CITIES ON THE EDGE:
SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESERVATION OF HILLSIDE SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN KOREA

Jee Eun Ahn

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Science in Historic Preservation

Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

Columbia University
(May 2014)
Advisor

Pamela Jerome
AIA, NCARB, LEED AP
Partner at WASA/Studio A
Elected Officer of ICOMOS’s Scientific Council
Adjunct Associate Professor, Columbia University GSAPP

Readers

Carol Clark
Deputy Commissioner at NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
Adjunct Associate Professor, Columbia University GSAPP

Ron van Oers (PhD)
Vice Director of World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for Asia and the Pacific (WHITRAP) under the auspices of UNESCO
Shanghai, China
Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ......................................................................................................................... 2
ABSTRACT .............................................................................................................................................. 3
INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................................................................... 4

PART I. History and Background

CHAPTER 1 The History and Significance of the Dal-dong-ne’s .................................................. 12
CHAPTER 2 Preservation in Korea ......................................................................................................... 41

PART II. Case Studies

CHAPTER 3 Community-Based Development Plan: Jangsu-maeul, Seoul .............................. 52
CHAPTER 4 Rebranding through Art and Culture: Gamcheon-maeul, Busan ...................... 69
CHAPTER 5 Preservation Combined- Redevelopment Plan: Baeksa-maeul, Seoul .......... 88

PART III. Analysis and Recommendations

CHAPTER 6 Recommendations for a Preservation Planning Process .............................................. 106
CONCLUSION Sustainable Future of Preservation ......................................................................... 115

List of Illustrations ............................................................................................................................... 125
Bibliography ......................................................................................................................................... 136
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are not enough words to express my gratitude to everyone who has helped me through this process. First of all, I owe the greatest thanks to my advisor, Professor Pamela Jerome, who guided and encouraged me endlessly during the formulation and writing of my thesis. I would also like to thank my readers, Professor Carol Clark and Dr. Ron van Oers, who took time out of their busy schedules to share their invaluable insights into the topic.

Mr. Junggoo Cho and everyone at Guga Urban Architecture, I am so grateful for showing me the many parts of Seoul shaped by the memories and lives of people. Seeing your passion was the basis of my inspiration for this thesis. Dr. H.S Kim, I truly appreciate your help and support. I would like to thank all others who were so kind to provide me useful information during my research process.

Most of all, I owe everything to my family, especially my sister Jimin. Without your love and support, I would not have been able to accomplish this goal. I am truly blessed.
ABSTRACT

Hillside squatter settlements in Seoul and other major cities in Korea were formed on the mountains and hillsides as a result of an exponential population growth during the rapid urbanization after the Korean War. A large number of refugees and urban migrants were displaced from urban centers and relocated to the outskirts of cities, as modernization and urban development expanded outward from the city centers in the 1960s and 70s. Commonly known as Dal-dong-ne’s, these settlements were stigmatized as blighted areas with substandard housing conditions and low-income households. Within the past few decades, these areas have been eradicated by urban renewal and have been replaced with clusters of high-rise apartment buildings. The intimate scale and intricate networks of streets of these towns are the foundation for the strong sense of community that is characteristic of these settlements. Therefore, the destruction of these areas not only erases a significant fragment of South Korea’s historic urban landscape, but also weakens the socio-cultural identity of these neighborhoods.

Recognizing these issues, there have been recent movements to rejuvenate these neighborhoods, while maintaining the existing fabric of the towns. This thesis will first analyze the significance of the physical townscape of the hillside squatter settlements, then identify the role of preservation in the future development schemes that strive to save the existing structures, as the foundation for reclaiming a sense of community. It is my belief that integrating preservation measures into sustainable town-regeneration plans will improve and protect physical resources, strengthen positive aspects of local identity, as well as provide social benefits for marginalized communities. For the sustainable management of historic resources and for the sustainable future of preservation practice itself, preservationists should proactively engage in the process of heritage work to help people enhance their quality of life.
INTRODUCTION

The urban landscape is the physical manifestation of the evolution of a society’s collective thinking. It constantly evolves with changes in socioeconomic and political status. However, the rapid transformation of urban areas by rampant development plans has threatened not only the accumulated layers of urban fabric in many historic cities, but also the socio-cultural values of the communities deeply rooted in the built environment. For the first half of the twentieth century, concerns over the loss of heritage in urban areas revolved around the protection of historic monuments and towns. Often considered as an obstacle to the city’s advance, preservation strategy has put urban heritage in a constant battle with development pressures provoked by rapid urbanization in many, if not all, cities around the world. The accelerating global trends of urbanization, with more than half of the world’s population currently living in urban areas, has brought to the front the need for sustainable planning as a constant issue.¹

¹ “By 1990, less than 40% of the global population lived in a city, but as of 2010, more than half of all people live in an urban area. By 2030, 6 out of every 10 people will live in a city, and by 2050, this proportion will increase to 7 out of 10 people.” World Health Organization, “Urban Population Growth,” Global Health Observatory (GHO) http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/ (accessed February 1, 2014).
South Korea is certainly no exception to this trend. The prevalent urban-redevelopment method for older residential areas in major cities in Korea, especially in Seoul, has been to demolish the entire neighborhood. Such methods completely erased the existing grain of the city and replaced it with a simple arrangement of rectangular concrete boxes. (Figure 1) The aggressive invasion of clusters of bulky apartment buildings led to a drastic transformation of the urban landscape, prompting some to refer to Seoul as the ‘Republic of Apartments,’ as well as the physical manifestation of Le Corbusier’s Modernist principles. 2 (Figure 2) As a result, in addition to the material loss of the older towns’ fabric, the residents are physically and emotionally detached from their communities. The destruction of the physical environment of these towns, whose intimate scale and networks of streets provided the foundation for a strong sense of community, effectively weakened the socio-cultural structures of these neighborhoods.

The negative impacts of residents’ displacement are most severe in low-income neighborhoods, especially those known as Dal-dong-ne’s. Located on hillsides, Dal-dong-ne’s were first settled by squatters during the city’s acute population growth in the 1960s and 70s. (Figure 3) The history of major urban areas in Korea cannot be discussed without these hillside squatter settlements, where approximately 20 to 30% of urban population once resided. 3

---


3 Seong-Kyu Ha, "Housing regeneration and building sustainable low-income communities in Korea," *Habitat*
time, Dal-dong-ne’s evolved into a more permanent form of residences with a strong social bond between inhabitants. The dense hive-like structure of these towns is a physical documentation of rapid urbanization, as well as the lives and struggles of squatters. However, because their sense of community is rooted in the fabric of the town, the adopted method of ‘improvement’ for these deteriorated districts devastated the physical, as well as socio-cultural structure of these neighborhoods, by simply replacing the existing fabric with high-rise communities. It is estimated that less than 20% of the original residents can afford to move back into the new apartments in their old neighborhoods, causing various social problems, including the creation of a new form of squatter settlement by evicted tenants from the redeveloped areas.\(^4\)

With growing concerns over the eradication of underappreciated historic settlements of the city, a number of architects and other professionals began documenting the fabric of the towns scheduled to be demolished by redevelopment plans, known as the New Town Projects. As

\[\text{Figure 3 Archival photograph showing the density of a Dal-dong-ne in Seoul (1960s).}\]

\(^4\) The new form of squatter settlement is known as ‘vinyl house village,’ where the squatters convert greenhouses constructed with thin plastic (vinyl) sheets into residential use.
a part of this effort, I witnessed the consequences of a redevelopment plan on the historic town fabric in Gyonam-dong, which is one of older neighborhoods near the central part of Seoul. The neighborhood was completely evacuated in 2013 so as to be replaced by apartment complexes. (Figure 4) While I was measuring and documenting the vacant houses in Gyonam-dong, every part of them revealed to me the traces of memories of residents that had accumulated over time. Being in the empty ghost town, I wondered, are the residents being deprived of a significant part of their lives by being removed from their homes, and left in a state of disrepair like their ‘soul-less’ houses? Have the urban-planning policies and even the heritage laws, aggravated the conflict between traditional values and contemporary, by drawing a line between new and old? (Figure 5) How can the principles of heritage preservation help conserve the cultural and social values of older neighborhoods, while satisfying the contemporary needs of the residents? Are the current preservation practices and policies effective in sustainable management of communities, and if not, what needs to change?

Such questions have been addressed, to a certain extent, by heritage professionals, such as the United Nations Educational, 5 From July to August 2013, I documented vacant houses in Gyonam-dong as an intern at an architecture firm, Guga Urban Architecture, whose primary interest is in traditional vernacular Korean architecture. The firm surveys older neighborhoods in Seoul for its own interest, and as a part of a commission by Seoul Museum of History to survey and document the older neighborhoods, including Jangsu-maeul and Baeksa-maeul. The firm is currently involved in the community-based redevelopment project in Jangsu-maeul, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.
Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), through a series of conventions and charters – which will be discussed in detail later in this thesis. It is only very recently that improvement plans, incorporating the preservation of both the historic townscape and the socio-cultural values of the communities in these towns, have been implemented in some major urban areas in Korea. The recent changes in redevelopment methods of Dal-dong-ne’s not only seek more sustainable management of the city, but also address the issues of social justice for marginalized urban areas.

Nevertheless, the shortage of developable areas in cities and insufficient preservation methods for historic assets continue to threaten the fabric of older neighborhoods. The traces of vernacular architecture in Seoul and other major cities in Korea are disappearing at a fast rate, robbing these communities of their strong social network in the process. The ‘preservation’ of Dal-dong-ne’s may seem unnecessary and, even, illogical given their negative associations as urban slums or shantytowns, with their lack of discernable aesthetic significance typical of informal housing situations. However, in order to address the problems underlying these socially-marginalized communities, it is necessary to identify the inherent values of the historic urban landscape, and improve the situation with these new-found values as a foundation. To borrow Dolores Haydon’s words from her book, *The Power of Place*, “understanding the history
of urban cultural landscapes offers citizens and public officials some basis for making political and spatial choices about the future.  

This thesis will analyze the social and cultural significance of the built environment of Dal-dong-ne’s, and investigate the preservation movements focusing on these neighborhoods, as a tool for managing change toward a better future for the communities. The first part of the thesis will identify the significance of the hillside settlements, the so-called Dal-dong-ne’s, as physical and socio-cultural resources. It will also discuss the changes in social and political views toward Dal-dong-ne’s, along with a series of housing policies that led to the recent cases of town-regeneration projects in South Korea. The second part will be dedicated to the recent preservation projects of Dal-dong-ne’s in Korea, which are categorized into three distinct preservation approaches. Three case studies in Korea – Jangsu-maeul, Gamcheon-maeul, and Baeksa-maeul – will be examined as model cases for each strategy, along with comparisons to similar approaches in other countries. I will analyze their benefits and problematic issues through site visits, recent publications, and reports released by the regional government and local groups, as well as through conversations with the professional groups and the residents of these neighborhoods. Based on these analyses, recommendations for improvements to the preservation and management plans for hillside settlements will be proposed in the last part of this thesis.

Previous research has been concentrated on the physical characteristics of Dal-dong-ne’s, primarily for the purpose of recording the historic fabric, while others have studied the evolution and the social implications of housing policies in Korea. Viewing this issue from a preservation standpoint, this thesis attempts to assist in the effort to embrace the underappreciated physical, social, and cultural resources of the Dal-dong-ne’s’ historic urban landscape, leading to a future

---

with a solid foundation, emphasizing the strong sense of community that is conscious of its roots. Expanding the traditional notion of historic preservation into town-regeneration plans will not only secure the socio-cultural values of this important form of living heritage for future generations, but will also provide livable and affordable housing, and more importantly, a sense of belonging for the socially-marginalized populations. Furthermore, it is hoped that this thesis will address the international demands for implementing preservation strategies in urban planning as a tool for sustainable management of the city, as well as responding to the issues of social justice in heritage conservation.\(^7\) (Figure 6)

![Images of shantytowns](image1.jpg)

**Figure 6** Shantytowns around the world. Although the socio-political and economic conditions of these towns greatly vary, they are all underappreciated resources occupied by socially-marginalized communities that deserve closer attention.

---

\(^7\) It is estimated that more than 30% of world’s urban population, 1 billion people, resided in informal settlements in 2007. The UN predicts that this number will double to more than 2 billion within 30 years. Janice Perlman and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2010), 46.
PART I

History and Background
CHAPTER 1

The History and Significance of Dal-dong-ne

Definition of Dal-dong-ne

The term ‘Dal-dong-ne’ is a general term used to describe dense substandard-residential areas on hillsides with groups of one- to two-story houses. More specifically, it is commonly defined as towns located on hillsides 40 meters above sea level with a density of more than 60 units per 10,000 m$^2$ (approx. 2.5 acres).\(^1\) The term Dal-dong-ne came to be widely used after a TV-series, entitled Dal-dong-ne, depicting the struggling lives of socially-marginalized urban population.\(^2\) The term literally means, “moon (Dal) - village (Dong-ne).” It is believed that the term describes how the moon (Dal) shone through the poor-quality material of temporary shelters in hillside squatter settlements.

From the very beginning of their existence, these informal urban settlements were considered the byproduct of the country’s explosive urbanization, and ‘cancerous growths’ to the developing urban areas.\(^3\) These negative associations can be witnessed in the terms used for them in government policies as well, such as ‘unauthorized poor-quality residential districts’ in the Urban Redevelopment Law of 1976. Current policies often describe these neighborhoods as ‘deteriorated residential area,’ or ‘low-rise residential areas on hillsides.’ Other common names for these towns are ‘San (hillside or mountain)-dong-ne,’ or ‘Haneul (sky)-dong-ne,’ both of

\(^1\) Generally a ‘hill’ is defined as an area of land with the altitude of 20-200 m, slope of 7° ~ 17°, and relative relief of 200 m or less. Younghoon Kim, “Joonggye-dong, Baeksa-maeul to be Developed within the Historic townscape,” JoongAng Daily (September 06, 2011).

\(^2\) Excerpt from installation at the Sudokuskan Museum of Housing and Living, Incheon (January, 2014).

\(^3\) “Humbly Accepting Criticism of Neighbors,” Dong-A Ilbo (April 9, 1991), 2.
which primarily emphasize their geographic location. ‘Dal-dong-ne’ is used throughout this thesis to convey not only the geographic conditions of these hillside squatter settlements, but also the socio-cultural and possibly emotional connotations contained in the term.⁴

**Development of Hillside Squatter Settlements**

The rise and fall of Dal-dong-ne’s is the (by) product of South Korean housing and zoning polices. Dal-dong-ne’s are also the physical evidence of the housing-shortage problem of the 1960s and 70s, which resulted in a rapid transition to high-rise residential buildings as the dominant type of housing in South Korean cities within a single decade.⁵ (Figure 1-1) After the Korean War, a serious housing shortage resulted from the massive concentration of the populace in urban areas, particularly in the capital city, Seoul. At that time, Seoul experienced an unprecedented rapid population growth from 2.4 million in the beginning of the 1960s, to 7.3 million in 1976, and currently exceeds 10 million.⁶ The acute housing shortage in Seoul and other major cities in South Korea ultimately resulted in the emergence of many illegal temporary settlements. Since hillsides and edges of streams or rivers were not considered ideal housing sites, the exponential growth of population pushed the poor migrants and refugees higher into the hills.

---


⁵ According to statistical data, apartment buildings comprise 58.7% of the housing types in Seoul, an increase from 19% in 1980. Also, 99% of the housing produced by development projects are apartment buildings. Woongkyu Bae, et al. “Regeneration of Residential Areas: New Town, and Human Town,” *Urban Information Service* 3 (September, 2011): 11.

1. Demolition of illegal settlements (*Panjachon*) in the center of the city, Cheonggyecheon, Seoul

2. Relocated squatters, Bongcheondong, Seoul (1966)


Figure 1-1 Transformation of urban landscape in Seoul (Bong-cheon-dong, Seoul)
or down to the streams or riversides. In Seoul, the number of unregistered informal settlements, so-called Panjachon’s, continued to increase from 84,440 units in 1961, to 116,200 units in 1964, 136,600 in 1966, and 187,500 units in 1970.

Viewing them as great obstacles to the modernization and development of Seoul, the critical economic engine of a country recovering from the war, the government was active in removing these undesirable areas of the cities. The government implemented various methods to resolve cities’ housing problems. First was to demolish and relocate the inner-city squatter settlements to about 20 different locations on the outskirts of the city. (Figure 1-2) At relocation sites, small parcels of approximately 26 to 40 square meters (8 - 12 pyeong) were distributed to the squatter families. The residents built their own houses with low-quality materials, along with limited materials provided through government aid. Although the squatter settlements were formed by the government-relocation programs, the houses in these settlements were

---

7 In Korea, hills and mountains were believed to possess sacred power; people are hesitant to construct something near the top of the mountain, not to mention the harsh dwelling conditions in the mountains. Doyoung Song, *Talking about Culture of Seoul Once Again* (Seoul: Moonhwa Madang, 2011), 117.

8 *Panjajib* is defined as a temporary residential structure usually built with scrap materials. *Panjachon* is a settlement formed by a group of panjajib’s. Even though thousands of illegal structures began to be demolished and relocated, due to the government policies in the mid-1960s, the numbers of unregistered buildings continued to increase well into the 1970s. The growing numbers of illegal settlements can be explained by the return of the refugees back to the city, after they were removed, for better access to job markets. City of Seoul, *600-Year History of Seoul* (1983), 2008.

9 In many cases, for example in Baeksa-maeul, four households occupied one 100 m² tent. Yong Hae Jang, *The Study on Architectural Characteristics of Junggye-dong 104 Village in Seoul*, (master’s thesis, Seoul National University of Science and Technology, 2012), 49.
unregistered structures on government-owned land and had no adequate infrastructure.\textsuperscript{10} Moreover, because the minimum construction area in the 1962 building code is 90 m\textsuperscript{2} (27 pyeong), the relocation sites were destined to be another illegal settlement.\textsuperscript{11}

Another development method was to legalize and repair illegal structures that qualified

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure1-2.png}
\caption{Location of squatter settlements in Seoul. A number of Panjachon’s formed after the Korean War in the central part of the city were removed to the hillsides on the periphery.}
\end{figure}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Seoul Development Institute, \textit{History of Housing Redevelopment of Seoul} (1996), 20.
\item \textsuperscript{11} City of Seoul, \textit{600-year History of Seoul}, 576.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
under certain standards as ‘Substandard Housing Redevelopment District.’\(^\text{12}\) (Figure 1-3) In 1967, Seoul announced that approximately 150,000 units of illegal shelters would be ‘saved’ and improved.\(^\text{13}\) At this time, the legalization of structures and the transfer of property rights in substandard-housing areas were given to those who could afford it. While the mayor of Seoul announced that the city would subsidize a certain amount of cost for renovation, the burden of improving the houses and infrastructure was mostly imposed on the residents.\(^\text{14}\) Although the government later invested more to install public infrastructure in these neighborhoods, this method of locally improving the conditions of substandard neighborhoods was not widely effective, because of the limited resources of both the residents, as well as the government, whose priority was to boost the nation’s economic status after the war.\(^\text{15}\)

By the late 1960s, the unsatisfactory results of relocation programs and lack of new relocation sites led to a more aggressive approach to redevelopment plans for the squatter settlements. The government sought to accommodate the squatters in multi-unit public housing, called ‘Citizen (Shi-min) Apartments,’ constructed near the

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure1-3.png}
\caption{Panjajib’s qualify to become legal residential houses. They will be converted into brick houses with government support.}
\end{figure}


squatter settlements. Only the skeleton of these apartment buildings were constructed with the government’s public funding. The tenants were responsible for construction of the rest, including interior spaces and exterior walls.\(^{16}\) The overwhelming scale of these apartment buildings, standing as physical barriers to the landscape, greatly contrasted the traditional urban fabric. (Figure 1-4) However, this trend changed on April 8, 1970, when one of these apartment buildings collapsed due to poor construction work, resulting in more than 30 casualties. (Figure 1-5) The public apartment project was practically terminated after this tragic incident, which revealed a series of social issues produced by ill-prepared plans and poor construction management.\(^{17}\)

In turn, South Korea’s housing-redevelopment process accelerated, when the Joint Redevelopment Project (JRP, *Hapdong Jegyebal*) was adopted in the early 1980s. Administered by quasi-governmental agencies, JRP relies on the cooperation between a private construction

---

\(^{16}\) Jang (2012), 36.

