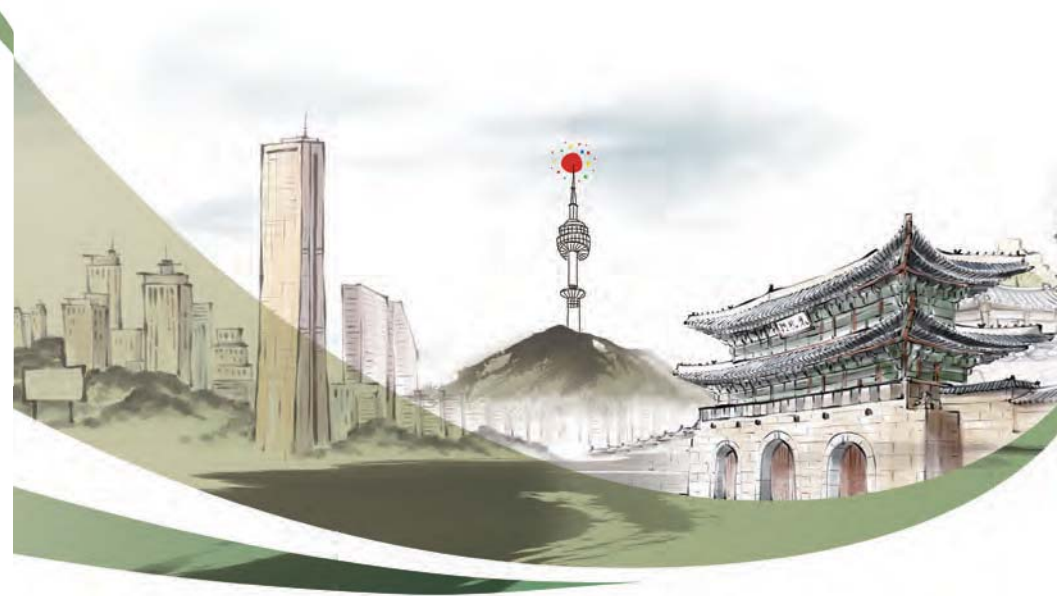


Seoul

This book traces the developmental stages of Seoul from its birth as the capital of the Republic of Korea to today's mega city along with its history and culture. After a close reading of a vast amount of literature on Seoul, the book presents objective information on Seoul and portrays various aspects and images of Seoul including history, culture, development, renewal and the major features of current Seoul that stand out from other mega cities in the world. In other words, it is a well-balanced representation of a city called Seoul.



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Seoul

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Seoul

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Seoul

THE ACADEMY OF KOREAN STUDIES PRESS



Foreword

Korea achieved extraordinary economic development today by overcoming historical crises and hardships with wisdom and intelligence. The foundation for such development is the result of South Korea's harmonious integration of various characteristics like traditional culture, social structure, emphasis on education and politics. Accordingly, it is indeed a timely required task to broaden our understanding of South Korea by re-examining the engine of its miraculous development including its rich cultural heritage and economic achievements and by sharing new findings with the world.

Since its establishment in 1978, the Academy of Korean Studies has striven to develop and creatively preserve Korean culture. In doing so, the Academy of Korean Studies not only published many specialized academic books in Korean studies but also provided overseas scholastic support by training and producing Korean studies experts. Today, the Academy of Korean Studies faces a new opportunity to move forward in elevating the importance of Korean Studies in the world on the occasion of the rise of the Korean wave and professionalism in

the field.

In this regard, I am delighted to see the publication of Seoul, the fourth book in the Understanding Korea Series. I hope that this book will contribute to deepening the international understanding of Korea and stimulate more interest in the creativity and authenticity of Korean culture. Finally, I would like to thank research members of the Center for International Affairs who made this publication possible.

February 2015

LEE Bae Yong, Ph.D.

President of the Academy of Korean Studies



Acknowledgments

The Center for International Affairs (CEFIA) at the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) undertakes the task of promoting a better understanding of Korean history and culture and Korea's contemporary development among the young people around the world.

This book is the fourth book in the Understanding of Korea Series (UKS) covering Korea's world-class cultural heritage. Our UKS endeavors to publish books on Korea that provide in-depth understandings of Korean culture and society.

This book traces the developmental stages of Seoul from its birth as the capital of the Republic of Korea to today's mega city along with its history and culture. After a close reading of a vast amount of literature on Seoul, the book presents objective information on Seoul and portrays various aspects and images of Seoul including history, culture, development, renewal and the major features of current Seoul that stand out from other mega cities in the world. In other words, it is a well-balanced representation of a city called Seoul.

Many people have contributed to the publication of

this book. I am grateful to all of them. I would like to thank the author, Dr. Moonho-Park. My thanks also go to Mr. Na Young Wan of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, Yonhap News, Itaewon-Hannam Global Village Center, Seoul Design Foundation, The National Library of Korea, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul Museum of History, Kansong Art and Culture Foundation, Mr. Seo Jae-sik and Mr. Hong Incheon for generously permitting the use of their photos and illustration. Lastly, I give thanks to Dr. Christian J. Park for translating and Dr. Shine Choi for editing the manuscript.

I sincerely hope that this book will contribute to the better global understanding of Korean culture by inspiring the international community's interest in Korea.

February 2015

KIM Hyeon, Ph.D.

Director of the Center for International Affairs

CONTENTS

- 1 A City Called Seoul 11
- 2 The Capital of Joseon, Hanseong 18
- 3 Modern City Gyeongseong 36
- 4 The Growth of Seoul and Transformation of the Urban
Space 46
- 5 Shadow of Growth and Regeneration and Healing of the
City 71
- 6 Historical and Cultural City, Culture of Seoul 107
- 7 Global City Seoul's Present 132

1 A City Called Seoul

1. Introduction

The citizens of Seoul are proud of their city – the capital of the Republic of Korea and a political, economic and cultural focal point boasting more than 600 years of rich history and culture. Ever since it was named the capital of Joseon in 1394, Seoul continued to grow with the exception of the turbulent times of Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War and has emerged as the modern city it is today. The city rapidly grew to 10 million people and this has had numerous negative side effects, namely shortage of housing, traffic congestion and environmental destruction. Playing host to major international events such as the 1988 Seoul Olympic and the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup has helped the city address these side effects over time. The city of Seoul recognized that the city has reached a certain state of stability in the urbanization process and is now in the process of establishing its identity as a creative, historical and cultural city.



Following the designation as a member of the UNESCO City of Design's Creative Cities' Network, Seoul was named the World Design Capital in 2010.



Figure 1 UNESCO City of Design, Seoul, Logo

How does a city called Seoul get projected in the eyes of global citizens? There are discrepancies in the Seoul that we, the residents in Korea, see and want to show to the world, and the Seoul that global citizens see. Seoul as portrayed in most Hollywood movies feels unfamiliar to us; it looks at least 20 to 30 years out of date that makes us wonder where this place is. Seoul is often depicted as a megacity with traffic and environmental problems created by rapid urbanization. This may be because the images of the fierce battlefield of the Korean War and a newly urbanized city that created 'the Miracle on the Han River' are firmly engraved in the minds of global citizens. Many textbooks in the world introduce Seoul as a mega-city that achieved drastic





Photo 1 World Cultural Heritage: Ancestral Ritual at Jongmyo Shrine

economic development and as a result is exposed to typical urban problems of overpopulation, shortage of housing, traffic congestion and environmental pollution. This is certainly different in many ways from the image Seoul is aiming to promote as a city with stable urban infrastructures and as a major global city with rich cultural resources and history.

The distorted portrayal of Seoul in movies may be forgivable, however, the inaccuracies in textbooks used in education must be corrected. The errors in textbooks may be the result of using outdated source materials or perhaps because it is not easy to approach materials written in Korean resulting in adoption of some inaccurate descriptions. This booklet aims to suggest reference materials that can be used to correct misrepresentations in textbooks around the world by providing objective information regarding Seoul based on findings presented in numerous recent reports,



books and seminars. We intend to show various aspects of present day Seoul and its unique characteristics in terms of history, culture, urban development and renewal processes that set it apart from other cities around the world. We hope to assist global citizens view Seoul from a balanced perspective.

2. Seoul as the Capital and a Local City

In general a capital city refers to a political center where the central government is located and thus possesses a distinguished status unequalled by other local cities. Under a powerful central government system of the Joseon Dynasty, ‘Hanseongbu (Seoul, currently the area north of the Han River)’ was also called ‘Gyeongdo (Capital)’ to stress its politically, economically and socially distinguished status that set it apart from other cities. The king resided there, and the core governmental departments were also situated there. In the early Joseon Dynasty Hanseong forged its superior status inside and outside the country as the country’s moral center where the king resided and from where his benevolent rule, based on the system of Joseon’s ruling philosophy, emanated. From the late Joseon Dynasty in the 18th century, in addition to its title as the political, social and



cultural center, Seoul obtained another superior title as the economic center that had control of the national market. Since the establishment of Joseon in 1394 for more than 600 years, or 900 years if we trace back further to ‘Namgyeong’ of Goryeo Dynasty, Seoul has maintained its superior status as the center of the Korean Peninsula, and after the separation of the North and South it remained the capital of the Republic of Korea.

Seoul possesses a dual identity as the nation’s capital and a unique geographic location. Its other identity is as a local city in the administrative system that used to be called Hanseongbu and Gyeongseongbu in the past that has now taken the form of the metropolis of Seoul. The status of Seoul as a local city and the capital had been synonymous for a long time, yet in 2004 the status of Seoul as ‘the capital’ became embroiled in controversy. The central government carried forward its plan to establish a new administrative capital that would result in relocation of Seoul’s governmental function as the nation’s capital to a different location. This plan to establish a new administrative capital aimed to build a new capital that hosts main constitutional institutions and administrative departments performing main political and administrative functions. It was meant to relieve the pressure of overpopulation in the capital and the surrounding areas



and to provide a balanced development of the country. The Special Act on New Administrative Capital Relocation was passed in 2003. However, the voice of opposition against the division of Seoul's function as the capital escalated resulting in a constitutional appeal for the Special Act on New Administrative Capital Relocation. The Constitutional Court ruled in 2004 that, "it is a violation of the constitution to relocate the capital without a constitutional revision since the fact that Seoul is the capital falls under the customary constitutional rule." The plan for a new administrative capital had been put on hold in accordance to this ruling. The Sejong Metropolis Development Plan, a multifunctional administrative city plan that included some administrative departments of the government and public institutions together with educational and scientific functions, was prepared as a follow-up measure (Refer to <Figure 2>). Though some of the government's administrative functions were relocated, as long as the core of the government such as the Blue House, the National Assembly and the Judiciary Branch and the headquarters of the major corporations, mass media organizations and schools remain, Seoul would be able to maintain its status as 'the Capital Seoul', the actual center of Korea's politics, culture, economics and administration.





Figure 2 The Sejong Metropolis Development (Plan) Revised from New Administrative Capital



2 The Capital of Joseon, Hanseong

1. Seoul Before It Became the Capital

There has been a long history of settlements in the flatland of the Han River that goes back to the prehistoric times. This downstream flatland of the Han River is the convergence of two waterways (North Han River and South Han River) flowing from the Taebaek Mountains, the heart of Baekdu Mountain Ranges. It was a key strategic location that Baekje, Goguryeo and Silla battled over since the days of the Three Kingdoms. Wiryeseong situated on the shore of the Han River (Refer to <photo 2>) was named the capital during the Hanseong Baekje Era (From 18 BC to AD 475), but was renamed as Bukhansanju, Nampyeongyang in the year 475 when Goguryeo took over. It was once again changed to Hanju, Hanyang during the Silla Dynasty.

Seoul began to take its shape as a city when Namgyeong was established during the Goryeo Dynasty (1067), and the city's foundation was finally laid as people



began to migrate into the city after the completion of Namgyeong Temporary Palace in 1104. Seoul's history as a city, not as 'the capital,' can be traced back 900 years. 'Goryeosa (the History of Goryeo) records the attempt to relocate the capital (Gaegyeong) to Namgyeong towards the end of the Goryeo Dynasty and King Sukjong's visit that involved the construction of a temporary palace. Unlike Hangeong of Baekje, which was situated near water (on the shore of the Han River), Namgyeong of the Goryeo Dynasty was built on the foot of a mountain

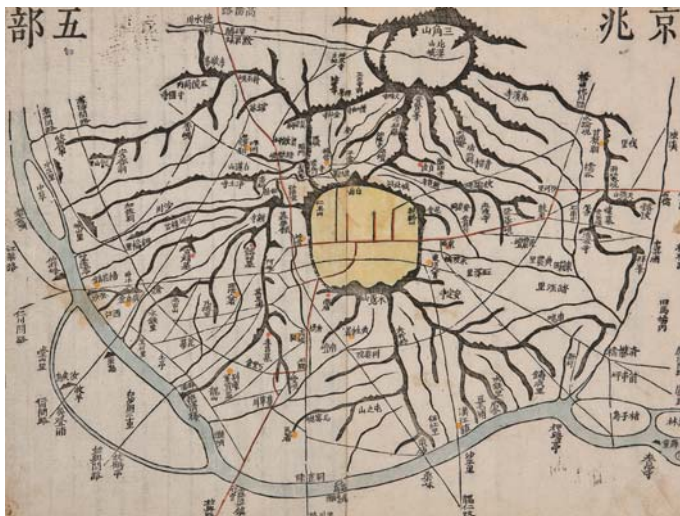


Figure 3 Hangeong's Location in Daedonggye Map





Photo 2 Mongchontoseong, Wiryeseong of Baekje

according to the philosophy system of geomancy. Seoul finally obtained its appearance as ‘the capital’ in full-scale when the Joseon Dynasty designated it as its capital in 1394 (Refer to <Figure 3>).

2. The Principle Behind the Establishment of the Capital, Hanseong

The Joseon Dynasty, founded in 1392, was ruled by 27 kings for 518 years until it lost its sovereignty in 1910 to Japanese colonial rule, making it Asia’s longest continuous dynasty. The Joseon Dynasty relocated its capital in 1394



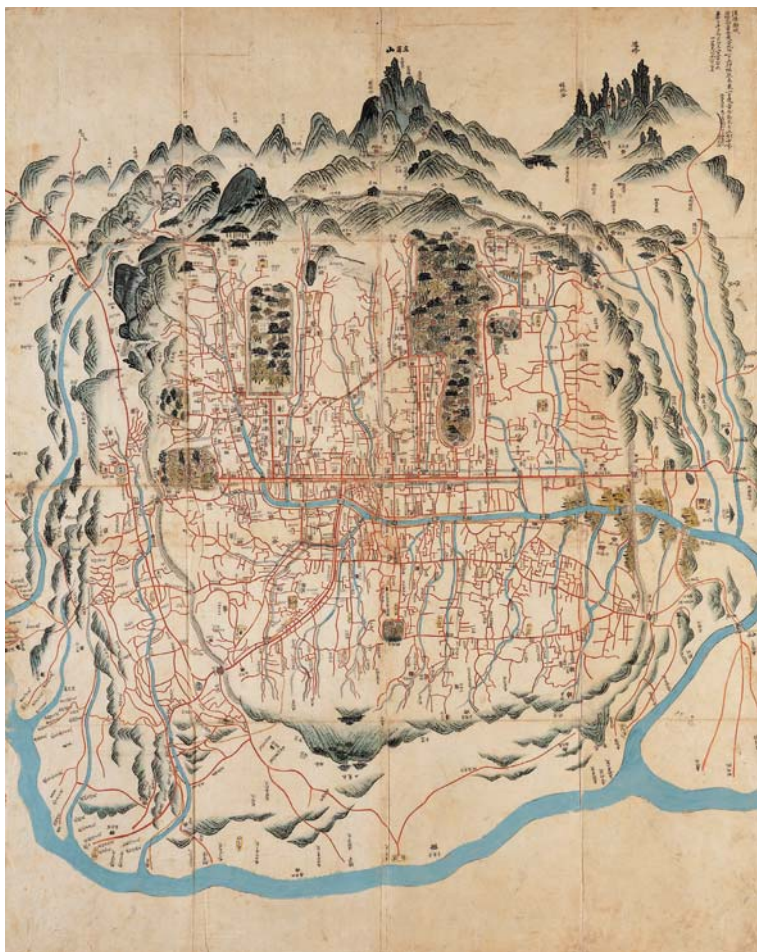


Figure 4 A Map of Hanyang City Proper (Mid 18th Century)



for three reasons: First, Hanyang was a propitious site according to the world view based on geomancy; second, its central location in the Korean Peninsula made it easy to rule the whole country; and third, it had excellent nodal links since all cargo vessels in the country gathered there through the Han River and every road of the country converged there (Refer to <Figure 4>).

Fengshui (*pungsu* in Korean) is a traditional geography that promotes harmony between human lives and the order of mountain and water. A piece of land located where the mountain and water meet in a harmonious way is called a *myeongdang* (propitious site). The basic geographic elements of a *myeongdang* include: a perfect, graceful guardian mountain in the backdrop with soft mountains stemming out left and right ('blue dragon' in left and 'white tiger' on right); an *ansan* (a low-rising mountain in front of *myeongdang*) that discretely hides the front, a frontal brook that entwines it; and a *josan* (ancestral mountain) that protects the city from afar. *Myeongdang* is a place 'where the wind is controlled and in possession of water' so it provides a sense of security and wellbeing to its residents. Lands applicable to this *fengshui* situation become dwellings of various scale; small ones became villages, larger ones hosted local governments, and the largest one hosted the capital.



According to the construction principle of *fengshui* applied to Hanseong, Bukhan Mountain and Bukak Mountain are connected to the Baekdu Mountain's vein; the Jojongsan (the main ancestral mountain) of the Korean Peninsula are the main mountains; Inwang Mountain on the left is the blue dragon while Tarak Mountain on the right is the white tiger, and Mokmyeok Mountain (Namsan) in the south is the ansan. These four mountains make up the four inner mountains. Han River, the outer water, flows from east to west, and Gaecheon (Cheonggyecheon), the inner water, flows from the west to east. These two waters form myeongdang water. The space formed in the gap surrounded by these four inner mountains was the core space of the capital Hanseong, and it was enough to hold about 100,000 residents. Considering the population of the period the space was large enough to function as the capital.

The Gyeongbokgung Palace was built in the center of myeongdang, and Geunjeongjeon, where the king tended most of the state affairs, was placed in hyeolcheo (meridian). The core spaces of the Gyeongbokgung Palace including Gwanghwamun (the main gate), Geunjeongjeon (meeting place for government officials), Sajeongjeon (the king's public office), Gangryeongjeon (the king's bedchamber) and Gyotaejeon (the queen's bedchamber)





Figure 5 Joseon Palace: Map of Gyeongbokgung Palace (formerly called Bukgwoldo)





were placed symmetrically according to geometrical order, and nonessential buildings were arranged asymmetrically according to the geographic formation to realize the beauty of both variation and unity. However, many buildings inside the Gyeongbokgung Palace were demolished during the Japanese Annexation, and the original form was destroyed in 1927 when the Japanese Government-General of Korea Building was constructed in front of Geunjeongjeon. The former Japanese Government-General of Korea Building was demolished in 1997, and through the Gyeongbokgung Restoration Project, 89 buildings including Gwanghwamun, Heongryemun, Gangryeongjeon and Gyotaejeon were restored. These buildings however only comprise one-fourth of Gyeongbokgung's original size.

