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**Intermediary-led Participation in Regeneration: Governing and
Networking Communities in Post- Developmental Urbanism - A
Study of Seoul**

Kim, K.

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Intermediary-led Participation in Regeneration:
Governing and Networking Communities in Post-
Developmental Urbanism - A Study of Seoul

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Photo by Author (2018)



Abstract

This thesis investigates the dynamics of community participation led by intermediary organisations in the urban regeneration of South Korea. Since the 2010s, the Korean government has tried to institutionalise community participation in its planning system by devising new partnerships between the state, citizens, and intermediary organisations. Intermediary organisations act as brokers to promote community participation throughout the regeneration process. Such intermediary intervention is a distinctive part of the recent planning system, which forms the basis for alternative approaches to past state-led or market-driven urban development in Korea. Despite its importance, the dynamics behind intermediary intervention have rarely been addressed. In particular, little attention has been paid to power relationships and social networks that are constructed through intermediary intervention, which can provide an additional insight into the fundamental nature of community participation in Korea's planning system. Using research data collected mainly from fieldwork in Korea, this study explores the dynamics of community participation, with a focus on the governance arrangements and network structures that have evolved through intermediary intervention.

This thesis argues that intermediary intervention remains largely under state control, which restricts the financial resources and legal rights of intermediaries. While intermediary intervention has been managed by professional firms, its transformative potential for community empowerment has been undermined due to new rules and norms armed with expertise and professionalism, which were preferred by the state. On the other hand, more autonomous intermediary intervention has contributed to community empowerment but gained less institutional support, and this has enabled the state to maintain control over community participation, albeit in indirect ways. This thesis concludes that new challenges facing community participation emerging from intermediary intervention can be understood as a developmental legacy of the interventionist state in the post-developmental context in Korea. At the same time, it highlights that intermediary intervention can serve as a long-term platform to address such new challenges by constantly attempting to communicate with the citizens and negotiate with the state throughout the regeneration process. Investigating the dynamics of community participation also provides an opportunity to expand the empirical basis for a wider discourse on post-developmental urbanism in Korea and East Asia.

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Declaration of Authorship

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the MPhil/PhD degree of the University of Westminster is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

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Romanisation

The Romanisation of Korean words in this thesis follows the Revised Romanisation System proclaimed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Korea in 2000. Some authors' names and terms might be spelt out according to other Romanisation system if they appeared as such in original publications.

Abbreviations

CHA	Chang 3-dong Area
CO	Community Organiser
CONET	Community Organisation Information Network
CoP	Community of Practice
CSA	Changsin+Sungin-dong Area
DJA	Dongja-dong Area
DJA <i>hyeobdongheo</i>	Dongja area <i>hyeobdongheo</i>
DJA <i>sarangbang</i>	Dongja area <i>sarangbang</i>
DJA <i>sikdorak</i>	Dongja-dong area <i>sikdorak</i>
JRP	Joint Redevelopment Programme
KRW	South Korean Won
Mayoral URP	Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme
NID Programme	Neighbourhood I Dream Programme
NIMD	National Indices of Multiple Deprivation
NTP	New Town Programme
SDA	Sadang 4-dong Area
Seoul Station <i>jjokbang</i> Centre	Seoul Station <i>jjokbang</i> Counselling Centre
SMG	Seoul Metropolitan Government
UR Act	Special Act on Promotion and Support for Urban Regeneration
UR Centre	Urban Regeneration Support Centre
URP	Urban Regeneration Programme

Part I: Research Context, Focus, and Approach

Chapter 1.

Introduction

1.1. Research background

In the second half of the twentieth century, the so-called Four Asian Tigers – Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea – witnessed late but rapid industrialisation under a strong interventionist state (Hamilton, 1983; Gulati, 1992; Dunford and Yeung, 2011). As late industrialisers, these states had rationalised a growth-first agenda since the 1960s to maintain steady high rates of economic growth and transform their productive system through centrally-governed market mechanisms. An interventionist state that prioritises extensive industrialisation for national development over other policies is referred to as a ‘developmental state’ (Amsden, 1989; Wade, 1990; Castells, 1992; Huff, 1995). South Korea (hereafter Korea) is a case in point. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, its rapid economic growth was possible by harnessing national resources and directing incentives through a strong alliance between the state and a small number of large industrial conglomerates (Joo, 2019). This allowed the state to develop industrial clusters, improve the built environment and accommodate a growing urban population by constructing large residential complexes with service amenities (Shin and Kim, 2016). In this way, the state has systematically intervened in and deliberately expanded Korean cities to sustain rapid economic growth. In other words, the Korean developmental state instrumentalised the built environment to support its industrial and social policies aimed at maximising national economic development.

With the democratisation and globalisation of Korean society and economy during the 1990s, the state has liberalised domestic markets and repositioned itself from a leader to a facilitator of economic growth (Choi, 2012). The neoliberal turn of the developmental state, however, followed a different course compared to the West. While Western neoliberal states dismantled the ‘social-welfare state’, the Korean developmental state embraced neoliberalisation to revive the domestic economy, which had been hit by the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Cho and Křižník, 2017). This means that the neoliberal turn in Korea represented a departure from, as well as continuity with, earlier policies and institutions of the developmental state. In this period, mobilisation of urban real-estate

markets as vehicles of private investments has become a promising strategy to revive the sluggish domestic economy. Consequently, Korean cities went through speculative urbanisation based on the combined operation of market mechanisms as a developmental engine, with state intervention as the manager of that engine (Choi, 2012; Shin and Kim, 2016).

However, the speculative urbanisation has slowed down, as the 2008 global financial crisis reduced opportunities for the market and the state to collaborate on new urban development. Due to the crisis, a number of planned urban development projects were cancelled, and, accordingly, promised market investments or state supports were withdrawn with no backup plan (Jang et al., 2013). As a result, the cancelled redevelopment areas remained undeveloped and faced further deprivation, with growing conflicts among the citizens, as well as between the citizens and the state. This prompted calls for alternative urban development to the past state-led or market-driven approaches in Korea. As one of these alternatives, the state launched a new Urban Regeneration Programme by introducing a new national Special Act on Promotion and Support for Urban Regeneration in 2013. The Urban Regeneration Programme was devised to incorporate citizens and create a ‘community-based initiative’ as an acting association to improve deprived neighbourhoods (KRIHS, 2016, 2017). In contrast to the previous programmes, it pays more attention to community participation that can serve as the basis for more inclusive urban development. This means that the aim of the programme is not only to achieve physical improvement of the built environment but also to foster and sustain a communal life and shared identities in the built environment. In this respect, such new institutional effort can be seen as a community-based urban regeneration approach based on a partnership between the state and citizens. As a result, citizens could become directly and more actively involved in the planning and management of the built environment along with the state.

It is worth noting, however, that community-based urban regeneration is not simply initiated by direct interactions between the state and citizens. Rather, it is guided and facilitated by ‘intermediary organisations’ that are state-funded or self-funded bodies working between the state and citizens (Park and Lim, 2014; Seo, Park and Lim, 2014). Intermediary organisations such as urban regeneration support centres have spread across

the country since the introduction of the new national Act for the promotion of urban regeneration. Accordingly, community participation through intermediary organisations has been largely popularised and institutionalised as a part of urban regeneration. In this thesis, this particular approach to community participation is termed ‘intermediary-led participation’. Articulated within the emerging discourse of post-developmental urbanism (Jeong, 2016; Cho and Križnik, 2017; Park and Hong, 2019), intermediary-led participation has gained academic attention in the field of urban planning and urban policy in Korea. A growing body of literature demonstrates its significance, arguing that the intermediary-led participation can reduce bureaucracy and enhance the efficiency of urban regeneration (Park and Lim, 2014; Seo, Park and Lim, 2014; Kim and Choi, 2017; Y. Kim, 2017; Kim, 2020). The main focus of these studies, however, is the ‘functional’ aspect of the intermediary-led participation, such as operational structure or management. Comparatively less attention has been given to its ‘social’ aspects, such as collective identity, chronological relationships, or everyday interactions, which can shed light on its underlying participatory mechanisms. To fill the research gap, therefore, this thesis scrutinises the social side of intermediary-led participation by exploring what participants have experienced from regeneration practices, and what their experiences have told us about intermediary intervention in the new regeneration framework in Korea.

1.2. Research Objective and Questions

This thesis is based on the initial awareness that only a little systematic research exists on the influence of intermediary intervention on community participation in urban regeneration in Korea. Intermediary intervention is recognised as an important part of the recent regeneration framework in Korea. Growing academic attention has been paid to the operation or management of intermediary intervention in Korea’s planning system (Park and Lim, 2014; Seo, Park and Lim, 2014; Kim and Choi, 2017; Y. Kim, 2017; Kim, 2020). However, such academic attention has barely addressed the dynamics behind intermediary intervention in terms of the intermediary process of promoting community participation in regeneration. In particular, how intermediary intervention works to build, develop, and transform power and network dynamics of community participation remains unresearched. This highlights the need for a deeper understanding of power relationships and social networks that are constructed through intermediary intervention, which can provide additional insight into the fundamental nature of community participation in

Korea's planning system. In this respect, the objective of this thesis is to examine the nature of community participation in Korea's recent regeneration practices by investigating the power relationships and social networks formed by intermediary intervention. Therefore, it tackles the research gap identified above by addressing the question: *How does intermediary intervention construct power relationships and social networks, and thereby influence community participation in the regeneration process in Korea?* To answer this question, particular attention is paid to three key parts: 1) governance, 2) networks, and 3) long-term prospects of intermediary-led participation in regeneration in Korea. In this manner, my research questions are defined as follows:

- 1) How does intermediary intervention change governance arrangements in regeneration and affect power relationships in community participation?
- 2) How does intermediary intervention develop social interaction patterns in regeneration and influence social networks in community participation?
- 3) Can intermediary intervention serve to sustain community participation and attain community empowerment in regeneration in the long run?

Based on the research questions, this thesis will focus on the following three themes to investigate. Firstly, evolving governance arrangements in regeneration will be investigated with a focus on changing role of intermediary intervention. While the role of intermediary intervention has gained attention in Korea's planning literature, little attention has been paid to how this role is chronologically changed to continue promoting community participation throughout the regeneration process. In this regard, this thesis will place its initial focus on how the changing role of intermediary intervention has transformed governance arrangements in regeneration, and thereby affected power relationships in community participation. This initial investigation will serve as a basis for identifying the power dynamics underlying intermediary-led participation in regeneration practices in Korea.

Secondly, the changing social interactions in regeneration will be examined to clarify social networks formed by intermediary intervention. To do this, this thesis will

narratively explore how intermediary intervention has enabled participants to interact with each other, and developed the interaction throughout the regeneration process. Then, it will investigate how the mediated interactions have formed into a comprehensive social network structure in regeneration, which influences the characteristics of community participation. This second investigation will provide a basis for a nuanced understanding of network dynamics underpinning the social fabric of communities and intermediaries involved in regeneration practices in Korea.

Lastly, the long-term prospect of intermediary-led participation will be addressed. In principle, intermediary intervention was introduced to promote community participation in the urban regeneration process in Korea. However, the extent to which intermediary intervention could serve to sustain community participation and attain community empowerment in the future remains unclear. In this regard, this thesis will critically examine the opportunities and challenges of intermediary-led participation by answering the first and second research questions, which can help us to explore the prospect of intermediary-led participation as well as to understand its status quo. This third investigation will serve to illuminate the essence of the recent community-based regeneration in Korea, and, by extension, expand an empirical basis for a wider discourse on post-developmental urbanism in Korea and East Asia.

1.3. Thesis Overview

This thesis comprises seven chapters, including this chapter, which introduces the research background and research questions. Chapter 2 presents the contextual backdrop of this thesis with a historical overview of urbanisation and intermediaries in Korea. First, it frames urbanisation in the East within three main periods: developmental, neo-developmental, and post-developmental. Drawing on this periodic frame, urban development in Korea is conceptualised from state-led redevelopment to community-based regeneration. Then, the second half of this chapter discusses the nature of the intermediary sector in Korea by exploring the growth of Korean civil society organisations. Particular attention is paid to their growth within the identified periodic frame of urbanisation in Korea. By doing this, Chapter 2 provides a more nuanced understanding of the local context where intermediary-led participation has gained prominence while community-based urban regeneration has become institutionalised.

Chapter 3 presents a systematic review of the literature to create a conceptual framework for this thesis. For this, it conceptually explores communities, governance, and networks in the recent urban regeneration context in Korea. In the first section of this chapter, the nature of communities in intermediary-led participation is identified by exploring the concepts of community of practice and right to the city in the context of Korea's urbanisation. The second section conceptualises governance in intermediary-led participation by reviewing the multi-level, multi-stage and non-linear forms of governance structure and transformation in Korea's post-political context. This is followed by a conceptualisation of networks in intermediary-led participation by exploring the concepts of social capital and structural holes in the contemporary context of competitive and individualised Korean society. Then, this chapter concludes by summarising how such a conceptual framework is used for data analysis and interpretation in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 provides details on the methodological framework of this thesis in two sections for research design and research implementation respectively. In the research design section, the philosophical orientation of this thesis, social constructivism, is explained. This is followed by a demonstration of the methodological approach of this thesis: a qualitative case study approach. Then, it illustrates specific data collection and analysis methods. The research implementation section presents details on the fieldwork process. First, the rationale for three case studies is shown by elaborating why and how each of the cases were selected and compared. This is followed by an illustration of the data collection process in the fieldwork and potential ethical considerations in this research. Then, the section finishes with a description of the challenges that were encountered in the fieldwork, which could affect the research design.

In Chapter 5, findings from analysis of the case studies are presented. Each case study analysis begins with a brief description of its specific local context. This is followed by an exploration of the governance structure and transformation, with a focus on the changing roles of intermediaries and the evolving capabilities of participants in urban regeneration. Based on this exploration, a thematic analysis of intermediary intervention and community participation is presented, with rich local narratives collected from each case study. By doing so, this chapter provides the evidential basis for further discussion

of power and network dynamics in intermediary-led participation, which is demonstrated in the following chapter.

In Chapter 6, the findings in Chapter 5 are put into the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 3 for further discussion on different types of intermediary-led participation. For this, the findings are reviewed through the conceptual lens of community of practice to interpret the changing landscape of power relationships among those involved in each case of intermediary-led participation. Then, these cases are reviewed within the conceptual framework of the social network structure to systematically decipher the social interactions that emerge and evolve in each case of intermediary-led participation. Drawing on such critical reviews, this chapter concludes with a cross-case discussion of the opportunities and challenges of intermediary-led participation in the recent urban regeneration framework in Korea.

Lastly, Chapter 7 summarises the key arguments from Chapters 5 and 6 and reviews them in the post-developmental context. Then, it discusses the contributions of this research to a broader body of knowledge on community-based urban regeneration and, by extension, post-developmental urbanism in Korea and other East Asian states such as Singapore and Taiwan. Finally, it presents the limitations of this research and provides suggestions for further research to conclude the thesis.

Chapter 2.

Contextualising Urbanisation and Intermediaries in South Korea

2.1. Introduction

The aim of Chapter 2 is to present a historical overview of urban development and the intermediary sector in Korea. It begins with a comparative exploration of urbanisation between the West and the East through which to clarify its distinctive characteristics in the East. The urbanisation in the East is framed within three distinctive periods: developmental, neo-developmental, and post-developmental urbanisation. Drawing on this periodic frame, urban development in Korea is conceptualised from state-led development to community-based regeneration.

The second half of this chapter aims to trace and characterise the intermediary sector in Korea. For this, a comparative exploration of civil society between the West and the East is briefly outlined. This is followed by further exploration of the growth of civil society organisations in Korea. Particular attention is paid to associating their growth within the above periodic frame of urbanisation in Korea. By doing this, Chapter 2 seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of the local context where community-based urban regeneration has gained prominence while intermediary-led participation has become popularised.

2.2. Framing Urbanisation in East Asia

This section explores the historical context of urbanisation in East Asia and frames it within three distinctive periods: the post-colonial (developmental urbanisation), the post-Asian financial crisis (neo-developmental urbanisation), and the post-developmental period (post-developmental urbanisation). Such framing serves as a basis for historic overviews on urban development and the intermediary sector in Korea, which are presented in the following sections.

2.2.1. Emergence of Developmental Urbanisation

The United Nations reported that more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas (United Nations, 2015). This proportion is expected to increase to two-thirds by 2030 (*ibid.*). However, there is no standard international definition of 'urban' to clarify where urban areas are. For example, 'urban' is defined as localities with populations of 50,000 or more in Korea, while it is recognised as places with 1,000 people or more in Canada, and 2,500 or more in Mexico (United Nations, 2007). As such, there is the great variation in definitions of 'urban' from one country to another. What is urbanisation? At the most general level, it has to do with spatial concentrations of people and goods in cities and towns (Tallon, 2013). It seems a simple question of how to quantify urbanisation, such as increasing population or businesses. However, the question is not that simple in reality, as it is involved with 'spatial concentrations of human economic, social, cultural and political activities distinguished from non-urban/rural places by both physical aspects such as population density or administrative definition and lifestyle characteristics' (Pacione, 2005, p.676). In other words, urbanisation refers to a set of interconnected transformations encompassing not only where people reside and what they produce, but also how they live in terms of economic well-being, political changes, distribution of power, cultural rules, and social relationships in cities. Beyond physical factors, therefore, economic, political, cultural, and social elements must gain prominence in order to identify urbanisation in certain localities. In short, 'urban' is not a homogenous term, while 'urbanisation' is open to multiple definitions in different localities.

From this point of view, it is hard to define urbanisation in the East with a single word. Alternatively, a comparative exploration of urbanisation between the West and the East could offer some insights into characterising urbanisation in the East. In this regard, a brief historical overview of urbanisation in the West would be useful. In the following, this overview is framed within three distinctive periods: 1) the industrialisation period, 2) the welfare state period, and 3) the neoliberal state period. Despite a concern over the simplified periodic approach to urbanisation in the West, it can at least provide a comparative basis to elucidate East Asian urbanisation.

It is widely known that the first urbanisation in the West began along with the Industrial Revolution (Bairoch and Goertz, 1986). The growth in the manufacturing industry caused

an increased demand for labour at single locations such as factories, ports, or mines. This was facilitated by new infrastructures such as railroads, which served to concentrate goods and people into new industrial cities. Despite the growth in size and density of the cities, however, the living conditions were unlikely to be improved, but rather worsened. The reason is that central to the urban change was 'free market capitalism', which underestimated workers' quality of life but increased their productivity growth. This market-oriented approach resulted in unregulated and unbalanced urban growth associated with urban slums and squatter settlements (Tallon, 2013). That is to say, the West experienced its first urbanisation through industrialisation, mainly managed by the free market, leading to economic and social inequality in inner cities.

The second distinctive urbanisation in the West appeared in response to urban problems resulting from the Second World War: war-damaged town centres and residential areas. The post-war problems caused the emergence of strong governments across the Western world, with emphasis on 'the nationalisation of industry, the creation of the welfare state, and the nationalisation of development rights' (Tallon, 2013, p.30). In this second period, the governments introduced many social-welfare-based or Keynesian urban improvement policies (Hemerijck, 2013). This social-welfare-based approach served to promote area-based community initiatives for urban development, albeit in a centrally controlled manner.

The third distinctive period began along with loss of faith in the Keynesian welfare state and revival of the free-market capitalism. This transition was a response to concerns over excessive public spending and heavy dependency on the state. This was facilitated by the 1970s fiscal crisis, which led to economic stagnation across the Western world (Mack, 1985). Such economic stagnation caused the states to mobilise market-driven urban projects. This prompted a change in urbanisation from managerial to entrepreneurial mode (Harvey, 1989; Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Central to this transition was neoliberalism, which promotes new public-private partnership in the context of government austerity. Hence, it is seen as neoliberal urbanisation where new forms of urban governance are institutionalised while private-sector-based-systems are introduced. This periodical overview shows that urbanisation in the West has evolved mainly along

with three distinctive economic and political creeds: free-market capitalism, welfarism, and neoliberalism.

The important point is that such evolution has occurred gradually through the centuries. On the other hand, the East has experienced a fast-paced urbanisation along with rapid economic growth. This is evident particularly in the so-called Four Asian Tigers – Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea – which witnessed late but rapid industrialisation in the second half of the twentieth century (Castells, 1992). Dunford and Yeung's (2011 cited in Shin, 2019, p.2) study provides insights into the 'condensed economic development' that affected the pace of urbanisation in the Asian Tigers. It provides a useful statistical analysis of how long it took each country to achieve a five-fold increase in its real GDP per capita since its economic take-off.

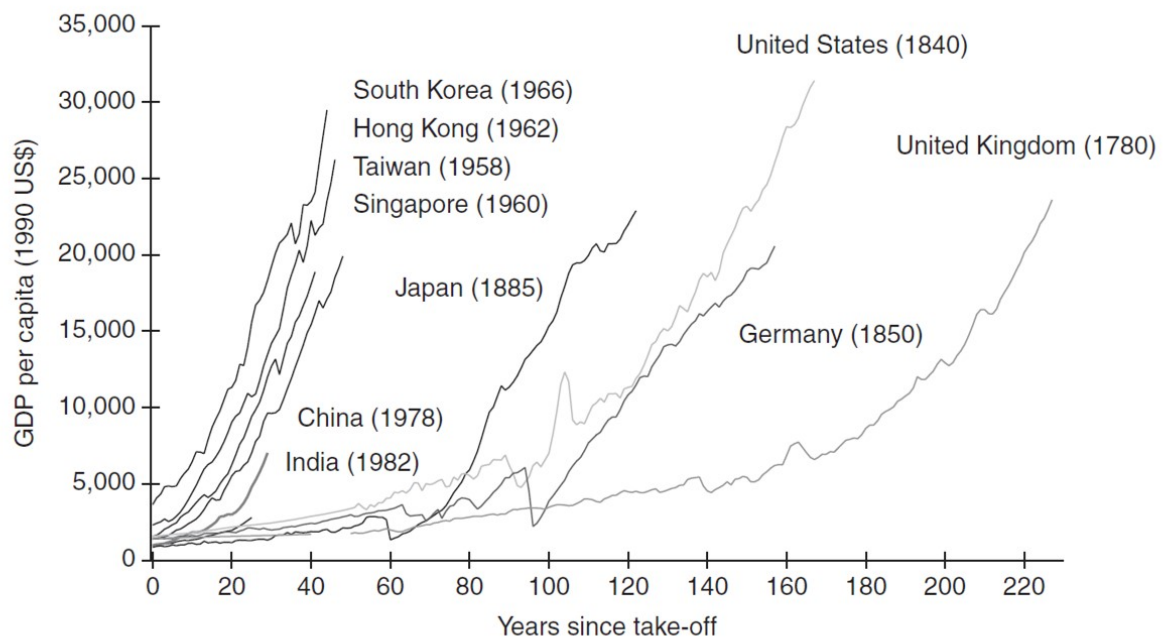


Figure 1. Economic growth trajectories since take-off.
Source: Dunford and Yeung (2011)

The analysis indicates that Eastern countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea took about 28, 26, 24, and 22 years respectively to achieve a five-fold increase in real GDP per capita, while Western countries such as the USA and the UK took more than 100 and 160 years respectively (Shin, 2019). In other words, it took less than 30 years for the late industrialisers to achieve such economic growth, while similar growth for the front-runners took over a century. Such rapid economic growth in East

Asia was made possible largely due to the emergence of authoritarian regimes with strong control of the national economy in the post-colonial period.

For example, as colonies, Singapore and Korea were used to serve the interests of the British and Japanese empires respectively. During the colonial period, both countries' main industries were farming- and agriculture-based on landlord-tenant relations in the pre-capitalist forms (Hamilton, 1983). The industry structure started to be reframed with the advent of authoritarian regimes after the end of the colonial period. The authoritarian regimes gave prominence to the manufacturing industry or heavy industry in order to achieve certain levels of economic growth as soon as possible. Particularly, it was facilitated by 'providing capital, giving directions, and working with home-grown conglomerates' such as *chaebol* in Korea (Chu, 2016, p119). As late industrialisers, these authoritarian regimes rationalised a growth-first agenda since the 1960s to maintain steady high rates of economic growth and transform their productive system through centrally-governed market mechanisms. Such an interventionist state that prioritises extensive industrialisation for national development over other policies is referred to as a 'developmental state' (Amsden, 1989; Wade, 1990; Castells, 1992; Huff, 1995).

The developmental states could hardly embrace free-market capitalism or welfarism in their economic and political creeds. This is because such states were dedicated to realising sustained, rapid industrialisation by controlling entire industrial activities. Under these circumstances, all national resources were centrally distributed and industrial incentives were given based on the growth-first agenda. This allowed the states to mobilise the built environment by, for example, developing industrial clusters and constructing large residential complexes to accommodate a growing urban population (Castells, 1992). In this way, the developmental states systematically and deliberately expanded their cities to sustain rapid economic growth, which is recognised as 'developmental urbanisation' (Hwang, 2016; Shin, 2016; Doucette and Park, 2019). In other words, developmental urbanisation took place while the developmental states instrumentalised the built environment to support their industrial and social policies with the aim of maximising national economic development.

2.2.2. Expansion of Neo-Developmental Urbanisation

With the democratisation and globalisation of East Asian society in the late twentieth century, the developmental states liberalised domestic markets and repositioned themselves from leaders to facilitators of economic growth by introducing private-sector-based systems in their national policies. This transition was facilitated by the Asian financial crisis, which caused government austerity (Choi, 2012; Chu, 2016). The Asian financial crisis broke in 1997 and spread throughout East Asia, leading to currency devaluation and capital outflow. Before the crisis, the states could maintain high rates of economic growth through their intensive subsidies or supports for selected firms or industries (Corsetti, Pessenti and Roubini, 1998). However, such trend was changed by the sudden huge capital outflows, which prompted massive financial bailouts across East Asia. In this period, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) forced the troubled states to open their domestic markets and restructure their labour markets to facilitate free trade.

Responding to such external pressure, the developmental states introduced neoliberal ideas in their national policies while acting as facilitators rather than leaders in their economic growth. But the neoliberal turn of the developmental states followed a different course compared to the West. While Western neoliberal states dismantled the ‘social-welfare state’, East Asian developmental states embraced neoliberalisation to revive the domestic economy hit by the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Choi, 2012). That is, in the East Asian developmental states, new public-private partnerships emerged but remained state-controlled for rapid economic recovery, while the partnerships in Western neoliberal states were more oriented towards privatisation and entrepreneurial transformation. This means that the neoliberal turn in East Asia represented a departure from, as well as continuity with, earlier policies and institutions of the developmental state, which was transformed into what can be called a ‘neo-developmental state’ (Cho and Križnik, 2017). In this period, urban development was used to revive domestic economies hit by the Asian financial crisis. It was facilitated by the states’ efforts to ease planning regulations, open domestic property markets, and attract foreign investments rather than only injecting public funds. Under these circumstances, urban real-estate markets were mobilised as a promising strategy to revive the sluggish domestic economy while serving as a new vehicle of capital accumulation. Consequently, many East Asian cities went through ‘neo-developmental urbanisation’, which was characterised by the combined operation of

speculative market mechanisms as a developmental engine with the ‘property state’ as the operator and manager of that engine (Choi, 2012; Cho and Križnik, 2017; Joo, 2019).

2.2.3. Towards Post-Developmental Urbanisation

Entering the twenty-first century, however, there was a fundamental change in the nature of state–economy and state–society relations in East Asia. Along with low economic growth and low birth rates, coupled with an increase in the ageing population, many East Asian cities have faced new challenges such as population decrease, shrinking workforce, and rising inequality (Asian Development Bank, 2012). Such challenges caused reduced opportunities for the states and the markets to collaborate on new urban developments such as high-rise housing development and mega-infrastructure construction. Furthermore, while the 2008 global financial crisis hit the East Asian property markets, the speculative urbanisation slowed down (Yeung, 2011). This prompted calls for alternative approaches to the previous urban development based on exclusive state-market partnership.

As one of alternatives, some East Asian states began to make institutional efforts to create new forms of urban governance involving local communities beyond the traditional public-private partnership. It is evident in novel urban policies devised to include community participation as essential in urban processes. Some examples are the BOND programme (Building Our Neighbourhoods’ Dream) in Singapore in 2013 and the NID programme (Neighbourhood I Dream) in Seoul in 2016 (Cho and Križnik, 2017). In such programmes, the states were dedicated to putting more local interests or demands into practice for local improvement by inviting more citizens to participate in their decision-making processes. These new approaches have served as the basis for nurturing the culture for more participatory urban processes.

Such change implies a post-developmental turn in modes of governance in urban development in East Asia. This means that urban development partnership has been diversified and transformed from exclusive state-market collusion towards more inclusive state-citizen cooperation. This can be seen as a signal for a change in the aim of urban development: that is, not only to improve the built environment but also to foster and sustain communal life and shared identities in urban areas. In this transition, citizens could

become directly and more actively involved in the planning and management of the built environment along with the state, which recent studies recognise as a distinct characteristic of emerging ‘post-developmental urbanisation’ in East Asia (Jeong, 2016; Cho and Križnik, 2017; Cabannes, Douglass and Padawangi, 2018; Douglass, Garbaye and Ho, 2019). In other words, ordinary citizens have been foregrounded in the period of post-developmental urbanisation, which concentrates on community participation that can serve as the basis for more inclusive urban development.

However, concern has been raised that the sticky nature of the developmentalism continues to play a role in affecting the post-developmental urbanisation of East Asia (Park, Hill and Saito, 2011; Doucette and Park, 2018; Shin, 2019). This means that community participation can be initiated but rarely self-directed in the post-developmental urbanisation. Central to this concern is that the states in the post-developmental period continue to take the lead on the formation of new urban governance in the name of assistance due to the lack of civic culture. In this context, it is likely that community participation could be mobilised to achieve certain goals of the states rather than the local demands of citizens (Tang, Lee and Ng, 2012; Park, 2013; Kim and Cho, 2019; Križnik, Cho and Kim, 2019). In this particular point of view, it is understood that East Asian cities are at a critical crossroads of socio-spatial transformation, which this thesis recognises as a point of emergence of ‘post-developmental urbanism’. In other words, contemporary East Asian urban development has taken place against a backdrop of post-developmental urbanism where community participation gains increasing importance while its governance remains in the control of the states. From this perspective, this thesis is situated in the particular context of post-developmental urbanism with a critical question regarding how the states can intervene in new community participation and new urban governance creation for more inclusive urban development.

2.3. Conceptualising Urban Development in Korea

Based on the overall framework of urbanisation in East Asia, the following section is focused on a historical exploration of urban development in Korea. This exploration is a detailed explanation of representative urban development programmes in a periodic frame. These include the Joint Redevelopment Programme in the 1980s, medium-rise apartment

reconstruction policy in the 1990s, the New Town Programme in the 2000s, and the Urban Regeneration Programme in the 2010s.

2.3.1. Control of Substandard Settlements in the Developmental Period

In Korea, the developmental state emerged under the authoritarian regime of General Park Jung Hee, who came to power through a military coup in 1961 and took office as president in 1963. His authoritarian regime lasted almost two decades until his assassination in 1979. During this period, the industry structure was reformed from agriculture to manufacturing or heavy industry. With access to massive foreign loans, funds, and subsidies, especially from the USA and Japan, it was possible to boost export-oriented industrialisation, resulting in rapid economic growth. Park's regime directed such financial assistance to a selected group of industries run by a small number of home-grown conglomerates known as '*chaebols*', such as Samsung and Hyundai (Chang, 2009). In exchange for this privileged position, the *chaebols* agreed to prioritise the national goals of economic reconstruction. Such a give-and-take relationship produced synergy between the state and the *chaebols* by building unprecedented economic growth through exports. In other words, the developmental state in Korea instrumentalised a synergetic alliance with the industrial elites for export-oriented industrialisation through strategic use of fiscal incentives and trade policies.

Such an alliance was not only used to promote industrialisation but also to improve housing provisions for rural-to-urban migrants. During the Park regime, there was a considerable growth in labour-intensive industries, such as textiles and electronics, which caused a concentration of cheap labour in major cities such as Seoul. Between 1960 and 1970, according to an official count, the population in Seoul had more than doubled, while its annual population growth rate exceeded 10 per cent on average (Seoul Institute, 2010). However, it was hardly possible to accommodate such growing population with the existing housing and infrastructure in Seoul. This gave rise to a proliferation of illegal substandard settlements, known as *panjachon*, which mushroomed in vacant lands along roads, streams, and foothills (Shin and Kim, 2016). In 1966, the number of the substandard housing units reached about 136,650, accounting for almost one-third of the total housing stocks in Seoul (*ibid.*). Park's regime tried to stem the spread of the illegal settlements by promoting large-scale new housing estates, known as *danji* in Korean, as

part of the ten-year (1972-1981) housing construction programme. Each *danji* was huge in size, consisting of a group of medium-rise apartments with around 19,000 flats in the case of Jamsil *danji* (Hong, 1997). Such *danji* development gained prominence with introduction of the 1973 *Act on Temporary Measures for the Promotion of Housing Improvement*. It is true that the new Act provided illegal settlers with legal ownerships at less than market rate. Yet, there was little progress, as the lower rate was still unaffordable for the illegal settlers while the state's financial support for their resettlement or relocation was limited.

Having learnt from the lessons in the 1970s, the state introduced a revised programme in 1983, known as the Joint Redevelopment Programme (hereafter JRP), which became the model for subsequent urban redevelopment in the coming decades (Kim and Yoon, 2003; Ha, 2007; Shin and Kim, 2016). The JRP was based on the use of joint contributions of local property owners and large builders that acted as housing funders and marketers as well as constructors. To initiate the joint contributions, the property owners first had to form a so-called 'redevelopment association' dedicated to preparing a redevelopment plan. Once the plan was adopted by a majority of the property owners and then approved by the government, the association could embark on redevelopment work with the large builders. In this process, the builders financed the development and carried out housing construction as well as marketing. Hence, instead of the government, the large private builders took responsibility for clearing illegal settlements and constructing new high-rise flats through the JRP. In return, the builders were able to reap massive profits by putting the remaining flats up for sale after distributing to the participating property owners at construction rate. This gave rise to the increase of the housing supply rate in Seoul from less than 50% in 1980 to more than 75% in 2000 (Ha, 2007). Hence, it is seen that the JRP contributed to a significant change in the urban landscape of Seoul by increasing the number of high-rise apartments. In this regard, the JRP represents the developmental urban practices to accommodate the concentrated population by improving the housing supply through the control of *panjachon* growth and the promotion of new *danji* provision.

2.3.2. Speculative Redevelopment in the Neo-Developmental Period

After the 1997 Asian financial crisis, Korea's property market experienced a neoliberal turn that deregulated planning regulations and attracted foreign investments (Shin and Kim, 2016). It was facilitated on the assumption that urban real-estate markets can serve as a vehicle of capital accumulation to revive the domestic economy hit by the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Choi, 2012). Such a unique neoliberal turn in the property market gave rise to more speculative large-scale housing or infrastructure projects focusing on city branding and marketing through which to attract more capital in the context of government austerity (Križnik, 2013). Hence, under these circumstances, urban development was used to capture mobile financial capital for the economic turnaround rather than addressing socio-economic inequalities in cities. This can be seen as neo-developmental urbanisation in the Korean context.

In the 2000s, such neo-developmental urbanisation often took place in low-rise residential urban areas where one- to four-storey houses were densely concentrated. The New Town Programme (hereafter NTP) is a case in point. It was introduced in Seoul in 2002 and spread across the country in 2006. Like the JRP, the NTP was also driven by joint contributions of local property owners and construction firms. However, the NTP entailed large infrastructure projects such as roads, stations, schools, and telecommunications. That is, the NTP was much larger in scale and took a more comprehensive approach to improving the built environment. This new approach gained more prominence at the national level with the introduction of the national *Special Act on Urban Renewal Promotion* in 2006. As of 2008, the NTP zones covered almost 6% of Seoul's surface area and affected more than 850,000 people, accounting for about 8% of the city's population (Jang and Yang, 2008). This implies that the NTP was one of the most effective tools for improving the quality of the built environment in the 2000s. The NTP was particularly successful in the low-rise residential areas with speculative property owners who could not benefit from the previous rounds of the JRP (Shin and Kim, 2016). Accordingly, it became a statutory urban redevelopment model that transformed deprived low-rise neighbourhoods into high-rise residential complexes in Korea.

However, such neo-developmental urbanisation slowed down as the 2008 global financial crisis reduced opportunities for property owners and construction firms to collaborate on

new redevelopment. Moreover, the first round of the NTP caused social problems such as involuntary displacement and homelessness. For example, in the NTP in the Gireum area, only 10% of the original residents were able to resettle, while the rest were forced to leave due to soaring housing rates and living costs (Kim, 2010). Such economic and social challenges caused negative effects on the progress of a variety of redevelopment projects. Due to the crisis and changes, more than half of the planned redeveloped projects, including the NTP, were cancelled, and accordingly, promised market investments or state supports were withdrawn with no backup plan (Jang et al., 2013). In Seoul alone, the number of cancellations exceeded 390 and affected more than 400,000 local residents (Jang, 2018). As a result, the cancelled redevelopment areas remained undeveloped and faced further deprivation with growing conflicts among the residents, and between the residents and the state. This prompted calls for alternative urban development to the past state-led or market-driven approaches in Korea.

2.3.3. Community-based Regeneration in the Post-Developmental Period

As one of the alternatives, the state launched a new Urban Regeneration Programme (hereafter URP) by introducing the national *Special Act on Promotion and Support for Urban Regeneration* (hereafter UR Act) in 2013. The URP was devised to incorporate local residents beyond only property owners or investors and create a ‘community-based initiative’ as an acting association to improve the deprived neighbourhoods. Compared to the NTP, hence, the URP is focused on community participation, which can serve as the basis for a more inclusive and sustainable urban development. The important thing is that it aims not only to improve the built environment but also to foster and sustain communal life and shared identities in the deprived neighbourhoods. In this respect, the URP is seen as a community-based urban regeneration approach based on a partnership between the state and residents.

Since the introduction of the UR Act, the number of URP zones has shown a steady increase every year. As of 2018, its total number topped 200 throughout the country (Jang, 2018). However, it turned out that only 11 URP zones were designated in Seoul due to the national goal, which aimed at balanced regional development (*ibid.*). Such a national goal rather caused reverse discrimination where major cities like Seoul were given hardly any opportunities for the national URP, while struggling to address a number of their

deprived neighbourhoods. As a result, the Seoul Metropolitan Government (hereafter SMG) established the 2050 Seoul Urban Regeneration Guideline in 2015, and launched the so-called mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (hereafter mayoral URP) in 2016, while Park Won-soon, a former human rights lawyer, served as the mayor in Seoul (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018c). Like the national URP, the mayoral URP also stressed community participation in the urban regeneration process. But, extra effort was made in the mayoral URP to localise the national URP by extending its official implementation period and subdividing its official tasks to be addressed. Such mayoral URP has spread further across the city since Mayor Park's successful re-election in 2018. As of 2018, more than 120 neighbourhoods benefitted from the mayoral URP (Seoul Urban Regeneration Support Centre, 2018a, 2018b). The diagram below shows the characteristics of the URP in comparison with previous urban development programmes in Seoul.

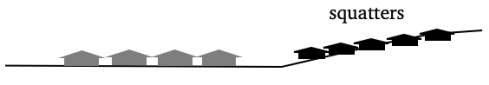
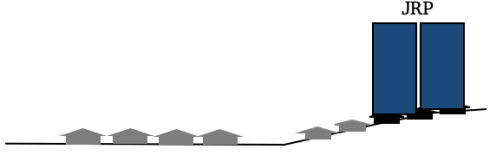
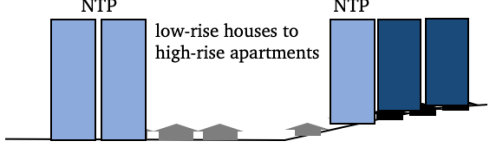
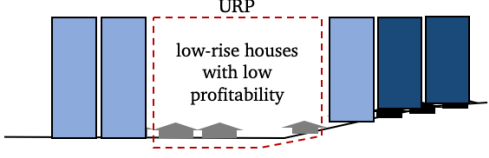
Period	Major practice	Graphic representation	Scale
1960s to 1970s	Substandard illegal settlements, and their expansion and clearance.		In 1966, substandard housing units in Seoul reached almost 135,650, accounting for one-third of total housing stocks in Seoul.
1980s to 2000s	Joint Redevelopment Programme. (JRP)		By 1998, about 217,000 new high-rise apartments were built in 228 JRP zones in Seoul.
2000s to 2010s	New Town Programme. (NTP)		As of 2008, more than 850,000 people were subject to the NTP, while it covered almost 6% of the city's surface area.
2010s	Urban Regeneration Programme. (URP)		As of 2018, more than 200 areas were listed as national URP zone, while about 120 areas in Seoul benefited from mayoral URP.

