
BUILDING AN ARCHITECTURE OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN SOUTH KOREA MASS HOUSING ESTATES IN SEOUL AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MODERNIZATION, 1962-2008

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION / VOLUME II: ANNEXES

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor in Urbanism
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (BARCELONA TECH)
Departament d'Urbanisme i Ordenació del Territori (DUOT)
Barcelona, 2019

Doctor Carlos Llop Torné, Tutor
Marc Brossa i Balcells, Candidate

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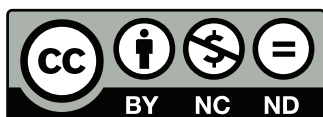
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Marc Brossa i Balcells
brossam@yahoo.com

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

2.1 POLITICAL CYCLES & PHASES OF DEVELOPMENTALISM

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

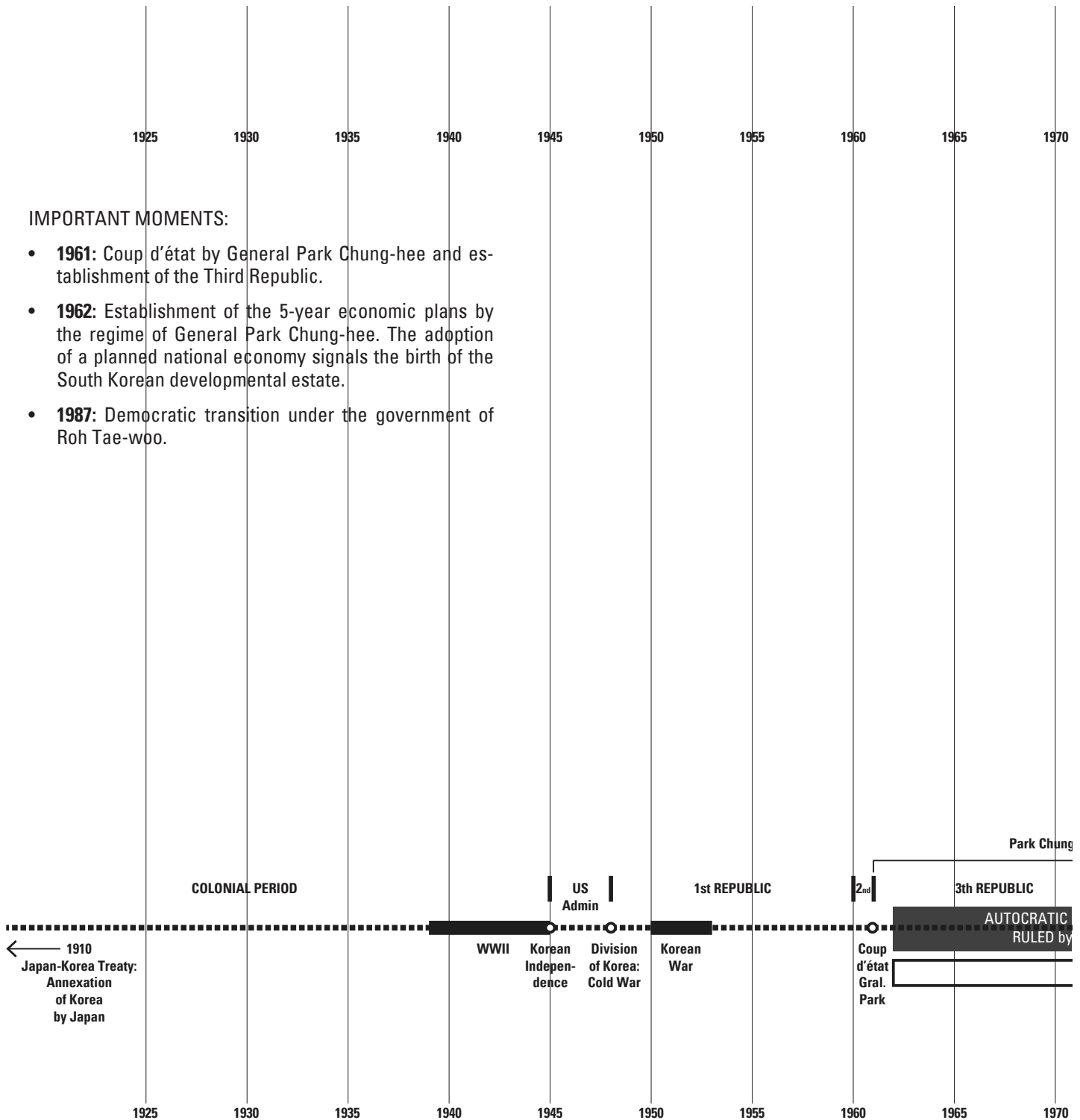
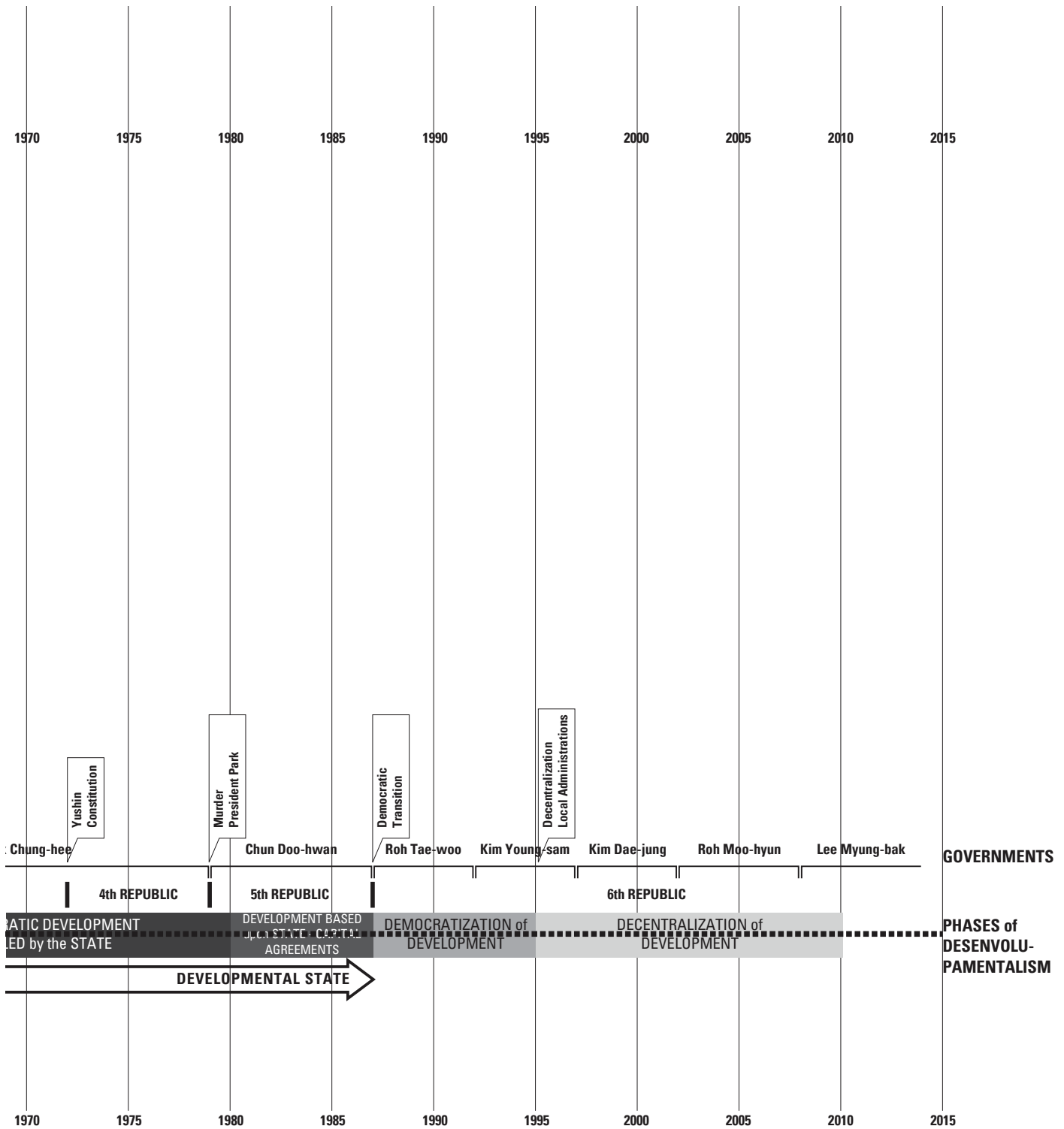


Figure 2-1. Timeline: Political Cycles & Phases Of Developmentalism



2.2 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (SOUTH KOREA)

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

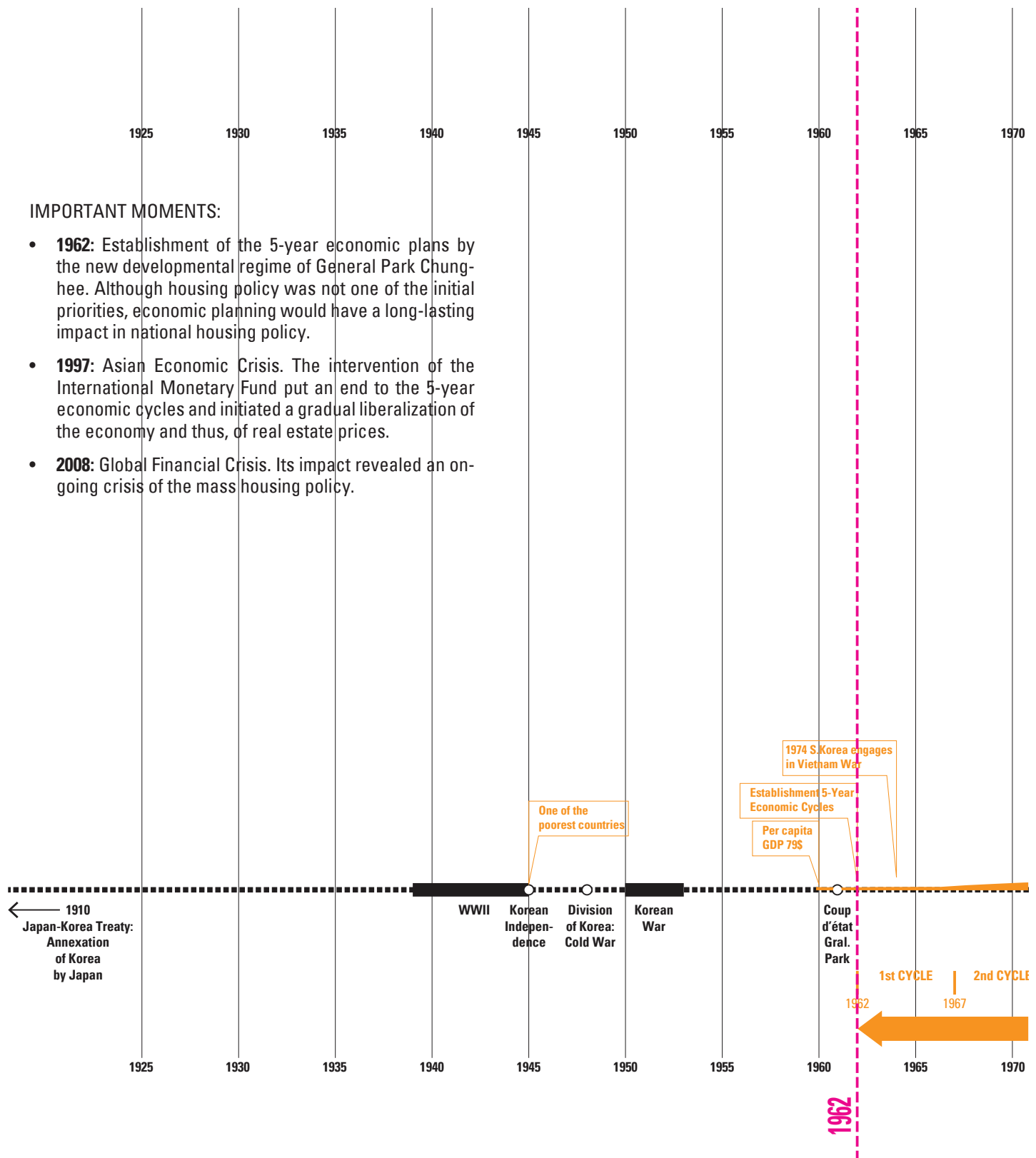
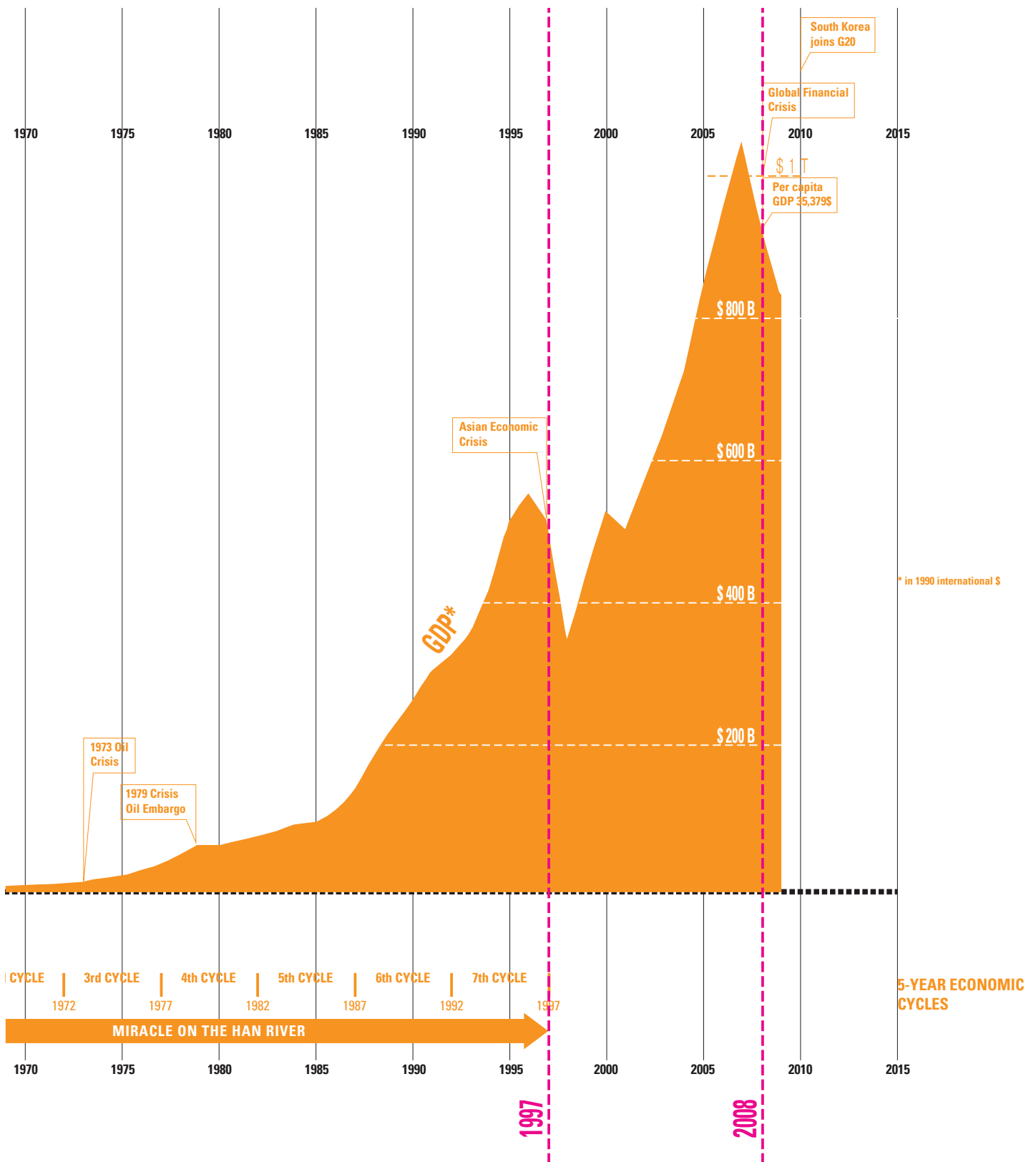


Figure 2-2. Timeline: Economic Development (South Korea)

Source: Statistics Korea,

<http://kostat.go.kr/portal/eng/index.action>



2.3 DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH (SEOUL AND METROPOLITAN AREA)

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

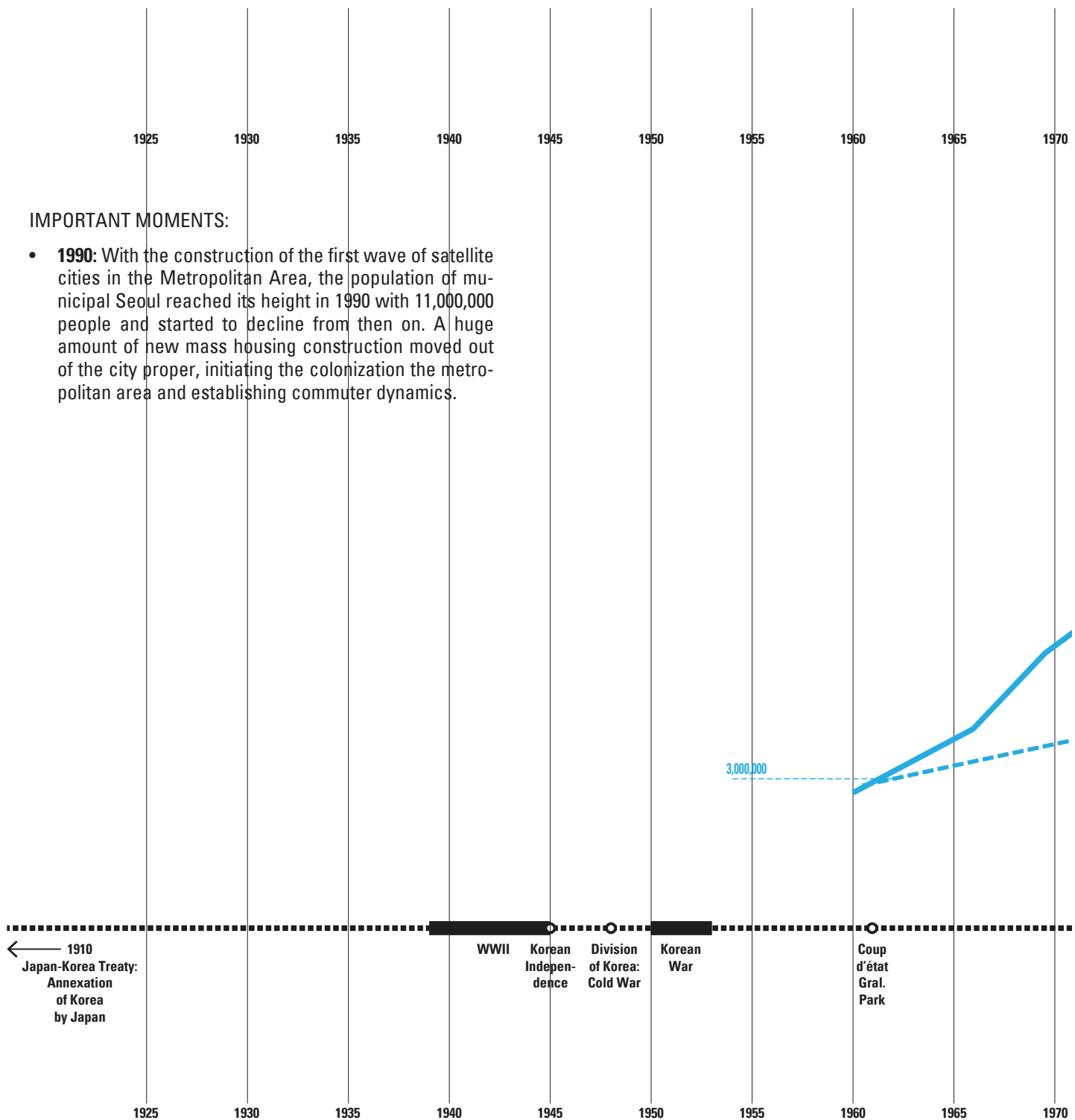
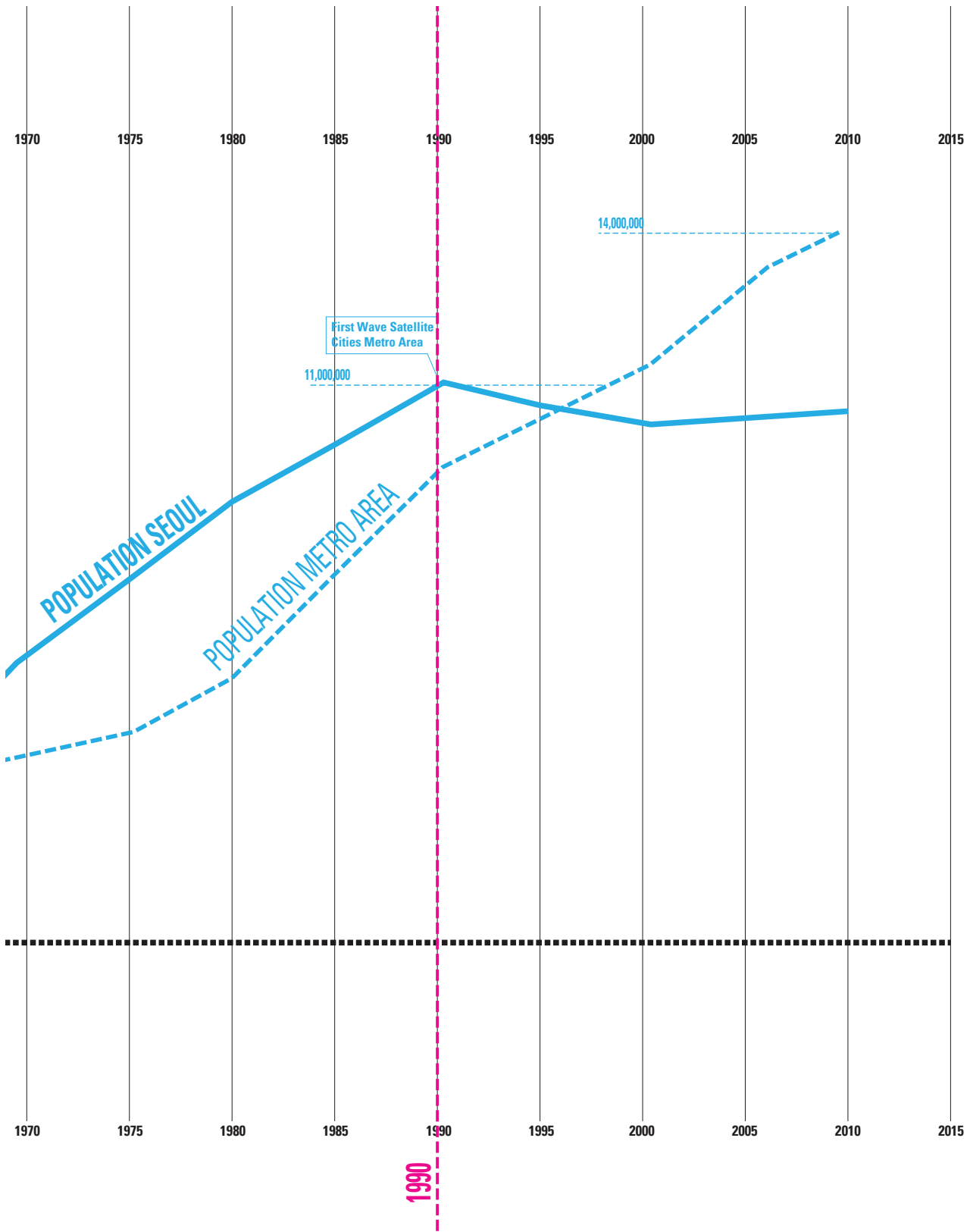