\(^{17}\) A total of 426 buildings with 16,962 units were constructed in 1968 alone, which was 21.3% of the initial plan. Jang (2012), 36.
companies and housing corporations that represent homeowners.\textsuperscript{18} The influx of private capital expedited land development to increase the housing supply for a growing urban population. At the same time, the increased housing stock, mainly targeting the newly rising middle-class households, aggravated land speculation and resulted in the skyrocketing of property values.\textsuperscript{19} While the JRP method provided homeowners a share of new apartment units, renters, who comprise 60\% of the population, are usually forced to move out of the neighborhood.\textsuperscript{20} The compensation for the relocation of residents is often not sufficient, forcing some residents to move to another blighted area.\textsuperscript{21} It is known that only 20\% of the original residents move into the new apartment units built in their neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{22}

Although such projects increased good-quality housing stock in a short period of time, the proliferation of profit-driven redevelopment projects drastically transformed the country’s urban landscapes to ones that are devoid of local character. (Figure 1-6) Once a substandard housing area is designated as a redevelopment district under the JRP, the entire town is bulldozed

\textsuperscript{18} The agencies include the Korea Land Corporation and the Korea National Housing Corporation, which later merged into the Korea Land and Housing Corporation (LH) in 2010. Sung Hong Kim, “Changes in Urban Planning Policies and Urban Morphologies in Seoul, 1960s to 2000s,” \textit{Architectural Research} 15, no. 3 (September 2013): 136.

\textsuperscript{19} It is estimated that Seoul’s land prices multiplied 1,176 times between 1963 and 2007, as compared to a 15 times increase in monthly income. Kim (September 2013): 136.

\textsuperscript{20} Ha (2007): 119.

\textsuperscript{21} As described in the Introduction, one of the new types of illegal settlements formed since the mid-1980s is known as ‘vinyl house village,’ where the squatters illegally transform greenhouses (for agricultural purposes) into informal residences.

\textsuperscript{22} Ha (2007): 121.
to the ground to give way to a colossal apartment complex.\textsuperscript{23} Mere anticipation of redevelopment project exacerbates the decline of the neighborhoods, because it not only instigates real-estate speculation, but also discourages residents from investing in maintaining their houses. Ironically, most of the few remaining Dal-dong-ne’s have survived redevelopment plans because of the physical constraints of the mountains and hills making it a Limited Development District, or simply due to low profitability of the locations. In other words, on the one hand, the zoning restrictions and profit-oriented redevelopment plans aggravated the deterioration of these towns, but on the other, such policies and plans partially ‘preserved’ the townscapes of 1960s and 1970s. Witnessing the failure of such profit-oriented development schemes, the efforts to search for alternative methods of improving the conditions of deteriorated residential areas have been made since the 1990s, however, without any apparent success.

Another wave of change was projected for the remaining hillside neighborhoods, since these areas were rezoned as vast redevelopment districts. The government attempted to reorganize the urban fabric and compensate for the shortage of developable areas in the cities through larger-size redevelopment projects, known as ‘New Town Projects,’ in the mid to late 2000s. The cities’ decisions resulted in the rise of property values, and increased the number of vacant houses and absentee owners, which further aggravated the declines of Dal-dong-ne’s.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 119.
However, as a result of the global economic crisis in 2008, many New Town Projects were practically shelved, and the desire for alternative methods of planning intensified.\(^{24}\) The slow shift in the redevelopment paradigm from demolition to ‘town-regeneration’ was aided by the government’s implementation of the *Urban Landscape Ordinance* in 2008, and the *Residential Environment Management Project* and the *Street Housing Rearrangement Project* in 2012, which built upon the *Urban Redevelopment Act* of 2003.\(^{25}\) Nonetheless, development pressure is still looming over these older neighborhoods, and the fate of the historic urban fabric is vastly dependent on the cities’ political and economic conditions. Thus, in order to build a foundation for better preservation and management for the new paradigm of urban development, it is essential to clearly understand the values of the Dal-dong-ne’s’ town fabric and examine the implications of the preservation strategies applied in current regeneration projects.

Hillside residential areas cover one-third of Seoul’s administrative districts. Therefore, the city’s decisions on the methods for redevelopment of these areas have immense impact on the city’s urban landscape. Considering the nation’s economic and social status at that time, the government’s past efforts of supplying massive amounts of apartment units were perhaps the most effective method of improving the housing situation. However, it is an undeniable fact that the influx of private investment in housing policies inevitably capitalized the value of dwellings, rather than placing the projects’ priorities on the welfare of the socially-marginalized classes. It

---

\(^{24}\) New Town Projects in 434 districts were completed among a total of 1,300 districts designated as redevelopment areas. The cities are currently reexamining the viability of the rest. Kim (September 2013): 136.

\(^{25}\) The *Urban Landscape Ordinance* promotes the voluntary participation of residents in preservation and maintenance of residential neighborhoods. Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al, *Second Annual Report for Alternative Development Plan of Jangsu-maeul (Samsun-4-District)* (2009), 105.
is important to note that the new plans for these neighborhoods, which will be discussed in detail later, are beginning to recognize the historic values of these towns in keeping them socially and economically relevant with the rest of the urban system. Evaluating the significance of the Dal-dong-ne’s historic fabric will allow scholars, architects, preservation professionals, and decision-makers to manage changes based on those values. That being said, the physical, social, and cultural significance of these towns deserves to be examined next.

Significance of the Dal-dong-ne’s Urban Fabric

An urban landscape is not a mere collection of architectural styles of different periods of time. It is the physical traces of social memories accumulated over different generations that provide a strong connection between a place and its inhabitants. The ‘power of place,’ as referred to by Dolores Hayden, stems from the historic landscape, which is a “storehouse for these social memories” embedded in both the natural and built environment, such as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement.\(^\text{26}\) The continuous and gradual evolution of the urban landscape was disrupted by the mega-scale redevelopment projects of modern societies, which led to the abrupt estrangement between the inhabitants and their built environment. As a consequence, inhabitants were remotely removed from the creation of their own living environment. The new urban fabric does not possess the same level of intimacy of traditional vernacular architecture. Henry Glassie asserts that distance from vernacular architecture disables people from connecting themselves to the world they inhabit, and “so [they] surrender the right to know what they know.”\(^\text{27}\) He also

\(^{26}\) Hayden (1997), 9.

argues that by understanding vernacular traditions, an architect becomes more self-aware and critical of “his own culture’s arbitrary conventions.”

Similarly, Dal-dong-ne’s’ fabric is the material evidence of the evolution of the city. The common images of physical deterioration of houses often obscure the true values of the Dal-dong-ne’s’ built environment. Although the structures were constructed in a hasty manner and individual houses have no recognizable aesthetic values in the academic sense, the collective memories of the residents and the strong sense of community are deeply rooted in these townscapes. The towns’ fabric was generated by refugees and migrants striving to adapt to the harsh conditions of the site, based on their empirical knowledge with limited resources. The immediate correlations between the user and the natural and built environment reflected in Dal-dong-ne’s are, more often than not, absent from modern architecture. For the purpose of this thesis, the study of Dal-dong-ne’s built environment is primarily based on Baeksa-maeul, which is one of the largest remaining Dal-dong-ne’s in Seoul. While each town has physically and socially adjusted to specific conditions of its surrounding environment, Dal-dong-ne’s display similar patterns and traits in their response to the natural environment: for instance, the tree-branch-like networks of streets that is reminiscent of traditional villages.

The squatter settlements’ responses to the natural environment resemble that of the traditional towns. Considering the fact that approximately 69% of urban squatters were urban migrants from rural areas, it is only natural that the informal squatter settlements, including those relocated by the government, evolved into the more permanent form of towns largely based on

---

the past experience of the squatters. In order to survive, the residents had to adapt to the given, often severe, conditions of the site. In contrast to the naturally-formed towns, the conditions of these towns were not ideal for residential uses. Traditional rural towns in Korea are generally located in a basin surrounded by mountains to the north. This type of orientation allows abundant sunlight and guarantees protection from draft during the winter. (Figure 1-7)

The arrangement of Baeksa-maeul and many other relocated hillside squatter settlements, however, is the direct opposite from a traditional setting, with the hill going up toward the south. The squatter settlements also differ from traditional villages in that they are located higher on the hills with steeper slopes, as a result of the substantial density of population. Despite the unconventional orientation of settlements, which presented unfavorable living conditions, the inhabitants acclimated themselves to the natural environment drawing from the vernacular tradition. The typical arrangements of traditional houses follow the topography of the site within an acceptable

Figure 1-7 Illustration of location of rural towns

---


31 During the early period of settlement in Baeksa-maeul, wild animals (wolves, goats, etc.) often appeared in the neighborhood. Interview with original settler, The Story Museum of 104 Village (Seoul: Nowon Culture Center, 2013), 168.

32 Some consider that the government’s selection of the unfavorable locations of relocation settlements was to hide the ‘unattractive’ conditions of the substandard housing. Nonetheless, the arrangement of these towns mimicked the traditional arrangement of rural towns. Lee (1989), 22.
range of facing the southeast direction, which maximizes sunlight and ventilation.\textsuperscript{33} Similarly, houses in squatter settlements follow the topography, rather than intruding on the natural grain of the terrain. (Figure 1-8)

Moreover, the close connection between the natural environment and self-generated town fabric stands in contrast to the simplified geometric layout of blocks of concrete structures of modern high-rise apartments. In squatter settlements, the settler who had construction knowledge and experience helped others to convert their temporary tents into more permanent forms of dwellings. According to the original settlers in Baeksa-maeul, one tent and 200 mud bricks per four households were provided at the time they were relocated, each one with a plot size of about 100 m\textsuperscript{2} (30 pyeong). Shortly after, more permanent structures were constructed with limited materials. Roof coverings began as cardboard boxes and later upgraded to slate tile.\textsuperscript{34} (Figure 1-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure1-8.png}
\caption{Traditional village setting, Yangdong-maeul (left) and Baeksa-maeul (right).}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{34} \textit{104 Maeul} (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012), 334.
9) Over time, many houses expanded by taking over adjacent vacant plots left by people who moved out. It was common to maximize usable spaces by constructing outdoor extensions or by using the roof and spaces between houses as storage. (Figure 1-10) However, average floor areas of houses increased without modifying the basic pattern of the streets. (Figure 1-11)

The forms and materials of the structures demonstrate each resident’s endeavor to adapt to the conditions of the site, and their financial situation and construction skills. Consequently, the sizes, façades, and materials of each house are unique. (Figure 1-12) Mutual collaborations between squatters who best understood each other’s situation was the most significant resource for construction of the towns. In other words, the town fabric in Dal-dong-ne’s was built by the internal interactions between the residents; whereas, modern construction is imposed by external factors in a top-down approach. The town fabric itself is the identity of the community, which

Figure 1-9 Typical roofs in Baeksa-maeul. Many houses have waterproofing material (tarps) over their roofs.

Figure 1-10 Small stairs to access roof space (left); additions along streets; and storage space between structures.
**Figure 1-11** Plans of Baeksa-maeul (highlighted area) reveal the expansion of houses within the original street patterns from 1979 to 1995. Also notice the mega apartment blocks on the left which replaced the older town fabric.

**Figure 1-12** Different techniques and materials used (left); stairs had to be built inside the front door because of the large level difference (right).
fundamentally followed the need for shelter as an act of survival. As a result, the residents’ pattern of life and their social interactions among each other are reflected in the spatial organizations of the neighborhoods.

Houses placed closely one next to the other along the maze of narrow pedestrian-oriented alleyways, or gol-mok, are the most distinct feature that defines the townscape of a Dal-

Figure 1-13 Comparison between two Daldongne’s and a traditional village, Yangdong-maeul (left to right).

Figure 1-14 One of the main axial roads in Baeksa-maeul with a grain mill and a hair salon on the right (left). Looking down on one of the main roads (right).

Figure 1-15 View of squatter settlement in Bongcheondong, Seoul (1968), showing the commercial area located at the entrance of the town.
While some of settlements formed by the government’s relocation projects after the 1970s partially have a more gridded structure, most of the settlements have organic patterns of streets. The intricate networks of streets spatially and functionally organize the structure of the town. The branch-shaped configuration of the streets in plan resembles that of traditional villages. (Figure 1-13) Houses in the neighborhood are organically connected through the hierarchical system of the streets: the main axial roads from the entrance into the town; the narrower secondary streets that branch out from the main artery to smaller community units; and the narrowest alleyways mainly serving as connection to individual houses.

---

35 Gol-mok, or gol-mok-gil is a general term for narrow alleyways between houses, which branch out from the wider main streets. Recognizing the city’s social and cultural identity embedded in gol-mok, a series of exhibitions and conferences have been held, including an international seminar on “Rediscovery of Streets,” as a part of UNESCO’s Creative City Networks, as well as the exhibition at the Seoul Museum of History, entitled “Alley, Discovery;” for the International Conference on Alleys, which discussed sustainable urban regeneration. “UNESCO City of Design, International Seminar;” Metropolitan City of Seoul (press release, November 19, 2013), http://sculture.seoul.go.kr/archives/33503 (accessed February 28, 2014), and “International Conference on Alleys 2013 (September 12),” Seoul Design Foundation (August 21, 2013), http://www.seoul-design.or.kr/bbs2/view.jsp?seq=2608&code=001002&part=&item= (accessed February 28, 2014).
The major axial roads serve as the main public access, leading from the entrance up to the end of the town. (Figure 1-14) The width of these roads is 4 to 5 meters, which allows relatively smooth vehicular circulation, acting as the spine of the town. Shops and stores are found along these roads, along with residential buildings. Similar to the traditional town layout, commercial areas are concentrated near the entrance of town for better accessibility. (Figure 1-15) In fact, when Baeksamaeul was economically active in the 1980s, small-to-medium scale factories flourished along this axis, where it was wide enough for car circulation. (Figure 1-16) This part of town acted as its economic engine. 36 (Figure 1-17) Various social activities take place on these streets as well. At the major intersections, community-gathering spaces have been naturally formed, where the residents habitually meet,

Figure 1-17 Commercial area (above) and a remaining factory (below).

---

36 Various small-scale factories began to appear in Baeksamaeul after the installation of infrastructure in the 1970s. The most prominent type was the knitting industry, because it was easy to learn and share the techniques, and also easy to fit the required machinery in small spaces. These factories benefitted from relatively low rents and convenient locations for transportation in relation to the city, before most of them went out of business after the economic crash in the late 1990s, and further fell into decline with the speculation of redevelopment plans. At any rate, there are still several factories remaining along the main axis road.
talk, and often share information. (Figure 1-18) When no adequate infrastructure was provided in the town, communal water wells and public restrooms were at these intersections as well. (Figure 1-19) The foundation of social interaction between the residents is the economic and social flow circulating through the streets and the pockets of community spaces along these streets.

The secondary streets bridge between the main road and narrow alleyways that lead to individual houses, serving as the main points of access to residential areas. Their width ranges from approximately 1.8 to 3.5 meters and are often with steep slope. Some contain stairs depending on the slope of the street. (Figure 1-20) These streets, which branch out from the main roads, act as semi-public space. Social interactions take place in a more intimate level in smaller communities along the streets. Secondary streets often have wide benches, called Pyeong-sang, where the neighbors frequently get together – primarily elderly

---

37 Generally, there are two types of secondary streets: wider ones that are 3 to 3.5 meters wide; and narrower ones that are 1.8 to 2.5 meters wide. Jang (2012), 71.
women during the day. (Figure 1-21) In a way, these alleyways serve as a front yard, or the ma-dang of traditional dwellings, to compensate for the confined spaces of individual houses. As evident in drying racks or clotheslines out on the street, the residents have made the most of a given condition by extending their living space outside. (Figure 1-22) This blurring of the clear distinction between public and private space also indicates the intimacy between neighbors.

The narrowest alleyways function as corridors to individual houses. Widths vary from 1 to 1.5 meters according to the topography and density

Figure 1-20 Secondary streets usually have steep slopes. They provide the primary access to the smaller community units.

Figure 1-21 Secondary roads often have wide benches called Pyeong-sang, where community members get together. Notice the different lengths of legs on the bench adjust to the slope. During the site visit, an elderly woman seated at the chair in front of her house proudly told the story of how her son built the bench for her and her friends.
of the area. (Figure 1-23) The alleyways are more like private passageways used mainly by the occupants. In some cases, the passage is ‘privatized’ by installing a roof, when the property at the end of the alleyway is vacant or purchased by the adjacent owner. (Figure 1-24) The networks of alleyways also connect patches of empty plots and gardens. Vacant plots are often used as gardens or social gathering spots for the neighboring residents. The custom of sharing crops with neighbors, or ‘next-door cousins,’ maintains frequent communications with each other and sustains a strong sense of community.\(^{38}\)

What is most noteworthy in the Dal-dong-ne’s’ historic urban landscape, rather than the architectural significance of individual houses, is the harmonious relationship between the houses, which is organized by networks of streets. These networks play a great part in shaping the social relationships of community units. As a matter of fact, it has been found that neighbors, who lived next to each other for decades, did not even know each other, because they had

\(^{38}\) 104 Maeul (2012), 177.
different access roads to their houses.\textsuperscript{39} Thus, social relationships can be mapped out by studying the town fabric and the spaces between the buildings. The spaces between the structures are more active and valuable parts of the community, because the townscape has been shaped by the life of residents. Dal-dong-ne’s narrow streets are “like ropes that closely tie the people together.”\textsuperscript{40}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{narrow_alleys.jpg}
\caption{Narrow alleyways.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{privatized_alleys.jpg}
\caption{A privatized alleyway leading to the back garden (left); view from the back garden with zucchini plants in the foreground (above).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{39} Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al. (2009), 131.