Figure 2. A summary of major urban development practices in Seoul.
Source: Shin and Kim (2016) and Jang (2018).

The above explanation confirms that the URP zones are mainly the low-rise residential areas where previous redevelopment such as the JRP or the NTP did not take place. The

reason for this is that the redevelopment in such areas was considered unprofitable due to strict building and planning regulations such as building height restrictions or land use restrictions (Jang, 2018). Moreover, the existing residents in such areas could hardly establish a redevelopment association or pay a charge for redevelopment due to their low financial capacity (*ibid.*). That is, the URP has focused on the deprived neighbourhoods, which have been constantly marginalised outside the interests of the state and the market. Recently, such approach has gained more national prominence since the inauguration of the progressive national government, which announced the so-called Urban Regeneration New Deal policy in 2018 (An et al., 2018). Putting such change into the periodic framework of East Asian urbanisation, it can be seen as a post-developmental turn in urban development in Korea. That is to say, it signifies that Korea has been undergoing a fundamental change in the direction of urban development where unprofitable deprived neighbourhoods are foregrounded while urban development partnerships are diversified with the inclusion of residents. This represents a crucial transition from the speculative neo-developmental towards the more inclusive post-developmental urbanism in Korea.

However, it should be noted that such post-developmental urbanism is not simply initiated by direct interactions between the state and residents in Korea. Based on the new UR Act, it is required to establish intermediary organisations, such as local urban regeneration support centres, which serve to facilitate the regeneration process by working between the state and residents. Considering this point, it is worth taking a close look at the nature of such intermediary organisations for a better understanding of the post-developmental urbanism in Korea. In this regard, the following section provides a brief historical exploration of the intermediary sector in Korea from the developmental to the post-developmental period.

2.4. Identifying the Intermediary Sector in Korea

This section provides a basis for an improved understanding of emerging intermediary organisations in Korea. For this, the nature of civil society in Korea is reified in comparison with that in the West. Then, the ways in which different intermediary organisations have emerged and grown in Korea's civil society from the developmental to the post-developmental period are explored. Particular attention is paid to the post-

developmental period, where a new breed of intermediary organisations has recently emerged in the new urban regeneration framework.

2.4.1. Nature of Civil Society in Korea

There is no unified definition, theory or model of intermediary organisation. Hence, understanding the exact meaning of the term ‘intermediary organisation’ is not easy, as it may mean different things in different situations. Despite its equivocal nature, it is clear that the intermediary organisation is positioned as a collective entity beyond family and distinct from the state and market. In other words, an intermediary organisation takes its conceptual roots in the third realm that is formed outside of the state, the market, and the family, which is civil society (Cohen and Arato, 1992). In this regard, it is worth exploring the nature of civil society to gain an insight into the origin of diverse intermediary organisations.

Civil society is defined as the ‘sphere intermediate between the family and the state, in which social actors pursue neither profit within the market nor power within the state’ (Schwartz, 2003, p.23). Central to this intermediate sphere are collective interests beyond the familial sphere that the state and market might underestimate. This suggests that a major role of organisations in the intermediate sphere is to prevent certain collective interests from being subordinated to the power of the state and market profit. Hence, civil society is understood as the third sphere encompassing non-state and non-profit organisations. Environmental groups, women’s rights groups, labour unions, co-operatives, community-based associations, independent research institutes and not-for-profit media are a case in point (OECD, 2012).

In fact, this concept of civil society has its origins in the Western world. The primal idea of civil society originated in ancient Greece and Rome, where civil society was synonymous with political society (Cohen and Arato, 1992). In the city states, the state and society were merged into one entity – the *polis* – which was an organic association of citizens whose authority governed every aspect of their lives under the rule of law. Through this logic, the citizens had no sense of their own individuality apart from their role in the *polis*. The only conception of freedom that they could enjoy was freedom to participate in political life, while freedom in one’s everyday life was discouraged. The

Greeks referred to the citizens' association as *koinonia politike*, translated into Latin as *societas civilis*, which means a public political community of free, equal, and virtuous citizens (Kumar, 1993). Under this ancient idea of civil society, the state and society were not theoretically distinguished. Instead, the civil society was understood as an association with a cohesive socio-political and moral order in which the interests of individuals were seen as organically united with the interest of society as a whole. Hence, individual liberty or autonomous spheres of voluntary activities were likely to be negligible and undesired.

However, there emerged a conceptual separation between the state and civil society since the 19th century. In Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right' (Hegel and Knox, 1942), the civil society was differentiated from the state by defining it as an intermediary power between the state and individuals. Karl Marx also viewed civil society as separation from the state. For Marx, civil society was a more politically charged concept of bourgeois society that is a product of capitalism and the bourgeoisie's rise to power (Cohen and Arato, 1992). This led to incipient theorisation of civil society encompassing everything overlooked in capitalist states: welfare, health, religion, and the voluntary associations. Such concept of civil society was developed further by some scholars who pointed out its organisational aspects in an emerging democratic environment: Alexis de Tocqueville and Antonio Gramsci.

In his work 'Democracy in America' (1838), Tocqueville observed the spirit of association in American society and came to the conclusion that there would be significant benefits if people were to associate freely in everything. In a series of his observations in America, he stressed diverse associational networks of interdependent citizens and their active participation in free associations. His key understanding is central to the American society as an American civic culture: *associationalism*, which nourished 'volunteerism, community spirit and independent associational life as protections against the domination of society by the state, and indeed as a counterbalance which helped to keep the state accountable and effective' (Lewis, 2001a, p.571). For him, the *associationalism* was a conceptual underpinning for modern civil society that refers to the autonomous area of liberty incorporating an organisational culture serving as a counterweight to, and especially separated from, state power and market forces

(Mcillwaine, 2007). Tocqueville's conceptual insights inspired further exploration of European civil society in transition from the aristocratic to the democratic order.

Drawing on Tocqueville's argument, Antonio Gramsci attempted to identify the civil society in Europe by putting it in the context of the protection of the proletariat's interests (subaltern groups) against the bourgeoisie (dominant group). Despite his Marxist orientation, Gramsci's stance was removed from the typical Marxist understanding that power lies in the hands of the state *per se*. His understanding is that at the core of power is the concept of 'hegemony' that enables the ruling capitalist class to establish and maintain its control. In his prison notebooks (Gramsci, 1929), Gramsci stressed that hegemony is produced and reproduced by dominant groups that generate their own values and norms so that they can become the common-sense values of all. In this system, a hegemonic class continues to take state power capable of absorbing other classes socially, politically, and economically. This suggests that the state here does not refer to the narrow sense of the government. Instead, it encompasses a broad range of political society (the police, the army, and the legal system) and civil society (mass media, the education system, and trade unions).

In this hegemonic context, Gramsci distinguishes between the political society and the civil society: the former is the realm of force and the latter is the realm of consent. His main argument is that 'the consent is not the spontaneous outcome of free choice; consent is manufactured, albeit through extremely complex mediums, diverse institutions, and constantly changing processes. Furthermore, the power to manufacture consent is not evenly distributed in society' (Buttigieg, 1995, p.7). Hence, not everyone is in an equal position to understand how consent is manufactured. This suggests that civil society is not a sphere of freedom but of hegemony, with consent which is manufactured – as opposed to coerced – by those with power: the dominant classes. However, Gramsci points out that civil society has a revolutionary potential, 'disabling the coercive apparatus of the state, gaining access to political power, and creating the conditions that could give rise to a consensual society wherein no individual or group is reduced to a subaltern status' (Buttigieg, 1995, p.7). He argues that such revolutionary potential could emerge when grassroots protests break out in spontaneous ways, creating a 'counter-hegemony' that challenges the dominant classes and restructures the dominant hegemony. From this perspective, the growth of the civil society entails the counter-hegemonic

change of ‘deconstructing’ the previous hegemony, which served as an instrument of power for dominant groups and ‘reconstructing’ the hegemony to serve the interests of subaltern social groups. That is, the civil society undergoes significant transformation that disarticulates the existing social order of the hegemonic historical bloc while rearticulating it with a new social order of the emerging counter-hegemonic bloc.

However, the counter-hegemonic change often accompanies the process of ‘co-optation of oppositions or *trasformismo*’ (Gramsci, 1929) where potential leaders or key organisations of subaltern social groups are co-opted into dominant projects without changing the hegemonic substance. Such co-optation by hegemonic power serves to forestall the formation of the counter-hegemonic bloc and prevent the growth of civil society towards more socially inclusive and sustainable paths. Under this insidious co-optation, the civil society is seen as both a hegemonic and a counter-hegemonic force. This means that the civil society is ‘dialectically where the existing hegemonic social order is maintained but also the realm of social creativity, where a new social order can emerge’ (Katz, 2006, p.335). In this context, the civil society actors tend to consent to the dominant classes and function to secure the acquiescence of the dominated classes. The outcome is that people are made to feel a sense of empowerment, sovereignty, and even democracy, but in reality, they are lacking all of these.

Despite their limited role, as Gramsci (1929) argues, the civil society actors still serve to form a counter-hegemonic bloc by forging ‘horizontal alliances’ with wider social forces seeking to build a broad network structure against the hegemonic historical bloc. The horizontal alliances include bottom-up organisations such as community-based organisations, trade unions, civil right groups, and professional associations. The growth of the horizontal alliances in the civil society renders the power dynamics between hegemony and counter-hegemony both unpredictable and replete with possibilities of domination, subordination, resistance, and emancipation beyond a fixed power relationship. After all, the civil society actors in the horizontal alliances contribute to a counter-hegemonic change, which is a highly delicate balancing act between co-optation and subversion. Gramsci’s concept of the civil society has had a large influence on the formation of modern civil society in the global South, such as Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as Europe (Lewis, 2001a).

In Korea, the modern concept of civil society emerged in the context of resistance to the authoritarian regime in the 1960s. However, the early civil society was hardly an associational culture and had little revolutionary potential. This is because there remained a lingering hegemony of ‘Confucianism’ underpinning the social, cultural, and political structure in Korea (Weiming, 1989; Schmitter, 1997; Bidet, 2002; Kim and Jeong, 2017). Confucianism is a system of thought and behaviour that is oriented towards homogeneity and uniformity of society in which individuals prioritise their duties over their rights. It is thus fundamentally anti-rights and anti-individualism in nature. Confucianism also sees the state in familial terms. The Confucian conception of the state as *guo-jia* 國家 (state-as-family) implies that the state has its model in the family. That is, the state is placed in a continuum of family-like social structure, while the state and family are considered similar or analogous.

In this Confucian value system, the intermediate sphere between the state and family is often invisible or indistinguishable. The reason is that Confucian values barely encourage new kinds of ‘associational life’ or ‘condition of necessity’ by keeping all the demands inside the familial sphere (Bidet, 2002). Instead, the Confucian values give greater prominence to the duty of elites to take care of others rather than the right of individuals to build up associational power or initiatives beyond the familial sphere (Cho, 1997). In this regard, it is likely that the civil society in Korea has evolved under a long-lasting Confucian hegemony with the ‘literati or elites’ rather than grassroots or lower classes.

In this unique context, Korea has experienced a change in its civil society organisations in the last decades. This change can be summarised by four representative types of civil society organisation: government-circled organisations, faith-based organisations, *minjung* (people) movement organisations, and *simin* (citizens) movement organisations (Cho, 1998; Kim and Jung, 2000; Yu and Kim, 2001; Kim, 2011). Despite being under the same Confucian hegemony, these organisations each have different roots and distinct value orientations that have informed the nature of the intermediary sector in Korea. In this sense, the following section shows a brief exploration of different civil society organisations that emerged from the developmental to the post-developmental period in Korea.

2.4.2. Civil Society Organisations in the Developmental Period.

During the authoritarian regime of Korea, the civil society organisations were strictly controlled and repressed by the state. In 1961, Park's regime introduced a new national Act called the *Social Organisations Registration Law*, which distinguishes between the legal and illegal civil society organisations. Based on this new Act, pro-government organisations were legally recognised, while anti-government organisations were not. The authoritarian regime promoted and mobilised the legally-recognised forms of the so-called 'government-circled organisations' to undermine the anti-government organisations (Kim, 2011; Kim and Jeong, 2017). Government-circled organisations include, for example, the Federation of Korean Industries, the Korea Employers' Federation, and the Korea Saemaul Undong Association. Such civil society organisations could hardly have grown as autonomous associations. The reason is that their leaders were not selected through democratic elections, but chosen by the state. Furthermore, their management was also largely monitored and guided by the state. In exchange for limited autonomy, the government-circled organisations could secure stable financial resources from the state to maintain themselves. Accordingly, the relationship between the state and the organisations could not be mutual, but rather was hierarchical, giving rise to a master-servant relationship.

The second type of civil society organisation is the 'faith-based organisation' rooted in the post-war foreign aid groups. After the Korean war (1950-53), international NGOs contributed to the reconstruction of society through the provision of social welfare in Korea (Kim, 2008). This included such organisations as the Church World Service, the Catholic Relief Service, the Christian Children's Fund, the Holt Adoption Agency, and World Vision. These foreign aid groups provided social services such as orphan care, homeless shelters and medical supplies in the immediate post-war period. Entering the authoritarian regime, it was hard for the foreign aid groups to freely carry out their missions. This caused the withdrawal of many foreign aid groups and transferred their roles to domestic faith-based philanthropic organisations in the 1970s (Korean Association of Voluntary Agencies, 1995; Chung, 2003). These faith-based organisations were legally recognised, but politically neutral social groups. Hence, compared to the

government-circled organisations, they were less associated with the state power as well as being fewer in number.

The third type of civil society organisation is the '*minjung* (people's) movement organisation', which originated from radical social groups outside the law. In pursuit of political democracy, a number of *minjung* movements, meaning anti-government protests by subordinate classes such as a pro-democracy movement, emerged during the authoritarian regime. The *minjung* movements resulted from increased social injustices caused by the state-controlled economic structure. In this period, even social policies served as a tool to support national economic growth. For example, in 1964, health insurance only covered regular workers in big companies or factories with 500 or more employees, accounting for less than 10% of the national population (Deyo, 1992). The remainder were excluded from social protection and exploited for economic growth. That is, the social policies rather contributed to widening social inequalities by improving economic efficiency during the authoritarian regime (Holliday, 2000). This situation served as the basis for the subordinate people to participate in *minjung* movements, leading to the growth of the *minjung* movement organisations.

What should be noted here is that the *minjung* movement organisations were often led by progressive intellectuals. There were two main intellectual groups in the *minjung* movements: progressive clergymen and university students (Kim, 2011). As aforementioned, faith-based organisations were generally neutral, apolitical philanthropic social groups. However, the deepening social injustice motivated some progressive clergymen to organise groups for the *minjung* movements. The emergence of the unofficial network known as the Catholic Priests' Group for Justice in 1974 is a case in point. University students also forged other groups of progressive intellectuals. They began anti-government movements by creating internal seminar groups that provided workers, peasants, and poor people with knowledge such as labour laws and social theories. In pursuit of democratisation of the state, the intellectual groups devoted themselves to enlightening the underprivileged. Their efforts contributed to mounting and expanding the range of the *minjung* movements: labour movements, peasants' movements, and anti-poverty movements (Kim, 2011). Such *minjung* movement organisations served as a counter-hegemonic bloc in civil society, competing against the

government-circled organisations. Yet the bloc still remained outside the law while being led by dissident intellectuals rather than by subordinate people themselves.

2.4.3. Growth of Civil Society Organisations after the Developmental Period

Since Korea's transition to democracy in 1987, its civil society organisations have undergone significant change. Many pro-government organisations incrementally became independent from the state while most anti-government organisations gained legal status and national recognition (Kim and Jeong, 2017). There was also the rise of a new strand of civil society groups along with the fall of the authoritarian regime (Bae, 2017). Indeed, the pre-1987 *minjung* movement organisations focused on the radical issue of political democratisation by workers, peasants, and poor people. However, little attention was paid to a broader range of issues such as anti-corruption, consumer protection, gender equality, climate change, and international peace.

Since the 1990s, new types of social movements, the so-called *simin* (citizens') movements, have emerged to address such diverse social issues beyond the political democratisation. Compared to the *minjung* movement organisations, the *simin* movement organisations were identified as groups with 'rights-bearing and rights-claiming citizens' operating within the law (Kim, 2011). The Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice (founded in 1989), the Korea Federation of Environmental Movement (founded in 1993), the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (founded in 1994), the Korean Solidarity for LGBT Human Rights (founded in 1997), and the Citizens' Action Network (founded in 1999) are cases in point. The emergence of the new groups represented a change in the characteristics of Korea's civil society organisations from a pro-democracy camp towards 'an advocacy group, identifying new issues, supporting new causes, and developing and proposing practical solutions' (Bae and Kim, 2013, p.267).

Such *simin* movement organisations blossomed when the previous *Social Organisations Registration Law* was abolished and the new *Civil Social Organisations Notification Law* was introduced in 1994. The new law streamlined the registration procedure for new civil society organisations without state permission and thereby facilitated their foundation. This led to an increase in the number of new civil society organisation in the 1990s, as shown in the figure below (KoFID, 2011).

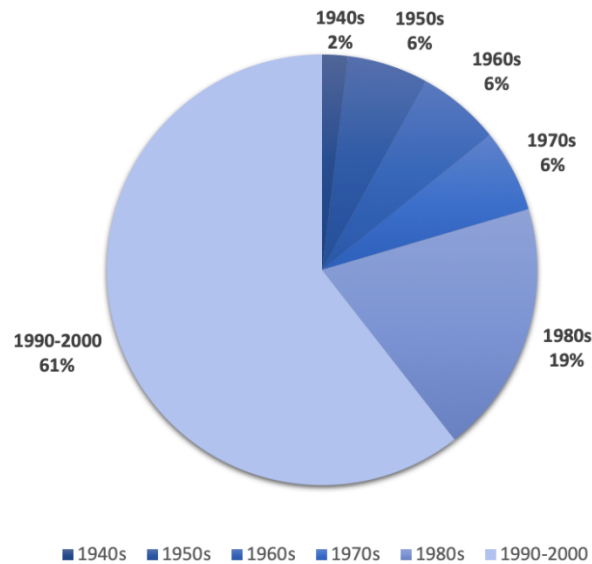


Figure 3. Decennial proportion of the number of civil society organisations founded from 1940 to 2000.
Source: KoFID (2011), edited by author.

This shows that Korea experienced a dramatic development in its civil society organisations between the 1990s and the 2000s as it witnessed its rapid economic growth between the 1960s and the 1980s. At the core of the new civil society organisations were ‘middle-class intellectuals’ such as journalists, teachers, social workers, lawyers, and doctors (Kim, 2011). They were distinct from the ‘intellectual activists’ such as dissident clergymen and university students who devoted their lives to the *minjung* movements. The middle-class intellectuals were less radical than the previous intellectual activists. They tended to participate in a variety of *simin* movements as fee-paying members or volunteers rather than as professional activists. These new actors gradually increased in number and became critical partners of political parties to devise new public policies (Bae and Kim, 2013). That is, the new *simin* movement organisations could gain more political power while being invited to public policy decision-making as advisory committees.

This trend was more pronounced along with the introduction of the *Non-profit Organisation Aid Law* in 2000. By legalising the state to give financial assistance to civil society organisations, the new law provided the basis for more citizens to be able to join civic activities related to their everyday life (Bae and Kim, 2013). Such change was accelerated by supplementary legislation such as the *Framework Act on Volunteer Service Activities* in 2006, the *Social Enterprise Promotion Act* in 2007, and the *Act on the Assistance to Korean 4-H Activities* in 2008. In this new legal framework, the civil society organisations were able to grow, with public financial assistance and increased membership.

However, ironically, such legislation caused the heavy dependence of civil society organisations on state funds (Kim and Jeong, 2017). For many civil society organisations, these state funds had been a key resource for their annual budgets since their birth. A survey in 2012 reported that state funds covered a quarter of their budget on average (Park, 2012), but it seems that this figure was over fifty per cent for small-medium sized groups, which comprise the majority of civil society organisations in Korea (*ibid.*). One thing to note here is that the state remained in charge of the distribution of the funds. That is, each organisation had to undergo an annual assessment against the state's standards to maintain its funds for the next year. This enabled the state to selectively channel their funds on a basis of their preference. Accordingly, it is likely that the civil society organisations would accept the state interventions without criticism. In this regard, the *simin* movement organisations have often been questioned about their autonomy or neutrality despite having expanded their scope and enhanced their membership.

2.4.4. Intermediaries Emerging in the Post-Developmental Period

Entering the progressive regime of President Kim (1998-2003) and Roh (2003-2007), the state established two key national goals: decentralisation of central power and improvement of citizen participation in administration (Bae, 2017; Kim and Jeong, 2017). To achieve these goals, the state created internal intermediary organisations and assigned them the new task of progressive service provision at the front line. This meant that national efforts were made to institutionalise the function of civil society organisations by creating new intermediary positions within government institutions. The important point is that such institutionalised intermediary positions were mainly taken by those from

civil society organisations (Kim and Jeong, 2017). In other words, the state tended to incorporate the experienced progressive intellectuals or activists into its administrative apparatuses to plan and provide new progressive public services. This unique approach gave rise to the emergence of a new breed of intermediary organisations dedicated to assisting the state to fulfil its progressive agenda while working between the state and citizens. The diagram below shows the relative positioning of the new intermediary organisations in the changing context of civil society that has informed the changing nature of the intermediary sector in Korea.

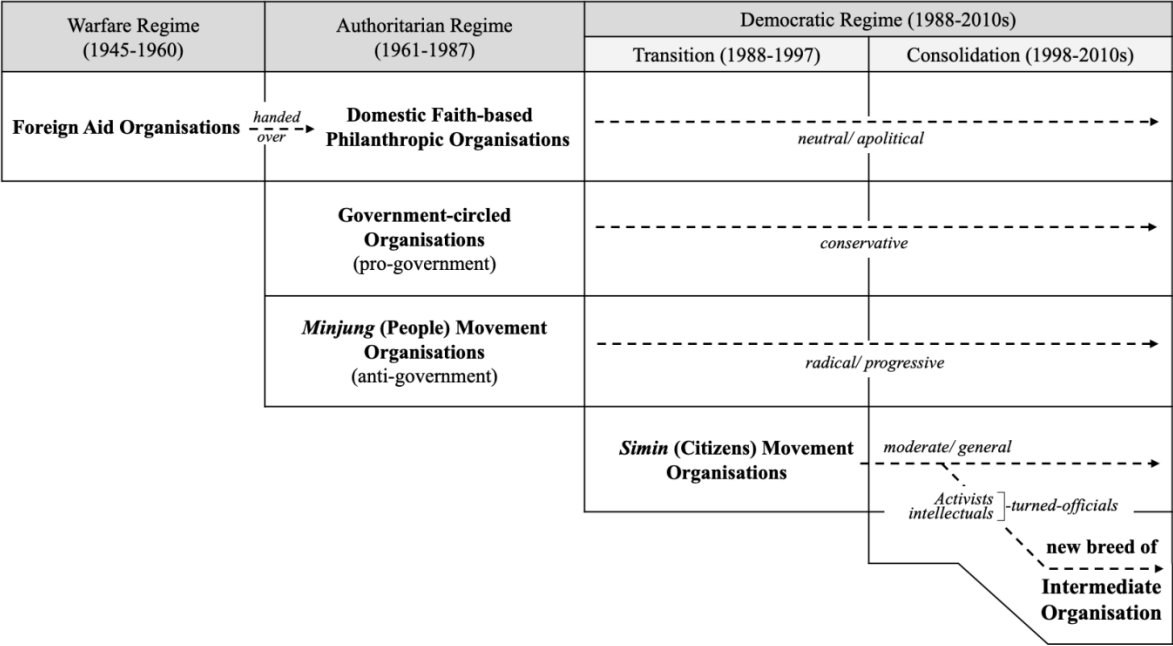


Figure 4. A summary of historical change in civil society organisations in Korea.
Source: Kim (2011), Bae and Kim (2013) and Kim and Jeong (2017).

In the above diagram, the new breed of intermediary organisations refers to a group of intellectuals (or activists)-turned-officials who came from a moderate group of *simin* (citizens) movement organisations. That is to say, these new intermediaries are situated between government and civil society, while their roles are transformed from external advisory committees to internal working groups for progressive national goals. In this context, the new intermediaries are positioned as semi-public institutions where former intellectuals or activists cooperate with government to provide progressive public services. This particular institutional approach to intermediaries can often be observed in multiple local authorities whose leaders were from progressive political parties in the 2010s. The Seongbuk community building support centre in 2011, the Suwon village renaissance

centre in 2011, the Seoul community support centre in 2012, and the Incheon village support centre in 2013 are cases in point.

Despite such growing popularity, introduction of the new intermediaries was at the discretion of local authorities because there were no nationwide standards, for example, for the establishment or roles of the intermediaries in planning. In 2013, a basic framework for the new intermediaries was developed at the national level with the introduction of the new UR Act. By stipulating establishment of the intermediaries in URP zones, the UR Act obligated local authorities to create intermediary positions in their administration and, accordingly, promoted the spread of so-called urban regeneration support centres across the country. According to an official count, the number of urban regeneration support centres dramatically increased from 9 in 2014 to 176 in 2018 (Jung, 2019). Seoul alone established 22 new centres where about 190 activists (intellectuals)-turned-officials were hired (Jin, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018b). Such urban regeneration support centres have a function similar to that of the previous community/village support centres. Yet they tend to put additional focus on regeneration of the physical environment as well as revitalisation of communal activities. That is, it is seen that the urban regeneration support centres serve to expand the scope of a new breed of intermediary organisations dealing with a broader range of tasks, from neighbourhood planning to building construction.

To put that into perspective, the growth of the new intermediaries is seen as a signal of a post-developmental turn in the intermediary sector in Korea. This means that intermediaries are no longer a subject of pro- versus anti-government entities, as they were in the developmental period. Instead, they are recognised as semi-public institutions that can help government to achieve its progressive goals of decentralisation of central power and improvement of citizen participation in planning. Looking at the above long history of the intermediary sector in Korea, the government's progressive approach to intermediaries can be considered as a reflection of the past struggles of *minjung* or *simin* movement organisations. That is, institutionalisation of intermediary positions within government organisations was a huge and unprecedented step towards a participatory planning system for inclusive urban development. In this regard, the growth of the new

intermediaries represents a significant transition towards more participatory and inclusive urban governance building in the post-developmental context in Korea.

Despite such growth and prominence, the new intermediary organisations remain less flexible in their practices due to their total dependence on public funds. Unlike other civil society groups, these intermediary organisations are not allowed to fundraise or run for-profit activities or businesses. They must maintain themselves with financial resources only from the public sector. As noted above, this is because they are not legally independent organisations, but rather, semi-public institutions that have to follow the regulations in force at government organisations. Hence, under these circumstances, the new intermediary organisations have greater responsibility, but are given less power to fulfil this responsibility. In this respect, the new intermediary organisations can be understood as progressive internal agencies within traditional institutions and practices, which are formed through the ‘co-optation of oppositions’ (Gramsci, 1929).

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has briefly explored the historical context of urban development and the intermediary sector in Korea. The first section compared the urbanisation between the West and the East, and, through this comparison, clarified the distinctive characteristics in the East. The urbanisation in the East was framed within three distinctive periods: the post-colonial (developmental urbanisation), the post-Asian financial crisis (neo-developmental urbanisation), and the post-developmental period (post-developmental urbanisation). Drawing on this periodic frame, the following section provided a historical exploration of urban development in Korea with a detailed explanation of representative urban development programmes. These include the Joint Redevelopment Programme in the 1980s, the medium-rise apartment reconstruction policy in the 1990s, the New Town Programme in the 2000s, and the Urban Regeneration Programme in the 2010s.

In the second half of this chapter, the focus was to trace and characterise the intermediary sector in Korea. For this, a comparative exploration of civil society between the West and the East was outlined. This comparison served to foreground the nature of Korea’s civil society, which has evolved under the strong influence of the state and the long-lasting Confucian hegemony. Then, the ways in which different intermediary organisations have

emerged and grown in Korea's civil society from the developmental to the post-developmental period were explored. These include government-circled organisations, faith-based organisations, *minjung* (people's) movement organisations, *simin* (citizens') movement organisations, and a new breed of intermediary organisations. Particular attention was paid to the new breed of intermediary organisations dealing with a wider range of tasks as semi-public institutions, consisting of intellectuals (or activists)-turned-officials, who mainly came from *simin* (citizens') movement organisations.

By doing this, Chapter 2 provided a backdrop for a more nuanced approach to the post-developmental urbanism in Korea, where community-based urban regeneration has gained prominence while intermediary-led participation has become popularised. With this in mind, the next chapter presents the conceptual framework of this thesis to reify and correlate three key ideas of communities, governance, and networks that emerge in intermediary-led participation in the regeneration of Korea, unpinning its post-developmental urbanism.

Chapter 3.

Conceptualising Communities, Governance, and Networks in the Post-developmental Context

3.1. Introduction.

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to provide a conceptual framework of intermediary-led participation for data analysis and interpretation in the following chapters. For this, it reviews the existing literature in the fields of communities, governance, and networks in the post-developmental context. This chapter comprises three main sections and one summary section. In the first section, communities in intermediary-led participation are conceptualised by exploring the concepts of community of practice (Wenger, 1998), right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968) and urban citizenship (Purcell, 2003) in Korea's urbanisation context. The second section conceptualises governance in intermediary-led participation by reviewing the concepts of meta-governance (Jessop, 2004), the multistage participation ladder (Arnstein, 1969) and nonlinear involvement transformation (Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg, 1994) in Korea's post-political context. This is followed by a conceptualisation of networks in intermediary-led participation. For this, the third section explores the concepts of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001; Woolcock, 2001), structural holes (Burt, 2000), and structural hole spanners (Lou and Tang, 2013; He et al., 2016) and provides a conceptual basis for the social network structure in Korea's recent urban regeneration context. Then, this chapter concludes by summarising how such conceptual approaches can be used for data analysis and interpretation in the following chapters.

3.2. Communities as Urban Practice for Change.

This section provides a conceptual basis to identify the nature of communities in intermediary-led participation. It begins with a conceptual comparison of two perspectives on the city: the city as a growth machine and the city for social mobilisation. Drawing on the latter perspective, it explores a civic group that builds 'communicative rationality' and generates 'communicative action' (Habermas, 1984), which is called 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998). This is followed by exploring the intellectual underpinning of community of practice, including the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968),

differential space (Lefebvre, 1974), and urban citizenship (Purcell, 2003). Then, this section ends by placing such conceptual exploration in Korea's post-developmental context.

3.2.1. Urban Communities as Communities of Practice.

There are two distinctive ways to understand cities as a source of 'economic growth' versus a basis for 'social mobilisation'. On one hand, cities are seen as a 'growth machine' or 'growth engine' serving to centrally manage economic growth and efficiently promote national development (Molotch, 1976; Logan and Molotch, 1987). On the other hand, cities are also considered as an 'arena of social mobilisation' through which grassroots can challenge central power and encourage their collective power to reshape where they live (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1968; Harvey, 2003; Purcell, 2003).

In East Asia, authoritarian regimes used cities as 'growth machines' by controlling urban development to support rapid national economic growth. In the authoritarian context, industrial elites were engaged in the developmental process while subordinate groups were overlooked, as their contribution to economic growth was considered insignificant. This caused uneven distribution of economic benefits, leading to social problems such as poverty, discrimination, displacement, or eviction in cities. Meanwhile, since the end of the authoritarian regimes, growing attention has been paid to 'social inclusion' in many East Asian cities. This does not simply mean giving more people more access to economic resources, goods, or services in cities. It contains a broader process of trying to increase opportunities for more people to participate in decision-making in diverse areas of urban life and thereby to improve their autonomy in the process of their neighbourhood improvement. This concept of social inclusion has gained academic prominence with the emerging idea of 'progressive cities' across East Asia (Douglass, 2016; Cho, 2017; Cabannes, Douglass and Padawangi, 2018; Douglass, Garbaye and Ho, 2019).

In their book *The Rise of Progressive Cities East and West*, Douglass, Garbaye and Ho (2019) advocate that various approaches to participatory planning systems have increasingly emerged in cities such as Jakarta, Singapore, Chengdu, Taipei, and Seoul, while the local and national governments have taken a progressive stand on their urban policies. By describing them as progressive cities, the authors argue that the East Asian cities are not solely directed towards economic or material benefits but actively pursue

social values by placing citizens in the centre of the participatory planning system. This calls for a reconceptualisation of the recent East Asian urbanisation that goes beyond economic and material aspects of ‘development’ and encompasses other important social elements of ‘human flourishing’ (Douglass, 2016; Cabannes, Douglass and Padawangi, 2018).

Human flourishing is defined as a fundamental human right to the ‘full development of intellectual, physical and spiritual potentials in the context of wider communities’ (Friedmann, 2000, p466). Human flourishing often contrasts with human happiness. While happiness indicates a state of individualistic satisfaction, human flourishing contains ‘the idea of a process, of both a personal project and a goal for humanity’ (Triglav Circle, 2005). In this interpretation, human flourishing is about well-being that can be realised through interactions and engagement with others in a society, not in isolation from it. Hence, it is seen as a collaborative expression of citizens’ capabilities and aspirations for alternative ways to construct cities as theatres of social action (Cabannes, Douglass and Padawangi, 2018). Prioritising human flourishing over economic growth is a central concept underpinning the post-developmental urbanism in East Asia.

However, in reality, the growth of human flourishing in East Asia often involves the contestation of hegemony and counter-hegemony within new institutional configurations in the shadow of the state (Lam-Knott, Connolly and Ho, 2019). That is to say, the progressive cities discourse in East Asia is being shaped and reshaped by hegemonic as well as counter-hegemonic forces while the concept of human flourishing becomes institutionalised. Progressive causes such as collaboration, participation, and inclusion have undergone the process of co-optation or *trasformismo* (Gramsci, 1929), which serves to maintain the existing hegemonic social order by absorbing progressive ideas within the established hegemonic bloc. The result is that counter-hegemonic forces in progressive cities tend to retain hegemonic elements or to be partially co-opted into the state agenda through funding ties and institutionalisation, which in turn neutralises counter-hegemonic dissents.

What should be noted here is that the lines between hegemony and counter-hegemony in progressive cities are not clear but flexible. Predominantly hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces continue to change and adapt to sustain progressive urban reform over time. In the process, the co-opted counter-hegemonic forces form the basis for expanding horizontal alliances with wider progressive social forces across the boundaries between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic blocs. This means that there is room for co-optation to transcend cycles of bureaucratisation, professionalisation, and institutionalisation of progressive social forces. Understanding the co-optation as a stepping-stone to transform the dominant policy system, the progressive cities discourse provides a framework through which to see the world where the relationship between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic blocs 'is constantly being constructed and contested, and is never a static reflection of an alliance of social class forces' (Morton, 2007, p.97). In this light, the recent institutional changes in East Asian cities can be seen as a signal for creating an alternative city-making pathway between opposition and adaptation to the dominant system for progressive urban futures.

In Korea, since the 2010s, progressive institutional change has been made to nurture the human flourishing by formulating a new policy framework for community-based urban regeneration in a post-developmental context (Ahn, Wi and Yoo, 2016; Cho, 2017; Cho and Križnik, 2017; An et al., 2018). The national and mayoral URP is a case in point. In this new policy framework, the state considers a 'community' as a unit to mobilise residents and engage them in urban regeneration processes. It should be noted, however, that a community here is more than just a group of residents living in the same place. It is a group of people who 'share an interest in a certain domain of human endeavour and engage in a process of collective learning that creates bonds between them' (Wenger, 2001, p.2). In this respect, central to the community in the new framework is the element of 'learning', which values collaboration, pragmatic problem-solving and shared goals.

Learning can be conceptualised in two distinctive ways: learning as a product versus learning as a process (Beckett, 2005). Learning as a product refers to the acquisition of facts, skills or methods produced through scientific evidence or explanation. Hence, this view emphasises a safe delivery of universal knowledge by qualified instructors and a quantitative increase in learners' knowledge. From this viewpoint, the aim of the learning

is to gain ‘explicit knowledge’, referring to the know-what that is coded, articulated, and conveyed in certain media (Collins, 2010). On the other hand, learning can also be approached as a ‘process by which behaviour changes as a result of experience’ (Merriam and Caffarella, 1991, p.124). In this approach, learning is not a discrete instance of knowledge acquisition but a continuing process of learners’ participation in making sense of thoughts, feelings or experiences by interacting with each other. Thus, it is a process of accumulating and sharing locally oriented interpretations rather than delivering and acquiring universal knowledge. In this respect, central to the learning as a process is the ‘tacit knowledge’ signifying the know-how that is stored and transferred in the form of memories, experiences, and practices among learners (Collins, 2010).

Understanding of learning as a process foregrounds collective knowledge construction and perhaps resonates with what Habermas (1984) terms ‘communicative action’. Communicative action is cooperative action in ‘the deliberative process where two or more individuals interact and coordinate their actions based upon agreed interpretations of the situation’ (*ibid.*, p86). Habermas (1984) argues that communicative action takes place based on its own rationality: that is, ‘communicative rationality’. Communicative rationality is distinct from instrumental and normative rationality due to its ability to concern the intersubjective (or social) world as well as the objective world (or facts) (*ibid.*). This means that communicative rationality is grounded on self-reflexive dialogues in which a certain group of people interpret the world in their own way through their mutual interactions.

Hence, communicative action is an inherently consensual form of social coordination where individuals construct their own rational worldview with their shared pool of memories, knowledge, and information (Bohman and Regh, 2017). In this perspective, communication here is a process of investigating the ‘reason’ inscribed in everyday communicative practices by ‘achieving, sustaining and reviewing consensus – and indeed a consensus that rests on the intersubjective recognition of criticisable validity claims’ (Habermas, 1984, p.17). This unique approach to communication shifts the focus in our concept of rationality from the individual to the social. This conceptual shift is fundamental to understanding the community generating communicative

action, which is linked to what is referred to as ‘community of practice’ (Wenger, 1998).

The community of practice (hereafter CoP) is ‘a group of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly’ (Wenger, McDermott and Snyder, 2002, p4). In this sense, a CoP can be seen as a unit of generating communicative action by fabricating communicative rationality through mutual interaction. In their book *Cultivating Communities of Practice*, Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002, p.27) understand that a CoP is characterised by a unique combination of the following three elements: ‘a *domain* of knowledge, which defines a set of issues; a *community* of people who care about this domain; and the shared *practice* that they are developing to be effective in their domain’.

Firstly, a *domain* is a shared sphere of interest, competence, and commitment that differentiates members from non-members and outlines boundaries between them. The shared *domain* ranges widely from small matters such as personal hobbies to broader issues such as environmental protection. When well defined, the *domain* creates a common ground and inspires members to participate by giving meaning to their participation. This serves as the foundation of the collective identity of the CoP. Secondly, a *community* is shaped by the sharing of information and the interaction among members on the shared *domain*. For members, *community* is a social structure that facilitates their mutual learning and enables their collective knowledge formation. Hence, *community* here serves as a frame to create a social fabric of learning and thereby form their collective identity. Lastly, a *practice* is a set of shared repertoires of resources that include ideas, experience, stories, skills, information, and ways of problem-solving. While the *domain* provides the general area of interest for *community*, ‘the *practice* is the specific knowledge the community develops, shares, and maintains’ (Wenger, McDermott and Snyder, 2002, p.29). In essence, thus, the *practice* is a shared history of learning that informs the development of the collective identity of a CoP over time. Simply put, when the three elements work well together, a CoP can establish its own rationality and develop its own identity by optimising the creation and dissemination of its own knowledge and actions. In this regard, a CoP is considered as a learning community of which the collective identity is transformed in its own historical context of learning.