Other major urban facilities besides the Gyeongbokgung Palace such as the Jongmyo Shrine, Sajik, markets and streets were arranged in respect of the Confucian traditions following the principles of Jowamyousa (shrine on left and place of worship for the god of earth on right) and Myeonjohusi (government in front and market in the rear) recorded in Zhouli-Kaogongji (the Ancient Chinese Urban Planning Section in the Rites of the Zhou Dynasty). The Jongmyo Shrine, the place where the royal ancestors were enshrined and ancestral rites performed, was placed



on the left side of the palace, and Sajik, the place where the worship rites for the god of earth (Sa) and god of grain (Jik) for wishing for good harvest and prosperity of the nation, was placed on the right side of the palace in accordance to the principle of Jowamyousa. From ancient times, it was said, the king must ‘report to Jongmyosajic’ first once he ascended to the throne, and the nation would fall ‘if Jongmyosajic disappeared.’ Jongmyo and Sajic had been symbolic places that served as the nation’s spiritual anchor. The government buildings were placed in the frontal section of the palace in accordance to the principle of Myeonjohusi at Yukjo (Six Ministries) Street. Uijeongbu (State Council), Ijo (Ministry of Personnel), Hanseongbu (Capital Bureau), and Hojo (Ministry of Taxation) were placed in the east, and Yejo (Ministry of Rites), Saheonbu (Office of Inspector General), Byeongjo (Ministry of Defense) and Gongjo (Ministry of Works) were placed to the west of the palace. The market was supposed to be placed in the north but since the palace was placed in front of jusan, the Bukak Mountain, in accordance to the principle of *fengshui*, it was placed slightly off to the east of the palace. The market was called Yukuijeon (market for six items) because they dealt silk, ramie, cotton, hemp cloth, paper, dried seafood, and hats. The merchants were mobilized whenever the state needed labor for



No.	Name	No.	Name
1	Samgunbu (Three Armies Command)	7	Uijeongbu (State Council)
2	Jungchubu (Consultative Committee)	8	Yejo (Ministry of Rites)
3	Saheonbu (Office of Inspector-General)	9	Ijo (Ministry of Personnel)
4	Byeongjo (Ministry of Defense)	10	Hojo (Ministry of Taxation)
5	Hyeongjo (Ministry of Justice)	11	Hanseongbu (Capital Bureau)
6	Gongjo (Ministry of Works)		

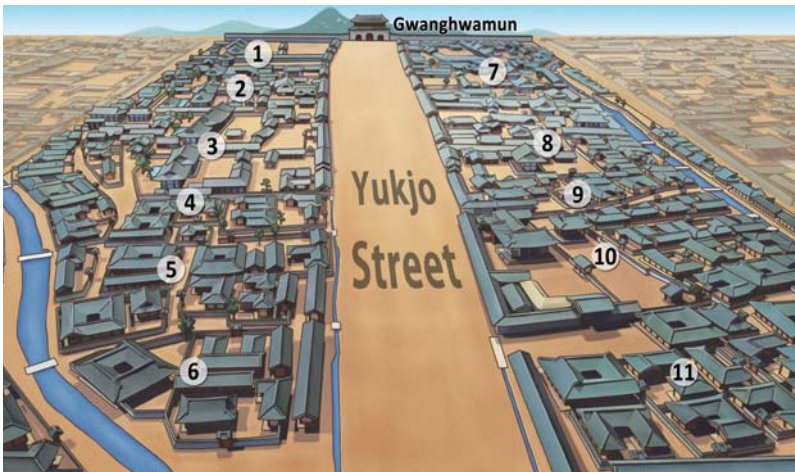


Figure 6 Yukjo Street



palace affairs such as plastering, repair, sewing, or road cleaning. In return the merchants received exclusive sales rights from the government and were the state-registered merchants. Yukuijeon, also called Unjongga (modern-day Jongno), kept growing and established itself as the central commercial space within the city limit. The shape of street network was largely kept regular unless there were geographical obstacles. The main streets were designed to be 56 cheok (1 cheok=30 cm) wide; mid-size streets were 16 cheok wide and narrow streets were 11 cheok wide in the plan. The streets not only served the function of passage way but also held strong symbolic meanings. They were used as market plazas, and the king used the road. On the other side of these planned streets, there were natural byways and alleys created by waterways. These urban organizational characteristics can be still found today.

The fortress walls served as the boundary that distinguishes the inside and outside of the capital city both physically and emotionally; it is synonymous to the four inner mountains in spatial sense. The wall was built along the geographic formation of the four inner mountains, which explains why its shape was neither rectangular nor uniform. It instead formed natural soft curve. ‘Sasangeumpyodo (the Prohibition Order for the Four Mountains)’ strictly banned any quarrying or logging



in order to protect the veins of the four mountains. As a result the green area was kept for a long time, and many different places offered vantage points for observing the interweaving curves of the four inner mountains and the inside and the outside of the fortress walls.

Since the fortress walls of Hanyang were not equipped with ongseong (a half-moon shaped protective double wall built outside of castle gate) and jangdae (a type of command post), it may not be suitable to be labeled as a perfect defensive facility. Still, it represented the boundaries of the Joseon Dynasty's capital and maintained its shape and function for more than 500 years. The fortress walls of Hanyang are known to be the largest in scale among the existent fortress walls of capital cities



Photo 3 Bukhansan Mountain Fortress





Photo 4 Daeseongmun of Bukhansan



Photo 5 The Fortress Walls of Seoul



listed as World Heritage sites. The gate towers (four great gates and four small gates) and the 18.65 km-long original wall constructed of stone are still well preserved so the traditional fortress wall construction methods and repair techniques of each period can be verified.

3. Population Changes in Hanseong

Hanseongbu's jurisdiction was divided into two major parts for better public administration and security, namely the five districts within the city and Sangjeosimni (the outer city). Military officers and merchants who

Year	Number of Houses			Population		
	Inside of the City	Outer-side of the City	Total	Inside of the City	Outer-side of the City	Total
1428 (A)	16,921	1,601	18,522	103,328	6,044	109,372
1789 (B)	22,094	21,835	43,929	112,371	76,782	189,153
Increase in Number (B-A)	5,173	20,234	25,407	9,043	70,738	79,781
Increase Rate (%)	30.5	1,263.8	137.2	8.7	1,170.4	72.9

Table 1 Population Growth Comparison of the Inside and Outer-side the City



serviced the king and the royal family resided in the 5 districts, and Sangjeosimni supplied produces and various goods from around the country to the residents of the city. Hanseong's population record of 1428 (10th year of King Sejong's reign) in the early Joseon Dynasty shows that 103,328 (94.5%) people out of 109,372 total population resided within the city, and only 6,044 (5.5%) people resided in Sangjeosimni. In 1789 during the late Joseon Dynasty the population within the city remained relatively constant while the population of Sangjeosimni dramatically increased (by 1,170.4%), and the growth rate of the number of houses (1,263.9%) was also prominent.

There were two main causes behind the rapid growth in Hanseong's population. First, Hanseong developed into the commercial center of the country due to the enforcement of Daedongbeop (Standard Tax Law) in the 17th century, and the circulation of metal currency began. Second, because of natural disasters influenced by the Little Ice Age, migrants and farmers came into the city at an accelerated rate. The Gyeonggang area, which used to be the center of maritime transportation, grew into a commercial center that connected the core commercial authorities of the city with the markets around the country. Areas near Hanseong such as Gwangju (Songpajang), Yangju (Nuwonjeom) and Gwacheon emerged as the new distribution hubs that



connected all local cities of the country.

Fifty cities around the country had population of more than 5,000 at that time (1789), and the total population of 49 cities, exclusive of Hanseong, was 571,663. Hanseong was the main city of Joseon where 30% of all city population resided. Satellite cities such as Gwangju and

Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population
Hanyang	189,153	Gilju	8,641	Gyeongju	6,263	Jeongan	5,488
Gaeseong	27,769	Hwangju	8,123	Myeongcheon	5,978	Gwangju	5,467
Pyeongyang	21,869	Geoje	7,839	Changseong	5,963	Cheongju	5,436
Sangju	18,296	Yeongyu	7,754	Uiseong	5,948	Sangwon	5,431
Jeonju	16,694	Gongju	7,139	Dongrae	5,946	Hamheung	5,418
Daegu	13,734	Seongcheon	7,085	Milyang	5,818	Cheolsan	5,272
Chungju	11,905	Jeju	6,761	Chosan	5,769	Deokcheon	5,255
Uiju	10,837	Jeongju	6,536	Ganghwa	5,704	Heungwon	5,225
Jinju	10,000	Anju	6,401	Naju	5,638	Onyang	5,417
Haeju	9,958	Andong	6,334	Asan	5,607	Buyeo	5,144
Gyeongseong	9,102	Dangjin	6,316	Taein	5,601	Gasan	5,081
Busan	9,047	Dancheon	6,308	Gwangju	5,525	Yangju	5,031

Table 2 Cities with Population of more than 5,000 in 1789(13th Year of King Jeongjo's Reign)
 [Source: Go Donghwan, 2011 The Capital Hanyang of Joseon Period: Focused on the Order and Spatial Expressions, Sahakbo 209]



Yangju served as distribution hubs with populations that equaled major cities in other areas of country and together formed the greater metropolitan area. Hanseong's status as the central city was strengthened as the monetary economic system developed and population increased in the late Joseon Dynasty. In short, it was not only the political, military and administrative center but it also became the number one city in economic sense.

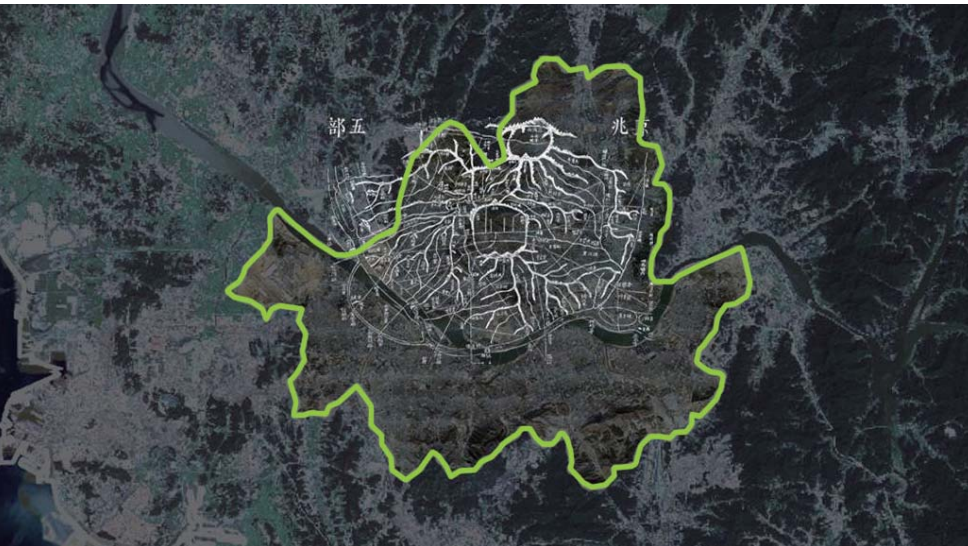


Figure 7 Hanseong City Proper in the Late 18th Century according to Gyeonjoobudo and the Present-day Seoul City Proper



3 Modern City Gyeongseong

1. Transformation of the City Prototype

King Gojong, the 26th King of the Joseon Dynasty, proclaimed the founding of Daehanjeguk (the Greater Korean Empire) in 1897 and claimed himself the Emperor. To commemorate this new beginning he moved the main palace to Gyeongwungung (renamed to Deoksugung in 1907) and embarked on the city's independent modernization process. Yanggwan (Westerners' Wing) was built inside Gyeongwungung, and he established Hwangudan (a site where rites for the heavens were performed) across Gyeongwungung and reported his enthronement as the emperor to the heavens. As a result, the existing urban center with the Gyeongbokgung Palace as the center was transformed into an urban structure that connects the Gyeongbokgung Palace, Hwangudan and Namdaemun to Gyeongwungung with the latter as the center. Most of the buildings in Gyeongbokgung and Gyeongungung



were destroyed or removed in early Japanese colonial rule, and a horizontal axis was formed that connected Gwanghwamun Streets, Deoksugung and Namdaemun in a direct line. As a streetcar route linking Gwanghwamun and Namdaemun was developed in 1928, the streets



Photo 6
Hwanggungwu,
Symbol of
Daehanjeguk





Photo 7 Changing of the Guards Ceremony in front of Daehanmun

became even wider. Hwangudan, the symbol of the Joseon Empire, was sold as the site for Joseon Hotel (present-day Westin Chosun Hotel) in 1914. Only Hwanggungwu (Yellow Palace Shrine) remained inside the hotel.

The Japanese built a series of buildings to symbolize Japanese Colonial Rule in Korea. Japanese Government-General of Korea Building was built inside the main palace of the Joseon Dynasty, Gyeongbokgung, which was the pinnacle of the south/north axis and viewing axis (1925). Gyeongseong City Government Complex was built in front of Deoksugung, the main palace of



Daehanjeguk (1925). Joseon Shinto Shrine was built on Namsan (1925). Gyeongseong Shinto Shrine (1898) and Japanese Legation Building (1910) were also built. Korea's best financial district was constructed that began from the top of the street of Deoksugung to Namsan. As part of this district, Bonjeong (Chungmuro), Myeongchijeong (Myeong-dong), and Hwanggeumjeong (present-day Euljiro) were built below Namsan in addition to Sogongro. The symbolic spatial structure of the Joseon Dynasty was completely transformed into the main axis of colonial rule that connected Japanese Government-General of Korea Building, Gyeongseong



Figure 8 Transformation of the Main Cross Axis (Left: 1907, Center: 1927, Right: 1999)



City Government Complex and the Bank of Joseon (predecessor of the Bank of Korea).

2. Transformation of the Urban Space

The urban space of the capital was divided into Bukchon (North Village), Namchon (South Village), Jungchon (Middle Village), Sangchon (Upper Village) and Hachon (Lower Village) that separated the population by residents' status and occupation during the Joseon period. Mostly, the upper class *yangban* (nobles) took residences at the foot of the four inner mountains where there had scenic views. The people of wealth and power at the time, the members of the *Noron* Faction, lived in Bukchon (north of Jonggak) as a group. The military nobilities and nobles who lost political grounds and belonged to the *Namin* and *Soron* Factions collectively lived on the foot of Mokmyeok Mountain(Namsan). People of the *Sobuk* Faction lived around Naksan. People of the *Soron* Faction lived near Seosomun. The merchants and professionals such as official interpreters, government physicians, legal aids and petty officers resided in Jungchon located near Cheongyecheon.

However, when Korea opened its ports to the world in 1882, the existing structure began to transform. The



Legations of the United Kingdom, the United States and Russia were established near Deoksugung, and the Japanese Legation was built in Namsan forming a foreign concession within the capital. Most notably, the number of Japanese increased exponentially after the Japanese Annexation of Korea in 1910, and they settled in the northwest hillside of Namsan and the Yongsan area. Namsan was most affected by colonization during the Japanese Colonial Period not only because it was situated in the entranceway that was a short cut connecting the Han River urban center through the Yongsan open market but also because it was relatively easier for foreigners to sneak into Namchon compared to Bukchon where the nobles lived. During the Joseon Dynasty patterns of residence was determined by social status. The upper middle class lived north of Cheongyecheon, and the common people lived south of Cheongyecheon. During the Japanese Colonial Period the pattern changed: Koreans lived north of Cheongyecheon, and Japanese lived south of Cheongyecheon. In short, the urban space was divided by nationalities.

The expansion of the modern commercial space fanned out from the Bank of Joseon Plaza as the center to Bonjeong (present-day Myeong-dong and Chungmuro) and Hwanggeumjeong (Euljiro), separate from the original



Korean-oriented ‘Jongno.’ The theaters that disseminated western culture opened up in the most lavishly and glamorously decorated place in Gyeongseong, Bonjeong. It enjoyed unequalled economic and cultural fame as the mecca of consumerism due to the rising mass appeal of new products and modern culture. It earned itself a nickname, ‘the Ginza of Gyeongseong.’ Bonjeong was renamed as Myeong-dong and Chungmuro after the Liberation. It continued as the cultural center of the city and was established as the headquarters for Korean movie industry enjoying its heydays between the late 1950’s to the 1960’s.

3. Expansion of Gyeongseong’s Urban Area

Yongsan changed the most during the Japanese Colonial Period. According to the treaty made with Japan after Imo Military Revolt in 1882, Yongsan was opened up as an open market, and a full-scale development started as Japan built its military base and housing for soldiers and their family in the surrounding area. It became the central hub of Korea’s transportation system that connected the whole peninsula. Gyeonginseon (Gyeongseong-Incheon Railroad Line), opened in 1900, which passed through Yongsan, and so did the lines that opened later namely



Gyeongbuseon (Gyeongseong -Busan Railroad Line), Gyeonguseon (Gyeongseong -Shinuiju Railroad Line), Gyeongwonseon (Gyeongseong-Wonsan Railroad Line), and Yongsanseon (Yongsan-Danginri Railroad Line). The Imperial Government of Japan stationed the Japanese Army near Yongsan Train Station to ensure a smoother flow of supplies and travelers. The Japanese Government General of Korea's Railway Bureau, Railway Academy, Railway Factory and Railway Library were also all clustered around that area. After the Korean War the US Army took over the Japanese Military Base and Yongsan's



Figure 9 General Schematic Design for Yongsan Park: Transformation of Japanese Military Station-US Military Station into a National Park



history of foreign occupation continued. Recently, the Korean government announced a general plan to convert the US Army Base in Yongsan, which is to be returned to the Korean Government in 2016, into a national park that extends to Namsan and Han River.

In 1936 the Gyeongseong City Plan was announced that in many ways is Seoul's very first example of modern urban planning. It focused on building new urban area in the outskirts of Gyeongseong rather than improving the existing downtown area. The planned area included the existing 35.1 square kilometers of Gyeongseongbu, and 108.8 square kilometers of newly added areas comprised of lands in the east of Gyeongseong, south of Han River, and west of Gyeongseong. The city was designed as a 'megacity' that was almost three times the size of original city, and the expected population for the area was 700,000. Areas near the railroad lines such as Gyeongbuseon, Gyeonginseon and Gyeongwonseon were allocated as industrial areas, and other areas were set for residential purposes. The areas in the east included Cheongnyangni and Wangsimni, which were designated as light industrial and residential areas, and Hangangli was designated as an exclusive residential area. South of the Han River, Yeongdeungpo was designated as industrial area, and Noryangjin was to serve as a residential area supporting



the industrial area. The west of Gyeongseong was comprised of light industrial area, Mapo-Yonggang, with attendant residential areas of Yeonhui-Shinchon and Eunpyeong. This urban plan was proposed in order to manage the urbanization process of the areas near Gyeongseong out of the Imperial Authorities' control and to set a new spatial order that was acceptable to the Imperial Authorities. However, the proposed urban plan was not executed completely with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the serious shortage of supplies and finances that ensued, and moreover, the people of Joseon fiercely opposed this plan.