\textsuperscript{40} “Sweet Alleys,” an excerpt from exhibition panel at Sudoguksan Museum of Housing and Living (Museum of Dal-dong-ne).
**Socio-Cultural Significance of Dal-dong-ne’s**

Just as the poor physical conditions of the Dal-dong-ne’s belie the value of the townscape, the negative associations directed at the socially-marginalized population overshadow the social and cultural significance of these settlements. When the Seoul Metropolitan Government described Dal-dong-ne’s at the seventeenth Milano Triennial Exhibition in 1988, the city recognized Dal-dong-ne’s “socially healthy aspects and visionary spirit of the places.” However, the squatter settlements have more widely been considered “a dark spot in the generally bright picture of modernization” or “undesirable marginalities that deserve to be cleared away when circumstances become ripe.” The latter of the two contrasting views has had a prevailing impact on the nation’s planning policies, where Dal-dong-ne’s intrinsic values, such as their strong sense of community and their social function as the urban fringe, are depreciated to a great extent.

The severe conditions of the squatters strengthened their community bonds. During the early period of settlement, sharing information through social networks between neighbors was critical in satisfying the need for food, shelter, and job opportunities. Dal-dong-ne’s’ strong sense of community is a product of residents’ desire for survival and security, from which they were displaced, required in difficult geographical and economic conditions. Cooperation was the key in building the town as well. Streets were constructed in sequence by each resident connecting to the street created by their neighbors. In fact, research shows that the households in the lowest income bracket residing in hillside settlements require stronger social networks

---

42 Ibid., 60.
43 Byong Jip Moon, A Study on Villages in Korea (Joongang University, 1970), 24.
between neighbors than those living on flatland. For the most part, the Dal-dong-ne community still provides the sense of security based on a more traditional relationship between family and neighbors through various social interactions.

The early squatters were generally located according to their place of origin, that is, the place from which they were relocated. These groups, which also included newcomers, formed a number of smaller community units within a town, each developing a more concrete social bonding. Parallel to traditional farmers’ cooperative groups, to a certain degree, the members of these intimate community groups met on a regular basis and helped each other on special occasions. The fact that even the members who moved out of the town still remain in contact with these groups testifies to how a community’s social network and the sense of belonging extends beyond the physicality of a place. Therefore, displacement of the residents will result in “the loss of livelihood and the destruction of social networks, and have devastating psychological effects.”

---


45 Community groups can also be a fraternity for people from the same hometown (*hyang-woo-hoe*), and women’s group (*boo-nyuh-hoe*).

In addition, religious groups also existed in Dal-dong-ne’s. Many diverse religious buildings can be found in Baeksa-maeul, from Shamanist temples, Buddhist temples, to Christian churches. Without their signs or banners, it is often hard to distinguish the religious buildings from ordinary residential houses. (Figure 1-25) Many of these religious buildings are abandoned or presumably sold to property speculators. One can only imagine the need for spiritual comfort for the struggling lives of the squatters. Currently, active religious groups are closely connected to charity activities within the community. Religious organizations (and other non-profit charitable organizations) distribute food, clothes, and coal briquettes to Dal-dong-ne’s low-income community, acting as another type of social network between neighbors.

[Figure 1-25 Religious buildings in Baeksamaeul. Shaman temple, a Buddhist temple exterior and interior (top left to right); and churches (bottom).]

---


48 Coal briquettes have been primary fuel for Dal-dong-ne’s, because of their low cost.
The Dal-dong-ne’s’ virtues of strong vitality and cooperative spirit of the neighbors have been an inspiration to much literature and popular culture. (Figure 1-26) Representative of the culture of seo-min, or ‘common people, the self-generated fabric of,’ Dal-dong-ne’s’ are a part of collective memories – the way people lived, worked, and played – of not only their residents, but also of the public and the society at large. 49

(Figure 1-27) The towns acted as a bridge from rural towns to cities during the rapid urbanization process. Now, Dal-dong-ne’s present nostalgic values for older generations, while possessing a bequest value for future generations. At the same time, they are very much an integral part of the urban system that supports the socially-marginalized population. A large portion of Dal-dong-

---

49 Some even felt the need for researching the urban folklore of specific parts of the city, such as gol-mok’s and Dal-dong-ne’s. Hwanyoung Park, “Research Methods and Realm of Urban Folklore,” Journal of Korean Folklore 54 (November 2011): 156.
ne’s population, including the original settlers, tends to stay within the community for a long time. Although affordability is one of the main reasons for staying or moving into these towns, the strong sense of community based on social networks is an indispensable part of the towns. Indeed, many of residents choose to stay even if they can afford to move out, in order to remain within their long-time community, maintaining the traditional virtue of “next-door cousins.”

A journalist and author, Doug Saunders, describes squatter settlement as the ‘arrival city,’ where urban migrants or immigrants first settle, before they move on to the ‘established city.’ He deliberately removes the negative connotations in conventional terms, such as ‘slums,’ to direct our attention to their dynamic nature. What sustains these towns is the network of human relationships, which provide the foundation to entering into the city. Saunders further claims that these neighborhoods should be viewed as a set of functions, “rather than dismissing them as changeless entities or mere locations.”

The socio-cultural resources of Dal-dong-ne’s have long been underappreciated by previous planning policies, resulting in the ruthless destruction of communities’ self-generated physical, social, and economic fabric. Of course, it is natural for people to want to climb the social ladder and move on to the established city; it is the impetus of the daily activities of squatter settlements. However, the residents should not be forced out of their community or be deprived of their local identity by distorted perceptions of society in viewing them as a mere obstacle to development of the future. The cultural and social values

50 In Korea, “next-door cousin” (yi-oct sa-chon) is a common expression for calling one’s neighbors, demonstrating the strong bond between neighbors. 104 Maeul (2012), 174.


52 Ibid.
embedded in the historic urban fabric of Dal-dong-ne’s should be recognized and included as an integral and productive part of urban dynamics.
CHAPTER 2

Preservation in Korea

As previously discussed, the preservation of Dal-dong-ne’s’ values certainly bears significant social implications. Long-standing negative labels attached to Dal-dong-ne’s – as cancerous growths of urbanization, or symbols of poverty – and policies that further perpetuate such views have corrupted the positive social and cultural qualities of these communities. Because of these misleading perceptions, helping policymakers, the public, and even residents recognize Dal-dong-ne’s values as significant urban heritage has been, and still is, a long and difficult process. Moreover, because any attempts to redevelop these older neighborhoods entail improving the physical conditions of the structures and addressing the socioeconomic situations of the residents, the current preservation framework of heritage conservation is inadequate for the preservation of Dal-dong-ne’s.

Existing heritage-preservation policies in the country are not fully applicable in the case of Dal-dong-ne’s. The preservation effort to protect the country’s cultural and architectural heritage was institutionalized when the Cultural Heritage Protection Act was passed by the Korean Congress in 1962.\(^1\) The Cultural Heritage Protection Act defines cultural heritage (moon-hwa-jae) as a human or a natural creation that possesses historic, artistic, academic, or scenic value, which is significant at a national, ethnic, or international level.\(^2\) Managed by the

---

\(^1\) Prior to the 1962 Cultural Heritage Designation Law, Ordinances on Conservation of Joseon’s Treasure, Historical and Scenic Places and Natural Monuments (1933) was passed during the Japanese Colonial era. This ordinance was used even after the country’s independence (1945).

\(^2\) More exactly, Moon-hwa-jae literally means “cultural (Moon-hwa) asset (Jae),” Cultural Heritage Administration, Cultural Heritage Protection Act (Law No. 11228, amended 2012).
Cultural Heritage Administration, significant cultural heritage is registered under the *Cultural Heritage Designation Law* (CHDL) as ‘designated cultural properties.’\(^3\) The heritage law aims at preserving the original state of listed properties as much as possible. It also limits the use, scale, height, shape, and material of buildings within buffer zones around heritage sites by implementing zoning regulations, such as historic districts (*Yeoksamigwan-jigu*).\(^4\) Because the designation laws attempt to inhibit any changes to the historic fabric, the designated buildings and sites tend to be isolated from the rest of the city and transformed into open-air museums.

In an effort to protect the traditional Korean houses, known as *Hanok*, that are still occupied, specific regulatory measures were devised in 2002.\(^5\)

\(^3\) Designated cultural properties are largely categorized into four types: tangible heritage, intangible heritage, monuments, and folk cultures. They are designated at the national or local level. The cultural properties not listed in the categories mentioned above, can be designated as ‘heritage material’ by a local authority, if deemed necessary for the preservation of folk culture. *Cultural Heritage Protection Act*, art. 70-2 (Law No. 11228, amended 2012).

\(^4\) The buffer zone for nationally-designated properties is 500 meters. (*Cultural Heritage Protection Law*, art. 43.2) Under Seoul’s heritage protection ordinance, the buffer zone is 100 m for the properties under national designation and 50 m for local heritage. (*Seoul Cultural Heritage Protection Ordinance*, art.14.2)

\(^5\) The city’s effort to preserve Hanok’s dates back to the early 1980s, and mostly addresses restrictions to the alteration or demolition of Hanok’s. With the country’s economic development and changes in the public perceptions towards the importance of the city’s historic fabric, the recent policies support the preservation and conservation of Hanok’s and development of Hanok villages. Seoul History Compilation Committee, *Again, Telling the Story of Seoul’s Culture* (2011), 205.

Figure 2-1 Bukchon Hanok Village
Seoul adopted the *Hanok Ordinance* and Hanok Register System to preserve the aesthetics of traditional residential architecture and townscapes in the traditional Hanok villages in the center of the city, such as Bukchon Hanok Village.⁶ (Figure 2-1) Hanok residents can register their property on the Hanok Register System to receive tax incentives and financial support for repair expenses, under the condition that they follow the established design standards for Hanok.⁷ The *Hanok Ordinance* is similar to Neighborhood Conservation Districts in the United States, which protects the distinctive physical characters of residential neighborhoods. However, since the standards are quite detailed and only tailored to the traditional aesthetics of Hanok’s, the houses built in the vernacular tradition that do not follow the ‘traditional’ aesthetics of Hanok’s (particularly from the Joseon Dynasty) are overlooked by current policies. These lopsided heritage policies eradicate the diversity of vernacular architecture.

On the other hand, modern architecture in Korea was largely excluded from the early designation system.⁸ The protection of modern architecture was bolstered by the *Registered Cultural Properties System* (RCPS). Adopted in 2001, RCPS provides protections for properties that are fifty years or older which present historic or symbolic values in various areas, such as

---

⁶ Bukchon Hanok Village is a village composed of traditional Korean residential houses from the Joseon Dynasty. Located near the royal palace (Gyeongbokgung), the village was historically occupied by the royal families and nobility.


⁸ Modern architecture in Korea is generally considered the buildings built from the late nineteenth century, through the colonial era, until after the Korean War. A majority of buildings registered were constructed between the 1920s and 30s. The negative association with the Japanese colonial period has hindered the preservation of these cultural properties to a certain degree. Lee (2009), 68.
history, culture, art, society, economy, and human life. Complementary to the rather restrictive regulations of the Cultural Heritage Designation Law (CHDL), RCPS serves as an advisory tool that allows more flexible use of the properties to comply with the needs of the owner. Moreover, Seoul’s current ‘Future Heritage Project’ further promotes the preservation of the historic properties from the recent past. The Future Heritage Preservation Commission, which was appointed in October 2012, plans to select 1,000 future tangible and intangible heritage sites that have historic, cultural, and social significance and contributed to the city’s growth. Historic objects, buildings, and sites, including Dal-dong-ne’s, will be selected based on citizens’ suggestions.

However, due to the lack of sustainable management plans, many modern heritage sites have deteriorated or have been abandoned. The success of these heritage preservation projects hinges on building solid systematic foundations for preservation, adaptive use, and sustainable

---

9 A property built within the past 50 years can also be registered, if it requires immediate protection measures. Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, Regulations on Cultural Heritage Protection (Law No. 163, amended 2013).

10 Any alterations to more than a quarter of the registered property’s exterior, including changes in design, color, or material, should be reported to the local authority at least 30 days prior to the intended date of alteration. Cultural Heritage Protection Act, 53, Lee (2009), 80.


management for historic resources. Thus far, the heritage-preservation system in Korea, and many other countries, has yet to find a way to reconcile historic urban landscapes with development pressure in a sustainable manner. In the United States, the Neighborhood Conservation Districts (NCD) are adopted as a more localized preservation-planning strategy to protect “distinct physical character” of residential neighborhoods through the land-use and form-based regulations of local zoning ordinances. Often referred to as “Preservation-lite,” NCDs are less restrictive alternatives to historic districts, which have “expanded goals of preservation and keep the movement vital and dynamic.”

International efforts to reconcile the two seemingly conflicting ideals of the conservation of heritage and the dynamic nature of the cities also have been ongoing over the past few decades. The conservation approach to heritage sites as a static entity slowly changed from the 1970s and onwards. One of the most notable early efforts is the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, also known as the Washington Charter (1987), which emphasized the need to integrate urban conservation with socioeconomic development and planning policies. It was adopted in 1987 by the General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an advisory body to the World Heritage Convention. It complemented the Venice Charter, which provided the foundation for


international conservation efforts focused on the authenticity of historic fabric and the restoration of individual monuments.\textsuperscript{16} The \textit{Washington Charter} also underlines the importance of community participation. In addition, other charters and conventions have been published and adopted for more environmentally- and socially-sustainable management of cultural heritage at the international, as well as local levels.\textsuperscript{17}

The Western concept of authenticity that relied on material integrity was further challenged by the \textit{Nara Document on Authenticity} in 1994. It expanded the “scope of cultural heritage concerns and interests in our contemporary world” demanding “respect for other


\textsuperscript{17} In 1983, ICOMOS Canada adopted the \textit{Appleton Charter for the Protection and Enhancement of the Built Environment}. In 1987, ICOMOS Brazil adopted the \textit{Charter about the Preservation and Revitalization of Historic Centres (Charter of Itaipava)}, which considered “the city in its totality [as] a historical entity.” The \textit{Charter of European Cities and Towns towards Sustainability (Aalborg Charter)} was adopted in 1994 in Aalborg (Sweden) at the European Conference on Sustainable Cities and Towns, concerning the environmentally-sustainable approach to urban management. In the same year of 1994, the \textit{Nara Document on Authenticity} called attention to different cultural values apart from Western-based frameworks. In 1999, the ICOMOS General Assembly adopted the \textit{Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage}, and \textit{International Charter on Cultural Tourism: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance}, in an attempt to devise successful protection and management of vernacular traditions of the local community. The same year, ICOMOS Australia revised the 1979 \textit{Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter)} as a local effort for conservation “based on the respect for the existing fabric, use, associations and meanings.” World Heritage Centre, \textit{World Heritage Series: Managing Historic Cities}, No. 27 (UNESCO, 2010), 106-109.
cultures and all aspects of their belief systems.” This concept became critical to heritage-conservation practice within distinct socio-cultural settings. Consequently, the concept of the ‘historic urban landscape’ began with the *Vienna Memorandum* in 2005. According to the *Memorandum*, the historic urban landscape (HUL), “constituting human settlements in an urban environment over a relevant period of time,” is significant in shaping modern society and offers us greater understanding of how we live today. The *Vienna Memorandum* instigated heritage professionals to attend to the need for more interdisciplinary strategies in a more global perspective, but it was also considered a Pandora’s Box, opening the way for new development in historic enclaves. Later that year, the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* was adopted at the General Conference of the UNESCO, which recognized the importance of the diversity of culture and traditional knowledge in sustainable development.

Furthering this notion, a series of meetings culminated in *The Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, which was officially adopted as a non-binding “soft-law” at

---


UNESCO’s General Conference in November 2011. The historic urban landscape extends beyond “historic center” or “ensemble” and encompasses “the broader urban context and its geographical setting” to promote the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces. Conservation, in this sense, is not merely a measure to preserve, but also to enhance the quality of human life, by providing the solid ground for changes. Implementing heritage conservation in wider urban planning and management policies requires active interdisciplinary participation from heritage, as well as planning experts in developing and adopting various tools to foster the collaboration of all stakeholders. Although the HUL approach toward historic resources is still in its infancy, it is a major step toward a sustainable framework for heritage management based on local and international cooperation, consolidating the enduring values of historic resources for future generations.

Nonetheless, expanding heritage framework to squatter settlements, such as Dal-dongne’s, poses further complications due to the physical, social, economic, and political circumstances of the informal settlements. First, the physical conditions of most houses in Dal-

---


23 Such tools include civic-engagement tools for a broad range of stakeholders; knowledge and planning tools for encompassing cultural and natural characteristics of the resource; regulatory systems for successful management based on its local conditions; and financial tools for economic sustainability. Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape. Managing Heritage in an Urban Century* (Chichester England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 146.

24 The positive implications of HUL have yet to overcome the concerns over the socio-political risks of applying
dong-ne’s do not meet standard living conditions. Improving the physical conditions means challenging the conventional notion of integrity. Also, the design standards for conserving or repairing informal vernacular houses have not yet been fully investigated and established in order to enhance living conditions, while preserving their inherent values at the same time.

Second, the long-standing and somewhat-misleading social and cultural stigma attached to Dal-dong-ne’s make it difficult for the residents, and even the citizens, to claim a local identity. Finding a way to redirect the negative perception linked to these towns will be difficult without the residents’, and even the citizens’ pride in their shared history. Lastly, the socioeconomic status of the residents is another obstacle to the preservation of Dal-dong-ne’s. The main reason for the failure of prior redevelopment attempts was the disregard for the welfare of marginalized groups that reside in the Dal-dong-ne’s, which lack a political voice. Thus, the place-based improvement projects of Dal-dong-ne’s require sustainable-planning strategies in order to enhance the socioeconomic and cultural capacity of these pre-existing neighborhoods.