Given this, it is worth a close look at the temporal dynamics of CoP to gain a better understanding of the transformative aspect of its collective identity. Wenger (1998) captures the temporal dynamics by splitting its development process into five stages: potential, coalescing, active, dispersed, and memorable.

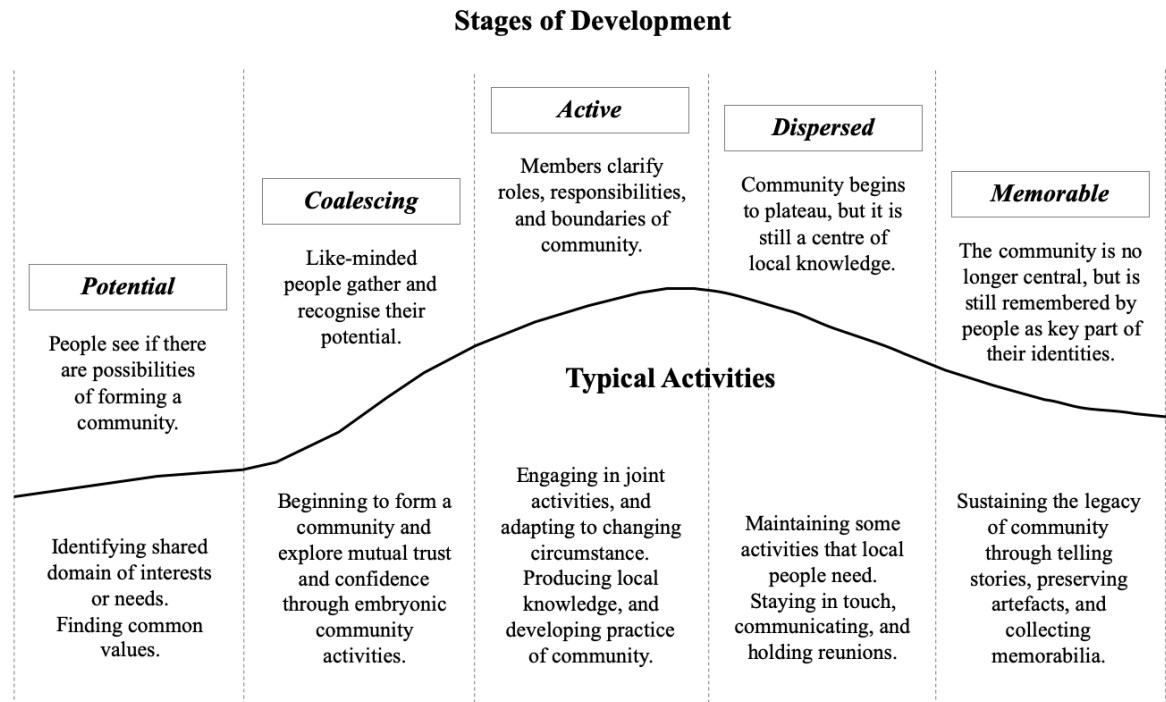


Figure 5. Five developmental stage of community of practice.
Source: Wenger (1998) and Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002).

In the *potential* stage, people with similar issues gather and see if there is a chance of forging a community. They identify a shared domain of interests or needs that are enough for them to feel connected and find common values. In the *coalescing* stage, like-minded people gather together again and begin simple activities that promote mutual trust and confidence, leading to the establishment of a good rapport. Such initial activities are significant, as they provide grounds for local people to find meanings for their participation as community members. In the *active* stage, the focus is to develop the collective identity and capability of the community. That is, the *active* stage is a time when the community refines its role, responsibility, and boundary. Progress is made while the community members repeat shared practices, create artefacts and adapt to changing

circumstances. This is a very busy and important stage where the collective capability of the community is built up by storing its collective knowledge.

Entering the *dispersed* stage, the community begins to plateau. Some active members step down from leading positions. Instead, other members collectively maintain the practices they need. The members no longer engage very intensively but the community is still alive as a force and a centre of knowledge. In the *memorable* stage, the community undergoes dissolution or revival while old members leave or new members come in. Some members leave the community when it is no longer useful or pertinent to them. On the other hand, new people come in and renew the shared domain. As a result, the community is put on a path back to a new growth stage or towards closure. Regardless of its death or rebirth, however, the old community is still remembered as a key part of the local identity through stories, artefacts, and memorabilia that continuously inspire people to participate in the future.

This concept of CoP is useful for a temporal and historical understanding of the intermediary-led participation in the post-developmental context in Korea. In other words, the CoP can serve as a conceptual lens through which to see how a community in the URP emerges, grows, declines, or revives in Korea's new urban regeneration framework. However, one thing to note here is that the community in the URP is transformed through the intervention of intermediaries in the state apparatuses rather than through self-initiation. This suggests that the temporal scale should be calibrated rather than simply adopting the above stages. For example, in the beginning, a community in the URP may bring attention to the state's goals and organise the goal-oriented initiatives. As it grows, the community may have an extensive membership where some are against the state's goal orientation while others are supportive. This implies that the intermediary-led participation inherently contains a 'counter-hegemonic power', which influences the development process of community in the URP. If so, then what generates and sustains the counter-hegemonic power in the intermediary-led participation? What does such power mean for community-based urban regeneration in the post-developmental context in Korea? At the core of the counter-hegemonic power are perhaps a group of willing hearts of community members seeking to promote a genuine 'human flourishing'

(Friedmann, 2000) in their neighbourhoods: this can be linked to what Lefebvre (1968) refers to as the 'right to the city'.

3.2.2. Community Right to Participation for City-Making.

When seeing cities as an arena of social mobilisation, prominence is given to community right to participate, supposedly overlooked in the past (neo-) developmental urban change. That is, the post-developmental understanding of cities foregrounds a right of no exclusion of the urban community from qualities and benefits of urban life. Such participatory approach to cities is not a new idea. It has been widely argued by many urban thinkers (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1968; Douglass and Friedmann, 1998; Harvey, 2003; Purcell, 2003; Marcuse, 2009). Henri Lefebvre is one of those who stress and reflect on the aspects of civic participation in urban change, particularly from a socio-spatial point of view.

In his book *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1974) traces the history of production of space from natural space to more complex space as a product of social relations. In the historical analysis, there are three distinctive modes of production of space: *absolute space*, *abstract space* and *differential space*. First, *absolute space* derives from the space of ancient civilisations. It emerges through consecration of fragments of agro-pastoral spaces such as mountaintops, groves, and riversides. These consecrated sites have socially significant symbolic buildings such as cathedrals, courthouses, and schools for rites and ceremonial practices. Such symbols and practices provide a basis for *absolute space* in which class society emerges and a clear division is made between urban (central) and rural (peripheral) areas. *Absolute space* is, therefore, religious and political in nature. Diverse social forces which occupy this space are condensed by the religious and political power but evolving within indigenous, tribal, and peasant communities. In this sense, *absolute space* can be seen not only as a production of religious and political value but also as 'a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language' (Lefebvre, 1974, p.48) that retain the social value of space.

Abstract space emerges along with the advent of capitalism, which prioritises the exchange value over the use value of space. Central to production of *abstract space* is, thus, rational, logical, and capitalist approach to development of space. This approach

reduces or eliminates social value in *absolute space* by adding an abstract value of space, such as size, location and profit. This spatial turnover puts the symbolic, religious, political and familial mode of *absolute space* on a path towards fragmentation, homogenisation, and hierarchisation, which are outlined by Lefebvre as three key features of *abstract space*.

Fragmentation is the most common feature of the spatial organisation of contemporary society. It is manifested through processes of breaking space into discrete units that can be commodified and traded. These fragmented units are rendered equivalent through the application of exchange criteria to space. Thus, although each unit takes different forms in space, 'it simply has homogeneity as its goal, its orientation, its lens' (Lefebvre, 1974, p.90). In this logic, the exchange value system plays a pivotal role in diminishing or even excluding alternative spatial uses, which ends up leading to homogenisation of space. This capitalist production of space tends to go through a process of imposing hierarchical order on the 'irrationality' of the existing social value of previous space (Lefebvre, 1974). In this process, spaces are fragmented in a hierarchical order determined by powerful actors equipped with financial and regulatory instruments that affect or control the uses of space. Accordingly, social value in *absolute space* is, via capitalist logic, losing out to the value of exchangeability, profitability, and instrumentality in *abstract space*. That is to say, while being fragmented, homogenised, and hierarchised, *abstract space* becomes the spatial foundation for the powerful actors such as the state 'to create a homogeneous society and to exploit and control existing differences' (Wilson, 2013, p.369) in cities.

In Korea, the *abstract space* is evident in the neo-developmental urbanisation where low-rise residential areas were, via speculative logic, turned into high-rise apartment *danjis*. For example, NTP zones underwent wholesale destruction of old houses that removed pre-existing differences in their neighbourhoods. Hence, it is likely that the NTP zones could become the areas where the commodity value of space is maximised while the social value is underestimated. In this sense, *abstract space* is a useful concept for the better understanding of, particularly, the production of space in the neo-developmental context in Korea.

Meanwhile, Lefebvre points out that there is an inherent ‘contradiction’ in the production of *abstract space*. The contradiction is the spatial expression of what Marx (1867) sees as conflict between productive forces and relations of production. Lefebvre (1974) exemplifies this point with capitalist spatial contradictions between the centre and the periphery; dominated space and appropriated space; conceived space and lived space. Central to the spatial contradiction in *abstract space* is the concept of ‘collective struggles’ over spatial uses in daily life practices. This means that *abstract space* evolves in everyday life, in which the marginalised groups are inherently challenging, confronting or resisting the powerful actors with dominance over uses of space. Lefebvre deciphers such challenge, confrontation, or resistance as growing pains in the change from abstract space to different modes of space. In other words, for him, the contradiction in *abstract space* is a point that creates the potential for alternative space. Lefebvre (1974) captures this alternative mode of space with the concept of what he terms *differential space*.

In his historical analysis of space, *differential space* emerges at the cracks and the interstices of *abstract space* where spatial contradictions deepen. It takes shape outside of the exchange value system of measurable and quantifiable standards. Instead, it is filled with alternative values such as trust, consensus, belonging, participation, and cooperation in everyday life practices. This alternative approach to spatial production is oriented against homogeneity, fragmenting, and hierarchy, and towards particularity, connectivity, and inclusivity of space. Accordingly, compared to *abstract space*, the production of *differential space* requires active participation of a wider range of urban actors. This means that while it is only the powerful elites that can exert dominant influence over the production of *abstract space*, it is the collective power of the powerless that enables the production of *differential space*. Therefore, *differential space* is a space of appropriation rather than domination, as it is produced through the collective and inclusive participatory processes. In other words, it is seen as a spatial product as a consequence of the restoration and inclusion of social value in the everyday life practices of ordinary people. Simply put, Lefebvre’s historical analysis offers a critical look at the production of urban space in the transition from pre-capitalist ‘*absolute space*’ (sacred space) to capitalist ‘*abstract space*’ (space of exchange value) but with the potential for the emergence of post-capitalist ‘*differential space*’ (space of use value).

In Korea, there have recently emerged new types of urban spaces *differently produced* by the associational power of the powerless in the new urban regeneration framework. Community gardens, community cafés, community galleries, and children's playgrounds in the URP are a case in point. Compared to the NTP, such new spaces in the URP are more likely to mobilise existing community participation through which to preserve or promote the social value of previous spaces. In this sense, *differential space* is a useful abstraction to illustrate the concept of the societal production of space in the post-developmental urbanism in Korea.

To put that into perspective, such post-developmental understanding of space as a product of social interactions is linked to what is referred to as *claimed space* (Gaventa, 2004, 2006). In the book *Participation: From tyranny to transformation*, Gaventa (2004) suggests a continuum of three distinctive types of spaces, namely invited, closed and claimed space. *Invited space* is a new space emerging in institutional settings in which a local community is invited by the state to participate in the decision-making process about the production of new urban spaces (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2004). Participatory urban policies, such as the URP, often prompt the generation of *invited space* by promoting a collaborative partnership between the state and the community. Hence, in *invited space*, the relationship between the inviters (the state) and the invitees (the community) is not oppositional but rather reciprocal. Although initiated by a state policy, *invited space* grows through community participation, localising the spatial production process and management. Hence, *invited space* is not fixed but fluid, and serves to create a basic spatial condition for further local participation.

As *invited space* grows, it is put on two distinctive evolutionary paths: towards *closed space* or *claimed space*. *Invited space* tends to evolve into *closed space* when decision-making is made by few actors behind closed doors (Gaventa, 2004). In *closed space*, there is little or no effort to broaden community membership or to reduce state bureaucracy. Under these circumstances, it is likely that community participation will become tokenistic while the state will remain dominant in the production process of new urban spaces. Accordingly, the decision-making right to new spatial production is eventually returned to the inviter, namely the state, while *invited space* turns into *closed space*.

Meanwhile, *claimed space* emerges when *invited space* is used and managed by more diverse membership in an autonomous way (Gaventa, 2004). That is, at the core of *claimed space* are organisational diversity and collective capacity, enabling community members to autonomously and independently manage the spatial production process. In *claimed space*, community members often establish local initiatives, such as social cooperatives, to address 'real tensions that arise between short-term and long-term solutions, between inclusiveness and effectiveness, between struggle and negotiation' in new spatial production (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007, p.22). Such community-based initiatives serve to promote more authentic local participation activated by what the community demands rather than what the state puts forward. This means that *claimed space* develops as a third space where local people reject hegemonic spaces and create spaces for themselves (Soja, 1996). In this regard, *claimed space* is neither made nor controlled by the powerful. Instead, it is *differently produced* by the powerless beyond the arenas of institutionalised participation.

But what enables *invited space* to transform into *claimed* or *differential space* beyond dominant hegemony? Lefebvre (1974) argues that central to the transformation is a shared right to think and act differently: the *right to difference*. The idea of *right to difference* is not about each particular individual's claim to receive an equal distribution of spatial resources. Lefebvre understands that it is a right not to be identified in simple categories established by a homogenising power to flatten-out spatial diversity. The *right to difference*, according to Lefebvre, is essentially a protest against socio-spatial exclusion from pre-defined social norms and pre-established spatial politics. Lefebvre extends and generalises such idea of *right to difference* at the territorial level of city: that is, the *right to the city*.

Right to the city refers not only to a right to access what already exists in the city but also to a right to change it (Harvey, 2003). This means that the *right to the city* is not merely an individual liberty to access the resources that the city embodies. Rather, it implies a collective right to change the ways the city grows and develops. That is to say, the *right to the city* is about the ability to exercise 'a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation' (Harvey, 2008, p.23). Such *right to the city* is outside the scope of traditional human rights such as individual life, freedom and equality, which are legally defined at

the national level. Instead, it is more like a social force to sustain communal life and interests collectively identified at the local level. Key to this idea, thus, are collectivity, sociality, and locality rather than individuality, legality and nationality.

Such particular understanding of the *right to the city* offers a fresh perspective on the traditional notion of nation-state citizenship. This is well-captured with the novel idea of *urban citizenship* (Purcell, 2003; Blokland et al., 2015). *Urban citizenship* is the status of being a member of a certain group with full *right to the city*. This means that inhabitation, not nationality, forms the basis for *urban citizenship* because ‘the *right to the city* is neither a natural nor a contractual right, but is grounded in the entitlement to physically occupy urban space’ (Lefebvre, 1968, p.194). In this perspective, citizenship is no longer only a notion of political community ‘nested’ in a nation state. Rather, it embraces an idea of associational membership enabling urban inhabitants to generate and exercise collective power to reshape the process of urbanisation in their neighbourhood. Such new approach to citizenship gives rise to new ‘power relations that underlie the production of space, fundamentally shifting control away from capital and the state and toward urban inhabitants’ (Purcell, 2002, p.101–102). In this regard, *urban citizenship* is understood as alternative membership with its own communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984) serving to produce differential or claimed spaces (Lefebvre, 1974; Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2004) at the level of local polity.

Entering the twenty-first century, such locally-oriented ideas of the *right to the city* and *urban citizenship* have gained global prominence in practice beyond theory (Habitat International Coalition, 2010; Nations, 2017). For instance, the *right to the city* has been increasingly adopted as a key idea in many mayoral policy packages, city charters, and global compacts across the world. It is evident in a series of symbolic declarations, such as Brazil’s City Statute in 2001, the World Charter for the Right to the City in 2005, the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities in 2006, the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City in 2010, and the Habitat New Urban Agenda in 2016 (United Nations, 2017).

In Korea, the nature of the *right to the city* has evolved in the changing context of urbanisation from the developmental to the post-developmental period. This evolving

nature of the *right to the city* is well captured in the history of subordinate classes challenging the speculative urban accumulation regime while pursuing a community-based participatory regime. It can be successively identified as the right to subsistence, the right to housing, the right to settlements and the right to city-making (Kim, 2017; Shin, 2018). In the developmental period, the state introduced new urban programmes such as the JRP to redevelop substandard neighbourhoods in Seoul. In the JRP, only property owners were offered new housing provision or other alternative compensation. On the contrary, tenants were excluded from the compensation process and, accordingly, forced to be evicted from their homes. In response, a group of tenants organised protests against the exploitation of their life spaces and the destruction of their lives. This means that the concept of *right to the city* was first manifested through the claim of ‘right to subsistence’ which centred on prevention of immediate eviction of the tenants and a guarantee of minimum conditions for their residential life in the developmental urban processes. The persistent claim of the right to subsistence gave rise to the creation of tactical strategies such as governmental provision of alternative relocation housing, albeit temporarily.

In the neo-developmental period, the prevalence of speculative redevelopment resulted in the expansion of brutal and forced eviction. As the potential evictee group increased in size, their protests against the alliance of the state, developers, and property owners became more organised. The potential evictees demanded more planned approaches to their alternative residence beyond the past tactical strategies. In this context, new policies were introduced to provide the evictees with alternative compensation such as living costs for three months or tenancy in public rental housing (Kim et al., 1996). As the new compensation measures settled in, the right to subsistence evolved into the ‘right to housing’, which focused on the right to have a home to live in, regardless of house ownership. This means that housing began to be considered as part of basic human rights and constitutional rights. In this transition of right claim, the legal system for general housing welfare for the urban poor was improved, while the National Coalition for Housing Rights was established in 1990 (KOCER, 1998). Considering this point, this transition is understood as a process of institutionalising the right claim by creating a new policy framework that can support the urban poor to acquire the right to have a home to live in.

After the 1997 Asian financial crisis, large-scale infrastructures or housing projects such as the NTP were promoted to facilitate capital accumulation and revive the domestic economy hit by the crisis. Against the large-scale redevelopment, the claim of right to housing was transformed into a 'right to settlement', which placed housing in a wider context of neighbourhood that encompasses multiple dimensions of habitation. This means that the right claim was no longer confined to an individual housing unit but was expanded to human settlements where the concept of local community emerged for liveable neighbourhoods. Such right to settlement experienced further transformation through the Yongsan tragedy, where small business tenants died in the midst of the protests against the forced eviction and the limited legal compensation in 2009 (Shin, 2018). That is to say, the right to settlement became broader in scope by encompassing demands from business tenants as well as housing tenants against the hegemony of private property rights and the limited compensation regime.

In the post-developmental period, the right to settlement continues to serve to create and sustain a counter-hegemonic power in ongoing redevelopment areas. However, at the same time, a new form of right claim is also observed in cancelled redevelopment areas where speculative profit gain is relatively low. After the 2008 global financial crisis hit Korea's property market, new opportunities for state-led or market-driven large-scale redevelopment were reduced. In this context, the undeveloped areas were confronted with further deprivation and the state was devoted to finding alternatives for those areas. After piloting a series of incremental measures, a new policy framework was introduced by enacting the national UR Act in 2013 and enforcing the subsequent URP in 2014 to improve the living environment in the deprived areas (Jang, 2018). In principle, in the URP, residents can participate in the process of planning, implementing, and evaluating small-medium sized projects for their neighbourhood improvement regardless of house ownership. In other words, the residents are given the 'right to city-making' while taking part in the URP process. Unlike the previous right claims, the right to city-making was not obtained as a result of protests against forced eviction or the limited legal compensation. Instead, it resulted from a combination of the residents' demand for a solution for the deprivation of their neighbourhood and the state's desire for an alternative model for the redevelopment of unprofitable deprived areas. Nonetheless, like the previous right claims, the right to city-making also puts its focus on a 'spatially grounded

social process' (Harvey, 1989) that places people, not profit, at its centre. That is to say, despite its emergence from a different branch, the right to city-making still shares common roots in terms of its orientation towards a community-based participatory regime.

In particular, this idea of the right to city-making has become a focal point of planning for deprived neighbourhoods since the progressive leadership of Seoul Mayor Park and President Moon came into power in 2011 and 2017 respectively. For example, by stressing a new mayoral motto – 'citizens are mayors' – Park's administration introduced a series of policy packages that institutionalise the right to city-making, such as the abandoned space reuse programme in 2015, the mayoral urban regeneration programme in 2016, and the citizen participatory budgeting programme in 2017 (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2017). Such emerging policy framework represents a post-developmental turn in the urban right claim where the idea of 'urban citizenship' (Purcell, 2003) comes to the fore, while 'communicative action' (Habermas, 1984) gains prominence in the city-making process.

However, this post-developmental turn does not simply mean a general change in the policy framework that promotes CoP and its right to city-making. It implies a structural change in the power mechanism underlying this policy framework by which a CoP is fostered and its right to city-making is expanded. In other words, understanding the post-developmental turn requires a more nuanced approach to power dynamics emerging in intermediary-led participation. This suggests that there is a strong need to shift our focus to governance of community participation that evolves through intermediary intervention in the urban regeneration of Korea. In this sense, the following section conceptualises power dynamics in intermediary-led participation by exploring multi-layered, multi-stage and non-linear concept of governance.

3.3. Governance as a Sorting and Evolving Platform for Inclusion

This section provides a conceptual basis for analysing power dynamics emerging in intermediary-led participation in the urban regeneration of Korea. It begins with a conceptual comparison of two perspectives on power: zero-sum power and positive-sum power. Drawing on the positive-sum power perspective (Clegg, 1989), the first half of this section explores the conceptual shift from government to governance, in which new

partnerships are formed while power dynamics are restructured (Rosenau, 1995; Stoker, 1998). Particular attention is paid to multi-level partnership, called meta-governance, where a government steers decentralised networks by monitoring or assessing those networks rather than directly commanding or controlling them (Jessop, 2004). In the second half of the section, the focus is shifted to transformative aspects of governance to identify how power dynamics and tensions emerge and evolve in reality. For this, it reviews the multi-stage concept of Arnstein's participation ladder (1969) and the non-linear concept of the horizontal spectrum of interaction (Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg, 1994) to frame transformative power mechanisms underlying the intermediary-led participation emerging in urban regeneration of Korea.

3.3.1. Multi-level Governance and Post-Political Trap.

The word 'power' can be generally interpreted in two different ways: zero-sum and positive-sum power. On the one hand, power is pre-determined by those in authority, such as the state or its bureaucratic apparatuses (Power, 1994). In this logic, power is finite and zero-sum in its nature, meaning that if someone gains power, someone else must lose it. Hence, power in the zero-sum situation is inequitably distributed or dominated by those in authority. On the other hand, some scholars argue that power is infinite and positive-sum (Clegg, 1989; Wrong, 1995; Haugaard, 2012). For them, power flows freely around different groups rather than being possessed by a certain group. That is, power is expanded as it is shared. Hence, this approach rejects the view of power as a zero-sum game by expanding the concept of authority from the hierarchical bureaucratic context to the everyday life context, including citizens' authority. Simply put, in the zero-sum perspective, those who are powerful in one area tend to be powerful in another. But, in the positive-sum perspective, power is not seen as domination. This means that people with more power in one area are not necessarily powerful in another, and they all have a chance of being heard at some point.

Such contrasting views of power serve as the basis to better understand power dynamics in the concept of the 'shift from government to governance' (Rosenau, 1995; Rhodes, 1996; Stoker, 1998; Kooiman, 2003). What does governance mean and how does it relate to power? The answer to this question could start from a good grasp of the distinction between government and governance. Government is an 'instrument' of the state that

carries out its will, purposes and objectives (Stoker, 1998). Accordingly, it is conceptually seen as a 'body' to manage the power or policy of the state. On the other hand, governance is a 'structure' or 'mechanism' in which such power or policy is managed (Rosenau, 1995). As a structure, governance represents an architecture of institutions that are drawn from but are also beyond government. This is evident in the fact that non-governmental institutions such as voluntary groups and private sector organisations are key components of the structure. As a mechanism, governance entails a new set of principles, rules, and norms that generate a process to include a wider range of actors. Hence, it has a specific function of the steering incorporation of both formal and informal actors into decision-making processes. In other words, governance 'embraces governmental institutions, but it also subsumes informal, non-governmental mechanisms whereby those persons and organisations within its purview move ahead, satisfy needs, and fulfil their wants' (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992, p.4).

In the governance perspective, therefore, government is not the only power centre of the state. Rather, government can transfer its once exclusive power to other actors in a new governance framework. That is, the power of government is shared, while governance embraces formal (governmental) but also informal (non-governmental) institutions within its structure and mechanism. Through this power-sharing process, accordingly, a single actor, public or private, no longer exclusively dominates knowledge, overview, information, or resources (Kooiman, 1993). Such approach to governance shifts the concept of power from a zero-sum to a non-zero-sum or positive-sum context where power flows and grows in partnerships. This gives rise to a conceptual shift 'from fixed ideas of power being rooted in the institution of the state to more fluid ideas of power that is shared, developed and negotiated between partners, with the potential for dynamic, interactive social learning amongst autonomous but interdependent agencies' (Taylor, 2011, p.148).

This way of viewing power represents a shift from a government to a governance paradigm. While power is shared, sectoral boundaries between the state, the market, and citizens are often mixed or rearranged. It is seen as a process of redefining the traditional roles that each sector has had. At the core of this process is 'reconfiguration of relationships and responsibilities, encompassing complex alliances of actors and

networks across permeable institutional boundaries and an expanded vision of public domain' (Cornwall, 2004, p.1). This implies that a variety of partnerships emerge in the governance paradigm. In such partnerships, government tends to change its role from controlling to enabling, and from rowing to steering power mechanisms. In this sense, a rise of governance signifies 'a change in the meaning of government, referring to new processes of governing; or changed conditions of ordered rule; or new methods by which society is governed (Rhodes, 1996, p.652).

However, as argued by Sullivan *et al.* (2004), the shift towards governance does not necessarily mean that the power of government declines. Despite some loss of direct command and control, government still has indirect impacts on power mechanisms by establishing and enforcing new rules for a new governance. That is to say, government remains influential in the formation and transformation of power relations in the new governance, while acting as an accessor which examines each step in the shift towards the governance. Michael Power (1994, 2003) understands the modern society with such governance as an 'audit society' where government becomes an auditor, with others being auditees. In his book *The Audit Explosion*, Power (1994) argues that we live in an audit society and face an audit explosion in everyday life. This includes 'environmental audits, value for money audits, management audits, quality audits, forensic audits, data audits, intellectual property audits, medical audits and many others besides' (*ibid.*, p.299). In this audit explosion, auditors do not simply implement neutral acts of verification, but design rules which auditees have to observe and assess their performance against the rules. Hence, as an auditor, government could maintain an upper hand in the context of the paradigm shift from government to governance by using audits as efficient technologies of checking and assurance.

In the audit society, governance serves as a multi-level platform where government can control actors on different levels, albeit remotely, through the managerial instruments of accounting, budgetary constraints, and quality assurance. The multi-level platform is well captured in the concept of meta-governance: that is, governing of governance in the shadow of hierarchy (Jessop, 2002, 2003, 2004). Meta-governance refers to a multi-layered partnership in which 'governments steer decentralised networks by indirectly shaping the rules and norms of those networks (Bailey and Wood, 2017, p.966).

According to Jessop (2004, p.53), meta-governance has power dynamics that are resistant to 'top-down internal management and/or direct external control and that co-evolve with other (complex) sets of social relations with which their various decisions, operations, and aims are reciprocally interdependent'. Government here no longer has absolute power. Instead, it acts as an auditor to monitor governance performance or as a court of appeal in the event of governance failure. That is to say, government in meta-governance has no direct controls over all levels but makes indirect interventions across them without 'reverting to traditional statist styles of government in terms of bureaucratic rule making and imperative command' (Torfing et al., 2012, p.122). As a result, 'at different levels, actions are constrained by broader framing actions. Ambition at the lowest levels may be frustrated, leaving individuals and communities feeling powerless, and in the shadow of different bureaucratic structures' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012, p.193). Central to such frustration with constraints is a system of remote power control that enables government to govern other actors at a distance, which forms the basis of meta-governance.

This concept of meta-governance is well explained in the context of post-politics. Whereas politics broadly refers to the production and circulation of antagonistic dynamics between individuals or groups (Mouffe, 2005), post-politics stands for the absence and negation of such contentious relations in technocratic society (Ranciere, Panagia and Bowlby, 2001; Swyngedouw, 2009). That is, post-politics describes the contemporary politics that neutralises potential tensions by depoliticising decision-making processes through technologies of expert administration and management. In this logic, while traditional politics offers a space to express dissensus or discontent, post-politics, on the contrary, emphasises 'democratic inclusion of all, thereby suturing the totality of the social and precluding the rise of the political moment' (Swyngedouw, 2009, p.609). This means that post-politics is seen as 'consensual politics' that replaces antagonism with consensus. In consensual politics, conflict has not been removed, but it is instead more carefully managed or otherwise residualised by centralising an assumedly neutral scientific technocracy, meaning that 'there exist neither internal social tensions nor internal generative conflicts. Instead, the enemy is always externalised and objectified' while technocrats serve as judges in consensual politics (Swyngedouw, 2009, p.612). Accordingly, the emphasis is placed on technocratic discretion, preventing rationalisation of dissent and promoting consensus-building based on expertise and professionalism.

This discretionary system serves to form ‘post-political governance’, which is used as an instrument of government to establish a reworked state-centred approach, especially in contemporary urban development (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012).

The post-political governance is evident in recent regeneration practices in cities across East Asia and criticised for its inherent ‘post-political trap’ (Tang, Lee and Ng, 2012; Park, 2013; K Kim, 2019; Kim and Cho, 2019; Križnik, Cho and Kim, 2019; Lam-Knott, Connolly and Ho, 2019). The post-political trap stands for the situation where consensus is built within agreements achieved through experts and professionals, while those who posit themselves outside the consensus are excluded from decision-making (Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2014). This means that the consensus-building process could be a trap of relying on monolithic technocracy with an emphasis on expertise and professionalism. In this view, consensus-building is no longer a process of finding alternatives to the previous developmental or neo-developmental challenges but of rendering fundamental disagreements as apolitical and invisible through the logic of assumedly unbiased experts. Under these circumstances, the ideas of diversity, pluralism, and tolerance are overlooked. To rephrase, the post-political trap serves to marginalise a variety of voices of the dissenting minority against the backdrop of majority consensus and prevent their inclusion in decision-making. This concept of post-political trap is foundational for better understanding the meta-governance structure where decision-making becomes centralised among technocratic bureaucrats while the need for non-expert involvement or input is downplayed.

In Korean cities, meta-governance has been observed in the process of institutionalising community participation in the recent planning system. In the past developmental period, community participation was regarded as dispensable in the urban development processes. Taking the post-developmental turn, however, community participation has gained institutional attention, resulting in the formation of a multi-level platform serving to facilitate community participation, which represents an emergence of meta-governance. Although this was a huge step towards the creation of participatory governance, the multi-level platform hides a post-political trap hinged on monolithic technocracy. As an auditor, government could influence middle-level actors, such as intermediary organisations, in the multi-level platform by monitoring and evaluating their performance against the

technocratic control standards. As a consequence, low-level actors, such as local communities, are bound to consider the standards that the multi-level actors observe. This situation is analogous with a card game where middle- or low-level actors could neither decide the game that is being played nor determine the rules of play or the system of refereeing; and the cards are stacked in favour of the more powerful players, referring to government and its technocratic apparatuses. Such understanding of meta-governance with a post-political trap raises doubt about its participatory mechanisms where government could remain influential, albeit in less visible ways.

However, what should be noted here is that meta-governance is not firmly fixed, but is designed to evolve in the new institutional framework in Korea. This means that while new urban regeneration is carried out, new governance is transformed with the aim of involving more actors and rebalancing power differentials, albeit in the shadow of hierarchy. In this approach, the underlying assumption is that middle- or low-level actors can become more independent or emancipated from high-level actors while governance is being transformed. This suggests that it is worth a close look at the transformation of governance in Korea's urban regeneration framework. With this in mind, the following section explores the concept of governance with a focus on the multi-stage and non-linear aspects of its transformation.

3.3.2. Multi-stage and Non-linear Transformation of Governance

In URPs, new partnerships are usually initiated through the intervention of intermediaries with state support. However, the partnerships are designed to evolve with change in the state support, which aims to maximise community participation while minimising state intervention. That is, new forms of governance in URPs are officially transformed to create a community-based platform through multi-stage processes. Such transformative aspect of governance is well-explained with Arnstein's (1969) concept of the 'ladder of citizen participation', which identifies different levels of participation at different stages of its development.

In her paper '*A Ladder of Citizen Participation*', Arnstein (1969) proposes a typology of eight levels of citizen participation. From the bottom rungs of the ladder, there are (1) manipulation and (2) therapy. These two rungs represent levels of 'non-participation'

where the citizens are merely placed on nominal advisory committees for the express purpose of educating them. The middle rungs of the ladder are (3) informing, (4) consultation, and (5) placation. These three rungs progress to levels of ‘tokenism’ that allow citizens to have a voice to some extent. At these rungs of the ladder, information flows between public officials and citizens through surveys, hearings, and meetings. However, what citizens achieve is that they have participated in participation, while public officials achieve the evidence that they have undergone the required motion of engaging those people. Although citizens begin to participate in practice, they may remain outnumbered, particularly when their voices are unfavourable from the perspective of public officials: that is, power holders (Brooks and Harris, 2008). The top rungs of the ladder are enabling citizens to negotiate with power holders. This top stage consists of (6) partnership, (7) delegated power, and (8) citizen control. At the rung of partnership, citizens are invited to joint policy boards or planning committees in which power holders share their decision-making responsibilities with citizens for resolving impasses. As the partnership blossoms, citizens enter into the seventh rung of delegated power. At this rung, citizens are granted dominant decision-making authority in a particular plan or programme. At the topmost rung of citizen control, citizens are in full charge of policy and managerial aspects through which they can achieve full power to govern a variety of plans or programmes. Hence, citizens here are regarded as ‘full citizens’ rather than clients or consumers who can cooperate with each other with their own source of finances (Rios, 2008).

As one of the earliest conceptual works, Arnstein’s ladder is useful for summarising the development of community participation in multi-stage processes. However, it has been criticised for its simplification, which reduces the diversity of participatory situations to eight rungs (Bishop and Davis, 2002; Tritter and McCallum, 2006; Collins and Ison, 2009). The critics argue that participation does not necessarily follow a linear or consecutive development route in reality, but evolve in a non-linear or iterative manner through feedback loops. Such critical understanding of the development of community participation has been advocated by practice-based urbanists (Rosener, 1978; Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg, 1994; Jackson, 2001). In their argument, community participation is situated in a flexible feedback loop system beyond Arnstein’s vertical ladder system. In Arnstein’s argument, the lower rungs of participation are seen as

negative, since they are regarded as tokenistic. Hence, the lower rungs are pointless in the sense that participation is meaningless unless real power is given to participants. On the other hand, Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg (1994) suggest that the lower rungs of participation should be seen in a different light. Their argument is that the lower rungs are not always unfavourable or unsuccessful. Rather, each of these rungs has its own functions that are horizontally intertwined rather than vertically graded. The diagram below shows this new approach to the development of community participation with eight linked steps.

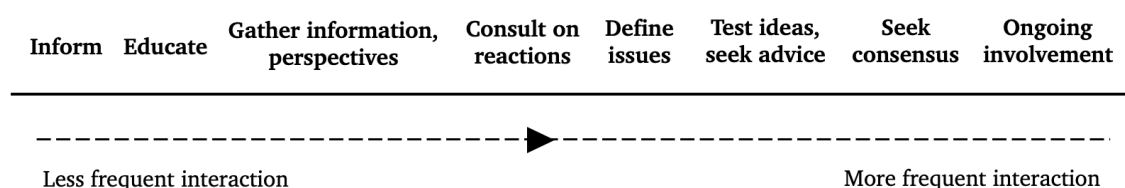


Figure 6. A horizontal spectrum of community interaction with eight steps.
Source: Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg (1994)

In the above horizontal spectrum, community participation is transformed, while the level of community interaction is changed. However, community participation is not necessarily initiated from the 'inform' step. When community members are already informed and educated, it can start from defining local issues and testing ideas in order to reach consensus. Contrariwise, when facing difficulties in the consensus-building step, community participation can go back to the left-hand steps to re-build, such as mutual trust or rapport. The point is that community participation can emerge at any point and evolve in any direction through the horizontal spectrum (Jackson, 2001). From this perspective, it is seen that community participation undergoes a non-linear development process under certain local circumstances. That is to say, community participation is put on a non-linear route to reach more sustainable status depending on locality, rather than only pursuing Arnstein's full citizen control.

Such non-linear approach is useful for better understanding the governance transformation of CoP (Wenger, 1998) in urban regeneration of Korea. As noted earlier, CoP undergoes a change in its collective identity and capability through iterative feedback

loops over five development steps: potential, coalescing, active, dispersed, and memorable. In URP, CoP is informed or educated through gatherings, workshops or seminars in potential step. Entering the coalescing step, like-minded members attempt to establish a shared vision and reach a common consensus. But when such an attempt is unsuccessful, the CoP needs to go back to the previous step and iterate the process. Through the iterative process, then, the CoP may be invited to an active step to develop its collective capability by repeating shared practices and adapting to changing circumstances. But the CoP's activities may begin to plateau or decline towards the end of the URP. With removal or reduction of public funds, the CoP can be faced with the situation where it must redefine its collective identity, role, and responsibility in its neighbourhood. This means that the CoP should iterate the previous processes while going back to an earlier step, such as the coalescing step. At this point, the CoP would undergo a significant organisational change: revival or dissolution. When new members come in and renew their shared domain, the old CoP is put on a path back to rebirth: the potential step. But if considered no longer useful, it should be put on a path towards closure: the memorable step. That is to say, it is seen that CoP here inherently evolves in a non-linear, recursive, and self-referential manner.

This way of viewing CoP helps to understand a change in the power mechanisms of intermediary-led participation in the recent urban regeneration of Korea. However, understanding intermediary-led participation is more than just interpreting its power mechanisms. It must entail a deeper understanding of the 'network mechanisms' underlying the landscape of power in the urban regeneration. This calls for a strong need to expand our focus to the network perspective to see a complex web of inter-personal or organisational relationships and discern the social fabric of intermediary-led participation. In this sense, the following section explores network mechanisms in intermediary-led participation by conceptualising intermediaries and their social network structure.

3.4. Networks through Intermediaries for Brokering Connections

This section provides the conceptual basis to identify the nature of the social network structure of intermediary-led participation in the recent urban regeneration in Korea. In the first half of the section, intermediaries are conceptualised by placing them in a statist-corporatist regime (Lee and Haque, 2008). Attention is paid to levels of state intervention

in the financial structure of intermediaries. Drawing on this conceptualisation, the second half of this section embodies the notion of social network structure, which is formed through the intervention of intermediaries. For this, the concepts of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001; Woolcock, 2001), structural holes (Burt, 2000), and structural hole spanners (Lou and Tang, 2013; He et al., 2016) are explored, linked, and combined as a key conceptual element that constructs the social network structure. Each conceptual approach is developed further in the context of contemporary Korean society.

3.4.1. Intermediaries between Statist and Corporatist Regime

As noted in Chapter 2, intermediary organisations are not a new concept in Korea. They have grown within the civil society that took a democratic turn in the 1990s. Entering the 2000s, the intermediary organisations went through a change in their orientation from merely political democratisation to wider issues such as consumer protection, gender equality, and neighbourhood improvement. As a result, intermediary organisations have been diversified with new purposes and structures. That is, the intermediary sector in Korea has become variegated in the post-developmental turn. For this reason, it is hard to define the current intermediary sector of Korea in a single word. Its definition is open to multiple interpretations. However, it is clear that the intermediary sector belongs neither completely to the public, the private nor the community sector. In other words, it is seen as a distinct sphere, which is formed somewhere outside the state, the market, and communities. Given this, it is worth mapping Korea's intermediary sector onto the Western idea of the 'third sector' (Etzioni, 1973).