Figure 2-3. Timeline: Demographic Growth (Seoul & Metropolitan Area)

Source: Statistics Korea,
<http://kostat.go.kr/portal/eng/index.action>



2.4 HOUSING SHORTAGE: RATIO DEMAND / PROVISION (SEOUL)

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

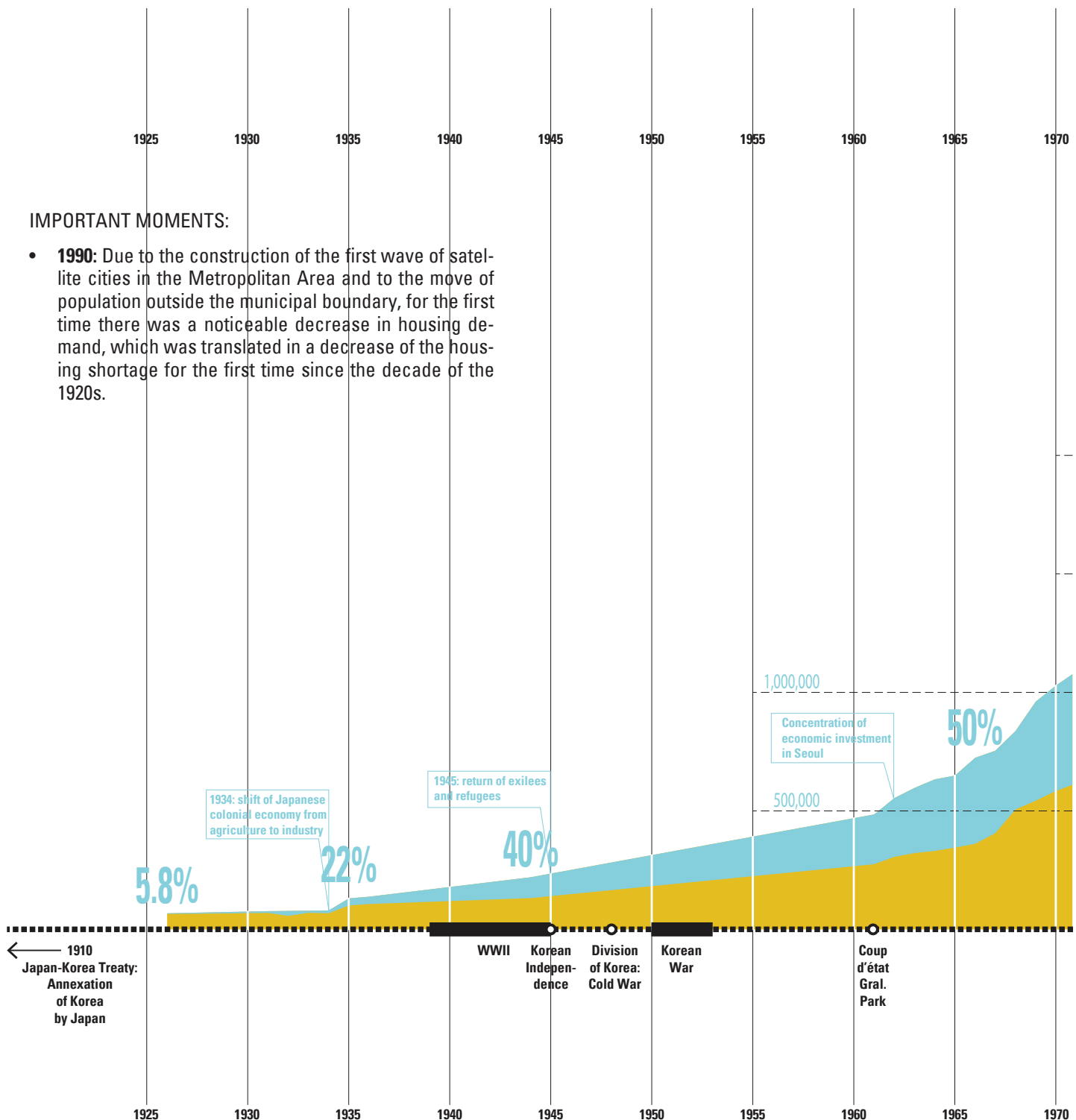
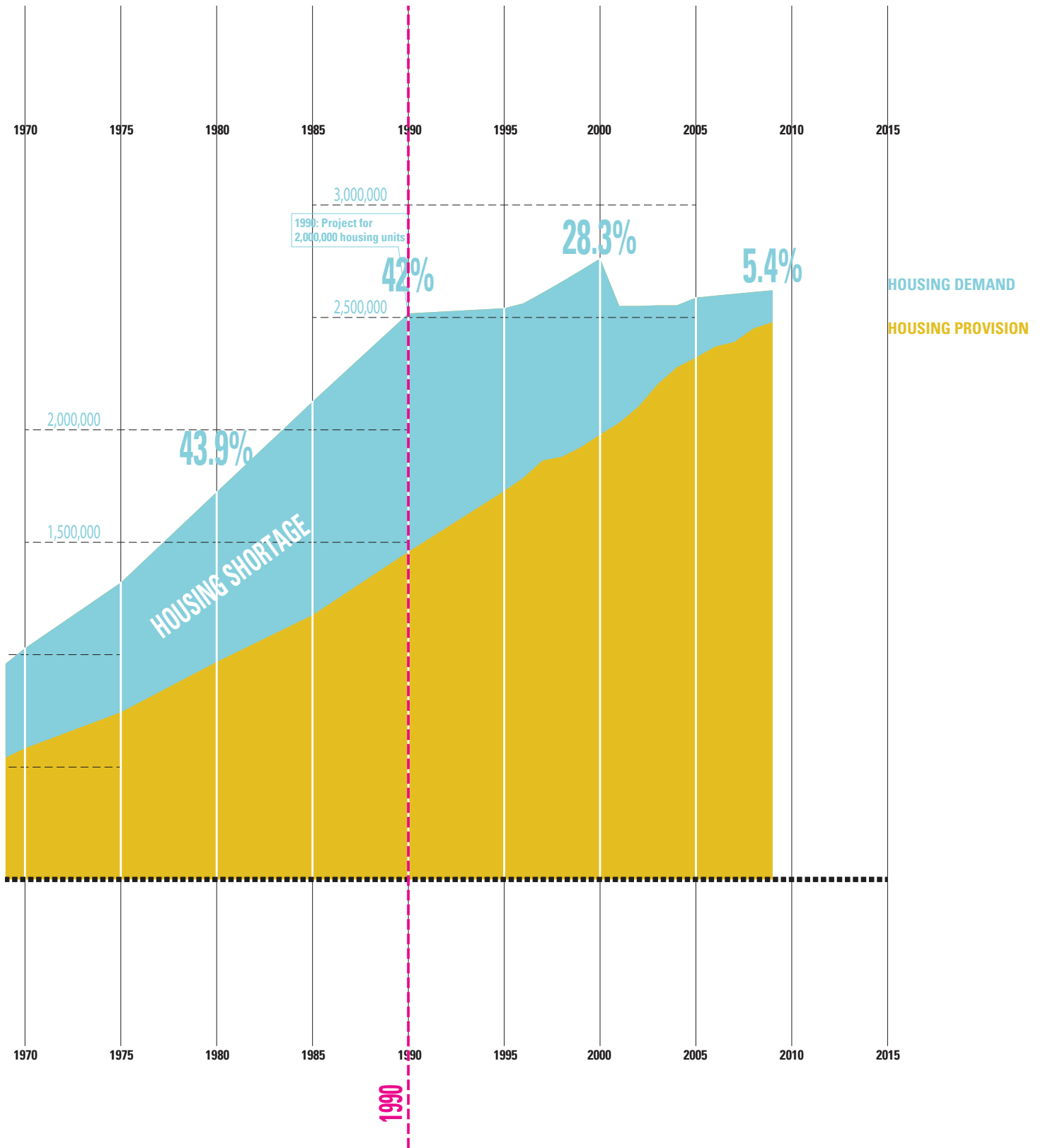


Figure 2-4. Timeline: Housing Shortage. Ratio Demand / Provision (Seoul)

Sources:

- Data for 1926-2000 from the Seoul Development Institute.
- Data for 2000-2009 from the Land and Housing Corporation.



2.5 HOUSING POLICIES (NATIONAL / METROPOLITAN / SEOUL)

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

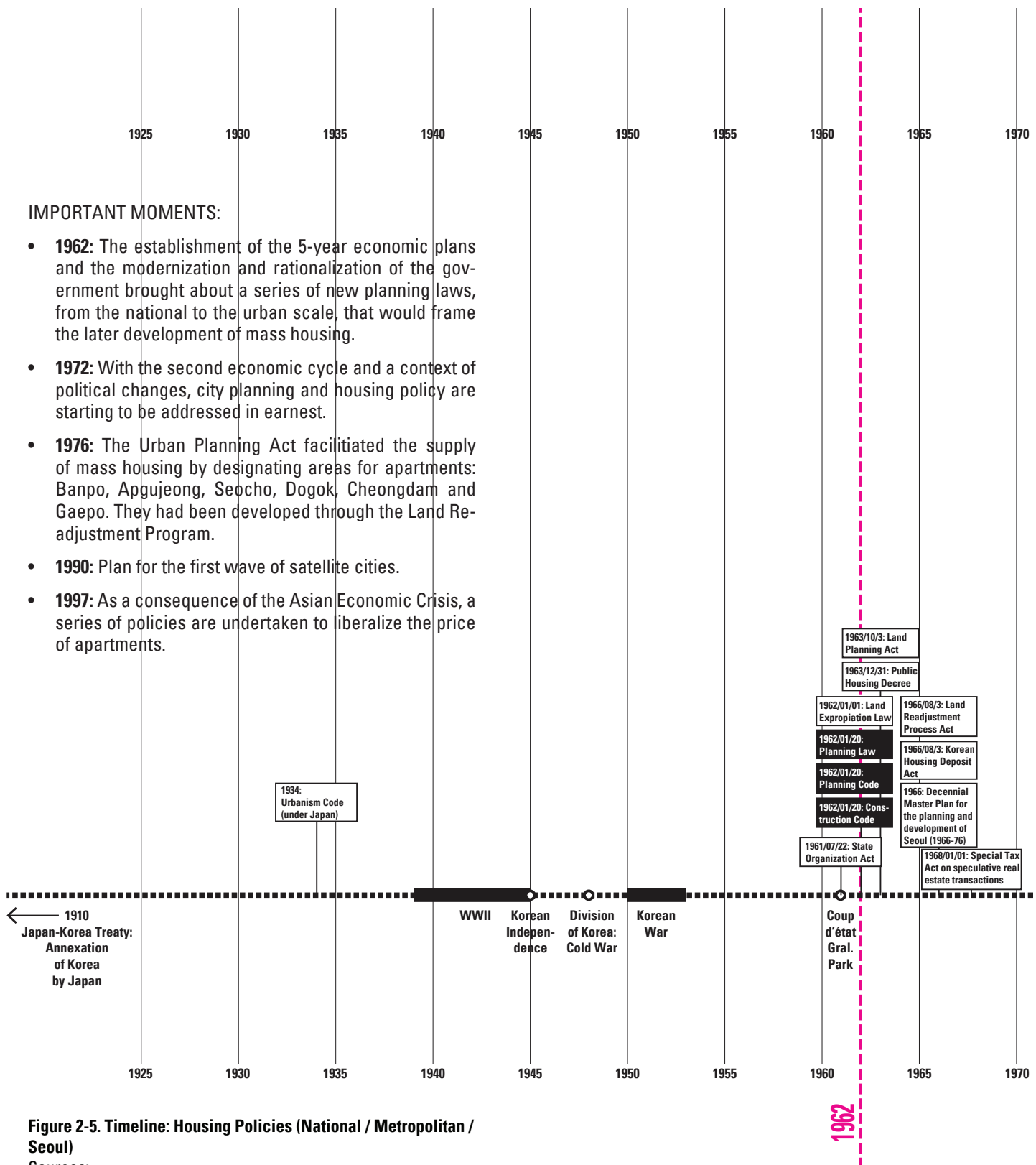
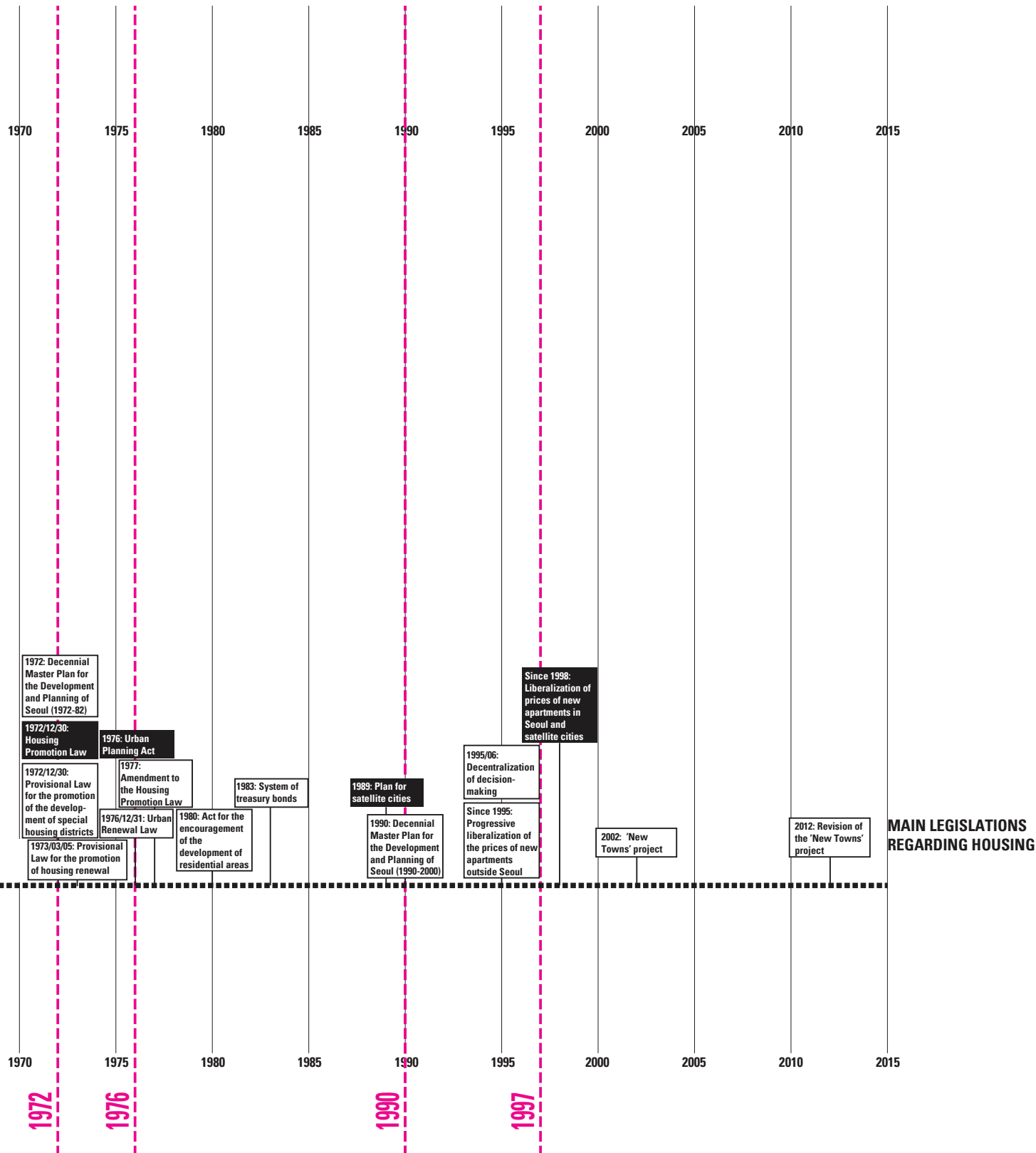


Figure 2-5. Timeline: Housing Policies (National / Metropolitan / Seoul)

Sources:

- Gelézeau, Valérie: *'Séoul, ville géante, cités radieuses'*.
- Kim, Jieun: *'Mobilizing Property-Based Interests: Politics of Policy-Driven Gentrification in Seoul, Korea'* (from data by the Ministry of Government Legislation).



2.6 RATIO OF CONSTRUCTION OF MASS HOUSING (SEOUL)

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

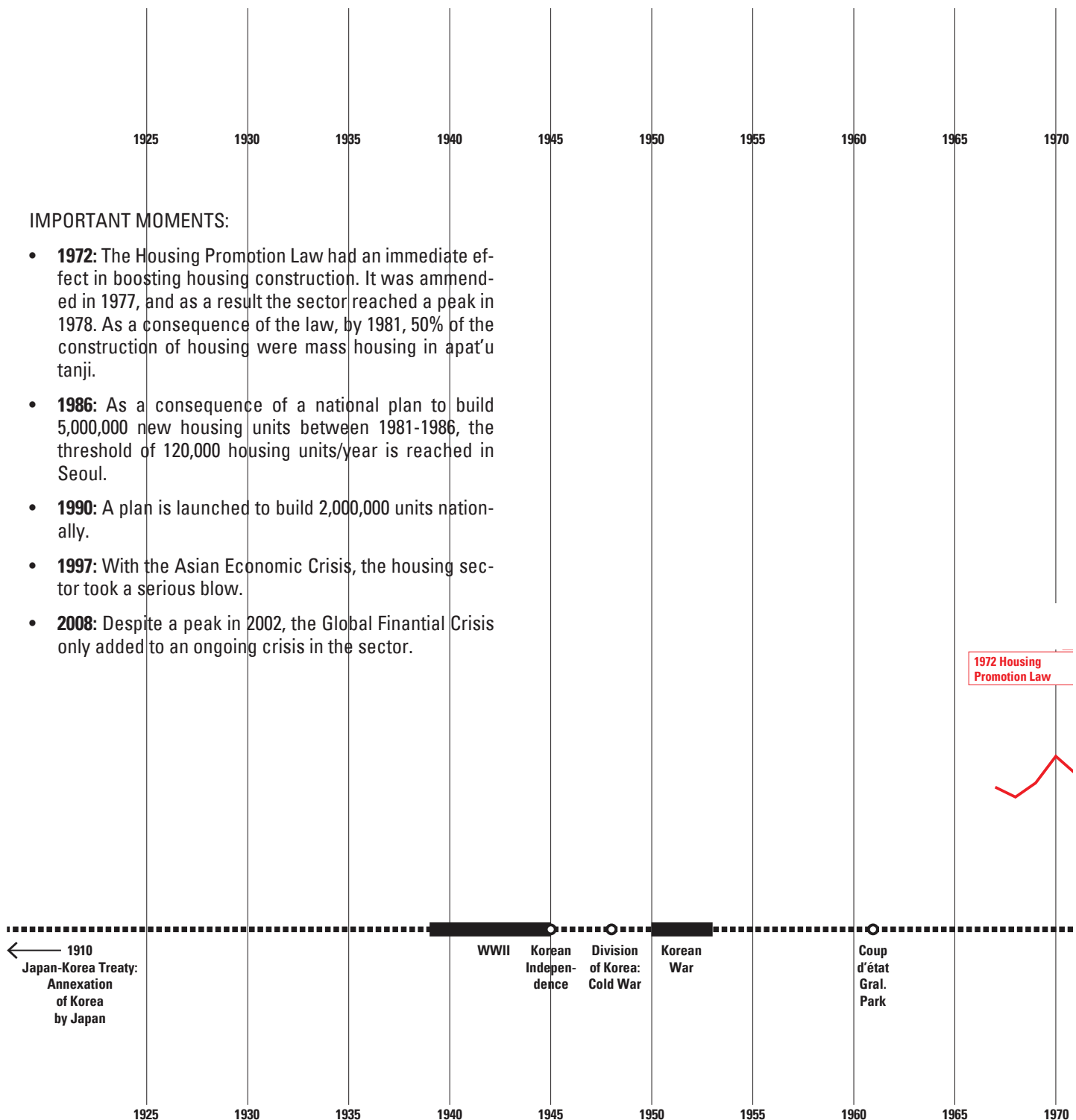
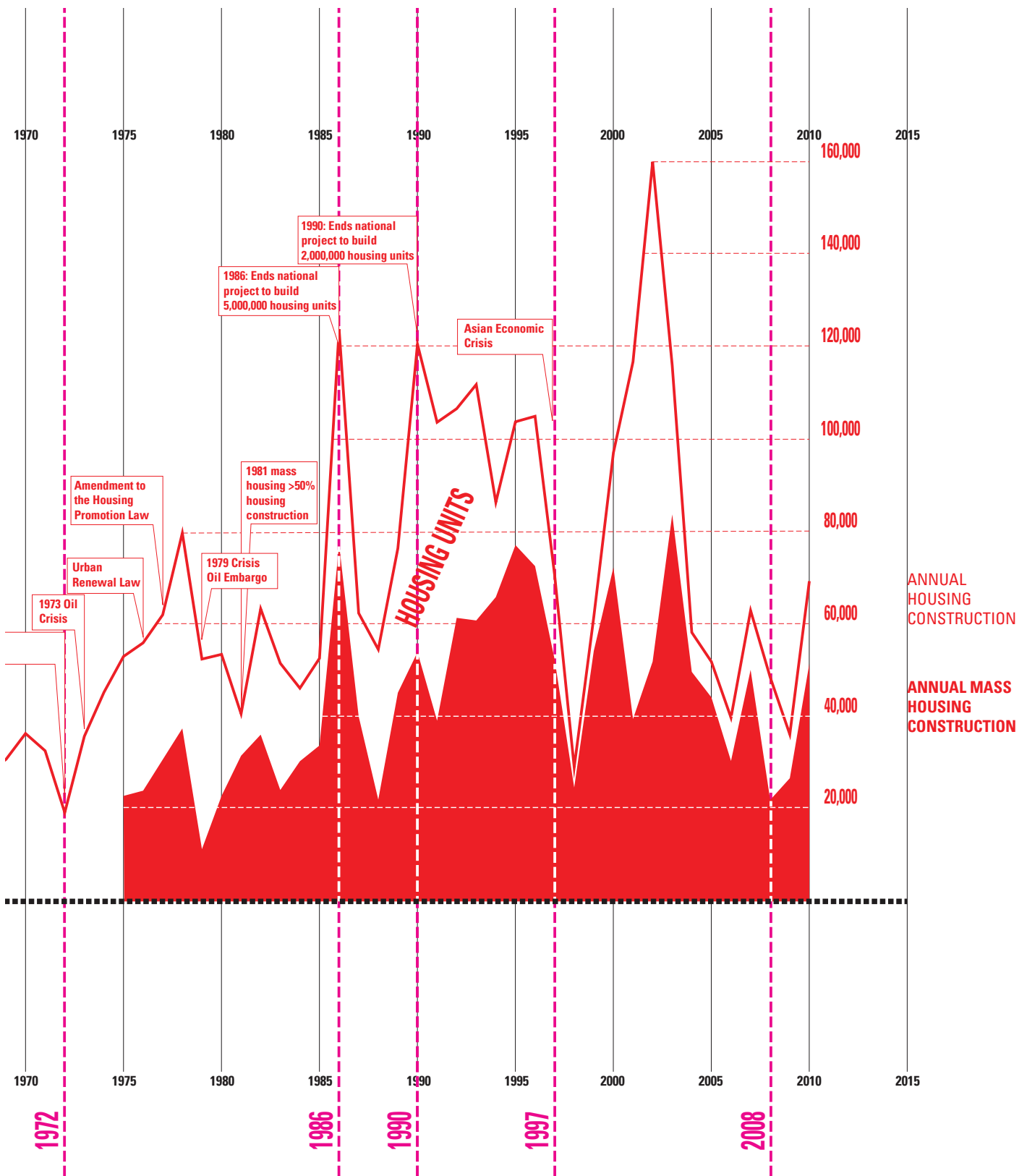