4 The Growth of Seoul and Transformation of the Urban Space

1. Population Growth and Expansion of the Urban Center

Gyeongseongbu was renamed the City of Seoul with the Liberation of Korea in 1945. In 1946 Seoul was separated from the jurisdiction of Gyeonggido province and was named Seoul Special Free City, and in 1949 Seoul attained the status of Seoul Special City. The population of Seoul was 900,000 in 1945, but in 1949 the population drastically increased to 1,440,000. Many Korean nationals who used to work overseas during the Japanese Colonial Period came back, and a lot of laborers around the country came to look for work. In order to accommodate the rapidly increasing population, the new government expanded the city proper (136 square kilometers to 268.35 square kilometers) to a size that was 7.5 times larger than Hanseongbu during the Joseon Dynasty.



Year	Total Population	Seoul (Gyeongseong)		Gyeonggido Province		
		Population	Ratio (%)	Population	Ratio (%)	
Joseon Dynasty	1648	1,531,365	95,559	6.2	81,244	5.3
	1669	5,081,644	194,030	3.9	546,237	10.9
	1753	7,298,731	174,203	2.4	642,012	8.8
	1852	6,810,206	204,053	3.0	672,603	9.9
Japanese Colonial Period	1925	19,523,000	342,000	1.8	1,676,000	8.6
	1935	22,899,000	444,000	1.9	2,008,000	8.8
	1940	24,326,000	935,000	3.8	1,929,000	7.9
	1945	25,900,000	901,000	3.5	2,189,000	8.5
Republic of Korea	1949	20,189,000	1,446,000	7.2	2,741,000	13.6
	1955	21,502,000	1,569,000	7.3	2,360,000	11.0
	1960	24,994,000	2,445,000	9.8	2,750,000	11.0
	1966	29,193,000	3,803,000	13.0	3,108,000	10.6
	1970	31,469,000	5,536,000	17.6	3,358,000	10.7
	1975	34,709,000	6,889,000	19.8	4,040,000	11.6
	1980	37,449,000	8,367,000	22.3	4,935,000	13.2
	1985	40,467,000	9,646,000	23.8	4,794,000	11.8
	1990	43,390,000	10,628,000	24.4	7,960,000	18.4
	1995	44,606,000	10,231,000	22.9	9,958,000	22.4

Table 3 Changes in Population Ratio of Seoul and Gyeonggido Province



The land readjustment project started before the Liberation and continued even after the Liberation in order to accommodate the rapidly increasing population. The urban sprawling process even further accelerated when the Economic Development Plan was launched in 1962, but the government lacked the funds to secure housing. In turn the government developed 17 districts with a total of 58,850,000 square meters of land as urban areas through the Land Compartmentalization and Rearrangement Project, which helped minimize the government’s burden. These urban development areas were situated within 5 to 15 kilometers in diameter of the urban center Seoul.

Seoul was plagued by political turmoil and suffered the consequences from the destruction of the war during the period after the Liberation until the 1960s; however, it emerged as a modern city from the ashes between the 1960s and



1970s. During the 1960s when the First and Second Five-Year Economic Development Plans (1962 to 1971) were in full swing, Seoul experienced rapid industrialization and urbanization, and the concentration of population in Seoul intensified in the late 1960s as the achievements of the economic development became more prominent. The population of Seoul was 2,445,000 in 1960; in 1970

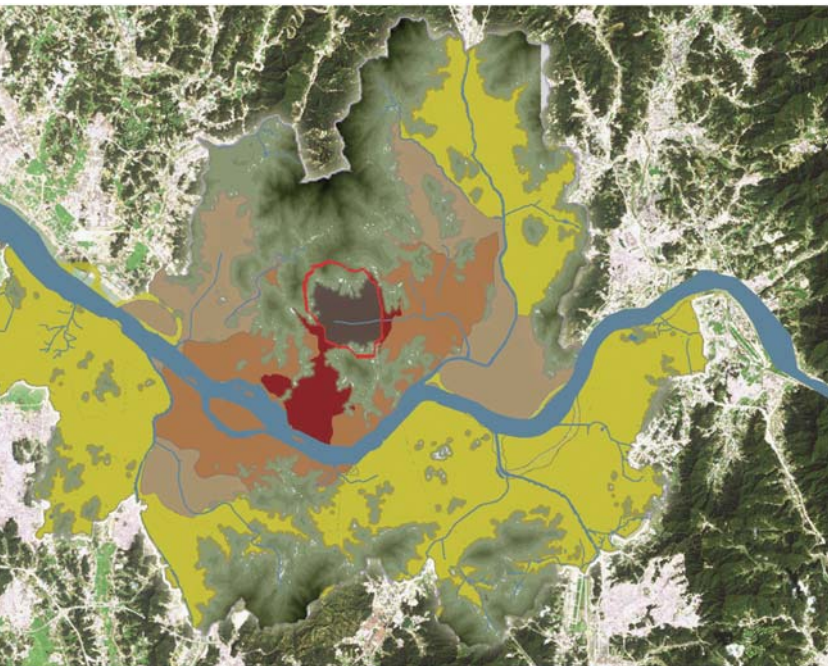


Figure 10 Transformation Process of Seoul City Proper



it more than doubled to 5,336,000. The city proper also expanded in 1963 (from 268.35 square kilometers to 613.04 square kilometers) and again in 1973 (from 613.04 square kilometers to 627.06 square kilometers). This expansion of the city proper meant that the boundary of the city expanded from the four inner mountains to the four outer mountains. During the Joseon period the city used to be divided into the north section and the south

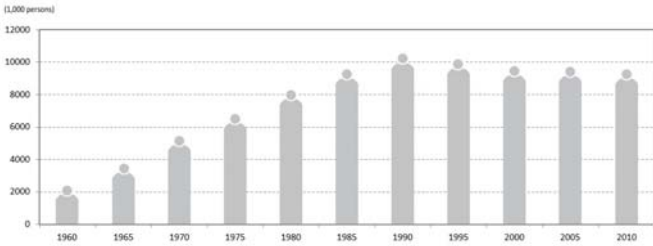


Figure 11 Population Growth of Seoul (1960 – 2010)

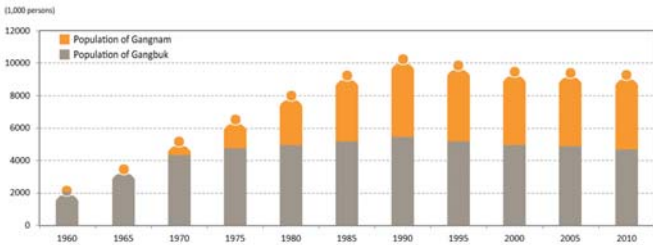


Figure 12 Population of Gangnam and Gangbuk of Seoul (1960 – 2010)



section by Cheonggyecheon; now the city has to be halved by the Han River into Gangbuk (north of the river) and Gangnam (south of the river).

In 1980, when the city was in the middle of an active urbanization process, the population of Seoul was 8,367,000 and reached its peak in 1990 at 10,628,000. The population of Seoul increased at an explosive rate for 45 years after the Liberation. Before the Liberation most of the citizens resided in Gangbuk, but from the 1960s the population in Gangnam started to rise. In 1961 87% of the people lived in Gangbuk and only 13 % lived in Gangnam, which meant more importance was placed on Gangbuk. But the weight shifted gradually toward Gangnam: in 1975 69% lived in Gangbuk and 31% lived in Gangnam, and in 1980 60 % lived in Gangbuk and 40% in Gangnam.

2. Redevelopment of Gangbuk's Original Urban Center

Even after the Liberation and the War, Gangbuk's original urban center enjoyed the status as the top political, cultural, social, financial and educational area in Korea: not only were the Blue House, the government building and other public institutions located there but also Chungmuro





Photo 8 The Gyeongbokgung Palace and the Skyscrapers of the Urban Center



Photo 9 The Jongmyo Shrine (World Cultural Heritage Site) and the Skyscrapers in the Backdrop



and Myeong-dong were still the center of commerce. The financial institutions were in Namdaemunro, Jongno was the commercial and cultural center, and prestigious educational facilities, high schools and colleges were also found there. Various problems including the absence of proper road system, traffic congestion and shortage of public facilities surfaced as a result of urbanization and repeated superficial expansion such as the numerous unauthorized, unsafe shacks that were built in the city and in the highlands of the hills near the city.

A large-scale urban center redevelopment project was launched for the effective land use of the urban center and the recovery of the proper functioning of the urban system. The urban center redevelopment project that involved 2,050,420 square meters in 32 areas was executed from 1973 to 1979. As a result, the urban organizational units became mid-sized household land parcels, and the organically formed streets along the waterways disappeared. The urban center of the past, which served as the political center, transformed to commerce and administrative centers and the new skyscrapers built right next to cultural heritage sites created disharmony with the traditional scenery.

One by one many of the urban center functions that used to be concentrated in Gangbuk began moving to Gangnam



for the stable development of the new Gangnam urban area. The financial center moved to Yeouido from Namdaemun; the National Assembly and the government administrative body moved to Yeouido and Gwacheon; Seoul National University, Gyeonggi High School, Seoul High School and other prestigious educational institutions moved to Gangnam; the cultural and economic centers also moved to Gangnam and the Teheranno area. The old urban center experienced gradual yet inevitable decline as Gangnam emerged as the political, cultural and economic center.

3. New Development of Gangnam

The development of Gangnam was inaugurated simultaneously with the opening of the Hangang Bridge No. 3, Hannam Bridge, which connected Gangbuk and Gangnam, and the Gyeongbu Expressway (Seoul to Busan). The land price of Yeongdong, a quiet rustic village at the time, started going up as the construction of the Hangang Bridge No. 3 began in 1966. “Mrs. Speculators” with massive amounts of cash together with real estate agents fanned the increase of the land price. The real estate agents formed a village in Maljukgeori, the starting point of the Gyeongbu Expressway, so the real estate price explosion phenomenon is called “the Legend of



Maljukgeori.” The city government, which was running short on funds for the Gangnam New Town Construction, embarked on land readjustment projects that involved approximately 25,800,000 square meters of land. These included Yeongdong District 1 (current Seocho District) around the Gyeongbu Expressway in 1968 and Apgujeong and Sinsa of Yeongdong District 2 (current Gangnam District) from 1971. The only way the public sector was involved in the development process of Gangnam was the land development plan. The urban development project and construction of the urban infrastructure depended heavily on private funds. Consequently, more than what could be considered reasonable of the profit from this development was distributed to private funds, and these funds were channeled back to feed the real estate speculation thus contributing to the distorted urban development.

Some areas within the 8 districts around the shores of Han River including Apgujeong, Jamsil, Banpo and Yeouido were developed as the Apartment Districts, which were reserved exclusively for apartment buildings from 1975 to 1983. During the 1980s the development of Gangnam was primarily completed with the end of the land readjustment projects in Yangjae and Isu Districts, the housing development project in Gaepo, Umyeon and Suseo, and the small-scale residential site development project of



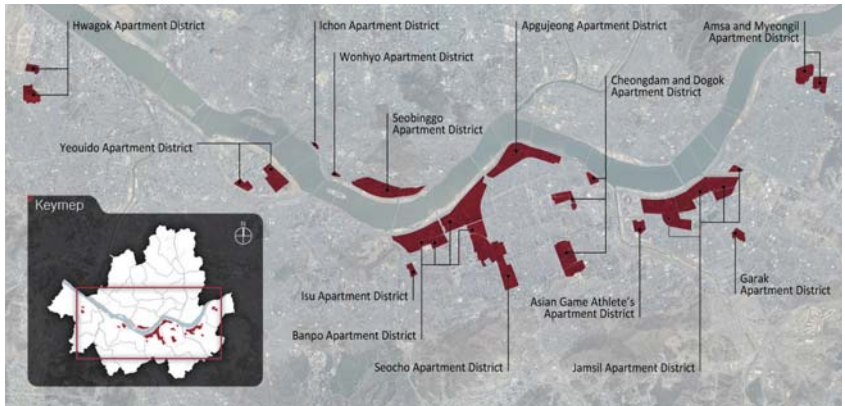


Figure 13 Distribution of Apartment Districts on the Shores of the Han River

Yeongok, Sinwon and Naegok. The number of apartment units built in Gangnam between 1975 and 1979 was 17,108; most notably, 4,761 units were built in Apgujeong-dong and 6,148 in Daechi-dong. More of the large-scale apartment complexes were built in Apgujeong-dong, Daechi-dong and Gaepo-dong between 1981 and 1985, in the total of 40,319 units. According to a 1985 report, out of all residential units in Seoul only 26.5% were apartments, but in Gangnam out of total 137,335 residential units, 99,830 units, more than 70%, were apartments. This report firmly reinforces Gangnam's image as the city of apartments.

Gangnam was not self-sustainable during its early



period and relied on the Gangbuk urban center for political, economic and cultural needs. However the sluggish development of Gangnam gained momentum once several prestigious high schools, the courthouse and other public institutions relocated from Jongno and Jung district. The relocation of prestigious high schools in particular created a synergy effect: areas with good school districts were considered rich residential areas due to Korea's fervor for education. Stimulation of commercial activities around the areas followed .

Gangnam's image is tied to apartments, but the proportion of low-rise buildings such as multiplex housings, multi-household housings and single-family housings was relatively high up until the 1990s. In the 2000s the residential buildings erected in the 70's and 80's began to age, and large-scale construction companies built super high-rise apartments with luxurious brand names and skyscrapers in the reconstruction process. As a result the luxurious apartments were established as the main residence type in Gangnam.

4. Differentiation of the Urban Space, the Way to a Polycentric City

Until the 1960s Seoul had a core city structure





Photo 10 Business Buildings near Teheranno (Tehran Avenue)

in which the Gangbuk urban center performed stately, financial and administrative functions, and the Yeongdeungpo area carried out the industrial function. However, Seoul's rapid population increase and industrialization after the 1960s forced Seoul's spatial structure to differentiate into a polycentric city. Yeongdeungpo District that used to support the function of existing central business district as an industrial center grew into a sub core as Yeouido was developed and hosted an array of major institutions such as the National Assembly, the stock market, news and media. The core of Gangnam's newly developed area (Yeongdong) also grew into a sub core with financial and administrative



functions, which used to be the main cause of congestion in the existing urban center of Gangbuk.

Seoul's subway line No. 2, which was designed to help achieve the tri-core urban structure, opened and paved the way for Yeongdong sub core to further develop beyond the shores of the Han River. Subsequent series of

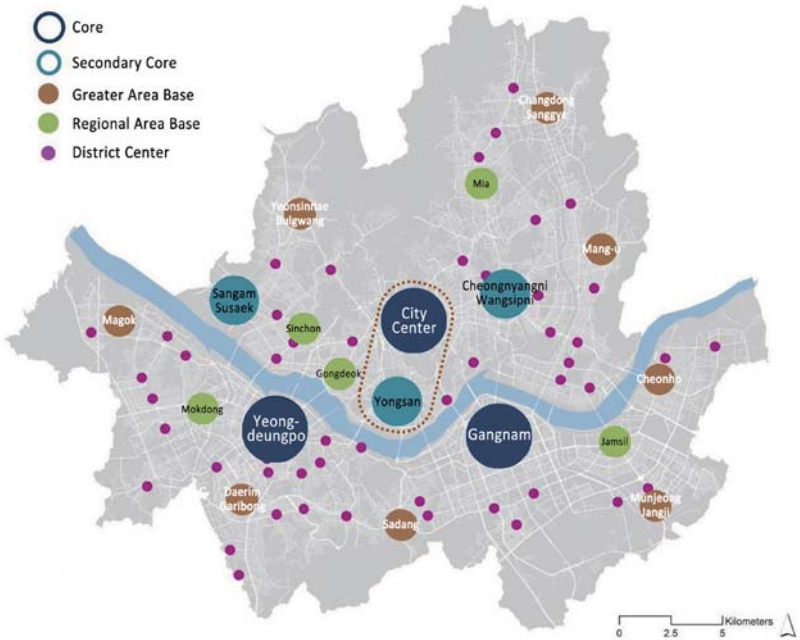


Figure 14 2020 Seoul Master Plan: Central Area System



developments in Gangnam helped Teheran Road, which stretches from Samseong subway station to Gangnam subway station, rise rapidly as the economic center of the Republic of Korea boasting an array of headquarters and offices of major corporations and ventures. For instance Jamsil and Songpa Area (Jamsil Multi-sports Complex, Asian Game Athletes' Village, Olympic Athletes' Village, Olympic Park, etc.) was developed in preparation of the Seoul Olympic in 1988 and the Asian Games; Asem Tower and Coex Mall were built in Samseong-dong and the Department of Justice relocated to Seocho subway station area.

Currently, the 3 core areas (the urban core, Yeongdeungpo and Yeongdong) have not changed much; partial changes have been observed in sub cores and area centers resulting from situational factors of specific time periods. Cheongnyangni/ Wangsimni and Sangam/Susaek were added to the existing sub core list of Yeongdong and Yeongdeungpo, and the 11 area centers included Yeonsinnae, Sinchon, Gongdeok, Sanggye, Mia, Mokdong, Daerim, Sadang/Namhyeon, Jamsil and Cheonho. The imbalance between the areas north and south of the Han River became prominent. More specifically the Yeongdong sub core's major business functions have flourished vastly around Teheran Road, but the sub core



function of Cheongnyangni/ Wangsimni and Sangam/ Susaek have weakened. Furthermore the functions of area centers south of the Han River, namely Mok-dong, Daerim, Sadang/Namhyeon, Jamsil, have strengthened while the functions of area centers of Gangbuk, Yongsan, Mia and Mangu, have deteriorated.

5. Megalopolitanization of Seoul Metropolitan Area: Megacity Seoul

Development of New Towns in the Seoul Metropolitan Area

Seoul was already at an overcrowded state in the beginning of 1970s. Dispersing the population concentrated in Seoul emerged as the most urgent national task. First, the government developed Banwol New Town (Ansan) as a new industrial city in order to disperse the population and relocate and accommodate pollution creating industries. It moreover built Gwacheon New Town to disperse government's core administrative functions. No large piece of land for possible development remained in the downtown area of Seoul and the shortage of housing became a serious issue in the 1980's. Four new towns (Pyeongchon of Anyang, Sanbon of Gunpo, Jungdong of Bucheon, Bundang of Suwon and Ilsan of



Goyang) were developed to resolve this population issue. Pyeongchon, Sanbon and Jungdong districts were new towns in existing towns because the development process involved reorganization of existing towns and new

Specification	Bundang	Ilsan	Pyeongchon	Sanbon	Jungdong
Area (10,000 Pyeong: 1 Pyeong = 3.3058 Square Meters)	595.4	475.7	154.5	126.7	164.5
Number of Houses Built (1,000 Units)	97.5	79.0	42.5	42.0	41.4
Target Population (10,000 People)	39	27.6	17	17	17

Table 4 First Phase of the New Town Construction Plan of Seoul Metropolitan Area

	Seongnam Pangyo	Hwaseong Dongtan	Gimpo Hangang	Gwanggyo	Paju Wunjeong	Yangju Okjeong	Wiryu	Godeok	Incheon Geomdan
Area (10,000 Pyeong)	8.9	9.0	11.7	11.3	16.5	11.4	6.8	13.4	18.1
Number of Houses Built (1,000 Units)	29.3	40.9	60.3	31.1	87.3	60.2	42.2	54.5	92.0
Target Population (1,000 People)	88	124	167	78	215	168	106	135	230

Table 5 Second Phase of the New Town Construction Plan of Seoul Metropolitan Area





Figure 15 Locations of First and Second Phase New Towns



residential land development. On the other hand, Bundang and Ilsan were built as independent new towns. However, their dreams of becoming independent towns, Bundang as information and technology center and Ilsan as cultural and international administration center, never came to fruition. The new towns built in the first phase became ‘bed towns’ since more than 40% of their residents commuted to Seoul.