The following chapters are dedicated to the investigation of preservation strategies applied to three case studies in Korea that attempt to resolve the aforementioned physical, cultural, and social dilemmas in preserving Dal-dong-ne’s’ values: the community-based improvement plan in Jangsu-maeul, Seoul; the cultural rebranding of Gamcheon-maeul, Busan; and the preservation combined with public-housing project in Baeks-maeul, Seoul. Each case

HUL approaches to squatter settlements. For instance, in a recent consultation meeting organized at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in December 2013, a proposal for developing a special research program on the application of the HUL approach to squatter settlements in developing countries (e.g. favelas in Brazil, bidonvilles in Africa, and slums in India) was not supported, mainly due to lack of understanding of concepts and potential benefits of HUL principles. Ron van Oers (Vice Director of World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for Asia and the Pacific), letter to author (April 17, 2014).
study will be examined in relation to preservation principles and management tools, in order to view them on the basis of heritage conservation. While more than one strategy is devised for each preservation plan, and different elements cannot be, or should not be, strictly separated, it is valuable to look at how each project balances different strategies according to the given physical, social, cultural, and economic conditions of these towns. By analyzing the cross-disciplinary strategies of these case studies, the following chapters will investigate how preservation of urban heritage can be effectively implemented to maintain urban identity and justly serve the residents.
PART II

Case studies
CHAPTER 3

Community-Based Development Plan:

Jangsu-maeul, Seoul

Bridging existing historic fabric with the dynamics of the rest of city is prompted not by the desire to conserve the physical integrity of the built environment, but by the need to improve living conditions of declining neighborhoods. Since the late 1990s in Korea, scholars and government officials have been in search for alternative development methods to counteract the repercussions of previous redevelopment schemes in urban communities. As a result, revitalization strategies for older neighborhoods based on community-driven improvement plans, such as town-regeneration movements and community-building movements (Maeul-mandeulgi), were implemented.\(^1\) Since 2006, when the central government launched pilot projects, the establishment of local ordinances has increased across Korea. This trend was bolstered by the recent establishment of policies, such as the Residential Environment Management Project and the Street Housing Rearrangement Project (2012), and local ordinances on community building. In December of 2013, the Town Regeneration Act was enacted in Korea to make amends for the lack of community involvement, exclusion of socially-marginalized groups, and loss of urban

\(^1\) Maeul-mandeulgi is translated into ‘town-making.’ Maeul Mandeulgi, or the community-building movements in Korea, are parallel to Japan’s ‘Machizukuri’ movement, which began in the 1980s. They also share similar principles with the New Urbanism movement in the US, in that they promote walkable and attractive residential development to create vibrant local communities. Woojong Lee, “Direction of Urban Regeneration in Korea after Urban Regeneration Act,” Urban Information Service (January 2014): 2; Joo-Hun Lee and Chan-Hwan Chae, “Promotion Plans for the Maeul-mandeulgi Supporting System in Korea,” Korean Institute of Rural Architecture 14 (February 2012): 29.
identity that the previous urban policies failed to address.\textsuperscript{2}

These urban policies recognize the preservation of the fabric of older neighborhoods as an essential aspect in sustaining community values and creating a narrative attached to the place, without physically and emotionally displacing long-time residents. The most essential factor of this marriage between urban planning and historic preservation is the active engagement of community in both the physical and social regeneration of the historic urban landscape. Manuel Castells argues in \textit{The City and the Grassroots}, “the new tendential urban meaning is the spatial and cultural separation of people from their product and from their history.”\textsuperscript{3} To this extent, the value of preservation relies on the capacity-building of communities in safeguarding of their traditions. Thus, sustainable planning for the historic urban landscape requires constant study and research of its physical, cultural, and social values. Planning strategies adopted in Jangsu-maeul in Seoul are a prime example of a redevelopment plan executed by community-led physical improvements that respects the layers of collective memory and social bonds developed over time.

**Background**

Jangsu-maeul, originally called Samseon-4-District, is located next to the Old City Wall. (Figure 3-1) An illegal settlement was formed in this area as early as the colonial period. However, it was after the Korean War that the town experienced its highest concentration of population by war refugees and urban migrants, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. Similar to

\textsuperscript{2} Lee (January 2014): 2.

other squatter towns, no two houses are identical, as they were constructed purely out of the individual residents’ needs, adapting to the topography and other existing conditions. In 1968, Samseon-4-District was identified as one of the Substandard Housing Redevelopment Districts. The illegal shanty houses (panjajib) and mud huts were repaired and infrastructure was installed as a part of government’s on-site housing-reform act. Most houses remaining today date back to this period.  

Sharing a similar fate with other Dal-dong-ne’s, a series of unsuccessful improvements plan adversely impacted Jangsu-maeul. During the 1980s and 90s, a number of attempts were made to legally register houses built on publically-owned lands. Beginning in 1994, the government started to charge land-use fees for houses constructed on public property. However, due to the financial situation of most residents, charges, long overdue, are still accumulating for a number of properties. In addition, the heritage-preservation regulations and plans for two historic landmarks at the periphery of Jangsu-maeul – the Old City Wall to the southwest and Joseon Dynasty’s Police Bureau (Samgunboo Chongmoodang, designated as a local historic landmark in 1979) to the east – further constrained productive development of the town. (Figure 3-2) For example, a number of houses located to the south of the Old City Wall were razed to make a way for Naksan Park and trails along the Wall from 2007 to 2009. Jangsu-maeul was also included in a Proposed Redevelopment Area in 2004. However, no practical plan was proposed due to  

---

4 Refer to Chapter 1.  
5 Among 167 houses in Jangsu-maeul, 101 houses (60.5%) were constructed 25 to 30 years ago, and 59 houses (35.3%) were built over 30 years ago. Seoul Metropolitan City, Comprehensive Plan for Preservation and Management of Jangsu-maeul’s History and Culture (Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul), Official Report No. 2013-191 (2013), 42.
planning limitations (e.g. height restrictions) associated with the historic landmarks and the relatively low economic profitability caused by these restrictions and various geographic disadvantages (e.g. the steep slope and the town’s orientation facing northeast). Furthermore, most of the land of the town is owned by the national and local governments; the complications with property rights and a large amount of overdue property-use charges on these public properties have further thwarted development plans.

The quest for a more sustainable community-led redevelopment plan began in 2008 by the Alternative Development Research Group, which consisted of various social and professionals groups, including architects and planners, the Korea Institute of Sustainable Society (KISS), Habitat Korea, and Korea Center for City and Environment Research (KOCER). A series of surveys, community meetings, presentations, and workshops were carried out to engage the community in the planning process. (Table 3-1) During this process, the name ‘Jangsu-maeul’ was selected by the residents wishing for longevity (Jangsu) of the community.

The Research Group closely examined three alternative development strategies: new construction of multi-unit dwellings; an onsite improvement plan based on a mixture of new construction and renovation; and an onsite improvement plan based on conservation and

---

6 The planning restrictions include height limitations and the minimum separation distance from the Old City Wall is 100 meters, and 50 meters from locally-designated heritage properties. Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al, Second Annual Report for Alternative Development Plan of Jangsu-maeul (Samsun-4-District) (2009), 38.

7 67.9% of the total lots in Jangsu-maeul are owned by the nation or the city. This constitutes 75.2% of the total area of the town. As of October 2012, 96 properties have overdue charges (on average, $21,000 per household). Seoul Metropolitan City, Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul (2013), 53.

8 Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al, Second Annual Report for Alternative Development Plan of Jangsu-maeul (Samsun-4-District) (2009), 16.
**Figure 3-1** Jangsu-maeul and the Old City Wall (July 2013).

**Figure 3-2** A newspaper article about the newly-created Samsun Park around Joseon Dynasty’s Police Bureau Samgunboo Chongmoodang (August 22, 1981) and Naksan Park (2002) (left); and a recent view of the park in relation to Jangsu-maeul (right).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Meeting Type</th>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 19, 2008</td>
<td>Community Workshop (CW)</td>
<td>Treasure hunt: dreaming of a livable neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2, 2008</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Significance of town-making and case study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 16, 2008</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Making a 'memory-map' and the planning strategy to make a livable town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 30, 2008</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>What is the suitable development method for the town?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 28, 2008</td>
<td>Community Presentation (CP)</td>
<td>Presenting the purpose of an alternative development plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 14, 2008</td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Reporting of alternative development activities and briefing on the primary master plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 8, 2009</td>
<td>Community General meeting (CM)</td>
<td>Organizing the Neighborhood Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 19, 2009</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Reviewing the terrace house type multi-unit dwelling structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 10, 2009</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Neighborhood Association member workshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 24, 2009</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Workshops for organization groups (government-owned land, private land, tenants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 27, 2009</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Reporting residential conditions and introducing other town-making cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Community Activity (CA)</td>
<td>Opening of the Community Art Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Investigating the condition of alleyways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Neighborhood active group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Distributing the vegetable garden-in-a-box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Co-op preparation meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Living Environment Improvement (EI)</td>
<td>Renovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Flea market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Building Pyeong-sang’s for town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Community School woodwork shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Constructing a neighborhood rest area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Neighborhood assembly meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Community School classes begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EI</td>
<td>Community meeting, Initiating &quot;It takes only 5 to transform a street&quot;, Dong-ne Moksu converted to a corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EI</td>
<td>Initiating Jangsu-maeul Comprehensive Plan/Opening of Community Café</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Town feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Movie night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Seoul city policy workshop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al. (2009), 16; Seoul Metropolitan City, Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul (2013), 32.
According to the report produced from these surveys, the latter method of improving structures within the existing historic fabric of the town was most suitable for Jangsu-maeul. The advantages of this approach include the reduction of initial costs of government aid for onsite renovation grants available for low-income households, not to mention the social and cultural benefits provided by the preservation of the historic urban landscape.

Policy: Community-Based Development Plan

Based on the Alternative Development Research Group’s effort, the Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul was established in May 2012. The main objective of Jangsu-maeul’s Comprehensive Plan is to create a pleasant community, where inhabitants can continue to live
with beloved neighbors.\textsuperscript{10} Here, residents’ collaborations in the maintenance activities of their town serve as a primary framework for sustainable management. Jangsu-maeul’s houses have been individually stabilized and repaired onsite. Structural elements of the houses, such as columns and walls, are kept as much as possible, not only to minimize the construction cost, but also to preserve the aesthetic and cultural values of the town’s fabric.

In Jangsu-maeul, a local social enterprise, known as \textit{Dong-ne Moksu}, plays the most active role in creating a community-building network.\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Dong-ne Moksu} is a community-based corporation providing repair and maintenance services for older houses in the town, with its profits invested back into town-improvement projects. It was officially incorporated as a community-based corporation in April 2012, setting a minimum investment amount of one dollar to encourage community participation.\textsuperscript{12} When hired by residents or a homeowner, \textit{Dong-ne Moksu} provides professional consultancy and assists them in receiving public funding.\textsuperscript{13} The corporation also educates residents and encourages self-maintenance of houses through community newsletters and community meetings. Working as ‘neighborhood experts’ and ‘community activists,’ \textit{Dong-ne Moksu} employs local residents in maintenance and construction work. It is a useful source of income for the senior, as well as low-income residents, who are

\textsuperscript{10} The word, ‘beloved,’ is used here as a loose translation of the notion of \textit{jeong} in Korea. \textit{Jeong} is the feeling of affection and attachment between family, friends, neighbors, and even strangers. \textit{Jeong} is considered a very important virtue in relationships between people in Korea.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Dong-ne Moksu} means ‘neighborhood (Dong-ne) carpenters (Moksu).’


\textsuperscript{13} Guga Urban Architecture works closely with \textit{Dong-ne Moksu} to provide consultations to local residents. During the construction period, the residents stay at temporary circulation houses. (See Figure 3-4)
major population groups in Jangsu-maeul.\textsuperscript{14} Moreover, Dong-ne Moksu purchases vacant houses and lots to convert them into community facilities. For instance, a community-reception room, called \textit{Maeul Sarang-bang}, and temporary circulation houses for residents to use during renovation period were created by renovating an existing house for community members to gather or entertain guests. In addition, a Community Café and Town Museum were also created by adaptive reuse of empty older houses, which are an additional source of income for the community.\textsuperscript{15} (Figure 3-4, 5)

In addition to the local group’s efforts, the changed attitude of the local government accelerated the execution of this alternative community-based town-regeneration project.\textsuperscript{16} As Seoul’s demonstration project for alternative development schemes, Jangsu-maeul’s improvement plan is largely supported by the local government.\textsuperscript{17} The physical conditions of the town were improved by the government’s intervention, which in turn further motivated the

\textsuperscript{14} The average age of Jangsu-maeul’s residents is 58.9 years, with 34.5\% of the population over 65 years old. This is considerably higher than the city’s average (10.0\%) and the local district’s average (11.2\%). Members of Dong-ne Moksu actually reside in or near the neighborhood, allowing them to work more closely with the residents. \textit{Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul}, 36.

\textsuperscript{15} Community members take turn in caretaking of the Town Museum, which is open on weekdays from 1:00 to 4:00 PM. The Town Museum has become the elderly women’s gathering spot, because the person who is in charge that day usually calls up her friends to spend time with her; this is reminiscent of the Daldongne’s social interactions. It is more evidence for the town’s strong sense of community.

\textsuperscript{16} The group’s report notes how the initial processes of the project suffered from the uncompromising attitude of the local district officials and discouraged community morale. Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al. (2009), 35.

\textsuperscript{17} More specifically, the Seoul Housing Policy Office in the Residential Environment Division of the Seoul Metropolitan Government is in charge of Jangsu-maeul’s comprehensive plan.
Figure 3-4 Community Café (Top); Maeul Sarang-bang (center); and a temporary circulation house for the community (bottom) were created by renovating vacant houses.
community’s participation. The infrastructure system, including district gas lines, was recently upgraded by the city. (Figure 3-6) Moreover, steps and ramps were repaired, and railings were installed in an attempt to overcome the typical geographical disadvantages of Dal-dong-ne’s. (Figure 3-7) In response to the efforts made for an alternative redevelopment plan, the town’s designation as Proposed Redevelopment Area was lifted, and Jangsu-maeul was officially rezoned in May 2013 to Type-1-Residential Area for low-rise residential neighborhoods.¹⁸

¹⁸ Maximum building coverage ratio in Type 1 Residential Area (R1) is 60%, and the FAR is between 100% and
Analysis

Jangsu-maeul’s new development paradigm encourages the residents, local group, and government to collaborate with the same objective of creating a livable environment founded upon the traditions and history of the town by the community members. It also strives to bring back the direct relationship between the built environment and the residents, by encouraging community participation in town-building activities. While it is still in its early stages, Jangsu-maeul has demonstrated the possibilities of a community-based gradual planning strategy for Dal-dong-ne’s based on community participation in the planning process, establishment of regulatory measures, and adaptive use of historic resources and engagement tools to serve the community, as well as visitors.

First of all, the extensive survey of the residents’ social patterns reflected in the built environment provided the basis for prioritizing the values of the community in Jangsu-maeul’s planning process. A series of community workshops, presentations, and activities not only encouraged the social interaction between residents, but also helped better understand their traditions and values through 200%.

Figure 3-8 Map of Jangsu-maeul indicating six different Gol-mok groups
communicating with them. For instance, for more efficient and sustainable management, the town was divided into six smaller community units, or gol-mok communities, by studying the spatial organizations of the street networks, which provided a foundation for social interactions between the residents. (Figure 3-8) The improvement plan that relies on strong community bonds between these ‘gol-mok neighbors’ became a powerful tool for preserving regional diversity of different areas, even within the town. Moreover, mapping out the town based on the physical/social relationship was also useful in finding physical indicators of traditions and collective memories manifested over time, such as community-gathering points and symbolic markers, like ‘Pointy Rock.’ (Figure 3-9) This ‘memory map’ of Jangsu-maeul’s residents demonstrates the effort to strategize a development plan based on the residents’ shared stories and memories of the town.\(^{19}\)

Incorporating the found narratives of the residents’ collective memory into town planning will allow the community’s heritage and local identity to better endure inevitable

\(^{19}\) *Second Annual Report for Alternative Development Plan of Jangsu-maeul*, 16.
changes. (Figure 3-10)

Second, regulatory and advisory measures, such as the *Comprehensive Plan* and the *District Unit Guidelines* for residents, were established to control the physical aspects of the historic urban landscape and to encourage community participation in town-regeneration efforts. For instance, the design guidelines in the *Comprehensive Plan* provide standards for the size, height, design, color, and material that harmonize with the Old City Wall. (Figure 3-11) In addition, the policies and regulations are devised to support the communities in resolving various socioeconomic complications of the Dal-dong-ne’s’ residents. Such measures will ultimately benefit the preservation of historic resources by resolving the social and economic problems that limit the community’s voluntary contributions. For example, the proposed *Resident’s*

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 3-11** A illustration showing the placement of a new wall to maintain the original lot line (left) and recommended color charts for roofs and walls (right).

---

20 The Resident Committee oversees the *Resident’s Agreement*, while Jangsu-maeul Steering Committee monitors the implementation of *Comprehensive Plan*. The Resident Committee is comprised of one or more chairmen, one manager, and at least six members who are representatives of owners and/or residents. The Jangsu-maeul Steering Committee is a group consisting of the representatives of Resident Committees, district officials, and other experts or professionals (i.e. community architects).
Agreement in Jangsu-maeul, is a formal contract between the neighbors to ensure that community rules, regarding the protection of cultural resources, are respected by the members. In addition to the conservation methods for the built environment, the Agreement addresses residents’ stability by preventing a sudden increase of rent or unexpected eviction. However, the current Comprehensive Plan barely discusses changes in the future population of the town.

Considering the average age of the community, the town’s major population group is expected to change. For a sustainable future, various community facilities should be created in order to serve diverse social and age groups, because attracting and securing new residents without raising the financial burdens of the tenants is a pressing issue for most Dal-dong-ne’s.

Lastly, adaptive reuse of existing structures and engagement tools provide social and economic opportunities for the residents and visitors. The communal spaces, such as Maeul Sarang-bang, and temporary circulation houses, encourage social interactions and reinforce the sense of community. In addition, although it is not concretely formulated as a formal tourist program, the Community Café and Town Museum currently serve as

![Figure 3-12 A scaled model of Jangsu-maeul (left) and a ‘period room’ with items donated by the residents (right) in the Town Museum.](image)

visitors’ facilities, where town guide maps and souvenirs are available.\textsuperscript{22} (Figure 3-12) Visitors are further engaged by the incorporation of interactive technology, called QR-code, used to communicate the historic, cultural, and social values of Jangsu-maeul. By using smart devices, visitors can see video clips that explain the local history, and listen to the stories of residents related to each location. (Figure 3-13) Nonetheless, Jangsu-maeul should fully incorporate the local historic landmarks (i.e. the Old City Wall) into the management plans of the town. For instance, tourist programs for these heritage sites can be more integrated with Jangsu-maeul’s visitor’s path.\textsuperscript{23} (Figure 3-14) More profound sustainable management of historic resources in Jangsu-maeul is necessary to create a pleasant living environment for the residents, while providing educational and ‘authentic’ experiences of the town for visitors.

In Jangsu-maeul, the preservation process in the town-building process is reinforced through the direct participation of the residents, and also through strengthening of social bonding, which was previously weakened. In the early stages of development, which Jangsu-maeul is

\textsuperscript{22} Presently, the Town Museum has a scaled model of Jangsu-maeul, along with items donated by the residents.

\textsuperscript{23} By the same token, Dong-ne Moksu is planning to expand Jangsu-maeul’s schemes to other towns along the Old City Wall. However, because Jangsu-maeul is a relatively small town with 167 houses (18,414 m\textsuperscript{2}), applying a similar strategy to larger sites will require more in-depth research and planning strategies. \textit{Residents’ Story of Jangsu-maeul} (Seoul Metropolitan City, 2013), 240.
currently in, physical town-improvement businesses should be prioritized to preserve the tangible and intangible assets of the town, without disturbing the inherent qualities of historic fabric. The heritage policies should not restrict, but instead incorporate the planning strategy in managing heritage sites. Moreover, the policy-makers should attend to the complex property rights issues in Jangsu-maeul. In the long run, the most effective way to safeguard the heritage is to further cultivate the opportunities created by community participation, guidelines, and engaging tools that help the community build stronger capacity to manage change.