The emergence of the third sector was a response to the failure of the state or market in the 1970s in the Western world. In his book *The Third Sector and Domestic Missions*, Etzioni (1973) doubts welfare state expansion as well as market-based welfare. For him, the rationalities of state and market are not in favour of the voluntary or non-profit activities that are foundational for citizens' greater access to improved social services. The modern idea of the third sector emerges as a critical alternative to other sectors' reluctance towards social value investing. Etzioni (1973) demonstrates that the first sector (state) operates in hierarchical chains of command and control, while the second sector (market) works through economic rewards or remuneration. Yet, the third sector relies on neither of those two mechanisms. Instead, it is based on 'the manipulation of symbolic

rewards and deprivations, the power of persuasion and on appeals to shared values and idealism’ (Lewis, 2001b, p.328). Hence, the third sector is oriented to more specific, realistic, and value-driven goals than other sectors, which are rational-driven.

It is, however, worth noting that the third sector does not only mean exclusion from the first and the second world. It also refers to a combination of ‘the best of two worlds, efficiency and expertise from the business world, with public interest, accountability and broader planning from government’ (Etzioni, 1973, p.315). In other words, the third sector exists in a hybrid as well as a separate form between the state and the market. In this regard, the idea of the third sector embraces a wider range of organisations, such as non-governmental, self-governing, charitable, voluntary, but also public-private-community interdisciplinary partnerships. Nonetheless, the nature of the third sector varies from country to country, as each grows in its own social, economic, and political system. It is thus hard to generalise the characteristics of the third sector in the global context. Despite this difficulty, several scholars have attempted to categorise the third sector by grouping different countries (Gidron et al., 1992; Coston, 1998; Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Najam, 2000).

In their paper ‘*Social Origins of Civil Society: Explaining the Nonprofit Sector Cross-Nationally*’, Salamon and Anheier (1998) argue that the third sector has a distinctive nature depending on its ideological regime in different countries: *social democratic*, *liberal*, *corporatist*, and *statist* regimes. The four regimes are defined by two key dimensions: 1) extent of government spending on social welfare, and 2) size of non-profit sector (Table 1).

Table 1. Four types of non-profit regime. Source: Salamon and Anheier (1998)

Government Social Welfare Spending	The Third Sector Scale	
	Low	High
Low	Statist	Liberal
High	Social Democratic	Corporatist

A *social democratic regime* is defined by a high level of social spending and a limited size of third sector. In this regime, the state acts as a main social service provider with a

large state budget, as the third sector is small in size. This means that the third sector has a limited role in social service provision, as the state provides the services directly. Instead, the third sector acts 'as vehicles for the expression of political, social, or even recreational interests' (Salamon and Anheier, 1998, p.229) of citizens while lobbying or pressuring the service provider (the state). This regime is evident in post-war Western countries such as the UK and the USA, which underwent expansion of the welfare state in the 1950s-70s. At the time, the third sector tended to act as a citizen advocacy group rather than a public service provider.

Entering the 1980s, however, Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the USA cut back on social welfare spending. Instead, they encouraged the third sector to step in by filling the gap that was left by government, which was no longer willing to finance and administer welfare programs (Zimmer, 2011). This represents a *liberal regime*, characterised by a low social spending and a relatively large third sector. In this regime, the state is less responsible for both the funding and the delivery of social services, while transferring some responsibilities to the second or third sectors. To be specific, in the liberal regime, the private sector is seen as a key funder or investor for social services, while the third sector is viewed as an alternative service provider. It is, therefore, natural that the liberal regime experiences new forms of partnerships between the public, the private and the third sector for social service provisions. Such liberal third sector regimes can be often found in many modern Western countries where new local partnerships are promoted, while the social assistance of the state is rolled back (Alcock, 2015). In this sense, the social democratic and liberal regimes are foundational for understanding of the third sector's development in the Western world.

Apart the above regimes, there are two additional regimes: the *statist* regime and the *corporatist* regime. These two regimes were undeveloped in the Western world, but were often observed in Eastern countries that experienced a developmental change in their social, economic, and political systems (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Both *statist* and *corporatist regimes* usually emerge in interventionist states, but they differ in the way in which the state treats third sector. First, the *statist regime* is defined by a low level of state social spending and a small third sector. This implies that the state is less interested in social welfare, but puts more focus on rapid economic development. Only a small number

of third sector organisations are officially recognised, while their growth and roles are significantly limited. It was evident in East Asian countries such as Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea under authoritarian control during the 1960s-80s. At that time, third sector organisations were not in a strong position to challenge the hegemonic power of the state.

Taking the democratic turn in the 1980s-90s, however, such countries have experienced a change towards a *corporatist regime*, in which high social spending coexists with a sizeable third sector. This implies that the state has a large budget to fund social services while the third sector grows with the state funds to provide these services. In this regime, the state usually makes an alliance with the third sector and creates a system of ‘state-sponsored welfare provision’ within the alliance. In the *corporatist regime*, therefore, the state and the third sector have an interdependent relationship rather than a conflicting one. However, as it has grown over time, the third sector has become dependent on the state. This means that despite its considerable growth in size, the third sector’s involvement remains at the discretion of the state, which continues to determine social service lists and designate social service providers. In other words, the third sector is under the influence of the state (statist regime) although expanding its organisational and financial size (corporatist regime). This point is well-captured with a hybrid concept of ‘*statist-corporatist regime*’ (Lee, 2005; Lee and Haque, 2008). The *statist-corporatist regime* exists between the statist and the corporatist concept. Underpinning the hybrid regime is a ‘statist element in corporatist relationship’, referring to ‘an active involvement of the state in the regulation and/or financing of various areas of social provision [and] welfare assistance’ (Lee and Haque, 2008, p.103). In the *statist-corporatist regime*, therefore, the state can control the third sector by deciding who will do what and how in social service provision. In this context, it is difficult for the third sector to become autonomous while being asked to follow the state’s principle of subsidiarity. Such a *statist-corporatist regime* is foundational for understanding the current intermediary sector in Korea.

As explained in Chapter 2, there are four types of organisation in the intermediary sector in Korea; government-circled organisations, *minjung* (people’s) movement organisation, *simin* (citizens’) movement organisations, and a new breed of intermediary organisations. Despite their different origins, these intermediary organisations have grown under the

statist-corporatist regime since the democratic turn in the political system in the 1980s. That is, while they have gained institutional attention, the intermediary organisations have been bound by carrot-and-stick policies of the state, such as financial aids and strict regulations on intermediary activities. However, the level of the statist element varies amongst the four intermediary organisations. The level of the statist element can be defined by two main dimensions: 1) the degree of financial dependence on the state; and 2) the duration of the state's financial support. The graph below provides a categorisation of the four distinctive intermediary organisations within combinations of the two dimensions.

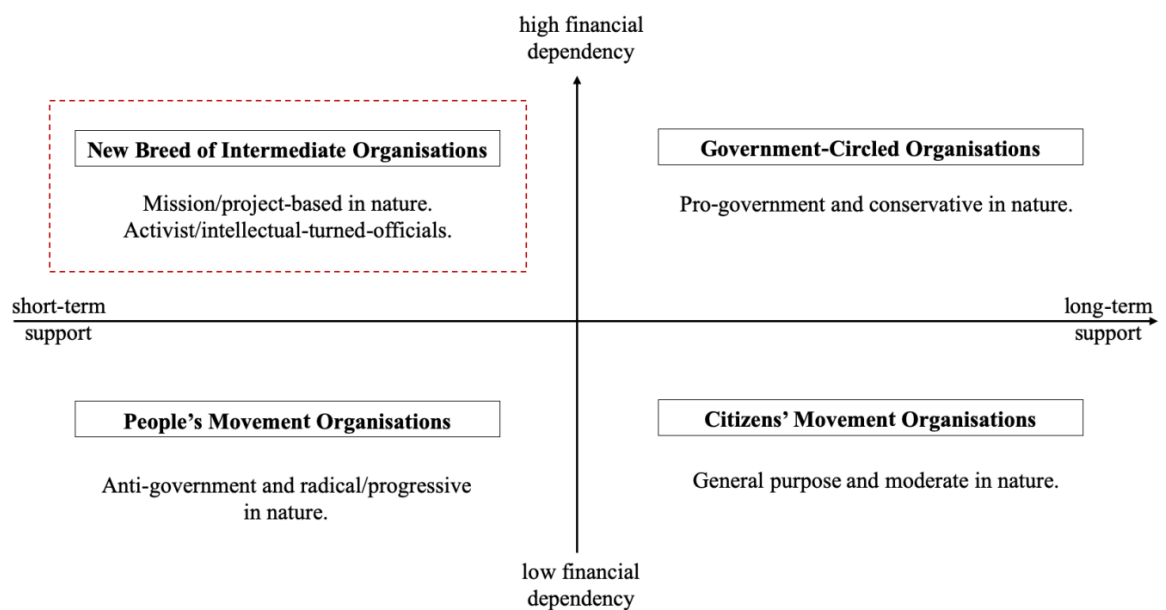


Figure 7. Categorisation of statist-corporatist intermediary sector in Korea (Author made)

According to this graph, government-circled organisations, such as the Korea Freedom Federation, are characterised by a high level of dependence on state finance and long-term state support. This implies that they tend to rely heavily on stable financial support from the state in the long term. Likewise, the *simin* (citizens') movement organisations, such as the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, also receive long-term financial support from the state. However, this financial support is relatively small in scale compared to the government-circled organisations. Instead, they have diverse financial sources such as membership fees and consultant project-based income. On the

other hand, the *minjung* (people's) movement organisations, such as the Community Organisation Network for Education and Training, receive neither sizeable nor stable financial support from the state. Instead, they mainly fund themselves with charitable contributions such as donations from individuals or grants from corporate sponsors. Such alternative funding sources enable them to stay relatively autonomous.

The last group of the new breed of intermediary organisations is radically distinct from the above three groups. These new intermediary organisations, such as urban regeneration support centres, also receive the state's financial support. But it is only given to carry out the state's certain programmes, such as the URP, within a fixed term. Moreover, the new intermediary organisations cannot get donations, grants, or fees except for the state funds, as they are not legally independent organisations but semi-public institutions. That is, they inherently have limited access to available financial resources. Under these circumstances, each intermediary organisation here is formed temporarily and immediately disbanded when a certain programme is completed. This statist-corporatist approach to the intermediary sector provides an insight into the financial structure of the new intermediaries in urban regeneration compared to other types of intermediaries in the post-developmental context in Korea. With this in mind, the next section explores the notion of social network structure, which is formed through intervention of the new intermediaries, by articulating with the concepts of social capital and structural holes.

3.4.2. Social Capital and Structural Holes in Social Network Structure

The social network perspective contrasts with other sociological perspectives that see society as an aggregation of individuals. From the social network perspective, society is perceived as a system of social interactions that occur among individuals or groups (Granovetter, 1983; Scott, 1992; Freeman, 2004). The social network perspective is well-explained with the underlying concept of social capital that informs social interactions. Social capital is often compared with physical and human capital. A classical analysis of capital as physical assets (physical capital) sees capital as tangible, man-made things: roads, buildings and other kinds of infrastructure, as well as labour forces. Another analysis of capital as human assets (human capital) views capital as intangible properties: habits, experience, knowledge, and skills possessed by individuals or groups. Such

analysis provides a certain framework that distinguishes between non-human and human-based concepts of capital.

In this framework, however, little attention is paid to social assets that are formed and developed through interaction among humans. In other words, neither physical nor human capital can accommodate social values based on trust, reciprocity, co-dependency or cooperation. This calls for another type of capital to include social values beyond the binary concept of human and non-human capital. This point has been captured by several scholars with what is called 'social capital' (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). Putnam (1993) makes clear the difference between social capital and human capital by quoting a famous anecdote from David Hume.

If a farmer says 'I will help my neighbour to finish harvesting his crop before it will perish, because I trust him to reciprocate in helping me when my crop will ripen,' this trust is certainly a component of social capital. But, if he says 'I trust monsoon rain will stop before starting to harvest my crop'. This trust represents his belief in the characteristics of nature but not in other persons. As such, it should not be included as a component of social capital. Instead, if his trust in rain stopping reflects his ability to predict rainfall patterns, which is useful knowledge for farm operation acquired through his long experience, it should be counted as a component of human capital in its conventional definition. (Putnam, 1993, p.163)

This cited example provides an insightful point in terms of how social capital is radically different from human capital. A farmer's trust in mutual help grows when farmers share a set of moral values in such a way as to create regular expectations of regular and honest behaviour, while a farmer's trust in rain stopping results from individual experience or knowledge (Fukuyama, 1995). Simply put, social capital is based on mutual exchange, while human capital is grounded on personal acquisition. That is, central to social capital is mutuality, which informs trust, reciprocity, co-dependency or cooperation among humans.

James Samuel Coleman (1990) develops this concept of social capital within the idea of social structure. He defines such social capital by its function. He demonstrates that social

capital is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, ranging from expectation, confidence or solidarity at the micro level to informal norms or conventions at the macro level. All the entities consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Hence, social capital serves to form a social structure where individuals can achieve certain ends, which would otherwise be impossible by themselves, or possible only with great difficulty. In this sense, social capital is seen as a set of social assets that enable individuals to act together more efficiently for shared values.

Following the line of the above thought, Robert David Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000) develops the concept of social capital by analysing socio-economic well-being in American and Italian regions. Putnam describes social capital as ‘features of social life – networks, norms, and trusts – that facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit’ (Putnam, 1995, p67). In particular, he emphasises ‘social trust’ that informs the nature of social interactions among individuals, giving rise to diverse forms of social life across different groups of individuals. Social trust refers to a belief in the honesty, integrity and reliability of others – a faith in people who may not know each other well but interact with each other (Earle and Cvetkovich, 1995; Boslego, 2005). As social trust expands, it becomes ‘trust of a broad fabric of social institutions; ultimately, it becomes a shared set of values, virtues, and expectations within society as a whole’ (Beem, 1999, p.20). That is, social trust can serve to promote shared values among individuals and thereby transform an ‘I’ mentality to a ‘we’ mentality. From this perspective, it may be seen that stronger social trust can generate more benefits in communities. For instance, when a high level of social trust is present, people may benefit from more emotional support, lower crime rates, higher household incomes and intensive community development. However, at the same time, stronger social trust may cause negative consequences, such as exclusion of outsiders and restriction on individual freedoms (Kosonen, 2004). That is, social trust has the two-sided nature of expanding but also strengthening internal social interactions, which can reduce the flexibility of social interactions.

Such two-sided feature of social trust is well-captured with what Putnam terms as *bonding* social capital and *bridging* social capital. Putnam (2000) describes bonding social capital as a horizontal social capital based on connections of individuals ‘within’ a community

characterised by high levels of similarity in attitudes, interests, needs, and available information or resources. Thus, it is often found in a group of individuals with exclusive and homogeneous characteristics such as familial relationships or friendship, who are more inward-looking but less welcoming to new members. In contrast, bridging social capital refers to a horizontal social capital based on relationships between individuals from communities with different social backgrounds such as class, race, ethnicity, gender or education (Putnam, 2000). It is more open-ended, outward-looking, and accordingly welcoming to new members. Thus, bridging social capital mediates between otherwise unrelated groups rather than reinforcing a narrow grouping (Field, 2003). Despite their clear distinction in theory, bonding and bridging capital are often mixed rather than separated in practice. As Putnam (2000) notes, many groups simultaneously bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others. That is, bonding and bridging social capital are not either/or categories where social networks are neatly divided, but more/less dimensions with which we can compare different forms of social capital.

On the other hand, Michael Woolcock (2001) develops a third type of social capital by adding vertical links between groups with different social power: linking social capital. Linking social capital refers to a vertical social capital based on 'trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalised power or authority gradients in society' (Woolcock and Szreter, 2004, p.655). That is, linking social capital exists across explicit vertical power differentials, while the former two types exist within horizontal networks of people. The inclusion of the third type forms a bonding/ bridging/ linking taxonomy. In this triadic taxonomy, linking social capital can be seen as an extension of bridging social capital, generating vertical ties with public bodies, albeit in the existing hierarchy. Unlike the former two types, hence, linking social capital enables people to 'leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions' (Woolcock, 2001, p.13) such as in the form of government or legal systems.

It is worth noting that Neo-Confucian ethics and cultural orientations used to affect the formation of social capital in East Asian societies, prioritising collectivism over larger society (Li, 2007; Sato, 2010). At the same time, affective emotion was valued over the intellectual cognition, while individuals and communities were expected to serve the state rather than their own interests (Lew, 2013; Yang and Horak, 2019). As a result, social

capital tended to feature strong ties, sentimental logic and closed network structures, strengthening bonding rather than bridging social capital. This means that weak social ties were neither preferred nor truly effective compared to strong social ties. The authoritarian regime in Korea tried to instrumentalise such cultural orientations, which rationalised state dominance over the social, economic and intellectual spheres, to overcome its lack of political legitimacy and ‘impose and internalise their logic on civil society’ (Castells, 1992, p.64). For the state, it was crucial to control the civil society to implement its nationalistic economic and political goals, which resulted in brutal oppression of civil society between the 1960s and 1980s. The control and oppression, however, served to provoke strong resistance and the formation of well-organised social movements, which contributed to the fall of the authoritarian regime in 1987. After democratisation, the civil society has seen an expansion of its size and diversification, which affected the formation of social capital, giving more prominence to bridging and lately linking social capital (Koo, 2001; Lee, 2007; Shin, 2018). Yet, in a highly competitive and individualised Korean society, where priority is often given to personal gains over universal egalitarianism, doubts remain as to whether bridging capital has actually been effective (Lew, Choi and Wang, 2011).

The changing relationship between the state and civil society has also affected urban development in Korea. Resistance against urban development was rare until the 1980s, when the urban poor and anti-eviction movements emerged in response to the demolition of deprived neighbourhoods. With the diversification of civil society in the 1990s, social movements expanded their focus to a wider range of urban issues, including community restoration and expansion of local autonomy (Bae and Kim, 2013). During the 2000s, social movements started to collaborate with the state, while the state recognised civil society as an important partner and tried to institutionalise citizen participation in addressing mounting social and economic problems in Korean cities. Citizen participation, however, often remains patchy and tokenistic, as the ties between property owners, investors and the state remain strong in the post-political context where decision making becomes centralised among technocratic bureaucrats (Yoo and Seo, 2013; Cho and Križnik, 2017; Kim and Cho, 2019). In this sense, the recent new urban programmes such as the URP can be seen as an ‘opportunity structure’ (Docherty, Goodlad and Paddison,

2001) to expand bridging and linking social capital through collaboration among citizens and between citizens and the state.

However, as noted earlier, this opportunity structure is formed by the intervention of intermediaries working between the state and citizens. Such intermediary-led opportunity structure is well captured in what Burt (2000) terms ‘structural holes’. A structural hole exists in social networks which lack a direct contact or tie between two or more groups of people. But the structural hole does not mean that people in different groups are unaware of one another. It only means that ‘people are focused on their own activities such that they do not attend to the activities of people in the other group. Holes are buffers, like an insulator in an electric circuit. people on either side of a structural hole circulate in different flows of information’ (Burt, 2000, p.353). Therefore, structural holes are an opportunity to broker the flow of information between people from different groups.

People on either side of a structural hole can gain access to different flows of information through an intermediary actor called a ‘structural hole spanner’ (Lou and Tang, 2013; He et al., 2016). A structural hole spanner has direct access to non-redundant information and flexible control over information flow among otherwise disconnected groups of people. Hence, by filling a structural hole, the structural hole spanner serves to gatekeep or transfer new resources from one group to another. In this conceptual approach, the structural hole is an opportunity structure for cross-boundary interactions, while the structural hole spanner is a broker that makes use of the opportunity structure. To put that into perspective, the structural hole (spanner) and social capital can be conceptually combined and serve to draw a comprehensive social network structure. The diagram below illustrates a conceptual framework of social network structure by articulating social capital and structural holes (spanners).

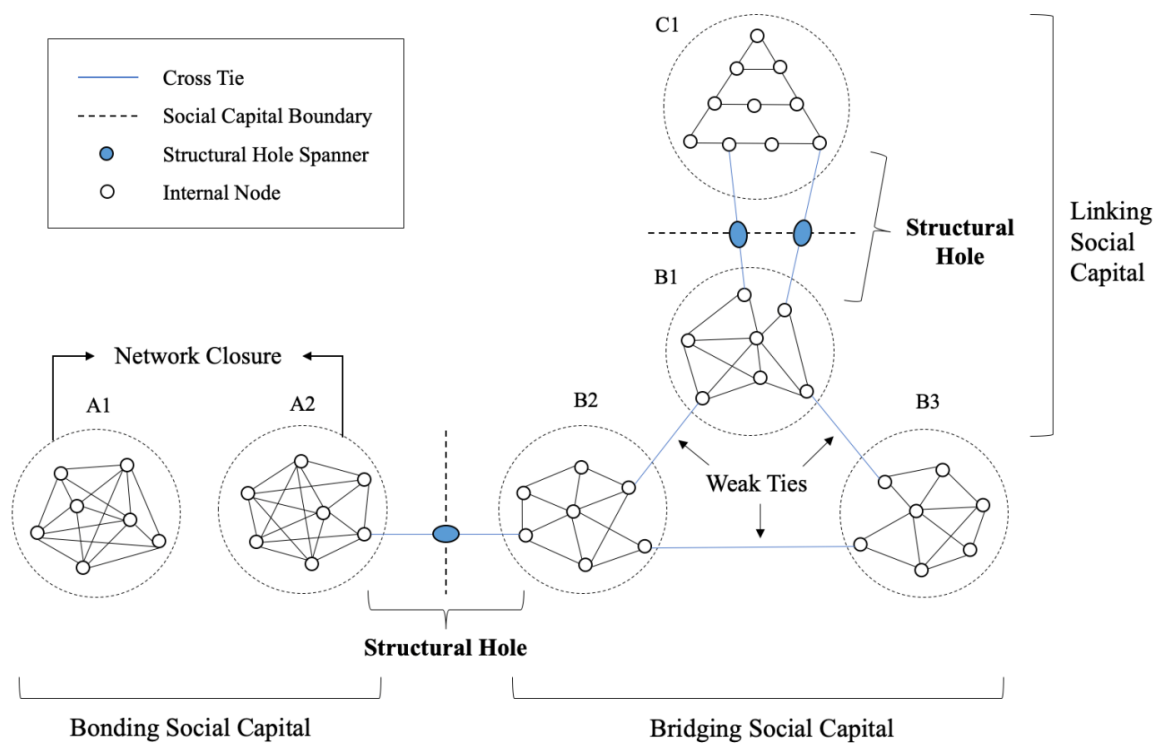


Figure 8. A social network structure with concepts of social capital and structural hole (spanner).
Source: Author made.

In the above diagram, there are six distinctive groups of people (A1-C1) spanning three different types of social capital (bonding/ bridging/ linking). First, there are two groups in the area of bonding social capital: A1 and A2. These groups have dense networks with strong ties among socially homogeneous people; that is, network closure with redundant information benefits. On the other hand, there are three groups titled B1, B2, and B3 in the area of bridging social capital. These three groups have looser networks that are interconnected through weak ties. Such connections are outward-looking and welcoming to new nodes, and thereby expanding their boundaries. Meanwhile, a structural hole spanner (blue node) creates a cross tie (blue-solid line) to connect between A2 and B2, which would otherwise be disconnected. A structural hole is found in this point where A2 tries to cross the boundary (black-dotted line) from the bonding to the bridging social capital area, and thereby articulate with B groups. Another structural hole can be found between B1 and C1 where linking social capital emerges. Structural hole spanners draw cross ties from B1 towards C1. In this process, B groups are allowed to leverage resources,

ideas, and information from C1. Accordingly, the nodes in B groups at the horizontal level can be associated vertically with those in C1. This is seen as a process of formation of linking social capital. Such conceptual approach is useful to trace and analyse intermediary-led (structural hole spanner) development of horizontal or vertical social relationships among participants in the new urban programmes such as the URP in Korea.

For example, one possible scenario is that an urban regeneration support centre in the URP exists in a structural hole between C1 (SMG) and B1 (citizens). In this conceptual context, the urban regeneration support centre belongs to neither C1 nor B1 but serves as a third party to promote cross-boundary interactions between them, leading to the formation of linking social capital. Then, the urban regeneration support centre can expand its role in fostering bridging social capital in group B, which has been overlooked in the highly competitive and individualised Korean society. In addition, it may also perform a role of adjusting the level of bonding social capital in group A, which can ease network closure in it, by encouraging social interactions between groups A and B. To rephrase, the urban regeneration support centre can be seen as a structural hole spanner, serving to promote social values based on trust, reciprocity, co-dependency, and cooperation among heterogeneous groups beyond homogeneous ones. Such particular social network structure is useful for a more systematic understanding of network mechanisms of community participation that evolve through the intervention of new intermediaries. In this thesis, the notions of social capital and structural holes are combined to create a conceptual framework of social network structure and, through it, analyse network mechanisms of intermediary-led participation in regeneration practice in Korea.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has explored three key concepts of communities, governance, and networks that emerge in intermediary-led participation in the recent urban regeneration in Korea. In the first section, the community literature was reviewed to identify the nature of communities in intermediary-led participation. Drawing on the perspective of the city as an arena of social mobilisation (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1968; Harvey, 2003; Purcell, 2003), the concept of ‘community of practice’ (Wenger, 1998) was explored as a local initiative that is transformed in its own historical context of learning while building its

own ‘communicative rationality’ and generating ‘communicative action’ (Habermas, 1984). This was followed by a review of the interrelated concepts of ‘right to the city’ (Lefebvre, 1968) and ‘urban citizenship’ (Purcell, 2003) underpinning the development of CoP. Putting the review into the changing context of urbanisation in Korea, the concept of ‘right to city-making’ was further explored to identify community right to participation in urban regeneration in the post-developmental context. Such conceptual exploration serves as a backdrop for a more nuanced understanding of the nature of communities and their participatory rights, which is foundational for data analysis and interpretation in the following chapters.

The second section conceptualised governance to frame power dynamics in intermediary-led participation. Drawing on the positive-sum power perspective (Clegg, 1989), the first half of this section conceptualised multi-level forms of governance by reviewing ‘meta-governance’ (Jessop, 2004) where power dynamics are devolved while decision-making is decentralised. Situating this in Korea’s post-political context, it further explored the dark side of meta-governance where the hierarchical power structure remains unchanged while decision-making becomes centralised among technocratic apparatuses of government. In the second half of this section, the transformative aspect of governance was conceptualised by reviewing the concepts of multistage participation ladders (Arnstein, 1969) and nonlinear involvement transformation (Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg, 1994) in the context of the development of CoP in urban regeneration in Korea. Such multi-level, multi-stage, and non-linear approach to governance provides a basic framework for analysing governance arrangements and transformation in the empirical chapter.

In the last section, the focus was shifted to the conceptualisation of networks to frame social interactions in intermediary-led participation. In the first half of the section, new intermediaries emerging in urban regeneration were conceptualised in the statist-corporatist regime (Lee and Haque, 2008). Based on the conceptual perception, the second half reviewed the concepts of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001; Woolcock, 2001), structural holes (Burt, 2000), and structural hole spanners (Lou and Tang, 2013; He et al., 2016). This conceptual review was explored in the contemporary context of the highly competitive and individualised Korean society. Then, the three concepts were

combined to create a comprehensive social network structure in Korea's recent urban regeneration framework. Such conceptual exploration provides a conceptual basis for interpreting a variety of social interactions and their network mechanisms in the discussion chapter. With this in mind, the next chapter presents the methodological framework of this thesis to explain how data was collected, analysed, and interpreted in line with the conceptual framework provided in this chapter.

Chapter 4.

Developing the Methodological Framework

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides details on the methodological framework of this research. It consists of two sections: research design and research implementation. The research design section begins by describing the philosophical underpinning to this research, namely social constructivism (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This is followed by a demonstration of the methodological approach of this research: a qualitative and multiple case study approach (Creswell, 1994; Yin, 2003). Then, the section illustrates specific methods for case study data collection and analysis.

In the research implementation section, details on the fieldwork process are presented. First, the rationale for the three case studies is given by elaborating why and how each of the cases were selected and compared. This is followed by an illustration of the data collection process, especially the interviewing process, and potential ethical considerations in the fieldwork. Then, the section finishes with a description of challenges that were encountered in the fieldwork, and the resulting changes that were made to the research design.

4.2. Research Design

4.2.1. Social Constructivist Approach

This research was concerned with the merits and limits of intermediary-led participation and therefore required a methodological approach which could explain intermediary-led participation with reference to its impact on community development in the recent urban regeneration in Korea. There has been extensive literature on the functional aspects of intermediary-led participation. Yet, there has been a lack of focus on its social aspects in terms of experiences, interactions and memories underlying intermediary-led participation in reality. To elucidate such social aspects, this research has drawn on social constructivist epistemology, which views knowledge and truth as created by the interactions of individuals within a society (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Schwandt, 2003; Andrew, 2012). This means that in this research, knowledge and truth were considered as

being socially constructed rather than being discovered, while individuals make meanings through the interactions with each other and with the environment in which they live (Amineh and Asl, 2015). Accordingly, greater prominence was given to ‘subjective reality’ derived from experiences, interactions, and memories in everyday life, rather than ‘objective reality’ in the physical world (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; O’Connell, 2000). Such subjective reality was especially useful for this research, as it could help to fully and freely describe social aspects of intermediary-led participation beyond its functional aspects. In this sense, this research took social constructivism as its philosophical basis for identifying what ‘actually’ happens in the intermediary-led participation and explaining how it ‘actually’ contributes to the recent urban regeneration in Korea.

4.2.2. Qualitative Case Study Methodology

In this research, a qualitative methodology was adopted to capture the subjective reality created during intermediary-led participation. According to Patton (1990, p.1), qualitative methodology aims to ‘understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and their interactions there’. This means that it attempts to ‘understand the nature of that setting – what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what’s going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting’ (*ibid.*). As pointed out by Creswell (1994), qualitative methodology thus makes use of an inductive process of collecting empirical data and interpreting hidden meanings from those data. For this research, qualitative methodology was more appropriate than quantitative methodology, as the research sought to collect and analyse experiences, interactions, and memories of participants in intermediary-led participation. To put that into perspective, this research applied qualitative methodology to interpret knowledge and truth socially constructed in the urban regeneration process in Korea.

This qualitative methodology was combined with a case study approach by placing the research in real-life settings. Case studies differ from other research approaches such as experiments in that the latter deliberately divorce a phenomenon from its context by controlling the context in laboratory settings. As Yin (2003, p.13) argues, a case study is ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in-depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident’. This means that case study is a research strategy

to generate an in-depth and multi-faceted understanding of complex issues in their real-life settings. That is, it allows consideration of context-specific causal links in real world interventions that may be too complex for survey or experimental approaches (Platt, 1992; Yin, 2003). Hence, case study is preferred when research questions take the form of ‘how’ or ‘why’. In this sense, for this research, a case study approach was adopted to see ‘how’ intermediary-led participation (phenomenon) actually contributes to Korea’s recent community-based urban regeneration (context).

However, it is worth noting that there are different types of intermediary-led participation cases depending on different sources of funding, such as central government funding, regional government funding and self-funding. This leads to the assumption that the different sources of funding would serve to guide intermediary-led participation in different or unique ways. This requires more than a single case for an in-depth and multi-faceted understanding of intermediary-led participation: that is, a multiple case study. As Baxter and Jack stress (2008), the evidence created from a multiple case study is strong and reliable. This is because such evidence serves as the basis to clarify whether findings from each of the cases are valuable or not. That is, a multiple case study could produce a more convincing analysis, while the findings are more intensely grounded in several sources of empirical evidence. Such a multiple case study approach was especially useful for this research, since it could help to analyse data both within each situation and across situations and generate cross-case discussions. In other words, it could allow wider exploration of intermediary-led participation by identifying contrasts and similarities between the different cases. In this regard, a qualitative and multiple case study served as the methodological foundation for this research, which sought to capture subjective reality in a real-world context.

4.2.3. Data Collection Methods

Documentary Collection

In this research, the initial data collection method was the use of documentary sources. The aim of the documentary collection was to identify what data has already been collected, and to review general issues on the emerging intermediary-led participation in the Korean context. Particular attention was paid to the collection of written sources of information about intermediaries involved in the URP as well as the relevant policy

framework. It was worth carrying out such documentary data collection before other forms of data collection, such as interviews, because this helped to minimise replication of data collection efforts and reduce the unnecessary burden on the researcher (me) and research participants, such as interviewees.

Collected documents varied from government publications to the community's written sources. They included cross-sectoral documents such as codes of laws, national planning guidance, institutional reports (public sector), annual community reports, monthly community newspapers (community sector), and journal articles and reference books (academic sector). The table below provides a summary of all the collected documents classified by their nature: primary or secondary sources.

Table 2. Summary of written sources collected for this research

Primary sources: raw data compiled by the author (me)	Secondary sources: data that describe, interpret, or analyse information from primary sources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National statistics • National or regional planning guidance • Codes of laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional documents (e.g. reports from the national assembly, urban regeneration support centres, research centres, civil society organisations) • Community's documents (e.g. community reports, community meeting minutes, community plans, community newsletters, photographs) • Magazine interview articles (e.g. experts, residents) • Conference proceedings (e.g. academic society, local councils) • Scholarly articles • Reference books • Encyclopaedias/dictionaries

As shown above, most of the collected written sources were secondary, although some were primary. This is because documentary collection here was designed to comprehensively explore recent relevant practical and academic discourse before collecting the main primary data from in-depth fieldwork. However, such secondary data

was utilised with caution, because it was collected by others, possibly without quality control, and the purpose of the data might be different from this research. Hence, this study tried to access diverse sources as much as possible to cross-check the previously generated findings and thereby enhance their relevance, reliability, robustness, and representativeness (Tyrrell, 2016). As the key source of evidence, institutional documents on URP centres and local communities were collected. Official government reports on URP, particularly regarding official guidance, regulation, support, and evaluation on URP centres, were relatively easy to access because most of them are open to the public in principle. As for informal documents, some key policy drafts, working papers and statistics were obtained through the public officials who participated in interviews. However, interestingly, those from the public sector were very sensitive to sharing community-related documents such as budget plans and expenditures for community activities. While visiting UR centres for interviews, I could gain access to networks of community organisers working for diverse URP areas. Through the networks, I was fortunate to obtain formal and informal documents of local communities participating in the URP, such as project plans, budgets, written reports of events, meeting minutes, community newsletters and photographs. Even though most of the data could not be discussed in this thesis due to confidentiality, the perusal of the internal data afforded valuable insights and enhanced my understanding of intermediary-led participation in the regeneration process.

Each document was reviewed as a repository of not only simple facts or details but also ‘social facts’ (Durkheim and Lukes, 1982) such as collective norms, values or beliefs that exist external to the individual and affect individual behaviours. This is because the documentary collection mainly aimed to gather evidence for a further inquiry into social aspects of intermediary-led participation. For example, when reading government publications such as institutional reports, particular attention was paid to identifying why and how they were produced by looking through recent academic articles which review the relevant policy framework. When reading the community’s written sources, such as community reports or newsletters, much prominence was given to construing what was the most significant issue and why, rather than simply checking what had happened out there. Such documentary collection helped to construct the basis for access to subjective reality before on-site field data collection. In this regard, the documentary collection in

this research was not just a data collection method, but also a meaning-making process where hidden meanings behind literary texts were foregrounded by critically reviewing cross-sectoral written sources. Accordingly, the documentary collection here extended its scope beyond gathering objective facts or details, and concentrated on creating an underlying basis for capturing subjective reality.

In-depth Interviewing

Another data collection method was in-depth interviewing. This method was used to conduct ‘intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives’ (Boyce and Neale, 2006, p.3) on intermediary-led participation in the URP. For this research, a series of in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants involved in case studies in order to gain much more detailed information than what was obtained from the documentary data collection. In particular, the in-depth interviews were made in ‘semi-structured’ or ‘unstructured’ format with an open-ended list of questions (Galletta, 2013). These two forms of interviews differ from the in-depth interviews in ‘structured’ format where the same predetermined questions are asked to all candidates in the same order. In the semi-structured format, interviews are guided by a loose protocol with certain themes, while the interviewer improvises specific questions and elicits extended answers. Hence, it allows an open-ended discussion between interviewer and interviewee.

For this research, this semi-structured interview technique was mainly used when interviewing those from the (semi-)public sector, such as municipal officials, or those from the intermediary sector, such as community workers. Protocol covered general themes related to intermediary-led participation, such as community development (e.g. mutual rapport, collective learning, local knowledge) and community empowerment (e.g. property acquisition procedure, communal space management, public service provision). Yet, specific questions were improvised in each interview and updated with newly obtained data through a series of interviews. The new data includes non-public information such as unexpected government budget cuts, preparation of new local ordinance, and restructuring plans for local partnerships.

Along with the semi-structured interviews, a more flexible interview technique was also used: unstructured interviews. In the unstructured format, the power between interviewer

and interviewee is re-balanced by encouraging the interviewee to take a lead in the free-flowing conversation. Questions arise spontaneously during the conversation. This means that a more personalised approach is available to collect more sensitive or informal verbal data. In this research, the unstructured interview technique was desirable particularly when interviewing those from the community sector, such as local residents. This is because the unstructured format helped the interviewees to have greater voice by avoiding complicated or nervous moods. That is, the interviewees could be empowered during the interviews. Such an empowered interview environment was significant, as it motivated them to give more authentic answers, leading to some meaningful findings. Accordingly, it was possible to reduce the effect of the interviewer (me) on respondents' answers – the so-called 'interviewer effect' (Brewer, 2001) – by promoting them to freely express their opinions or thoughts.

Both the semi-structured and unstructured interviews were carried out in interviewees' place of work, such as a local office, or in a public space, such as a community room or a local café of their choice. The specific site of each interview was carefully chosen to make each interviewee feel more comfortable and redress the power imbalance that traditionally befell the interviewee. All the interviews took between 30 and 120 minutes, either in single or multiple sittings. Each interview was recorded with informed consent from each interviewee, after their right to withdraw data was thoroughly explained prior to each interview session. Both audio and video recordings were used, although the video recordings were made less frequently.

The video recording technique was optionally and carefully used with full consent from interviewees. For example, a short video-reflexive session was held prior to an interview. In the video session, video footage such as breaking news or other interviews was shown to inspire the potential interviewee to reflect on certain themes. Then, they were given a chance to decide whether or not to grant permission for video recording while having time to reflect on the implication of their decisions. If granted, the video interview began with full consent confirming that the interview could be used as visual materials for other potential interviewees or those interested in this research. Interestingly, such video interview technique was not only used to collect data but also to disseminate research findings. For example, a series of video interview footages served as visual aids to draw

attention from the public as well as academics in workshops or conferences. Namely, the video interview technique was not only used as a data collection tool. More importantly, it was also utilised to share research findings and results to a variety of audiences in a more engaging way.

In this research, all interviewees can be categorised into three main groups: the public sector, the intermediary sector, and the community sector. The public sector refers to those who enact and enforce the URP or similar urban programmes. It includes the central government, Seoul metropolitan government, and local councils. The intermediary sector comprises those that support the public sector in implementing the URP or similar programmes. Examples are the Seoul urban regeneration support centre, local urban regeneration support centres, and relevant third sector organisations. Finally, the community sector indicates local actors who participate in the URP or similar programmes. This involves not only individual local residents but also members of community-based initiatives such as social enterprises or social businesses.

4.2.4. Data Analysis Methods

Data analysis methods vary depending on the nature of research and types of research data collected (Patton, 1990). As noted earlier, this research took a ‘qualitative case study approach’ to collect ‘subjective reality’ in order to study ‘social aspects’ of intermediary-led participation in urban regeneration in Korea. Hence, for this research, a qualitative data analysis method was formulated. It consists of five distinctive steps: 1) data transcription, 2) data classification, 3) data coding, 4) data thematization, and 5) data interpretation. Following such data analysis, data interpretation was carried out by using the method of critical interpretive synthesis. The diagram below represents the qualitative data analysis procedure of this research as a whole.