Figure 2-6. Timeline: % of Construction of Mass Housing (Seoul)

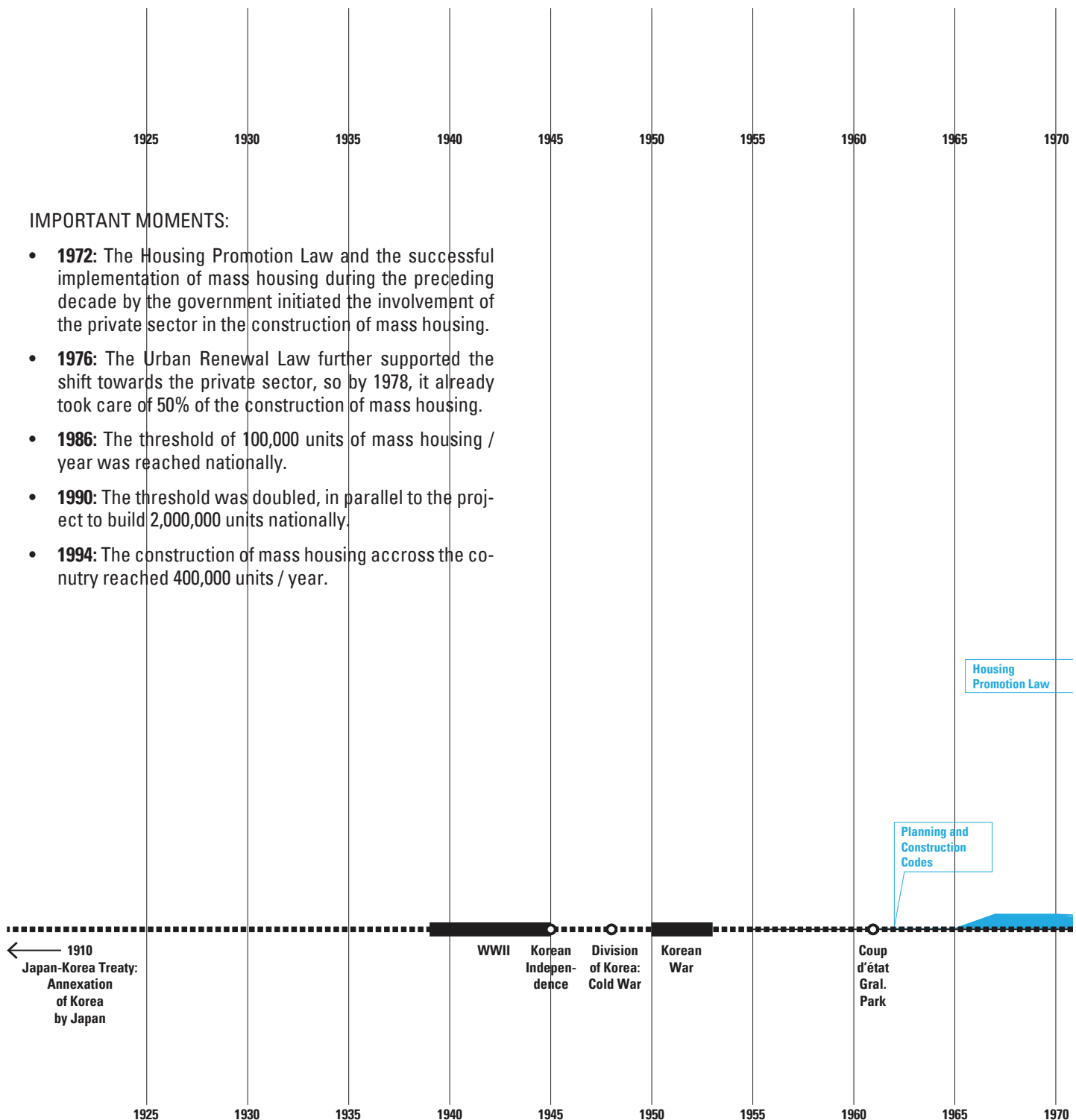
Sources:

- Data for 1967-2001 from the Seoul Development Institute.
- Data for 2001-2010 from the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MOLIT).



2.7 PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT vs. PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT OF MASS HOUSING (S. KOREA)

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE



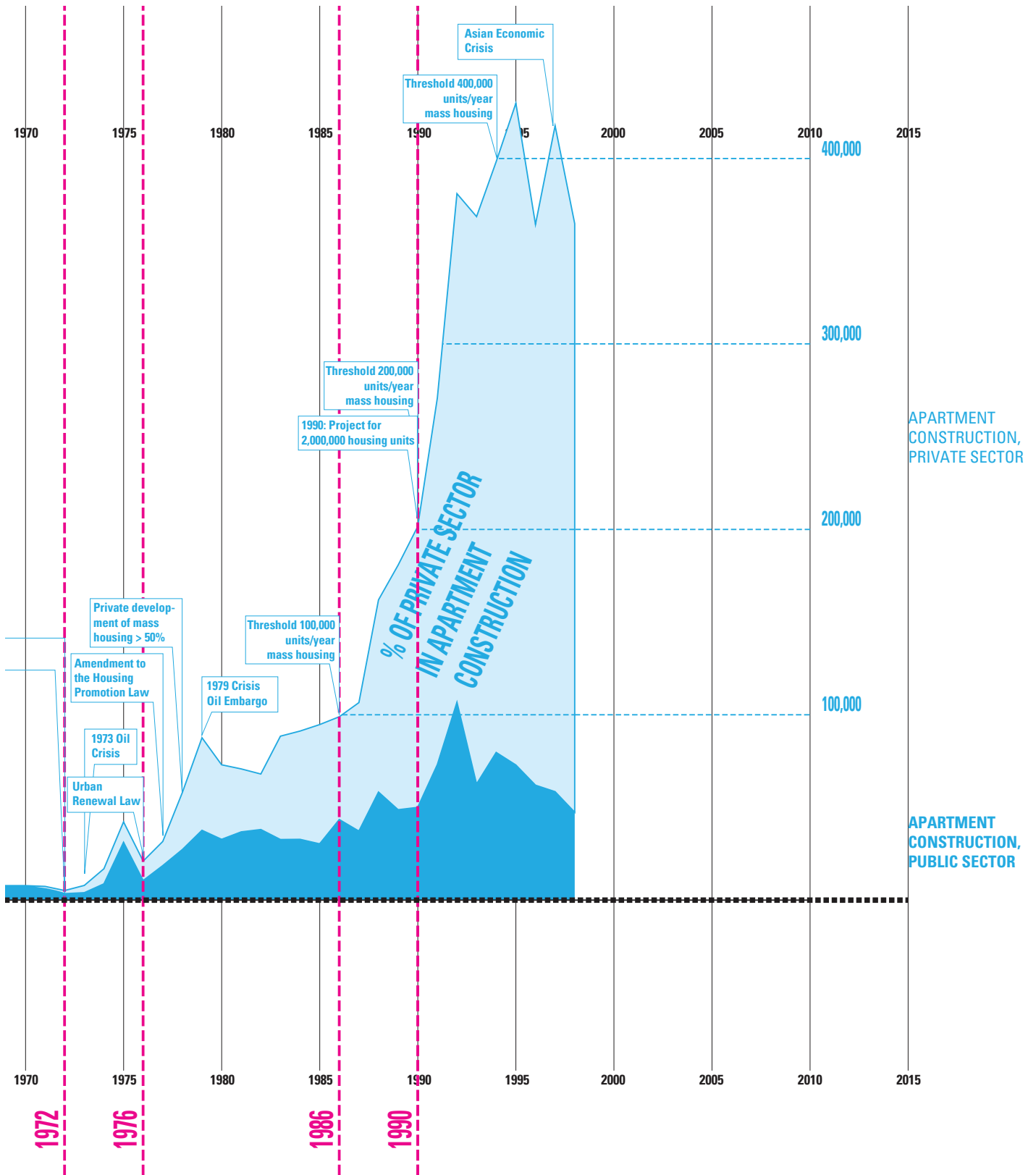
IMPORTANT MOMENTS:

- **1972:** The Housing Promotion Law and the successful implementation of mass housing during the preceding decade by the government initiated the involvement of the private sector in the construction of mass housing.
- **1976:** The Urban Renewal Law further supported the shift towards the private sector, so by 1978, it already took care of 50% of the construction of mass housing.
- **1986:** The threshold of 100,000 units of mass housing / year was reached nationally.
- **1990:** The threshold was doubled, in parallel to the project to build 2,000,000 units nationally.
- **1994:** The construction of mass housing across the country reached 400,000 units / year.

Figure 2-7. Timeline: Private Development vs. Public Development of Mass Housing (S. Korea)

Source:

Gelézeau, Valérie: *'Changing Socio-Economic Environments, Housing Culture and New Urban Segregation in Seoul'*.



2.8 SUMMARY: ESTABLISHMENT OF PHASES

Ch. 2 / DEFINITION OF PHASES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MASS HOUSING IN SEOUL: A TIMELINE

DEFINITION OF PHASES:

- 1962 - 1972:** Coinciding with the first two 5-year economic plans. Although housing was not one of the top priorities of the new regime, it did experiment with mass housing, either as a solution to informal settlements, or as a modern lifestyle for the affluent classes.
- 1972 - 1986:** The third 5-year economic plan, in parallel with changes in the developmental regime, intensified the focus on urban planning and housing. Mass housing became widespread and there was a shift towards private development. This phase is divided in two sub-phases around the year 1976, when the Urban Planning Act further facilitated the provision of mass housing and the turn towards private development. The period ended with the conclusion of the national project to build 5,000,000 mass housing units.
- 1986 - 1997:** With the preponderance of private development, mass housing models were consolidated. Apartment complexes were instrumental in the jump of scale towards the metropolitan area, and the economic crisis of 1997 signified the end of the 5-year economic plans and a progressive liberalization of prices. The year 1990 defines two sub-phases, due to the importance of the emergence of the satellite cities.
- 1997 - 2008:** Period of maturity in between the two economic crises characterized by deregulation, the progressive depletion of new land to colonize through apartment complexes, and the progressive shift towards inner city urban renewal through mass housing.

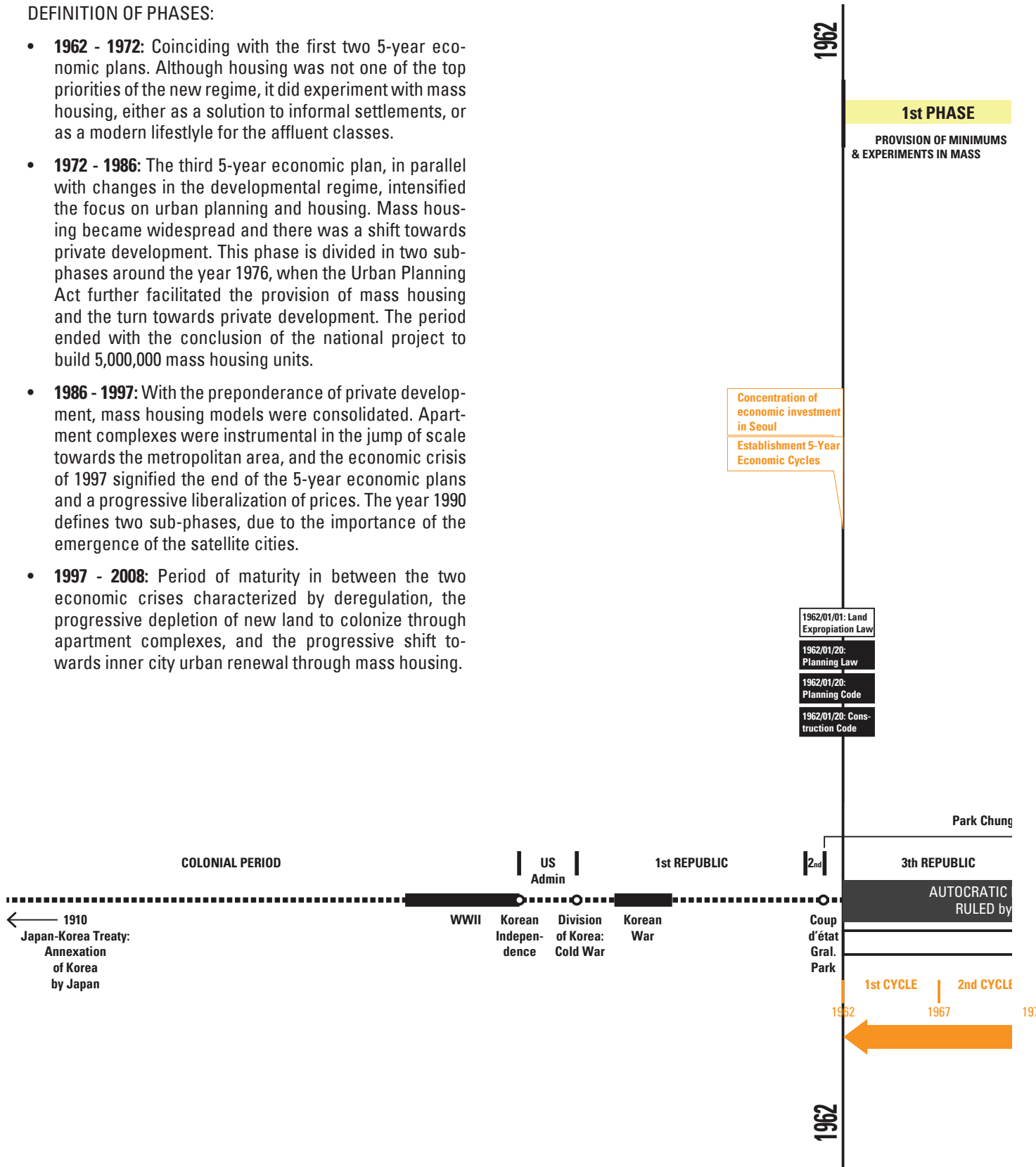
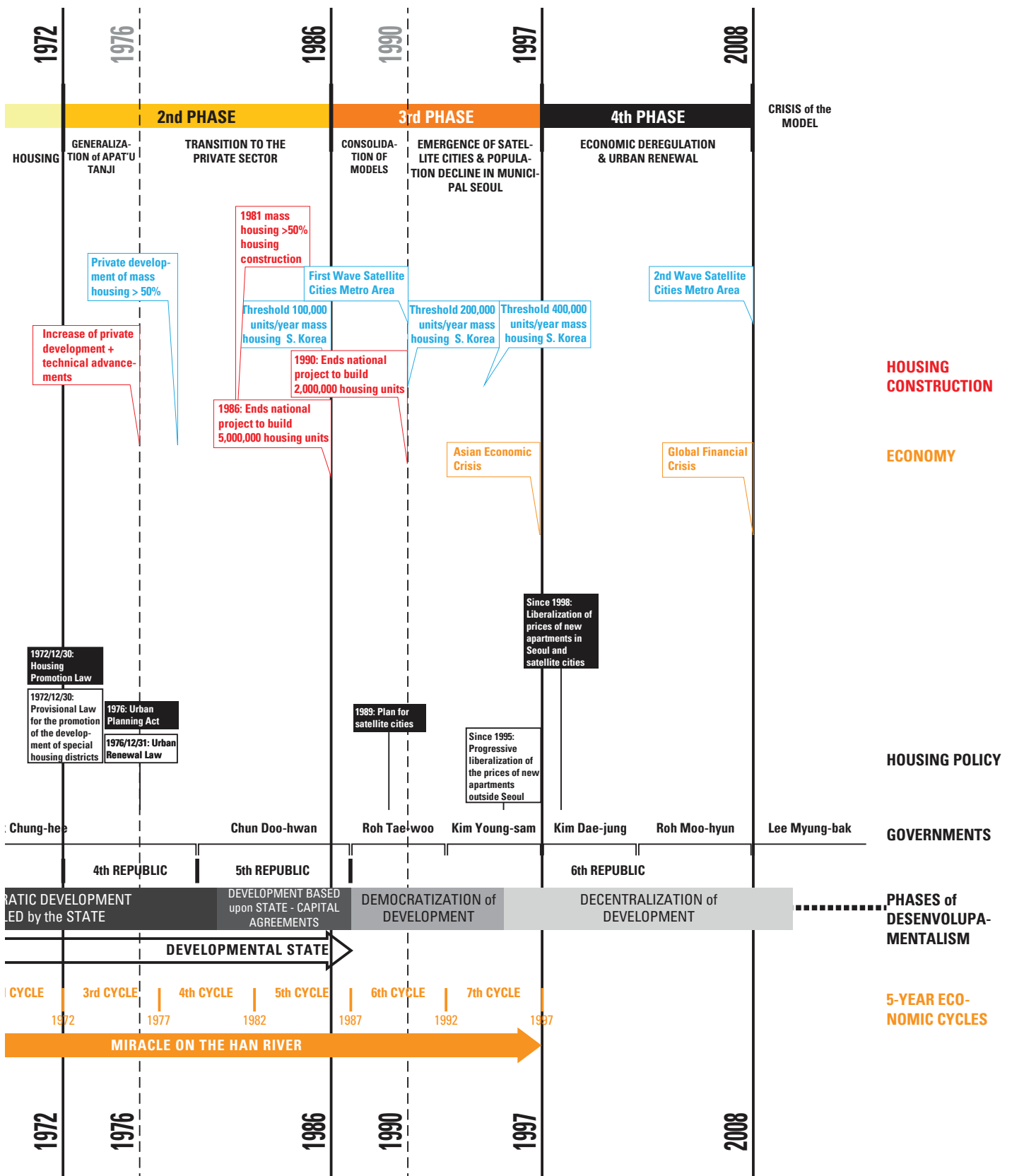


Figure 2-8. Timeline: Summary of the Phases



CHAPTER 3

***APAT'U TANJI* AND THE PLANS FOR SEOUL**

3.1 NEW SEOUL CITY PLAN, 1966

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	새서울 백지계획 (Planning for New Seoul). Also called 'Mugunhwa Plan' (무궁화).
Year:	1966
Mayor:	김현옥 (Kim Hyun-ok)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	박병주 (Byung-joo Park), head of housing research at the Korean National Housing Corporation (대한주택공사)
Location:	Undisclosed location, south of Seoul
Status:	Unrealized
Population target:	1,000,000 inhabitants

1. BACKGROUND

After the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, the definition of a spatial structure reflecting the new constitutional democracy became a task of great symbolic significance. In particular, finding the seat of the National Assembly Hall and its legislative, administrative and judicial branches so it could reflect the desired independence and balance among them turned out to be a great challenge, given the urban structure inherited from the Joseon royal capital and the Japanese colonial period (Choe, 2003, p. 504). Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Korean War, North Korea had a stronger military and continued to be a threat to the South. The US did not allow President Park to develop his own military power, and thus the development of Seoul as a capital of the modern nation estate was continuously at risk.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

Within this context, the City Hall commissioned an ideal plan for a new capital city built from scratch that would explore the impact of the symbolic separation and balance of political powers on urban form, thus providing a modern planning model for the new republic. The project was to be showcased at the first urban planning exhibition held in Seoul in 1966.

The conditions of the commission were to design an ideal capital city to accommodate on million inhabitants within 13,200 Ha, without any concern for natural surroundings in an imaginary location south of Seoul, far from the reach of North Korean weaponry. The commission also specified the city should have the shape of the rose of Sharon flower (*hibiscus syriacus*), the national flower of South Korea (무궁화, *mugunghwa*), and is a testament of the highly symbolic nature of the task.

3. REFERENCES

- Hanyang, or ancient Seoul as the capital of the Joseon dynasty.
- The L'Enfant Plan for the city of Washington (1791), by Pierre Charles L'Enfant.
- Plan for a contemporary city of 3 million inhabitants (1922), by Le Corbusier.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The shape of the city followed the outline of a rose of Sharon flower, defined by a ring road of highways. Because of that, it was also called 'Mugunhwa Plan'. Two axes defined the core of the city, with the seat of the National Assembly Hall at the northernmost end, housed in a structure that resembled a traditional palace. The legislative, administrative and judicial branches defined the other ends of the axes. The N-S axe was a monumental avenue that hybridized the boulevard in front of the main palace in Seoul, Gwangwhamun, with the National Mall in Washington DC. The main avenues were flanked by high-rise government offices, and the square area surrounding the city center contained high-rise apartment buildings organized along diagonal avenues that linked the center directly with the ring road, in a scheme that combined elements of Le Corbusier's plan for a contemporary city of three million inhabitants with others from the urban structure of d Washington DC (Jung, 2013, p. 57). The rest of the city was organized in a grid pattern that defined superblocks approximately 650m wide.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

The scheme featured two types of residential areas: a central core of higher density of population surrounding the two monumental axes with apartment complexes; and areas of lower density around them. The mass housing sectors in the center showcased two different morphologies: freestanding linear blocks and articulated linear organizations, similar to the housing 'set-backs' featured in Le Corbusier's 1922 proposal for a contemporary city, but in a Y pattern that recalled those found in some public housing estates in the US, such as the Queensbridge Houses built in Queens (New York) in 1939.

Following Le Corbusier's plan, the areas of higher residential density at the center were for the elites. Not the business elites in this case, but the public officials working in the governmental departments.