Figure 3-14 The guide map of Jangsu-maeul with recommended paths around the town.
CHAPTER 4

Rebranding through Art and Culture:

Gamcheon-maeul, Busan

In addition to the shifts in the attitudes of government and professionals, the public began to identify the formerly underappreciated urban landscape of Dal-dong-ne’s as cultural heritage. In many cases in Korea, the public’s attention to the forgotten part of the city begins with an artistic splash on deteriorating houses of the historic urban landscape. Once a series of murals or artworks are installed and exposed to mass media, the neglected neighborhoods are transformed into popular “photo-ops” for visitors. It is an act of nostalgia for the older generations and of curiosity for the younger generations, who are used to Korea’s monotonous urban landscape dominated by concrete apartment buildings. In a way, the negative history of the Dal-dong-ne’s of the past half century has been painted over - literally and figuratively. Dal-dong-ne’s have moved from being an eyesore of urban blight to a place of memory.

The relationship between public art and public memory, as Dolores Hayden notes in The Power of Place, is inseparable.¹ Once artwork is removed from the neutral settings of museums and placed in a public space, it becomes a part of a much larger socio-cultural context. The audiences – both residents and visitors – also become active participants in the artwork, reflecting on their shared memories of the place. Here, public art is “an amalgamation of events – the physical appearance of a site, its history, the socioeconomic dimensions of the community, and the artist’s intervention.”² The capacity of art to stimulate emotions and senses beyond its

¹ Hayden (1997), 78.
physical existence can trigger collective memories embedded in a place for residents, as well as the public’s interest in the history of the place. The involvement of community members in this process creates an even stronger connection between the artwork and the place, and between the participants with shared experience.

Public art in Korea made great strides when the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism sponsored a series of public-art projects in neglected parts of cities around the country between 2006 and 2007. Referring back to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal Arts Programs, the Ministry’s public-art project, ‘Art in City,’ aimed to introduce art and culture to socially-marginalized communities, and to create more job opportunities for local artists. Over a two-year period and with a budget of $2.5 million (2.7 billion won), 31 place-based art projects in 27 neighborhoods were supported by the Art in City program, of which seven became known as

Figure 4-1 Students painting murals in Gaemi-maeul (August 29-30, 2009) (left); murals are found around Jangsu-maeul as well (right).

3 In Korea, the Culture and Arts Promotion Act of 1995 obligated the installation of public art for large-scale construction. It is similar to the ‘percent for art’ in the United States. The Percent for Art law is often included in a city ordinance in the United States, obligating one percent of the budget for city-funded projects to be spent on the installation of public art. New York City adopted the Percent for Art law in 1982.
‘mural towns.’ Since 2009, an annual public-art program, ‘Community Art Project,’ has been sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and supervised by the Community Art Project Committee and Korean Fine Arts Association. The Community Art Project builds upon the Art in City program, extending the realm of urban-art projects to urban-regeneration efforts, by means of artistic creativity that emphasize the historic and environmental characters of neighborhoods. Under the support of the government, together with local and private sponsors, an increasing number of neglected areas of cities and Dal-dong-ne’s were ‘converted’ and presented to the public as mural towns. As a result, the artistic transformation of Dal-dong-ne’s gives new identity to these marginalized towns. (Figure 4-1)

The artists and sponsors of these community-art projects primarily focus on introducing cultural elements – in the form of murals and art works – to physically- and socially-deteriorated parts of cities. For this reason, the motive for Dal-dong-ne art is different from the often politically- and socially-charged messages of graffiti. French-speaking countries use the term animation socio-culturelle for community art, and animateurs for community artists. These terms describe the role of artists in mobilizing community members to convey messages pertaining to their shared history through artworks. A community-art project, or ‘community cultural development,’ is geared toward enhancing a given community as a group, “so that issues

---


5 In 2009, the Community Art Project spent 2 billion won on 24 selected sites; 2.5 billion won (1.5 billion national funds and 1 billion local funds) on 15 sites in 2010; and 1.6 billion won on 11 sites. Yoonmi Cho, Analyzing Success of Mural Towns in Korea, (master’s thesis, Kyungwon University, 2011), 15.


7 Ibid., 117.
affecting individuals are always considered in relation to group awareness and group interests.”

The mural, known as the ‘Great Wall of Los Angeles,’ which was developed by Judith Baca, the founder of Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC), is a striking example of artwork created by community members from their own perspective. Beginning in 1974, the ‘Mural Makers,’ which consisted of 400 youth and their families of socially- and economically-diverse groups, painted the history of the region from the viewpoints of California’s minority groups and women “who were so invisible in conventional textbook accounts.”

A more recent, and perhaps more comparable example to Dal-dong-ne’s, is the favela painting project in Santa Marta Favela in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, which was designed by two Dutch artists, Jeroen Koolhaas and Dre Urhahn. (Figure 4-3) Favelas, usually located on

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 4-2** The Great Wall of Los Angeles by SPARC located in the Tujunga Wash (began in 1974 and continued until 1983).

---


10 The two artists were hired by the Coral, a paint manufacturing company in 2010, as part of a pilot project for the socio-environmental project, “Everything in Color for You (Tudo de cor para você).” “Tudo de cor para Rio de Janeiro – Santa Marta,” *Coral: Tudo de cor para você* (October 22, 2013), http://www.coral.com.br/tudodecorparavoce/category/tudo-de-cor-para-voce/rio-de-janeiro/ (accessed April 30, 2014).
hillsides like Dal-dong-ne’s, are dense residential areas for socially- and economically-marginalized groups. Started in 2005, the artists’ goal was to motivate the community “to transform their own communities into social art works of monumental size, to beautify and inspire, combat prejudice and attract positive attention, while offering opportunity and economic stimulus.”

Although the theme of the murals in Rio does not necessarily address the history of the place, the murals draw people’s attention to the otherwise unnoticed ‘ordinary’ urban landscape, and provide the grounds for community engagement in place-making.

Since the interpretation of art and its context is drawn from the collective memory of a given place, art can strengthen the link between the people who share memories and emotional bonds to that place. That is, by exploiting collective memory attached to the built environment, community-art projects can be adopted to address preservation issues. Thus, the introduction of artwork into specific places should not just be seen from an art-historical point of view as an evolution of artistic expression, but also from the socio-cultural, and even economic, point of view. This will allow us to examine the emerging role of art used as an urban-planning or economic-development tool in Gamcheon-maeul, Busan, where the strategy of art and culture is actively incorporated into the physical and social transformation of the town.

Figure 4.3 The favela-painting project in Santa Marta Favela in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.

Background

Busan, the second largest city in Korea, also experienced unprecedented transformation during and after the Korean War. Great influx of war refugees fleeing to the southern part of the country caused acute housing problems. (Figure 4-4) As a result, a large number of illegal squatter settlements occupied most of Busan’s hillsides.\(^\text{12}\) Gamcheon-maeul, also known as Taeguek-maeul, was formed by a group of religious followers of Taegeukdo in 1955. The

\[\text{Figure 4-4 Gamcheon-maeul, Saha-gu, Busan}\]

\(^{12}\) The geographic condition of Busan also contributed to the creation of Dal-dong-ne’s. Because over 70% of the city is covered with hills or mountains, war refugees and urban migrants had no choice but to settle on hillsides. In Busan, the term San-dong-ne is more frequently used.
followers, who were previously dispersed around the Bosu-dong area during the war, moved to the hills in the Gamcheon area along with their head office. It was shortly afterwards in 1954 that the city began to demolish illegal settlements in the central part of the city, holding them responsible for frequent fire accidents.\(^{13}\) Similar to relocated squatter settlements in Seoul, a plot of 12 to 21 m\(^2\) was distributed to the settlers. However, unlike the housing arranged by branch-like streets in other Dal-dong-ne’s, houses in Gamcheon are arranged in a series of rows that follow the topography of the hill. (Figure 4-5) Two fundamental principles were applied in this unique organizational strategy: first, no house should be taller than the one behind to avoid blocking its views; and second, all streets should be connected to allow continuous circulation.

Over time, the townscape evolved reflecting the residents’ needs, creating irregular organic patterns of

narrow alleyways resembling those in the self-generated fabric of other Dal-dong-ne’s.\textsuperscript{14} (Figure 4-6) In addition, a majority of the structures went through a series of alterations. For instance, the roofs were replaced from slightly pitched slate roofs in the 1960s to flat roofs in the 1980s. With the decline of the religious group, the younger population began to also decrease since the late 1980s, leaving behind only seniors and low-income households. Left neglected by the government for over 50 years, Gamcheon-maeul shares the same fate as other Dal-dong-ne’s around the country.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{Policy: From a Shantytown to Gamcheon Culture Village}

Gamcheon’s town-regeneration projects are largely based on two objectives: improvement of the living environment, and promotion of tourism for community art projects. The creative transformation of Gamcheon-maeul began in June of 2009, when an art project, entitled ‘Dreaming Machu Picchu in Busan,’ by a local art group, Art Factory, in Dadaepo was selected as one of the first national Community Art Projects. Ten artworks were installed around narrow streets of Gamcheon-maeul, four of which were created with community participation.\textsuperscript{(Figure 4-7)} The transformation of the onetime shantytown attracted a lot of attention from the local, as well as national press. With the success of this project, the Gamcheon Culture Village Committee was founded in February 2010, which consisted of five resident representatives, five


\textsuperscript{15} Because the Gamcheon area was designated as a Redevelopment District, no maintenance or major repair work was carried out until 2009.
Soon after its foundation, the committee proposed another community-art project, named ‘Miro Miro,’ to the Community Art Project, and was selected again.\(^{17}\)

Six abandoned houses were transformed into art galleries and studios (Vacant House Project), and streets were marked with small artworks to visually connect the narrow alleyways, in an effort to guide the way for the increased number of visitors (Gol-mok Project). (Figure 4-8)

Owing to its geographic location on a hill and rows of houses painted with pastel colored and murals, Gamcheon-maeul’s historic fabric creates a powerful visual impact. As a result, Gamcheon-maeul was able to completely rebrand itself as ‘Gamcheon Culture Village.’

In 2010, the local government began to invest more in improving the physical conditions of the town. The Saha District office budgeted approximately $7 million.

\(^{16}\) Lee and Lee (2012): 117.

\(^{17}\) \textit{Miro Miro} can be translated into ‘beautiful road’ (\textit{mireu}) ‘beautiful’ and ‘maze’ (\textit{mireu}).
(7.3 billion won) for the renovation of about 50 houses, installation of public restrooms and public-parking lots, and other public facilities, as part of the Creative City project for the city.\textsuperscript{18} The city of Busan has also supported Gamcheon-maeul through two community-improvement projects in 2011. At the same time, community-improvement projects aimed at enhancing living conditions for the residents by housing repair and renovation, as well as septic tanks’ replacement. Temporary housing for residents, whose houses are under construction, was also created by renovating vacant houses around the town. Furthermore, since 2012, Gamcheon was included as a part of the city’s ‘Sanbok-doro Renaissance,’ which supported urban-regeneration movements around hillside-road systems (\textit{Sanbok-doro}) in Busan. The project further supported tourist amenities in Gamcheon-maeul, such as the Small Museum, visitors’ “photo-op” spots, shops, and restaurants.\textsuperscript{19} (Figure 4-9) The community’s historic landmarks, such as abandoned communal wells, were restored, as an effort to build upon the

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure4-9.png}
\caption{One of newly-constructed community businesses built in a similar scale to conform with its context.}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{19} The hillside road system (\textit{Sanbok-doro}) is a major connection system between residential areas around hillsides in Busan (located 70 meters or more above sea level). Sanbok-doro Renaissance (2011-2020) aims at revitalizing the areas around the hillside roads by introducing new transportation systems, and other various strategies to revitalize marginalized communities. The Gamcheon area was included in the second stage of the project between 2012 and 2013. Busan Metropolitan City, (last updated on February 11, 2014), http://www.busan.go.kr/03administration/0302project/08_02_03.jsp (accessed February 21, 2014).
narratives of the historic urban landscape. Currently, the residents of Gamcheon-maeul collaborate in management of the town through the Gamcheon Culture Village Community Council, which consists of the Home Repair Group, Volunteer Group (e.g. tourist guides), Community Business Group, and Community Promotion Group (e.g. community reporters). (Figure 4-10) The Creative City Planning Committee also works toward revitalizing Gamcheon-maeul, as part of the city’s Sanbok-doro Renaissance. Between the local government and the community, the local district office established the Gamcheon-2-dong Resident Committee to mediate the community’s opinions and the citywide-planning policies.\textsuperscript{20} The population-decrease rate has been declining since 2009, owing to the continuous support from the city and local groups.\textsuperscript{21}

With its newly found identity, Gamcheon Culture Village has also gained international recognition for its “artistic rebirth.”\textsuperscript{22} As a result, the number of tourists increased from 30,000 in 2011, 

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure4-10.jpg}
\caption{Gamcheon Culture Village Community Council, which consists of the Home Repair Group (top left right), Volunteer Group of tourist guides, and Community Business Group (bottom left to right).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{20} Its head has been a Gamcheon-maeul’s resident for 30 years. Kim, (2012), 101.

\textsuperscript{21} Young-Jae Paik et al., Story of Gamcheon Culture Village (Busan, 2011), 12.

to 100,000 in 2012, to more than 300,000 in 2013, out of which 31,000 (10%) were from foreign countries.\(^{23}\) UNESCO international workshops were held in 2011 and 2012, where young international students participated in a series of activities to promote Gamcheon Culture Village and interact with residents.\(^{24}\) (Figure 4-11) In addition, the city pushed forward international collaboration with local authorities of Haikou-shi and Hengshui-shi in China (2012, 2013), and Nishinoomote-shi, Japan (2011, 2012).\(^{25}\)

**Analysis**

In Gamcheon-maeul, two major facets of art further emphasize the importance of preservation of the built environment. The first is the intrinsic narrative quality of art as a


\(^{24}\) UNESCO International Workcamp is an annual international youth program conducted by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO (KNCU) from 1966 to present, encouraging youth participation in Education for Sustainable Development. Korean National Commission for UNESCO, *Report of the 2012 UNESCO International Workshop: Republic of Korea* (2012), 81. http://www.unesco.or.kr/upload/data_center/2012%20%EC%9B%8C%ED%81%AC%EC%BA%A0%ED%94%84%20%EB%B3%B4%EA%B3%A0%EC%84%9C.pdf.

\(^{25}\) Busan Metropolitan City, (last updated on February 11, 2014) http://www.busan.go.kr/03administration/0302project/08_02_06.jsp (accessed February 21, 2014).
medium of memory, and thus history; the second is the more extrinsic aspect of art as a commodity and industry. For the former aspect, the self-generated pattern of the townscape is a powerful narrative tool; for the latter, the setting of Gamcheon-maeul on a hillside, where the facades of each row of houses are lower than the one behind, acts as a billboard and has been advantageous in ‘branding’ the town. Both aspects of art can be successfully adopted in preservation only when the physical environment of the townscape is carefully analyzed and maintained. However, the current policies in Gamcheon-maeul tend to fixate on the latter aspect of art as a commodity, which threatens the physical and narrative values of the heritage.

Whereas Jangu-maeul’s regeneration plan was oriented toward enhancing living quality of its residents, Gamcheon-maeul’s artistic intervention revolves around tourism. The unique historic, cultural, and natural context of Gamcheon-maeul, accentuated by colorful overlays of artworks, captivated many visitors. Indeed, the underappreciated neighborhood was reborn as a popular tourist venue. The public was fascinated by the almost exotic view of the urban landscape, while nostalgic memories of older generations and former residents were triggered. The active engagement of community representatives, artist groups, and local government manages the constant changes of the town. However, as the new identity of Culture Village rapidly grows in popularity, the inherent values of the historic urban landscape begin to suffer without a concrete management framework built upon a deeper understanding of the historic

26 Gamcheon-maeul is often described as the Machu Picchu (after the title of the first Community Art Project), or Santorini of Korea. During my site visit, a number of visitors were reminiscing about their past, when they were living in the area, and surprised by the dramatic transformation of the once-blighted neighborhood. Robert Koehler, “Santorini on the South Sea,” Korea Tourism Organization (July 7, 2010), http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_6.jsp?cid=1056152 (accessed January 30, 2014)
resource. A successful management plan for Gamcheon-maeul requires consideration for the physical maintenance of historic resources and artworks, coherent narrative, and a balanced relationship between residents, artists, and visitors.

First of all, the physical integrity of the built environment should be properly managed, since it contains the social and cultural values of the community. Like other Dal-dong-ne’s, conventional conservation of physical integrity cannot be applied here. Rather, what should be preserved are the physical qualities of the historic urban landscape that help maintain the social and cultural values of the community as determined through extensive research. The degree of local residents’ involvement in town-building activities has been considered the measure of a mural town’s success, because residents’ participation contributes to maintaining local identity and builds solid ground for a renewed one. Moreover, the maintenance of artworks should also be included in the management plan. Keeping in mind that Gamcheon-maeul is still largely populated by marginalized groups, introducing art can be just another burden for them to carry, who cannot even afford to maintain their own houses.

Second, the narratives of the artworks should be carefully coordinated with the historic urban landscape of Gamcheon-maeul. Many murals and artworks are rather alienated from Gamcheon’s heritage. (Figure 4-12) Whereas every artwork and mural does not necessarily have to be directly related to the town’s history, they have to create a cohesive narrative that heightens the town’s unique culture and history. The discord between artworks and the narrative of historic fabric often deter visitors from experiencing the inherent qualities of the urban landscape, which is “a repository of environmental memory far richer than any verbal codes.”


two community-art projects, ‘Dreaming Machu Picchu’ and ‘Miro Miro,’ relied partially on the participation of the residents, they were not based on a thorough survey or documentation of the historic urban landscape. In addition, suggested tourist routes contain the community’s historic markers, such as the old communal wells and the guardian tree of the town, as well as the Gamnae Community Center’s uses of the old bathhouse, but there is not enough connection to the overall community-development plan.29

29 Gamnae is the old name for Gamcheon.

Figure 4-12 “Photo-op” spots with European scenery in Gamcheon-maeul contrast with its historic urban fabric.

Figure 4-13 The sculptures recreate the scenes of the old bathhouse, which has been converted into the Village Community Center.
Moreover, the separation between the old and the new still prevails throughout Gamcheon-maeul. The original settlers, the religious group, are often not actively involved in the creative redevelopment process. Also, the head office of Taeguekdo is, perhaps intentionally, isolated from the rest of the tourist-oriented setting of Gamcheon Culture Village. This creates an uncomfortable tension between the new wave of ‘culture’ and dwindling past. The new layer of creativity is certainly necessary, perhaps to counteract the negative association attached to Dal-dong-ne’s. Yet the integration of the townscape and artworks should enhance the qualities of the historic urban landscape without making it a mere backdrop.

Figure 4-14 View of Gamcheon-maeul toward the sea. Notice that the head office of Taegeukdo, which was expanded over time; and the tall apartment buildings at the town boundary.

30 During my site visits, although elderly residents were usually friendly to visitors, they did not feel that the booming tourism industry in the town benefitted them.