In 2003, 10 sites of Gimpo Hangang, Incheon Geomdan, Hwaseong Dongtan 1, Pyeongtaek Godeok, Hwaseong Dongtan 2, Suwon Gwanggyo, Seongnam Pangyo, Songpa Wirye, Yangju Okjeong, and Paju Gyoha District were designated as the Second Phase New Towns in order to control the realty price hike in Seoul. The Second Phase New Towns has less accessibility than the First Phase New Towns. Nevertheless, they are designed for sustainable development considering environmental capacity such as avoiding massive scale residential constructions and providing enough green area ratio, strengthening self-sufficiency, and specialization of each new towns.

Concentration of Population in the Seoul Metropolitan Area

‘Gyeonggido’ was one of the very top tier provinces even during the Joseon Dynasty because it surrounded



(Unit: 1,000 People)

Specification	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Total Population (A)	37,436	40,448	43,411	45,982	47,977	47,279	48,580
Population of Seoul Metropolitan Area (B)	13,298	15,820	18,586	21,204	22,216	22,767	23,836
Population of City of Seoul (C)	8,364	9,639	10,613	10,596	10,373	9,820	9,794
C/A (%)	22.34	23.83	24.45	23.04	21.62	20.77	20.16
C/B (%)	62.90	60.93	57.10	49.97	46.69	43.13	41.09
B/A (%)	35.34	39.01	42.74	46.11	46.30	48.15	49.07

Table 6 Population Trend of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area

Gyeongdo. About 10% of the nation's total population lived in the capital area in the late Joseon Dynasty when the country was still a feudalistic agricultural society. This trend continued until the Japanese Occupation; however, after the Liberation the concentration of population in Seoul Metropolitan Area intensified. For instance in 1970 the percentage of people living in Seoul Metropolitan Area increased to 20 % of the total population, to 30% in 1975, to more than 40% in 1990, and it reached almost 50% in 2010 (refer to Tables 3 and 5).

The population of City of Seoul began to show a



declining trend after hitting 8 million people in the 1980s and peaking at 10 million in 1990, while the percentage of Seoul City's population remained constant at around 20% of the total population since the 1980s. On the other hand, the proportion of the Seoul Metropolitan Area's population increased steadily, and in 2010 one half of the total population is now densely concentrated in the Seoul Metropolitan Area (11.8% of the total territory). The percentage of people living in the City of Seoul has been decreasing since the 1990s, and the percentage of people who live in the Seoul Metropolitan Area has been increasing. Now, the table is turned.

The reason behind this phenomenon is the moving out of the population of Seoul to Gyeonggi-do province after the 1970s. On average, more than 100,000 people moved to Gyeonggi-do province every year between 1970 and 1986. In 1994 out of 810,000 people who moved outside of Seoul, 540,000 relocated to Gyeonggi-do province. Most notably, out of 428,000 incomers of the 5 New Towns 327,000, or 76.4%, moved from Seoul. This means a housing filtering process had been in place: Seoul's population had moved to the New Cities of Gyeonggi-do province as the result of the New Town Development, and new comers from other places replaced them.

Despite the low population growth rate of the nation at



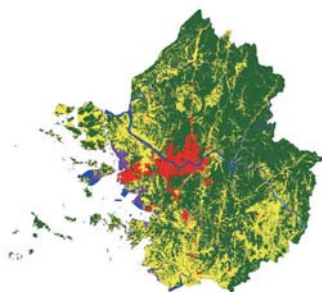


Figure 16 Urbanization of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area (1985)

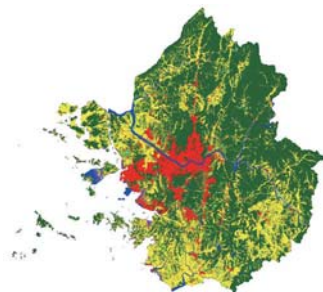


Figure 17 Urbanization of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area (1995)

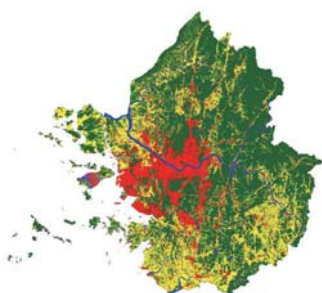


Figure 18 Urbanization of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area (2000)

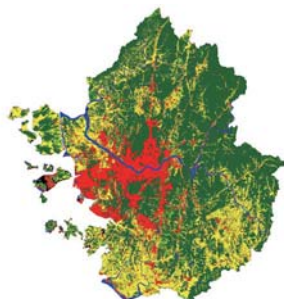


Figure 19 Urbanization of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area (2009)



1.5% between 1970 and 1995, the population growth rate of Gyeonggi province was extremely high. The growth rates were especially high in the First Phase New Towns and industrial cities: Seongnam (15.0%), Bucheon (10.4%), Ansan (10.9%), Gwacheon (8.2%), Gwangmyeong (10.1%), Gunpo (12.1%), and Uiwang (10.5%). Recently (2005 - 2010), the population growth rates of the Second Phase New Towns situated within a commutable distance of 30 kilometers from Seoul such as Hwaseong, Yongin, Namyangju, Suwon and Paju also showed high rate of increase.

In terms of population scale, out of 20 small cities with more than 500,000 people, 9 of them are in Gyeonggido with Suwon that has a population of more than a million (1,104,681). The 8 other cities with more than 500,000 people are as follows: Seongnam (996,524), Goyang (962,297), Yongin (891,708), Bucheon (890,875), Ansan (753,862), Anyang (628,831), Namyangju (569,756), and Hwaseong (532,326). There are also five cities with more than 300,000 residents: Uijeongbu (435,873), Pyeongtaek (431,827), Siheung (421,105), Gwangmyeong (348,214) and Paju (364,223).

The improvement in the transportation system that connects the outer area and Seoul contributed to the Seoul Metropolitan Area's population growth trend.



Other contributors to this trend include the development control policy within the City of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area development policies such as the New Town Development project that prevented a population explosion in Seoul as well as the building urban industrial facilities that created jobs in Gyeonggido.

Concentration of Industrial and Economic Functions in the Seoul Metropolitan Area

The overpopulation of Seoul Metropolitan Area that began with the Liberation and continues to affect the city today clearly testifies to the existence of serious regional gap. This is not a simple population issue but it also implicates more general issues of imbalanced concentration of all industrial facilities, capital management and administrative institutions. In 1960 24.4% of the national wealth was located in the Seoul Metropolitan Area, but in 1988 the percentage increased to 53.3% passing the half of the total wealth of the nation. The concentration of public institutions in the Seoul Metropolitan Area surpasses 85%, more than 91% of the top 100 companies are headquartered in this area, and 57% of manufacturers are situated in this area. The educational and cultural institutions and living convenience facilities are also highly concentrated in the



area. For instance 57.9% of all business entities, 60.6% of all loans and 81.7% of public institutions are found in the Seoul Metropolitan Area.

Of the national gross product of 2,068.8 trillion in 2005, 43.8% or 906.8 trillion was from the Seoul Metropolitan Area. Gyeonggido province's total (416.7 trillion) was more than that of Seoul (376.5 trillion). The next highest was Gyeongbuk province (8.4%) followed by Gyeongnam province (7.3%) and Ulsan (7.1%). The Seoul Metropolitan Area and the southeast area anchored around Busan and Ulsan comprise the two main economic axis of Korea. The service industry is more important in large cities including Seoul, and manufacturing is more important in other cities. Of Seoul's total production revenue 79.0% is from service industry and the situation is similar in other large cities: Daejeon (58.9%), Daegu (54.3%) and Busan (53.6%).



5 Shadow of Growth and Regeneration and Healing of the City

1. The Miracle on the Han River: Accomplishments and Shortcomings

Many people visiting Seoul today for the first time are often overwhelmed by the expansive scenery of the Han River shoreline: countless bridges hang across the river, express ways and parks on the high water ground along the river; and the view of the high-rise apartment buildings that line the shore is spectacular. Together this may be the iconic image of Korea's rapid, compressed development called the 'Miracle on the Han River.' Imagining the Han River in its original form tucked inside the modernized scene of the legendary growth is almost impossible.

There used to be several islands in the Han River that functioned as the outer river of Joseon's Capital, and the ports were full of single-oar boats. The scenic places along the riverbank were favorite holiday spots for the citizens of Seoul. The shape of Han River began to transform as the



city streets were extended to the riverside, and many bridges were built across it during the Japanese Colonial Period. The Han River, a natural river, used to overflow frequently, so the flooding of the city streets emerged as a serious issue. The Seoul Metropolitan Government launched a riverside development project in the late 1960s and built protections on both shores to prevent flood damages. Apartment buildings were built on the public waters reclamation sites secured after the embankment project. The meandering shape of the Han River with the levees completed during the riverside development project and Bamseom and Jeojado islands can be observed in a bird's eye view photo taken in 1972. This scene has completely changed after the Second Han River Synthetic Development Project in the 1980s: in a recent photo the highways run along both shores that have been straightened.

The side effects of the development-oriented policies executed ever since the 1960s, that is the water pollution of the Han River caused by uncontrolled discharge of domestic and industrial sewage as well as the destruction of the landscape due to excessive extraction of construction material, - had been neglected for some time. In order to resolve these issues the government launched the Han River Synthetic Development Project in preparation of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, and



signaled the beginning of the Han River's era. The Han River Synthetic Development Project was comprised of the following: the depth of the river was uniformly adjusted to 2.5 meters in the entire 36 kilometer length; the submerged weirs were built in Jamsil and Singok to solve drinking water intake issues; and the separated sewer pipes, which separate sewage and wastewater, and sewage treatment plants were revamped to prevent water pollution. The cost of construction was funded through the sales of construction materials extracted from the river bottom. The docks and marinas for boats, yachts and water skiing were built, and the high water ground along the riverside were utilized as parks that promote physical activities, recreation and relaxation. The Olympic Highway, an urban expressway, built on top of the levee, and the apartments built on the public waters reclamation site spearheaded development of Gangnam.

Without doubt the Han River development projects did produce accomplishments worthy of the title, the 'Miracle on the Han River' and acted as the major contributor to the growth of Seoul; however, it also created various issues. For example, due to the two development projects, the beautiful islands of the Han River such as Bamseom, Jeojado and Burido disappeared and with their disappearance so did the spectacular scenery they



composed. Moreover, the natural characteristics of the river were lost after the construction of the straightened concrete shoreline protections on both shores. The public nature of the river was also lost since accessing the shores of the river became difficult due to the expressways built along the shore, and the high-rise apartment buildings built on the shore blocked the river view.

Recently, projects to restore the natural characteristics and the public nature of the Han River were launched. The Yeouido Ecological River Restoration Project converted concrete shore protection into natural shore protection; the Godeok Ecological Park Project helped restore the wetland ecosystem of the Han River; and projects were launched to



Figure 24 Renaissance of the Han River Plan





Photo 11 Bamseom Restored as a Habitat for Migratory Birds

improve access to the shores of Han River and return them back to the restful places for the citizens. Bamseom, which disappeared in 1969 with the development of Yeouido, returned to life in the 1990s as a habitat for migratory birds with berm and wetland. Bamseom's rebirth as an urban ecological space and a paradise for migratory birds makes one stand in awe of nature's ability to restore and recover and even forgive human errors.

2. Apartment Nation and Economic Imbalance between Gangnam and Gangbuk

The most popular form of residence is the apartment



nowadays, but 40 years ago it used to be a type of housing ‘people would not want to live or cannot live in.’ Seoul encountered a serious housing shortage due to an unprecedented population growth, which led the city government to build small apartments in bulks to relieve the pressure. First, the city built 360 small apartment units of 12 pyeong (1 pyeog = 3.3058 square meter) and 15 pyeong in 12 buildings in Yeongdong District in 1971, and ordered government employees who didn’t own homes to move in. Next, they prepared new apartment-only site of 7,794,000 square meters in Apgujeong, Banpo, Cheongdam and Dogok areas and started supplying apartments in large scale. The construction of apartment complexes proceeded rapidly as private construction companies, which grew enormously due to the ‘Middle East Boom,’ joined in. Mega construction companies such as Hyundai, Daelim and Sindonga began building apartments with their foreign currency; people began to prefer ‘modern and convenient’ apartments while the Korean economy enjoyed its heydays.

Real estate speculations also became rampant as the demand for apartments increased, and prices for apartments with high liquidity skyrocketed. The unearned income generated by real estate speculation solely went to the middle class, and the private construction companies took all the revenue from the construction of apartments.



This system contributed to social inequality, and in terms of geography, resulted in the imbalance between Gangnam and Gangbuk, which was mainly comprised of single-family housings. All of the financial benefits of the economic miracle made possible by the Three-Low Policy (low exchange rate, low oil price and low interest rate) of the 1980's, which was designed to stimulate Gangnam's development, was allocated to Gangnam. The imbalance between Gangnam and Gangbuk, where Gangbuk fall behind, became apparent in the 2000s. Gangnam, equipped with mega apartment complexes, education



Photo 12 Apartment Complexes in Gangnam



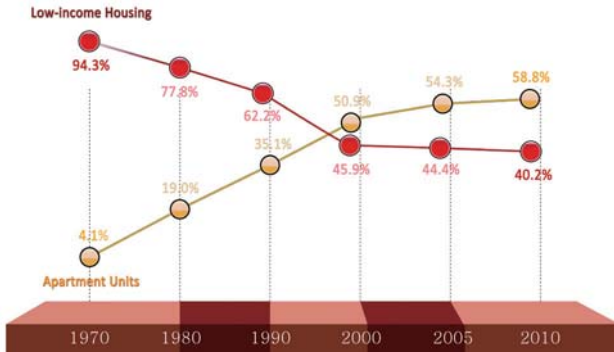


Figure 25 Increase of Apartment Units and Decrease of Low-income Housing

facilities, wide roads, huge department stores, cultural and administrative institutions, continued to grow each day. On the contrary, Gangbuk became stagnant due to poor infrastructures and the houses were getting old and roads remained narrow.

In order to resolve this imbalance between Gangnam and Gangbuk the 4th mayor elected by popular vote launched the ‘Balanced Urban Development’ project, which as the first priority aimed to rebuild the aging downtown area and to minimize the housing and educational gap between Gangnam and Gangbuk. This project included major projects such as converting the aging residential area into New Towns to promote balanced development and inviting special purpose high schools in Gangbuk



to minimize the educational gap. Out of all the plans the efforts of revamping the old residential areas of Gangbuk into New Towns were the most welcome. There is an old saying in Korea, ‘I will give you my old house; give me a new house.’ The New Town Project sort of worked that way: one was promised a free new house if he or she gave up an old house. The project, which has been compared to a ‘golden goose,’ became immensely popular, and the New Town boom took over the whole city of Seoul. After 2004 in particular, the New Town Districts increased dramatically; 305 districts were designated as the New Town Areas. It was 5.7 times greater in number than what it was 7 years back. More reconstruction projects were launched: Urban and Residential environment Areas were expanded to 61.6 square kilometers in 1,300 areas (305 New Town Areas, 529 Redevelopment Areas, 276 Single-family Residential Reconstructions and 190 Communal Residential Reconstructions). This comprised 20% of Seoul’s total residential area (309.35 square kilometers). The project turned not just Gangnam but the whole city into an apartment nation.

Nevertheless, various social and economic issues surfaced after the global financial crisis of 2008. Most notably the real estate market got cold rapidly so the number of unsold apartments increased, and the number of low-



income housing decreased due to large-scale demolitions (compared to 1970, apartments increased 14 folds and low-income housings were cut in half). Old urban organizations centered on old streets and byways disappeared and due to the overheated real estate speculation and the consequent increase in the housing price, many homeowners became ‘house poor,’ that is they had no cash under the pressure to repay the housing loan. The ‘exit plans’ to solve these problems arose from the New Town Projects are underway. For instance some of the designated New Town Areas were released from the plan, but the issue of sunk cost, i.e. the fund used in the preparation stage of the project, still remains unresolved. The emotional gap between the residents who agree with the New Town Project and those who oppose it is still deep not only in the areas affected by the exit plan but almost everywhere. This is another major issue that has to be resolved.

3. Disappearance and Regeneration of the Traditional Urban Residences

Seoul, the Capital of the 600-year Joseon Dynasty, is a city of history and tradition yet it is hard to find residential clusters of traditional *hanok* (Korean-style house) that show us the lifestyle of people who had once



lived in Seoul. Traditional architecture disappeared gradually in the midst of the Japanese Occupation, the Korean War and people's rising preference for 'modern', 'convenient' residences instead of maintaining 'inconvenient', 'old' *hanok*. The city government designated Bukchon areas where *hanoks* remain in concentration as the 'Folk Streetscape Site' and began to manage it in response to the spreading sense of loss and urgency among the citizens about saving the disappearing traditional architecture that is representative of Seoul.

Bukchon used to be the *yangban* residential area near the Gyeongbokgung Palace and was untouched, unlike the other areas, by the enemy fire during the war. Bukchon's Gahoi-dong area was representative of wealthy residential area until the 1970s and TV drama's rich lady characters were all 'Gahoi-dong madams.' However, as most of the rich moved to Mapo, Yeouido and Gangnam as those area developed, Gauhi-dong began to change from a homogenous residential community where *yangbans* with similar living standard lived to a residential zone of mixed social strata. The streetscape with a concentration of *hanoks* was littered with small, improved *hanoks* and modernized *yangoks* (western-style house).

In 1988 the Seoul Metropolitan Government, instead of just preserving it, ambitiously planned to 'restore' and



‘revamp’ the Bukchon area as the ‘Traditional Culture Zone.’ The plan went down the drain due to the lack of agreement on the terms of historical preservation between the government that was economic development-oriented and the homeowners who wanted to preserve their property right. The full-fledged preservation of traditional *hanoks* in Bukchon began with the ‘Bukchon Care’ Project of 2000 that involved experts and residents of Bukchon. The ‘*Hanok* Registration Program’ promoted the preservation and restoration of *hanoks* wherein the Seoul Metropolitan Government directly bought houses that homeowners wanted to sell and converted them into cultural spaces for residents or *hanok* guesthouses. Today the alleyways with concentration of *hanoks* are continuously repaired and maintained. Recently, social interests in *hanoks* are on the rise, and many of the culturally-minded people prefer to live in Bukchon. The number of tourists both foreign and domestic is on the rise. It is true that the current *hanoks* and alleyways of Bukchon differ from those that existed in the traditional Joseon dynasty and that they have lost their original forms due to the improvements made on the *hanoks* and the alterations that the alleyways have undergone. Nevertheless the *hanoks* that line in the streets and the alleyways of Gye-dong and Gahoi-dong are still significant



as a space that presents the traditional residential style of historical Seoul.