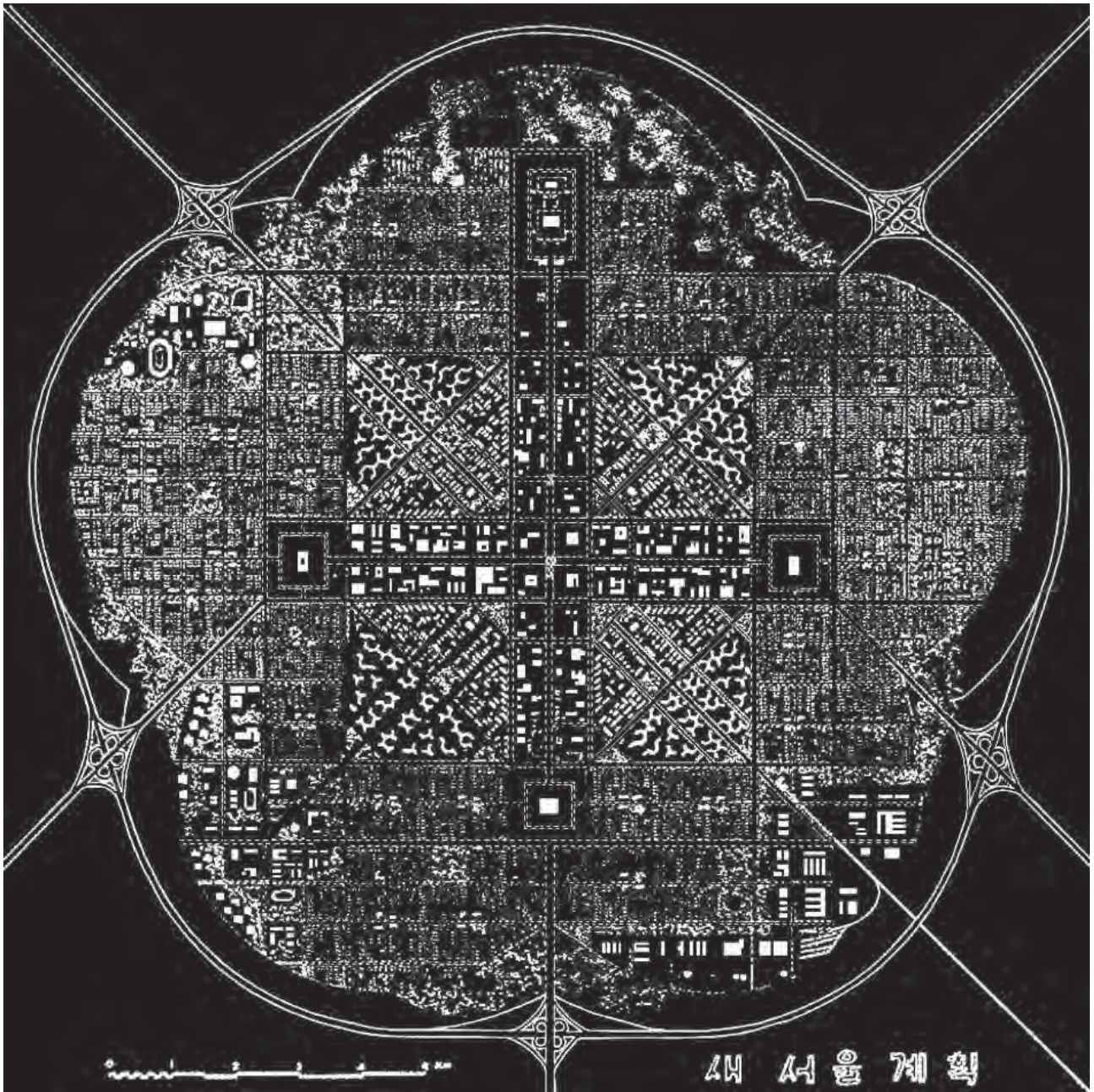


Figure 3-1. New Seoul Plan.
Byung-joo Park, 1966. 서울 도시기본계획 (Basic urban planning of Seoul). Source: Space Magazine #1, November 1966 p. 8-16.

3.1 NEW SEOUL CITY PLAN, 1966

6. INFLUENCES

The New Seoul Plan was never meant to be anything more than a vision, and it became a controversial issue at the time -architect Kim Jung-up mocked it for being like a children's cartoon (Choe, 2003, p. 504). Nevertheless, it was the first theoretical urban model conceived to embody a modern national identity, reflecting the fetishism for a high modernist planning based on the automobile, where traditional street patterns were abandoned in favor of free-standing buildings arranged on landscaped superblocks. The plan did influence the planning of Gangnam in terms of the gridded street pattern, the ring road and the concentration of important functions at the center (Jung, 2013, p. 58). It also initiated the trend to build a brand new administrative capital, an idea that would keep coming up until eventually a special administrative district was created in 2007 to accommodate the Sejong Special Self-Governing City, about 120 Km south from Seoul. Mass housing was an important element of this highly symbolic vision, as it represented the residential choice of the elites and was located right next to the monumental axes at the core of the capital.

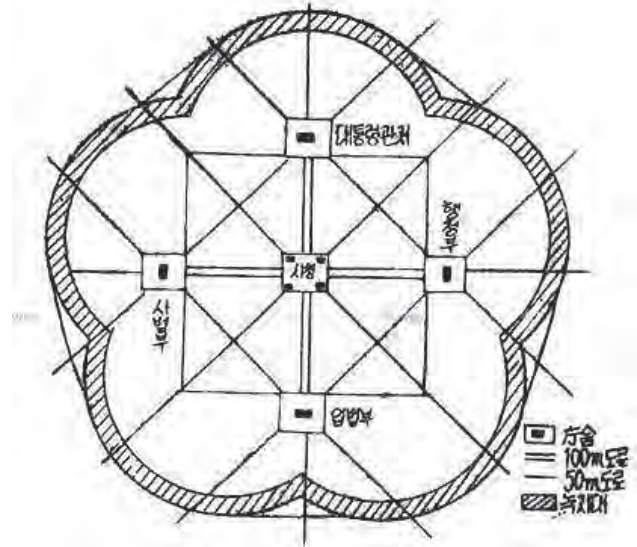


Figure 3-2. New Seoul Plan, 1966.

Basic diagram of the plan showcasing the road structure, the location of the four main administrative functions and the green-belt.

Source: 경향신문 (Kyunghyang Newspaper), September 1966.



Figure 3-3. New Seoul Plan, 1966.

Aerial view of the central district.

Source: Source: Space Magazine #1, November 1966 p. 8-16.



Figure 3-4. New Seoul Plan, 1966.

Model in display at the 1966 city planning exhibition on occasion of the presentation of the Basic Urban Planning of Seoul.

Source: 국립중앙도서관 (National Library of Korea).

3.2 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1966

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	서울시 도시기본계획 (Basic Urban Planning for Seoul)
Year:	1966 - 1985
Mayor:	김현옥 (Kim Hyun-ok)
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	Korea Planners Association
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city
Status:	Not implemented.
Population target:	5 million inhabitants.

1. BACKGROUND

The developmental dictatorship established in 1961 began an ambitious five-year economic plan to build a self-reliant economy through the development of an export-oriented industry. The job opportunities offered by the labor-intensive export policies accelerated the influx of population into the capital. Only in between 1960 and 1965, the citizens of Seoul increased from 2.5 million to 3.5, a ratio of 200,000 per year.

The city could not cope with this demographic crisis, so about 50% of the population lived in informal arrangements (see Figure 5-2 in Chapter 5, Volume 01). There were many shanty towns in the hills and streams surrounding the urban areas. Urban infrastructures were unable to cope with the accelerated urban growth: the road network, the public transportation system, and the sanitary water and sewage networks were all insufficient. There were also regular floods. Furthermore, there was a lack of urban planning expertise to cope with the situation. Up until 1962, the Department of City Planning was only a section under the Bureau of Public Works (Choe, 2003, p. 52). There were no proper land survey maps, and only developments that costed no public money through land readjustment projects could be carried out.

At this point, the former Mayor of Busan, Kim Hyun-ok, became the mayor of Seoul and initiated a wave of development projects, in parallel to the establishment of a modern Department of City Planning.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

The main purpose of the plan was to set up guidelines for the provision of the necessary physical infrastructure required to support the developmental dictatorship's goals of industrialization and economic growth, following the "growth first" motto. It was also meant to deal with the related demographic explosion. Since it was the first attempt to define a comprehensive twenty-year plan, it became an essential reference for South Korean planners.

3. REFERENCES

- Greater London Plan (1944), by Sir Leslie Patrick Abercrombie, which saw the need for post-war reconstruction as an opportunity to amend the unplanned development that had occurred as a result of rapid industrialization during the nineteenth century.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The plan contained three main features (Jung, 2013, pp. 53-54):

- The first one was the definition of Seoul as a concentric city: a radius of 5 km around the traditional core was designated as the 'daily zone'; a perimeter 15 km around it was defined as a 'weekly zone'; and a periphery 45 km wide around would be the 'monthly zone'. The plan proposed four concentric ring roads based on that concept, with thirteen radial arteries intersecting them from the center, which defined sub-centers at the crossings.
- The second feature was the de-centralization of government functions from the center towards those sub-centers, in particular to Yongsan, Yeongdeungpo and Gangnam. This redistribution of government functions was also one of the guiding principles of the New Seoul plan of the same year.
- The third main attribute was the development of Gangnam, the area south of the Han River that had been incorporated in 1963.

3.2 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1966

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

Since the main goal of the plan was to facilitate infrastructure for economic growth, issues of comfortable human habitation were not the main concern (Jung, 2013, p. 55). But the plan did contemplate the construction of apartment complexes as a tool for urban renewal, in order to deal with the encroachment of slums around the city center. Thus, a total area of approximately 44 Ha (134,000 pyeong) in the districts of Yeomcheon, Sindang, Hannam, Naksan, Gongdeok, Yongsan and Jongno 3-ga was to be cleared and its residents rehoused into new public apartment buildings (Choe, 2003, p. 513).

6. INFLUENCES

The Basic Urban Planning for Seoul of 1966 was soon considered obsolete. The main reason was the conservative prevision for demographic growth, among others. But by outlining the street network, the land use, and the city's districts it became a blueprint for the modern spatial structure of the city as we know it today.

The Plan was displayed in the first Special Exhibition on Urbanism ever to be held in Korea, in a temporary pavilion built in front of the City Hall with the intention to encourage citizen's participation. It garnered enormous interest, since citizens realized the plan had a direct effect on their property values. Only during the month of August, 800,000 people -23% of the population of Seoul at the time- visited the exhibition. It had an immediate effect on land prices, which jumped an average of 200 times between 1966 and 1969, setting a pivotal precedent for real estate speculation in the city (Choe, 2003, pp. 505-506).

The provision of using apartments as a tool for slum clearance became the origin of the use of the *tabula rasa* approach in urban renewal projects. It was also the origin of the so-called 'citizen's apartments' (시민 아파트) built since 1967 in the hilly areas around the historic center, until the infamous collapse of the Waw apartments in 1970¹.

¹ See '3.6 Citizen's Apartments Project, 1969' later in this chapter.



Figure 3-5. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1966.
Original document.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.



Figure 3-6. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1966.
Temporal pavilion built in front of the City Hall to host the first city planning exhibition held in Korea during the summer of 1966, on occasion of the presentation of the Seoul City Master Plan.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

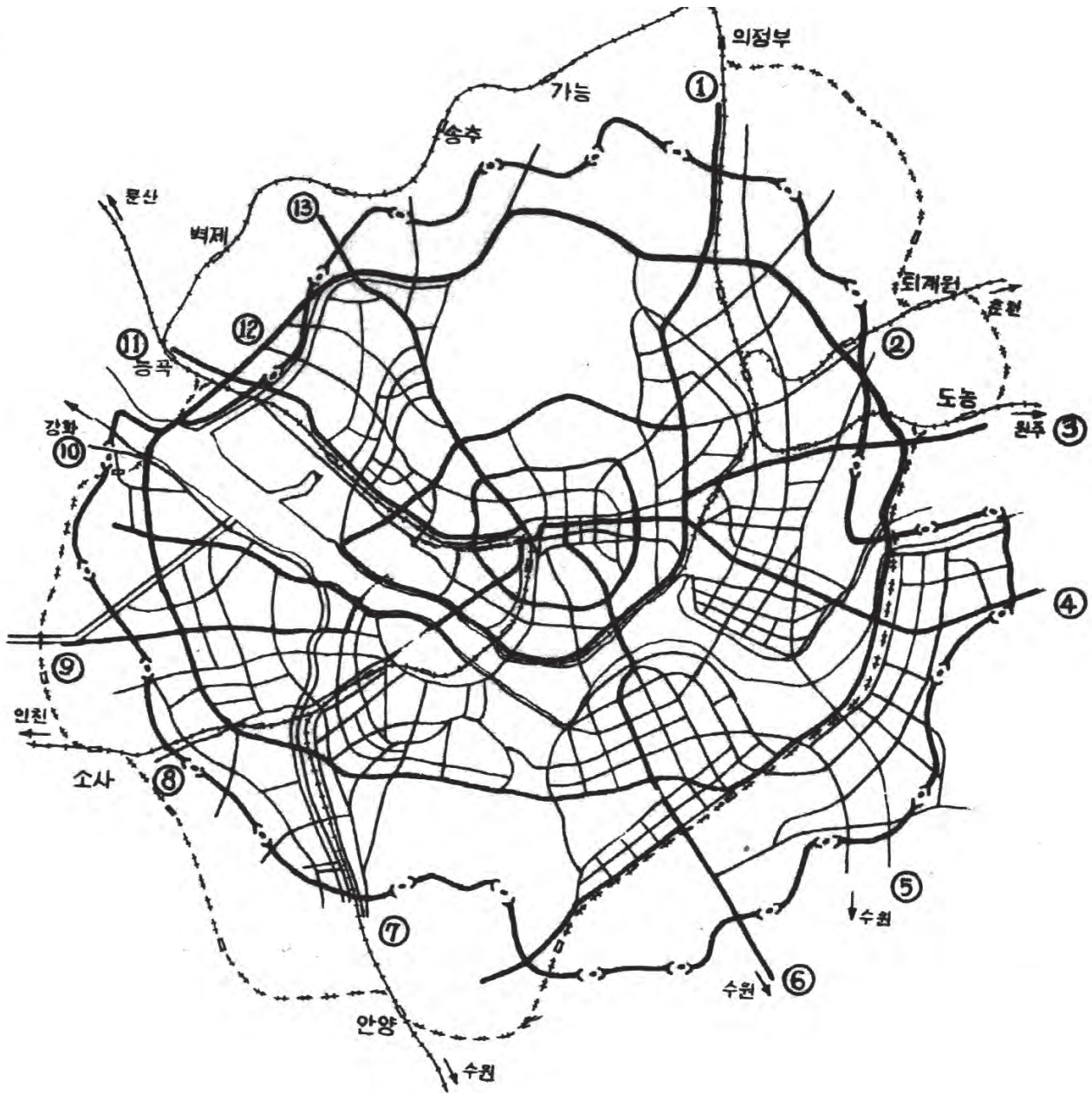


Figure 3-7. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1966.
 Road and railway plan.
 Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.2 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1966

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

1. 過去 漢城은 어떻게 변해왔는가

한국의 수도 서울은 1945년 8월 15일 광복을 맞을 때까지 300여 년 동안 조선의 수도로서 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

2. 서울의 도시 계획의 필요성

서울의 도시 계획의 필요성은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

3. 서울의 도시 계획의 기본 원칙

서울의 도시 계획의 기본 원칙은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

4. 서울의 도시 계획의 세부 계획

서울의 도시 계획의 세부 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

5. 서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

6. 서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

7. 서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획

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8. 서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

서울은 이렇게 변한다 (都市基本計劃의 줄거리)

서울은 1945년 8월 15일 광복을 맞을 때까지 300여 년 동안 조선의 수도로서 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

3. 서울이 넓어지는 길(都市計劃의 과정)

서울은 1945년 8월 15일 광복을 맞을 때까지 300여 년 동안 조선의 수도로서 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

4. 서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

5. 서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

基本計劃

서울의 도시 계획의 기본 원칙은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

1. 人口의 概況

1945년 8월 15일 광복을 맞을 때까지 300여 년 동안 조선의 수도로서 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

2. 世界大國人口比較

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

3. 人口의 概況

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

4. 交通의 改善

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

5. 上下水道의 設備

서울의 도시 계획의 실행 계획은 서울의 도시 발달을 이룩해 왔다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다. 서울의 도시 발달은 조선의 역사와 함께 한 것이다.

Figure 3-8. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1966. Front and back pages of a leaflet describing the Seoul Plan. The title reads: 'How Seoul will change' (서울은 이렇게 변한다). Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.3 HAN RIVER DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1967-69

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	한강 개발 3개년 계획 (Han River Three-Year Development Plan)
Year:	1967-69
Mayor:	김현옥 (Kim Hyun-ok) and 양택식 (Yang Taek-sik)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	Korea Engineering Consultants Corporation (of which Kim Swoo-geun was the second director)
Location:	74 km along the northern and southern banks of the Han River
Status:	Completed
Population target:	Not specified

1. BACKGROUND

When Kim Hyun-ok became the mayor of Seoul in 1966, he was faced with a city that had to cope with an unprecedented demographic boom and industrial growth, but was limited by large amounts of informal settlements, a poor road network and an underdeveloped infrastructure. At the same time, he lacked funding and urban planning expertise – there were not even survey maps to start with. His answer was to engage in an aggressive road expansion effort in order to both ease traffic congestions in the historic city, but also to expand the urban area. Kim's strategy of opening up new areas for urbanization through the layout of new road infrastructure was summarized in his famous motto: "The city is a line" ('도시 는 선 이다').

From the redevelopment of downtown's Seoul street network, his attention quickly shifted to the banks of the Han River. The threat of North Korea pushed development towards the south, so the edges of the river became the natural new frontier for urbanization.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- Construction of an efficient high-speed highway system along the river edges to mitigate traffic congestion problems in Seoul.
- Provision of flood control measures to prevent the Han River from flooding, thus allowing the urbanization of its banks.
- Development of a modern high-rise city on reclaimed land on Yeouido and along the banks of the river.

3. REFERENCES

The strategy of obtaining ground for urbanization through land reclamation projects along the Han River had a strong precedent in the fascination with the concept of *jinkō toshi* (artificial land) by the Japanese Metabolist architects of the same decade. Based on the metaphor of the city as an organic process, they rejected Modernist planning methods in favor of structuralist approaches featuring megas-structures, infrastructural networks, artificial land reclamation and floating city projects (Kiyonori Kikutake. *Between Land and Sea*, 2016).

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

In order to prevent yearly floods, a large hydraulical infrastructure was put in place. A dam upstream and another one downstream controlled the height of the river in its way through the city, and a levee was built on both sides in order to regularize its path and to prevent flooding.

A highway of four lanes was to be built on top of the levee for a total length of 74 km. A set of new bridges would connect the north bank with the south, starting with one from Mapo to Yeouido and Yeongdeungpo, and then progressing with new ones towards the east.

Land thus reclaimed would be colonized by mass housing. The government estimated that about 230 Ha. (697,000 *pyeong*) of buildable land would be created as a result of the project, and proceeded to sell the rights to its development.

Yeouido Island was to be the pilot project, as it was seen as the natural extension of the city towards the south along the train tracks to Incheon.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

In the anxious pursuit of a modern identity by the developmental regime, road infrastructure and high-rise apartments had been established as symbols of the new urban Korea since the New Seoul City Plan of 1966. According to the plan, land gained to the river was seen as a new frontier for development in order to alleviate the saturation of the city center and the chronic housing shortages. The edges of the river were to be lined up with dense apartment complexes, offering a new urban façade.

But there was little indication of how those high-rise residential buildings would be related with either the traditional city center or the river itself. The plan did not clarify either how they would be organized or even accessed.

3.3 HAN RIVER DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1967-69

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In this sense, apartment complexes fulfilled rather a symbolic function as messengers of an urban modernity than a specific role within a coordinated expansion plan of the city. Due to the early resignation of Mayor Kim, the Han River plan addressed mostly the initial infrastructural issues (river and highway), but ended up not addressing the housing part.

6. INFLUENCES

- The implementation of the plan took place during a turbulent political and social period. Mayor Kim had to step out of his position due to the disaster of the Waw apartments in 1970, and Mayor Yang Taek-sik took his place. This brought changes in the management of the project that hindered the continuity of the Plan.
- Due to his early resignation, Kim Hyun-ok's Han River Plan could not be developed in full. The hydrological and highway infrastructures were progressively implemented, but there was not time to develop the residential quarters as he had planned. Nevertheless, his vision influenced the later development of an urban façade along the river with mass housing estates.
- The construction of the combined hydrological and transportation infrastructure along both edges of the river effectively segregated it from the new residential areas created by landfill, a problem that persists today.



Figure 3-9. New embankment on the northern side of the Han River. Photograph taken in Hannam-dong, 1967. The Hannam bridge is being built in the background. Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).



Figure 3-10. Construction of a four-lane road on the embankment along the river. Yeouido Island, 1968. Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).



Figure 3-11. Sale of buildable lots on reclaimed land along the northern bank of the river. Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).



Figure 3-12. Han River Development Chart, 1968.
 Location of the main project areas along the river. Of special note are the tracing of the original bed of the river (in black) and the modified one (in grey), and the location of Yeouido island.
 Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).



Figure 3-13. Han River Development Plan.
 Model of the Plan included in Kim Swoo-geun's design for Yeouido island at the request of mayor Kim Hyun-ok, 1969.
 Source: Space Group.

3.4 PLANNING OF GANGNAM: YEONGDONG LAND READJUSTMENT PROJECTS I & II

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	영동 1,2지구 토지구획정리사업 / Yeongdong Land Readjustment Projects I and II
Year:	1968 and 1971
Mayor:	김현옥 (Kim Hyun-ok) and 양택식 (Yang Taek-shik).
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	Korea Planners Association (District I) and Seoul City Government officials (District II).
Location:	The area south of the river popularly known as 'Gangnam', administratively composed of four districts: Gangnam, Seocho, Songpa and Gangdong.
Status:	Realized
Population target:	Not defined

1. BACKGROUND

The plan for Gangnam was disclosed for the first time in the Special Exhibition on Urbanism held in the square in front of the City Hall during the summer of 1966, within the framework of the first Seoul City Master Plan. The development of the area south of the Han River was one of the main features of the Plan, since it was destined to become one of the three sub-centers where government functions would be distributed and to alleviate congestion from the traditional center. An initial street network and block structure were laid out at that time (Jung, 2013, p. 56).

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- To provide an infrastructure for the development of Gangnam as one of the sub-centers contemplated in the 1966 Plan of Seoul.
- To acquire land for the construction of the Gyeongbu Expressway minimizing public expenditure.

3. REFERENCES

- West Germany's Autobahn system. Park Chung-hee visited the country in 1964 and returned with a strong impression of the infrastructure.
- Manhattan's grid structure and wide avenues. Mayor Kim Hyun-ok became particularly impressed by the orderly arrangement of the island.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The 1966 Plan of Seoul envisioned a radial road structure with thirteen radiant roads, one of which ran through the center of Gangnam in a N/S direction from the Hannam Bridge connecting to downtown (road #6 in Figure 3-7). In 1967, President Park announced the construction of the Gyeongbu Expressway as one of his main election promises in running for his second term. After being elected, the project was launched and the first section of the highway coincided with the radiant road planned earlier (Jung, 2013, p. 58). In order to minimize compensation costs to land owners affected by the construction of the highway, the Yeongdong District I Land Readjustment Plan (roughly today's Seocho) was hurriedly implemented. The initial area turned out to be too small to pay off for the land necessary

for the highway, so the scope of the project was expanded to include the current Apkujeong-dong area, following the street layout from the 1966 Plan of Seoul.

The hastiness in implementing the plan and its subservience to the financing of the Gyeongbu Expressway were very criticized at the time, and thus the District II plan sought to provide a more comprehensive planning. Under the direction of Seoul City officials, two new features were incorporated to the plan, based on the strong impression the urbanization of Manhattan had caused on Mayor Kim Hyun-ok:

- A riverside road;
- An orthogonal street layout defining blocks of an average size of 600 m, divided by avenues 50 m wide.

Those features were slightly modified in order to adapt them to the existing topography.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

The initial planning of Gangnam contemplated the extension of the city towards the south of the river with low-density, north-American style suburban housing tracks. Following the example of Manhattan, the Yeongdong Land Readjustment Projects basically drew the layout of a street pattern that defined superblocks without clarifying which areas were dedicated to mass housing. Later, the Yeongdong Apartment District Comprehensive Development Plan of 1976 earmarked areas to be developed with mass housing, but by then the street network had already been decided. This means that superblocks were not been designed for a particular density, urban morphology or function in particular: the street network and the superblocks were used as a basic urbanizing framework that could be adapted to different requirements.