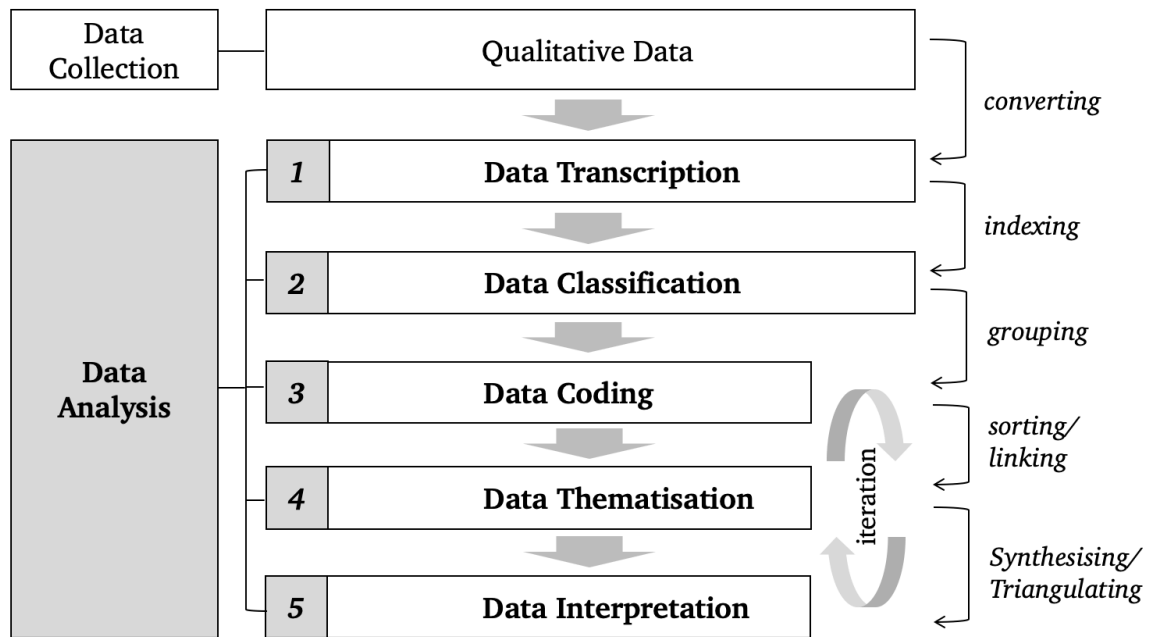


Figure 9. Data analysis procedure of this thesis. Source: Author.

Data Transcription.

In this research, data analysis started with data transcription, where all the collected data were put into written form. First, both audio- and video-recordings were transcribed so that they could be studied in detail. Such data transcription was usually completed within a month after each interview. In the event that any recordings were not possible, handwritten field notes were taken in as much detail as possible. Examples are interviews with no consent for recording, or unexpected or improvised talks with no time for recording. Such handwritten field notes were then transcribed into more complete textual forms by using Microsoft Word. This transcription was normally done on the same day as the field notes being taken to ensure that any important details were not lost.

Data Classification.

The second step was to classify all the collected data. The main aim of this classification was to make it easier to retrieve the data during the research process. Some key hard copies of documents were organised in ring binders, while electronic copies of documents were stored in subfolders according to a certain classification plan. To be specific, all the data were classified by assigning identification codes. Each identification code comprised four pieces of information: 1) type of case study, 2) source of data, 3) type of data, and 4)

sequence of data acquisition. The box below shows how the collected dataset was categorised and managed.

Table 3. Classification plan for collected data

<p>The following four-tier assignment system was used to identify collect data:</p> <p>Type of Case Study: <u>C1</u> for case study 1 <u>C2</u> for case study 2 <u>C3</u> for case study 3 <u>C4</u> for all the case studies</p> <p>Source of Data: <u>PS</u> for public sector <u>IS</u> for intermediary sector <u>CS</u> for community sector <u>OT</u> for other sources</p> <p>Type of Data: <u>INT</u> for recorded interviews or talks <u>INN</u> for not recorded but noted interviews or talks <u>GOV</u> for government documents or reports <u>ACD</u> for academic papers <u>NEW</u> for newspaper articles <u>BLG</u> for online blog or magazine articles <u>STA</u> for statistics <u>DOC</u> for various kinds of documents not applicable to other types above</p> <p>Sequence: <u>01</u>, <u>02</u>, <u>03</u>, <u>04</u>, ...</p>

For example, a recorded interview with a respondent from the community sector in case study 1 was given a code of ‘C1-CS-INT-01’. An urban regeneration plan document of Seoul metropolitan government was identified as ‘C4-PS-GOV-01. Such four-tier identification codes were useful, as they offered surface-level information so that the required data could be easily retrieved, while privacy and anonymity of data providers were ensured.

Data Coding.

The third step was to conduct coding of the collected data. In qualitative research, data coding refers to a process of analysing qualitative textual data by taking them apart to see

what they yield and then putting the data back together in a meaningful way (Creswell, 1994). In other words, it is a process of transforming the collected data to a set of meaningful, cohesive categories. In this research, the data coding was implemented through two consecutive sub-steps: data examination and code generation.

In the data examination step, I immersed myself in each piece of data in order to decide whether it required a code or not. While reading carefully the transcribed interviews, field notes, and other documents, all the collected data could be examined at least once. Due to the immensity of the data, it was essential to make it as manageable as possible through immersion in the data before beginning coding. Hence, in this sub-step, massive data were filtered, reduced and then annotated with ideas for coding.

In the next sub-step of code generation, the examined data were coded to aid the analysis. A code in qualitative research refers to the smallest unit of text describing the meaning and context of the data (Creswell, 1994). This code can be a short word, phrase or sentence that represents and captures each piece of data's important points. In this research, the code generation began with identifying each piece of data's primary content and essence and marking them with appropriate labels: that is, low-tier codes. Then, the labels were grouped under high-tier codes. Such two-tier codes were used to effectively condense and summarise the data rather than simply reducing them. The box below shows the details of two-tier codes that were generated while this research was conducted.

Table 4. List of two-tier codes generated in this research

<p>CP: Community participation-related topics (Higher Code 1)</p> <p>CP1. Government policies and actions on intermediaries</p> <p>CP2. Intermediaries' finance and governance framework</p> <p>CP3. Relationships between government, intermediaries, and communities in early stage of URP</p> <p>CP4. Community activities and events in early stage of URP</p> <p>CP5. Change in mutual trust, rapport and confidence among communities</p> <p>CD: Community development-related topics (Higher Code 2)</p> <p>CD1. Change in intermediaries' finance and governance framework</p> <p>CD2. Relationships between government, intermediaries, and communities during URP.</p> <p>CD3. Advanced community practices during URP</p> <p>CD4. Development of collective intelligence of communities</p>
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CD5. Formation and development of community initiatives
CD6. Intervention of expert groups

CE: Community empowerment-related topics (Higher Code 3)

CE1. Government policies and actions on community initiatives
CE2. Relationships between government and community initiatives after URP
CE3. Community initiatives' finance and governance framework
CE4. Legal rights of community initiatives
CE5. Communal space management and communal service provision

RT: Other relevant topics (Higher Code 4)

RT1. History of a wider range of intermediaries in Korea
RT2. Government policies and actions on diverse intermediaries
RT3. Relationships between communities and diverse intermediaries within
or outside of institution
RT4. Wider view on impact of diverse intermediaries on urban regeneration
in Korea
RT5. Wider view on right to the city in Korea's context

Based on the above new codes, all the collected data were reshuffled to form the basis for thematic analysis in the next step. In other words, the new codes served to add a structure to unstructured data so that the data could be categorised in analytically relevant ways before thematic development. In this research, the computer software NVivo was used to facilitate this process.

Data Thematisation.

Once the data had been coded, I generated a set of themes through cross-sectional exploration of the identified codes. A theme refers to an 'abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent experience and its variant manifestation' (DeSantis and Ugarriza, 2000, p.362). That is, it is a conception that 'captures and unifies the nature or basis of the experience into a meaningful whole' (*ibid.*). Hence, generating themes is a process of putting together pieces of experience or ideas, which otherwise would be meaningless when viewed alone. In this research, a dozen themes were initially generated by sorting, collating, and linking related codes. For example, by linking the codes of CD1 (change in intermediaries' finance and governance framework) and CD5 (formation and development of community initiatives), a theme of 'insufficient change in tight time-frame' was generated. Then, the generated themes were grouped under higher-tier themes

in order to form the basis for further data interpretation. The box below presents both the higher- and lower-tier themes generated while the related codes were sorted and linked.

Table 5. A summary of higher- and lower-tier themes this research

High-tier themes	Low-tier themes
‘Hierarchical’ structure of intermediary intervention	• Direct connection between government and intermediaries
	• Insufficient change in tight time-frame
‘Top-down’ community development	• Centralised and competitive funding structure
	• Restricted legal rights of communities
‘Multi-layered’ intermediary intervention	• Experts vs. non-experts in intermediaries
	• Specialisation vs. isolation of intermediaries
‘Conditional’ community empowerment	• Lack of community diversity and representation
	• Limited access to decision-making process
‘Radical’ forms of intermediary intervention	• Community as a public service provider
	• Government side vs. non-government side
‘Bottom-up’ community development	• Formation of communal autonomy
	• Vulnerability to market forces

One thing to note here is that such themes were ‘iteratively’ developed with newly collected data in the research process. This means that even after the planned fieldwork, new data were collected from public media or through my personal connections, and then added to the list of codes. These new additions served to produce different combinations that affected the old themes. In other words, while new data were updated, the themes were modified or refined while this research was carried out. In this way, the thematic frame continued to evolve even during the writing-up.

Data Interpretation.

Based on the thematic frame, I endeavoured to search for ‘patterns, associations, concepts, and explanations’ in the coded data (Lacey and Luff, 2009). That is, additional efforts were made to deliberate the coded data under each theme in order to identify patterns, associations, concepts and explanations. Taking ‘communal service provision’ as an example, I deliberated and compared how different stakeholders considered community-led service provision during the interviews as well as in their documents, and found general patterns and logic in the manner of consideration across case studies. Then, I

interpreted what these considerations imply regarding community empowerment in the urban regeneration framework in Korea.

Such data interpretation was carried out along with ‘rival explanation’ (Patton, 1990) to avoid rushing to one answer. In other words, I attempted to consider other logical possibilities and see if those possibilities could be supported by other data. This helped to prevent hasty generalisation in the initial findings and led to meaningful interpretations of evidence. Thus, I did not discard or hide some data that were counter to mainstream arguments of this research. Instead, the counter-cases were addressed with explanations of their implications or suggestions. This was done because this research aimed not only to show solid descriptive data, but also to present candid research findings through which readers can understand the other side and draw their own interpretations (Patton, 1990).

This approach to data interpretation made the triangulation process easier. Triangulation means ‘gathering and analysing data from more than one source to gain a fuller perspective on the situation you are investigating’ (Lacey and Luff, 2009, p.27). In this research, I triangulated different data to get a more accurate view on intermediary-led participation in the recent urban regeneration in Korea. However, the ultimate aim of the triangulation was not to search for ‘one reality’ from multiple data sources. As noted by Hoggart et al. (2002), qualitative research inherently should sacrifice coherence of evidence in order to understand the real settings. By this logic, rather than displaying a trimmed view, this research was willing to present contradictory facts underpinning ‘subjective reality’ created across different types of intermediary-led participation. Ultimately, such data triangulation served to increase the validity and reliability of this research by incorporating a variety of critical voices during data interpretation.

4.3. Research Implementation

This section presents the details of the fieldwork procedure in this research. First, the rationale for the choice of three case studies is demonstrated by explaining how each of the cases were selected and compared in detail. Following the description of how interviewees were recruited and what questions were asked in each interview, the process of data collection is explained. This is followed by ethical considerations in this research.

Then, the section finishes with an illustration of challenges that were encountered in the fieldwork, and the resulting changes that were made to the research design.

4.3.1. Case Study Selection

For this research, a multiple case study approach was taken, as there were various kinds of intermediary-led participation cases even in the urban regeneration framework. Particular attention was paid to main sources of funding for each case in this selection process. This is because of the assumption that the nature of funding sources is one of the significant factors affecting the development of intermediary-led participation. Considering this point, three case studies were carefully selected based on three distinctive sources of funding for intermediaries: 1) a national government-funded case, 2) an SMG-funded case, and 3) a self-funded case. Such case study selection was particularly useful for a fuller understanding of intermediary-led participation phenomena with different financial and institutional resources.

The first and second cases were selected from publicly-funded programmes: the national URP and the Seoul mayoral URP respectively. As noted in Chapter 2, the mayoral URP was devised to promote urban regeneration in Seoul by optimising the structure of the national URP. Hence, there exist some differences between the mayoral and the national URP. For example, the mayoral URP is a six-year programme for areas smaller than 400,000 square metres, while the national URP is a four-year programme for the areas bigger than 400,000 square metres. Besides, the mayoral URP involves more complex stakeholders in its partnership, since it is required to engage more administrators and experts during the longer programme period. Given this, two cases were chosen to identify and evaluate different variations of intermediary-led participation within the recent institutional framework of urban regeneration. On the other hand, the third case was selected outside of the institutional framework. This means that the third case fundamentally differs from the former two cases in the sense that it operates with little or no governmental support. Instead, it is a self-funded intermediary-led participation case, which is supported by non-governmental actors such as civil society organisations. Thus, compared to the former two, it has higher levels of financial independence and organisational autonomy, albeit outside the institutional framework of urban regeneration. In this sense, the third case served as the basis for a ‘rival explanation’ (Patton, 1990),

which aimed to provide rich sources of evidence to gain a fuller perspective on intermediary-led participation across institutional boundaries in Korea's post-developmental context.

In short, three cases were intentionally selected with the assumption that the nature of funding sources would affect the development of intermediary-led participation. Two cases were chosen from a national government-funded programme and an SMG-funded programme respectively. These two were collated and compared to examine different variations of intermediary-led participation that exist within the institutional framework. The third case was picked from self-funded intermediary-led participation that occurs outside of the institutional framework. This third case was used to hint at other logical possibilities and inspire a further understanding of intermediary-led participation in the wider context of urban regeneration. The map below presents the geographical locations of each case on a map of Seoul with brief descriptions of their distinctive features.

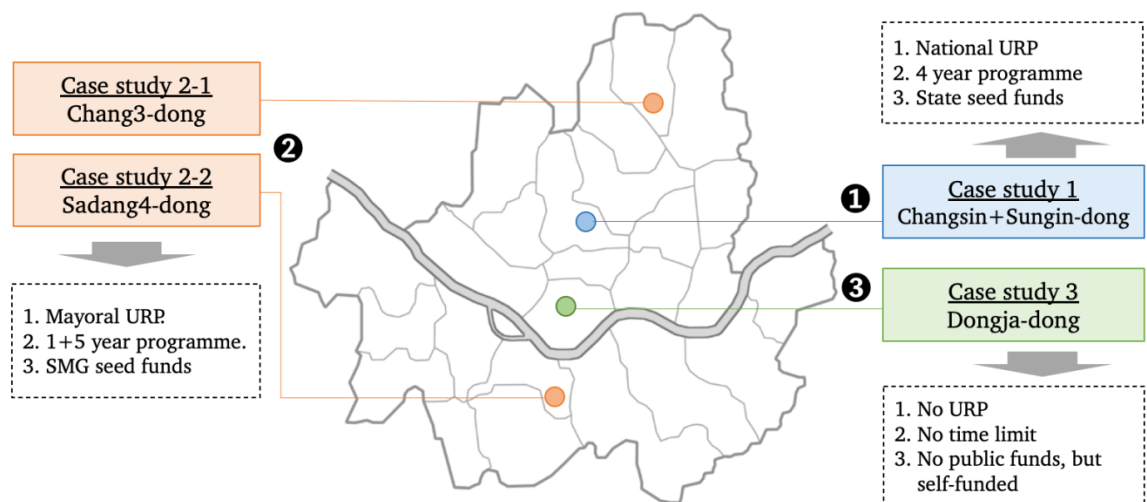


Figure 10. Geographical locations of the case studies on Seoul map. Source: Author.

In the above map, the blue dot represents the first case study. This is one of the first groups of national URPs implemented between 2014 and 2018 in the area of Changsin+Sungin-dong. After the end of the URP, the area is now in its post-project period with a small subsidy from SMG. The orange dot refers to the second case study, which is the mayoral URP. In fact, the mayoral URP has a short history and, accordingly, there is still no completed case of a mayoral URP. Given this, the second case study was carried out in

two mayoral URP areas, Chang3-dong and Sadang4-dong, to ensure sufficient data collection. The green dot indicates the third case study, which is an urban regeneration practice in Dongja-dong. This third case began in 2010 with support from non-governmental organisations. Since 2015, it has been self-funded by creating a local trust fund and raising charitable donations by itself. Accordingly, the third case is run with little or no governmental support, while the first and second cases operate with government funds.

4.3.2. Case Study Implementation

To access potential candidates for in-depth interviews, a snowball sampling technique was mainly used. Snowball sampling refers to a non-probability sampling strategy through which the first group of participants help to recruit the next cohort of participants among their acquaintances (Gray, 2004). Hence, this technique is preferred when a researcher has no accurate list of potential interviewees or no official access to them. The snowball sampling was especially useful for this research, since many potential interviewees were reluctant to participate in official interviews, particularly in the publicly-funded cases. For example, some community workers were reluctant or declined to participate in official interviews, although the purpose of this research was fully explained to them. This is probably because they were commissioned by government and sensitive to official interviews about publicly-funded cases with a non-governmental actor, such as myself. To get alternative access, therefore, this research actively used snowball sampling. To be concrete, I participated as an auditor (a listener) in the two-month training sessions for community organisers designed by SMG. This helped me to build rapport with the trainees who were working as community workers in URP areas across Seoul. Then, I used this new personal network to gain access to actual community workers and local residents in my case study areas.

Besides, the new network enabled easier access to a wider range of candidates for interview. It included those involved in similar urban practices in different areas, such as community activists, social entrepreneurs, charity leaders, or local officers. Although they were not directly relevant to my case studies, those interviews were nonetheless insightful, enabling me to gain a fuller perspective on intermediary-led participation while avoiding potential selective bias. However, despite the effort of snowball sampling, I ended up

failing to undertake interviews, even on condition of anonymity, with elite intermediary actors, such as regeneration centres' directors and professional firms' leaders (see Subsection 4.3.4 below for details). This caused the limited analysis and interpretation of the elite intermediary actors' perspectives in the process of intermediary-led participation. Despite such limitation, a series of interviews with a variety of community workers and local residents enabled me to improve the understanding of the silent intermediary actors, albeit indirectly.

Eventually, through the snowball sampling process, 43 interviews in total were carried out. In the case study areas, 12 interviews were conducted with actors from the intermediary sector, and 14 interviews with actors from the community sector. Three interviews were also held with those from the public sector, including national government and SMG. Outside the case studies, 14 cross-sectoral interviews were conducted with those involved in other similar urban practices. All the interviews were organised by assigning identification codes to ensure privacy and anonymity of interviewees (see Appendix 1, 2, 3 and 4 for a detailed list of interviewees). The table below presents the distribution of the interviewees by their affiliation and site.

Table 6. Distribution of interviewees by site and affiliation.

Site	Classification				Total
	Public Sector	Intermediary Sector	Community Sector	Etc.	
Case 1	1	3	5	n/a	9
Case 2	2	6	6	n/a	14
Case 3	n/a	3	3	n/a	6
Outside Cases	2	7	2	3	14
Total	5	19	16	3	43

Interview protocols were made based on three common themes: community participation, community development and community empowerment. However, detailed interview questions differed depending on each interviewee. Taking the 'community participation' theme as an example, intermediary actors were asked about how to invite local residents and how to recruit staff members. For the same theme, community actors were questioned

about their aspirations or reasons to participate, while public actors were asked about how to fund, monitor, and assess participatory practices. As such, each interview protocol was carefully created while taking into account the different roles, positions, and conditions of each candidate for interview. A one-month pilot fieldwork study was conducted to test and revise the case study implementation strategy in April of 2018. Then, the main fieldwork was conducted over four months to complete the case study implementation from October of 2018 to January of 2019.

4.3.3. Ethical Considerations

As part of research for the University of Westminster, this study fully complied with the University of Westminster Code of Practice Governing the Ethical Conduct of Research. Given the qualitative nature of this research, particular attention was paid to ethical considerations around informed consent, confidentiality and privacy.

In this research, the main data collection method was in-depth interviews with key actors in intermediary-led participation. Prior to interviews, potential candidates were given a research information sheet setting out the interview purposes as well as the research objectives. Then, informed consent was thoroughly explained to them. Informed consent covered the anonymity of interviewees and confidentiality of data they provide. On the informed consent form, interviewees were asked to select an option regarding their anonymity. If they chose the negative option, their real full names were not shown: instead, their initials or pseudonyms were used.

With regard to the confidentiality of data, there were two significant ethical considerations: withdrawal of data and storage of data obtained. Prior to interviews, all interviewees were given a full explanation about the right to withdraw data they provide at any time without giving specific reasons. In particular, when interviewing those from vulnerable groups, I ensured that they were given the time to speak about the cause of any possible distress, and the option to stop and withdraw all or part of interview. Prompting questions were also asked about any distress issues halfway through interviews.

With regard to the acquisition and storage of data, interviewees were asked to choose an option for the way their interviews were recorded. Specifically, the informed consent form

asked them if they agreed to the conversation being audio- and/or video-recorded. In case of disagreement, note-taking alone was used to record conversation contents during interviews. In order to address privacy issues, all the recordings were stored on an external hard disk which was secured in the locker in M614 at the University of Westminster (FABE's doctoral researcher laboratory). Likewise, all the informed consent forms were stored in the same locker, while also being scanned and stored as backups on the same external hard disk.

4.3.4. Methodological Challenges

During the implementation of this research, there were three main methodological challenges, namely accessibility to interviewees, representativeness of interviewees, and researcher subjectivity.

First, it was difficult to gain direct access to potential candidates for in-depth interviews. During pilot fieldwork, even intermediary organisations in the case study areas were found to be reluctant to grant official interviews regarding URP. Moreover, it was also hard to access the community sector in the case study areas. This is because neither the public sector nor the intermediary sector was willing to introduce local residents who participate in URP. To address such difficulty, I endeavoured to participate in community-relevant events and workshops through which to expand my personal network and increase opportunities for indirect access to the potential candidates in the case study areas. Despite such improved accessibility, I failed to interview with two main groups of actors from the intermediary sector: 1) directors in urban regeneration support centres who supervised community workers and 2) leaders in professional firms who hired community workers. This was probably because they were sensitive to contractual relationships with the public sector, which was the main funder for the URP. The directors, who were directly appointed by the government, were local universities' professors with limited experience in fields related to community work. They were reluctant to grant official interviews, even on condition of anonymity. Instead, the directors suggested that I interview experienced community workers with whom they worked in their urban regeneration centres. On the other hand, most of the professional firms involved in URP were architectural or engineering companies that specialise in master plans or design guidelines for (re)development. Despite being selected through an open bidding process

by the government, the professional firms often had little or no experience in community work. For them, the URP was the first substantive project where they actively engaged in delivering community participation and community development. The leaders in the professional firms were, thus, unwilling to give official interviews. Instead, they recommended alternative interviews with practiced community workers whom they temporarily hired during the URP. Hence, extra effort was made to better understand the elite intermediary actors' points of view, albeit indirectly, from the interviews with community workers and local residents.

Another challenge remained in terms of the representativeness of interviewees, especially from the community sector. This challenge was linked to the problem of the 'usual suspects', referring to particular knowledge types or actors that dominate decision-making processes and thereby representation of their community (May, 2007; Taylor, 2007). It is certain that there were some different groups within local communities that faced a clash of interests, opinions, and goals in the same case study area. Hence, there was a need to balance the distribution of interviewees in the community sector. For this, significant efforts were made to select as diverse a range of community actors as possible for in-depth interviews, and thereby to mitigate potential 'usual suspect' problems.

The last but not the least challenge facing this research was the subjectivity of researcher, myself. It was hardly possible for me to stay completely objective during the research, because it was natural to bring to data interpretation my personal ideas or experiences. That is to say, my subjective perspectives often interfered with the data interpretation process. Hence, there was an inherent concern over researcher subjectivity. However, as noted earlier in the epistemological discussion, this research aimed to understand 'subjective reality' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) rather than objective reality in order to decipher 'social aspects' of intermediary-led participation. This means that knowledge and truth here were considered as being socially constructed by research participants, including the 'researcher', myself. In this sense, researcher subjectivity was no longer seen as a negative element in the research process. Rather, it was regarded as one of significant parts comprising the subjective reality that emerged in this research.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter provided the details on the methodological framework of this research: that is, the research design and implementation method. It began by presenting the philosophical basis of social constructivism. This philosophical foundation guided the choice to use a qualitative and multiple case study approach. It also directed the selection of the methods used for data collection and analysis. The data collection method included documentary collection and in-depth interviews, while the data analysis method consisted of five main steps: data transcription, data classification, data coding, data thematisation, and data interpretation.

This was followed by a detailed explanation of how to implement the fieldwork. This included how to select case studies, how to identify and access interviewees, and how to develop interview questions. It also illuminated potential ethical considerations around informed consent, confidentiality of collected data, and privacy of data providers. Then, it discussed the main methodological challenges facing this research and how they could be addressed. The challenges discussed were accessibility to potential interviewees, representativeness of interviewees, and researcher subjectivity.

Drawing on the above methodological framework, the following chapters present findings from the case studies and develop further discussion on the intermediary-led participation.

Part II: Research Findings and Discussions

Chapter 5.

Analysing the Governance of Intermediary-led Participation in Urban Regeneration in Seoul

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents findings from an analysis of the governance of intermediary-led participation in the case study areas. As stated in the methodology chapter, a detailed investigation was conducted of three representative case studies: 1) national government-funded, 2) SMG-funded, and 3) self-funded intermediary-led participation. Each case study analysis begins with a brief description of its local context. This is followed by an exploration of the transformation of urban regeneration governance, with a focus on the changing roles of intermediaries. Then, a thematic analysis of intermediary intervention and consequent community participation is provided, with rich local narratives collected from each of the case studies. By doing so, this chapter provides the evidential basis for further discussion of dynamics of power and networks in intermediary-led participation, which is presented in the following chapter.

5.2. National Government-funded Intermediary Intervention: Changsin+Sungin-dong Case

5.2.1. Local Context

The 2008 global financial crisis hit Korea's domestic property market and caused it to cancel or suspend many planned redevelopments in Seoul (Jang et al., 2013). Responding to this situation, a new UR Act was introduced in 2013 and new public funds have been allocated to the areas designated as URP zones. In this new legal framework, some former redevelopment zones have been converted to urban regeneration zones with fresh public funds. Changsin+Sungin-dong was one of the first areas in Seoul added onto the list of URP zones after being removed from the list of former redevelopment zones in 2014.

The Changsin+Sungin-dong area (hereafter CSA) is a high density low-rise residential area of 1.38 square kilometres with a population of 36,500 (Seoul Open Data, 2018). CSA stretches over five small administrative dongs¹: Changsin1-dong, Changsin2-dong, Changsin3-dong, Sungin1-dong, and Sungin2-dong. These five dongs are Seoul's typical inner-city areas next to the Dongdaemun Fashion Market (DFM), which is now known as a K-Fashion centre (Korean Culture and Information Service, 2012).



Figure 11. Geographical location and neighbourhood images of CSA.
Source: Map (Google Maps), Photo (by author, 2018)

DFM served as a main hub of Korea's textile industry during rapid export-oriented industrialisation of the country from the 1960s and 1980s. While the textile industry enjoyed a rapid boom, garment factories combined with retailers' shops mushroomed in DFM and its adjacent residential areas, including CSA. Moreover, many houses were rented out as sewing factory spaces or factory workers' rooms (Kim and Cho, 2019). As a consequence, CSA gained fame for its textile manufacturing cluster, where numerous sewing factory workers resided and worked during the developmental period.

Entering the 1990s, however, the sewing factories experienced a decline in business, since the textile industry moved to other parts of Asia with cheaper labour, such as China and Vietnam. This has resulted in social, economic, and physical deprivation in CSA for the past three decades (Kim and Cho, 2019). This is evident in the National Indices of

¹ Dong is the smallest administrative unit in Seoul.

Multiple Deprivation (NIMD), which includes three key figures: population growth rate, business growth rate, and proportion of old buildings. The table below shows the overall deprivation in terms of these three figures in CSA.

Table 7. Figures of population growth rate, business growth rate and old building rate in CSA.

	Population growth rate (1986-2016)	Business number growth rate (2006-2016)	Old building proportion (built before 1996)
Changsin1-dong	-55.6%	6.6%	90.6%
Changsin2-dong	-59.2%	-16.2%	78.6%
Changsin3-dong	-50.5%	4.8%	89.3%
Sungin1-dong	-49.3%	-0.6%	83.8%
Sungin2-dong	-42.9%	2.7%	75.1%
Seoul average	5.1%	11.7%	67.7%

Source: National Urban Regeneration Information System (2016)

The above statistics show that CSA experienced a sharp decrease in its population by about 52 percent over the last three decades, while Seoul as a whole had a moderate increase by 5.1 percent. CSA also witnessed a decline or only a slight growth in local business, although the neighbouring DMF has grown significantly as a K-Fashion centre over the last decade. In particular, Changsin2-dong, where many sewing factory workers used to reside, has shown a significant drop in the number of local business by 16.2 percent. Furthermore, CSA has a high proportion of old buildings aged more than 20 years. As of 2016, about 9 out of 10 buildings in Changsin1-dong were more than 20 years old. Such figures represent the extent of social, economic, and physical deprivation of CSA, which are higher than in other parts of Seoul.

Amid these changes, a neo-developmental New Town Programme (NTP) was introduced in CSA in 2007. However, there was little progress in the NTP due to persistent conflicts of interest between two groups of residents: anti-NTP versus pro-NTP. Most opponents of the programme were middle-class property owners or tenants who were unwilling or unable to pay the ‘redevelopment charge’ that would incur when the redevelopment

makes a profit. Meanwhile, many advocates were upper-class property owners who were willing to pay the charge, and in return sought to reap some profits. One thing to note here is that the charge for the NTP in CSA turned out to be much higher than in other NTP areas. This is because CSA was located on the hills with historic relics where building regulations restrict the height of new buildings and high-density construction is prevented. Hence, the returns were particularly low, whereas the charge for development was relatively high. For the opponents, NTP was simply a project that would force them to vacate their homes unless the high charge was paid (C1-CS-INT-1-1, 2018). The group of middle-class property owners and tenants, accordingly, resisted the NTP for seven years, since they could not afford to pay the high charge for returning to new apartments.

After such a long confrontation, the NTP in CSA was withdrawn in 2013. In the following year, CSA was listed as a URP zone and given fresh public funds up to 20 billion KRW (about £14 million). The URP in CSA was carried out between 2014 and 2018. It is now in the post-project period with a small amount of a three-year subsidy from SMG up to 200 million KRW (about £140,000) (C1-PS-INN-1, 2019).

5.2.2. Governance Relationships

The URP in CSA underwent three key steps over a period of four years: a planning step (1 year), an implementation step (2 years), and a self-sustaining step (1 year). In the planning step, residents were invited to a series of community gatherings organised by a local urban regeneration support centre (hereafter local UR centre) in CSA, which was commissioned by SMG to facilitate the URP process. By participating in the community gatherings, the residents were given opportunities to build a rapport and initiative to map out a neighbourhood plan. In the next step of implementation, the residents were encouraged to engage in an array of spatial practices such as creating communal spaces to put the neighbourhood plan into practice. This was followed by the self-sustaining step, where residents were encouraged to incubate a local cooperative as a platform through which they could continue community-based activities after the end of the URP in CSA. During this incubation period, the residents were required to identify the nature of the local cooperative. For example, from a conservative standpoint, the local cooperative could be identified as an association that promotes the residents to use communal services provided by the public sector. On the other hand, if a progressive approach is taken, it

could be regarded as a communal service provider itself. In this last step, accordingly, the residents were expected to decide the growth direction of their local cooperative, taking their locality into account.

However, it is worth noting that all the steps were constantly guided by the local UR centre in CSA. The local UR centre invited the residents to attend gatherings, create the neighbourhood plan, participate in the spatial practices, and incubate the local cooperative through the three-step process in CSA. Also notable is the fact that the role of the local UR centre was changed, while its governance was transformed through this process. This means that the local UR centre underwent a change in its organisational structure to incorporate more residents into the URP and empower them after the URP. Given this, it is useful to take a close look at the governance transformation to gain a better understanding of intermediary intervention by the local UR centre in CSA. The diagram below summarises how the transformative organisational change in the local UR centre has been made through and beyond the step-by-step process.

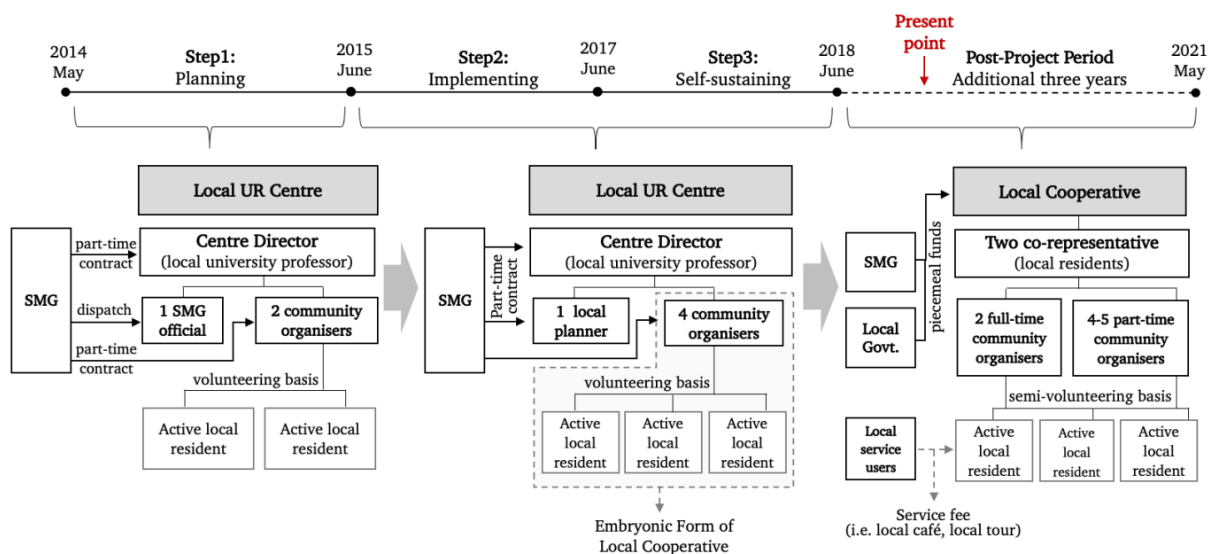


Figure 12. A transformation of intermediary governance arrangements in CSA
(source: diagram created by author)

The local UR centre was established in CSA when the URP was launched in 2014, soon after the cancellation of the NTP. It originally had four staff members: one director, two community organisers (hereafter COs), and one public officer. In detail, the position of the director was filled by an architecture professor from a local university, while the two

COs were recruited from an architectural firm. One public officer was sent from SMG to assist with the centre's administrative work, such as monthly accounting and conducting surveys on local buildings. One thing to note here is that the entire staff was under a direct contract with SMG. That is, they could achieve clear and direct communication with SMG, and accordingly, take prompt and effective action to create a new neighbourhood plan.

In the subsequent implementation step (step 2), the local UR centre maintained the same contractual system, but its organisational structure was changed by hiring one new planner from an engineering firm and two more COs from residents in CSA. What should be noted here is that the two new COs were recruited from the local residents, resulting in residents-turned-COs. From the residents' perspective, this was a first window of opportunity for direct communication with SMG while working as official members of the centre rather than only being invited by the centre (C1-CS-INT-2-1, 2018). From the centre's point of view, it can be seen as a turning point for a change in its organisational identity towards a community-based intermediary rather than merely a professional assisting body from outside (C1-IS-INT-3, 2019).

Such community-oriented change continued in the following self-sustaining step. During this period, the local UR centre was focused on incubating a local cooperative capable of taking over its intermediary role. Importantly, the residents-turned-COs played a significant role in this incubation process. They simultaneously served as assistants for creating the local cooperative while also participating as members of the local cooperative. Such change seems to have been the basis of the community-driven transformation of the intermediary structure in CSA. After the URP was completed, the local UR centre was disbanded and replaced with a local cooperative in 2018. However, it transpired that the local cooperative was still not financially autonomous. It was therefore decided that further public financial support was needed for the local cooperative to continue hiring community workers and maintaining community activities for the next three years until 2021 (C1-PS-INN-1, 2019). As for 2019, CSA entered a post-project period with an additional public subsidy from SMG. That is, intermediary-led participation in CSA is still publicly-funded, albeit within a limited time frame.

Considering the above identified points, the following parts present further analysis of characteristics of intermediary intervention and consequent community development by using diverse local narratives collected from CSA: that is, ‘hierarchical’ structure of intermediary intervention and ‘top-down’ development of community.

5.2.3. Forms of Intervention

Direct Contract between Government and Intermediaries

CSA was one of the first URP zones after the NTP was withdrawn. Hence, from the institutional perspective, the URP in CSA was a symbolic case to prove and promote the achievement of the new UR Act (C4-PS-INN-1). Accordingly, the state, together with SMG, endeavoured to carry the URP in CSA to a successful conclusion and ensure that it could set a good example for the following URPs. To this end, the state acted as the main funder for the URP, while SMG served as a key implementer of the URP. In this structure, SMG functioned to directly recruit and contract with all staff in the local UR centre. This meant that SMG outsourced the centre’s tasks to individual freelancers such as a professor, a planner, and an architect rather than to a large firm or organisation. It is certain that such contractual structure promoted clear and direct communication between SMG and the intermediaries to facilitate the URP in a more efficient manner. However, it is worth noting that such freelance-based contracts allowed them to work only on a part-time basis, as SMG had a cap on the number of full-time positions it could offer. This created a certain work environment that prevented the intermediaries from accessing a full social benefit package. This issue was pointed out by one of former staff in the local UR centre in CSA.

I was working for an architectural firm when SMG was recruiting COs. SMG did not outsource COs’ tasks to one company but wanted a direct contract with experienced persons like me. At that time, it looked a better option for me, as I thought it would enable me to easily and quickly communicate with SMG when necessary. But I had to pay for that benefit. The centre could only offer me a part-time position. That is, my job was no longer full-time since I started working for the centre. This gave me quite a hard time because I had to cover all social security insurance by

myself while working as a part-timer. (C1-IS-INT-3, 2019, a former community organiser).

Strictly speaking, the local UR centre had none of the responsibility for issues such as human resource management and welfare benefits that ordinary corporations have. Instead, such important responsibility belonged to SMG. Hence, for the staff, the local UR centre was merely a place where experienced individuals gathered and worked in a group. Under these circumstances, the COs in particular were likely to have been deprived of welfare benefits while being given only part-time positions by SMG. From a short-term perspective, such deprivation was seen as a personal matter that the COs should manage individually. Taking a long view, however, it was no longer only a personal matter but also something that could cause organisational problems in the local UR centre. For example, the unsecured welfare benefits could continue to curtail the COs' performance by constantly demotivating them at work. That is to say, the particular contractual structure could directly affect individual performance, and through it, influence organisational achievement in the long term. Such issue was raised by another former CO in CSA.

To be honest, I loved my job (as a CO), but I often questioned myself about whether or not to keep working in the centre, because it's an unstable job, giving me limited employment rights. Certainly, I've derived a lot of pleasure from doing something new with residents, but at the same time, my future as a CO was uncertain. I've always had such concerns during the URP in CSA. (C1-IS-INT-2, 2018, a former community organiser)

This account implies that the direct contract between SMG and the COs could create certain working conditions where the COs' employment rights were limited by the casualisation of their position in the local UR centre. In these working conditions, the COs were often discouraged from working with full confidence or enthusiasm. This could prevent the growth of the local UR centre where they work. In fact, the new intermediaries were added by the new UR Act to the Korea urban regeneration framework. However, they were indirectly affected or regulated by the other existing national Acts, such as the State Public Official Act, which limits the number of full-time workers under direct contracts with the public sector. This means that despite being an official actor, the local

UR centre as a temporary institution had limited rights or responsibilities in the legal framework.