The ‘Seochon Care’ Project, which aims to regenerate the historical environment of the west side of Gyeongbokgung, was also launched recently alongside the ‘Bukchon Care’ Project. Seochon is situated in the valleys of Inwangsan Mountain. It used to be the residence of *yangbans* who had a taste for the arts and the middle-class such as official interpreters, physicians and hereditary government functionaries. The area is famous as the background of Jeongseon’s InwangJesaekdo (Clearing After Rain in Inwang Mountain), Angyeon’s Mongyudowondo (Peach Blossom Spring, Utopia) and the Yeohang Literary



Photo 13 Bukchon Hanok Village



Circle of Chusa Gim Jeonghee and the middle-class. Several modern literary pioneers have decided to live in Seochon and succeeded to maintain this trend, and even today, numerous galleries that foster artists are clustered in Seochon. Although not as many *hanoks* worthy of preservation are found in Seochon in comparison to Bukchon, it is still a favored spot for visitors because of the 500 years old alleyways, traditional markets, galleries and the natural beauty of Inwangsan Mountain's Cheongpunggye and Suseongdong Valley, which is one of the famous scenic attractions within the Capital Hanyang.

4. Waterways and Reviving Stream that have Disappeared

The [Map of the Capital] (circa 1720) shows little waterways from mountains and hills that surround the city walls join the stream (Cheonggyecheon) and ultimately flow into the Han River. Eighty-six bridges, 76 within the city limit and 10 more outside the city (late Joseon Dynasty), were hung over the intersections of these waterways and roads. Hanseong indeed was a 'city of water' with more than 10 waterways within the city, and more waterways surrounding the city. Here the citizens met and passed over the waterways in their



daily city life. But most of these waterways disappeared from today's downtown Seoul as many are covered, and the uncovered ones have dried up making it difficult to witness any naturally flowing water.

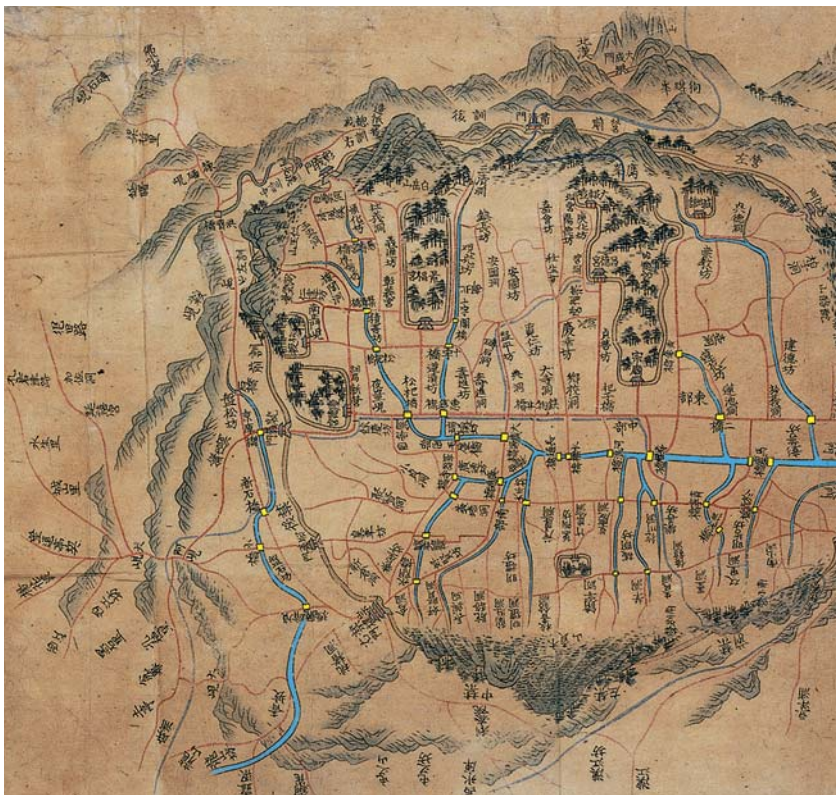


Figure 26 Waterways and Bridges of Hanseong



Most of the waterways within the city began to be converted into culverts since the late Joseon Dynasty and Japanese Colonial Period with the exception of Cheonggyecheon, which was expensive to convert due to

the relatively wide width. Cheonggyecheon and the southbound and the northbound streams that joined Cheonggyecheon were covered and they all disappeared from the ground surface between 1958 and 1970. Most of the streams surrounding the city were also covered during the urbanization process from 1960s and 1980s. 24 out of 36 streams in Seoul's city limit or 31.3% of the length of the stream were covered. The covered areas were mostly used as roads, and it helped relieve traffic congestion. The noxious smell produced from releasing polluted water directly into the stream was also reduced. There were certain economic benefits to utilizing the areas near the covered waterways, and the cluttered environment was cleaned up and improved.

In the 1990s polluted streams like Yangjaecheon was restored to a state that is close to its natural state, and in the 2000s



the restoration projects on covered streams within the city such as Cheonggyecheon and Seongbukcheon were launched to improve the water quality and to restore the natural characteristics of the streams. The restoration of Cheonggyecheon in particular grabbed national attention due to its historical and locational importance, and it was the main pledge of the 2002 mayor-elect of Seoul, Lee Myungbak. The Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project began in 2003 with the demolition of the overpass structures and was completed rather quickly without any interruptions in 2005. The length of the restored waterway was 5.8 kilometers, and the waterway was constructed as a man-made stream with water from the Han River and underground. Neither the historical remains such as Supyogyo Bridge and Gwangtonggyo Bridge nor the natural streaming state of the Cheonggyecheon were restored in the process: Cheonggyecheon's original value was not completely restored but Cheonggyecheon was reborn as an urban stream in the form of 'waterway made of concrete.'

The citizens of Seoul welcomed the restoration that made the flow of clean water possible through the development regiment even though the historical and ecological value of Cheonggyecheon was not fully restored. In fact it was frequently introduced as an example of environmentally sound and sustainable revival of an urban stream. With the restoration of



Cheonggyecheon many stores that were in the backward commercial centers around the area relocated to surrounding areas, and new business districts were established in Cheonggyecheon area between Jongno and Euljiro. Not only candlelight protests but also other events such as World Lamp Festivals are held in the Cheonggyecheon Plaza. It is appreciated as an urban resting space that many citizens of Seoul and tourists, foreign and domestic, visit.



Photo 14 Nighttime Scene of Cheonggyecheon



5. Restoration of the Destructed Ecological Environment

The Joseon Dynasty chose its capital based on the *fengshui* principle and strictly banned any quarrying, logging or building of houses in order to protect the veins of the mountains in and out of the capital city through the Prohibition Orders. Because of this Prohibition Order the forests around Seoul were filled with thick, healthy trees, and the mountain paths where the animals roam and materials were carried were preserved. The ecological security was maintained, and the beauty of the forests was recognizable in everyday life.

The damages on the natural landscape of Seoul began due to constructions of houses to relieve the housing shortage and improve infrastructures like roads and schools during the chaotic modernization period after the Liberation and the Korean War. Until the 1960s, before the full-scale development began, the areas south of the Han River was mostly forests but the green areas shrank dramatically due to the large-scale development in 1985. In 1995 forest areas that are efficient as green areas decreased in size, and the green areas with relatively low efficiency such as urban parks and green areas increased. The story is identical in 2005; the size



Figure 27 Seoul with High Percentage of Green Areas (1960)



Figure 28 Development of Gangnam



Figure 29 Decrease in the Percentage of Green Areas Due to Urbanization (1990)



Figure 30 Restored Green Areas (2005)



of urban green is on the rise.

Not only did the size of forest area become smaller but the forest's ecosystem was also devastated because microorganisms in the soil disappeared as a consequence of acidification induced by air pollution. The forest community structure transformed and the energy level of the forest decreased as the average temperature increased along with the air pollution level. Native plants decreased in number and non-native plants such as ragwood, eupatorium rugosum houtt, phytoiacca americana and ailanthus altissima began to spread rapidly. The Seoul Metropolitan Government launched projects aimed at protecting biodiversity and preserving ecological resources through systematic management of the forest namely in the form of the Preservation of Habitats for Wild Animals Project, the Ecological Axis Connection Project and the Urban Ecological Forest Creation Project. First, the city government designated the Ecological Landscape Preservation Areas (a total of 17 areas or 4,807,327 square meters) based on sample group areas of ecosystem. Some habitats for migratory birds, wild animal areas and reed fields were designated as the Wildlife Preservation Areas (total 9 areas), and the government promoted the preservation of the natural ecosystem, landscape and endangered species. Also under



progress is the Ecological Green Axis Restoration Project, which connects the disconnected sections produced by road constructions in the ecological paths in the green ring that surrounds Seoul (12 places). In order to build a green network that elevates the city's competitiveness other projects were also put in place such as the 10



Figure 31 Green Axis Connection Plan for the City of Seoul



Million Tree of Life Planting Movement of 1998, the Forest of Hope Creation Project, and continuous everyday living space forestation projects such as creating gardens on rooftops of buildings in downtown, forestation of the streets, creation of open green areas in apartment complexes, planting trees on walls, forestation of left-over pieces of land and creating parks in schools.



Photo 15 Forestation of Roadside Cutting Area





Photo 16 Garden on Rooftops of Buildings

The increase of urban green areas that started after the 1990s is credited to the restoration of green areas near mountains and the conversion of brown fields that were damaged during the industrialization era into parks. First of all, as the 1990s dawned, the areas near Pildong (79,937 square meters), used as the Japanese Military Headquarters during the Japanese Occupation and later used as the Capital Defense Command, was converted into Namsangol *Hanok* Village. The converted village served as the catalyst for the launch of ‘Restoration of Namsan’ Citizen’s Campaign, which aimed to restore Seoul’s symbolic landscape of Namsan. In 1994, as a part of the 600-Year Anniversary



of the Capital Designation Project, the Foreigners' Apartment Complex, which used to block the view of Namsan, was demolished and converted into a park. The Namsan Renaissance Plan was established in 2009 and the following projects were launched: the recovery of historicity through the restoration of fortress walls and the recovery of geographical features; the improved accessibility to Namsan; the restoration of ecosystem; and the improved view of Namsan's landscape. Nowadays, through these projects Namsan has regained its original form as a symbolic historical space and a place where citizens often visit to relax as well as serve as one of the most visited tourist spots.



Photo 17 The Namsan Renaissance Project (Hoihyeon Skirt)





Photo 18 Namsangol *Hanok* Village

Most typical examples of transforming brownfield damaged during the industrialization era into green field include the conversion of old factory sites created by the policy that required relocation of factories and polluters out of the metropolitan area; and the conversion of old water purification facility site and abandoned railroad track sites into parks. For instance Yeongdeungpo Park used to be the site of OB Brewing Company. When OB Brewing Company relocated out of the industrial area of Yeongdeungpo in 1997, the Seoul Metropolitan Government purchased the site at 195,700,000,000 won and paid 12,000,000,000 won for the construction to convert it into a park. The brew copper was kept as the



park's landmark. Similarly Seonyudo Park and Seoseoul Lake Park are recycled water purification facility sites where the main spaces of the water purification facility such as the settling pond and the filtering basin were converted to maintain ecological continuity. Nanjido Noeul Park used to be a 95meter high 'mountain of garbage' created by trash collected from Seoul over 15 years beginning from 1978. The park is about 340,000 square meters in size and opened in 2008. The ecosystem and various plants and animals are coming back to life after several years of stabilization efforts to process the methane gas and leachate produced by trash that accumulated in this site until 1991. Besides these large-scale park projects, smaller projects that target procurements of green areas within the districts are thriving. As the railways (Gyeonguiseon and Gyeongchunseon Lines) that crossed the downtown area became either double-tracks or went underground, the abandoned railroad track sites were converted into linear parks. Creation of small parks in cooperation with residents in their communities is also at work wherein leftover pieces of lands are turned into village yards and old children's park are converted into 'Children's Imagination Park.'





Photo 19 Noel Park, Converted Mountain of Garbage



Photo 20 Bukseoul Forest of Dreams



6. Congested Streets and Rising Environmental Pollution

Congested Roads and Mass Transportation

Up until the mid-1980s the roads of downtown Seoul were not congested with exception of the rush hour period, but the roads became congested regardless of the hour of day beginning from the late 1980s. There were 200,000 cars in Seoul in 1980, but this number dramatically increased to 1,000,000 in 1990 and to 2,980,000 in 2010.

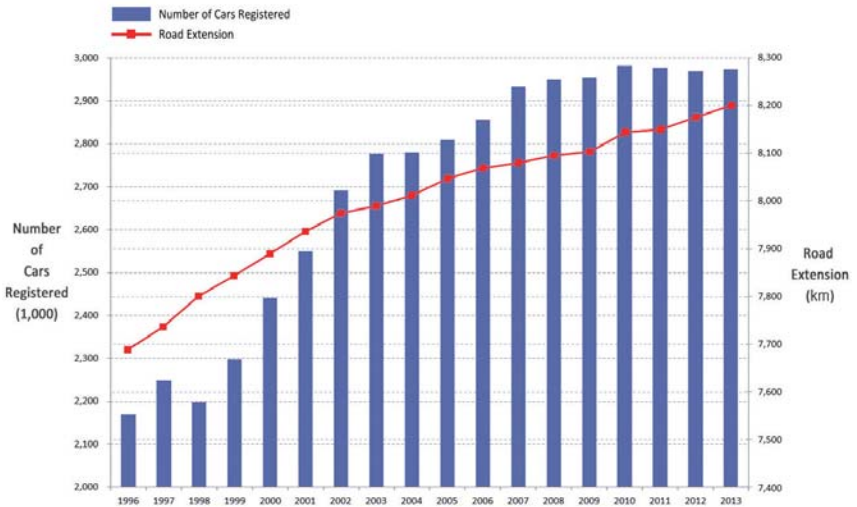


Figure 32 Number of Cars Registered and Road Extension by Year



The rate of increase in number of cars exceeded the rate of increase of the length of road extension. Indicative is the average traveling speed in Seoul which is 24Km/h (16km/h in downtown area); the roadway in Seoul is very crowded. This has had detrimental effects on citizens' quality of life. The financial loss, environmental cost and traffic congestion cost continued to increase and reached 7 trillion won or about 26% of Seoul's total budget (27 trillion won) in 2007.

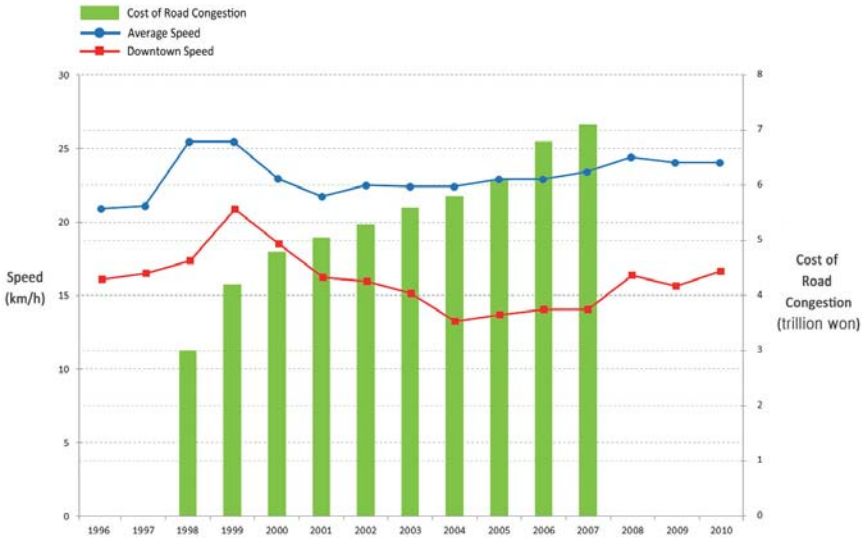


Figure 33 Average Traffic Speed and Cost of Road Congestion in Seoul



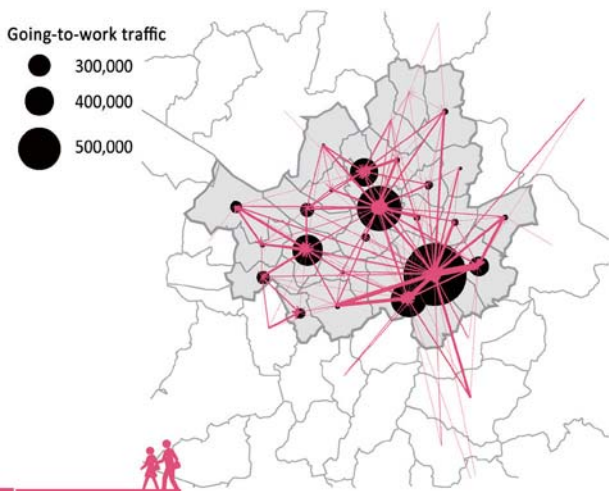


Figure 34 Travel Patterns of the Citizens of the Seoul Metropolitan Area



Figure 35 Metropolitan Traffic Network Connecting Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area





Photo 21 Exclusive Bus Lane
(Gangnamdaero)



Photo 22 Subway Line No. 4 (Dobong
Station)



Photo 23 Seoul Station Subway-Bus
Transfer Center



Photo 24 Vehicle-free Promenade Event

This traffic congestion is caused not only by the rate of increase in the number of cars that exceeds supply of infrastructure such as roads but is also related to commute patterns. The people living in satellite cities of the metropolitan area commute to Seoul, and the people living in Seoul commute to downtown or Gangnam. Ironically, the metropolitan traffic network consists of Gangbyeon Expressway, Olympic Expressway, Dongbu Expressway, Suseo Highway, Naebu Express way, and Oibu Expressway built to assist smoother entry into Seoul from new cities such as Bundang and Ilsan which have



ended up exacerbating the traffic congestion.

In turn the Seoul Metropolitan Government adapted policies to manage traffic demands instead of expanding traffic infrastructure. The Downtown Traffic Congestion Toll is imposed on vehicles entering downtown, and drivers are encouraged to take a break from driving one day a week through the Voluntary Vehicle-Free Day System. In fact various projects that promote the use of mass transportation system are in operation: the ‘Vehicle-free Promenade Event’ is held annually; the Exclusive Bus Lane System has been introduced; more subway lines have been added; the transfer system has been improved; and more bicycle lanes have been added. As a result of these efforts, both bus and subway public transportation systems are gaining recognition as the most convenient, safe and inexpensive mode of transportation in Seoul. On average 10,554,000 people per day ride the subway as of 2010 and the subway became the choice transportation for the citizens of Seoul.

Rising Air Pollution and “Clear” Seoul

Mountains surround Seoul from the east, north and south, making the west the only open direction. This geographical formation makes the circulation of air polluted by pollutants like the yellow-dust from China



and the smoke fumed by cars difficult and cause the air in the city to remain seriously polluted. The citizens of Seoul regarded 'air pollution' as the most serious environmental issue (69.3%); and the most urgent environmental policy for the city of Seoul was creating 'clear Seoul.'