Figure 3-14. Yeongdong Land Readjustment I, 1968.
 Bird's eye view showing the process of land readjustment in Seocho along Highway #1 to Busan.
 Source: Youn, 2009.



Figure 3-15. Yeongdong Land Readjustment II, 1970.
 Bird's-eye view showing the street grid of Gangnam.
 Source: Youn, 2009.

3.4 PLANNING OF GANGNAM: YEONGDONG LAND READJUSTMENT PROJECTS I & II

6. INFLUENCES:

After the failure of Kim Swoo-geun's futuristic plan for Yeouido (1969, see next case), Korean urban planners focused on solving the substantial problems facing Seoul at the time rather than experimenting with theoretical proposals. This led to the adoption of efficient planning methods imported from the West that had already been proved. Gangnam is an example of this prosaic adoption and implementation of foreign methods. In spite of having its limitations, it became an important precedent in the planning of new towns in South Korea (Jung, 2013, pp. 55-56).

Yeongdong was developed through two separate phases – Seocho and Gangnam. But due to the implementation of land readjustment plans as the main tool for urbanization, the only continuity among the two phases was the street grid. Within that underlying framework, both areas developed in quite a spontaneous manner, responding to socio-economic contingencies (Jung, 2013, p. 64).

Over time, the limitations of Gangnam were made evident (Jung, 2013, pp. 59-60):

- The large size of the superblocks (an average of 670 x 680m) produced sharp contrasts between the periphery and their interior in terms of density, programs and heights.
- This large size of the super-blocks facilitated their gradual sub-division in smaller blocks or sub-blocks, producing irregular patterns inside the blocks over time.
- The combined effect of the wide avenues and bounded superblocks created strong disconnections between the superblocks, hindering pedestrian circulation.

The land readjustment method inherited from the Japanese colonial time used to acquire land for infrastructure and services in urban renewal projects was proven to be insufficient for large-scale urban development, raising the need for new methods (Jung, 2013, p. 61).

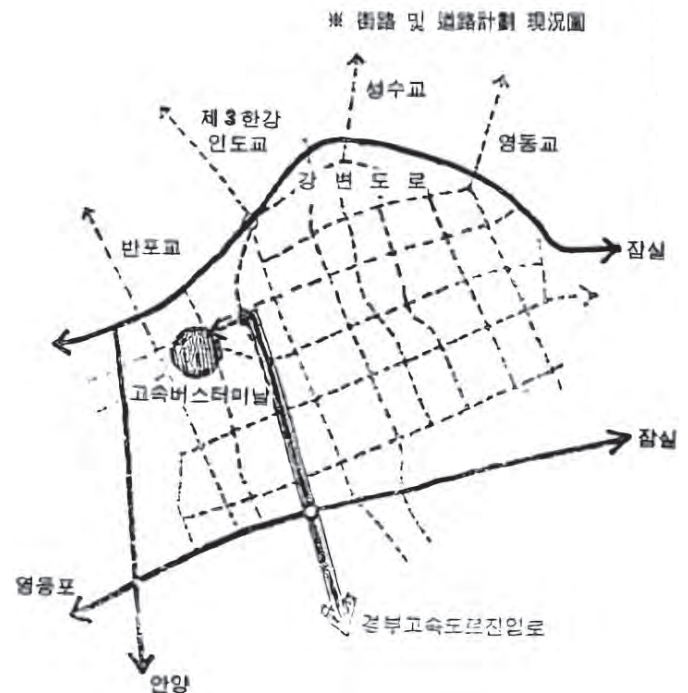


Figure 3-16. Yeongdong Land Readjustment II, 1970.
Diagram of road network.
Source: AURI (Architecture & Urban Research Institute).



Figure 3-17. Yeongdong Land Readjustment II, 1971.
Bird's-eye view showing the street grid of Gangnam. It is noticeable the adaptation of the grid to topographical accidents.
Source: Youn, 2009.

3.5 YEUIDO PLAN, 1969

Project title:	여의도계획 (Yeouido Plan)
Year:	1968-69
Mayor:	김현옥 (Kim Hyun-ok)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	김수근 (Kim Swoo-geun)
Location:	Yeouido island
Status:	Not realized
Population target:	Not defined

1. BACKGROUND

Yeouido was a floodable, uninhabited island in between the traditional city north of the river and the Japanese industrial developments in Yeongdeungpo, along the train line towards the port of Incheon. In 1916, the Japanese army built a temporal airport on the island, which continued to be used by the US army after liberation.

Its strategical location along the natural growth corridor of the city towards the south along the train tracks to Incheon made it a prime target for urban development in the 1960s, so the island became the pilot project of the Han River Plan of 1967.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

The purpose of developing Yeouido was to initiate the necessary expansion of Seoul as foreseen in the 1966 Seoul City Master Plan. Yeongdeungpo was meant to be one of the four sub-centers towards which government functions would be decentralized, and answering to one of the main concerns of the Plan, the National Assembly building would be located on the island. The ambitious project to transform Yeouido into an office and residential center prompted the adoption of the nick name 'Mini-Manhattan'.

3. REFERENCES

- The Tokyo Bay Project, by Kenzo Tange (1960). Kim Swoo-geun studied in Tokyo University from 1952 to 1960 and interned at Hirada Matsuda's architectural office. He became familiar with the Japanese metabolist movement during that period. The Tokyo Bay project was a turning point in the history of modern urbanism, as it provided a model specifically catered to the urban conditions of East-Asian large, dense and fast-growing developmental cities.
- Tange's master plan for the reconstruction of the city of Skopje, Macedonia (1965) after an earthquake, was also an important reference due to the implementation of similar strategies but on a smaller scale.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

Kim Swoo-geun's original plan had three main features (Jung, 2013, p. 54):

- Based on Tange's Plan for the expansion of Tokyo, Kim opted for a linear organization, in opposition to the central or radial expansion model promoted by the 1966 Plan. Tange had argued that the emergence of the automobile required a new spatial order based on a 'fixed', linear megastructure for mobility around which 'transient' programs would accrete depending on changing requirements for expansion and regeneration.
- The island was meant to be a 24/7 self-contained sub-center, including residential, retail, educational, health and cultural buildings, as well as open spaces for a sustainable economic development and a desirable life-style.
- Also according to Tange's Tokyo Bay plan, Kim proposed to separate pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The ground floor would be a continuous pedestrian domain, while cars would travel on elevated highways.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

- In a similar fashion as in Tange's Tokyo Bay plan, the central axis of the island was dedicated to administration and business functions, while residential quarters branched out from the main civic axis through a perpendicular street system.
- Buildings were grouped in neighborhood units with their corresponding facilities: schools, kindergartens, community centers, sports areas, etc.
- Also as in Tange's proposal for Tokyo, all residential buildings were apartment blocks of different sizes but based on a similar typology with a triangular section. No other residential types were contemplated, in order to deal with the expected population density.

3.5 YEOUIDO PLAN, 1969

6. INFLUENCES:

The plan was not implemented mainly due to the costs related to the construction and maintenance of the enormous transportation megastructure. Also, President Park ordered the construction of a large monumental open space at the very center of the island, which would have been incompatible with Kim's design. Thus, Park Byung-joo was commissioned to create a financially feasible new plan. He got rid of Kim's elevated infrastructure, outlined an orthogonal street network and carefully subdivided residential and commercial lots in order to streamline their sale to developers (Jung, 2013, p. 55). A large portion of the sale of the buildable lots in Yeouido financed the Citizen's Apartments Project of the following year.

Nevertheless, the planning of Yeouido became a precedent in the ulterior development of residential neighborhoods on reclaimed land along the river within the Han River Plan and for the development of large tracks of land, such as Gangnam and Jamsil. The linear growth model proposed by Kim Swoo-geun based on the Tokyo Bay project was also influential in the project for Mok-dong new town and of the satellite cities beyond the Greenbelt, such as Bundang.

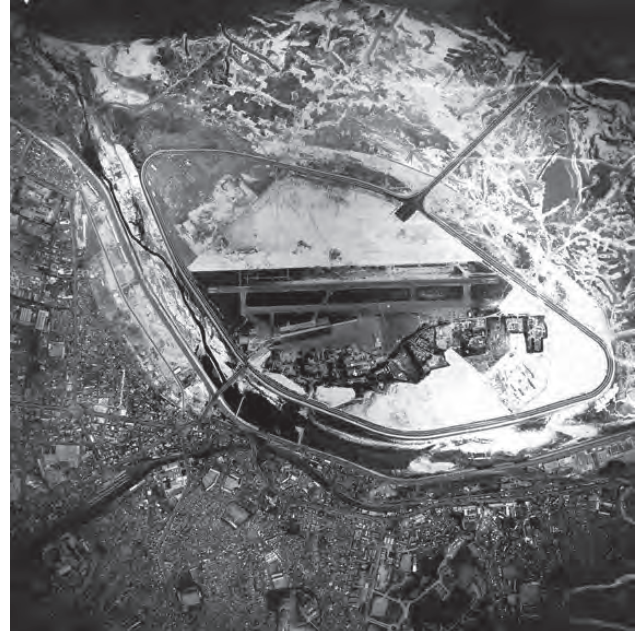


Figure 3-18. Yeouido Island at the end of the 1960s, right before the Yeouido Plan.

The aerial photograph shows the Japanese military airfield from 1916, as well as the recently built embankment around the island and the Seoul Grand Bridge.

Source: Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-Share Alike.



Figure 3-19. Tokyo Bay Project, Kenzo Tange (1960).

Source: The Shukan Asahi periodical, 1960.

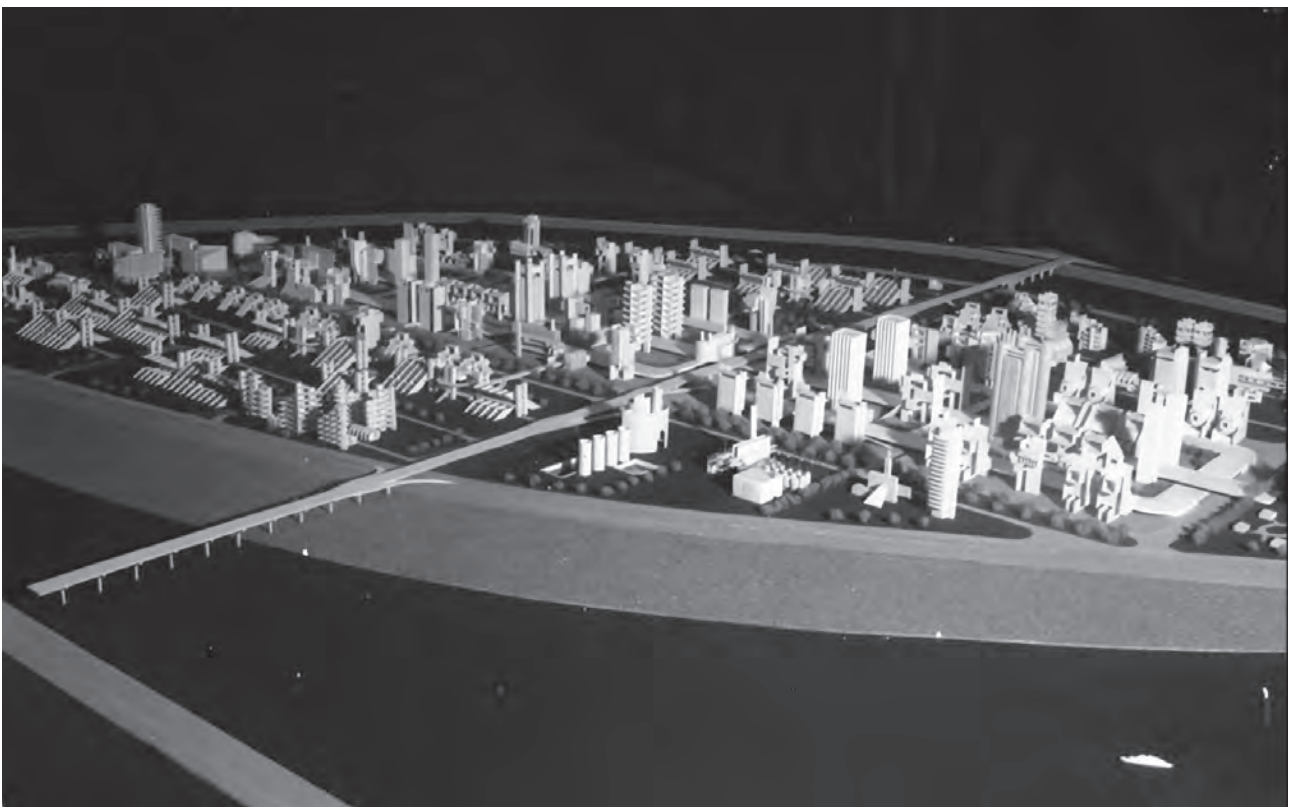
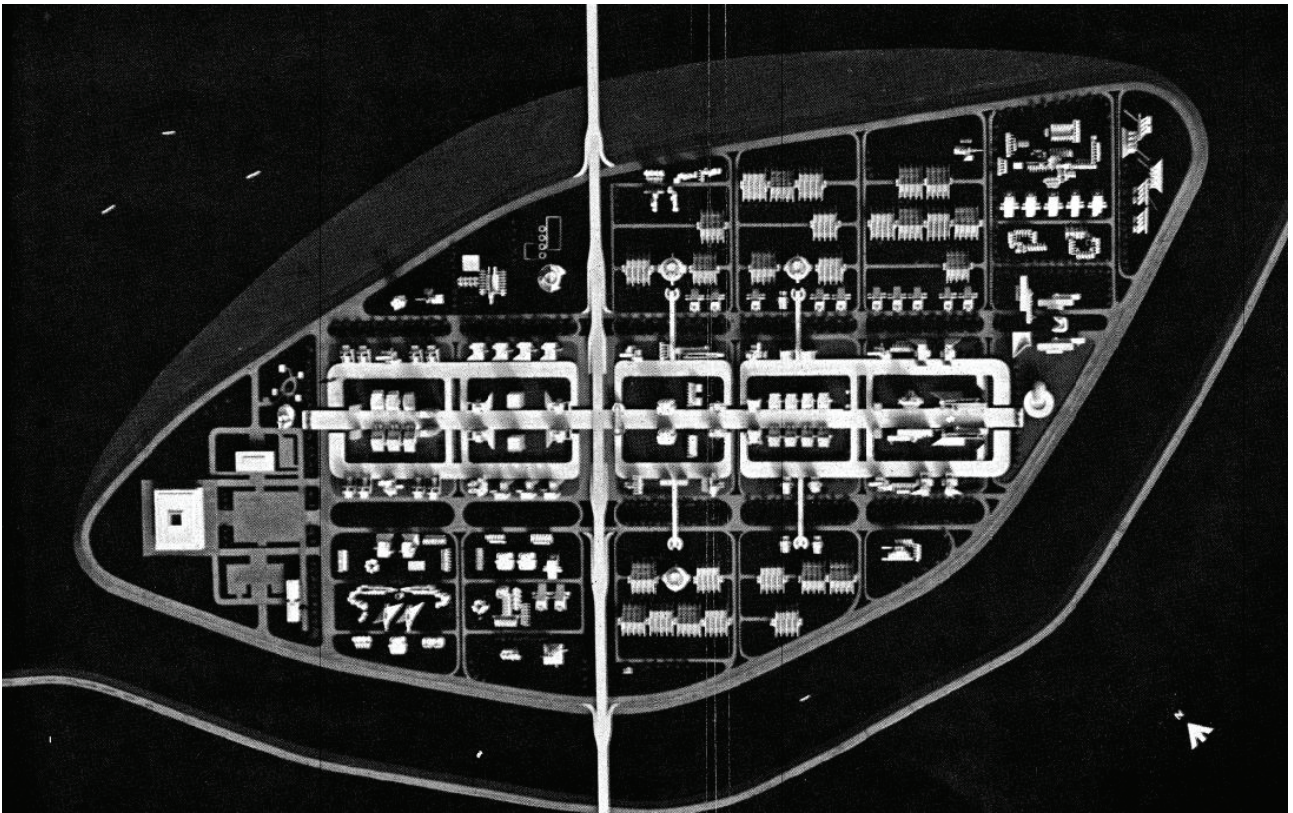


Figure 3-20. Yeouido Plan.
Model of the Plan by Kim Swoo-geun.
Source: Space Group.

3.6 CITIZEN'S APARTMENTS PROJECT, 1969

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Project title:	시민아파트 건립사업 (Citizen's Apartments Project)
Year:	1969 - 1972
Mayor:	김현옥 (Kim Hyun-ok)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	The City's Urban Planning Bureau (도시계획국), through the Housing Administration Division (주택행정과) and the Housing Construction Division (주택건설과).
Location:	On the hillsides surrounding the center of Seoul: Cheongun-dong, Changsin-dong, Wawu-dong and Geumho-dong.
Status:	The project was cancelled due to the collapse of the Waw apartments.
Population target:	2,000 buildings / 90,000 households.

1. BACKGROUND

At the beginning of the second five-year economic plan in 1967, the government launched a plan to redevelop slum areas in Seoul and other cities, under the motto '*one house per household*'. This meant a change in housing policy, which until then had focused on the construction of public housing for the middle class (Sohn, 2003, p. 255).

In 1968, and under the framework of the recent 1966 Master Plan for Seoul, mayor Kim Hyun-ok announced an ambitious plan to build 2,000 apartment buildings in 3 years.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- Solve the severe housing shortage in Seoul, especially among the poor.
- Optimize land use by increasing residential density and providing a more functional road structure.
- Provide employment opportunities in the construction sector by generating a large supply of mass housing construction.
- Improve the appearance of the city, especially near the historical center.

3. REFERENCES

- The original modern discourse on mass housing was originated by the need to provide large-scale housing in times of shortage. References span different continents, periods and politico-economical regimes, such as the New Frankfurt initiative during the Weimar Republic in the 1920s; the HLMs (low-income housing projects) built in the *banlieues* of Paris to replace self-built *bidonvilles* after WWII; Khrushchev's pre-fabricated mass housing program initiated in the 1950s – the *panel'niy* (panel houses); or Hong Kong Housing Authority's public housing program, initiated as well in the 1950s, among others.
- A previous plan to redevelop the slums on the hillsides surrounding the center of Seoul, developed by the Housing, Urban and Regional Planning Institute (HURPI), under the direction of Oswald Nagler (see Who's Who in the Appendices) between 1965 and 1967.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

- The plan was to build 2,000 apartment buildings for the poor, at a cost of 24 billion won over three years (1969-71). The sum amounted to 80% of the public revenue obtained from the sale of building sites in the development of Yeouido (Sohn, 2003, p. 256).
- The strategy adopted was a particular approach to the 'sites and services' scheme. The city was in charge of building roads, consolidating the land, building the structural framework of the apartments (including the outer walls), and providing the electrical installation, drainage and outdoor plumbing. Future residents were responsible of all internal construction, heating, water supply, internal plumbing and other facilities (Kim, 2007).
- Each building contained an average of 45 units and had between four and six floors. The structure was built in reinforced concrete.
- Apartment sizes were very modest, between 8.5 and 10 *pyeong* (between 28 and 33m²).
- Each floor had four common toilettes, three urinals, and a corridor.
- Residents were allowed to move in without any payment. They were expected to pay back the government subsidy of 200,000 – 250,000 KRW over 5, 10 and 15 year periods (Sohn, 2003, p. 256).

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

One of the main goals for the initial adoption of mass housing in Seoul was as a public housing program dedicated to rehouse squatters. In order to remove informal, substandard settlements in the hills surrounding the historical center, apartment buildings were built nearby, where residents were relocated.



Figure 3-21. Geumwha apartments.
 Informal settlements existing on the site prior to the construction of the apartments.
 Source: Seoul Photo Archives (서울사진아카이브).



Figure 3-22. Geumwha apartments.
 Clearance of informal settlements existing on the site in order to free land for the development of apartments.
 Source: Seoul Photo Archives (서울사진아카이브).



Figure 3-23. Geumhwa apartments.
 Status of Apartment Building Construction, 1972.
 Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.



Figure 3-24. Naksan apartments, 1969.
 Buildings under construction on the site of former informal settlements accopying the quarries of Changsin-dong. The apartments were demolished in 1998 due to safety and scenic issues.
 Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).

3.6 CITIZEN'S APARTMENTS PROJECT, 1969

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6. INFLUENCES:

There were many problems with the project, mainly related to financial issues (Sohn, 2003, p. 257):

- Lack of proper geotechnical studies of the sites where apartments were going to be built.
- An appropriate assessment of the housing needs of the future residents was never carried out.
- Since occupants were responsible for finishing up the interior of the buildings, they only paid attention to their own units, leaving common areas neglected.
- Slipshod construction methods: construction was pushed through the winter months in order to meet deadlines so concrete could not cure properly; use of poor quality materials; etc.
- Part of the budget was used to bribe corrupt public officials (Sohn, 2003, p. 257).
- Construction companies involved were unreliable since they did not have much experience in mass housing.

All these problems led to the fatal collapse of the Waw apartments in 1970, only 3 months after completion. The disaster brought an abrupt end not only to the Citizen's Apartments project and to the career of Kim Hyun-ok as the mayor of Seoul, but also to the use of apartments to provide housing to the urban poor through the redevelopment of slums and underdeveloped areas. Only 426 from the total goal of 2,000 buildings had been completed.



Figure 3-25. Artist's view of the Bukahyeon citizen apartments on the construction site, 1972.

Source: Seoul Photo Archives (서울사진아카이브).



Figure 3-26. Mayor Kim Hyun-ok, presiding a staff meeting at the Geumhwa Apartment Site, 1969.

Source: Seoul Photo Archives (서울사진아카이브).



Figure 3-27. Waw apartment collapse rescue efforts, 1970.

Source: 서울특별시 소방재난본부 (Seoul Metropolitan Fire & Disaster Headquarters).

3.7 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1972

Project title:	서울시 도시기본계획 (Basic Urban Planning for Seoul)
Year:	1972 - 1991
Mayor:	양택식 (Yang Taek-shik)
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	Korea Planners Association
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city
Status:	Not implemented
Population target:	7.6 million people

1. BACKGROUND

The 1966 master plan was meant to guide urban planning in Seoul until 1987, but soon it became evident that it was too conservative. While a population of 5 million people had been predicted for 1985, by 1970 it had already reached the 5.5 million mark.

At the same time, the turn of the decade brought about a worsening of inter-Korean relationships, which meant that planning had to contemplate military security concerns at a national level. To that end, the central government enacted policies for the dispersion of the metropolitan population and for the control of overpopulation. The first one was the implementation of a Development Restriction Zone (or Greenbelt) around the city boundary in 1970, in order to prevent urban expansion and to protect natural resources. By limiting the amount of buildable land, the measure exacerbated real estate speculation to unforeseen heights.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

To revise the 1966 master plan in order to respond to the spectacular population growth, with a prediction of 7.6 million people by the 1991. At the same time, the plan had to incorporate the population and dispersion measures of the central government, most importantly the Greenbelt.

3. REFERENCES

- The London Metropolitan Green Belt (1935).

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The basic framework was the same as in the 1966 plan, with some changes to accommodate the Greenbelt and current developments in Yeouido and in the areas south of the river.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

Unspecified, since the plan was never implemented.

6. INFLUENCES:

The 1972 plan was born out of the impossible task to resolve two conflicting agendas: on one hand it attempted to address the impending population crisis, but in doing so it went against the central government's unrealistic population control and decentralization policies. Thus, it could not pass government approval. It became a guideline for the city's planning at the time without ever becoming official (Choe, 2003, p. 519).