For example, the local UR centre in CSA recruited staff members, but could not contract them. It also organised community activities, but could not manage the budget for them. The centre could not run a profit-making business or raise funds to maintain itself. It was only allowed to use public funds from the state or SMG. In other words, the local UR centre had no legal rights for its employment contracts, annual budgeting, fundraising, or profitable business operation even for the sake of communal interests. All the legal rights in CSA were vested in SMG. Hence, it is obvious that the local UR centre tended to have a limited sense of long-term ownership in the urban regeneration process (C1-IS-INT-2, 2018). In this sense, it is understood that the intermediary contractual structure in CSA could prevent intermediaries from engaging in self-reliant intervention by putting their legal rights under SMG.

Time Constraint for Change of Intermediaries

As well as the above contractual structure, a tight time frame also failed to support self-reliant intermediary intervention in CSA. This was particularly evident in the self-sustaining step, whose goal was to incubate a local cooperative. In this step, the local UR centre made an extra effort to transfer its intermediary role to the local community. It encouraged active residents to create a new local cooperative while providing them with a series of workshops on how to build a community-based social enterprise. However, only one year was given to train the local residents and form the local cooperative. That is to say, such significant change took place quickly in a limited time frame. This issue was pointed out by a former CO dedicated to the formation of the local cooperative in CSA.

Halfway through the URP, our local centre hired two residents as assistant staff. At that time, one of my job responsibilities was to train the two residents as future community organisers in CSA. So, I organised many workshops and invited some experts not only to enlighten ordinary residents, but also to help the two assistants grow as a leader group in their local cooperative in the future. But, there was only about one year given for this task. Admittedly, it was too tight a schedule for them to be able to

form and manage a local cooperative autonomously, as most of them didn't even know what it was at the beginning. (C1-IS-INT-3, 2019, a former community organiser).

This description confirms that the local UR centre changed its ways of working while hiring some residents as staff. This brought about a change in the strategy of intermediary intervention: from 'making things happen' to 'helping sustain things'. This means that the local UR centre underwent a shift in its role from promoting community participation to nurturing community association, taking over its intermediary role after the end of the URP: that is, the local cooperative. But again, this important shift was carried out in a tight time frame. Hence, as admitted by several COs, it was unlikely that the local residents could self-help the local cooperative during the self-sustaining step. Despite the efforts of some active residents, there was not enough time to inform and encourage the rest of the residents to participate in the self-sustaining step. This point was stressed by one of the residents-turned-COs in CSA.

As a resident, I joined and worked in incubating a new local cooperative that ended up succeeding the centre. Such change was something normal to me, as I was well informed while working closely with the centre. Yet, many of the other residents had no idea about the local cooperative, as they had no chance to participate in the fleeting incubation process. After the incubation period, the local centre was disbanded and our local cooperative took over its role, but we have still struggled to make the local cooperative more autonomous due to lack of experience and finance. Now that I think about it, the incubation could have started earlier or lasted longer so that we could secure enough time to get good results. (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

It is certain that the local UR centre helped to plan and initiate the local cooperative in CSA. In particular, the residents-turned-COs made significant contributions to this process across the boundaries between the centre and other residents. However, it appeared that the residents-turned COs could not learn all the know-how from the local UR centre during the one-year self-sustaining step. They could only pick up administrative skills as quickly as they could, such as accounting or documentation, to

ensure good communication with the main funder – the public sector (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018).

It is true that such administrative skills were useful for management of the local cooperative after the local UR centre was disbanded. For example, documentation skills were used to make reports to SMG, while accounting skills were used to write public funding bids to maintain the local cooperative. Despite such advantages, the residents were often frustrated while working merely as administrators aimed at securing public funds. For them, it was too difficult to improve their own autonomy and build cooperative working relationships with SMG. This point was stressed by a member of the local cooperative working as a resident-turned-CO in CSA.

After URP was completed, we were fortunately able to secure a small amount of public subsidy that enabled us to recruit young graduates or early career social workers. But the subsidy is time-limited. It is not guaranteed that we can continue to get such financial support in the future...To be honest, this subsidy is no more than a stopgap. I think more time should've been given to make our local cooperative financially autonomous. I mean, incubating the cooperative should've started earlier or lasted longer during URP. Then, our local cooperative might have been able to develop an adequate level of autonomy. But, for now, it is mainly relying on piecemeal support from the public sector. (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

There was clearly a transition from a state-led (local UR centre) towards a community-driven intermediary (local cooperative). However, this confirms that the transition was focused on a quick acquisition of administrative skills rather than a constant development of communal autonomy due to time constraints. Eventually, SMG decided to pledge a subsidy worth 200 million KRW (around £140,000) with which the local cooperative could employ two leaders (local residents), two full-time COs (local residents), and five part-time COs (student apprentices) (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018). Under these circumstances, it was hardly possible for the local cooperative to develop as a self-help group. Hence, it is no surprise that the local cooperative is still dependent mainly on public funds for its operating costs. It is, however, worth stressing that such public funds are often made available on a piecemeal basis, and can be discontinued at any time. This creates another

tight time-frame, which is segmented into a series of small funding bids, leading to increased dependence on public funds. In this sense, the time constraints can be seen as an important factor that could keep the intermediary intervention under the influence of government and accordingly prevent the intermediary-led participation from becoming autonomous.

5.2.4. Engagement of the Community.

Centralised and Competitive Public Funding Structure

In CSA, the local cooperative was officially launched after the local UR centre was disbanded in 2018. It was initially expected to serve as a communal hub by operating new communal facilities such as a community café and a children's playground (C1-CS-INT-1-1, 2018). But as mentioned earlier, the local cooperative was still not a self-managing organisation, as it was still heavily dependent on external sources of finance. There were limited options to cover its lack of finance: public funds (major source) and charitable donations (minor source) (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018). Therefore, it is likely that the local cooperative has competed with other local groups for the limited amount of public funds. Unsurprisingly, the local cooperative has been under the pressure of competition to secure an adequate level of financial resources to maintain itself, as was admitted by a member of the local cooperative.

Size-wise, our local cooperative had rapid growth during the last year. More than 100 people across five small districts signed up for membership. But money-wise, we have been in difficulty since the national funding ceased. We still have no stable sources of income and can barely pay our own way. (C1-CS-INT-1-1, 2018, a local resident)

In the case of CSA, there was an additional subsidy available from SMG in the post-project period. In reality, this was nothing more than a temporary solution to the problem, leading to weak financial independence. The above interviewee went on to say,

...we're lucky to get an additional subsidy, but it's only a stopgap. The fund does not cover all costs, but only staff salaries and property rental fees. To maintain the cooperative, we need more money. We have no option but to apply for as many funds as possible to ensure our adequate finance, but I'm not sure

if it's the right way to fund our local cooperative. How much longer will it survive in this competitive bidding war? (C1-CS-INT-1-1, 2018, a local resident)

It is certain that more residents were able to participate in 'bottom-up' practices through the new local cooperative. But they were still obliged to undergo the 'top-down' process of competitive public funding bids to maintain their practices. In other words, CSA had an ironic turn of events where more bottom-up participation was promoted while top-down competition was still applied to financial resource allocation. Under these circumstances, the local cooperative was reluctant to interact with other neighbourhoods despite being aware of the importance of such interaction, as described below.

In general, I'm happy to share local knowledge with other neighbourhoods. But, to be honest, I'm discreet about information exchange about funding sources. The reason is simple. We need more money and most of the funds are given on a very competitive basis. I know the government has recently tried to create more diverse funding schemes, but I'm sure that would be still far from enough to cover all local demands like ours. (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

In other words, despite recent institutional efforts, it is likely that the local cooperative was directed to gain a competitive advantage over its competitors while refraining from candid communication with other local neighbourhoods. The above interviewee went on to describe his experiences with competitive funding bids.

Well, it's embarrassing, but I must admit that the funding bids were usually prepared discreetly rather than openly. Other neighbourhoods that applied for the same public funds were our competitors rather than collaborators. So, it is quite challenging for us to balance competition against and collaboration with other neighbourhoods in such a competitive environment. (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

This confirms that the demand exceeded the supply of public funds, thus strengthening its competitive bidding system. In this context, the allocation of financial resources was strict in order to achieve certain national goals: maximising noticeable improvements in

neighbourhoods and systematising their effective management across the country (CSA-PS-INN-1, 2019). Hence, it is no surprise that CSA tended to foreground such national goals over its local interests to win public funding competitions in the course of urban regeneration. Furthermore, CSA was required to convince SMG about how it is distinctive from other neighbourhoods to increase the chance of winning competitions. During these competitions, CSA tended to keep their ideas, strategies and plans covered up until funding recipients were selected. That is, for CSA, establishing a competitive advantage far outweighed creating a collaborative advantage, at least in the funding landscape. Under these circumstances, in practice CSA was likely to develop its competitive and perhaps individualistic orientation, while the importance of interaction with other neighbourhoods is stressed in the new UR Act. In this regard, the competitive funding mechanism can be seen as another actor that can prevent community development from being more collaborative and inclusive in the urban regeneration process.

Restricted Legal Rights of Community

Since the UR Act was introduced, the establishment of local UR centres has become mandatory in the URP areas. Nonetheless, as noted earlier, the local UR centres had limited authority to make important decisions and, accordingly, lacked a sense of long-term ownership in the urban regeneration process, as they were designed merely as temporary actors to support the delivery of the four-year URP. In CSA, such trend continued when the local UR centre was replaced with the local cooperative. In fact, during the URP, residents participated in creating six communal spaces: a community café, a community art gallery, a local learning studio, a local history museum, a children's playground, and a cooperative office (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018).

The residents were welcomed to give their ideas or opinions when designing these communal spaces. But they were not invited to participate when making more detailed decisions such as who would own or manage the spaces and how. Such important decisions were often made by SMG or its extended apparatuses such as the Seoul Housing and Communities Corporation. As a result, there has been no legal basis for the local cooperative to own or manage the new communal spaces in CSA. This emerged as a

major issue, since the local cooperative was declined permission to offer public services in the communal spaces.

Actually, I was sure that our local cooperative would provide new communal services in our new communal spaces. But it was not the case in reality. The local cooperative was given a very limited remit, such as short-term free use of communal spaces or temporary running of communal services with a small subsidy from SMG....It is obvious that SMG does not regard our local cooperative as an official partner due to its lack of experience in public service provision. But if this continues, I'm afraid no chance will be given to our local cooperative, but to an external corporate with a proven track record...I'm still not sure if we can make good use of the new spaces and services when managed by a stranger from outside. (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

In CSA, the new communal spaces were designed to provide welfare-related services such as elderly care, lifelong education, after-school childcare or young business incubation.



Figure 13. A community café (upper row) and a children's playground (lower row).
Source: CSA local cooperative.

For the residents, it was taken for granted that such services should be provided by their local cooperative. However, for SMG, the local cooperative was one of the candidates for public service provision. This means that the local cooperative had to compete with other professional firms for full-service provision. In this competition, prominence was given to quantitative standards that measure the past performance of the local cooperative. Qualitative aspects of its future value, merit, or potential were barely considered. Therefore, it is no surprise that the local cooperative has been challenged for the right to provide their communal services (by professional firms) as well as having been deprived of the right to manage the communal spaces (by SMG). After all, the local cooperative ended up with no substantive rights for their communal spaces or services while being encouraged to activate them.

Putting this into the concept of three types of space (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2004), it is understood that it was difficult for ‘invited’ communal spaces in CSA to evolve into ‘claimed’ communal spaces. At the beginning of the URP, the local UR centre invited local residents to the process of creation of the new communal spaces. The residents were asked to participate in designing and producing these spaces with the help of relevant experts. For example, the local UR centre invited a local architect or planner who could promote the design process by providing the residents with a series of seminars. It also organised site visit workshops through which the residents could monitor the production process (C1-CS-INT-1-1, 2018). That is to say, ‘invited communal spaces’ emerged through intermediary-led participation in CSA.

Taking a closer look, however, it turned out that the residents were not invited to more substantive discussion in terms of how to own and manage the invited communal spaces in the future. Such discussion was undertaken and addressed unilaterally by SMG or its apparatuses without proper consideration by the community. This meant that the local UR centre and the residents were excluded from the property acquisition or management processes. Such limited intermediary intervention undermined the transition from invited toward claimed communal spaces in the self-sustaining step. For example, the local residents proposed to use a new communal space for incubating start-ups such as an organic food market or a local sewing studio, which is a claimed community space. This proposal was important, as it aimed to improve its financial autonomy. But the proposal

was turned down, as it was legally recognised as a for-profit plan, which is banned in SMG-owned properties (CSA-CS-INT-1, 2018). That is, under the existing legislation, the rise of claimed communal spaces was limited, while the use of invited communal spaces was strictly regulated. However, one thing to note here is that such inflexibility results not simply from SMG-level regulation. More fundamentally, it is rooted in national-level legislation, as was pointed out by a public official from SMG.

SMG tried to make a free contract with the local cooperative for the public service provision in CSA, but this was impossible because a free contract was ruled out by a national law. We were instructed to undertake open bidding to commission the service provision, but we found that the community-based cooperatives were rarely successful in the formal bidding process due to weak track records. So, we attempted to find another legal basis to benefit the local cooperative from the new national UR Act. But there was no such legal provision. Ultimately, we had no option but to give them a provisional subsidy at our discretion. I think this issue will remain unsolved without amendment to relevant national Acts. (C1-PS-INN-1, 2019, an official from SMG)

This confirms that the current national legislation prevents the community-based cooperatives from undertaking self-management of communal spaces and autonomous provision of communal services in Korea's new urban regeneration framework. For example, the Public Property and Commodity Management Act strictly limits profit-making activities or businesses in publicly-owned properties. Thus, it is hard for the local cooperative to run new start-ups, albeit for communal interests, in the new communal spaces owned by SMG. The Fair Trade Act does not consider the local cooperative as a vulnerable organisation to be protected from market competition. Rather, it is seen as a corporate and is required to bid on government contracts for public service provision. Furthermore, even the UR Act has no legal provisions enabling the local cooperative to autonomously manage their communal spaces or provide necessary communal services despite stipulation of its importance in the Act.

Such consideration implies that the existing legal framework would prevent the further engagement of local residents beyond mere participation in the urban regeneration process. In other words, residents lack legal rights regarding the use of their community

assets such as communal spaces or services. As a result, the residents remain legally powerless over the community assets even though their local cooperative has endeavoured to ask for the legal rights. To put this in the SMG's perspective, there is a contradiction between the new UR Act and the existing legislation. For instance, as a URP implementer, the UR Act instructs SMG to pay extra attention to community initiatives such as local cooperatives in the urban regeneration process. On the other hand, as a property owner, the Fair Trade Act forces SMG to put the local initiatives into competition with the market for communal service provision. In this contradictory legal context, SMG could not take a progressive stance on the new community assets to ensure that it could avoid any legal issues related to the community activities happening or emerging from the community assets.

With hindsight, it appears that SMG has recently endeavoured to formulate legal measures that aim to guarantee communities' legal rights to their new communal spaces (C4-IS-INT-3, 2018). For example, SMG introduced the new legal concept of Community Regeneration Corporation (CRC). CRC refers to a community-based business initiative that serves to improve communal autonomy by delivering communal services on its own. Stipulating this concept in its ordinance, SMG has attempted to give legal benefits to local initiatives that are willing to manage their communal spaces. According to this new ordinance, CRCs can gain statutory rights to manage local assets, provide local services, or even run for-profit businesses in publicly-owned spaces. CRCs can also ask for stable funds from SMG and local councils until their system is settled. In other words, SMG is now trying to enable local communities to make full use of their community assets by treating them as CRCs in their legal system. However, despite the SMG's effort, the use of the CRC concept would still be at the discretion of each local council. In order to bring the concept into full force, it is still necessary to make the equivalent legal complement or amendment at the national level. In this sense, it is understood that communities' legal rights remain contested despite emerging municipal efforts to reframe the rules of the game for the communities. In other words, there are still underlying legal limitations that prevent fuller empowerment of local residents beyond mere participation in the urban regeneration process.

5.3. Regional Government-funded Intermediary Intervention: Chang 3-dong and Sadang 4-dong Case

5.3.1. Local Context

Chang 3-dong area (hereafter CHA) and Sadang 4-dong area (hereafter SDA) are located on the periphery of Seoul. In general, these areas served as a semi-manufacturing quarter to promote rapid industrialisation during the developmental period between the 1960s and the 1980s. For example, CHA had labour-intensive industrial facilities such as a paper mill and a noodle manufacturing plant, while SDA had a clothing factory. While the labour-intensive industries were growing, such areas had a constant influx of workers and thereby increased housing supply to accommodate them. As a consequence, high-density low-rise houses mushroomed around the periphery of Seoul in the 1980s (J. Kim, 2019).

Entering the 1990s, however, the labour-intensive industrial facilities were relocated to other regions due to environmental issues. Moreover, along with the state's new planned city scheme in the 1990s, large-scale housing development started in new satellite cities around Seoul (Seoul Institute, 2001). Such changes caused population outflow and economic slowdown in previous semi-manufacturing quarters in Seoul. Parts of the periphery of Seoul, like CHA and SDA, underwent social, economic and physical deprivation over the last decades. This is evident in the National Indices of Multiple Deprivation (NIMD). The table below presents the level of NIDM in CHA and SDA compared to its average level in Seoul.

Table 8. Figures of population growth rate, business growth rate and old building rate in CHA and SDA.

	Population growth rate (1986-2016)	Business number growth rate (2006-2016)	Old building proportion (built before 1996)
Chang3-dong (CHA)	-19.5%	-8.7%	73.6%
Sadang4-dong (SDA)	-58.5%	-9.7%	70.2%
Seoul average	5.1%	11.7%	67.7%

Source: National Urban Regeneration Information System (2016)

The above figures show a shrinking population trend in CHA and SDA for the last three decades. In particular, SDA underwent a sharp decrease in population by 58.5 percent. It is also confirmed that CHA and SDA suffered constant economic decline, with a drop in the number of local business for the last decade by 8.7 percent and 9.7 percent respectively. Meanwhile, there is a relatively high rate of aged buildings in the both areas. As of 2016, more than 7 out of 10 buildings were older than 20 years. Such official figures imply that CHA and SDA have suffered higher levels of social, economic, and physical deprivation than other parts of Seoul.

In fact, there have been some institutional efforts to tackle further deprivation in CHA and SDA. For example, SMG designated CHA as a housing reconstruction zone where old low-rise flats were turned into new medium or high-rise apartments. However, there was little or no progress in the reconstruction process, as a reconstruction association was not created. This was largely due to its geographical location adjacent to the Choan Mountain conservation area. To protect the conservation area, a strict height restriction was imposed on new buildings across its neighbouring areas, including CHA: a maximum of 20 metres with five storeys (C2-PS-INN-1, 2018). Such building height restriction reduced the profitability of the reconstruction and resulted in its cancellation. A similar situation also took place in SDA. Despite not being designated as a reconstruction zone or an NTP zone, SDA had a group of pro-redevelopment residents (C2-PS-INN-2, 2018). However, the redevelopment could not proceed due to strict building height restrictions and social housing provision imposed on new housing development in SDA.



Figure 14. Location and images of CHA. Source: Map (Google Maps), Photo (by author, 2018)

Accordingly, the redevelopment in CHA and SDA ended up with no progress, while the deprivation in both areas became worse. Responding to this situation, SMG introduced its new mayoral URP in the areas (C2-PS-INN-1, 2018). Strictly speaking, there are some differences between the national URP (applied in CSA) and this mayoral URP. For example, the mayoral URP granted smaller amount of public funds: up to 11 billion KRW (about £7.7 million), matched by the SMG and the local authority. Besides, the mayoral URP targeted areas smaller than 400,000 square metres, while areas targeted by the national URP were usually bigger than 400,000 square meters. This means that the mayoral URPs put more focus on smaller-sized local areas by shifting their main funding sources from the state to SMG. The mayoral URP was launched in CHA and SDA in 2016 and 2017 respectively. As of 2019, CHA was at the implementation step, while SDA was at the planning step in its mayoral URP.

5.3.2. Governance Relationships

After some trials and errors in the national URP (e.g. CSA), SMG devised its own urban regeneration scheme, called a mayoral URP, in 2016. In this new scheme, particular attention was paid to reducing time pressure and increasing benefits for intermediary workers such as COs. Given this, the new scheme was designed in a longer time frame including two connected programmes: one + five-year URP.

To be concrete, first there is a one-year programme called *Hui Mang Ji*, meaning Neighbourhood I Dream (hereafter NID programme). In the NID programme, 100 million KRW (around £8,000) is granted to encourage residents to gather and exchange ideas about their local issues. During this period, residents are invited to attend or create community activities. While interacting with each other, they are encouraged to reach consensus on a vision for their neighbourhood. The NID programme is a stand-alone programme but is similar to the planning step in the national URP. This means that the mayoral URP is distinctive by combining the existing national URP with a separate one-year NID programme. In this regard, the NID programme can be seen as a preparatory step, serving as a stepping stone in an extra time frame towards the next five-year programme, which is the main part of mayoral URP.

In the second five-year programme, 10 billion KRW (about £7 million) are awarded to produce a neighbourhood plan and put it into action through a series of new spatial practices. This second programme comprises three steps, which are the same as those in the national URP: a planning step, an implementation step, and a self-sustaining step. In general, thus, it goes through a similar process of promoting community gathering (step 1), facilitating participatory practices (step 2), and incubating local initiatives (step 3).

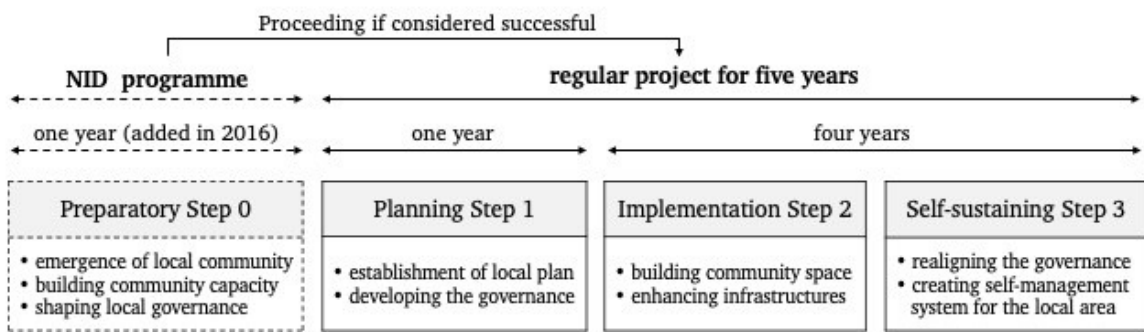


Figure 15. The entire process of the mayoral URP (source: edited by author)

However, there is an important difference between the national and the mayoral URP in practice: the governance structure, and particularly the contractual structure in intermediary organisations. The governance structure in the mayoral URP is more systemised, creating another intermediary layer at the regional level. Given this, it is worth a close look at such structural difference to capture the distinction of intermediaries in the mayoral URP. In the mayoral URP, ordinary citizens are given more opportunities to work as community organisers. This is possible due to the establishment of the Seoul Urban Regeneration Support Centre (Seoul UR centre) in 2016.

The Seoul UR centre is a regional-level intermediary organisation to improve coordination among local-level intermediary organisations: that is, local UR centres. As a regional coordinator, Seoul UR centre sets up standard guidelines for issues such as community committee formation, communal space management, or community regeneration company (CRC) operation. It also serves to provide a variety of practical workshops to support local UR centres across Seoul. A case in point is an education programme, known as Seoul’s community organiser training course. This is a three-month programme which aims to provide ordinary citizens with classes related to community work. Using this cross-local platform, for example, local UR centres could

recruit well-trained citizens as staff. Compared to the national URP, the mayoral URP is thus more likely to have ordinary citizen-turned-COs working in local UR centres. Drawing on the case of CHA, the diagram below represents how such COs have emerged and grown while intermediary governance in the mayoral URP has been transformed.

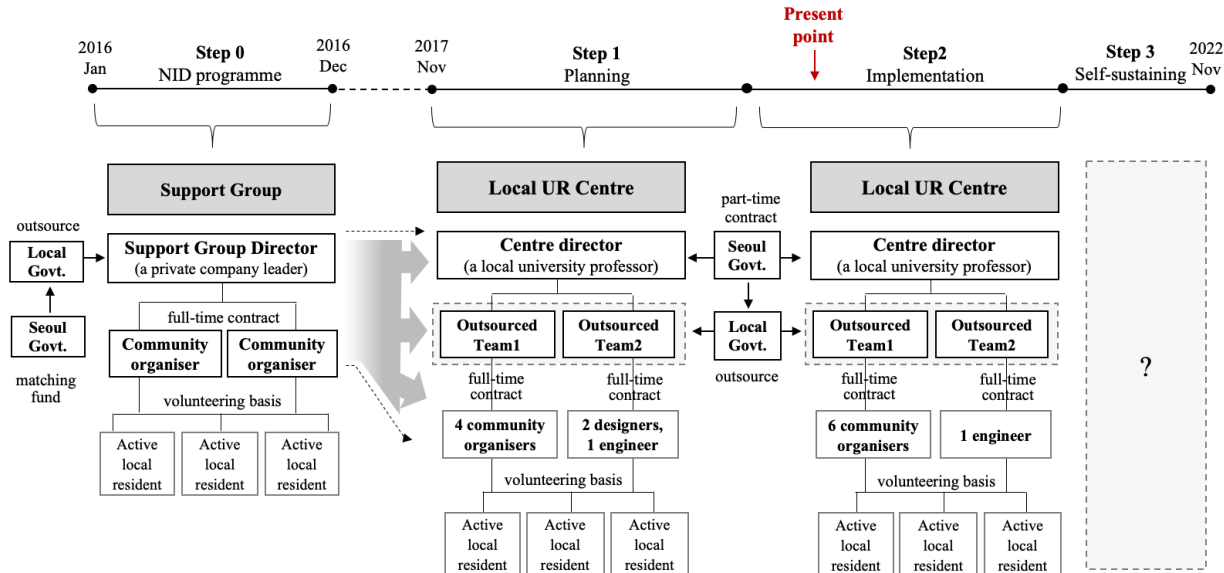


Figure 16. Transformation of intermediary governance arrangements in CHA.
(source: the diagram created by author)

As shown in the diagram, the NID programme had no local UR centre in its governance structure. Instead, there was a support group commissioned by the local authority to carry out the NID programme. In general, ‘support group’ refers to a small existing firm or agency (with fewer than five staff members) with a proven track record in community work-related fields. Strictly speaking, a support group is not a local UR centre in the legal framework of the new UR Act. Yet, it appears to have performed an intermediary role during the NID programme.

In CHA, a support group was established with three staff members: one director and two COs. The director was a leader of a small architectural firm commissioned by the local authority, while two COs were hired by the architectural firm (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018). That is to say, there was no direct contract between the COs and the government. Instead, there was a subcontract between the COs and the support group, as the subcontract system could provide the COs with welfare benefits. In other words, while working full-time in the support group, the COs could secure a package of social benefits such as medical

insurance, employment insurance and health and safety insurance. In this contractual context, the COs tended to act as immediate assistants for the support group while staying away from the government. Such contractual relationship was a unique feature of intermediaries during the NID programme.



Figure 17. Workshops for community development led by support groups in SDA (left) and CHA (right)
Source: SDA and CHA local UR centres

After the NID programme was completed, there was a one-year gap in CHA prior to the next five-year programme. During this gap year, the SMG assessed the achievement of NID programme in CHA and decided whether to bring CHA to the next programme. Thus, the two programmes were procedurally separated to ensure an adequate level of local capabilities, although they were strategically connected in the entire process of the mayoral URP. Following a successful assessment, CHA was given an opportunity to launch the second five-year programme with three consecutive steps: planning, implementation, and self-sustainment. In the initial planning step, a local UR centre was established with eight staff members: one director, four COs, two designers and one engineer. The local UR centre recruited all staff based on the subcontract system, as the previous support group had done. However, a more complex subcontract system was created while all tasks in the centre were outsourced to external bodies. That is, the centre's responsibilities were subdivided into two main tasks: community building and neighbourhood planning. Then, the subdivided tasks were outsourced to an architectural firm (community building) and an engineering firm (planning).

On closer examination of this subcontract structure, each staff member in the centre had different contractors. For example, the centre's director was contracted directly with

SMG, while the external firms were contracted to the local authority to implement subdivided works. Then, COs made a subcontract with one of the external firms, namely the architectural firm, to carry out tasks related to community building. In this contractual structure, it turned out that there was no actual contract between the COs and the local UR centre itself. Instead, all new contracts were made with the professional firms between COs and the local UR centre. Compared to the national URP, hence, it is seen that the mayoral URP had a multi-level intermediary structure where all tasks were specialised and managed by different external contractors.

In the next step of implementation, the contractual structure underwent some minor changes. For example, two COs were newly recruited into the community building team managed by the architectural firm. In the other team, two existing designers terminated the contract with the engineering firm after the neighbourhood plan was completed. Despite such minor changes, the subcontract structure itself has remained unchanged. For SMG, the subcontract structure was useful, as it enabled them to provide the centre's staff with full-time positions and a full social benefits package (CS-IS-INT-3, 2018). It also promoted cooperation between SMG and professional firms with relevant experts to implement the URP in a more efficient manner.

However, it appears that such particular intermediary structure prevented COs from engaging in direct communication with SMG (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018). Moreover, it created particular working conditions where COs tended to work in individual mode rather than through teamwork, because each staff member in the local UR centre was contracted to different external firms that directed, supervised and controlled them in different ways. As argued by several COs (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018; CS-IS-INT-2-1, 2018), it seems that this multi-level intermediary structure will remain in the subsequent self-sustaining step, as long as COs work full-time for the centre. With this in mind, the following sections present a thematic analysis of intermediary-led participation in the mayoral URP. Considering the relatively short history of the mayoral URP, the narrative data from CHA (in the implementation step) and SDA (in the planning step) are interwoven for more comprehensive and accurate thematic analysis.

5.3.3. Forms of Intervention

Experts versus non-Experts among Intermediaries

As mentioned earlier, the mayoral URP has two distinctive features: the subcontract system and the extended time frame (1+5 years). In the subcontract system, SMG could provide COs with a full-time position by commissioning professional firms that directly hire the COs. Hence, it contributed to redressing the drawback of the national URP, which was that COs could not access a full employee benefit package. Despite such merits, the subcontract system limited mutual interactions between COs and SMG. This is mainly because of the direct involvement of professional firms, which led to an emphasis on expertise and a distinction between experts and non-experts in the intermediary structure. This point was stressed by one of the former COs hired by an architectural firm to carry out a community building task during the NID programme in CHA.

During the NID programme, I had little opportunity for direct communication with the government. It was a support group that directly contacted and communicated with the government. For the government, the support group was an official partner with expertise in the field of community work, but it was hard for me to work as a CO in the support group. The leader of the support group was an expert in community space planning, but he had little experience in planning or promoting community activities or events. Nonetheless, he was the only staff member invited to an official discussion with government. I was not given such chances for direct discussion, as the government did not see me as an expert but only as an assistant. This situation often frustrated me as a community organiser during the NID programme. Looking back on it now, I struggled to work, as I had to do everything on my own with little help from the support group. (C2-IS-INT-4, 2019, a former community organiser)

One thing to note here is that the support group was an architectural firm with expertise in community space planning and design. It had no practical experiences in community-related activities or events at all. Hence, it is unlikely that the COs would feel well-supported by the support group while carrying out their community work. Rather, it seems that the COs often considered the support group as a barrier that prevented communication with the government. In this respect, it is seen that the COs are regarded as assistants for the support group rather than as direct brokers between the government

and local residents. This is the point that makes the mayoral URP distinct from the national URP, where all staff make direct contract with SMG, albeit on a part-time basis.

This point is also found in the case of SDA. In fact, SDA failed in its first application for the NID programme in 2016. After a successful second application, SDA officially launched an NID programme in 2017. This meant that SDA could secure one more year to better prepare for the NID programme while monitoring forerunners like CHA. However, it seems that this longer preparation had little effect on the implementation of the NID programme in SDA. This is because SDA also adopted the same subcontract system as its forerunners. In SDA, even more qualified experts, such as a doctor, were selected as leaders in the support group. It appears that such expert-oriented approach caused frequent disharmony in the support group. This was pointed out by one of the COs in SDA, who was disappointed with the leader during the NID programme.

I joined here as a CO halfway through the NID programme. I was a replacement for a former CO who left the support group due to a conflict with the leader there. The support group's leader was well-educated and intellectual. Apparently, he had a PhD in planning. It felt like he often ignored us when we argued against him. For him, we were no more than assistants, with no proven record in urban regeneration. Meanwhile, the government saw the leader as an expert and regarded his decision as an official local opinion. So, we were likely to follow the direction of the leader no matter what he decided. It is certain that the leader made efforts to better communicate with government, to be honest, but I'm not sure that he was the best leader for the NID programme. As far as I remember, I was not receiving any organisational support when doing my job: community work. I had to do everything by myself, from planning to practicing and reviewing. (C2-IS-INT-2-2, 2019, a current community organiser).

As such, it is likely that COs were marginal in the support group, which is an intermediary organisation, during the NID programme. The support group tended to be led by literati or elites who were recognised by the government as experts in the built environment industry. That is, there emerged an elitist form of intermediary organisation where such expert groups could take the lead in NID programmes. At the heart of such approach lies a lingering Confucian value that stresses the duty of elites to take care of others. Despite

no stipulation in the new Act, there remains a tacit consensus that helps rationalise the formation of intermediary organisations led by elite professionals such as planners, architects, or doctors, who are believed to officially represent local public opinion. This trend is evident in many other areas where the NID programme was launched (C4-IS-INT-4, 2018). In this respect, it is understood that elitism underpins the intermediary structure in mayoral URPs.

It is, however, worth noting that such elitist leaders were unlikely to be well-experienced in community work, which is central to NID programmes. For example, the leader in CHA was an architect who designed diverse communal spaces, while the leader in SDA had expertise in urban planning and real estate. Despite the relevance to urban regeneration, it is certain that their professional expertise was far removed from the promotion of community activity itself. In other words, the intermediary organisation tended to be led by those with a lack of experience, for example, in community building, community organisation, and community service provision. In fact, it seems that there was a municipal effort to find and appoint elites with practical experience in community work (C2-PS-INN-1, 2018). However, this was hardly possible because the field of community work has long been marginal in Korea's mainstream planning thought. In other words, it is only recently that community work has started to gain prominence in the academic, public and professional sectors. Community work has still not been fully recognised as a separate profession but only as a part of relevant professions such as architecture or planning in existing institutions. In this context, the government tended to choose professionals such as architects or planners as alternative leaders in intermediary organisations. Given this, it is no surprise that there emerged a gap between the leader's expertise and the intermediary organisation's tasks. That is, the intermediary organisation was probably confronted with a gap between what they could do best (e.g. planning) and what needed to be done (e.g. community building) during the NID programme.

Under these circumstances, the COs were often solely committed to managing to fill in the gap without practical help or support from the elitist leader. It should be noted, however, that many COs started to join the NID programme immediately after completion of the SMG's community organiser training course (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018; C2-IS-INT-4, 2019). In other words, the COs were complete novices who needed supportive mentors

to guide them in how to plan, implement, and assess community work step by step. However, this was hardly possible while SMG continued to appoint elite professionals with little or no experience in community work as leaders in support groups. In this sense, it can be seen that intermediary intervention here took place in an elitist framework that distinguishes experts and non-experts, preventing the inclusive growth of COs.

Specialisation versus Isolation of Intermediaries

As outlined above, COs often struggled to work in support groups, as there was no stable organisational structure where COs could learn and grow professionally. Certainly, it was difficult for them to communicate with a leader, and, accordingly they received little support from these leaders. In this organisational structure, COs were likely to come into conflict with leaders, leading to lack of teamwork in support groups. This point was stressed by one of the COs in SDA, who was frustrated by a leader's way of working in the support group.

What made me frustrated was the leader's sudden announcement that his firm would no longer work in SDA after the NID programme. I was upset to see that he made the decision alone, without discussion with any of us in advance. This situation panicked me due to the fear that I might not be able to work here if a different firm was commissioned after the NID programme. For me, it was a really uncertain and stressful time, because I was not sure about my future career as a community organiser in SDA. (C2-IS-INT-4, 2019, a current community organiser).

This implies that the NID programme could mean different things to different stakeholders: leader and COs. For the leader, the NID programme was not the core business in the leader's firm. It was regarded as no more than a small, temporary project, as there were many other big projects being conducted in the leader's firm. Hence, it is likely that the leader saw the support group as a provisional organisation from which to temporarily recruit COs to deliver the project on time. On the other hand, the COs saw the NID programme in a different light. For them, the NID programme was a stepping stone on their way to grow as community workers. However, this was not the case in reality. The COs were not in a strong position to set their aspirational goals and achieve them while working with the leader in the support group. They only had to ensure that

their assigned tasks were done in a timely manner. Hence, the COs could not manage to make extra efforts towards new community activities in a more nuanced manner. Besides, the COs frequently felt uneasy about their potential unemployment while working for the NID programme. This is because they were under contracts with the support group, which could be replaced by a different external firm on completion of the NID programme. Hence, unsurprisingly, the COs tended to struggle with anxiety, distress or confusion as to their future careers and more fundamentally their identity as community workers during the NID programme.

Entering the next five-year programme, the support group was dissolved and replaced with a local UR centre, which adopted the same subcontract system as the support group. However, the number of its subcontractors more than doubled, as more responsibility was given to the centre. In other words, the subcontract system in the centre was scaled up, while the centre's workload increased. In CHA, the increased workload was divided into two discrete tasks: community building and neighbourhood planning. Then, the two tasks were outsourced to two professional firms: an architectural firm for community building and an engineering firm for neighbourhood planning. In this extended partnership, it is certain that the COs' position became more specialised and professionalised. However, it seems that the COs' work was more isolated, while the two firms were working separately rather than collectively. This point was described by one of COs in CHA who struggled to work with a team in the centre.

Our local UR centre has two teams: a community building team and a neighbourhood planning team. I have been working as a CO in the community building team. My team members usually commute to work in the centre's office. But, the other team members seldom come to this office except for a weekly meeting. They mainly work in the office of engineering firm that hired them. Probably, the firm was reluctant to dispatch its staff on site, using as little manpower as possible for this small project, but this is not the case for me. Economic value doesn't matter that much to me, as the project itself means a lot to me. For me, this project is a stepping stone toward becoming a competent CO. I'm sure the centre's director is already aware of this situation, but no action has been taken so far, because he is just a part-time director with no

actual power to manage or control the commissioned engineering firm. (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

This description confirms that the local UR centre has a pair of teams working independently rather than collaborating with each other. It seems that this independent work culture resulted from its unique subcontract system. Looking at the system, it was found that a local university professor made a part-time director's contract with SMG. That is to say, the professor worked for SMG as a freelance director to manage the two internal teams in the local UR centre. However, it turned out that the two teams were commissioned directly by the local authority. In this contractual structure, the director has no legal right to recruit and select staff members in the centre. Instead, the professional firms are entitled to employ and supply staff members to the centre. For example, an architectural firm directly hired COs for a community building team, while an engineering firm employed designers for a local planning team. Although the director is the centre's official leader, each staff member tends to comply with what each of the professional firms instruct in practice.

Given this, it can be seen that the local UR centre contains three different groups: a community building team, a neighbourhood planning team, and a freelance director. Technically, these three groups have no contractual relationship with each other. Instead, they have contracts with different external bodies: SMG, the local authority or professional firms. This means that there is no official contract between the three groups working under one roof of the local UR centre. In such a unique partnership, COs could take on a more specialised role in the centre while working closely with a professional firm. But, at the same time, they could often feel isolated at work while being prevented from collaborating with the other professional firm. Hence, for COs, such a subcontract system is ambivalent in terms of specialisation and isolation of their work in the local UR centre.