31 On similar note, in July 2010, Bukjeong-gil, a town next to the Old City Wall near Jangsu-maeul, was selected by Sungbuk District as the next mural project sponsored by a private construction company (Kumho E&C). The project was stopped by the residents, who resisted the concept of the mural project as a ‘Story Town,’ which featured foreign characters, such as the Simpsons or Nemo.
Finally, cultural development should not solely focus on tourism, but also on improving the lives of residents. As tourism drives economic growth of the town, most, if not all projects in the Gamcheon Culture Village exist with tourism as an ultimate goal. Most of Gamcheon-maeul’s engagement tools aim at attracting this third group, tourists. Museums and galleries are located throughout the town, along with observation decks and photo-op spots, where the visual experience of the townscape is highlighted. (Figure 4-15) Interactive-engagement tools for tourists include visitor stamps, digital kiosks, and applications for smart devices, which teach the town’s history and provide other tourist information. (Figure 4-16) However, the need for tourist amenities often conflicts with the conservation of the historic landscape. In this sense, the forces of tourism can be as threatening as any other redevelopment method. For instance, a two-story steel-frame public-parking structure was recently completed near Gamcheon-maeul to resolve parking issues in the town.32 (Figure 4-17) Also, with the

increasing number of tourists, the city of Busan recently passed a local variance to legalize guesthouses for local travelers. Excessive propensity toward tourism not only destroys the physical fabric of the town, but also disrupts the lives of the residents, threatening the very value of the historic resource that needs to be preserved. To that end, adequate regulatory measures for tourism should be implemented to protect the daily lives of the inhabitants. (Figure 4-18)

While Gamcheon-maeul was successful in reinventing its identity utilizing its historic resource, a better framework should be devised based on a comprehensive understanding of the historic, cultural, and natural heritage of the urban space for more sustainable planning and management. Also, more careful implementation of policies is required to manage the adverse effects of tourism. Without regulatory tools to protect the historic urban

---
33 Under the current Tourism Promotion Act, only temporary accommodations (unregistered guesthouses) for foreign visitors were allowed to provide opportunities to experience local traditions. Beginning in June 2014, Korean visitors will be allowed to stay in guesthouses managed by the Community Business Groups in areas designated as Town Regeneration Districts. “Ordinance for Urban Guesthouses for Local Residents,” Creative City Planning Division, Busan Metropolitan City (February 20, 2014) http://www.busan.go.kr/department/sub/04_01.jsp.
landscape from the impacts of profit-driven decisions, Gamcheon-maeul will not be able to sustain its social and cultural values, and only result in the “Disney-fication” of heritage.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{34} Bandarin and Van Oers (2012), 96.
CHAPTER 5

Preservation Combined-Redevelopment Plan:

Baeksa-maeul, Seoul

One of the most complicated and unavoidable issues in preserving the historic urban landscape of Dal-dong-ne’s is securing social justice for their residents. After the war, Korea’s policies for informal housing and poverty were to foster economic growth, so that their condition could be improved by the wealth of the country. Nevertheless, even with the country’s burgeoning economy, its housing policy has been predominately profit-driven without consideration for the needs of socially- and economically-vulnerable neighborhoods like Dal-dong-ne’s. The government’s strategy of supplying a standardized type of house – that is, apartment units – has not embraced the marginalized communities, but rather displaced them and stripped away their identity. The fundamental principle behind the urban-regeneration and community-building movements should be the restoration of the diminishing local identities of different neighborhoods.

The involvement of historic preservation in addressing the poor has been primarily through affordable housing. In the United States, for instance, Pittsburgh’s Manchester Citizens Corporation and Cincinnati’s Mt. Auburn Good Housing Foundation were some of the first grassroots community-based organizations to integrate preservation into neighborhood improvement by rehabilitating historic properties to provide affordable housing for low-income, minority groups in the 1970s.¹ Also in the 1980s, Charleston adopted “conservation-conscious

¹ Mt. Auburn Good Housing Foundation (MAGHF) is a nonprofit low-income housing developer whose primary goals are: attaining communal ownership of property; affordable housing for existing residents; and maintaining the historic fabric of the neighborhood. On the other hand, Manchester Citizens Corporation (MCC) had initially
development policies” for the city’s minority groups through ‘scattered-site public housing’ projects. Consequently, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, an independent federal agency, adopted the Policy Statement on Affordable Housing and Historic Preservation in 1995, which was revised in 2006. It provides guidelines for rehabilitation of historic properties as affordable housing for low-income families to achieve “the dual goals of providing affordable housing and preserving historic properties.” The policy encourages the rehabilitation of historic property for low-income families through the Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credit and the Low-Income Housing Tax. In many cases, however, historic preservation is placed in opposition to urban development, and progress itself.

Recent efforts of international institutions, such as the World Bank, address the issues of socially- and economically-marginalized communities through incorporation of new urban strategies and heritage policies. The World Bank has called attention to the economic potential opposed the concept of preservation until witnessing the success of MAGHF, which then changed MCC’s focus toward preservation and rehabilitation. Although the degree of success varies, MAGHF and MCC are considered the “innovative leaders in demonstrating preservation’s positive role in low-income areas.” Stephanie R. Rybert, “Preservation at the Grassroots: Pittsburgh’s Manchester and Cincinnati’s Mt. Auburn Neighborhoods,” Journal of Planning History 10. 2 (2001): 139-163.

The scattered-site housing projects in Charleston placed publicly-assisted housing throughout the city in the form of “simple contemporary renditions” of the ‘Charleston single house’ to maintain the historic character of its neighborhoods by often replacing “intrusive contemporary structures.” The strategy of ‘scattering’ public housing also addressed the social issues engendered by clustering public housing together. Anthony M. Tung, Preserving the World’s Great Cities (New York: Clarkson Potter, 2001), 420.


of tangible and intangible heritage assets of minority groups, through sustainable-tourism development.\textsuperscript{5} It also promotes the productive reuse of brownfield redevelopment and urban revitalization.\textsuperscript{6} In a like manner, pro-poor policies are being fused into general urban planning. However, the role of heritage conservation in the process is still very limited, because the existing policies or regulatory measures in preservationists’ toolkit do not provide the same degree of security for the social and cultural sustainability of communities, than they do for the architectural integrity of historic properties. Sustainable management of communities is dependent on the “conscious effort to draw out public memory suggest[ing] new processes for developing projects.”\textsuperscript{7} Likewise, the preservation-conscious development plans, like the ongoing urban-regeneration project in Baeksa-maeul in Seoul, require preservationists’ views in valorizing and managing the significance of the historic urban landscape.

**Background**

Baeksa-maeul is often described as the last Dal-dong-ne in Seoul.\textsuperscript{8} The town was formed in 1967 by the government relocation of 1,135 families to the hillside on Buram Mountain,  

\textsuperscript{5} Heritage as ‘assets’ is the concept used by the World Bank, because the lending projects “typically involve investment in capital facilities that are expected to be long lasting and to yield a rate of return over time.” David Throsby, “Heritage Economics: A Conceptual Framework,” *The Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2012), 47.

\textsuperscript{6} The World Bank (2009), 12.

\textsuperscript{7} Hayden (1997), 45.

\textsuperscript{8} Since few Dal-dong-ne’s left are larger than 200,000 m\textsuperscript{2}, Baeksa-maeul is considered one of the last remaining Dal-dong-ne’s in Seoul. Also, the number, 104, is pronounced *baek-sa* in Korean. Baeksa-maeul, was named after the address of the government-owned mountain no. 104. Jang (2012), 3.
which is located at the very edge of Seoul’s boundary.\(^9\) (Figure 5-1) Like other relocation settlements, the squatters suffered from lack of adequate infrastructure and poor-quality construction. However, the structures evolved into self-generated urban fabric based on the social networks of community and the strong social bonds between the residents. As discussed earlier, the life of ‘common people’ in the 1960s and 1970s is well expressed in the organic patterns of streets and modest scale of houses that allow intimate relationships between residents, and direct connection to nature.

The historic urban landscape of Baeksa-maeul was left intact, since development in the area was limited until the late 2000s.\(^10\) In May 2009, responding to the need to improve the area, Baeksa-maeul was designated a Residential Redevelopment District. A year later, the plan to construct 42 buildings of six- to 20-story apartment buildings with 2,758 individual units was

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure5-1.png}
\caption{Baeksa-maeul, Joonggye-bon-dong, Seoul.}
\end{figure}

\(^9\) The current Nowon-gu area (Baeksa-maeul’s local district) was incorporated into Seoul in 1963. Many refugees were removed from Panjachons in the central part of the city, when the government initiated the construction of elevated expressway above Cheonggye Stream. \textit{104 Maeul} (2012), 177.

\(^10\) The area was designated as protection zone for military installations from 1969 until September 2000, and also as a Limited Development District since 1971 until 2008. \textit{104 Maeul} (2012), 64.
selected.\(^{11}\) (Figure 5-2) However in 2011, the need to preserve the historic values of Baeksa-maeul began to be recognized by the scholars, the public, and eventually, the city.\(^{12}\) In September 2011, the preservation-combined plan was presented to residents, where a part of Baeksa-maeul is preserved for the current residents, to which 75.8% of property owners agreed.\(^{13}\) Two months later, the plan was brought to a halt, due to conflict of interests amongst the community board. As a consequence of frequent delays and constant conflicts regarding property rights, the residents’ morale suffered.

On the other hand, the public interest toward Baeksa-maeul’s historic urban fabric has grown. A documentary focusing on the lives of the residents was aired on television in the beginning of 2011, and a series of exhibitions and tours were organized by the government and local groups, which attracted a lot of public attention about the ‘unusual’ scene of the other side of life in Seoul. (Figure 5-3) In 2010, Seoul commissioned a full survey of the historic urban fabric.

\(^{11}\) Due to the financial situation of the Korea National Housing Corporation, which undertook the project, the project was delayed. At this time, Korea National Housing Corporation and Korea Land Corporation were merged into the Korea Land & Housing Corporation (LH). Jong-il Park, “Last Dal-dong-ne, Joonggye-bondong 104-maeul Redevelopment Plan ‘Rebounded,’” Asia Economics (May 31, 2010), http://www.asiae.co.kr/news/view.htm?idxno=2010053020561802142.

\(^{12}\) It was suggested by the Housing Department in the city government. 104 Maeul (2012), 79.

\(^{13}\) Joonggye-bondong Housing Redevelopment Residents Committee (September 2011), http://www.joonggye104.co.kr/?go=main.
landscape of Baeksa-maeul to document the history, physical and socio-cultural characteristics of the squatter settlement, and the story of the residents.\textsuperscript{14} The frequent media exposure raised awareness for the preservation of the historic urban settlement. In addition, a local non-profit organization, called Nowon Culture Center, led a guided tour as part of Seoul’s Neighborhood Tourism Development Program in November 2013. A series of murals depicting the brief history of the town were created along the main street as a part of the guided-tour program.\textsuperscript{15} (Figure 5-4, 5) More than 500 people participated in 15 guided tours to experience the unusual townscape in Seoul.\textsuperscript{16} Until 2010, the public’s attention to Baeksa-maeul, if any, mainly concentrated on the charitable works for the senior and low-income residents.\textsuperscript{17} (Figure 5-6) However, the Dal-dong-ne’s’ diminishing historic urban landscapes has triggered nostalgic sensibility for older generations, while provoking future nostalgia of the younger generations for what soon will be

\textsuperscript{14} The Seoul Museum of History surveyed and documented not only the redevelopment sites, but also commercial areas, such as Dongdaemun Market, Myoungdong, Itaewon, etc. 104 Maeul (2012), 13; Chulwon Kang, “Documenting Golmok Stolen by New Town: Published by Seoul Museum of History,” Hankook Ilbo (February 28, 2010), http://news.hankooki.com/lpage/society/201002/h20100222817080984110.htm.

\textsuperscript{15} Students at Seoul Arts High School volunteered to paint murals first in June, and then in October for the neighborhood tourist program. The murals on town history were painted in October. Here, the attempt to ‘beautify’ the town with murals and artworks can be witnessed.

\textsuperscript{16} Conversation with Eui-Kyung Lee, the manager at Nowon Cultural Center (December 30, 2013).

\textsuperscript{17} Several charity and volunteer groups are located in Baeksa-maeul, including a Yeontan Bank that distributes coal briquettes to residents; a senior welfare-service institute that offers free lunches to elderly residents; and a social enterprise that hires North Korean refugees. 104 Maeul (2012), 226.
A documentary, entitled “-18℃, Temperature of Hearts: Joonggye-dong Baeksa-maeul,” which depicted the lives of Baeksa-maeul’s residents.

A series of murals describing a brief history of the town, although not all murals have a cohesive narrative.
lost. Indeed, the public perception about Dal-dong-ne’s is changing from places of poverty and degeneration to areas of built cultural heritage that need to be saved.

Nonetheless, the preservation of Dal-dong-ne’s cannot be achieved solely based on nostalgic values. It is fraught with much more complicated issues, such as poor physical conditions, relatively low statistics on economic efficiency, and the discouraged morale of community members, caused by the constant delay of the redevelopment plan. Increasing numbers of absentee owners has aggravated the physical conditions of houses. Residents have to endure harsh living conditions, because of their limited means to make any improvements.\(^\text{18}\) In quantitative terms, the economic efficiency of renovation and rehabilitation of aged houses is not higher than new construction of high-density apartment buildings.

However, the cultural and social values of Dal-dong-

---

\(^\text{18}\) Among the 1,369 registered property owners, approximately 80% do not live in the neighborhood. The houses are occupied by tenants, who are mostly seniors and low-income residents. In some cases, tenants do not even know who the owner is. Because of their low rental costs, some tenants hesitate to ask their owner for maintenance of their house for the fear of being evicted. *104 Maeul* (2012), 79, 227.
ne’s’ historic and socio-cultural footprint are immeasurable. Struggling to find a solution, the city has decided to adopt a new redevelopment strategy that integrates a ‘preservation’ approach into the redevelopment scheme for Baeksma-maeul. Although it is hard to predict an actual outcome of the city’s plan, it is worth studying the methods and tools adopted in the planning of this new paradigm.

**Policy: Public Housing in the Residential Preservation Area**

In May 2012, Seoul announced that the city will adopt an alternative urban-planning method in Baeksma-maeul that will break away from the conventional redevelopment method of standardized apartment units. According to the proposed plan, 42,733 m² of the entire 188,900 m² of the Redevelopment District will be preserved as affordable housing in the ‘Low-Rise Residential Preservation Area (RPA),’ and the rest of the site will be occupied by multi-unit apartment buildings. (Figure 5-7) The new urban strategy combines the social and cultural

![Figure 5-7 Rendering of the proposed Redevelopment Plan of Baeksma-maeul.](image-url)
benefits of preservation and management of the historic landscape, while benefitting from the economic efficiency of multiple-housing units at the same time. The city also noted that the streets and plot lines will be preserved by following the UNESCO’s principle of preserving the historic urban landscape, which states that “when it is necessary to construct new buildings or adapt existing ones, the existing spatial layout should be respected, especially in terms of scale and lot size.” In September 2013, three architecture firms were commissioned for renovation and reconstruction of the ‘preservation zone.’ Twelve architects are each responsible for planning and designing different parts of the town according to the design code. The final designs will be submitted by October 2014, for construction scheduled to be completed in 2016.

19 The city’s statement can be directly translated as: “In the preservation zone of the Low-Rise Residential Preservation Area, diverse types of public housing will be provided through remodeling or reconstructing, while maintaining the existing topography, streets, and lot line; according to UNESCO's historic town preservation principles.” The city has confirmed that the ‘UNESCO principles’ refers to the principles presented in the Washington Charter (1987). Housing Regeneration Division, “Seoul Marks a New Turning Point in 40-Year Redevelopment History: designated low-rise residential preservation area within Baeksa-maeul’s redevelopment zone,” Seoul Metropolitan Government press release (May. 3, 2012); ICOMOS, Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter - 1987). Email correspondence with the city official from Housing Regeneration Division (March 7, 2014).

20 Seoul adopted the Master Architect (MA) method, where a selected architect oversees the project, including establishing design codes. The architect, Seung H-Sang, was selected as the MA for Baeksma-maeul project. He emphasizes the importance of ‘the fingerprints of a place.’ Jongup Yim, “Baeksma-maeul’s ‘Traceable’ Architectural Experiment,” Hangyeoreh News (January 22, 2014), http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/culture_general/620949.html.
Baeksa-maeul’s preservation-conscious redevelopment plan addresses two main issues: preserving the self-generated patterns of the existing historic urban landscape; and sustaining a stable community through resettlement of residents by constructing a new type of rental housing.\(^\text{21}\) Nevertheless, the plan does not follow the conventional approach to conservation. To preservationists’ surprise (or despair), the recently published *Project Report* states that all houses will be demolished and reconstructed, except for a few that will be preserved and renovated.\(^\text{22}\) The existing topography, street patterns, and plotlines will be maintained by the newly-built houses that ‘respect’ the cultural values of the historic settlement.\(^\text{23}\) (Figure 5-8, 9) The designs of each architect in the RPA will follow the master plan,

\textbf{Figure 5-8} Plan of Baeksa-maeul with the zoning regulation overlaid onto the current town fabric. A strip of green open space (green) is located between the Residential Preservation Area (olive, Type-1-Residential Area) and apartment complex in Type-2-Residential Area (yellow).


\(^{22}\) Although the plan may change during the design process, five existing houses are scheduled to be renovated to be used as a gallery, town library, community lounge, communal laundry facility, and urban-agricultural center. Email correspondence with the city official from Housing Regeneration Division (March 6, 2014).

\(^{23}\) 615 to 661 families will be relocated into 380 houses constructed on existing lots. Currently, 464 households reside in 354 houses. The new rental housing will have a common bathroom, kitchen, and living room in each house. By sharing 20\% common space, this new type of rental housing maximizes the use of allowable floor-to-area ratio,
which establishes the guidelines for circulation patterns, design standards, and materials. (Figure 5-10) In addition, the local commercial area, which will be located near the entrance of the town following the historic pattern, is also planned to be revived, in order to revitalize the vibrancy of the community. (Figure 5-11)

Understanding the role of the built environment in forming mutual relationships between neighbors, the preservation of some of the existing fabric will support the continuation of the community through the *Rental Housing Management Plan and Community Regeneration Plan*. 24

By the same token, the city attempts to avoid the displacement of increasing the number of units by 46 (from 615 to 661). Gyunghwan Bae, “Mayor Park to Build Large-scale ‘Sharing House’ Project in Dal-dong-ne,” *Asia Economics* (November 21, 2013)


24 The city is in the process of drafting the *Rental Housing Management Plan and Community Regeneration Plan*, *Project Report* (2014), 9.
tenants by rehabilitating the Residential Preservation Area (RPA) as rental housing (*Imdae Jootek*) for the current residents. According to the usual transactions for the public rental housing, the city acquires the property (building and land) from the developer after the buildings are constructed, and provides the units to the original tenants. However, in Baeksa-maeul’s case, the city purchases the land and (re)constructs the houses in the RPA, according to the preservation principles, to be rehabilitated by the residents and other applicants. To ensure the residents (renters) — including ones who reside in the area excluded from the RPA — are justly compensated, they can choose to stay in the houses in the RPA or other public housing in another part of the city of their choosing. Also, the city plans to offer the same opportunity to former Baeksa-maeul residents. Similar to Jangsu-maeul’s gol-mok communities, Baeksa-maeul will be divided into smaller community units to create physical and social intimacy between the community members.  