3.7 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1972

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

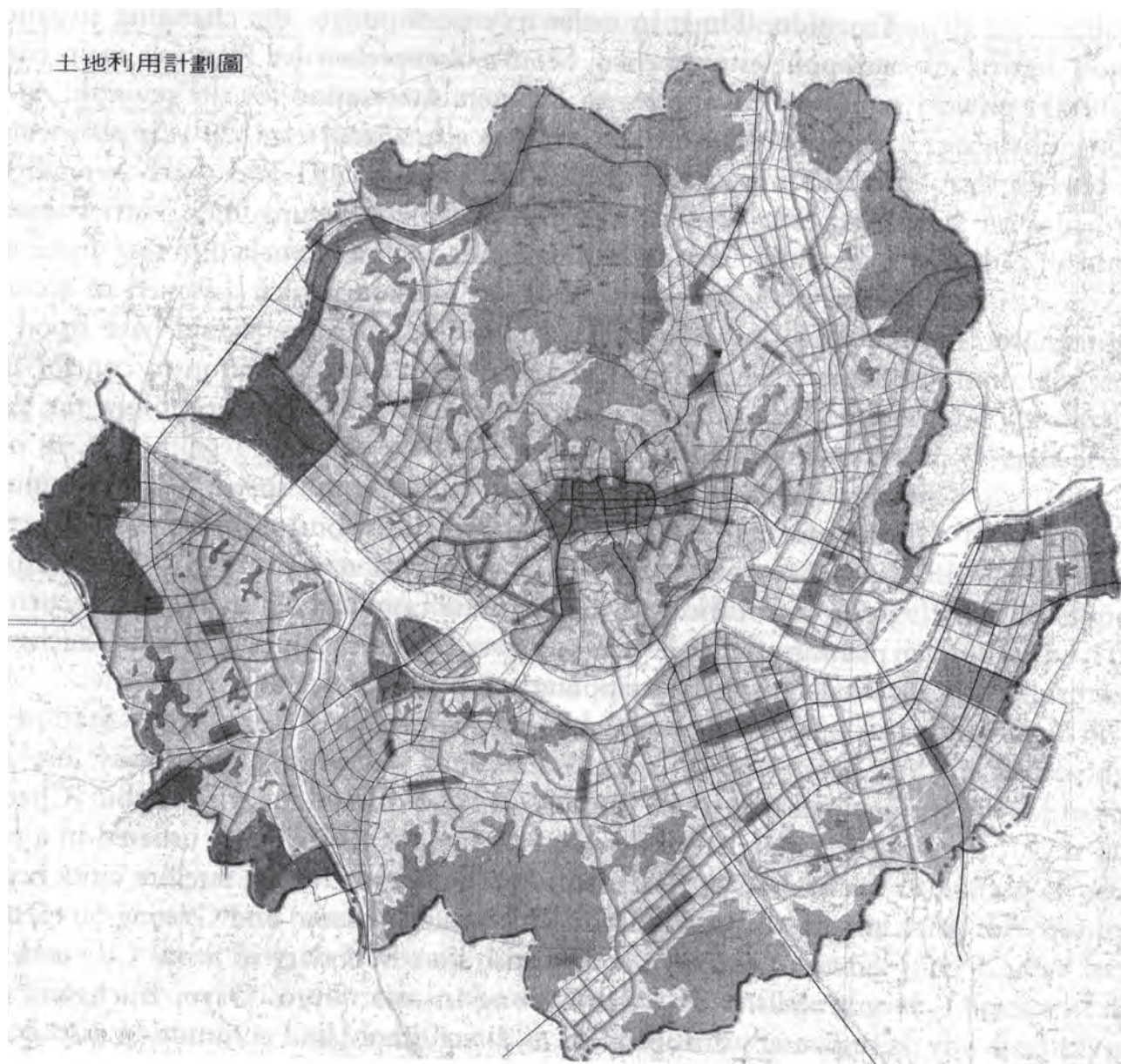


Figure 3-28. Seoul Comprehensive Plan, 1972.
Land use map.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.8 PLANNING OF JAMSIL NEW TOWN, 1974

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	잠실지구 종합개발기본계획 / Jamsil District Comprehensive Development Basic Plan
Year:	1974 (the landfill project had started in 1971)
Mayor:	양택식 (Yang Taek-sik)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	Architect 박병주 (Park Byung-joo), research director of KNHC (Korea National Housing Corp.) at the time.
Location:	District of Jamsil, south of the Han River and east of Gangnam
Status:	Implemented
Population target:	250,000 people

1. BACKGROUND

The development of the district of Jamsil was the second large-scale urban development on the south side of the river. It followed the successful development of Gangnam, but with a different set of initial conditions (Jung, 2013, p. 60):

- The entire district had been formed through landfilling a portion of the river between an island and the river front. Thus, there were no original land owners and the government could secure a vast amount of land for public use early on.
- Architect Park Byung-joo was the responsible of the planning during the whole process, and thus he was able to keep the continuity and consistency of the design throughout.
- Park adopted a planning method based on Perry's Neighborhood Unit, adapted to high density.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

Construction of a large-scale New Town capable of accommodating a population of 250,000 people.

3. REFERENCES

- The New Seoul Plan of 1966, also by Park Byung-joo.
- Planning of Ulsan, also by Park Byung-joo.
- Clarence Perry's theory of the Neighborhood Unit.
- The Japanese Metabolist concept of *jinkō toshi* (artificial land).
- Hook New Town (Hampshire, UK, 1961): especially in terms of the separate pedestrian network.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

- Instead of a gridded street network as in Gangnam, streets were laid out in a radio centric pattern, defining superblocks of variable sizes ranging between 500 and 800 m in width.
- Like in the 1966 New Seoul Plan, the very center of the area was to be occupied by a Central Business District and local community functions.

- Park defined three areas according to different housing densities: detached houses, low-rise apartments and high-rise apartments so building types would be consistent within the same area.
- He then divided the whole district into twenty neighborhood units and included other amenities: a lake in the very center that remained from the land reclamation project, a large park to the eastern side that would be Olympic Park, and a sports area where most of the venues for the 1988 Summer Olympics were to be built.
- Each superblock defined a self-contained neighborhood unit containing an elementary school, a commercial area, a playground and a small park.
- Interior streets were designed as cul-de-sacs in order to discourage thru traffic.
- A system of green corridors connected the small parks in each superblock among themselves and with the larger open space systems, providing an alternative pedestrian network.

(Jung, 2013, p. 60)

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

- The highest residential density was located near the center of the district, so office workers could live within walking distance from their jobs, as in the 1966 New Seoul Plan.
- The neighborhood units with the highest density were also the ones facing the Han River on their northern side, providing thus a built background to the river. The Yeongdong Apartment District Comprehensive Development Plan of 1976 would later expand this idea of apartment complexes as an urban façade westwards all the way to Gangnam.

3.8 PLANNING OF JAMSIL NEW TOWN, 1974

6. INFLUENCES:

Even though the basic structure of the Jamsil New Town remained similar to the original, there were many changes during its implementation:

- The CBD was never built, and a large commercial and recreational center was built instead in the blocks originally assigned for it. Even though there are jobs in the area, the district functions more as a bedroom community than a self-contained, 24/7 environment.
- Residential density was increased over time: the low-density areas were replaced by mid-density housing, and some of the mid-density original superblocs got replaced by high-density neighborhood units.
- The network of pedestrian green corridors was never implemented; they were occupied with residential buildings.
- The adaptation of Perry's neighborhood unit theory became a powerful tool for South Korean urban planning that related the domestic scale to the scale of the whole city (Jung, 2013, p. 60). The neighborhood unit was identified physically with a superblock defined by the street infrastructure, related to units of population and the provision of their basic living facilities. The delimitation of superblocs provided a holistic approach that allowed for the definition of units of management for the acquisition of land, the financing, administration and construction of the operation, and its eventual process of urban renewal. The neighborhood unit became a standardized mechanism for city-making, even though Korean planners underplayed the original social aspect of the neighborhood unit as a means of building up a sense of community, focusing instead on its technical, spatial and managerial aspects.



Figure 3-29. The area of Jamsil before the land reclamation project in the early 1970s.

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

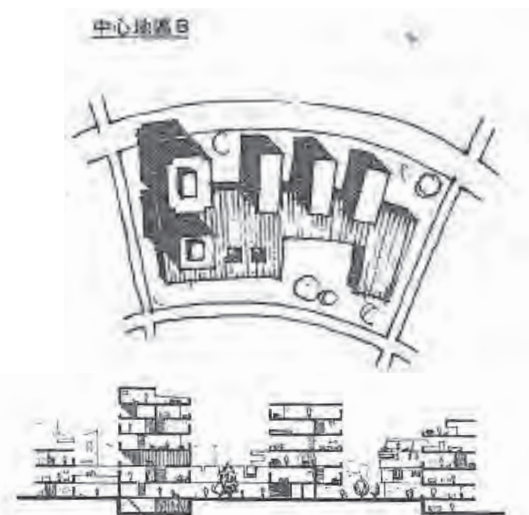


Figure 3-30. Jamsil New Town, 1974.

Original design of the business and commercial core.

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

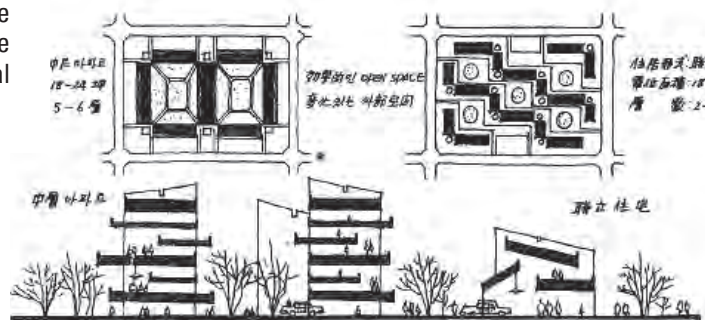


Figure 3-31. Jamsil New Town, 1974.

Original design of the residential areas.

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

上水道 配水管網圖

-----	D-1,100M/M	L-4,800M
-----	D-600~1,000	L-3,100
-----	D-400~500	L-6,900
-----	D-200~350	L-10,100
-----	D-100~150	L-3,050
-----	D-75	L-1,050
	計 全L-39,450	

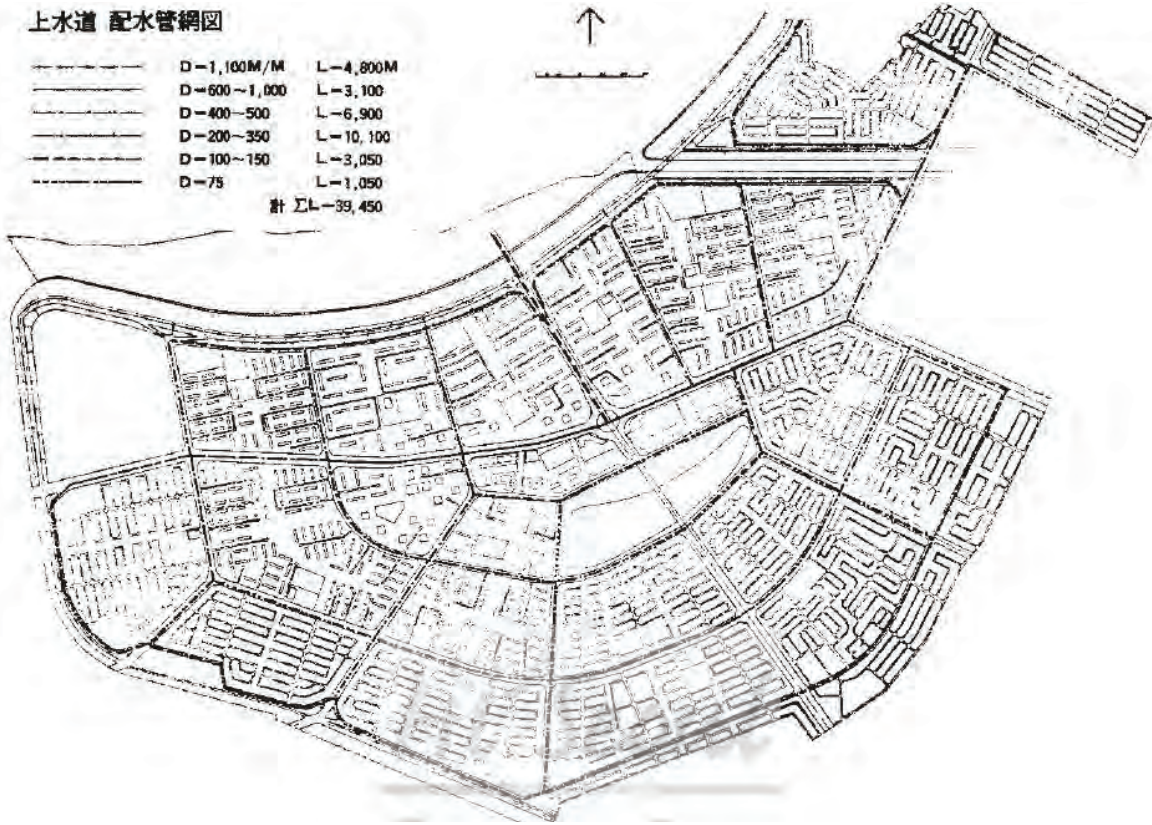


Figure 3-32. Planning of Jamsil New Town, 1974.

Street network surrounding and defining the 20 neighborhood units of the district.

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

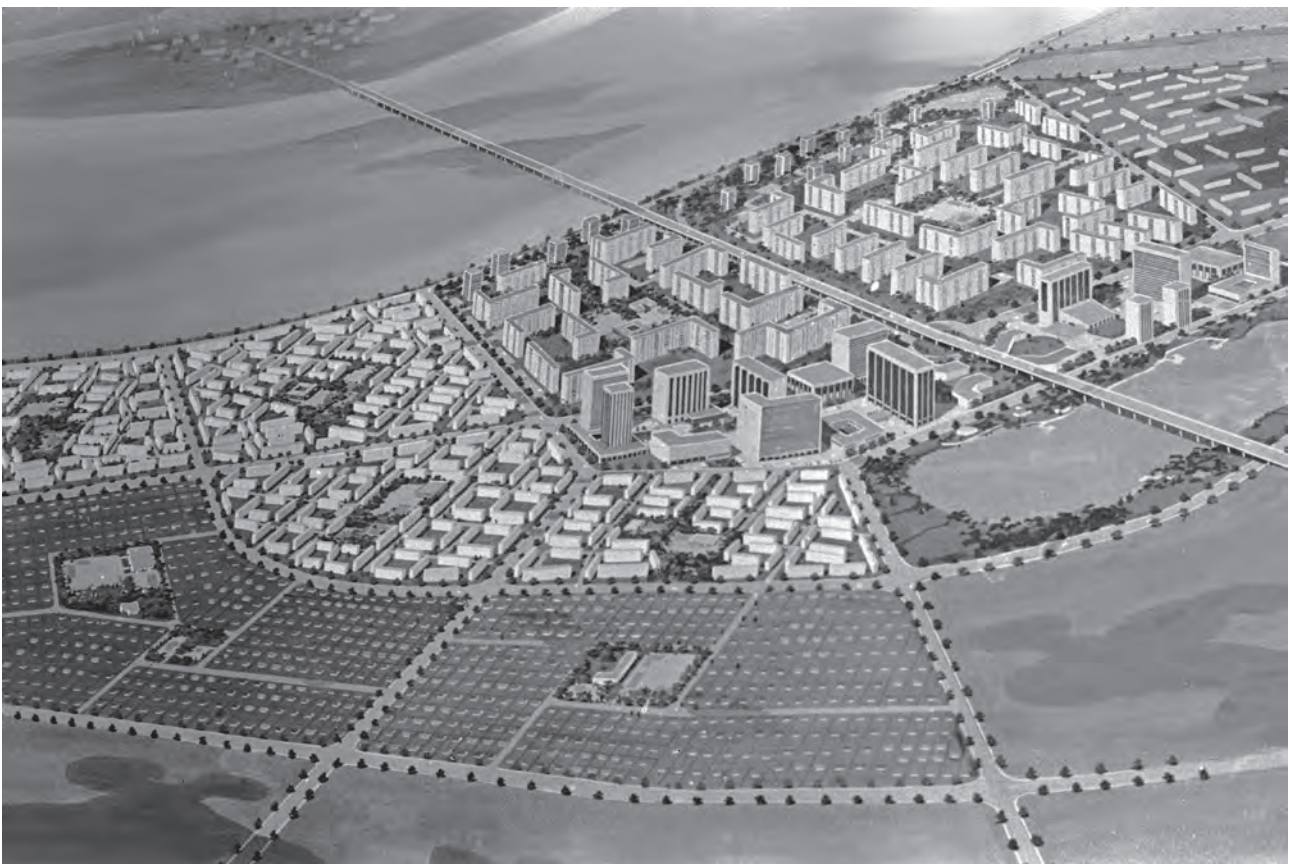


Figure 3-33. Bird's eye view of Jamsil New Town, 1974.

The image features three types of residential densities around a central core of commercial and business activities. The lake to the right is a remnant of the land reclamation of the Han River. Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).

3.9 YEONGDONG APARTMENT DISTRICT COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1976

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	영동아파트지구 종합개발계획 (1976년 도시계획법 시행령 제 16조) / Yeongdong Apartment District Comprehensive Development Plan (Article 16 of the Urban Planning Act, 1976)
Year:	1976
Mayor:	구자춘 (Kuh, Cha-chun)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	-
Location:	South banks of the river: Banpo and Gangnam
Status:	Implemented
Population target:	Not defined

1. BACKGROUND

By 1975 Seoul was home to almost 20% of the total population of the country, but the city's housing stock only amounted to 15.6% of the total number of households, so housing shortage was still a critical issue. To make matters worse, Seoul was unable to expand its municipal boundaries due to the urban growth limitations imposed by the central government through the designation of the Greenbelt and other development-free areas.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

In order to alleviate the housing crisis, the Seoul Metropolitan Government decided to enforce the construction of high-density residential districts through mass housing in areas in the process of being urbanized on the southern banks of the river.

3. REFERENCES

- Clarence Perry's theory of the Neighborhood Unit.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

Up until that time, the extension of Seoul towards the south side of the Han River had been based on low-density suburban tracks of detached housing. But once it became obvious that the model was not sustainable and would not be able to cope with the acute housing demand, the plan was revised in order to accommodate mass housing in selected locations.

In order to provide the facilities necessary to support self-sufficient housing quarters, the concept of the neighborhood unit was implemented. It was based on Clarence Perry's Regional Plan of New York and its Environs of 1929, and the Development Plan contemplated the implementation of approximately twenty neighborhood units.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

The whole purpose of the plan was to provide areas dedicated exclusively to mass housing. The project remained a zoning plan rather than a physical one, as it selected which of the superblocks within the established road network would be dedicated to mass housing without specifying their overall structure, internal organization, relationship to larger urban systems -such as open spaces-, or the rest of the city around them. In introducing the idea of the neighborhood unit, the plan relied more on the quantitative provision of services for daily activities than on the specific spatial organization that would ensure the provision of those services, leaving that to the developers of the different estates.

The areas selected to be developed with mass housing were the northern edges of Gangnam bordering with the Olympic Highway and the river, as well as along the flanks of the Gangbyeon Highway that crossed the area from north to south. There were also isolated pockets within the superblocks of Gangnam, such as in Samseong-dong and Yeoksam-dong.

6. INFLUENCES

The development of the Yeongdong Apartment District Comprehensive Development Plan became a precedent for the development of large tracks of land solely with apartment complexes, as in the cases of Jamsil and Mok-dong, as well as in Sanggye-dong in the northern end of the city. It would also be a reference for the development of satellite cities beyond the Greenbelt: Gwacheon, Ilsan, Bundang, etc.

The initial introduction of the neighborhood unit concept would later be expanded into the 'living zones' system, following the example of Britain's second generation of new towns. While the main goal of the neighborhood unit theory was to strengthen communities, living zones focused instead on the provision of urban amenities at different scales (Jung, 2013, p. 65).

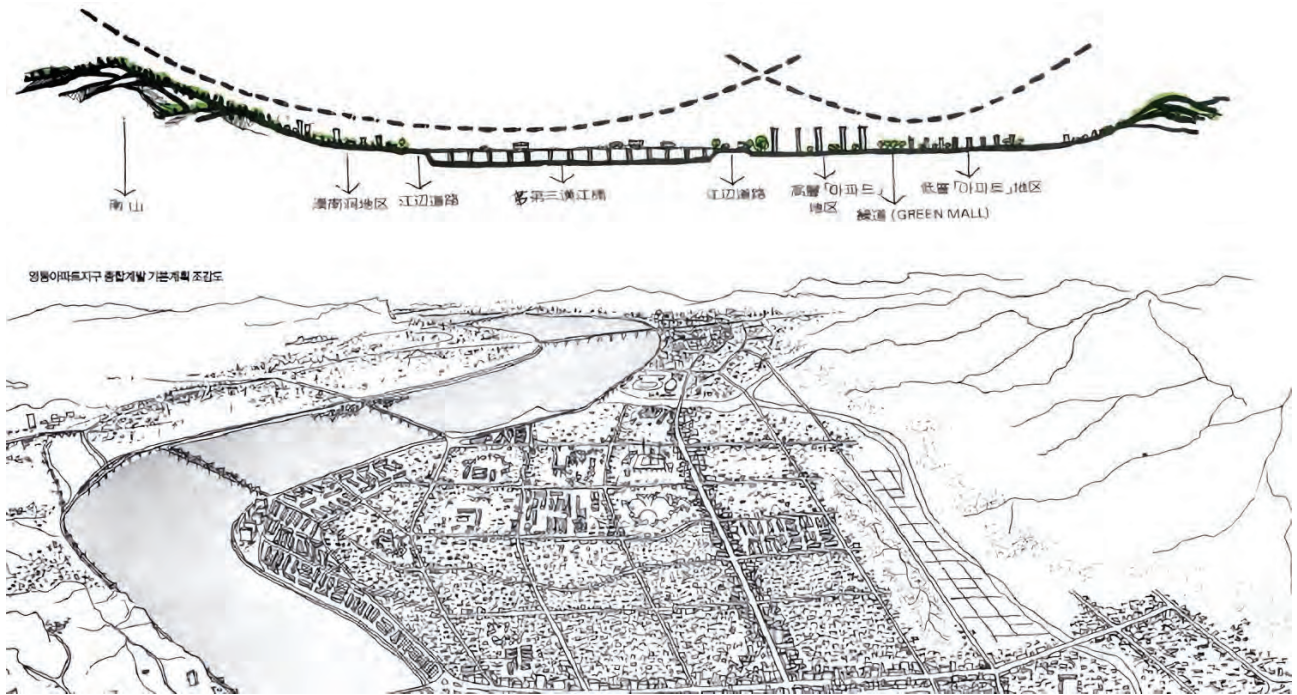


Figure 3-34. Yeongdong apartment district, 1976.
 Bird's eye view showing location of mass housing along the Han River in order to configure an urban facade.
 Source: Seoul Museum of History (서울역사박물관).



Figure 3-35. Yeongdong apartment district, 1976.
 Outline of super-blocks dedicated to mass housing.
 Source: AURI (Architecture & Urban Research Institute).