Meanwhile, for freelance directors, the subcontract system is likely to serve to limit their roles in the local UR centre. That is, while each staff member is mainly instructed by external firms, the director could end up in a nominal position. This was pointed out by one of the COs in CHA, who saw its director struggling to manage the centre.

In fact, the director in our centre is a professor of real estate at a local university. He usually commuted to the centre three days a week, so he didn't have enough time for direct communication with us while at work. Rather, our contractor (an architectural firm) often gave us substantive and timely instructions. For us, thus, his involvement felt like just a formality...One day, the director suddenly told us that he would resign from his position and leave the centre next month. This really upset me because I expected that he would at least discuss such important issues with us in advance. Nevertheless, I could understand why he made that decision, as I've seen him struggling to juggle the centre and the school many times. I don't think it is simply because his profession is not community building or something. More fundamentally, it is linked to the reality where the director has no right, for example, to select the staff, organise the teams, or handle the finance. (C2-IS-INT-3, 2018, a former community organiser)

Simply put, the subcontract system caused the director to suffer from a lack of authority to manage the local UR centre. In consequence, it led to weak leadership from the director, which could frustrate the COs and accordingly undermine the teamwork in the centre. This point makes the mayoral URP different from the national URP in the sense that professional firms are foregrounded while the role of the director is downplayed. For example, in the mayoral URP, the director has no rights to recruit COs or organise teams in the centre. Such rights are given to professional firms that can give COs a full-time position and thereby full social benefits packages. Moreover, in the mayoral URP, the director is less influential in a multi-layered contractual relationship where the director has a part-time freelance contract with SMG, whereas the professional firms have a full-time outsourcing contract with the local authority. Accordingly, the local UR centre in the mayoral URP is more likely to lack internal coordination between outsourced tasks while promoting specialisation of each task.

Therefore, it is seen that there has been a change in intermediary structure in the mayoral URP by adding an additional layer of 'professional firms'. It is certain that this additional layer has helped COs to gain full-time positions with full social benefits packages while taking a more specialised role in the centre. However, it should be noted that it also caused a lack of leadership and teamwork, which can lead to workplace isolation in the centre.

In this sense, it can be understood that the intermediary intervention here has a double-edged nature: that is, vocational specialisation versus organisational isolation within the local UR centre.

5.3.4. Engagement of the Community

Lack of Diversity and Representation in Community Participation

After the NID programme was launched, new community initiatives emerged in CHA and SDA. In the beginning, the COs organised a series of small events where residents could meet those with similar interests. At these events, residents were guided to find mutual interests and create new initiatives to address the interests. Some examples are new initiatives for after-school childcare, urban agriculture, and DIY woodcraft. However, it is admitted that there were no active interactions between these initiatives, as they were operated separately. That is to say, each initiative acted in a separate silo rather than cooperating across silos. Unsurprisingly, therefore, it was hard to find cross-initiative cooperation cases during the NID programme. This point was stressed by one of residents who participated in after-school childcare activities in SDA.

During the NID programme, we were encouraged to identify local issues and create a small initiative to take collective action for the identified issues. For example, a circle of young moms created an initiative for after-school childcare, while a group of senior residents formed an initiative for urban farming and gardening. As a member of the after-school childcare initiative, I would say I really enjoyed the activities while building good rapport with other young moms. But, to be honest, I barely joined the other initiatives' activities, which were simply not of interest to me. So, I didn't mingle with the other initiatives' members. As far as I remember, many other residents also stuck to only one initiative during the NID programme. (C2-CS-INT-5, 2019)

The above description provides an insight for better understanding of the features of the new community initiatives emerging in the NID programme. In general, the initiatives began to appear when like-minded residents gathered and identified their mutual interests. This means that each initiative was created based on a certain common interest serving to motivate residents to participate. From this point of view, each initiative can be seen as a 'special interest group', which is a small community with a shared interest, such as after-

school childcare or an urban agriculture project within a larger neighbourhood. It should be noted here that each shared interest tended to be clear and narrow, thereby preventing the initiatives from widening their boundaries. In other words, each community initiative was unlikely to extend its interest or expand its membership. This trend intensified while the initiatives continued to rely only on funding from the public sector (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018). This meant the each initiative could not help but focus on a narrow interest with a minimum number of members to ensure better use of the limited financial resources available. Given this, it can be understood that the new initiatives during the NID programme were close-knit groups and were unlikely to be inclusive.

Under these circumstances, some residents appeared active by participating in multiple activities across different initiatives. It was taken for granted that such active residents would serve as local representatives, as they were easily found in cross-initiative activities. But, there was also doubt as to whether the active participants could truly represent all of the residents. This point was outlined by a CO working closely with some active residents.

I encountered some residents who were passionate about community work during the NID programme. They actively participate in diverse events across different community initiatives. I thought this was possibly because they were certain kinds of people who have more free time, such as retirees, jobseeker or housewives. Certainly, their active involvement helped us to facilitate community-based activities despite time constraints. To be honest, we expected that new active residents would show up in the next five-year programme, but it did not happen. I found out that many activities were still led by the same active residents acting as local representatives. Admittedly, this situation made me feel that I was working with a small circle of residents despite making efforts to promote a wide variety of activities. (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

In the NID programme, there emerged a small number of residents who actively participated in cross-initiative activities. These active residents continued to lead the following activities in the next five-year programme. Unsurprisingly, they were seen as local representatives who could connect the government with residents in the mayoral URP. Yet, what should be noted here is that most of the active residents were from certain

groups of people, such as retirees or housewives (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018; C2-IS-INT-2-2, 2018). The reason is that such people were more likely to be able to attend activities during the centre's work hours, so that they could work closely with the centre. This means that the active residents could not represent other groups of people such as ordinary office workers, who could not attend daytime activities on weekdays. The above interviewee went on to argue:

...for example, it's hard to find active residents from ordinary working-class folk, because they can't afford to join community activities on a regular basis. So, my concern was whether the active residents could represent local people due to a lack of diversity in participants. In the second programme, this concern continued to grow. Only a few new residents showed up, while the old members remained influential in many subsequent activities. To attract more newcomers, we tried to promote new spatial practices such as façade repainting or repairs in the implementation step, but this does not seem to have contributed to diversifying or increasing participation. (C2-IS-INT-1-1, 2018, a current community organiser)

A series of the above descriptions confirm that interest-based initiatives were created during the NID programme. It was found that such new initiatives were likely to operate in their own silo due to limited financial resources and time constraints. Hence, it is no surprise that each initiative had evolved towards a close-knit community that was not particularly inclusive of new residents. Despite such siloed development, there emerged so-called 'active residents' who joined cross-initiative activities during the NID programme. In the following five-year programme, it transpired that the active residents took the lead in most of the community activities funded by the local UR centre. It is not strange that such active residents were regarded as local representatives acting as a bridge between residents and government. However, it is worth noting that most of the active residents were recruited from a certain group of people who could spare time during the local UR centre's work hours. That is, the issue of who could participate was often decided in terms of who could work with the local UR centre. Unsurprisingly, other groups of people, such as ordinary office workers, were less able to participate and represent themselves in the mayoral URP. Under these circumstances, it is certain that the active residents could not fully represent the entire population of residents, but only

those available for constant and regular participation. In this regard, it can be understood that new community initiatives here tend to have a lack of diversity and representation through community participation led by active residents from certain groups.

Limited Access of Community to Decision Making

Apart from the above issue of diversity and representation, another issue concerning the autonomy of community initiatives emerged in the mayoral URP. The new community initiatives have grown and changed along with the intervention of the intermediary organisations such as support groups or local UR centres. However, this intermediary intervention does not seem to have led to an autonomous community whose members could feel more listened to and engaged in constructive dialogue with government. The reason is that its intermediary structure was pre-determined and administered by government. This means that the residents had no real power and influence in the main decision-making processes, while the government held all the legal rights to regulate and manage the intermediary structure. Even active residents were likely to have been excluded from the important decision-making processes, such as human resource management or budgetary control underpinning the intermediary structure. This point was stressed by one of the active residents who felt excluded from the process of selecting a director in her local UR centre.

When the five-year programme started, SMG suddenly announced that it had appointed a local university's professor as a director in our local UR centre. I knew nothing about his appointment until SMG's announcement. It felt like something that just happened behind closed doors. Despite my active participation in URP, I was never invited to the selection process for the centre's director. It was all done exclusively by SMG and the local authority, so I had no idea how and why the professor was appointed at all. In fact, we residents asked SMG to let us participate in the selection process, but this request was refused, with the reason being that our involvement could make the selection process unfair or inefficient. After hearing that, I was afraid that I might remain excluded from other important decision-making processes. I'm still not sure it makes sense to rule out our involvement in deciding staff members working with us during URP. (C2-CS-INT-1, 2018, a local resident)

The above description implies that community participation was limited, while the local UR centre was under government control. Regardless of whether they had actively participated, it appears that the residents ultimately had limited access to key decision-making processes related to the local UR centre. For example, the processes for the centre's staff recruitment, financial audit, or property acquisition were not open to the residents (C2-CS-INT-1, 2018). These processes were certainly important for the inclusive intermediary structure, but were reviewed confidentially by SMG and the local authority. Accordingly, the residents were only allowed to act within the intermediary structure pre-determined by the government. They had very limited scope to act around it to reshape the intermediary structure specifically tailored to local needs.

Under these circumstances, residents were only regarded as simple participants in community programmes provided by the intermediary organisation. Even active residents were not seen as official partners despite their considerable contribution to community participation. Instead, the active residents remained as volunteer participants and were not as well-compensated as official members (e.g. COs) in the intermediary organisation, as their participation was taken for granted. In such intermediary structure, it is not surprising that the more actively the residents participated in URP, the more frustrated and disconnected from the government they became. This issue was pointed out by one of the active residents in the CHA who was constantly forced to volunteer in URP.

The government was reluctant to provide us with paid positions. It had a clear distinction between the centre's staff and us (residents). For the government, I think we (residents) were just public service users, while the staff were commissioned service providers. That is, we were no more than service consumers despite our active involvement in the service provision. Unsurprisingly, many active residents like me just continue to participate as volunteers assisting COs in an unofficial manner. The thing is, we're likely to be excluded from many official meetings or discussions, as such things are only open to official staff in the centre. This situation often made me feel that I was only being sacrificed or mobilised for the success of the mayoral URP. If the situation persists, I'm not sure I can continue to participate with such limited rights and unfair treatment. (C2-CS-INT-1, 2018, a local resident)

This shows that active residents were welcomed to participate and support the staff in the local UR centre. However, they were prevented from claiming any compensation for their active involvement in URP. In other words, there was no reward structure where active residents could reap financial or non-financial rewards for their contribution to URP. Indeed, this issue was not that serious in the NID programme, where COs mainly led activities while residents simply attended them. However, the reward issue came to the fore in the following five-year programme. The reason is that some active residents started to be asked to share COs' responsibilities along with the increased workload in the local UR centre. This point was outlined by one of active residents in CHA.

In the implementation step, our local UR centre appeared to struggle with increased work burden, ranging from community meetings to construction monitoring. To ease the burden, the centre suggested that we take on some of the COs' responsibilities, but under the condition that we should work on a volunteer basis rather than a paid basis. To be honest, I don't think such a volunteer-based approach is the best way to sustain our active participation. This is quite a critical issue that goes beyond the matter of financial reward. Imagine that you continue to volunteer for URP as an unofficial assistant for COs. The government will never see you as its counterpart but just as a simple participant in URP, so it's hard to form a true basis for a shared responsibility with the centre while being treated as a volunteer labour. (C2-CS-INT-2, 2018, a local resident)

Entering the five-year programme, active residents seemed no longer to be 'invited participants'. They were asked to act as practitioners supporting the local UR centre by sharing some of the COs' responsibilities. This change resulted from SMG's strategy, which aimed to create a more inclusive partnership through local the UR centre (C2-PS-INN-1, 2018). In other words, the local UR centre was instructed by SMG to incorporate more residents, particularly active residents, into its intermediary structure. Borrowing from Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, the active residents in the five-year programme entered into a 'partnership' within which to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with the government. However, it appears that their bargaining range in the negotiation was limited under the intermediary structure. For example, the active residents were rarely given the opportunity to work as official members of the centre: that

is, residents-turned-COs. The reason for this is that the intermediary structure has a particular stakeholder – that is, ‘professional firms’ – that directly hire and supply staff members to the local UR centre. As mentioned earlier, the professional firms were reluctant to hire new recruits from residents with unproven track records. Instead, they were likely to hire skilled workers or train existing employees for more efficient management of their manpower within a limited budget.

Under these circumstances, it appears that certain ‘rules of the game’ for intermediary intervention were framed. In the rules of the game, most intermediary actors were networked through professional firms with multiple contracts between government and staff members in intermediary organisations. This means that residents were likely to be ruled out as intermediary actors, as professional firms were unwilling to make contracts with them. In this game, the residents were only regarded as subjects, clients and consumers rather than as those of equal worth and decision-making capacity. That is, despite active participation in URP, the residents had no substantive power to influence decision-making processes related to the formation of their intermediary structure. Ironically, it is no surprise that the more time and energy residents devote to participating in URP, which then results in endless volunteering and sacrifice, the more they may end up feeling that their intermediary organisation is not truly inclusive. In this regard, it can be seen that residents were likely to be prevented from fuller engagement in URP under the multi-layered intermediary structure.

5.4. Self-funded Intermediary Intervention: Dongja-dong Case

5.4.1. Local Context

Between the 1960s and the 1980s, Seoul was strategically mobilised by the developmental state to promote labour-intensive industries such as textiles, garments and food products. This caused an influx of labourers and an increase of housing supply to accommodate these new labourers. Under these circumstances, the Dongja-dong area (DJA) served as a place to accommodate, especially, day labourers from the countryside due to its excellent transportation network (Lee, 2006). DJA is located next to Seoul station, which is one of the largest terminus stations for national railway lines as well as a major station on the city metro lines. Thanks to its close proximity to Seoul station,

there were many low-cost lodging houses in DJA where travellers or visitors could stay temporarily. Most of the houses were a low-rise dosshouse type with an array of small partitioned single rooms (Lee, 2006). Many rooms in these houses were rented out to those who hunted for daily labour while travelling throughout the city as well as to tourists who sought cheap accommodation.

Entering the neo-developmental period (1990s-2000s), a series of market-driven housing redevelopments, combined with the state's aspiration for beautification and modernisation, occurred in inner-city areas across Seoul. This caused massive evictions of local residents who could not afford to pay the charge for redevelopment or the increased rent fees. Furthermore, the 1997 Asian financial crisis gave rise to a number of business failures and personal bankruptcies that worsened such evictions and caused subsequent homelessness (Ha, 2007, 2010). But DJA was excluded from a list of the housing redevelopment areas due to its low profitability, caused by a strict building height restriction: a maximum of 20 meters with five storeys (C3-IS-INT-1-2, 2019). Accordingly, the low-cost accommodation in DJA remained unchanged and served to accommodate evictees or homeless people. While such trends continued, DJA gained fame as one of the neighbourhoods where the most vulnerable people in Seoul could afford to live.

Meanwhile, DJA has no official administrative boundary, since it has naturally expanded and spanned over three different dong: Dongja-dong, Garwol-dong, and Huam-dong (Kim, 2016). Hence, it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which DJA has been deprived by using the National Indices of Multiple Deprivation (NIMD), which are based on dong units. Alternatively, the overall deprivation in DJA can be estimated using demographic statistics from the so-called *jjokbang* village there. '*Jjokbang*' refers to a tiny single room with less than 10 square metres of floor space (Lee, 2006), which is a typical residence type in DJA. The table below shows three sets of demographic information from the *jjokbang* village in 2015.

Table 9. Three different sets of demographic information from *jjokbang* community in DJA in 2015.

	Basic livelihood security recipient proportion	Registered disabled proportion	Aged population ratio (aged 60 or older)
Dongja-dong	55.1%	16.1%	48.6%
Garwol-dong	47.8%	23.9%	
Huam-dong	40.0%	8.0%	
Seoul average	2.4%	3.9%	19.0%

Source: Kim, D.Y. (2016) and Korean Statistical Information Service (2016)

The *jjokbang* village in DJA is a medium-sized neighbourhood with about 1,000 residents. The above figures show that it has a distinctive demographic structure. Firstly, it has a high proportion of beneficiaries of the national basic livelihood security programme, which provides financial support to low-income individuals whose earnings are less than the minimum cost of living. As of 2015, the figure in DJA surpassed 50 percent, while the average figure in Seoul was only 2.4 percent. DJA also has a large number of residents who are registered disabled. More than 15 percent of people in DJA were registered as disabled, while the average figure in Seoul was lower than 4 percent in 2015. Furthermore, the table shows a high ratio of aged population in DJA. While only about 19 percent of the population in Seoul were aged 60 or older, the figure in DJA was almost 50 percent. Moreover, compared to other areas in Seoul, DJA has an extremely high rate of old buildings aged 20 years or older. According to the *jjokbang* building survey in 2015 (Kim and Ryu, 2015), more than 97 percent of *jjokbang* buildings in DJA were more than 20 years old, while the average figure in Seoul was about 65 percent. Such figures represent the extent of social and physical deprivation in DJA, which is higher than in other parts of Seoul.

There have been institutional efforts to promote redevelopment around DJA in order to prevent its further deprivation. For example, in 2010, SMG allowed reconstruction of the existing buildings in DJA by easing the height restriction for new buildings from 20 metres with five storeys to 90 meters with 18 storeys (Kim, 2016). This was in line with a market-driven redevelopment plan for Seoul station and its surrounding areas (*ibid.*).



Figure 18. Geographical location and neighbourhood images of DJA.
Source: Map (Google Maps) and Photo (by author, 2018)

Such redevelopment resulted in the conversion of some *jjokbang* buildings into commercial accommodation such as guest houses managed by Airbnb. However, it is worth noting that there are still many *jjokbang* buildings that serve as affordable homes for the vulnerable population in DJA. To make their voices heard by SMG, the remaining residents collectively created a local initiative in cooperation with a civil society organisation. While this collective local effort has been made, further redevelopment has slowed down in DJA. Yet the speculative redevelopment trend still continues in DJA.

5.4.2. Governance Relationships

DJA has two different types of intermediary organisation: the Seoul station *jjokbang* counselling centre (hereafter Seoul station *jjokbang* centre) and the Dongja area *sarangbang* (hereafter DJA *sarangbang*). The Seoul station *jjokbang* centre began as part of the organisation of a social service department in Yongsan local authority in 2001 (Kim, 2016). As its importance increased, the centre was handed over to the regional government – SMG – in 2013. Since then, SMG has commissioned non-profit organisations to operate the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre. Between 2013 and 2017, SMG commissioned a charity group called the Big Issue Korea, which aims to help the poor find work. Since 2018, a faith-based philanthropic organisation called Onuri Welfare Foundation has served as the centre’s operator. Through such non-profit organisations,

the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre can provide the residents in DJA with various social welfare services such as medical aid, employment support, and legal advice, as well as supplies of food and basic necessities. In this regard, the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre can be seen as a publicly-funded intermediary organisation that performs a welfare service provider role in DJA to prevent its further deprivation on behalf of SMG.

In contrast, the DJA *sarangbang* is a self-funded intermediary organisation that aims to revitalise the *jjokbang* community in DJA. The DJA *sarangbang* was organically formed in the late 2000s when an activist organised a local initiative of *jjokbang* residents against the speculative redevelopment taking place around DJA. Similar to the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre, it also provided welfare-related services such as employment support and legal advice. However, the DJA *sarangbang* placed more focus on how to promote collective capabilities of *jjokbang* residents cooperating with radical civil society organisations such as Homeless Action or Korean People’s Solidarity Against Poverty rather than relying on the public sector (C3-IS-INT-1-2, 2019). Hence, for the residents, the DJA *sarangbang* is a self-help intermediary organisation to improve their neighbourhood by enhancing their communal autonomy against market or state forces. Considering this point, it is worth a close look at the DJA *sarangbang* for a meaningful comparison with the publicly-funded local UR centres in the new urban regeneration framework. The diagram below shows the change in governance arrangements of the DJA *sarangbang*.

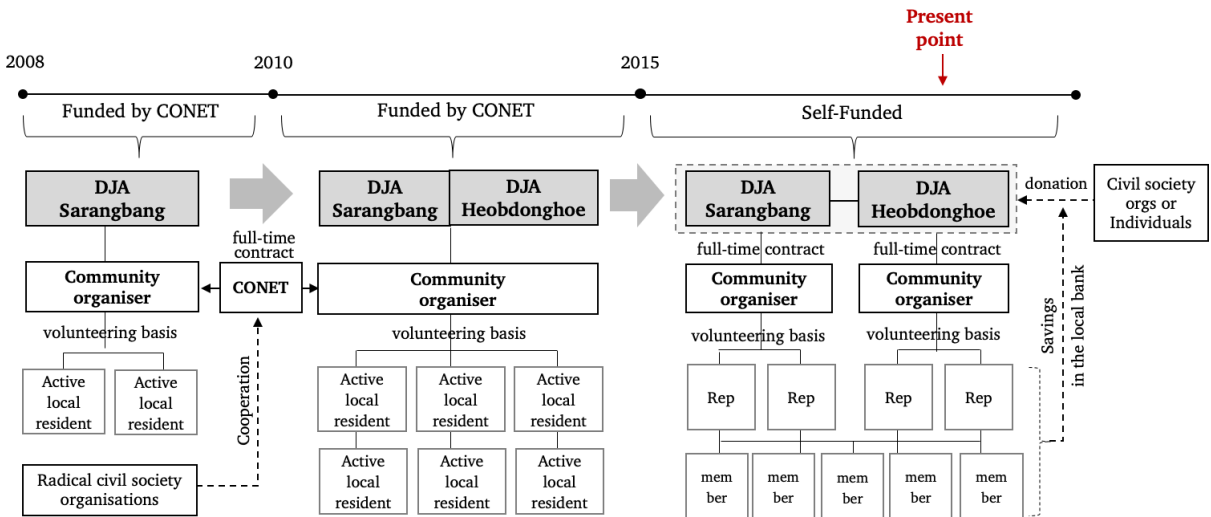


Figure 19. A transformation of intermediary governance arrangements in DJA (source: diagram created by author)

The DJA *sarangbang* first emerged in 2008 when a civil rights activist settled in DJA and started to organise an initiative of *jjokbang* residents (C3-IS-INT-1-2, 2019). In fact, the activist was a staff member of CONET (Community Organisation Information Network), which is a radical civil society organisation serving to educate vulnerable citizens and foster their autonomy. As a full-time worker in the CONET, the activist was sent to DJA to enlighten the *jjokbang* residents and promote their collective capabilities by challenging the dominant market- or state-led redevelopment happening around DJA. While residing in DJA, the activist was given financial support from CONET to create and manage a small intermediary organisation called the DJA *sarangbang*. Hence, it is seen that the DJA *sarangbang* started with help from a non-state and non-profit organisation beyond government or market influence. According to an interview with a current CO in DJA (C3-IS-INT-1-1, 2019), the activist's initial efforts provided the basis for building rapport and trust among residents in DJA. By organising diverse gatherings such as a potluck lunch or an information sharing meeting, the activist encouraged residents to discuss personal interests or difficulties and figure out common issues in DJA. In this respect, it appears that the early DJA *sarangbang* was focused on how to identify a shared domain of interests or needs among the *jjokbang* residents.

Since 2010, the focus has shifted towards how to deal with the shared issues identified in practice. For this, the DJA *sarangbang* restructured its internal organisations to take practical and effective action for each issue in substance. For example, one identified issue was that many *jjokbang* residents had no access to basic bank services due to their low credit scores. That is, the residents were unable to get loans or debit cards, or even to open accounts at commercial banks. To address such problems, the DJA *sarangbang* decided to establish an alternative local banking system. For its operation, the DJA *sarangbang* created a new internal organisation called the Dongja area *hyeobdongheo* (hereafter DJA *hyeobdongheo*) in 2010. Unlike commercial banks, the DJA *hyeobdongheo* took the form of a community-based credit union through which any *jjokbang* resident could make a deposit and get a loan regardless of their credit history.

Meanwhile, another common issue was that most of the *jjokbang* buildings were not well-equipped with cooking facilities. Hence, many *jjokbang* residents often made do with

instant meals rather than proper home-cooked meals. In response to this, the DJA *sarangbang* formed another internal organisation called Dongja-dong area *sikdorak* (hereafter DJA *sikdorak*) to run a communal kitchen where *jjokbang* residents can eat a home-cooked lunch at an affordable price. In this period, the DJA *sarangbang* grew in size by expanding its scope of work and responsibilities. Despite such growth, there was little or no change in the management of financial and human resources in its intermediary structure. That is, the CONET was still a main source of financial resources in the DJA *sarangbang*, while the CO was an employee hired by the DJA *sarangbang*.

Entering the year 2015, however, there was a significant change in fiscal mechanism and organisational configuration in the intermediary structure. Firstly, the DJA *hyeobdonghoe* was repositioned in parallel with the DJA *sarangbang*. Then, two COs were recruited and assigned to the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdonghoe* respectively. This led to the emergence of a certain intermediary organisation with a pair of teams that are organisationally separated from each other: the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdonghoe*. The reason for this change is that the DJA *hyeobdonghoe* gained growing prominence as the demand for local banking services increased. After the local banking system was settled, CONET discontinued its financial support in DJA. Instead, the intermediary organisation began to self-fund community activities by making use of deposits in the local bank or donations from charities or individuals. As a result, the COs could start to work under direct contract to the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdonghoe* without financial support from CONET.

Despite such progressive changes, it appears that this intermediary organisation has still struggled with conflict with the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre. This conflict is, in substance, rooted in an institutional distinction where the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre is regarded as the only official intermediary organisation while others are deemed peripheral. In other words, the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdonghoe* are barely treated as official counterparts of SMG, since the official position was taken by the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdonghoe* have had difficulty in communicating with the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre and SMG. With this point in mind, the following sub-sections present a thematic

analysis of the self-funded intermediary-led participation by using local narratives collected from DJA.

5.4.3. Forms of Intervention

Intermediaries Emerging at Margins of Welfare

As noted earlier, DJA continues to serve to accommodate vulnerable populations such as those with low incomes and elderly or disabled people, since rent in DJA remains affordable for them. Hence, it is no surprise that compared to other parts of Seoul, DJA has a large proportion of residents with experience of eviction or homelessness resulting in debt problems. That is, many residents in DJA tend to suffer from credit delinquency or personal bankruptcy, preventing their access to the services of formal (non-)monetary institutions such as commercial banks and insurance corporations. For the residents, solving this problem was one of their top priorities to ensure a better quality of life. To effectively address such situation, the DJA *sarangbang* took radical action by creating an alternative local banking system and organising a new subgroup for its operation (DJA *hyeobdonghoe*). This radical approach seems to have contributed to initiating the residents into planning and managing personal finance, albeit in a limited manner, as was described by one of the residents in DJA.

For a long time, my credit score was very low, so I was prevented from accessing any services in commercial banks, as my poor credit history blocked me from any application to the banks. But our local bank is different. Regardless of your credit history, you are allowed to open a new account and get a loan from the local bank when necessary. For example, last month, I needed money very urgently to pay for hospital bills for my elderly mother. Immediately, I was able to take out a loan of 100,000 KRW (around £70) from the local bank. It would've been impossible from commercial banks. Perhaps other people may think the service is not that big a deal, as it can cover only a small amount of money. But for me, it's crucial, as it is the only way for me to get some fast cash in emergency situations. Probably, no commercial banks would loan me even small amounts of money immediately. That's why I'm still maintaining my membership in the DJA *hyeobdonghoe*. (C3-CS-INT-2, 2019, a local resident)

It is certain that a community-based credit union emerged, consisting of the vulnerable population who were excluded from formal financial institutions. To systematically manage this union, the DJA *sarangbang* created its sub-organisation: the DJA *hyeobdonghoe*. Since then, intermediary intervention has promoted expansion of the community-based credit union. The union's membership was open to all who were interested in the local banking services, as well as to residents in DJA. Under this local banking system, all members were allowed to open personal accounts and save even very small amounts of money. They were also able to use an emergency loan service of up to 500,000 KRW (around £330) without any conditions despite their persistent low credit ratings. It is true that this local banking system can only cover basic services such as deposits, withdrawals, and loan to a limited extent. Yet, it appears that such basic services have benefitted many residents in DJA who are struggling with debt problems that have led to a vicious circle of poverty. In this respect, it is seen that the intermediary intervention here played an important role in forming trust-based communities and improving their quality of life in DJA. A similar intermediary intervention can be found in the DJA *sikdorak*, which provides residents with a home-cooked lunch at a low price.

I've lived in a *jjokbang* for a long time. It's a very tiny single room with neither a private toilet nor a kitchen, so it's difficult for me to eat home-cooked meals. Instead, I often made do with junk food such as instant noodles, frozen pizza and so on. I was always worried about such unhealthy diet, but there was nothing else, as I couldn't afford to eat out every day. But I've got another option for lunch since the DJA *sikdorak* was launched in DJA. For only 1,000 KRW (around 70p), I can enjoy a nice lunch in the DJA *sikdorak*. It's a proper home-cooked meal with steamed rice, hot soup, two to three side dishes, and a dessert. Although it is only open for lunch, I'm happy that I can have at least one full but affordable meal every day. Plus, if I have no cash for some reason, they let me pay them back later or just skip the fee. It's not just me, but also many others in DJA. This makes me feel that I can have a warm-hearted lunch with family or relatives. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

This excerpt confirms that another communal service began through the DJA *sikdorak*. What should be noted here is that the DJA *sikdorak* is run by local residents rather than being commissioned to an external food-service company. The DJA *sikdorak* has three

staff members: one chef and two assistants. They are all local residents and work on a voluntary basis. This is possible because a group of residents take it in turns to do the voluntary work by making use of donated funds or food from civil society organisations or individuals. In other words, a communal dining service was created while a collective responsibility was shared among the residents through the DJA *sarangbang*. Interestingly, such collective experiences have resulted in the emergence of similar community-based services such as a furniture repair service, a cleaning service, and a funeral service in DJA. As many *jjokbang* residents had no family or cousins, such community-based services benefitted them individually as well as enhancing their quality of communal life.



Figure 20. A communal kitchen service (upper images), a furniture repair service, and a funeral service (lower right images) in DJA.

Source: Author (upper images) and DJA *sarangbang* (lower images)

In this regard, the intermediary intervention here contributed to building a platform where the residents can produce and consume the communal services that they desire. It is true that the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre also endeavours to provide a variety of communal services. But it seems to have taken a more administrative management approach to communal service provision, as was pointed out by a resident in DJA.

The Seoul station *jjokbang* centre also offered some services similar to what the DJA *sarangbang* provided. But it offered the services in different ways. For

example, the *jjokbang* centre always required me to make an appointment to see its director for discussion or consultation, but I was always allowed to stop by the *sarangbang* and talk with its CO without permission. The *jjokbang* centre also held a regular free meal event where donated food products from companies are distributed. In this event, I had to stand in a long line to get a free meal. This long line was often photographed by the centre's staff. I really hated having these pictures taken, because they made me feel like I was being treated as an animal in a zoo or a beggar on the street. In contrast, the DJA *sikdorak* never asked us to queue outside. Instead, they let us stop by for lunch anytime in the afternoon. To improve this issue, we raised our voice to the centre and even petitioned SMG for it. Their answer was always the same: 'We will do our best to correct it'. But I found that no actual action has been taken and no real change has been made so far in the system. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

This description implies that two distinctive forms of intermediary intervention coexist in DJA: administration-oriented intervention (Seoul station *jjokbang* centre) and community-centred intervention (DJA *sarangbang*). The Seoul station *jjokbang* centre tends to work in the way most public offices do, as it was a publicly-funded organisation. When residents wanted to discuss issues with the *jjokbang* centre, they were asked to make an appointment in advance. Moreover, in free meal events, the *jjokbang* centre distributed donated items on a 'first come first served' basis under the name of fairness. This gave rise to an unusual scene where people lined up from morning for tickets to get a free meal. This unusual scene was often visually recorded and used by the *jjokbang* centre to report or promote itself to SMG or other authorities. This means the centre's services were generally processed in an administrative manner. Although originally designed to improve the residents' quality of life, such services rather damaged their self-esteem and thereby undermined their overall quality of life. This critical point is also found in another service, namely the public rental housing service, designed to provide the *jjokbang* residents with new spacious rental flats at an affordable price.

Last year, I moved to public rental housing in another area managed by the *jjokbang* centre. It's a small studio type apartment with a private bathroom and a sink. I was given a larger room equipped with more facilities, but I've been

mentally distressed since moving in. It feels like my flat was the only public rental housing, while others were private rental or owned houses. I've never tried to get along with my new neighbours, because they looked like middle or upper class. Probably, it's only me that receives basic livelihood security money in this apartment. This invisible gap daunted and frustrated me. Two years ago, one of my friends also moved into different public rental housing. But he really suffered from depression after his new neighbours noticed that he was a basic livelihood security recipient. Eventually, he committed suicide, jumping out of a window, as he couldn't endure the social isolation in the new neighbourhood. I related to and identified with him. For me, DJA is a spiritual home, although it's physically far from where I actually live now, so I often come by DJA, because people here let me feel a sense of belonging. We are just alike. (C3-CS-INT-3, 2019, an ex-resident)

In fact, the public rental housing service was planned to decrease the number of *jjokbang* residents by providing them with opportunities to move into studio-type apartments at a low price. This service evidently contributed to increasing the quality of the rooms where they live. However, little attention was paid to the wider context of neighbourhoods where the apartments are situated. That is, the underlying issues of communal living were largely overlooked. In this respect, the centre's intermediary intervention did not adequately address more fundamental issues such as self-esteem, mutual confidence, or communal life underpinning the formation of sustainable places for the vulnerable population. In contrast, the DJA *sarangbang* was more focused on how to foster the population's communal life, sustain their shared identity and thereby improve their quality of life. The creation of the DJA *hyeobdonghoe* and *sikdorak* provided a variety of communal services such as local banking services, a communal kitchen, a furniture repair service, a cleaning service, and a funeral service. One thing to note here is that such communal services were run and used by the residents themselves. In this process, the DJA *sarangbang* helped them to manage such services in a more autonomous manner. In this sense, it is understood that the DJA *sarangbang*'s intermediary intervention served to create a certain platform for communal service provision by and for the residents in DJA.

Intermediaries Inside versus Outside Government Institution

As stressed above, it is clear that the DJA *sarangbang* performed an important role in improving quality of life in the *jjokbang* community. Despite such contribution, the DJA *sarangbang* was not seen as an official counterpart to SMG in DJA. For SMG, the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre was its only official intermediary partner, while others were deemed to be informal due to the lack of official contracts. Hence, it is no wonder that SMG tended to communicate directly with the centre for important decision-making in DJA. That is, the DJA *sarangbang* was generally excluded from the decision-making process in planning or managing publicly-funded local activities that can affect the *jjokbang* community, as pointed out by a *jjokbang* resident.

Under contract to SMG, the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre had many opportunities to collaborate with external corporations or institutions. For example, the centre worked jointly with a large corporation called Korea Telecom to create a neighbourhood plan in DJA in 2013. But we didn't know about it until they showed us their draft proposal at the public hearing. Their proposal was to beautify the built environment, such as streetscape improvement or interior renovation with matching funds by Korea Telecom and SMG. What upset us the most was a plan to transform DJA into a so-called art village by converting old *jjokbangs* into new workshops for young artists. We neither wanted nor needed that, but that was what they planned, for some reason. Fortunately, the proposal was eventually cancelled due to our constant campaigning against it. But, since that point, I think the *sarangbang* and the centre have started to drift apart. (C3-IS-INT-1-1, 2019, a current community organiser)

There was a clear distinction between the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre and the DJA *sarangbang*: official versus unofficial intermediary. SMG regarded the *sarangbang* as a radical group supported by non-governmental organisation outside its control or influence. Hence, the *sarangbang* was often excluded when promoting publicly-funded projects. In contrast, the *jjokbang* centre was often invited to participate in the decision-making process for such projects. Hence, as an official intermediary, the *jjokbang* centre was able to gain official opportunities to collaborate with SMG or its apparatuses for neighbourhood improvement in DJA. This meant that the *jjokbang* centre could engage

in official partnerships with diverse stakeholders by taking advantage of its official status in DJA. Through this partnership, the *jjokbang* centre was able to create a large pool of volunteers: for example, from neighbouring schools, supermarkets, and hospitals. Moreover, the centre could sign multiple memorandums of understanding with diverse corporations such as a law firm and a telecommunications company. In other words, the *jjokbang* centre served as a welfare platform to provide useful services such as medical care, legal advice, social housing consultation and free food distribution through its official partnership in DJA.

However, it is worth a close look at the reasons behind the participation of external partners. Drawing on several interviews (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019; C3-CS-INT-2, 2019; C3-IS-INT-1-1, 2019), it appears that partner schools encouraged their students to do volunteer work in DJA to earn credits for mandatory community service. It is also likely that partner hospitals encouraged their doctors-in-training to join the DJA medical outreach team to meet a basic requirement for promotion after the training period. In this respect, it can be seen that the external actors engaged in the partnership with a personal stake rather than with a full commitment to combat local problems identified in DJA. It is certain that the *jjokbang* centre made an effort to mobilise external resources to address local problems. However, it appears that the problems still remained unsolved or rather got worse. This is because every important decision tended to be made based on a government goal: maximising efficiency and utilisation of external resources for welfare benefit in DJA. Hence, it is no wonder that some radical demands were dismissed, since they were judged ineffective or inappropriate to produce tangible results with the external resources. Under these circumstances, the DJA *sarangbang* could do nothing to combine the radical local demands and the voluntary external resources. Rather, the *sarangbang* served to reduce opportunities for the residents to access the official partnership and join the publicly-funded projects. This point was stressed by a CO in DJA who mentioned potential problems resulting from the unofficial status of the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdonghoe*.

In fact, the DJA *hyeobdonghoe* is not a legally-registered cooperative. SMG has asked us to register so that it can officially fund or support the *hyeobdonghoe*. But, once we are legally registered, we would no longer be allowed to provide finance-related services, including our local banking service.

For us, the local banking service was not something negotiable: it was essential. So we had no option but to give up the benefits of having statutory status and maintain the banking service outside the institutional domain. Hence, we were given hardly any official funds or support from external actors. For instance, the DJA *hyeobonghoe* is not on the list of those eligible to apply for SMG-funded projects due to its lack of legal standing. Besides, large corporations like Korea Telecom are reluctant to sponsor the DJA *sarangbang*, because it's unable to issue legal documents for their tax exemption benefit, for example, through the CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) programme. As a result, we've been naturally excluded from many projects involving the private as well as the public sector. (C3-IS-INT-1-2, 2019, a current community organiser)

It is certain that the DJA *sarangbang* has contributed to developing a local initiative for a local cooperative to provide the communal services that *jjokbang* residents need. However, the local cooperative had to stand outside institutional domain to maintain this service provision. The reason for this is that such radical and effective local practices still remain outside the current legal framework. This has led to reduced opportunity for the local cooperative to engage in publicly or privately-funded urban projects. In this respect, it can be seen that involvement of DJA *sarangbang* served to prevent *jjokbang* residents from building new relationships with the private as well as the public sector in their neighbourhood improvement process.

To address this matter, the DJA *sarangbang* made alternative efforts to forge relationships with different external actors. For example, it tried to construct a wider network with similar vulnerable communities in different neighbourhoods in Seoul. By sharing their local banking service, its membership spread across the cross-community network in Seoul. Furthermore, the *sarangbang* extended its relationships with progressive external groups such as the Korea People's Solidarity against Poverty or the Korea Human Rights Foundation. While inviting them as guest speakers or consultants, it increased the chances for residents to interact with those in support of their radical community activities. Despite such alternative efforts, however, the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobonghoe* still remain unauthorised, unofficial, or unlicensed in legal terms. From an outside point of view, they are no more than minorities outside the state's legitimate remit, while the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre officially represents the main local voice. In this

regard, it is understood that the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobonghoe* enabled the residents to nurture their communal autonomy outside governmental institutions by encouraging radical intermediary intervention.