**Analysis**

Baeksa-maeul’s ambitious experiment to maintain the values of the historic layer of the

---

city in adopting changes raises a few questions. First, the question that surely will be lingering in preservationists’ minds – what is the acceptable limit of change in the ‘preservation’ of a Dal-dong-ne? In Baeksa-maeul, all old structures are virtually being demolished and reconstructed according to the architects’ new interpretation of historic resources, not to mention the large portion of the town surrendered to the conventional redevelopment method of the apartment-building complex. Again, the preservation-development plan does not satisfy Western standards of material integrity, especially in the American context.²⁶

In the architects’ defense, this new interpretation captures the very essence of the built environment that contributes to community values, which is confirmed by the extensive surveys and documentation of the existing historic urban landscape. In addition, the decision to preserve a portion of the town is perhaps to consolidate the dispersed community and vacant houses. For the architects of the Baeksa-maeul project, the alternative preservation-development plan links the economic advantages of dense multi-unit housing to the social benefits of the historic fabric of the town. This ‘amputation’ minimizes the risk of jeopardizing the historic urban landscape as a whole. In order for this to be truly successful, the roles of preservationists should be extended beyond the planning and design phase to ensure that the established values are appropriately safeguarded for the community and future generations.

Second, how is the community engaged in the process? Baeksa-maeul’s residents’ shared experiences were documented to help architects determine the significance of historic urban landscape to the community. Nonetheless, the town will be articulated through to the architects’ vision with the historic fabric as foundation. It is a bold decision on the city’s – and architects’ – part, which was led by the current circumstances of Baeksa-maeul, including the poor physical conditions.

conditions of existing houses, the lack of a leading voice within the community, and the high vacancy rate over a large area (20-30%). Granted that these factors prevent the incremental methodology, which was adopted in Jangsu-maeul, Baeksa-maeul should find a way to minimize the impact of this intervention on the residents.

In addition to the physical enhancement of the houses, the Rental Housing Management Plan and Community Regeneration Plan are also included in the community-regeneration plan. The management plan is to be established for management of the historic landscape, as well as revitalization of the community after the resettlement of residents. Communal facilities, such as a town museum and gallery spaces, will be created for the residents, and for possible public tourism. In terms of the management of tenants and the maintenance of houses, the city plans to draft a Resident’s Manual that will ensure sustainable management of the rehabilitated historic urban landscape and the community. Continuous involvement of a strong local group that will act as the bridge between the government and the community will be essential, in order to encourage active community engagement after resettlement.

Lastly, how will the proximity between the old and the new affect the communities at large? Indeed, it is a very interesting juxtaposition, where apartments that are representative of the city’s modernization and progress literally and figuratively face their victim, the Dal-dong-ne. Setting the striking visual image aside, what does it mean for the communities — presumably

---


29 Email correspondence with Uishin Lee from Housing Regeneration Division (March 7 and February 17, 2014).
middle-class households in high-rise apartment complexes, and low-income households in the
low-rise houses? The fact that houses in the RPA are being converted into public housing (in
clusters) may worsen the gap between the communities.  

To overcome this separation, the architects envision a strip of green space between the
two areas, which will be used as a community garden for both communities to work together. This is expected to revitalize the community by creating more opportunities for social
interactions between neighbors, as it did formerly in Dal-dong-ne’s. However, it is a rather
romanticized notion of what is essentially a buffer zone, or perhaps even a barrier. The wellbeing
of the community will be determined by how its social and cultural resources are utilized toward
its strength – the strong sense of community, which requires the continuous and arduous efforts
of all participants. This way, the community reclaims its identity and develops the capacity to
maintain itself on its own to overcome such barrier.

For these reasons and more, Baeksa-maeul’s preservation-conscious redevelopment plan
challenges a number of customary conventions. It not only breaks away from the ‘accepted’
method of redevelopment strategy, but also attempts to alter the public perception of Dal-dong-
ne’s. In order for this radical intervention to be successful, the socio-cultural changes in the local
conditions should be constantly monitored. The new redevelopment method in Baeksa-maeul is
attracting a lot of attention from other countries, which have also experienced rapid

30 It is the very opposite concept to Charleston’s scattered-site public housing, where public housing units are
scattered throughout neighborhood so that “people in them won’t be identifiable as just ‘poor folk.’” Ross Hermann,
31 Jongup Yim, “Baeksa-maeul’s ‘Traceable’ Architectural Experiment,” Hangyeoreh News (January 22, 2014),
http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/culture_general/620949.html.
Urbanization. Building international networks of a similar kind for urban-regeneration efforts will be beneficial in the long run. Whether Baeksa-maeul will be a scene of reconciliation, or confrontation between the old and new depends upon the continuous process of place-making driven by the community, rather than on the architectural integrity of individual buildings.

---

32 Baeksa-maeul’s new development scheme was selected as a case study for the Asian Coalition for Architecture and Urbanism (ACAU), as a part of discussion of ‘Post-Aparateu’ (post-apartment). ACAU is a coalition of universities from seven Asian countries, including Korea, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, and Malaysia. Heeyeon Kim, “Planning ‘Different Redevelopment’ in Baeksa-maeul,” The Kyunghyang Shinmun (January 23, 2014). http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201401232107245&code=960202 (accessed January 28, 2014).
PART III

Analysis and Recommendations
CHAPTER 6

Recommendations for a Preservation Planning Process

The preservation efforts in Dal-dong-ne’s in Korea discussed in the previous chapters strive to reverse the past trends of destructive urban-development strategies through community-based physical improvements, culture-driven rebranding, and preservation-conscious community welfare. The community-based improvement plan in Jangsu-maeul was implemented by active engagement of the residents, in addition to the leading role of a social enterprise in bridging between the community and the local government. Even though Gamcheon-maeul’s cultural development was initiated by the creative production of a local art group, it was certainly boosted by considerable support from the local government, systemized community participation, and increased public interest. Moreover, Baeksa-maeul’s radical intervention was largely based on the city’s determination to overturn conventional urban redevelopment, and to restore the values of a marginalized community through preservation-based town-rebuilding.

The progressive attitudes toward heritage adopted in the plans for upgrading the Dal-dong-ne’s challenge the long-followed conservation principles of material integrity. However, the concept of authenticity should be interpreted from a different cultural context. The Western understanding of material integrity and authenticity was contested by the *Nara Document on Authenticity*. It expanded the criteria for the evaluation of cultural values, including “form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors (emphasis added).”¹ This concept was further developed into the historic urban landscape in the *Vienna Memorandum*, which argued that “the process of change per se can be an integral component of the significance of the

In this sense, the Dal-dong-ne’s’ improvement plans secure the authenticity of heritage through the continuity of function and process. Here, the authenticity of the heritage primarily relies on the inclusive participation of local community members, because the values of heritage reside in and of their cultural and social practice. In turn, by participating in the place-making of their neighborhood, or heritage process, the connection between the residents and their built environment is reinforced.

In order to maintain the continuity of heritage process, an appropriate preservation framework is necessary. Since the physical and socioeconomic situation of each community is unique, it is impractical, if not impossible to formulate one generalized preservation strategy for Dal-dong-ne’s. Rather, it is critical to follow the suggested process and build the social, economic, and political frameworks for preservation-conscious development policies tailored to the circumstances of a given area. Drawing from the case studies and previously-established conservation operational guides, I propose four sequences for safeguarding the urban heritage sites through preservation-conscious plans for Dal-dong-ne’s: research and assessment, strategy development, implementation/action, and management/monitoring.3


1. **Research and assessment**

(a) *Identification*

The planning phase begins with identifying the attributes of the historic urban landscape. In the case of Dal-dong-ne’s, many recognize the need to improve deteriorated infrastructure before the need to preserve the towns’ historic fabric. Possible threats of demolition by new redevelopment projects often set off the identification process. In a proactive manner, however, a general survey and inventory of various types of urban landscapes will allow a comparative analysis and sustainable management of diversity in a broader urban context.

(b) *Survey and Documentation*

A detailed survey and documentation process includes gathering historic information through archival research and oral histories, and investigating and documenting the physical conditions of the natural and built environment. Local government should also be involved in supporting documentation projects through financial and social resources. For instance, the geographic conditions of Dal-dong-ne’s should be closely investigated and mapped out, in order to visualize the social relationships affected by the historic urban fabric. Creative mapping and planning methods, such as creating a memory map in Jangsu-maeul, should be devised to encourage community participation.

This type of community engagement lays the groundwork for assessing the significance of the historic urban landscape and provides the justification for future decision-making processes. It should also present the opportunity for residents to claim local identity and attain pride in their own community.\(^4\) The alliances between the participants – residents, local

\(^4\) During my site visit, I had a chance to watch a video documenting the development process of Jangsu-maeul with the residents. Seeing their town on the video, the residents were surprised at how beautiful their town was ‘seen
groups, and government – begin to form during this stage, which becomes the impetus for the entire project.

(c) Evaluation and Prioritization

The documented elements are then evaluated and prioritized according to their level of significance. Assessing values should not be limited to physical aspects, but should also include the socio-cultural dynamics of an existing landscape primarily based on the residents’ perception of a place as an experiential space. In addition to community participation, professional assessment is also required to incorporate a wide range of relevant factors (e.g. economic, political, etc.) that may affect decision-making processes, and settle conflicting perceptions of values amongst community members.

2. Develop a strategy and plan

The next phase is to develop an appropriate strategy specific for the site based on the gathered information and the assessment of significance. The majority of time and efforts should be invested in this phase. The type of strategy and its outcome is influenced by various other factors, such as the social, legislative, and economic viability of the project. For instance, strategies for upgrading Dal-dong-ne’s were determined according to the belief that the significance of spatially-organized social networks in the neighborhoods outweighed the structural integrity of individual houses. Moreover, Jangsu-maeul’s plan for the incremental improvement of individual houses owes much to the availability of the strong leadership of local enterprise and relatively small size of the town that made the process relatively more applicable. On the other hand, Baeksa-maeul chose a rather aggressive form of intervention by

from outside.’ Often times, residents need the perspective of outsiders to ‘confirm’ their identity and pride.
reconstructing and rehabilitating a portion of the town as a public housing complex, due to various economic and social influences on the properties. Furthermore, Gamcheon-maeul was rebranded with cultural intervention, which was initiated by the local art communities and facilitated by the local government’s support for tourism. These distinct approaches resulted in substantial differences to the towns that previously had seemingly similar physical traits. Therefore, it is critical to envision the future outcome of town planning in choosing a system of approach.

(a) Aims and Objectives

First of all, a clear set of aims and objectives should be established along with long-term and short-term goals. In order to maintain their status as ‘living heritage,’ a Dal-dong-ne’s improvement/preservation plan should be integrated into general planning policies, by taking into account the various forces of urban dynamics. Educating and motivating the community should be incorporated into this phase as well. All future decisions should adhere to the established long-term objectives of the project and be values-based.

(b) Level of Intervention

Decisions regarding the level of intervention should be based on the degree of cultural significance, condition of the materials, contextual value, and possible use of the resources. Conceiving heritage properties as economic and cultural assets, the decision on how to preserve is determined not only by architectural and historical integrity, but by socioeconomic considerations for the community. The aims of the project specified in the earlier phase will be the main determinant factor of the decision-making process.

---

(c) Advisory/Regulatory Frameworks and Tools for Communities

Necessary advisory/regulatory frameworks and tools should be devised to codify the plan, and stimulate the development plan and community participation. First, design guidelines should provide the means to protect the tangible traits of the built environment that contribute to the ‘spirit and feeling’ of the site. Second, residents’ agreements should be established to stabilize the community for long-time residents, and to resolve various potential conflicts of interests between stakeholders. Cross-disciplinary partnerships are essential in assessing a wide-range of possible impacts. Conflicting views from different fields should be settled in establishing a complete set of guidelines that complies with the ultimate goal of the project to minimize adverse impacts on the historic resources.

(d) Economic Study: Financial Sources

Investigating possible financial sources for the project is also an indispensable task in developing a comprehensive plan. Public and non-profit funding sources can be drawn by incorporating existing government programs (e.g. low-income aid programs) or establishing new ones for community development. Attracting the international sector (e.g. Habitat for Humanity, and/or the World Bank) is also effective, as long as its objective complies with the goals of the project and the residents’ rights are secured by pre-established regulations, such as the residents’ agreements.

3. Implementation/action

(a) Implementation

Implementation of comprehensive plans should be executed by prioritizing actions in accordance with their significance. Appointed manager(s) should closely monitor the process to make sure it is well documented, and that all actions are carried out according to preset goals.
Community involvement should be the main apparatus for place-making schemes.

(b) Government Policies and Regulations

Managing groups and the local government should enforce necessary policies and regulations to foster the implementation process. In the Dal-dong-ne’s’ case, legislative protection should give priority to maintaining the organic relationship between the place and its inhabitants “as the primary means of conservation,” and allow the places to evolve according to the “desired changes” of the community.\(^6\) The strategic planning process should continue throughout this phase adapting to any unexpected situations.

(c) Informational Networks

Informational networks should be established for all stakeholders, especially for the community, so they are well-informed by exchanging ideas and opinions throughout the process (e.g. a community newsletter, community blog, etc.). Communicating the process and providing technical assistance can also encourage cooperation with other local entities in facilitating the process and building the necessary capacity for future endeavors.

Well-balanced relationships between stakeholders are crucial in carrying out plans without compromising predetermined aims. For instance, with overwhelming government support, the cultural interventions of Gamcheon-maeul are geared toward the economic benefits of tourism, rather than community-revitalization. Sometimes it is the leading voices of the community members who favor the choices that are detrimental to their cultural resources. It is the role of a third-party expert group (e.g. preservationist group) to control and manage these demands and safeguard the existing resources.

---

4. **Management and periodic review**

(a) *Periodic-Reviews, Assessments, and Amendments*

After careful deliberation of proposed projects, the comprehensive plan should be reviewed and readjusted by monitoring changes measured through various indicators. Appropriate systematic frameworks for data-collection, a periodic-review process, and a thorough impact assessment should be established. Necessary amendments to regulatory measures and policies may follow accordingly. Community members should the active leaders of neighborhood development and continuous maintenance. Yet, the constant support of local groups and government is still required through appropriate partnerships.

(b) *Broader Informational Network and Civic-Engagement Tools*

A broader range of informational network and civic-engagement tools, such as social media, and interactive devices, should be implemented not only for the community to share information, but also to engage all stakeholders, including potential ones, to stay well-informed about ongoing changes and impacts of the ever-changing economic and social dynamics of the urban system.

The preservation/improvement plan should be a process that is a continuous loop, constantly adapting to the changing local conditions by evaluating them from the urban context. It should be carried out by the continuous interplay and collaboration between community, government, and third parties (non-profits, social enterprises, or expert groups). The active involvement of community-development corporations, non-profit organizations, and social enterprises can also promote the economic and social sustainability of historic urban landscapes. Moreover, the interchanges of ideas and information should be facilitated by networks at the local, national, as well as international level. Ultimately, the role of preservationists is to ensure
that the integrity of the fundamental aims and objectives of preservation projects is maintained, which is to safeguard the values of the identified heritage, and to revitalize marginalized communities through the preservation process.
CONCLUSION

Sustainable Future of Preservation

This thesis examines the alternative preservation-conscious development strategies implemented with different levels of intervention in response to the physical, economic and demographic shifts of Dal-dong-ne’s in Korea. Urban-planning strategies based on the preservation of Dal-dong-ne’s offer “the possibility of a society founded in values of place, habitation, history, citizenship, and equity.”¹ These preservation movements demonstrate the changes in preservation planning strategies, not only because they involve the protection of an urban heritage threatened by rampant development pressure, but also because they incorporate broader urban policies to address the social justice of marginalized groups.

The shift in the preservation paradigm, from the conservation of individual monuments to the implementation of interdisciplinary measures, parallels global and local tendencies toward ‘sustainability.’ Preservationists attempt to maintain cultural diversity similar to the way that environmentalists strive to protect biological diversity, both of which are under the pressure of development.² *Our Common Future,* also known as the *Brundtland Report* (1987), raised global attention about the need to integrate the principles of sustainability into development policies that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”³ Consequently, the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*

---

¹ Kaufman (2009), 403.


and Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992) were adopted at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) held in Rio de Janeiro. The former emphasized the importance of environmental protection and social equity in economic development, while the latter urged global, national, and local collaborations for sustainable development.\(^4\)

Most of these sustainable approaches recognize the importance of the social benefits of community participation, as well as the protection of local traditions and characters. For instance, the Rio Declaration recognizes the significant role of effectively engaging the knowledge and traditional practices of local communities in sustainable development; Agenda 21 raised the issue of sustainable human-settlement development; and a recent report by the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) promotes the need to strengthen local culture, by using preservation tools to identify, protect, and restore local historic assets.\(^5\) As an environmentalist, Lamont Hempel, notes, “the symbol of sustainability, arguably, is sufficiently ambiguous to be embraced by diverse interests, yet coherent enough to inspire movement in a particular direction.”\(^6\) Likewise, the concept of sustainability can be embraced by historic preservation, in


that it originates from the need to successfully manage and utilize existing resources. Correspondingly, preservation can, and should also be an inspiration to diverse disciplines, such as urban planning, in fostering cultural diversity and local identity as an indispensable part of a sustainable future.

Yet the implementation of an adequate heritage framework for the sustainable management of historic resources is still limited, due to the separation between preservation and other government policies (e.g. urban planning). While the World Heritage Convention recognizes the contribution of the natural and cultural heritage to sustainable development, current heritage policies in many countries still tend to be protective rather than proactive, and this approach leads to a stagnation or even suffocation of heritage sites, often isolating them as “ghettos of historic preservation.”

The major task of the preservation community, in merging heritage work with economic and cultural development policies, is to expand – as opposed to replace – current preservation practice. In other words, while preservationists’ respect for historic and social values and their toolkit to protect those values is indispensable, their focus should be shifted from the material integrity of the physical product to the socio-cultural continuity of the heritage process and how it can serve people.

Certainly, preservation practice should adopt a proactive approach to heritage planning, responding not just to the immediate crisis facing historic buildings, but rather to the various environmental, economic, and social forces of society at large. Thus, in order to successfully integrate heritage practice into sustainable development and community revitalization in Dal-

---

dong-ne’s, and other historic settlement patterns, current preservation practice should be reexamined through the three perspectives of sustainability: environmental vitality, economic viability, and social equity.\(^8\)

**Environmental Approach to Heritage**

The protection of the urban landscape should address environmental approaches to heritage conservation. The concept of the ‘environment’ in heritage conservation goes well beyond the ecological point of view. Environmental care examines all aspects of urban dynamics, from the physical conditions of heritage sites to the social and cultural environments that contribute to the sense of place. Indeed, preservation practices should be inclusive of the natural and built environments to foster the continuous physical and social evolution of a living heritage. To maximize the socio-cultural continuity of urban heritage, the safeguarding of the diversity of the cultural environment should be employed “for the whole environment not just the ‘special places.’”\(^9\) Comprehensive understanding of the urban landscape in environmental terms will allow better management of diverse local characters, and inspire broader government policies to protect them.