3.10 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1978

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	서울시 도시기본계획 (Basic Urban Planning for Seoul)
Year:	1978 - 2000
Mayor:	정상천 (Jung Sang-chun)
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	A team of six planning academics, consulted by the Daeji General Engineering Corporation.
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city
Status:	Cancelled
Population target:	7 million people

1. BACKGROUND

The central government's measures to control and redistribute population in the metropolitan area were unified under the Population Redistribution Plan for the Capital Region (1977). The main goal was to reduce Seoul's population to 5 million when it was already approaching 7. In parallel, the government announced a plan to build a new administrative capital, which would have a crucial impact on the planning of Seoul. Facing those challenges, the city engaged in the drafting of its second comprehensive plan that would guide urban development up until the year 2000.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

The draft plan assumed the scenario that the government's population control measures would succeed and targeted a population of seven million for the year 2000.

3. REFERENCES

- The 1972 Basic Urban Planning for Seoul.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

- Enforcement of the Greenbelt.
- Transformation of areas planned for housing into green areas, according to the population control measures of the government.
- Controlled development of areas north of the river in order to prevent urban congestion.
- Development of the areas south of the river with a modern structure.
- Construction of satellite and new cities in the periphery.
- Transition from a mono-nuclear city structure towards a polycentric one, with three new sub-centres south of the river: Yeongdong-po, Gangnam and Jamsil.
- Introduction of a network of wide roads to cope with increasing private car ownership, as the GDP increased.
- The road infrastructure was changed from a radio-centric model to a grid network in order to better suit the poly-centric urban structure.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

- The Housing Construction Promotion Law and the Provisional Act to Promote Development of Special Districts for Housing of 1972 boosted the construction of mass housing in designated areas in Gangnam.
- Areas dedicated to mass housing were concentrated along the banks of the river and on the edges of the Gangbyeon Highway to Busan, in order to provide a scenic background for those regional infrastructures.
- The three new sub-centers south of the river would be flanked as well with mass housing, in a similar way as proposed for the core of the New Seoul Plan of 1966.

6. INFLUENCES:

With the assassination of President Park Chung-hee in 1979, the plans to build a brand new capital and the population control policies were put on hold. The 1978 master plan was thus cancelled, as social conditions had changed drastically.

Nevertheless, many of its features would be kept in later plans: the transition towards a poly-centric urban structure, the provision for an efficient road network based on a grid system, and the coordinated location of mass housing in order to compose large scale urban facades along territorial infrastructures.

- High-density residential
- Low-density residential
- Mid-density residential
- Exclusive commercial
- General commercial
- Semi-industrial
- Green



Figure 3-36. Seoul Comprehensive Plan (proposal), 1972.
 Land use map.
 Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.11 HAN RIVER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, 1981 - 86

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	한강종합개발사업 (Han River Development Project)
Year:	1981 - 1986
Mayor:	박영수 (Park Young-soo), 김성배 (Kim Seong-bae), 염보현 (Yum Bo-hyun)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	서울특별시 종합건설본부 (Seoul Metropolitan Government General Construction Division)
Location:	The Han River basin
Status:	Implemented
Population target:	Not specified

1. BACKGROUND

The official appointment of Seoul as the host of the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in 1981 was seen as the opportunity to introduce a modern and developed society to the rest of the world. The Han River was envisioned as one of the main features that would identify the city and would become the backstage of the events, and thus an ambitious plan to improve the infrastructures and the landscape of the river basin was put in place.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- Provide an identity feature as a background of the events of the 1988 Summer Olympics.
- Clean up the highly polluted water course.
- Restore the navigability of the river all year around, and resume ferry services among strategic points along the river.
- Improve the road infrastructure on both embankments of the river initiated by the Han River Development Plan of 1967.
- Transform the banks of the river into a series of linear parks to be enjoyed by the citizens.
- Build large-scale leisure sports facilities.
- Create more buildable land in the districts along the river through landfill.

3. REFERENCES

- The Han River Development Plan of 1967.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The large scale construction costed 955 billion KRW and was completed on September 10, 1986, only two weeks before the inauguration of the 1986 Asian Athletic Games hosted in Seoul.

Almost half of the budget was spent in cleaning up the highly polluted water course: 524 billion KRW were dedicated to the construction of water treatment facilities alone. Another important hydrological infrastructure was set in place in order to make sure the river would have a constant level of water irrespective of the season. This provided a scenic background year long and allowed to develop water transportation features (Choi Yoo-jin).

The improved river basin became the back bone of a series of projects initiated in occasion of the 1988 Summer Olympics:

- In Jamsil, the Olympic Stadiums, the 1986 Asian Athletic Games Athlete's Village, the Olympic Park, and the 1988 Summer Olympics Athlete's Village;
- Thirty-six new kilometres of highway were built between the new Olympic Highway on the south bank of the river and the improvements of the existing Gangbyeon highway on the north bank;
- Five new bridges connecting Gangbuk in the north with Gangnam in the south;
- Eleven new intersections among the new highways and the bridges crossing the river;
- Eleven new pedestrian tunnels below the highway equipped with flood gates allowed citizens to access the Han River Park.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

Even though this second development of the Han River was strictly an infrastructural and landscape project and thus it did not contemplate the direct construction of housing, it allowed for the creation of 674 Ha of buildable land through landfilling in 13 districts on both sides along the river. These areas were expected to be developed as high-density residential estates, following Kim Hyun-ok's Han River Development Plan of the 1960's.



Figure 3-37. Han River Development Project, 1981-86.
Overall bird's eye view.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.



Figure 3-38. Han River Development Project, 1981-86.
Typical section of embankment.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.



Figure 3-39. Han River Development Project, 1981-86.
River park at Ttukseom, Songpa-gu.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.



Figure 3-40. Han River Development Project, 1981-86.
Elevated portion of the Olympic Expressway along the southern bank of the river. Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.11 HAN RIVER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, 1981 - 86

Ch. 3 / *APAT'U TANJI* AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

6. INFLUENCES:

The further artificialization of the river basin through the introduction of many man-made infrastructures in order to control and regularize the water flow, improve the highway infrastructure and its connectivity, stabilize the soil in order to prevent erosion and provide pedestrian access were criticized for damaging the natural environment (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2014).

The idea of capitalizing on the Han River as an asset for the city would emerge again with Mayor Oh Se-hoon's Han River Renaissance project (2006), and yet again with a second Hangang Renaissance project by the central government and the Seoul Metropolitan Government (2015). Both initiatives were aimed at exploiting the touristic opportunities of the river in the short term, but did not manage to provide a framework capable of articulating a sustainable long-term vision beyond short-term electoral terms.



Figure 3-41. Model built to test the performance of the new hydrological infrastructure on the Han River, 1982.

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.



Figure 3-42. Groundbreaking ceremony for one portion of the Han River development, 1982.

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.12 PLANNING OF MOK-DONG NEW TOWN, 1983

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	목동지구 개발기본계획 (Mok-dong District Development Basic Plan)
Year:	1983
Mayor:	김성배 (Kim Seong-bae)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	Kang Byung-gi, Kim Hyung-man, and Seo Jae-woong (Seoul Metropolitan Government), consulted by Kim Swoo-geun (organizer of the design competition) and Oswald Nagler (former director of HURPI).
Location:	District of Mok-dong, near the Gimpo airport on the western bank of the Anyang stream.
Status:	Implemented.
Population target:	100,000 people.

1. BACKGROUND

- During 1983, the third year of President Hwan Chundoo's mandate, the housing shortage and the related real estate speculation drove the price of apartments to unforeseen heights, especially in Seoul and Gangnam. The Government demanded the Mayor of Seoul to take measures and build large amounts of rental apartments in order to control prices and address the housing crisis.
- A series of international events scheduled for the second half of the decade (the 1986 Asian Athletics Games and the 1988 Summer Olympics) were expected to herald the coming of age of South Korea among developed countries. But the main sight from the cabin of the airplane as one approached Gimpo International Airport's runway was the stretch of land in Mok-dong, an abandoned district along the polluted Anyang stream, with informal settlements along the banks and shabby farmhouses dotting the agriculture fields.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- Curb real estate speculation in the city and provide a large stock of rental housing.
- Initiate the long-term development of the district.
- Maximize land use by reclaiming the banks of the Anyang stream.

3. REFERENCES

- Hook New Town (Hampshire, UK, 1961): especially in terms of its linear organization and the location of services along the central spine.
- The planning of Gwacheon (1980), a city south of Seoul within the metropolitan area, in terms of the implementation of the Housing Site Development (HSD) as an alternative planning tool to Land Readjustment; and the application of the system of 'living zones', evolved from the theory of the neighborhood unit.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The entire planning of the district depended on two main features:

- The implementation of the 'living-zone' theory, as an evolution of the neighborhood unit theory. While Perry's concept relied on the non-hierarchical clustering of residential units with the purpose to foster a sense of community, the living zones configured a hierarchical framework capable of accommodating different scales, from a small neighborhood to a whole metropolis. Their priority was not so much community building, but the provision of amenities (Jung, 2013, p. 65).
- The district was organized according to a linear central spine that followed the long and narrow shape of the area. This central axis connected the different neighborhood units, while also distributing services rationally (Jung, 2013, p. 66).

Mok-dong was planned as a medium living zone for 120,000 inhabitants housed in 25,000 households. It was divided into three small living units, six neighborhood units and twenty sub-units. A range of amenities and services were offered according to those numbers and hierarchies.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING

A series of strategies that had already been used in a fragmented manner before were deployed in an integrated way in the development of Mok-dong for the first time: the land reclamation along the Anyang stream, the Housing Site Development (HSD) as a planning tool to acquire buildable land, the living zones and neighborhood units, the linear urban development along a central spine of services, and the network of pedestrian paths.

The integration of all those strategies into a standardized system for city-making was geared towards the construction of *apat'u tanji* as the predominant housing typology, since mass housing was perceived to be the only possible solution to the surmounting housing crisis.

3.12 PLANNING OF MOK-DONG NEW TOWN, 1983

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

6. INFLUENCES:

The systematization of the urbanization process would be applied later in other massive projects within city limits, such as Sanggye-dong in the north-east (1984), and in the five new towns in the metropolitan area beyond the Greenbelt: Bundang, Ilsan, Sanbon, Jungdong and Pyeongchon (1989). In turn, they would become the reference for the many new towns built all over the country after the government launched a campaign to build two million housing units by 1993.



Figure 3-43. Project for Hook New Town, UK 1961.
Pedestrian network and central commercial spine.
Source: London County Council.



Figure 3-44. Protests by residents of the area forcibly displaced by the development of Mok-dong New Town.
Most of the residents at the time had already been forcibly displaced there from informal settlements elsewhere in the city.
Source: 경향신문사 (Kyunghyang Newspaper), March 1st, 1985.



Figure 3-45. Mok-dong New Town, 1983.
Original sketch by Oswald Nagler.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

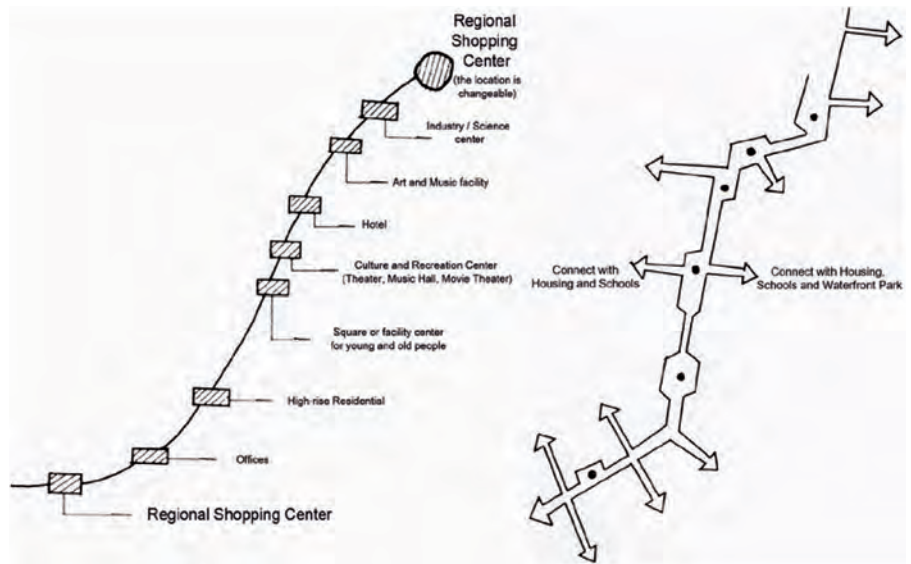


Figure 3-46. Mok-dong New Town, 1983.
 Diagrams of programs and circulations in the central spine by Oswald Nagler.
 Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

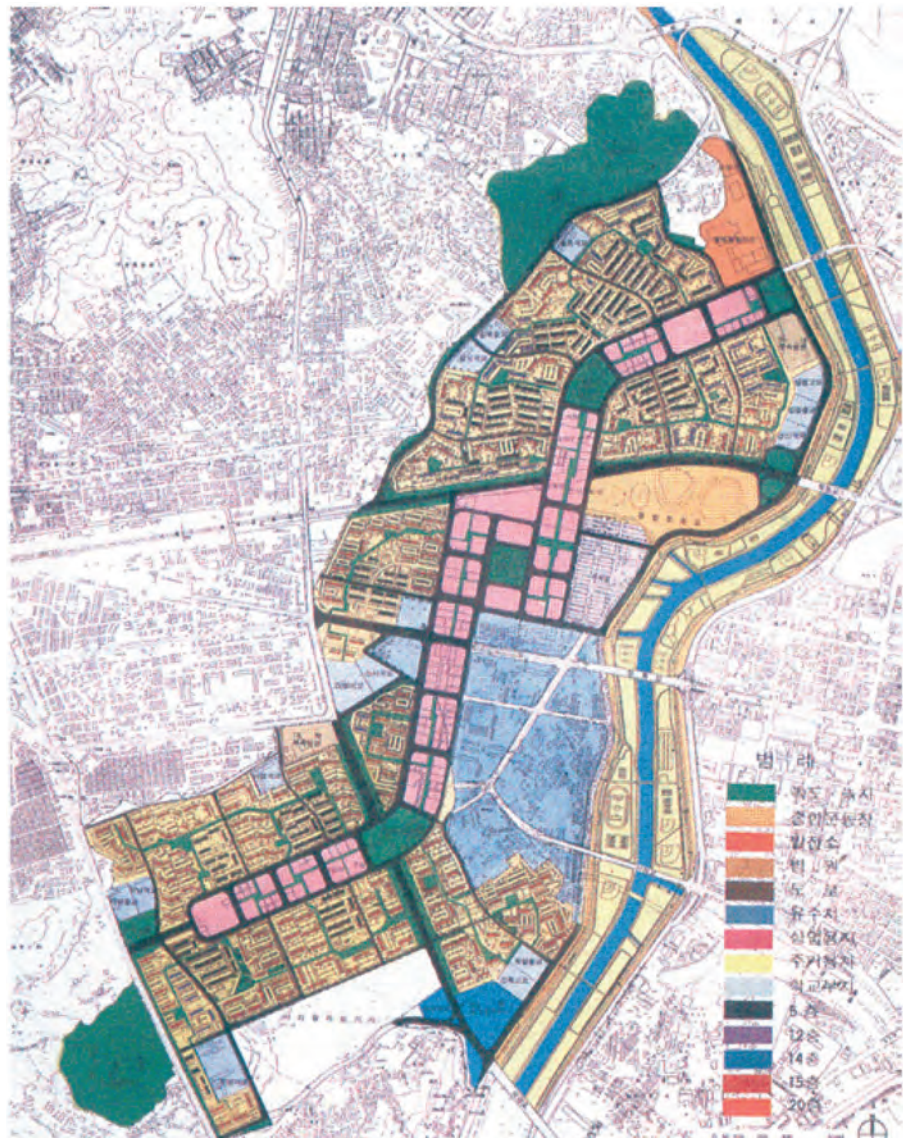


Figure 3-47. Yeongdong apartment district, 1976.
 Final master plan.
 Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.13 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1984

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	서울시 도시기본계획 (Basic Urban Planning for Seoul - Seoul Restructuring Plan)
Year:	1984 - 2000
Mayor:	염보현 (Yom, Po-hyun)
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	The Korean Environmental Planning Institute (KEPSI) and the Environmental Planning Institute of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Seoul National University.
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city .
Status:	Not approved.
Population target:	10 million people

1. BACKGROUND

After the assassination of President Park Chung-hee in 1979 and in the face of demographic pressures and escalating real estate speculation, the government approved the development of residential land and the construction of 2 million housing units. Since the beginning of the 1980s, Seoul embraced finally a growth policy, and initiatives that had been delayed due to the population control policy finally saw the green light. The city had become too large to be managed according to only one comprehensive plan, and thus districts were to enact their own planning, initiating an era of increasing local autonomy. Furthermore, the city became selected to host the 1986 Asian Athletic Games and the 1988 Summer Olympic Games. A new comprehensive plan was necessary in order to coordinate all these initiatives.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- Introduction of high density land uses.
- Transition from a mono-nuclear centre towards a poly-centric urban structure, and from a radio-centric street network to a gridded one.
- Introduction of the 'living zone' (생활권, *saeng-hwal-gwon*) as a basic planning principle to standardize facilities and services in residential areas.
- Restoration of urban green areas and introduction of measures for the efficient use of energy and resources.

3. REFERENCES

- A mid- and long-term development plan for Seoul carried out in 1980.
- A research on a poly-centric urban structure of Seoul from 1984.

Both documents had been produced by the same agencies responsible for the 1984 Basic Urban Plan for Seoul.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

Given the expectations of demographic growth and the implementation of the Greenbelt around the city, it became clear that inner densification was the only solution. This meant that land use and transportation plans had to accommodate higher population expectations for the year 2000. Commercial zones were expanded at the scale of the District Development Plans, and residential areas were densified and extended as detailed below (Choe, 2003, p. 534).

Other important projects were the regularization of the banks of the river, the planning of Jamsil and Teheran-ro (the main avenue through Gangnam), the construction of the Olympic Highway along the south side of the river, and a new battery of bridges connecting north and south (Choe, 2003, p. 529).

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

- The housing promotion laws of 1972 and 1980 encouraged specifically the construction of mass housing projects in declining urban areas, in vacant lots in residential areas, and in green spaces, especially south of the river.
- Massive residential development took place in Gangdok, Garak, Gaepo and Goduk, which previously had been restricted from development.
- In preparation for the Asian and Olympic Games, all the area from Gimpo airport to the stadiums in Jamsil along the Olympic highway was quickly developed with *apat'u tanji*. Mok-dong new town was under way since 1983.
- The catchment areas of the subway stations were also a target for the development of mass housing.

6. INFLUENCES:

The 1984 plan failed to comply with the legal requirements of the central government and could not be approved. It did serve as a base to develop the 1990 Seoul Comprehensive Plan, which managed to get approved.

- High-density residential
- Low-density residential
- Mid-density residential
- Commercial (Regional center)
- Commercial (District center)
- Semi-industrial
- Industrial complex
- Natural green
- Green belt
- Park

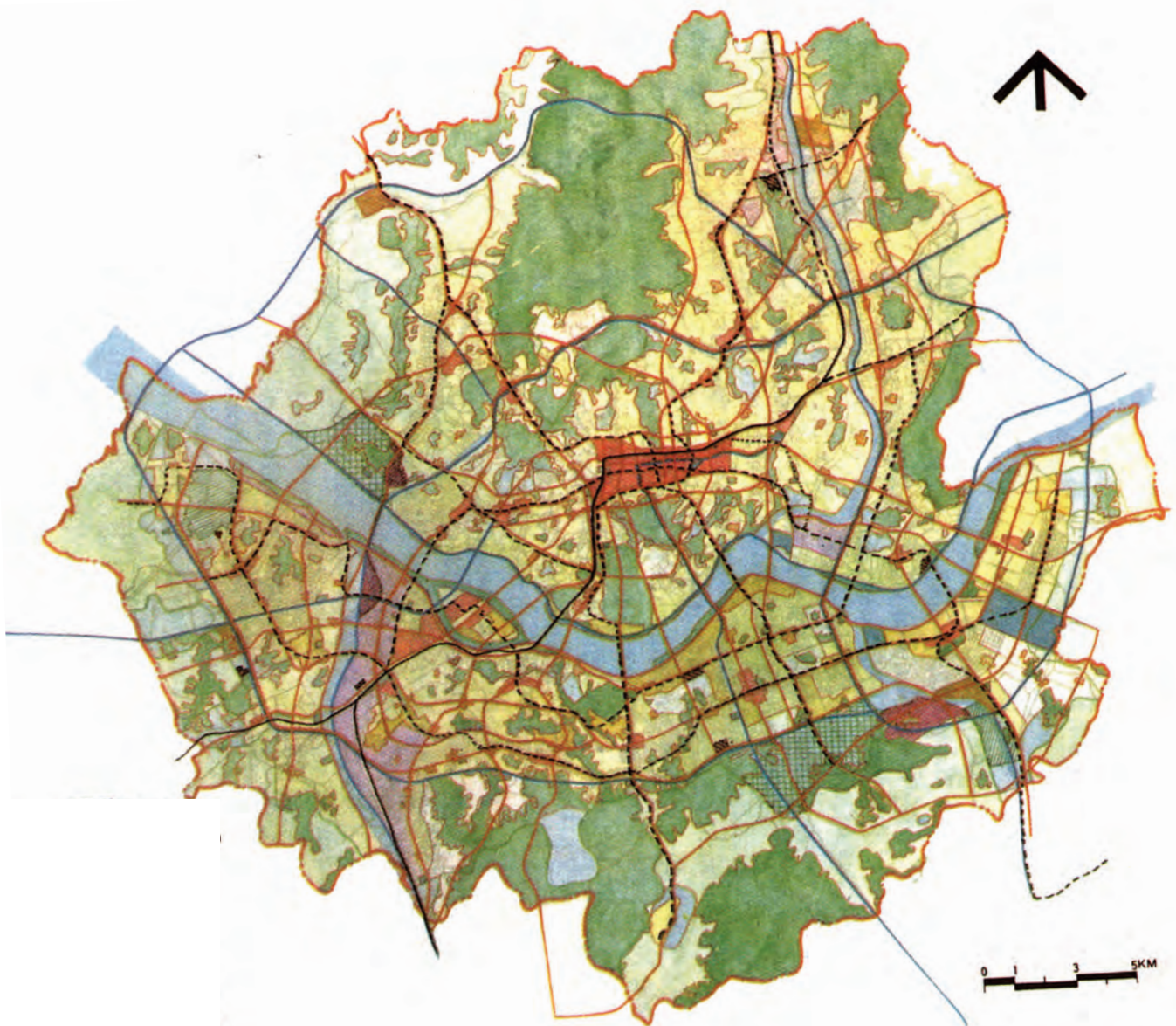


Figure 3-48. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1984.

Land use map.

Source: Environmental Planning Institute of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Seoul National University.

3.14 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1990

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	서울시 도시기본계획 (Basic Urban Planning for Seoul)
Year:	1990 - 2000
Mayor:	고건 (Goh Kun)
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	The Environmental Planning Institute of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies at Seoul National University.
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city .
Status:	Approved.
Population target:	12 million inhabitants.

