International Centre for Sustainable Cities*. (www.cserv.gov.bc.ca/lgd/intergov_relations/library/wuf_the_livable_city.pdf). [2008.5.16]

Zimmerman, Jeffrey. 2008. "From Brew Town to Cool Town: Neoliberalism and the Creative City Development Strategy in Milwaukee". *Cities* vol. 25. pp230-242.

• 심의 일자: 2008.12.17

ABSTRACT

Livable Cities: Neoliberal v. Convivial Modes of Urban Planning in Seoul

In East Asia two major factors contribute to a heightening policy focus on the livability of cities: (1) political reform accompanying the rise of civil society and the emergence of an affluent middle class wanting a better quality of life, and (2) intensifying intercity economic competition pursued through urban design aimed at achieving world city levels of livability. These factors place urban planning at a new divide as societies move away from the developmental state and the city it produced. One direction is toward the 'neoliberal city' oriented toward constructing large-scale sites of global consumption under corporate ownership and management of land and the built environment. Another presents a contrasting vision of a 'convivial city' that emerges from grassroots organizations and local business oriented toward smaller scale place-making and diversity in urban landscapes, including historic preservation and vernacular architecture. Elements of both types of cities can be found in Seoul. The gap remains large, however, and continues to be in favor of the emergent neoliberal city. Concerns about the social implications as well as the economic viability of the neoliberal city suggest much greater and immediate attention is merited for a convivial city mode of planning.

살기 좋은 도시: 도시계획의 신자유주의 서울

동아시아에는 도시의 거주성에 정책의 초점을 맞추는 데 일조하고 있는 두 가지 주요 요인이 있다. 하나는, 시민사회의 성장과 향상된 삶의 질을 원하는 풍족한 중산층의 등장을 수반한 정치적 개혁이며, 또 하나는 도시설계를 통해 세계적 도시에 걸맞는 수준의 거주성을 획득하기 위해서 벌어지는 도시 간 경쟁이다. 사회가 개발 국가와 개발 국가가 만들어낸 도시에서 분리됨에 따라, 이러한 요인들로 인해 도시계획은 또 하나의 분기점에 다다르고 있다. 하나는 토지의 기업 소유와 경영, 그리고 공간 환경 속에서 대규모의 세계적 소비 도시 건설을 지향하는 '신자유주의적 도시'다. 다른 하나는 풀뿌리 조직과 지역형 기업들로부터 유래하는 '신명나는 도시'라는 대조적 비전이다. 이는 더 작은 규모의 공간 만들기와, 역사 보존, 지역 고유 건축 등 도시경관의 다양성을 지향한다. 서울에서는 이 두 가지 양식의 도시를 구성하는 요소가 모두 발견된다. 그러나, 서울은 신자유주의 도시로 편향되어 있고, 그러한 경향은 심화되고 있다. 신자유주의 도시의 경제성은 물론 사회에 미치는 영향에 대한 우려는 신명나는 도시계획 방식에 더 크고 즉각적인 관심을 보일 필요가 있음을 시사한다.