In order to reduce air pollution level the city reduced the number of diesel cars and required emission control devices such as DPF (Diesel Particulate Filter) and DOC (Diesel Oxidation Calalytic) to be installed on vehicles. Usage of clean energy and supplying more low-emission vehicles were also encouraged. As a result of this series of efforts to reduce pollution caused by cars, the concentration of carbon monoxide and sulfurous acid gas has decreased in the city. Another effort is the use of recycled underground water discharged by the subway in full-scale to clean the fine dusts on the roadside. Air pollution in the city is decreasing in general even though the concentration level of nitrogen dioxide (0.03 ppm), fine dusts and ozone still exceeds the environmental standard from time to time. The concentration level of fine dust is in a decreasing trend from 83 microgram per square meter in 2002 to 62 microgram per square meter in 2005, and 55 microgram per square meter in 2009.

The number of days with a visibility of 20 kilometers or better increased from 19 days in 2009 to 62 days in



2009. In short the air pollution problem that citizens have experienced has been improving.



Figure 36 Trend of Fine Dust Concentration Level

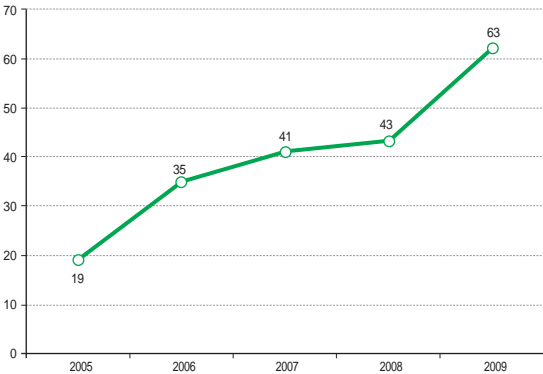


Figure 37 Number of Days with Visible Distance 20



6 Historical and Cultural City, Culture of Seoul

1. Seoul's Symbolic Space and the Emblem of Seoul, Haechi

Downtown Seoul where Jongmyo, Sajik, the palaces and various cultural properties are still preserved and surrounded by the city walls is the symbolic space that represents the historic and cultural city, Seoul. Currently, numerous historical resources such as historic organizations and historic views are intact in the downtown area. There are 78 national cultural properties, 82 municipal and registered cultural properties, 411 modern architectural properties, 575 *hanoks*, 154 urban living heritages, 263 commemorative milestones, 44 protected trees, and 23 Maaegakjas (letters engraved in stones). Among these Jongmyojerye (Ancestral Ritual at the Jongmyo Shrine, 1995), Changdeokgung Palace (1997) and the royal tombs of the Joseon Dynasty (Seonneung, Jeongneung, Taeneung, etc., 2009) were registered as UNESCO World Heritage.



Now, the Hanyang Fortress Walls are in the process of becoming designated as UNESCO World Heritage.



Photo 25 Sejongno, 2002



Photo 26 Sejongno, 2013



The most symbolic space within the city walls is the space connecting Gwanghwamun (the main gate of the Gyeongbokgung Palace) Plaza, Sejongno – Taepyeongno – City Hall Plaza and Namdaemun. The Joseon Dynasty's main palace, Gyeongbokgung, and the Yukjo Administrative Offices were located in Sejongno, and today, the Blue House, the Central Government Complex, the media companies, and the headquarters of corporations are clustered in this same street that extends to Deoksugung – the City Hall Plaza – Namdaemun, and is representative of Seoul.

The Japanese Government – General of Korea Building, the highest Japanese colonial institution, invaded Gyeongbokgung when it was built. It was demolished in 1995, and Gyeongbokgung was restored. The Gwanghwamun Restoration Project was completed in 2010, and the Sejongno Plaza was newly renovated; the space regained its symbolic status. Sejongno Plaza served as the political, administrative and cultural center in the past, and national ceremonies and cultural events were hosted there. Currently, Sejongno Plaza and the City Hall Plaza are used for many rallies and events due to their symbolic value. During the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup, thousands of people packed Sejongno Plaza, the City Hall Plaza and the streets that connected the two to cheer for the Korean National Team to create tides of red.



From a series of rallies such as pro-democracy rallies and candlelight rallies on the mad cow disease to Gangnam Style's singer Psy's concert, wide range of events have been held demonstrating the active plaza culture and the spirit of Seoul.

Haechi, the guardian of Gwanghwamun Plaza, is an imaginary animal, which makes judgment on what is right and wrong, and is also known as a divine creature that prevents fire and fends off bad luck. It is used frequently as seen in the monument celebrating the 40th year of Gojong's coronation and Hwanggungwu. The city government selected Haechi as the brand identity of Seoul for these symbolic meanings, and various Haechi designs are created and utilized.

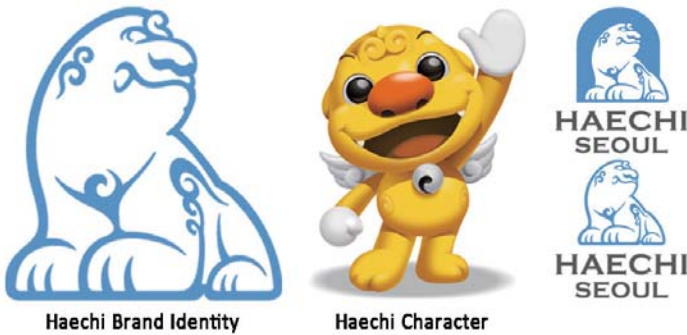


Figure 38 Various Designs of Haechi, the Symbol of Seoul





Photo 27 Diverse Forms of Haechi Used in Palaces and Other Places



2. Diverse Cultural Areas and Streets

Recently, the concentration of artistic resources in Seoul has produced more diverse cultural areas with unique cultural landscape or attractive cityscape. Until the 1970s and 1980s Seoul's typical cultural area was limited to the downtown areas in Gangbuk. Now, diverse cultural areas are scattered all around Seoul. This phenomenon testifies to the fact that Seoul has passed the expansion period and has reached the maturation period. Instead of expanding outwards, Seoul is gaining differentiated landscape composed of diverse areas that are each formed based on specific resources within.

Commercial Culture Centers in Downtown

Modern commercial cultural landscape of Seoul began germinating after entertainment facilities such as movie theaters, teahouses, cafes, and bars opened up in Myeong-dong and Chungmuro where the Japanese used to reside during the Japanese Colonial Period. After the Korean War Myeong-dong gained the unique status as the cultural art center with clusters of famous fashion brand shops, galleries and performing art centers. From the 70's, however, galleries and performing art centers started moving out of the area, and its



function as the cultural art center has diminished. It still maintains its urban fashion and cultural centers today. Chungmuro, the mecca of Korean movie industry during the 60's and 70's, lost its old fame as the movie and fashion industries relocated to Gangnam, the center for new fashion and trend-



Photo 28 Typical Commercial Street, Myeongdonggil



setting. Now, it functions as a small-scale movie production center.

Traditional Cultural Art Areas

Insa-dong, Samcheong-dong and Daehakno areas can be seen as typical examples of areas that created unique images by clustering artistic facilities and supportive facilities such as art galleries, museums and performing art centers. Insa-dong used to be a residential area for the nobles of the Joseon Dynasty. After the Japanese Annexation Insa-dong earned its fame as a place where the ruined aristocrats deal antique calligraphies, paintings and antiques which then developed into a traditional



Photo 29 View of Insa-dong



cultural art street as the traditional painting mounting shops and facilities related to eastern-style painting moved in. The Seoul Metropolitan Government designated Insa-dong as Cultural Area in order to preserve traditional culture such as the old alleys of Insa-dong and the traditional shops found there. The usage and height of the buildings around Insadonggil street are restricted. As the number of tourists increased in recent years, Insa-dong area is quickly becoming commercialized, and the rents have skyrocketed. More cosmetics shops and fashion related stores have opened up rather than shops that sell traditional commodities.

The galleries and art museums moved to Samcheong-



Photo 30 View of Samcheong-dong

dong, a quieter area nearby area, as Insa-dong became increasingly more commercial. Samcheong-dong is now gaining a spotlight as the center of cultural art. But again, more shops selling consumer goods such as fashion items and shoes, cafes and restaurants have moved in, and the streets are becoming crowded with increased pedestrian traffic on the weekends. Lately, the cultural art center is shifting again towards even more secluded areas of Seochon situated on the footstep of Inwang Mountain and Pyeongchang-dong and Buam-dong near Bukhan Mountain. Particularly, Pyeongchang-dong, an exclusive residential area with excellent natural landscape, is emerging as a cultural art area with refined taste.

Seoul National University's College of Liberal Arts and Science relocated from Daehakno, and in 1981 the Literary Art Hall and Marronnier Park were built on that site. Daehakno was designated as 'Vehicle-free Promenade' starting from 1985 to the 1990s and as the Cultural Street. Various cultural events such as university festivals and youth festivals were held there, and the floating population increased rapidly. After its designation as the Cultural District the number of small performing arts centers multiplied fast, and about 40% of all performing arts centers moved to Daehakno. This area has grown into a performing



arts mecca as theater and production companies also increased in the area.

Leading Cultural Areas

Hongdae and Cheongdam-dong areas form the leading cultural areas that embrace diversity and interact with the new modern culture. Seoul's modern cultural activities were first introduced to university towns where intellectuals gathered, and a unique culture was created as young people flocked together in this space. In the past popular cultural activities including poetry readings, plays and exhibitions were held in bars and teahouses, but recently a new type of cultural phenomenon, i.e. the club culture, is spreading. The streets in front of Hongdae became more energized as club culture and underground music scene joined the existing visual art industry base of publishers, galleries, small theaters, and studios.

Due to the emergence of consumerism that emphasizes cultural taste and pattern, Gangnam with clusters of trendy shops was established as the new cultural area in 1990s and 2000s. Apgujeong-dong's Rodeo Street and Bangbae-dong's 'café street' became immensely popular as the new generation preferred western style consumerism, and the phrase, 'one needs to go to Apgujeong-dong on a windy day' was on everyone's lips.



Cheongdam-dong area is famous as the luxury brand street; the Galleria Department Store and dozens of flagship stores of prestigious brands are located there. Sinsa-dong's Garosugil street came to be known as the fashion and design street ever since fashion designers opened shops that also serve as studios in the 2000s. European style shops and restaurants started to open in 2007, and the floating population began to increase rapidly. This street became one of the most iconic streets of Seoul where shops with unique concepts and appearances lined up. Since Cheongdam-dong, Apgujeong-dong and Sinsa-dong came to symbolize a



Photo 31 Sinsa-dong, Garosugil Street





Photo 32 Apgujeong-dong, Rodeo Street



Photo 33 Cheongdam-dong, Luxury brand Street



new cultural arena, large-scale entertainment companies that represent the Korean Wave through movies, music and photographs have gathered there to create diverse cultural activities.

3. Culture of Recreation and Past Time

Korea's traditional recreational culture basically involves going to places with beautiful landscape and enjoying the mountain and water and having sort of a picnic. During the Joseon Dynasty each class had their own method of recreation according to the Confucian Philosophy. The nobles did not hold any particular jobs; they devoted themselves to academic endeavors and self-cultivation. They usually passed their time engaging in static activities that were academic such as writing poetries and practicing calligraphies in a place with scenic beauty. They sometimes built pavilions and contemplated while savoring the nature.

The middle class professionals including the official interpreters, doctors, accountants, and artists were able to accumulate wealth toward the end of Joseon and formed their own Yeohang Culture. 'Communing with the nature' and singing about the nature and life were no longer the exclusive rights of the nobles. Hundreds of middle class



intellectuals participated in Baekjeon (poetry contest) and boasted their intellectual abilities and refined taste beyond their social position. Samcheong-dong, Suseong-dong, Ssanggye-dong, Baekwun-dong and Cheonghak-dong

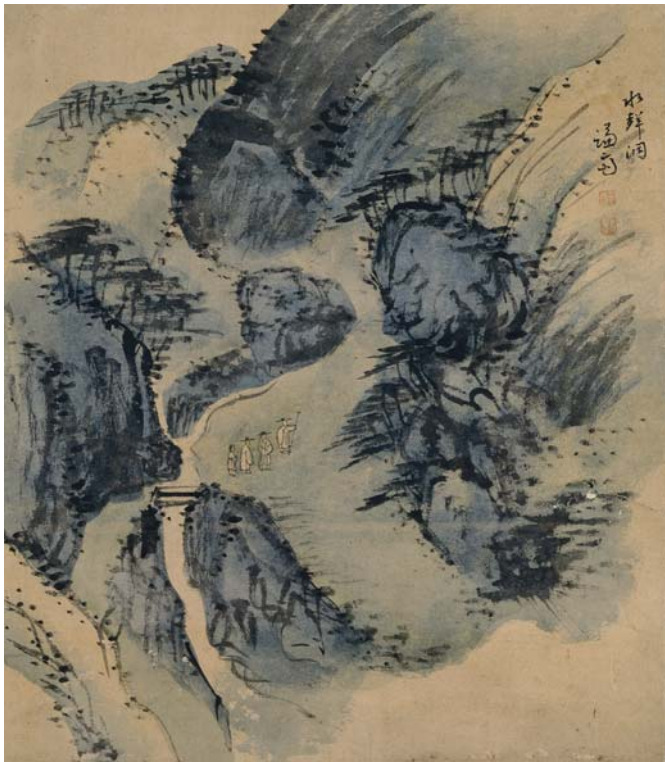


Figure 39 'Suseong-dong,' Jeongseon





Photo 34 Restored Suseong-dong Valley (Okin-dong)

were popular picnic spots within Hanyang city limit at the time. The Sibeom Apartment Complex that was built in the Suseong-dong Valley was demolished recently, and the past beauty of Suseong-dong Valley has been recreated to restore the breathtaking natural landscape of the Inwang Mountain.

People of Joseon visited mountains and valleys with beautiful sceneries and enjoyed having a picnic. Many visited the Four Inner Mountains, Bukhan Mountain and Dobong Mountain located near the Seoul castle walls. Many pavilions were built in Bukak Mountain and Inwang Mountain Valley in the north near the residential



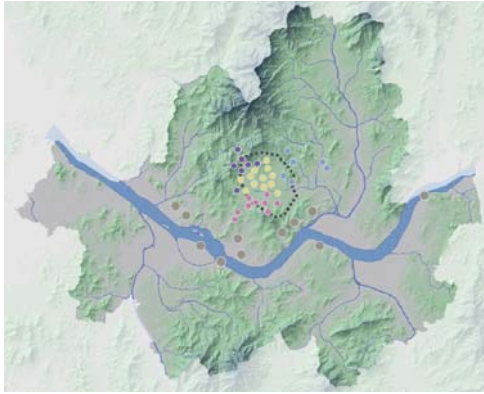


Figure 40 Location of Traditional Recreation Spaces

area of the nobles. There were many Buddhist temples in Bukhan Mountain and Dobong Mountain and people enjoyed having a picnic after visiting the temple. Wui Mountain Valley was used for women's recreation activities. Without doubt the 8 views from Namsan Mountain were unrivaled, and the mountain is relatively easy to climb, making it a much loved spot for relaxation. Trees were built on the shores of Han River with great views and the citizens and nobles read books and relaxed there.

The mountains and valleys around Seoul that were traditionally used as picnic spots are now preserved in



the form of urban parks. Western style urban parks are usually flat relaxing place with trails like the Central Park or the Hyde Park. The parks of Seoul mostly take form on hills or mountains. The flatlands and lowlands were mostly developed as city streets while the foothills of the Four Inner Mountains of Namsan, Naksan and Bukaksan and the Four Outer Mountains of Bukhansan, Gwanaksan and Ahasan are designated as park areas. The Four Outer Mountains of Bukhansan and Gwanaksan are full of hikers on the weekends, and Namsan and Naksan, the



Figure 41 'Mokmyeokjodon', Jeongseon



parks situated in the city, are used as everyday relaxation spots by Seoul residents.

4. Consumer Culture of the Subway Station Vicinity Areas

The subway system is a complex mass transit system that connects the city like a cobweb. It makes moving around the city convenient for the citizens of Seoul and enable them to maintain secure daily lifestyle in this city with 10 million. Since the opening of Line Number 1 in 1974, 9 more lines have been added. It is connected to 293 stations and covers a total distance of 316.8 kilometers. Once all planned light rail lines open up, all citizens of Seoul would have a subway station that is located within 10 minutes of walk from their homes. Because of this convenience factor, everyday activities of the citizens of Seoul including the commute, shopping and meetings happen around the subway stations. Convenience facilities such as large-scale shopping centers, restaurants and movie theaters opened up in the subway station-influenced areas with many transient commuters forming a new type of consumer culture.

The areas round subway stations with large number of daily commuters are crowded day and night. They include





Photo 35 Coex Mall Connected to Samseong Station

Gangnam Station (198,000), Jamsil Station (163,000), Sadang Station (159,000), Seonneung Station (156,000), Samseong Station (137,000), Express Bus Terminal (129,000), Seoul National University of Education Station (128,000) and Yangjae Station (100,000). Gangnam Station is the transfer station for Sinbundang Line coming in from Bundang/Yongin, and Sadang Station is the transfer station for Line Number 4 coming in from Anyang/Pyeongchon. These two stations are especially crowded. Many young people use Yangjae Station, which is the transfer station for Line Number 3 and the starting



point of commuter bus lines to the university campuses that relocated out of Seoul (Sungkyunkwan University, Kyunghee University, Myongji University, etc.); this station is the transportation hub that connects people of Gangbuk and the Han River shoreline to the metropolitan area.

If Myeong-dong is the consumer center of tourists, Gangnam Station area would be the main consumer space for the young people living in Seoul. There are clusters of clothing shops in the underground shopping mall in Gangnam as well as private academies, famous plastic surgeons, restaurants and movie theaters. Gangnam Station which is easily accessible has been established as a haven for young people: there are not only trendy fashions and foods that can satisfy any taste but also movies and musicals that quench cultural desires and 24-hour entertainment readily available to blow away daily stress.

5. Education-oriented Culture

Koreans are known for their fervor for education. This education fever fuels the land price hike, forces parents to invest all their earnings on private education of the children instead of saving for retirement, and



fathers willingly sacrifice themselves and become the 'geese fathers.' Every time the existing system collapsed, for example due to the Japanese Colonial Rule and the Korean War, the educated took opportunities to go one step above their social position. The legend of 'dragon rising from small stream' was possible in recent Korean history. Poor families sent their smartest child to Seoul for education and survived on scraps. They believed that once the child graduated from a prestigious high school and college, he would be able to get a good job and the upward mobility in the social strata would happen for the family. All prestigious high schools and colleges were clustered in downtown Gangbuk area. Not only the schools but also the private academies and residential areas were concentrated here making it the center of education.

The government relocated the prestigious high schools to Gangnam using this education fever, namely Gyeonggi High School, Huimun High School, Sukmyeong Women's Middle and High School, and Seoul High School joined Gangnam's 8th School District. Many graduates from these schools made it into the top colleges thanks to the high educational level and financial support of Gangnam parents. These schools were again recognized as prestigious even if the entrance exam for high schools was eliminated. The apartment prices



around the 8th School District skyrocketed due to the rise in demand from parents who wanted to send their children to the schools in that district. A lot of parents took the story of ‘Mencius’s mother moving three time for her son’s education’ literally and took loans to move into Gangnam creating the ‘Gangnam Rush Phenomenon.’