1. BACKGROUND

- With the fall of the USSR and the initial opening of China to the world, a new world economic order started to emerge. Globalization brought competition among world cities.
- The population of Seoul finally reached the 10 million mark in 1988.
- The Olympic boom brought a sharp increase in the demand for housing, and since residential land was being depleted, apartment prices skyrocketed.
- 1991 marked the beginning of the local autonomy era, ending the period of centralized government. Seoul City Council and the 25 District Councils were formed.
- The Seoul Comprehensive Plan from 1984 finally went through the public hearing process in 1988 and became the first one to acquire legal status according to the City Planning Law of 1981.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- The population target for the year 2000 was established in 12 million.
- Balanced development of Gangnam and Gangbuk (north and south sides of the Han River).
- Transition towards a multi-center spatial structure as proposed in the 1984 Seoul Comprehensive Plan.
- Restoration of parks and open spaces.
- Densification of the catchment areas near subway stations.

(Choe, 2003, p. 235):

3. REFERENCES

The previous comprehensive plans of 1966, 1972 and 1978.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

The Basic Urban Plan of 1990 became the first statutory plan for the City of Seoul, so it carried a strong significance.

The Plan initiated a new era of decentralized governance.

The previous top-down nature of the planning structure was complemented with a new bottom-up system capable of incorporating the input and characteristics of local communities through the revived local administrations - the 25 local administrative districts.

Since one of the main goals of the plan was the balanced development of the different sectors of the city, it attempted to rationalize the placement of essential facilities, road grids, and mobility. It was quite a systemic and physical plan in terms of the standardization and provision of urban 'hardware'.

Another important feature was the transition from a central urban structure to a multi-nucleic one, initiated already in earlier plans. Besides acknowledging the role of the city center within the former city gates, the plan reinstated the importance of five sub-centers: Sinchon, Cheongnyangni, Yeongdeungpo, Yeongdong, and Jamsil.

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

- The planning of the five new towns in the metropolitan area beyond the Greenbelt (Bundang, Ilsan, Sanbon, Jungdong and Pyeongchon) in order to address the housing shortage of Seoul started in 1989 and relied mostly on the construction of mass housing. Since the new towns were to function as bedroom communities, this effectively implied a jump in the planning of the city towards the metropolitan scale. A new era of metropolitan dynamics was initiated, characterized by commuter logics.
- Within the city and in keeping with the systemic approach of the Plan, the land use map proposed an increase of residential density along mass transit corridors and especially around subway stations. The strategy was particularly clear on the eastern side of the city, both on the southern and northern sides of the river.

6. INFLUENCES:

The 10-year long term plan was limited in accommodating the fast changes that would take place during the 1990s, due both to domestic and international influences. The 1997 Seoul City Master Plan, under preparation since 1993, became an update and revision of the 1990 Plan.

- High-density residential
- Mid-density residential
- Low-density residential
- Industrial
- Parks and green spaces
- City centre and sub-centres
- Future centre (Susaek)

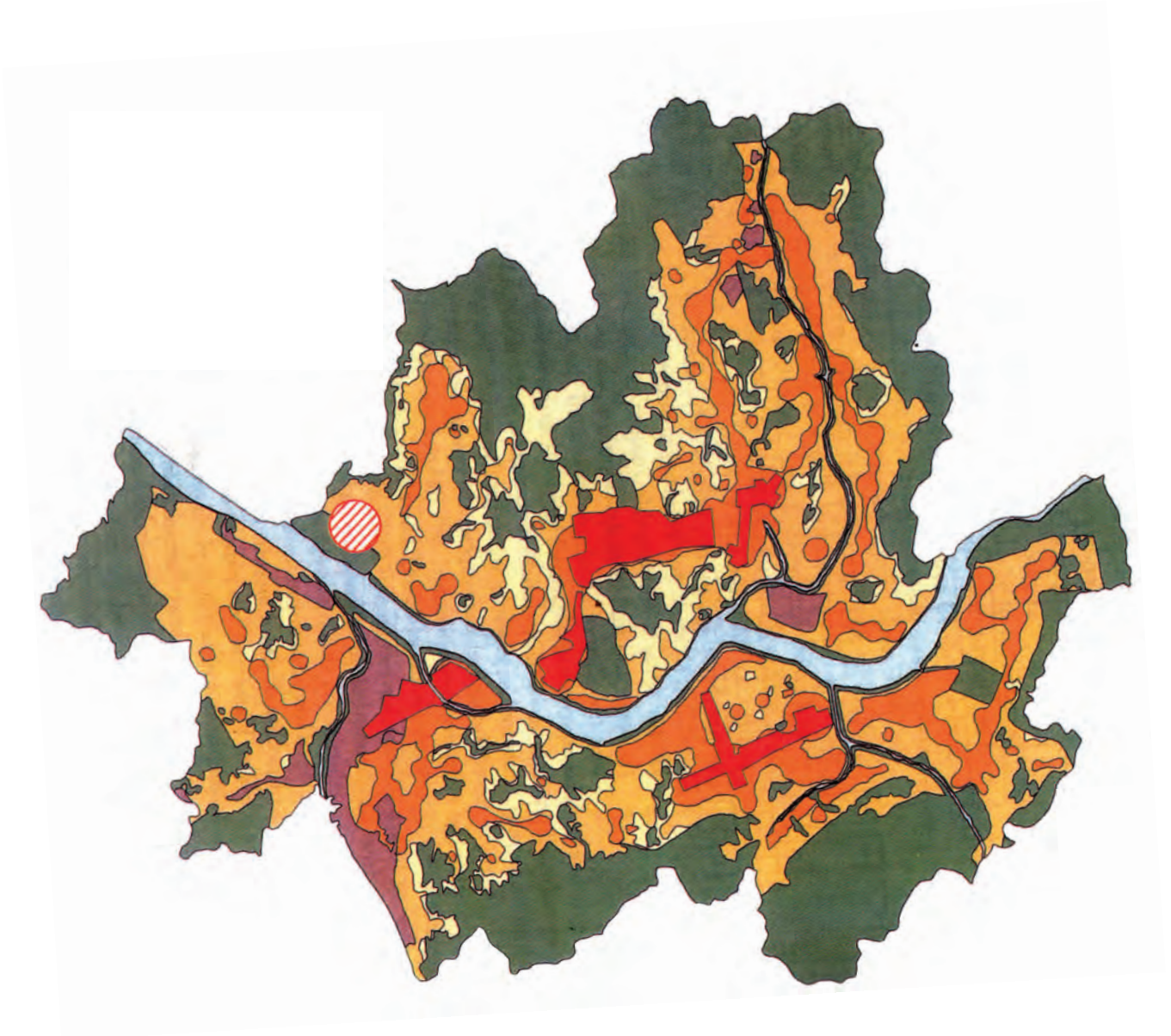


Figure 3-49. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1990.

Land use map.

Source: Environmental Planning Institute of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Seoul National University.

3.15 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1997

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	서울시 도시기본계획 (Basic Urban Planning for Seoul)
Year:	1997 - 2011
Mayor:	고건 (Goh Kun). Second term.
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	Seoul Development Institute (SDI), a permanent urban research institute founded in 1992 by Mayor Lee Hae-won.
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city .
Status:	Approved.
Population target:	12 million inhabitants.

1. BACKGROUND

- Increasing need to globalize, following the policies of President Kim Young-sam.
- Transition from an urban paradigm based on growth towards one based on inner renewal and improvement.
- Increasing interest in preserving the city's historical heritage, with the approaching 600th anniversary commemoration of the foundation of the city.
- The creation of the five new towns beyond the Greenbelt in order to alleviate the increasing population density and the escalating price of apartments (Ilsan, Bundang, Jungdong, Pyeongchon and Sanbon) had a direct impact in decreasing municipal population for the first time ever. While the population in the city entered a stage of stable growth, population in the metropolitan area started to grow steadily.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

The main goal of the plan was a transition from a growth-oriented policy towards an internal improvement plan. It pursued (Choe, 2003, p. 540):

- A target of twelve million people for the year 2011.
- Enhancement of living conditions.
- Building a public-transit oriented city.
- Sustainable development and preservation of the environment.
- Provision for public safety (in response to the collapse of the Seoungsu Bridge in 1994 and of the Sampung Department Store in 1995).
- Increased decentralization of the spatial structure.
- Preparation of the physical structure of the city for an eventual reunification with North Korea, globalization, and reuse of obsolete industrial areas.

3. REFERENCES

- The District Development Plans since 1991.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

While the 1990 Plan had focused on building up the physical infrastructure (hardware) of the city in a balanced way, the 1997 Plan focused on issues of operation, management and maintenance (software), reflecting a changing paradigm towards urban growth management, sustainable development, public safety and risk management (Choe, 2003, p. 540).

In order to increase Seoul's competitiveness in the global stage, four major strategical projects were devised during the early 1990s in the last undeveloped enclaves of the city:

- The area of Sangam was planned as an information and industrial complex site in expectation for the reunification with North Korea,
- The empty site due to the relocation of the Yongsan army base outside of the capital was planned as a center for international business.
- The riverfront in Ttukseom would be developed into a leisure-centered waterfront complex.
- The rice fields in Magok were going to be transformed into an international cargo center and a high-tech industrial park.

These project were put on hold with the resignation of Mayor Lee Won-jong (1994), but became incorporated nevertheless in the 1997 Plan.

The celebration of Seoul's 600th anniversary in 1994 brought about an increasing awareness for the preservation of the natural and historical heritage. Guidelines for the preservation of the city center were implemented, the Gyeonghui palace (경희궁) underwent a restoration process, and the Namsan Oein apartments were demolished in order to recover the natural scenery of the Namsan mountain.

The 1997 Plan pushed the decentralization of the urban structure further than the previous plans had. It established four different levels in the structure of the city: besides the traditional primary center, there would be four sub-centers (Yeongdong, Yeongdeungpo, Yongsan, and Cheongnyangni / Wangsimni), 11 local centers, and 54 district centers (Seoul Solution, 2015).

- High-density residential
- Mid-density residential
- Low-density residential
- Business
- Industrial
- Agricultural green
- Natural green
- Park
- Neighborhood park
- Greenbelt

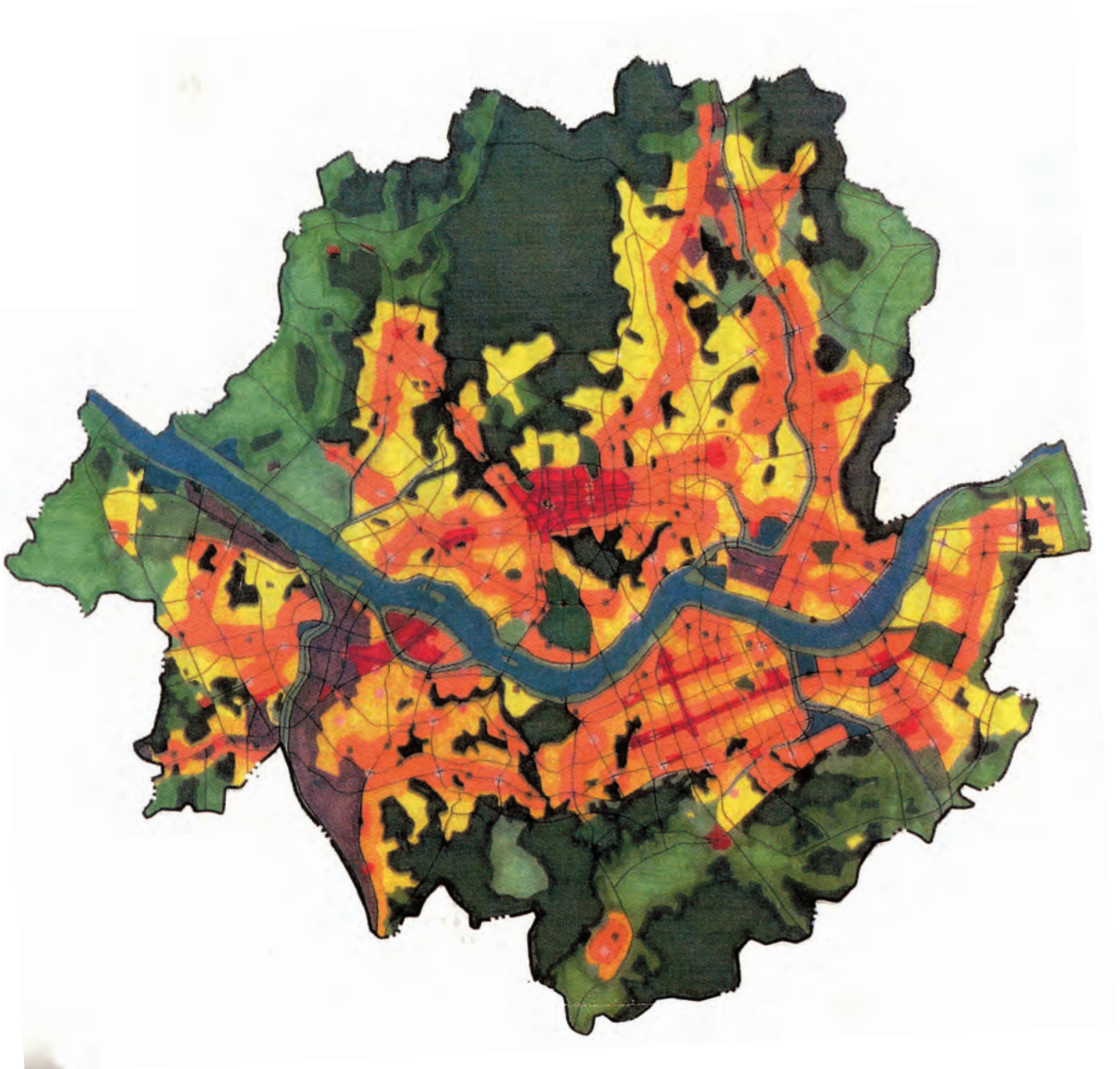


Figure 3-50. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 1997.
 Land use map.
 Source: Seoul Development Institute.

3.15 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 1997

Ch. 3 / *APAT'U TANJI* AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

Since there was no more land for the external expansion of the city, strategies for its internal development were put in place. The demand for the redevelopment of apartments built during the 1970s and 1980s, together with the urban renewal of decaying low-rise, high-density residential areas into apartment complexes increased during the late 1990s.

The second phase of subway construction was near completion, consolidating a new spatial structure that favored higher density along mass transit corridors and around subway stations, as the previous plan had already initiated.

6. INFLUENCES:

The 2006 Seoul City Master Plan.

3.16 NEW TOWN INITIATIVE, 2002

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

Project title:	재정비촉진사업 - 뉴타운사업 (Re-organization Project - New Town Project)
Year:	2002
Mayor:	이명박 (Lee Myung-bak)
Planning level:	비법정계획 (Non-statutory plan)
Author:	지역균형발전추진단 (Regional Balanced Development Initiative), 2002 / 뉴타운 사업본부 (New Town Business Division), 2004 / 균형발전추진본부 (Balanced Development Headquarters) - 도심활성화추진단 (Urban Activation Promotion Team), 2006.
Location:	Seoul municipal area.
Status:	Implemented, but progressively revised by Mayor Park Won-soon (박원순) since 2012.
Population target:	250,000 people.

1. BACKGROUND

- Regional inequality between Gangnam and Gangbuk: Over time, the concentration of urban functions on the southern side of the Han River became the source of huge differences with its northern counterpart, above all in terms of real estate values and quality of education facilities. This, in turn, impacted all other aspects of civic life.
- Systematic improvement plan for old urban areas: Traditionally, inner city renewal strategies relied on small-scale development projects led by the private sector and focused on housing supply. They emphasized economic profit without consideration for the urban environment. Their sheer scale prevented them from tackling larger infrastructural issues (lack of parking, services, open space, etc.), and the pursuit of profit overruled any historical preservation or scenic concerns.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

- To improve the living conditions of low-income residents in order to narrow the wealth gap between Gangnam and Gangbuk. This had been one of Lee Myun-bak's main electoral pledges when he ran for mayor in 2002.
- To plan and actively promote the redevelopment of old housing areas on a large scale through mass housing projects.
- To provide anywhere in the city the same quality of urban infrastructure and residential amenities available in Gangnam.

3. REFERENCES

- The project built on the success of the five New Towns built outside the Greenbelt in the Metropolitan Area since the end of the 1990s. Due to the lack of buildable land within the city, high-density mass housing estates would replace decaying residential areas.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

- The plan started with three pilot projects in slum areas in Eunpyeong, Gireum and Wangsimni.
- The financial success of these projects inspired dozens of private developers and land owners to engage on similar renewal projects throughout the city.
- From 2002 until 2007, a total of 26 areas were earmarked for the New Town project. Lee's successor, Oh Se-hoon (2006-11) promoted and continued the project.
- The total area included in the project was about 24 million m², about 6.6% of the total area of the city. It involved a total of 250,000 residents approximately (Ahn, 2017).

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

Apat'u tanji were the core element of the whole strategy. The plan relied on the urban renewal system known as 'Joint Redevelopment' (JR) introduced by the government in 1983 in order to streamline the urban renewal of declining residential areas through mass housing estates¹.

6. INFLUENCES:

- The impact of the 2008 financial crisis brought the growth expectations of the real estate market to a standstill and many New Town projects were delayed or suspended.
- The areas designated for redevelopment through the New Town in Town project turned out to be too large to be managed properly.
- There were constant conflicts over development rights among the different interests groups, such as landlords, unions, tenants, construction companies and local governments.
- The delay in the implementation of the renewal projects increased the deterioration of buildings and the urban environment in the earmarked areas.

¹ See '8. Mass Housing as a Tool for Inner City Renewal' in Chapter 7, Volume 01.

3.16 NEW TOWN IN TOWN PROJECT, 2002

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

- The project was cancelled gradually since 2012 due to its negative impacts (Ha, 2015, pp. 172-173):
 - It contributed to increase the gap between rich and poor, as land owners benefited from capital gains due to the sharp increase in land value after the project, but those gains were not re-distributed to the tenants.
 - The erasure of traditional communities had huge impacts on the social fabric of the city. In the ensuing gentrification process, original tenants were largely evicted since they could not afford the hike in prices and there were no protection measures in place for them.
 - The substitution of traditional urban fabrics for gated communities of mass housing without long-term planning disrupted previous street patterns and neighborhoods.
 - The majority of displaced tenants were relocated to suburban areas and satellite cities, a further evidence of the process of social stratification and inequality triggered by the 'New Town in Town' project.
- Under Mayor Park Won-soon's term, nine New Town projects were changed to 'Balanced Development Promotion Districts', based on sustainable urban regeneration principles.



Figure 3-51. Hannam-dong, current state.

Bird's eye view of area earmarked for redevelopment through the New Town initiative.

Source: Naver Maps.



Figure 3-53. Hannam-dong New Town.

Bird's eye view of the proposal according to the modernist paradigm of 'towers in the park'.

Source: 중앙일보 (JoongAng Ilbo Newspaper).

NEW TOWNS (26 total)

- Pilot new towns (3)
- 2nd phase new towns (12)
- 3rd phase new towns (11)

BALANCED DEVELOPMENT PROMOTION DISTRICT (cancelled new towns - 9 total)

- Pilot districts (5)
- 2nd phase districts (3)
- Areas to be re-organized (1)



Figure 3-54. New Town designation status map.
Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

3.17 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 2006

Project title:	2020년 서울도시기본계획 (2020 Seoul City Basic Plan)
Year:	2006 - 2020
Mayor:	이명박 (Lee Myung-bak)
Planning level:	법정계획 (Statutory plan)
Author:	Seoul Development Institute (SDI).
Location:	Comprehensive plan for the whole city .
Status:	Approved.
Population target:	9.8 million inhabitants.

1. BACKGROUND

- The 1997 financial crisis inflicted a huge blow to the expectation of continuous economic growth. The paradigm based on development and growth gradually shifted towards one based on the improvement of existing conditions, sustainability and the environment.
- The population in municipal Seoul reached a stable growth due to the development of satellite cities in the metropolitan area.
- The on-going traffic congestion and housing shortages pushed for the revision of areas of development restriction such as the Greenbelt. Since it lied in multiple jurisdictions, the need for the formulation of regional plan for the metropolitan area was raised.
- Fundamental revisions of national plans and policies -such as the Framework Act on National Land and the Act on Planning & Use of National Territory (2002); the Urban Development Act (2000); and the Act on Maintenance & Improvement of Urban Areas and Dwelling Conditions for Residents (2003)-, simplified the planning system and added more details to the provisions. This, in turn, required the revision of the Seoul Comprehensive Plan.

2. PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

The main goals of the 2006 Plan for Seoul focused on addressing the aftermath of the period of high growth, reflecting the transition from a paradigm of quantity towards one of quality, by focusing on:

- A global city capable of leading the Northeast Asian economy ('World City').
- A cultural city showcasing the identity of the capital ('Culture City').
- A city that nurtured the revitalization of nature ('Eco City').
- A prosperous welfare city ('Welfare City').
- A capital for the whole peninsula, in preparation for the unification with North Korea ('Capital City').

3. REFERENCES

- Cities in developed countries with long-term planning of their metropolitan areas: London, Tokyo, Los Angeles and Toronto.
- The 1997 Basic Seoul Master Plan.
- The 'New Town in Town' project from 2002, endorsed as well by mayor Lee Myung-bak.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

- The 2006 Basic Seoul Master Plan revised and updated the 1997 Basic Seoul Master Plan, with a target population of 9.8 million people by the year 2020.
- While the previous plan focused on material and socio-economic aspects, the 2006 Plan was more strategic and focused on the establishment of priorities, goals and strategies in the short, mid and long term.
- The progressive decentralization of the administration since the 1990 plan had built up a culture of feed-back from local administrations. The 2006 plan established mechanisms to incorporate expert and public opinion in order to promote balanced regional development.
- In terms of the urban structure, it maintained the same 4-tier hierarchy from the previous Plan: a primary center, five sub-centers (Yeongdong, Yeongdeung-po, Yongsan and Cheongnyangni/Wangsimni), 11 local centers and 53 district centers, only adding a new sub-center in Sangam/Susaek.
- Different key development projects throughout the city were initiated or incorporated into the plan: the Digital Media City (DMC) in the Sangam area; the Han River Renaissance project; the Northeast Region Renaissance, the Yongsan International Business District; and the development of the Magok District.
- The restoration of the Cheonggyecheon stream under Mayor Lee Myung-bak's term, finished by 2005, spear-headed the urban renewal of the traditional city.

- Residential
- Commercial & Business
- Mixed Residential & Business
- Industrial
- Public Facilities
- Transportation Facilities
- Urban Infrastructure Facilities
- Denuded
- Inaccessible
- Forest & Open Space
- River & Lake



Figure 3-55. Basic Urban Planning for Seoul, 2020.

Land use map.

Source: The Seoul Research Data Center (서울 연구데이터서비스) - <http://data.si.re.kr/node/91>

3.17 SEOUL CITY MASTER PLAN, 2006

Ch. 3 / APAT'U TANJI AND THE VISIONS FOR SEOUL

- Efforts to enhance public spaces have produced new regional parks (Dream Forest in North Seoul, Seoul Forest, Pureun Arboretum, and others) and new pedestrian networks (pathways along the ancient city walls, the Seoul walking trail in the Oesasan Mountain, the Eco & Culture Trail, pedestrian and bicycle paths along the Han River and its tributaries, etc.).

(Seoul Solution, 2015)

5. ROLE OF MASS HOUSING:

- In terms of mass housing, the 2020 Seoul City Basic Plan adopted the 'New Town in Town' project from 2002 in its aim to improve the living conditions of low-income residents and to aggressively promote the large-scale redevelopment of old housing areas through mass housing projects.
- This policy was a radical shift from the two previous Basic Plans, whose goal was the systemic construction of mass housing in the catchment areas of mass transit stations.