At the same time, the sustainability of the ecological environment should not be overlooked. The restrictive and passive attitude of heritage policies in protecting landmarks has placed historic preservation in opposition to environmental sustainability, and made it considered ‘in the way’ of sustainable development. However, the benefits of rehabilitating existing historic

---

\(^8\) Hempel and other environmentalists refer to them as the *Three Es* of sustainability: environmental resilience, economic vitality, and social equity. Hampel, 33.

\(^9\) Johnston, 26.
buildings from an ecological and environmental standpoint have been proven in many instances (e.g. embodied energy, as well as energy efficiency).\textsuperscript{10} Still, not enough concrete comparative scientific data have been presented to support the environmental benefits of preservation in a larger context. In fact, Dal-dong-ne’s’ preservation-development plans hardly argue for the tangible benefits of rehabilitating old buildings and protecting the town’s intimate relationship with the natural environment, other than the aesthetic quality and possible economic advantages of heritage tourism. In the long run, the preservation field should be able to secure its place in sustainable development amidst other forces of socioeconomic progress, by objectively analyzing the impact of heritage practice on the natural, as well as cultural environment.

**Economic Sustainability in the Heritage Process**

What, then, is the economic viability of sustainable preservation development? So far, the economic validity of heritage conservation has heavily relied on the tourism industry. Heritage tourism is a vital part of preservation, in that cultural and natural heritage are shared and appreciated by the general public, while offering economic benefits. For most nations, the easiest answer for the economic feasibility of preservation is tourism. Because tourism requires relatively less amounts of investment, infrastructure, or skilled labor, an increasing number of developing countries with limited resources adopt tourism-oriented policies.\textsuperscript{11} Nonetheless,


\textsuperscript{11} Rabah Arezki, Reda Cherif, and John M. Piotrowski, *IMF Working Papers: Tourism Specialization and Economic*
excessively relying on tourism threatens the authenticity of heritage by disturbing the local dynamics, as witnessed in the recent development of Gamcheon Culture Village, not to mention numerous World Heritage sites.

However, because the integrity of heritage work is dependent on the continuity of process, preservation projects should have better awareness of the constant renewal of economic drives, such as real-estate market forces, to strengthen the economic stability of heritage sites, while maintaining the integrity and diversity of urban landscapes. In numerous instances, a preservation approach to revitalizing a community has proven to be effective in promoting tourism and improving civic pride, while often enhancing property values. A growing number of studies demonstrate the economic benefits of historic preservation well beyond tourism, from the increase of property values of individual rehabilitation projects to the city-wide benefits of preservation-conscious urban-development plans.¹²

As the dynamics of real estate also apply to historic properties, it is critical to establish practical frameworks to evaluate social and economic values of cultural assets and appraise the

---

costs and benefits of preservation process.\textsuperscript{13} For a preservation-driven urban-upgrading project to influence policy-makers and to attract more investors, it “should be designed in such a way that the private sector derives higher financial returns from the intervention than it would from a standard urban upgrading project.”\textsuperscript{14} Even for the development projects in Dal-dong-ne’s where buildings and structures “do not qualify as landmarks but are part of the soul of a place,” such evaluation tools should be used to prove how the protection of the socio-cultural values can socially and economically benefit local residents, as well as outside investors.\textsuperscript{15} Nonetheless, the economic vitality of the neighborhoods should be an effective means to enhance the inherent values of given heritage sites where long-time residents have a collective stake, not as an end goal of preservation projects.\textsuperscript{16} In other words, preservationists should not lose their perspective and should continue to seek the “value” of heritage, rather than its “worth.”\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{13} Economic evaluation tools for cultural heritage can be found in Randall Mason, \textit{Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices in Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage} (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002).


\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 17.

\textsuperscript{16} Rama suggests a “shareholders” approach to property rights to ensure the benefits of long-time residents by having a collective stake in preservation-planning projects. Rama, 17.

Social Sustainability: Heritage for People

A socially-sustainable practice of heritage work depends on whom it can serve, rather than what it can save. The preservation of heritage, especially of marginalized communities like Dal-dong-ne’s, should address the social justice of the communities. One of the adverse effects caused by exposing heritage properties to socioeconomic forces is the displacement of low-income neighborhoods, for instance, due to rising rents and gentrification process. Such negative consequences should be prevented through the implementation of public policies in the early stages of upgrading projects, such as low-income housing-ownership programs, affordable-housing policies, and local hiring mandates.18 Maintaining the diversity of housing types to create affordable housing, like Baeksa-maeul’s public housing, has been a primary means of addressing the issue of social justice for heritage conservation. Recently, reducing poverty has been considered “an indispensable requirement for sustainable development” for many international institutions, such as the World Bank.19 The EPA report argues for new development plans that will strengthen communities to reflect the needs of low-income, minority, tribal, and overburdened communities through the amalgamation of environmental justice, smart growth, and equitable development.20

Heritage work can also create opportunities for culture and education of marginalized communities to promote social equity. Poverty is not merely an economic situation, but also entails social and cultural conditions. In historic neighborhoods with substandard living-conditions, especially in these hillside squatter settlements, establishing a conservation

18 Rypkema (2012), 136.
20 United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 63.
framework that encourages the participation of community members in the improvement process of the environment not only strengthens the local identity of the vernacular culture “formulated out of experience,” but also enhances the environmental psychology.\textsuperscript{21}

In a like manner, Jangsu-maeul’s community-driven improvement system, if successfully maintained, will prevent the grief caused by “the loss of the sense of continuity from uncontrollable change in the physical environment.”\textsuperscript{22} In addition, creating murals and artwork in Dal-dong-ne’s can be viewed as introducing more culture to deteriorating communities. Community engagement in the values-based approach to development processes will create the sense of security and familiarity, while protecting local identity at the same time. The sense of attachment and commitment will be beneficial in stabilizing, but not stagnating, living heritage.

Sustainable preservation requires a clear understanding of the identified values of what is being saved, an active preservation-planning process involving the education and participation of the community, and the ability to successfully manage and overcome conflicts and injustice. The sustainable future of preservation can only be achieved when the preservation of heritage is aimed beyond architectural aesthetics.

In order to reconcile the two seemingly conflicting ideals of preservation and progress, and to secure the voice of preservation in sustainable development, preservationists should reconcile current heritage practices and development planning in a ‘preservation retrofit.’ In other words, the future of heritage practice is reliant on discovering a means to translate the socio-cultural values of historic assets – even underappreciated ones – into the contemporary

\textsuperscript{21} Glassie (September, 1990): 12.

terms of development. The principles and expertise of the preservation field should contribute to, and not shy away from, the environmentally, economically, and socio-culturally sustainable process of heritage through a values-based approach with interdisciplinary measures based on community values. In addition, it is crucial for the residents to claim their own identity with pride and passion. After all, no regulations or management plans can reinforce the values of urban heritage without the community’s own understanding of its heritage. Whether it be the declining communities in the hillside squatter settlements of Korea, or the burgeoning population of the ‘arrival cities’ in the global south, the preservation plans of Dal-dong-ne’s and other forms of ‘informal’ historic urban landscapes should evolve from the past knowledge and experience of the community. These communities should also be liberated from the negative connotations that prevent progress by addressing the various issues of the informal settlements through the eyes of preservationists.
List of Illustrations

Introduction


Figure 2. Le Corbusier’s unrealized Plan Voisin, Paris (1925) and aerial view of Mapo Apartment, Seoul (1963). Image from Foundation Le Corbusier

Figure 3. Photograph showing the density of a Dal-dong-ne in Seoul (1960s) *Seoul, A Metropolis in the Making: Excavating a Layered Reality* (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1989), 60.

Figure 4. Empty houses in Gyonam-dong (Photo taken by the author, July 2013).


Figure 6. ‘Shantytowns’ around the world. (Medellin) *WKU Libraries Blog*,
http://library.blog.wku.edu/2010/11/12/far-away-places-presents-medellin-colombia/,
Chapter 1


Figure 1-4. Public apartments built on squatter settlement. Seoul History Compilation Committee, Photographs of Seoul 4: Revival of Seoul 1961-1975 (2005), 196.

Figure 1-5. A news article about the collapse of the Wawoo Apartment, entitled “Collapsing sound of death.” ‘Collapsing Sound of Death,’ Meil Kyeongjae Newspaper (April 8,

Figure 1-7. Illustration of location of rural towns. Drawn from the illustration in Richard T. T. Forman, Land mosaics: the ecology of landscapes and regions (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 17.

Figure 1-8. Traditional village setting, Yangdong-maeul (left) and Baeksa-maeul (right). Drawn based on the maps from Yoon Kyung Choi, "The spatial structure of power: traditional villages and houses in Korea," Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design 30 (January, 2003): 591, and 104 Maeul (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012), 124-125.

Figure 1-9. Typical roofs in Baeksa-maeul. Many houses have waterproofing material (tarps) over their roofs. (Photos taken by the author in July 2013.)

Figure 1-10. Small stairs to access roof space (left); additions along streets; and storage space between structures. (By author, July 2013.)

Figure 1-11. Plans of Baeksa-maeul (highlighted area) reveals the expansion of houses within the original street patterns from 1979 to 1995. Sujin Kim, Culture of Nowon-gu Joonggye-bon-dong 104 maeul, (master's thesis, Korea University, 2012), 44-45.

Figure 1-12. Different techniques and materials used (left); stairs had to be built inside the front door because of the large level difference (right). (By author, July 2013.)

**Figure 1-14.** One of the main axial roads in Baeksa-maeul with a grain mill and a hair-salon on the right (above). (By author, July 2013.) Looking down on one of the main roads (below). (By author, December 2013.)


**Figure 1-16.** Location of commercial area near the town entrance and factories along the main access roads. Drawn from Sujin Kim, *Culture of Nowon-gu Joonggye-bon-dong 104 maeul*, (master's thesis, Korea University, 2012), 51; *104 Maeul* (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012), 124-125 and 138-139.

**Figure 1-17.** Commercial area and a remaining factory. (By author, July and December 2013.)

**Figure 1-18.** Typical gathering place in front of a closed store at a major intersection. (By author, December 2013), and *104 Maeul* (2012), 170.

**Figure 1-19.** An old communal well. (blog)


**Figure 1-20.** Secondary streets usually have steep slopes. (By author, July and December 2013.)
Figure 1-21. Secondary roads often have wide benches called Pyeong-sang. (By author, July 2013.)

Figure 1-22. Drying racks and clotheslines on the streets. (By author, July 2013.)

Figure 1-23. Narrow alleyways. (By author, July and December 2013.)

Figure 1-24. A privatized alleyway leading to the back garden and the view from the back garden with zucchini plants in the foreground. (By author, July 2013.)

Figure 1-25. Religious buildings in Baeksamaeul. Shaman temple, a Buddhist temple exterior and interior; and churches. (By author, July and December 2013.) Images of Buddhist temple from Sujin Kim, Culture of Nowon-gu Joonggye-bon-dong 104 maeul, (master's thesis, Korea University, 2012), 67.


Figure 1-27. Scenes from the movie, People of Ggobang-dongne (1982). People of Ggobang-dongne, directed by Chang-ho Bae, based on a novel by Dong-chul Lee (1981)

(Korean Film Archive, 1982)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bqo7KL2DrMY&list=TL-zG4QawmMsY.

Chapter 2

Figure 2-1. Bukchon Hanok Village. Seoul History Compilation Committee, Again, Telling the Story of Seoul’s Culture (2011), 123.
Chapter 3


Figure 3-2. A newspaper article about the newly-created Samsun Park around Joseon Dynasty’s Police Bureau Samgunboo Chongmoodang “Recreation of Joseon Dynasty’s Police Bureau,” Kyunghyang Shinmun (August 22, 1981); Naksan Park (2002) Seoul, The Way I Wanted to Change It (Seoul History Compilation Committee, 2011), 213; and a recent view of the park in relation to Jangsu-maeul (By author, July 2013).

Figure 3-3. New construction of multi-unit dwellings (above); the onsite improvement plan based on mixture of new construction and renovation (bottom left and middle); and the onsite improvement plan based on conservation and renovation (bottom right). Korea Institute of Sustainable Society et al, Second Annual Report for Alternative Development Plan of Jangsu-maeul (Samsun-4-District) (2009), 25-26.

Figure 3-4. Community Café (author, December 2013); Maeul Sarang-bang, “City of Seoul, Jangsu-maeul’s Preservation of History of Old City Wall town + Improvement of Deteriorated Environment,” press release by Seoul Metropolitan Government (December 6, 2013); and a temporary circulation house for the community (bottom) were created by renovating vacant houses. (By author, July and December 2013.)

Figure 3-5. Town Museum plan. Residential Environment Division, “Jangsu-maeul Town Museum Plan,” Seoul Metropolitan Government, Report-6960 (August 8, 2013); Neighbors spend time together while ‘guarding’ the Town Museum. (By author,
December 2013.)

**Figure 3-6.** Installation of gas line and sewage pipes, “City of Seoul, Jangsu-maeul’s Preservation of History of Old City Wall Town + Improvement of Deteriorated Environment,” Press release by Seoul Metropolitan Government (December 6, 2013).

**Figure 3-7.** Recently repaired steps and railings for steep slope. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 3-8.** Map of Jangsu-maeul indicating six different Gol-mok groups. *Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul*, 59.

**Figure 3-9.** ‘Pointy Rock’ is a symbolic marker of Jangsu-maeul. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 3-10.** Repaired Pyeong-sang. *Comprehensive Plan for Jangsu-maeul*, 50 (left), and a photo taken by the author, July 2013 (right).

**Figure 3-11** A illustration showing the placement of a new wall to maintain the original lot line (left) and recommended color charts for roofs and walls (right). Seoul Metropolitan City, *Easy Guidelines for Jangsu-maeul* (2013), 37, 44.

**Figure 3-12** A scaled model of Jangsu-maeul and a ‘period room’ with items donated by the residents in the Town Museum. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 3-13.** QR-codes around the town. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 3-14.** Guide map of Jangsu-maeul with recommended paths around the town. (From Town Museum, December 2013.)

**Chapter 4**

**Figure 4-1.** Students painting murals in Gaemi-maeul (August 29-30, 2009). Yoonmi Cho, *Analyzing Success of Mural Towns in Korea*, (master’s thesis, Kyungwon University, 2011), 43.

Murals in Jangsu-maeul. (By author, December, 2013.)

Figure 4-3. The favela painting project in Santa Marta Favela in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. Favela Painting (blog) http://www.favelapainting.com/bio (accessed December 10, 2013).


Figure 4-6. Narrow alleyways and stairs of Gamcheon-maeul. (By author, December 2013.)

Figure 4-7. ‘Human and Bird’ (author, December 2013); and ‘Whispers of Sweet Dandelion,’ created with the community. Gamcheon Culture Village, http://cafe.naver.com/gamcheon2/ (accessed October 13, 2013).

Figure 4-8. Artworks from the ‘Miro Miro’ project (2010). (By author, December 2013.)

Figure 4-9. One of the newly-constructed community businesses. (By author, December 2013.)

Figure 4-10. Gamcheon Culture Village Community Council. Gamcheon Culture Village Tour Map (2014)


Figure 4-12. Photo-op spots with European scenery in Gamcheon-maeul. (By author, December
2013.)

**Figure 4-13.** The sculptures recreate the scenes of the old bathhouse. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 4-14.** View of Gamcheon-maeul toward the sea. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 4-15.** Famous photo-op spots are scattered around the town. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 4-16.** Screenshots of Gamcheon Culture Village on a smart-phone application. (By author, December 2013.)


**Figure 4-18.** A sign that reads, “Gamcheon Culture Village is a residential area. (By author, December 2013.)

### Chapter 5


**Figure 5-3.** A documentary, entitled “-18℃.” -18℃, *Temperature of Hearts: Joonggye-dong Baeksa-maeul* (Documentary 3 Days), Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) (Seoul: KBS Media, 2010), aired on January 30, 2011.

**Figure 5-4.** A series of murals describing a brief history of the town, although not all murals
have a cohesive narrative. (By author, December 2013.)

**Figure 5-5.** Town map distributed during the tour. (From Nowon Cultural Center.)

**Figure 5-6.** Delivering coal briquettes (*yeontan*) to senior residents in Baeksa-maeul. Tae-Hwon Jeon, “Daewoo ENC Donate Twenty-Thousand Yeontan to Joonggye-dong 104-maeul,” *Chosun Ilbo* (December 19, 2013), http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2013/12/19/2013121901407.html.

**Figure 5-7.** Rendering of the proposed Redevelopment Plan of Baeksa-maeul. Official Announcement No.2012-159, “Joonggye-bondong Type-1-District Unit Plan and Residential Redevelopment District,” (June 21, 2012).

**Figure 5-8.** Plan of Baeksa-maeul with the zoning regulation overlaid onto the current town fabric. Official Announcement No. 2012-159, “Joonggye-bondong Type-1-District Unit Plan and Residential Redevelopment District,” (June 21, 2012) overlaid with the town map from *104 Maeul* (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012), 124-125.

**Figure 5-9.** Existing plan of Baeksa-maeul. *104 Maeul* (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012), 19; and the circulation system for the RPA. *Project Report: Construction of Baeksa-maeul Residential Preservation Area Rental Housing* (Seoul Metropolitan Government: Housing Policy Department, February 12, 2014), 10.

**Figure 5-10.** Current condition of Baeksa-maeul and the illustration of the proposed rehabilitated Residential Preservation Area promoted by the city. Housing Regeneration Division, “Seoul Marks a New Turning Point in 40-year Redevelopment History: designated low-rise residential preservation area within Baeksa-maeul’s redevelopment zone,” Seoul Metropolitan Government press release (May 3, 2012).

**Figure 5-11.** Illustrations of an example of the possible rehabilitation of the commercial area and
the residential houses in the Residential Preservation Area. Housing Regeneration
Division, “Seoul Marks a New Turning Point in 40-year Redevelopment History:
designated low-rise residential preservation area within Baeksa-maeul’s
redevelopment zone,” Seoul Metropolitan Government press release (May. 3, 2012);
Joonggye-bondong Housing Redevelopment Residents Committee (September, 2011)
http://www.joonggye104.co.kr/?go=main.
Bibliography


Kim, Kwang-Joong. “New Form, Classic Problem: Pseudo-Public Residential Redevelopment in


Twigger-Ross, C.L. and D.L. Uzzell. “Place and Identity Processes.” Journal of Environmental -139-


UNESCO, Report of the 2012 UNESCO International Workshop: Republic of Korea (2012), 81. http://www.unesco.or.kr/upload/data_center/2012%20%EC%9B%8C%ED%81%AC%EC%BA%A0%ED%94%84%20%EB%B3%B4%EA%B3%A0%EC%84%9C.pdf.


United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Creating Equitable, Healthy, and Sustainable Communities: Strategies for Advancing Smart Growth, Environmental Justice, and Equitable Development, EPA 231-K-10-005 (February, 2013).


International Doctrine


Korean Sources


Cultural Heritage Administration. Cultural Heritage Protection Act (Law No. 11228, amended 2012).


Kim, Younghoon. “Joonggye-dong, Baeksa-maeul to be Developed within the Historic Townscape,” JoongAng Daily (September 06, 2011).