Currently, the following joke is going around: the three ingredients required in succeeding to send a child to one of the top colleges are the grandfather’s financial support, the father’s indifference and the mother’s ability to gather information. In other words, to get into a good college, you need some wealth passed down from your grandfather, your father must be a high income earning workaholic who only cares about money and his job, and your mother must be devoted to run around and fetch educational information for you. The combination of these

	Number of Private Academies	Number of Private Institutes	Total
Gangnam-gu Daechi-dong	1,105	558	1,663
Yangcheon-gu Mok-dong	341	405	746
Nowon-gu Junggye-dong	299	199	498

Table 7 Areas with Major Concentration of Private Academies in Seoul





Photo 36 Private Academies in Gangnam(Daechi-dong)

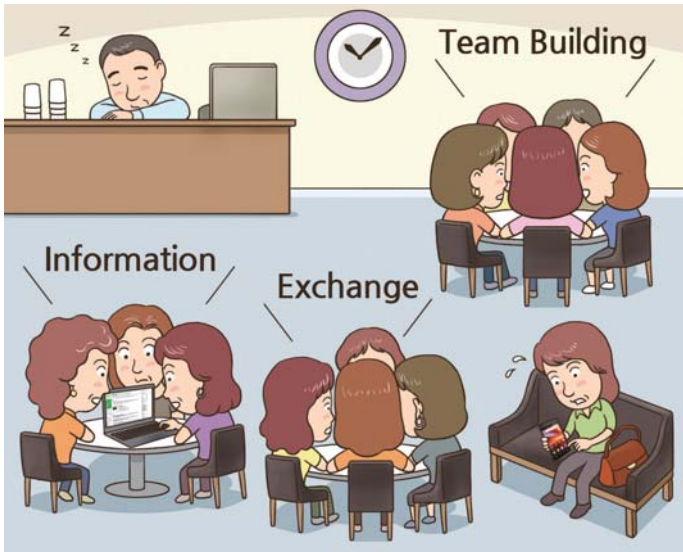


Figure 42 Café Scene of Daechi-dong Private Academy Street



three criteria can most likely be met in ‘Gangnam.’

Gangnam’s high land price reflects the solid financial state of the residents and the high percentage of professionals residing there. Because the opportunities and information about private education originate from the Daechi-dong Private Academy Street, residing in Gangnam provides an environment conducive to entering a good college. Besides Gangnam, Mok-dong and Junggye-dong, which developed into apartment complexes at around the same time, have good educational environment, and clusters of private academies have also formed a type of ‘specialized education district’ in these areas.




7 Global City Seoul's Present

1. Global City Seoul

Climate of Seoul

Seoul is located at the eastern end of the Asian Continent, and the official title is Seoul Metropolis. Seoul Metropolitan Area is referred to as the capital area that includes the adjacent city of Incheon and Gyeonggi Province. Seoul is located at a temperate zone of 37.33 degrees north latitude and at 126 degrees east longitude, but Seoul's winters are colder and summers



Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Average low °C	-6.1	-4.1	1.1	7.3	12.6	17.8	21.8	22.1	16.7	9.8	2.9	-3.4
Average high °C	1.6	4.1	10.2	17.6	22.8	26.9	28.8	29.5	25.6	19.7	11.5	4.2
Precipitation(mm)	21.6	23.6	45.8	77	102.2	133.3	327.9	348	137.6	49.3	53	24.9

Table 8 Climate of Seoul



are hotter compared to other areas sharing the same latitude. The maximum air temperature hits about 30 degrees centigrade during August while the minimum air temperature goes down to about -7.1 degrees centigrade during January. The yearly average temperature is 11.8 degrees centigrade. The annual average precipitation is relatively high at about 1,469.8 mm, but 58% of the rainfall is concentrated during the summer months of June to August. The coefficient of river regime is critical (The Han River's coefficient of river regime is 390, 50 times higher than that of the Rhine River, which is 8).

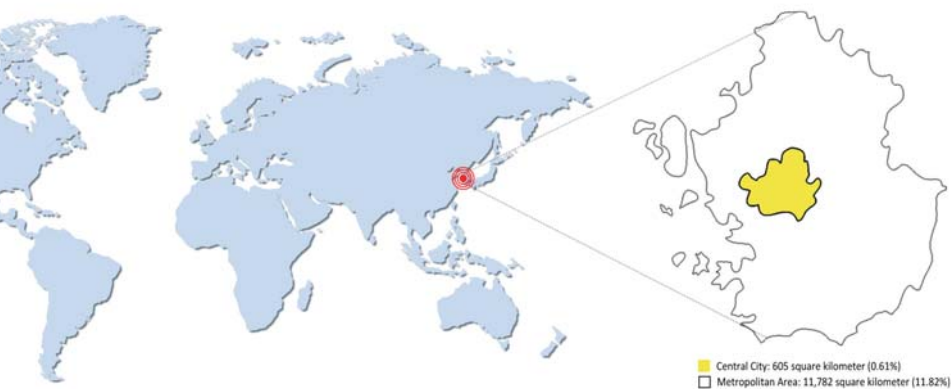


Figure 43 Location of Seoul



Political, Administrative and Judiciary Center

Roughly one half of Korea's population or more than 20,000,000 people live in Seoul Metropolitan Area. Seoul has developed from an agricultural capital into an international city and an industrial and information center in the 20th century. It is finally emerging as a leading global city pioneering a brand new urban culture based on advanced information technology industry and on smartphones that is attracting love and attention from the global community in the 21st century. As the capital of the Republic of Korea, Seoul Metropolitan Area houses the topmost institutions of all three branches of the government, namely political, administrative and judiciary. Recently, government administrative functions partly relocated to Sejong Special Autonomous City but Seoul hosts the core branches of the government – the Blue House, the National Assembly and the Judiciary Branch – and still functions as the political, administrative and judiciary center.

Center of Transportation, Economics and Culture

Seoul is a transportation center: it only takes 40 minutes from Incheon International Airport to Seoul via Airport Express Rail, and as of 2010 more than 7 million people use the Seoul Metro Subway System's 15 lines each day. There are 420 Metro Bus Lines with



7,967 buses. The Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) and Bus Only Lane System launched in 2004 are in operation. Since the Metropolitan Unity Fare System was put into practice in 2007, more than 5 million passengers actively use the bus lines. Korea Train Express (KTX), which has top speed of 300 kilometer per hour, connects the Seoul Station and Busan reducing the travel time to 2 hours and 40 minutes between them. After its opening, Seoul became the center of transportation that connects the whole of Korea.

World Cultural Heritage Sites such as the royal tomb of the Joseon Dynasty, and the palaces of the Joseon

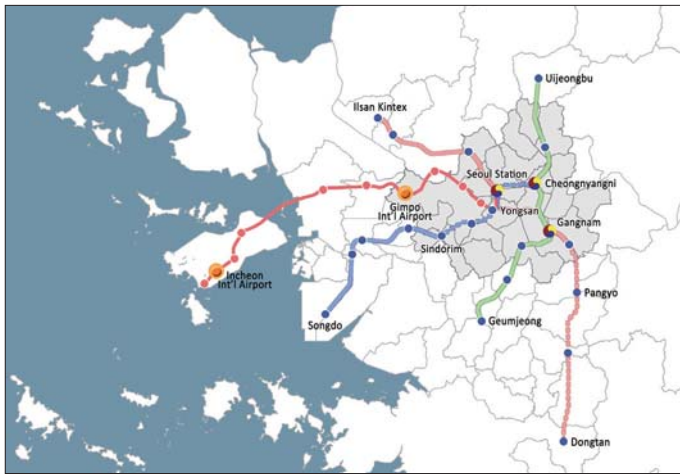


Figure 44 Seoul Metropolitan Railway System



Dynasty, the National Museum of Korea, the Seoul Arts Center, and Sejong Center for the Performing Arts are all located in Seoul. A global fashion event called Seoul Fashion Week is also held twice per year (March and October) in the city along with other festive events. Seoul offers diverse cultural experiences ranging from traditional destinations like Bukchon and Namsangol Hanok Village to modernized commercial centers of Myeong-dong, Jongno, Gangnam Station and Coex.

More than 50% of Korea's top 1,000 corporations or 517 of them are located in Seoul. If the range were expanded to the Seoul Metropolitan Area, the percentage would rise to 70% or over 700. In short, Seoul is the economic center of the country.

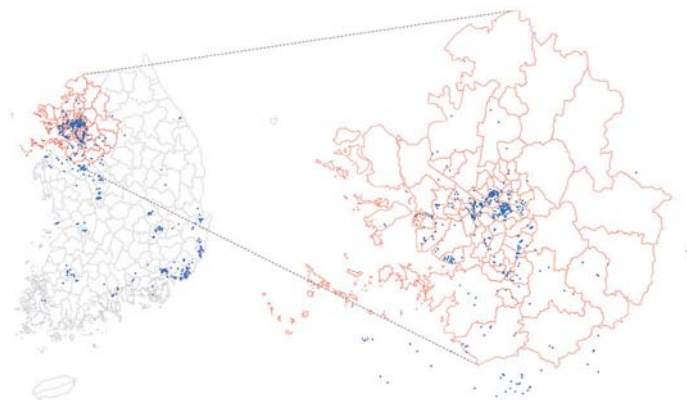


Figure 45 Location Distribution of Korea's Top 100 Corporations



Seoul and a Comparison of 6 Megacities

According to a 2006 comparative research on 6 megacities of Seoul, New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, and Beijing by Seoul Development Institute (SDI: renamed as Seoul Institute (SI) in 2013), Seoul had state-of-the-art information technology and IT infrastructure. The percentage of internet usage among the residents was the highest among the 6 cities. This meant the city was a convenient locale for foreign companies to pursue their international business activities.

Seoul's population density was the highest compared to the other cities (New York, London, Paris, Tokyo and Beijing): the population of the Seoul city center was about 10 million (23 Million in the capital region); the population of New York was 8 Million; London's population was 5 million; Paris had 6.4 million (Ile-de-France, 11 million); Tokyo's population was 8.5 million (12 million in Tokyo Prefecture); and 9 million people were living in Beijing. Seoul had the highest population density followed by Tokyo and New York.

The traffic congestion rate of Seoul was similar to that of other cities despite its high population density. The number of crime per 100,000 people was relatively lower than the other cities, proving Seoul to be the safest city to live in. Seoul and Beijing had the lowest apartment rental



rates and the commercial office rental rates were relatively low in Seoul along with Beijing and New York.

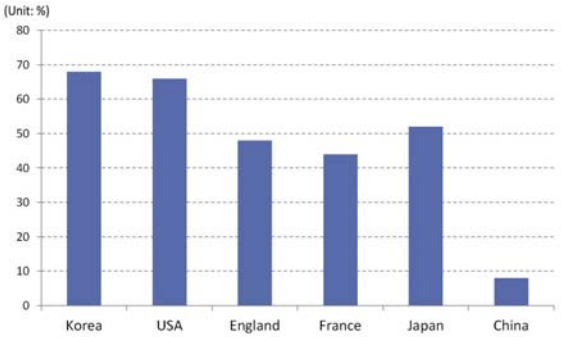


Figure 46 Internet Usage Rate

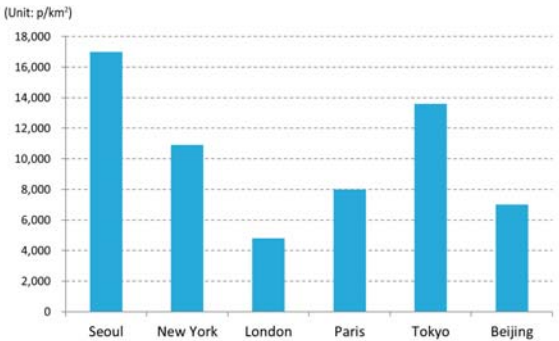


Figure 47 City Center Population Density Comparison



As of 2006 Paris had the most foreign tourists, and London and New York were the next in order. More

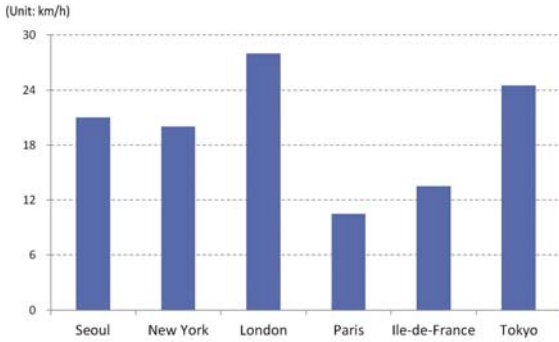


Figure 48 Traffic Congestion Rate

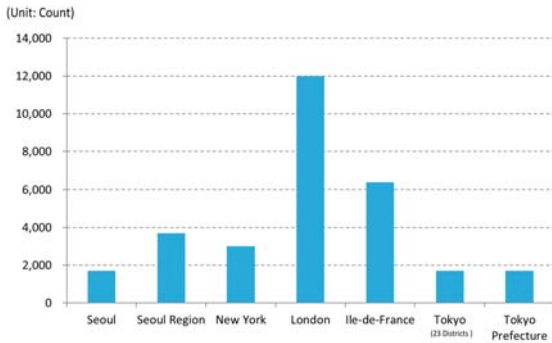


Figure 49 Number of Crime Per 100,000



foreign tourists visited Seoul compared to Tokyo and Beijing. Paris hosted the most number of international

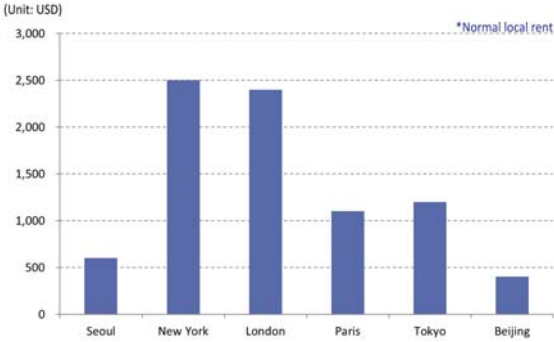


Figure 50 Apartment Rental Rate

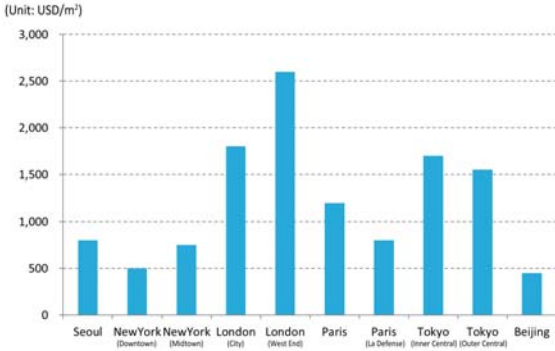


Figure 51 Commercial Office Rental Rate



conventions as of 2005, followed by New York and London. Seoul hosted more international conventions than Beijing and Tokyo. Before and after designated as UNESCO City of Design in 2010, Seoul hosted numerous major international conventions including the G20 Seoul Summit, the Inaugural General Assembly of World e-Governments, Organization of Cities and Local Governments, and C40 Large Cities Climate Summit in 2009, and has adopted a cooperative attitude towards global urbanization.



Photo 37 2009 C40 Large Cities Climate Summit in Seoul



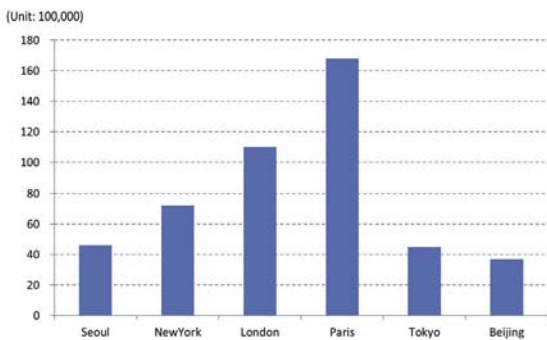


Figure 52 Number of Foreign Tourists

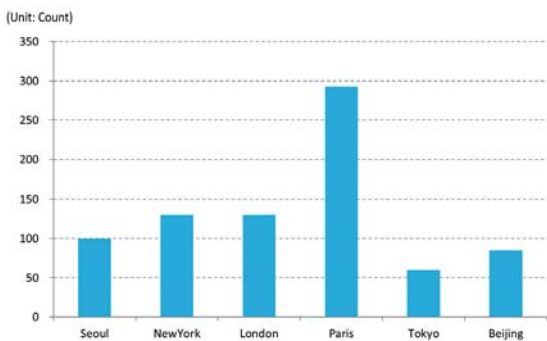


Figure 53 Number of International Conventions Hosted





Photo 38 G20 Seoul Summit, 2010

OECD's Competitiveness Evaluation

The OECD noticed the phenomenon of accelerating urbanization along with the emergence of multiplying megacities and expanding urban areas. It has concluded that megacity population concentration facilitates competitive advantages in the global stage through economic agglomeration, specialization, diversification and economics of scale. To stress this point, the OECD evaluated each city's competitiveness and classified it into three groups based on the percentage of the city's GDP and national GDP. The first group is called the World Star and the cities in this group lead the nation's economy. The second group is the National Star and the economy of the



cities in this group is ahead of the national economy. The last group is the Transitional Phase and the GDP of the cities in this group is behind the national GDP. The OECD classified Seoul in the third group, the Transitional Phase. The OECD evaluation of Seoul was that it needed growth engines for the national economy.

City GDP per capita VS National GDP(Multiples)

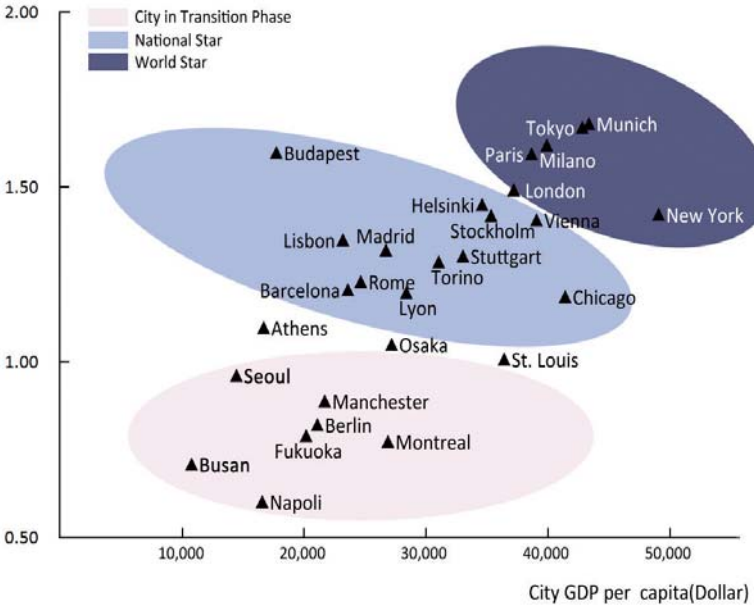


Figure 54 Global City Competitiveness Based on Income Comparison (OECD 2006)



Center of Northeast Asia, BeSeTo-Line

The line that connects the three central cities in Northeast Asia – Seoul in the middle, Beijing in the west and Tokyo in the east – is called the BeSeTo-Line. Seoul is emerging as one of the central cities in Northeast Asia that form the BeSeTo-Line and as a financial and cultural center. There are 40 mega regions in the world, and they make up 66% of all global economic activities. As of 2009 the Seoul capital region ranked 11th. Also, Seoul placed 10th among the top 20 Global Cities of G20 countries selected based on the number of global top 100 companies' headquarters and major subsidiaries in 2005. In the 2008 Global Competitiveness Report by International Institute for Management Development (IMD) Seoul ranked 31st place. In the same year Seoul placed 4th in the financial center ranking, yet in the case of the quality of life evaluation Seoul placed 86th. Life in Seoul was evaluated as relatively inconvenient despite the scale of its economic activities.

The reason for the low quality of life in Seoul is not economic. When the rental rates of major megacities are compared, Hong Kong has the highest actual rental cost per unit area that the renter pays followed by Tokyo, Shanghai, Singapore, Seoul and Taipei in descending order. It is easier to appreciate the scale if the cost per unit





Figure 55 Comparison of Global Financial Centers (MasterCard, 2008)



Figure 56 Forty Global Mega Regions, Megacity: Future Competitiveness, 2009
 (Figure: 2030 Seoul Urban Basic Plan Citizens' Hearing, 2012, Concept: Richard Florida, The Atlantic: The World is Spiky, October 2005)



is calculated in number of Big Macs. One can rent the unit area with 20 Big Macs but in Hong Kong one must pay about 4 times more or 79 Big Macs in order to rent the same unit area.

City	NOC (US\$/month)	NOC/Big Mac
Hong Kong (Central)	134.82	79
Tokyo	164.63	56
Shanghai (Pudong)	58.43	32
Singapore	74.24	29
Seoul (CBD)	48.53	20
Taipei	37.66	17

Table 9 Rental Rates in Major Megacities of Northeast Asia

Note: NOC=Actual Rental Cost Per Unit Area the Renter Pays

Source: Economist. Com, CBRE, Saengbo Real Estate Trust Research

2. Policies Geared Toward a Global City

Foreign Residents of Seoul and Migrant Workers

Number of foreign residents of Seoul is increasing at the rate of more than 30% annually. In 2004 there were 114,000 foreign residents in Seoul; the number increased by 200% in 2007 to 230,000, and it reached 340,000 in 2012. The percentage of foreign residents in the total



population of Seoul also rose from 2.2% in 2007 to 3.5% in 2012.

	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total Population	10,287,847	10,297,004	10,356,202	10,421,782
Korean Nationals	10,173,162	10,167,344	10,181,166	10,192,710
Foreigners	114,685	129,660	175,036	229,072
Percentage	1.11	1.26	1.69	2.20

Table 10 Increase Rate of Foreign Residents in Seoul

As of 2007 the number of foreigners who held the Working Visit status of sojourn was 110,519 or 48.2% of all foreigners residing in Seoul. The spouses of Korean nationals comprised 12.2%, and the people who had the Family Visitation status made up 8.7%. After the review of foreigners' status of sojourn (Study Abroad and Research, Labor and Employment, Business, Foreign Language Instructor, etc.) and reclassification by their purpose of visit, 51.7% or 118,409 foreign residents were staying in Seoul for labor and employment purposes including Working Visit, Employment Management, Manufacturing, Training Working and Industrial Training.



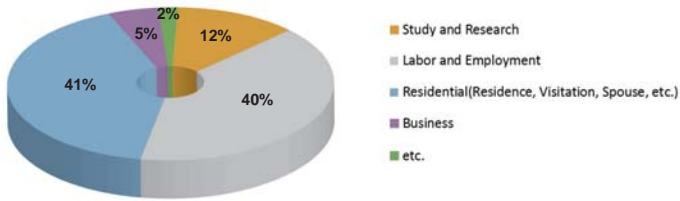


Figure 57 Foreign Residents of Seoul by Purpose of Visit (Information Planning Bureau of Seoul, 2007)

Study and Research		Labor and Employment		Business		Foreign Language Instructor	
Total	16,392	Total	118,409	Total	5,390	Total	4,806
Study Abroad	8,720	Working Visit	110,519	Corporate Investment	5,143	Conversation Instruction	4,806
Korean Language Training	6,165	Employment Management	4,768	Trade Management	247		
Research	539	Manufacturing	1,931	Special Occupation	3,542		
Professorship	448	Training Working	1,191				
Undergraduate Study Abroad	366	Industrial Training	895				
Master's Degree Study Abroad	154						

Table 11 Foreign Residents of Seoul by Purpose of Visit (Information Planning Bureau of Seoul, 2007)



Currently, as of 2012, there are 150,000 migrant workers in Seoul; they comprise 44.1% of all foreign residents of Seoul. Their countries of origin are: 130,000 Korean-Chinese (86.9%), US citizens (2.8%), Chinese (2.3%), Canadians (0.9%), and Vietnamese (0.7%). The survey indicated that 25.5% of them work at hotels and restaurants, 16.4% in the construction industry, 13.3% in the manufacturing, 11.9% in education services, and 7.2% in wholesale and retail trades.

Areas with Concentration of Foreign Residents in Seoul

There are two main areas in Seoul with concentration of foreign residents. The first group of areas is the traditional foreigners' villages of Ichon-dong, Hannam-dong and Itaewon in Yongsan District where many Japanese and American soldiers resided since the Japanese Occupation and the Korean War. The second group of areas is the new foreigners' village where migrant workers began to settle in during the industrialization period in the 1970s. The foreigners' villages in Gasan-dong in Geumcheon District, Garibong-dong, Guro District, and Daerim-dong Yeongdeungpo District are rapidly expanding due to recent inflow of migrant workers. Traditionally, the concentration of foreign residents formed around embassies, foreign



diplomatic offices and foreign schools. These two areas have become polarized according to the foreigners' country of origin. On the one hand, more subsistence level dwellings appeared in the villages where migrant workers from developing countries live, and as the number of illegal workers increased, concerns have been raised about the areas turning into slums. On the other hand, the areas where foreigners from advanced countries live such as Seorae Village, Ichon-dong and Hannam-dong have come to be recognized as luxurious residential areas.

Since the 8th US Army was stationed in Itaewon after the Korean War ended in 1953, an entertainment district and street shops were set up in the areas nearby to cater to the people who worked in the army base, and with this other foreigners also began gathering in the area. This is one of the first areas foreign tourists visit in Korea and is known as a meeting point for foreigners. It has a unique aura that is distinct from other cities in Korea. The signs on the streets are written in foreign languages such as English, Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, etc. There are clusters of foreign brand clothing specialty shops, currency exchange offices, foreign specialty bookstores and restaurants. The Islamic Mosque is located in a steep alley behind Itaewon-no and many Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis visit Itaewon regularly. About 40 embassies



and consulates are situated in Itaewon and nearby areas. There are cultural and leisure facilities as well, namely the Hyatt Hotel, the Hamilton Hotel, the Holiday Hotel, the Capital Hotel, the Crown Hotel, the War Memorial of Korea, Yongsan Family Park, and the National Museum of Korea.

Many Japanese people began living in Ichon-dong in Yongsan District since 1965, a period right after the normalization of diplomatic relationship between Korea and Japan. Now, about 1,000 Japanese live there.



Photo 39 Street Scene of Ichon-dong

Clusters of realtor's offices with 'Japanese Language Consulting Available' sign, Japanese restaurants, Japanese-style udon places, Japanese-style pubs and ramen places are in business around Ichon-dong. Japanese parents who have gathered around the school bus stops are spotted during the commute hours, around 7 AM and 2 PM.





Photo 40 Street Scene of Itaewon



The whole Pyeongchang-dong in Jongno District is a typical exclusive residential area. Several embassies are situated there, and the embassy employees and foreign company executives are its residents. These residents prefer large single-family homes with sizable garden for entertaining and socializing among themselves.

There are 34 embassies in Seongbuk-dong in Seongbuk District and also clustered in this area are houses as large as the embassies. Single-family homes with sizable gardens protected by high fences as well as town houses and even a few villas are concentrated there. Some foreigners prefer large single-family homes (bigger than 71 pyeong) with monthly rent above 7 million won. The corporate executives of Korean companies, foreign corporations and embassy employees mainly reside in the area, and the majority of the residents are Caucasians from Europe and the US.

The foreigners' residential development in Yeonhui-dong in Seodaemun District attracted foreign residents with its two foreign schools: the Seoul Foreign School and the Overseas Chinese School Seoul. English-speaking foreigners with links to the Seoul Foreign School and Chinese people with links to the Overseas Chinese School live in clusters. The English-speaking foreigners are mainly embassy employees and the employees of foreign



corporations living with their family; they prefer large houses. On the other hand, the Chinese prefer medium and small houses since they are living for subsistence. Two polarized residential types are in coexistence.

Since numerous foreign corporations are headquartered in Gangnam District, single or working couple foreigners who prefer short commute to their work live around the area with Teheranno as the center. They usually live in villas with monthly rent ranging from 3 million to 5 million won while short-term visitors prefer using accommodations that provide residence services. Many facilities were built in the area to tend their needs.

The French School moved to Seocho District in 1985 from Hannam-dong, and the French also relocated and ended up forming a French Town. They mostly live in family units so they prefer large units. For their convenience the street signs are written in French and Korean. Several social events are held to promote better communication between the French residents and Korean residents. French bakeries, restaurants and wine shops in the area have recently become immensely popular and are now acting as a meeting spot in Gangnam somewhat like Itaewon.

Korean-Chinese and Chinese people are concentrated in the areas near Guro Industrial Complex (currently, Guro Digital Complex) of Garibong-dong, Guro Districts,





Photo 41 Seocho District French Village Festival (Flower Rice Cake Making Experience)



Photo 42 Seocho District French Village Festival (Masquerade March)



Daerim-dong, Yeongdeungpo District and Gasan-dong, Geumcheon-gu. They created their own communities such as ‘Yanbian Street’ and ‘China Town.’ A slew of Chinese restaurants, karaokes and bars are clustered around ‘Yanbian Street (Garibong Korean-Chinese Town)’, and support groups and clinics for Korean-Chinese, foreigners and migrant workers are in operation.

Mongolians, Uzbeks and Kazaks meet and do business in the areas near Dongdaemun Shopping Town and Gwanghui-dong’s Dongdaemun History and Culture Park Station of the subway line number 2. It became livelier after President Kim Dae Jung’s



Photo 43 New Geumho Tower Building

visit to Mongolia in 1999. The 10 story high New Geumho Tower features 70 shops that exclusively cater to foreigners including a hair salon, a grocery store, a cosmetics specialty shop, a logistics company, a currency exchange office, and a currency wire transfer center.

After the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 peddlers from Russia and Central Asia lived in and around fashion towns near Dongdaemun, but now the commercial



supremacy of the area has dwindled and its function as residential area has diminished. It is still the distribution base where the peddlers from Russia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan reside.

Seoul's Global Urbanization Policy

Seoul used to be an inconvenient city. The employees of foreign corporations hesitated to relocate when assigned to Seoul even though the working conditions were good. There were inconvenient factors involving language, housing, education and recreation. Foreigners residing in Seoul now raise voices of concern over difficulties in labor, housing, education, medical services, culture, exchange, administration and social system. Various surveys conducted on tourists also confirmed that they also experienced difficulties in communication and in understanding Seoul's guide system.

In 2007, 5 years after the Korea-Japan World Cup of 2002, Seoul Metropolitan Government, with the aim of building a global city, presented 3 policy goals in the 'Global Urbanization Plan' after establishing the 'Seoul Global Urbanization Regulation.' The first goal was to become a city that is loved by its citizens and is the pride of the entire nation. The second goal was to develop into an accepting and tolerant multi-dimensional city that



overcomes obstacles such as religion, race, language and the country of origin. The third goal was to build a city of equal opportunities for everyone where everyone can peacefully coexist.

Seoul's Global Zones and Global Centers

From 2007 the Seoul Metropolitan Government designated Global Zones and established Global Centers in order to assist business activities of foreigners and minimize inconveniences in their everyday life. There are a total of 15 Global Business Zones in operation now: 4 Global Business Zones, 6 Global Villages and 5 Global Cultural Exchange Zones. Moreover, the most famous Korean traditional markets, shopping malls and alleyways were designated as the Global Cultural Exchange Zones. They include Namdaemun Market, Dongdaemun Market, Myeong-dong, Itaewon and Insa-dong. These four areas, with the exclusion of Insa-dong, are also selected as the Special Tourism Districts. The Global Business Zones are the Mugyo-dong area near the city hall, Yeouido, Yeoksam-dong, and Samseong-dong where either foreign investment corporations are concentrated or economic activities of foreigners are prominent. Ichon-dong's Little Tokyo, Yeonnam-dong's Korean-Chinese Town, Hannam-dong's UN Village, Bangbae-dong's Seorae Village,



Itaewon, and Yeoksam-dong's Multinational Single Town were designated as Global Villages according to the population size and social history of the area whether it was a community made of foreigners from a single country or from various countries.

In order to make sure foreigners experience the benefits from the global urbanization policy, Seoul Global Center and the Global Village Centers in each zone are in operation. These centers provide administrative support and information on medical services, education and tourism to foreigners. The Global Village Centers that are set up within the Global Villages also provide administrative support and information on taxes, immigration, labor law, everyday life, visa and sojourn status, employment, credit cards, cellular phones, classes offered in the community centers and enrollment procedures, ways to connect to volunteers, and opportunities for cultural experiences.





Photo 44 Itaewon-Hannam Global Village Center

Name	Contents	Targeted Region
Global Business Zones (4 Zones)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract foreign investment companies • Set up and operate Seoul Global Center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Downtown, Gangnam (near Trade Center, near LG Tower), Yeouido, DMC (Scheduled), Magok (Scheduled)
Global Villages (6 Villages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designate residential zones for foreigners • Utilize as tourism resource • Childcare and medical support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hannam-dong, Ichon-dong, Yeonhui-dong, Yeonnam-dong, etc.
Global Cultural Exchange Zones (5 Zones)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide foreigner-friendly designs including road signs, sign boards and posts • Reorganize existing tourist information center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Myeong-dong, Insa-dong, etc.

Table 12 Global Zone Designation Status (Seoul on the Map, Seoul Institute, 2007)



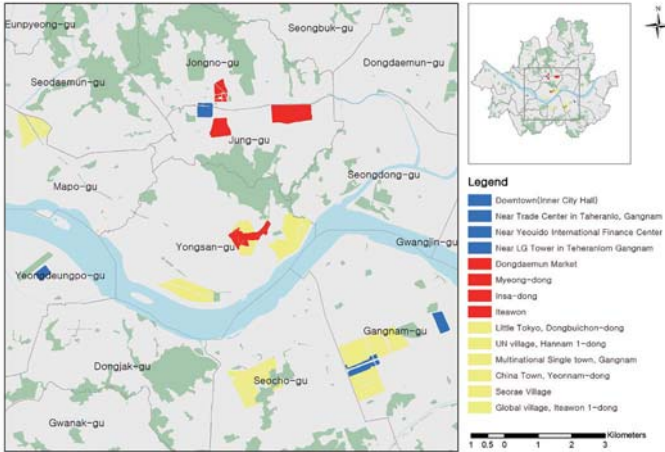


Figure 58 Global Zone Designation Status (Seoul on the Map, Seoul Institute, 2007)



Photo 45 Korean Traditional Kite Making Event for Foreigners



SOURCES

(PHOTOS)

Page	Photo's Caption	Sources
20	Mongchontoseong, Wiryeseong of Baekje	The Academy of Korean Studies
30	Bukhansan Mountain Fortress	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
31	Daeseongmun of Bukhansan	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
31	The Fortress Walls of Seoul	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
38	Changing of the Guards Ceremony in front of Daehanmun	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
52	The Jongmyo Shrine (World Cultural Heritage Site) and the Skyscrapers in the Backdrop	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
58	Business Buildings near Teheranno (Tehran Avenue)	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
76	Bamseom Restored as a Habitat for Migratory Birds	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
78	Apartment Complexes in Gangnam	The Academy of Korean Studies
84	Bukchon Hanok Village	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
96	The Namsam Renaissance Project (Hoihyeon Skirt)	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
97	Namsangol Hanok Village	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
99	Bukseoul Forest of Dreams	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government



Page	Photo's Caption	Sources
103	Exclusive Bus Lane (Gangnamdaero)	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
103	Subway Line No. 4 (Dobong Station)	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
103	Vehicle-free Promenade Event	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
108	Sejongno, 2002, Sejongno, 2013	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
118	Sinsa-dong, Garosugil Street	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
119	Apgujeong-dong, Rodeo Street	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
119	Cheongdam-dong, Luxury brand Street	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
122	Restored Suseong-dong Valley (Okin-dong)	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
141	2009 C40 Large Cities Climate Summit in Seoul	Na young wan, Seoul Metropolitan Government
156	Seocho District French Village Festival (Flower Rice Cake Making Experience)	Yonhap News
156	Seocho District French Village Festival (Masquerade March)	Yonhap News
161	Itaewon-Hannam Global Village Center	Itaewon-Hannam Global Village Center
162	Korean Traditional Kite Making Event for Foreigners	Yonhap News



(FIGURES)

Page	Figure's Caption	Sources
12	UNESCO City of Design, Seoul, Logo	Seoul Design Foundation
17	The Sejong Metropolis Development (Plan) Revised from New Administrative Capital	Sejong Metropolitan Autonomous City
19	Hanseong's Location in Daedongyeo Map	The National Library of Korea
21	A Map of Hanyang City Proper	Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art
24	Joseon Palace: Map of Gyeongbokgung Palace (formerly called Bukgwoldo)	National Palace Museum of Korea
43	General Schematic Design for Yongsan Park: Transformation of Japanese Military Station-US Military Station into a National Park	Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport
49	Transformation Process of Seoul City Proper	The Seoul Institute
67	Urbanization of Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area	Gyeonggi Research Institute
75	Renaissance of the Han River Plan	The Seoul Institute
86	Waterways and Bridges of Hanseong	Seoul Museum of History
102	Travel Patterns of the Citizens of the Seoul Metropolitan Area	The Seoul Institute
102	Metropolitan Traffic Network Connecting Seoul and the Seoul Metropolitan Area	The Seoul Institute



Page	Figure's Caption	Sources
110	Various Designs of Haechi, the Symbol of Seoul	Seoul Design Foundation
121	'Suseong-dong,' Jeongseon	Kansong Art and Culture Foundation
124	'Mokmyeokjodon', Jeongseon	Kansong Art and Culture Foundation



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She was born in 1958 in Gyoha, Gyeonggi-do just outside of Seoul. She received her BA at the University of Seoul and her MA in Landscape Architecture at Seoul National University Graduate School of Environmental Studies. She earned her Ph.D. at Nara Women's University Graduate School of Humanities and Sciences in 1990.

She participated in various projects at the Seoul Institute (formerly the Seoul Development Institute) like Basic Urban Planning of Seoul, Urban Park Planning and Land Appropriation. She also taught Urban Landscape, Park Planning, and other subjects at the University of Seoul, Gachon University. She is currently research fellow of the University of Seoul Institute of Urban Science after working as a research professor. She has written various books such as Theories on Urban Planning and Theories on Landscape Planning (co-authored).