5.4.4. Engagement of the Community

Improved Communal Autonomy out of Government Control

Since its launch in 2008, the DJA *sarangbang* has tried to enlighten *jjokbang* residents with poor credit history. While participating in gatherings led by the *sarangbang*, the residents could get practical information about how to recover from bad credit, regain job opportunities, or receive basic livelihood security money. Such information-sharing served as the basis for attracting residents' attention and promoting their participation in community activities in DJA, as described by one resident.

I settled in DJA in the 2000s, since the rent was low and it was close to the construction site where I worked. I remember an activist started to come here from 2008 or 2009. He went from door to door to meet local residents. At first glance, I suspected that he was up to something for himself, but before long I realised that I had misunderstood. He often organised a potluck or a small workshop to inform us about welfare programmes, none of which we believed would concern us. In the gatherings, we learnt about how to claim welfare benefits to which we were entitled. In my case, I gained recruitment information from the gatherings and got a welfare-related job. Another resident was able to claim and receive basic livelihood security money by making use of information from the gatherings. For us, therefore, it is important to continue participating in the gatherings, because we can be updated with useful news that is related to ourselves or DJA. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

This confirms that there have been a series of community gatherings such as a potluck and an information sharing meeting. Through these gatherings, the DJA *sarangbang* tried to enlighten local residents about basic welfare benefits that they had missed. This was useful, as many *jjokbang* residents needed more welfare benefits since filing for bankruptcy or credit delinquency. Hence, as a strategy to facilitate community participation, the DJA *sarangbang* made use of these gatherings, which made them aware

of their basic rights and helped them to reclaim the rights from the public sector. This radical approach to community participation gave rise to the emergence of radical initiatives where the vulnerable population could nurture a sense of belonging while learning about their fundamental rights as citizens through community gatherings.



Figure 21. Community gatherings led by DJA *sarangbang* in DJA. Source: Author

One thing to note here is that such gatherings were not only for the residents in DJA, but were also open to those from different neighbourhoods. This point was described by a resident who had moved from a different *jjokbang* village called Donui-dong in Seoul.

I used to live in Donui-dong *jjokbang* village after personal bankruptcy. At that time, I heard, by chance, about the DJA *sarangbang* from another neighbour. The *sarangbang* drew my attention, as I could use their free services, which were open to everyone. So, I just paid a visit, and people really welcomed me and treated me like a neighbour that they already knew. While joining their community gatherings, I received a free legal consultation, where I found that my ID number had been stolen and used by someone else. Immediately, the *sarangbang* helped me to report it to the authority and prevent potential fraud. Since then, I've been regularly attending the gatherings as a member of the DJA *sarangbang*. A few years ago, I moved to DJA and I'm happy to live here, as I feel comfortable and have a sense of belonging that I've never had before. Now I'm acting as a local representative serving to introduce and promote the *sarangbang* to people from outside DJA. (C3-CS-INT-2, 2019, a local resident)

The above description implies that DJA has experienced a growth in its local community, while the DJA *sarangbang*'s membership has increased. Importantly, the *sarangbang* opened its communal services to all comers as well as residents in DJA. This means that the local initiative of *jjokbang* residents could expand its boundary by incorporating those from outside DJA as well as those in DJA. This was made possible by the promotion of practical information-sharing and improving the sense of belonging among the participants through a series of community gatherings. What should be noted here is that there was not only a quantitative expansion of community members. There was also a qualitative development of the community initiative. Since its organisational transition in 2015, the DJA *sarangbang* has tried to improve communal autonomy by widening its scope of collective responsibilities. This is evident in the provision of new services led by local initiatives, as was described by two *jjokbang* residents below.

A couple of years ago, I had a traffic accident and needed surgery on my legs. For a couple of months, I had to go to see the doctor for regular health check-ups. This was a challenge for me, as I was less mobile due to the surgery. For the first few appointments, I travelled to the hospital by myself, but my health condition got worse. Since then, I have been accompanied to the hospital alternately by those from a small community group providing a community care service in DJA. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

Another resident also described his experience with a different community-led service in DJA from which he benefitted.

The other day, I had to fix some shelves to organise my belongings, but I couldn't manage it, as I had a plaster cast on my arm. Upon hearing my situation, two neighbours came to make and nail new shelves to the wall in my room. They are members of a small community group offering a furniture repair service in DJA. It was really helpful, as I don't have any family living with me to help me out. Their help let me feel a sense of kinship that I hadn't had for a long time. (C3-CS-INT-2, 2019, a local resident)

In addition to the above, diverse community-led services have emerged, such as cleaning services, funeral services, and night guard security. These can be seen as an extension of the existing services provided by the DJA *sarangbang* or *hyeobdonghoe*, such as the

sikdorak lunch service and the local banking system. These new services were also introduced based on collective action to solve the local problems in DJA. The important thing is that local residents themselves were central to the problem-solving process. Rather than solely depending on their intermediaries, the residents tended to identify their local issues and take immediate action by creating and providing new communal services by themselves. In this process, small community groups formed organically, while some residents voluntarily participated as friends, cleaners, caregivers, guardians, undertakers, and so on. It is clear that such active community participation has contributed to promoting the collective capabilities of the *jjokbang* community in DJA. In other words, communal autonomy could be improved through active community participation in self-help service provision across DJA.

However, it is worth noting that the advanced community participation remains ‘tactical’. This means that community participation has been promoted by facilitating residents’ informal tactics rather than pursuing formal government strategies. That is, the community participation here is still seen as a set of improvised, provisional, and tactical collective actions outside government control or influence. It may be true that such a tactical approach is more suitable for DJA, because bureaucratic administration can reduce the flexibility of organic communal services, and eventually suffocate further participation of the *jjokbang* residents in their neighbourhood improvement. But on the other hand, the community participation here is not supported or protected by official institutions. Accordingly, such participation is rather fragile and easily challenged by the speculative property market aiming to redevelop DJA within official institutions. That is to say, speculative market pressure can threaten to paralyse tactical community participation and destroy communal autonomy in DJA. This point is explored in depth in the following section.

Autonomous Community but Vulnerable to Speculative Market

With the introduction of the new UR act, statutory forms of urban regeneration plans have been created at regional level. For example, in 2015, SMG published the so-called 2025 Seoul urban regeneration strategic plan. This strategic plan provided an overall direction for urban regeneration of major areas in Seoul. One of the major areas was Seoul station and its surrounding neighbourhoods, including DJA. For this Seoul station area, SMG put

forward a detailed urban regeneration action plan in 2017. This action plan encompassed more than sixty URPs, supported by the public as well as the private sector (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a). Although DJA was adjacent to Seoul station, there was no official URP in DJA. This is because DJA was not incorporated into the URP zone in the action plan.

Nonetheless, the urban regeneration action plan still has an indirect influence on DJA. Examination of this plan reveals that it aims to regenerate the Seoul station area by promoting local industries such as retail, leisure, and tourism in line with improvement of Seoul station facilities and services. That is, its focus is to revitalise the local economy and thereby to regenerate local neighbourhoods in the Seoul station area. It appears that this economic growth-oriented approach has drawn attention from speculative investors or developers, expecting profits from redevelopment around Seoul station. DJA was a case in point. This was pointed out by a CO in DJA, who argued that the speculative market forces have recently encroached upon local properties in DJA.

A couple of years ago, SMG announced a strategic plan to regenerate the Seoul station area. I thought it would affect DJA in some way, so I looked at it carefully. The plan included diverse projects such as renovation of local heritage sites, modernisation of traditional markets, promotion of tourist accommodation and so on. In addition, central government also put forward another strategic plan last year. It's about turning a former US army base into a large green park adjacent to DJA. I think such new plans motivated landlords or investors to renovate old buildings in DJA. For example, last year, more than five *jjokbang* buildings were converted into tourist accommodation like Airbnb. As you can guess, many tenants were subsequently threatened with eviction. In fact, we, together with the DJA *saranbang*, made an effort to prevent their eviction, but we had little success due to the rising rent rate. SMG also couldn't properly manage or control this emerging issue, because it's taking place within legal boundaries. (C3-IS-INT-1-1, 2019, a current organiser)

In fact, there has been a growing expectation of redevelopment in DJA since SMG eased a restriction on the reconstruction of existing buildings in DJA in 2010. However, there has been little or no progress with this reconstruction, as it is not easy to reach a clear

majority agreement among landlords. Even if such an agreement were made, it would also be hard to secure the right investor or developer to implement the reconstruction. However, it seems that the trend has recently changed while new urban regeneration strategic plans have been put forward at regional and national levels. Despite not being a direct target of the strategic plans, DJA could attract speculative stakeholders, with the expectation that the plans would have a spill-over-effect on DJA. According to some local interviews, a landlord had converted some *jjokbangs* into guest rooms for tourists while another landlord sold a whole *jjokbang* building to a developer seeking to build a brand-new hotel in DJA. This was made possible by the new strategic plans, which proposed economic growth-oriented redevelopment in the Seoul station area and thereby convinced many landlords or developers to invest in DJA. Accordingly, speculative motives have arisen in DJA under the name of promotion of the local economy based on the strategic plans. In this process, many *jjokbang* residents were likely to be faced with eviction. It is true that there have been some negotiations between residents and landlords in order to prevent immediate eviction. Through these negotiations, some residents have found alternatives to avoid eviction and to continue living in DJA. Yet it appears that these alternatives were seen as only a stopgap measure, as was described by one *jjokbang* resident in DJA.

Last year, I was suddenly given one month's notice to move out. Seriously, it happened to many other neighbours as well. We immediately discussed it with the DJA *sarangbang* and found that the landlord was going to sell the properties to an investor. So, together with some human rights lawyers, we started to take legal action to protect ourselves from eviction. Eventually, we reached a compromise through SMG's mediation, with the landlord granting us a five-year leasehold. But I think it's just a stopgap measure that ends in five years. Nothing is guaranteed after the agreed five years. Worse still, there has been an increasing number of such speculative landlords in DJA. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2018, a local resident)

Under these circumstances, *jjokbang* residents have been always exposed to the risk of displacement by external speculative forces. Hence, it was important for the residents to protect themselves from the potential risk and maintain their communal life in DJA. This was difficult, however, because the redevelopment projects were carried out within legal

boundaries. All the residents could do was to ask SMG to delay the displacement by controlling the permission for redevelopment projects. This alternative approach was effective, as it was about bargaining and negotiation with each individual landlord who was interested in a small-sized renovation. That is, there was no collective initiative of landlords dedicated to large-scale redevelopment. However, it appears that there has recently emerged a group of landlords taking collective action, together with a speculative developer, in an attempt to promote a large-scale housing redevelopment in DJA. This point was stressed by a resident who was concerned about a clean-sweep redevelopment in DJA.

A few months ago, there was a launch ceremony for a redevelopment union nearby. Since then, the union's members have had regular meetings every week and have put up a banner that reads 'For a better living environment in DJA.' I was curious to find out what it was and tried to sit in on the meeting, but this was impossible, because it was a members-only meeting. With hindsight, I found that the meetings were led by a group of landlords to promote a large-scale housing redevelopment in DJA. What's even worse is that the union will undergo an administrative procedure for this redevelopment, once it is agreed by the majority of its members. This is what concerns me most now. Most of the *jjokbang* residents are tenants. We have no chance of attending the meeting and expressing an opinion about the redevelopment, which will significantly affect our personal but also our communal life in DJA. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

The above description confirms that a wave of collective action from landlords has erupted in DJA. This is a clear signal that speculative redevelopment could emerge with a collective agreement and legal permission. This means that the future redevelopment in DJA will not be negotiable, as it will be carried out not through the decisions of individual landlords but through collective decision-making by a group of landlords with speculative motives. Under the name of 'better living environment', it can possibly eliminate such local places as tiny single rooms (*jjokbangs*), communal kitchens (*sikdorak*), common rooms (*sarangbang*), or the local bank office (*hyeobdonghoe*). Hence, from residents' point of view, such new redevelopment would erode their existing personal but also their communal life in DJA by encroaching on the places where they live, gather, and interact.

This is viewed as a process of gentrification (Glass, 1964; Clay, 1979) where existing residents are displaced while the supply of affordable places is reduced. In this process, the existing communal culture in DJA can be threatened with decline or even extinction.

One thing to note here is that such redevelopment is considered legitimate and rightful under SMG's new strategic plan, which aims to revitalise the local economy around Seoul station. That is, SMG's overall direction promotes the private sector to participate in redevelopment activities under the name of local economic growth. This trend is more evident in non-URP zones with little or no financial support from the public sector. In the case of DJA, there were no publicly-funded urban projects, since it was a non-URP zone in the strategic plan. But it appears that a partnership between landlords and a developer has emerged and attempted a large-scale housing redevelopment project in DJA. Interestingly, such collective action is regarded as positive rather than negative, as it supports and complies with the strategic plan. This is seen as a point where a group of landlords could turn from individual property owners to potential gentrifiers in DJA. However, there appear to be no legal actions that the existing residents can take against this potential gentrification. Alternatively, they could make their voices heard by protesting together with radical civil society organisations against such speculative forces. Under these circumstances, the more actively the residents participate in such radical actions, the more they are excluded from the decision-making process regarding the emerging redevelopment in DJA. In this sense, there is a certain dilemma where communal autonomy is organically improved outside official institutional settings, while being vulnerable to speculative market forces equipped with legal technology. This critical point is central to the process of intermediary-led community participation in DJA.

5.5. Conclusion

Chapter 5 analysed experiences of intermediary-led participation by critically exploring local narratives from the three case studies. In the recent urban regeneration framework, intermediary intervention was institutionalised to promote community initiatives that can serve as direct channels for the voices of local residents. However, the above case study analysis revealed that the institutionalised intermediary intervention hindered the formation of autonomy of community initiatives, while non-institutionalised intervention undermined the established autonomy in the official process of urban regeneration.

In the first case study of a national URP, all intermediary actors had immediate communication with SMG through direct contracts with it. This contractual structure reinforced the casualisation of their position and thereby weakened their confidence or enthusiasm at work. This contractual dilemma, however, was often overlooked within the legal framework, which sees the intermediary actors as provisional players designed to support the national URP. As a provisional agency, the intermediary organisation had no legal rights for its employment contract, annual budgeting and business operation for community activities. All the legal rights were vested in SMG. As a result, the intermediary actors had a limited sense of long-term ownership in urban regeneration. In addition, the intermediary actors struggled with the time constraints that hindered the growth of a financially autonomous local cooperative, which took an intermediary role after the end of the URP. These time constraints led the local cooperative to engage in repeated competition for limited public funds allocated for certain national goals. This means that financial resource allocation was still made under a top-down competition system, while more bottom-up participation was promoted in the course of urban regeneration. This situation often frustrated the community members, who lamented that their roles were dedicated to securing financial resources rather than enhancing communal autonomy. This trend is found in the use of new communal spaces owned and managed by SMG. The community members were not able to use the communal spaces without consent from SMG. Even when consent for such use was granted at the regional level, it was hard to provide the desired services, as their legitimacy was strictly regulated at the national level. Accordingly, new community initiatives, which emerged through intermediary intervention in the national URP, remain powerless under the top-down financial resource allocations and the strict national legal restrictions.

To redress such drawbacks of the national URP, SMG introduced a new scheme called the mayoral URP. The mayoral URP reduced time pressure by creating a one-year NID programme within its time frame. Moreover, it also improved intermediary work conditions by upgrading the intermediary position from part-time to full-time. This change was possible through the inclusion of professional firms within the intermediary structure. This new approach created a subcontract system where all intermediary contracts were made with professional firms rather than government. For SMG, the

subcontract system was useful, as it could provide the intermediary actors with full-time positions and a full social benefits package. Besides, it also promoted cooperation between SMG and professional experts such as architects, planners, and marketers for more efficient implementation of the mayoral URP. However, direct engagement of the professional firms caused a distinction between experts and non-experts among intermediaries. Such expert-oriented approach contributed to specialising the COs' position while encouraging them to work with a professional architectural firm. At the same time, however, the COs were often isolated at work while other intermediary actors were contracted with different professional firms. Unsurprisingly, each intermediary actor tended to work individually, while each of the professional firms worked separately rather than collectively to carry out discrete intermediary tasks. In this unique partnership, the intermediary organisation ended up with no coordination system for internal cooperation. Accordingly, many intermediary actors struggled under the partnership, which undermined intermediary teamwork and leadership, rendering intermediary intervention less cooperative and coherent.

Under these circumstances, some active residents played a key role in promoting cross-boundary cooperation by participating in diverse intermediary-led community activities. However, they were often excluded from important decision-making such as annual budgets or property acquisition for their community activities. These decisions were made confidentially by SMG or the local authority. Such exclusion is also found in the national URP, but it was deepened in the mayoral URP due to the inclusion of professional firms. The expert-oriented approach prevented residents from having official positions or voices in the intermediary structure. Rather, it forced them to remain voluntary while taking for granted their active participation without appropriate compensation. This meant that residents were bound to work around the intermediary structure set by professional firms. It was difficult for them to act within the intermediary structure and reshape this structure to improve intermediary-led participation. In this sense, it is seen that the community initiatives in the mayoral URP were neither autonomous nor empowered under the influence of the professional firms.

Meanwhile, the third case study of DJA was reviewed to provide 'rival explanations' (Patton, 1990) of government-funded intermediary-led participation. In DJA, the main

financial resources were local trust funds and charitable donations, which enabled the intermediary organisation to promote radical community-based services such as local banking and a local kitchen. The important point is that the intermediary organisation encouraged the residents to create community initiatives and provide such services on their own. In this context, the new community initiatives could improve their autonomy while diversifying their activities and participating in the activities as caregivers, carpenters, cooks, or undertakers. However, these community activities still remained tactical. That is, they were based on informal tactics of residents outside the government institution. In fact, the tactical approach helped the community initiatives to maximise flexibility in their community activities. From the government perspective, however, these community activities were not in line with its rules, while the intermediary organisation was not its local counterpart, but a radical civic group acting against it. Accordingly, the intermediary-led participation was overlooked by the government, as it was deemed to be beyond its remit.

Under these circumstances, the intermediary-led participation was vulnerable to speculative market forces seeking redevelopment in DJA. The community initiatives have been exposed to the risk of potential gentrification with clearance of their community assets, such as the communal kitchen (*sikdorak*), common room (*sarangbang*), local bank office (*hyeobdonghoe*) as well as residential rooms (*jjokbangs*). However, the community initiatives could not take any legal action against the potential gentrification, because the redevelopment was prepared within the government's legal framework. In this context, the statutory power of the market overrode the non-statutory status of the intermediary organisation, giving rise to a threat to the established communal autonomy. In this regard, it is understood that the self-funded intermediary intervention served to form communal autonomy by mobilising the informal tactics of the community initiatives. At the same time, however, it prevented the community initiatives from officially working with the government by making their participation tactical and radical, outside the government institution. Further interpretation and comparison of the findings of this chapter will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6.

Interpreting Dynamics of Power and Networks of Intermediary-led Participation in Urban Regeneration in Seoul

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the thematic analysis in Chapter 5 is developed further through articulation with the conceptual framework shown in Chapters 2 and 3. To achieve this, the case studies are reviewed through the conceptual lens of the ‘community of practice’ (CoP) for a more critical understanding of community development through intermediary intervention in power mechanisms. Then, they are reviewed through the concepts of ‘social capital’ and ‘structural holes’ to decipher opportunities and challenges of intermediary-led participation in network mechanisms. Drawing on such critical reviews, the chapter concludes with a cross-case discussion on intermediary-led participation in the recent urban regeneration framework in Korea.

6.2. Is Intermediary-led Participation Instrumentalised?

6.2.1. Community of Practice under Government Control

During the URP, a new local initiative has grown in CSA. Looking at its growth process, it appears that the local initiative was more than just a group of people living in CSA. The initiative was developed when its members identified a common interest and learnt how to put it into practice more effectively through regular gatherings. That is, central to the initiative was a ‘learning partnership among people who find it useful to learn from and with each other about a particular domain’ (Wenger, Trayner and de Laat, 2011, p.9). In this respect, the new local initiative in CSA can be seen as a form of CoP (Wenger, 1998). Drawing on the temporal aspect of CoP, it is clarified that the local initiative’s collective identity has been changed over time in the URP process. The following diagram shows the change of its collective identity in four steps: from simple invitees to leading practitioners.

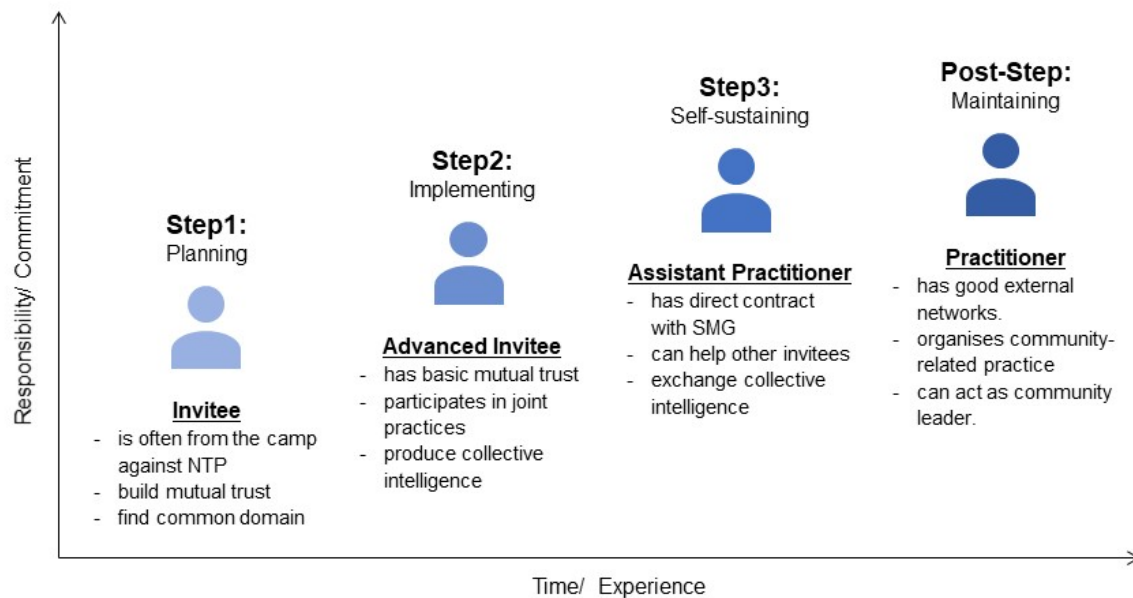


Figure 22. Change in the characteristics of local initiatives in CSA. Source: Author

As mentioned earlier, the residents in CSA were divided into two opposing camps: one for and one against the NTP. Even after the NTP was cancelled, the camps remained in conflict. Hence, it was a priority for the local UR centre to ease such conflict and restore interaction between the opposing camps. To this end, in the planning step (step 1), the local UR centre organised a regular gathering where anyone could come and discuss matters, regardless of which camp they were from. In these gatherings, the cross-camp residents were invited to participate in building mutual trust and finding common interests. This point was stressed by one resident who regularly participated in the gatherings during the URP.

Since 2007, we have been divided into two camps: a pro-NTP camp and an anti-NTP camp. During the NTP period, the two camps barely talked but picked on each other. However, some changes took place after the URP replaced the NTP in 2014. The local UR centre gave us many chances to come together across the camps. For example, the centre regularly organised a neighbourhood gathering where people could just come and talk, no matter what the issue. At first, it was very awkward, but I found it useful, as it was the first time I had really listened to people on the opposite side (the pro-NTP camp). I would say that the series of gatherings helped ease the tension, although the underlying conflict still remains. (C1-CS-INT-2-1, 2018, a local resident)

This description confirms that the gatherings served to restore the interaction between the opposing camps, albeit moderately. This was possible because the former anti-NTP residents were strong supporters of the URP. They considered the URP as a publicly-funded programme rather than a resident-funded redevelopment project. Hence, they saw the URP as an alternative to the NTP for their neighbourhood improvement with no high redevelopment charge (C1-CS-INT-1-1, 2018). On the other hand, the former pro-NTP residents were initially reluctant to accept the URP. For them, it was a project that could not make as much profit as the NTP. While it was not the best option, they were not against the URP. This was because the NTP was in deadlock and the URP was the only realistic option to choose, albeit with less profit. By matching such different interests, the local UR centre could run gatherings where residents from the two camps could express their interests candidly and understand each other better. This process was fundamental to building rapport between the former opposing camps in the planning step.

However, it is admitted that the level of resident participation differed between the two former camps. The former anti-NTP residents were actively engaged in collaboration with the local UR centre (active invitees). In contrast, the former pro-NTP residents were less involved (passive invitees), although they were not against the URP. Despite such difference, both groups of residents participated as ‘invitees’ with a common goal of improving their neighbourhood through the URP. This trend continued in the subsequent implementation and self-sustaining steps. This point was underlined by a former anti-NTP resident who participated in a streetscape improvement project in the implementation step.

In fact, we anti-NTP residents were often in conflict with each other during the NTP. This is because there were both landlords and tenants with different interests in the camp. But during the URP, we could ease this conflict by finding mutual interests and putting them into practice. For example, the local UR centre ran a project called ‘streetscape improvement’. It entailed a series of spatial practices: repaving of footways, repainting of facades, and planting of new trees. At that time, many residents got involved, regardless of whether they were landlords or tenants; even former pro-NTP or anti-NTP. It just happened, as the project was certainly good for both sides: increasing the property value (for landlords) and providing a healthier environment (for tenants). Looking

back on it now, it was really worth the participation, as it proved that we can do it together when needed. (C1-CS-INT-3, 2018, a local resident)

As such, in the implementation step, the local UR centre invited some active residents to engage in more advanced participation as ‘advanced invitees’. These advanced activities included collective spatial practices, from repainting facades or planting trees to creating communal spaces or tour routes. The advanced invitees could participate in such practices with ease, as a level of mutual understanding had already been established during the previous planning step. They managed to identify shared values, define shared goals, and detail necessary actions for best practice while constantly exchanging their experiences or knowledge in a process of forming collective intelligence that can constantly inspire the active residents to participate in the URP.

To borrow the words of Jürgen Habermas (1984), ‘communicative actions’ emerged in the implementation step, while the advanced invitees served to form a ‘communicative rationality’. For example, some motivated residents led community meetings and promoted knowledge exchange among participants in spatial practices such as repainting of facades, upgrading of lighting, planting of new trees, and designing of tour routes. By doing so, the participants could understand their neighbourhood in their own way through increased interaction, integration, and interdependence. Simply put, the residents in CSA were invited to a nuanced process of building a communicative rationality and thereby generating diverse communicative actions in the URP. This process was significant, as it served to improve their shared sense of belonging to their neighbourhood and inspire their ongoing participation. This point was stressed by one resident who participated in the joint practice of designing tour routes.

To be honest, although I’m a native here, I’d never been proud of CSA. For me, it’s just an inner-city area in Seoul. However, participating in the tour route design practice made me change my mind. For the tour route design, the local UR centre organised a variety of community workshops. I joined a workshop called ‘The discovery of local history and culture’. Collecting historical and cultural stories, I was given chances to discuss them and learn more about my neighbourhood. With the collection of stories, we put together a local history booklet. While creating this booklet, I was able to see my place in a new way

and I somehow became proud of it. For example, I found out that this is the hometown of Paik Nam Jun (known as the father of video art). As I'm a big fan of his, it's enough to make me feel proud of living here. I also found that Queen Jeongsun stayed here after the loss of her husband, King Danjong. I couldn't imagine that this deprived area would have served the royal family. Such findings encouraged my sense of pride and belonging to where I live. (C1-CS-INT-2-1, 2018, a local resident)

In such joint practices, the residents were promoted to find something new about their neighbourhood, which had often been overlooked or forgotten in the past. Their findings served as a basic idea to create their neighbourhood plan in urban regeneration. Furthermore, the findings were shared with a wider range of residents by documenting and disseminating them. That is to say, the residents were invited to the process of producing collective intelligence that constantly inspired them to participate in the URP. Such collective intelligence is distinct from 'explicit knowledge' (Smith, 2001), which refers to the 'know-what' that is coded and conveyed in certain media such as papers and books. Rather, it is more 'tacit knowledge' (*ibid.*) signifying the 'know-how' that is stored and transferred in the form of memories, experiences, and practices of the residents. Hence, this collective intelligence could be beyond the direct control by knowledge of dominant groups such as the state or SMG. For the residents, this collective intelligence is a significant set of consensual norms underpinning their participatory practices in the URP.

Entering the next self-sustaining step (step 3), the advanced invitees were actively working with the residents-turned-COs to spread the collective intelligence across CSA. They were no longer just invitees but rather 'assistant practitioners' officially supporting the local UR centre. Such invitees-turned-practitioners took multiple roles in the self-sustaining step. As administrators, they contributed to facilitating knowledge exchange between the residents and SMG while having frequent gatherings: for example, to gather feedback on community practices or public support. As practitioners, they also tried to pass on their knowledge to new invitees by running a series of hands-on training programmes. This is evident in the joint practice for the tour route development, where

the invitees-turned-practitioners took multiple roles as local administrator and local pioneers.

After the publication of the history booklet, the local UR centre provided us with more personalised training. For example, I was engaged in intensive workshops to create the local walking tour programme. Drawing on the contents of the history booklet, I was asked to identify local attractions and design a tour route, but I made little progress, as I was just an ordinary housewife with no experience in tourism. So, the centre offered people like me more practical training courses like tour guide classes. By taking such courses, I joined an initiative to build a local walking tour initiative where I started to work as a local guide. As a representative of the initiative, I was in direct communication with SMG when any administrative problems occurred during the walking tour in CSA. At the same time, as a leader running the tour programme, I had to train new residents who wanted to be tour guides in the future. By doing so, I could gain diverse experiences and extend my personal networks of relationships. (C1-CS-INT-2-1, 2018, a local resident)

The local tour programme was just one of many examples that promoted community-based knowledge transfer in CSA. This was also evident in a variety of emerging community programmes. For example, some interested residents were given barista training as well as culinary training from pioneers in the community café programme. Others learned clothing alterations through sewing and knitting classes run by leaders in the community tailor programme. It is certain that such knowledge transfer helped to maintain community participation by making the community itself into a knowledge repository. That is to say, community participation could continue through explicit knowledge exchange and transfer in the diverse community programmes.

Meanwhile, the local UR centre made extra efforts to broaden the explicit knowledge base by promoting external knowledge exchange. It organised a series of joint events between CSA and other areas. In these events, the residents in CSA could listen to and learn from what different URP areas had achieved or missed. For the residents, such events were worth attending, as they could explore diverse trial-and-error experiences

from other URP areas and take them as a reference point for a better implementation of their URP. This point was mentioned by one resident who often participated in these external knowledge change events.

I was not sure if we were doing well, because the URP was new to us. I often wondered about URPs in other areas. In the meantime, our local UR centre invited several COs from different URP areas to present their experiences from their URPs while we shared ours. Through this interactive process, I found that our difficulties were nothing special, but were very common in many other URP areas. They struggled with a very tight schedule, as did we. They also suffered from limited sources of finance, which also frustrated us in CSA. Such understanding motivated me to look into other areas when any problem arose during the URP in CSA. (C1-CS-INT-1, 2018, a local resident)

As such, intermediary effort was made to promote knowledge exchange among different neighbourhoods. Apart from the above joint event, the local UR centre organised a series of field trips to other URP areas where the residents could see and learn diverse know-how on the spot. Moreover, it also encouraged the residents to join a regular study group where the COs from different URP areas gathered to discuss their community work with each other. By participating in this study group, the residents were given opportunities to monitor URPs in other areas and thereby to expand their collective intelligence in CSA. Such knowledge exchange activities were usually organised and held through the COs' personal connections. In other words, the collective intelligence in CSA could be broadened through the external networks established by the COs during the URP. The important point here is that such intermediary intervention continued even after the local UR centre had been replaced with the local cooperative in the post-project step. In this transition, the members in the local cooperative began to act as 'leading practitioners' rather than just assistant practitioners, while the centre's staff members left CSA. This meant that residents with direct involvement in the local cooperative were given more responsibilities. Such transition was facilitated through ongoing interaction between the residents and their former COs in the post-project period.

After the URP was completed, the local UR centre closed down and its staff members found new jobs. Two former community organisers got public jobs with the urban regeneration unit in SMG. Another community organiser opened an architectural studio, which specialised in communal space planning and design. Although they have left CSA, we still keep in touch with the former centre's staff members. For example, the former CO running her studio recently organised a series of workshops to discuss sustainable communal spaces. I was invited to the workshops, where I was able to meet many like-minded people outside CSA. I was also asked to join a social enterprise seminar designed by the other former CO currently working for SMG, at which I established new relationships with people from the social enterprise sector as well as the public sector. Through such experiences, I now feel like I'm no longer a big fish in a little pond of CSA. (C1-IS-INT-1, 2018, a leader in a local cooperative)

This confirms that the former COs still make indirect contributions to community development by constantly promoting the local cooperative's members to participate in relevant external activities.



Figure 23. Cross-initiative workshops for sustainable communal spaces. Source: Author (2018)

Despite such ongoing support, however, the local cooperative cannot take autonomous actions due to its weak financial independence and the strict national legislation. To give an example, the leading practitioners often conducted one-off urban practices that produced immediate, noticeable progress, such as repaving footways or repainting facades to secure public funds for the next term. Thus, it was difficult to promote constant urban practices such as alleyway management or housing maintenance where the

residents could be more empowered. Besides, the leading practitioners were unable to autonomously manage their communal spaces, such as a local learning studio, a children's playground, or even a cooperative office. They were required to gain consent from SMG, which owned all the spaces. Even if consent is given at the local level, it is hard to provide their desired services as their legitimacy is strictly regulated at the national level. Accordingly, the residents in CSA remained unempowered, although their collective identity orientation has been transformed from that of passive invitees towards progressive practitioners.

6.2.2. Centralised Social Networks and Powerless Structural Hole Spanners

Under the above circumstances, the local UR centre primarily tried to promote communication between the residents and the government, which had supposedly been overlooked in the past NTP. As a direct broker, the local UR centre often organised various events designed to allow the residents to explore the new national urban regeneration scheme and helped them to put their ideas into practice. It also encouraged the residents to build and spread community-based knowledge so that SMG can better understand their aspirational goals or visions for the URP. Hence, it is understood that the local UR centre endeavoured to fill a social gap between the residents and SMG by creating a window of opportunity for their improved mutual understanding. Such idea can be well captured systematically with the hybrid concept of structural holes (Burt, 2000) and social capital (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). The following diagram represents the intermediary structure with structural holes and social capital that emerged in CSA.

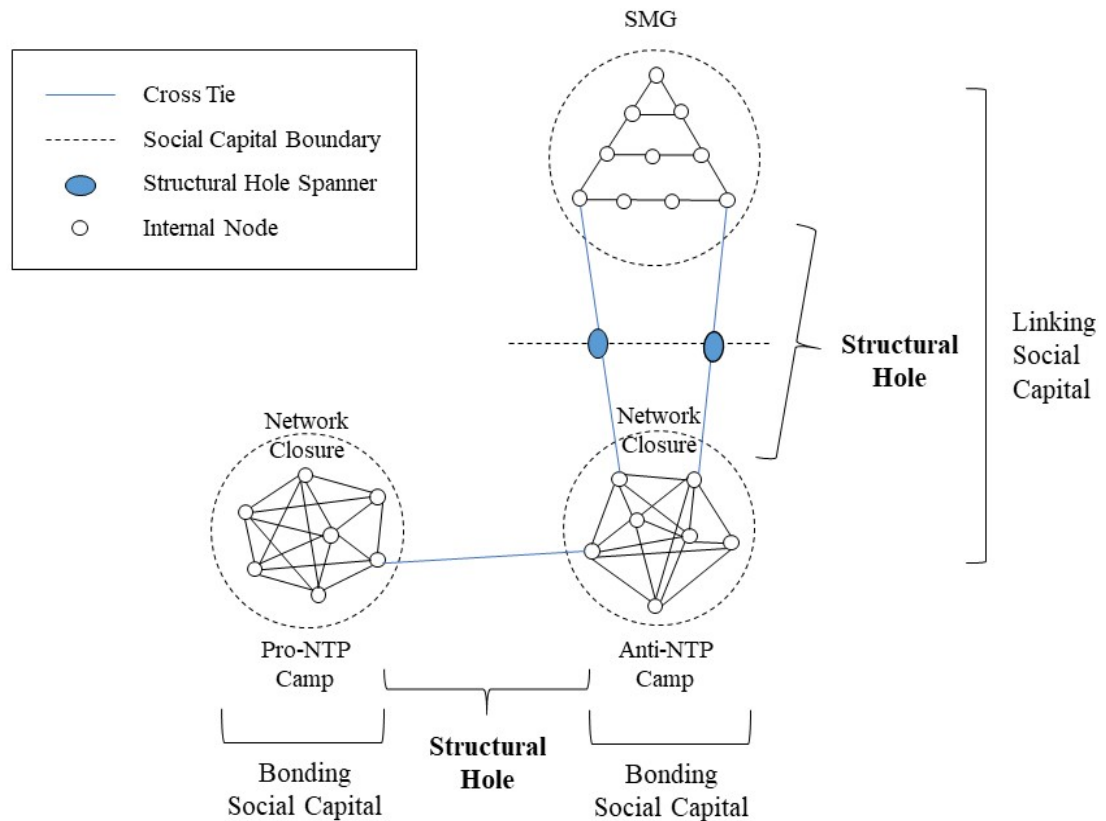


Figure 23. Structural holes and social capital emerging in CSA. Source: Author

In the above diagram, there are three distinctive groups of stakeholders across different social networks in CSA: the pro-NTP camp, the anti-NTP camp, and SMG. At the beginning of the URP, the residents from both camps were invited to regular gatherings to build rapport and develop an initiative to map out a neighbourhood plan. It is true that such gatherings served to ease the overall tension between the opposing camps. Yet, it appears that the former anti-NTP camp was supportive of URP, while the former pro-NTP camp was still reluctant due to its low profitability. Consequently, this caused a gap in the levels of participation between the opposing camps, which can be seen as a 'structural hole' (Burt, 2000). To fill this structural hole, the local UR centre made extra effort to bring the two camps together in subsequent events or workshops. Despite such effort, this structural hole remained unfilled due to the lack of time and autonomy of the local UR centre. In other words, the local UR centre was not fully able to act as a structural hole spanner between the two camps, as it was a state-sponsored actor mainly dedicated to working between the residents and SMG under a fixed-term contract. Hence, for

operational efficiency in the URP, the local UR centre rather contributed to reinforcing the internal ties in the former anti-NTP camp (bonding social capital) while creating only a few cross ties to the other camp (bridging social capital), although the overall tension across the camps was reduced.

Meanwhile, some residents, particularly from the former anti-NTP camp, took a more active role in the URP through engagement of the local UR centre. They were invited to participate in more advanced community activities such as creating communal spaces or tour routes, and could join events where they interacted directly with SMG. That is, residents were often given new opportunities to communicate with SMG during the URP, leading to an emergence of new social ties across vertical power differentials akin to 'linking social capital' (Woolcock, 2001). Taking advantage of such new social ties, the local UR centre served to bridge a gap – another structural hole – in social interactions between the residents and SMG. In other words, the local UR centre acted as a structural hole spanner by strengthening mutual trust and understanding between the residents and SMG. Entering the post-project period, however, the local UR centre was disbanded. Instead, a new community-based local cooperative was established by taking over the role of structural hole spanner: this signalled a change in organisational identity of the intermediary from a state-led towards a community-driven organisation. It can thus be argued that a community-based intermediary system was initiated in CSA, while the local cooperative emerged as a new structural hole spanner.

However, the state has strongly influenced the new intermediary system even after the end of the URP. As a structural hole spanner, the local cooperative could neither achieve financial autonomy nor have statutory rights to make practical use of community assets such as communal spaces or services. This is because the local cooperative was very limited in its ability to make its own decisions without governmental consent even for its communal interests. The local cooperative could play only a limited role as a structural hole spanner in ongoing urban regeneration. Therefore, it is no surprise that the structural hole spanner could not achieve meaningful interventions to empower the residents despite its contribution to improving their participation in urban regeneration. In this sense, it is understood that the intermediary structure in CSA still retains its top-down nature while

its legal or financial mechanisms remain centralised, particularly in the use of the community assets.

On the other hand, in the post-project period, there have been constant efforts by intermediary actors to broaden horizontal ties across different local neighbourhoods beyond narrow internal ties in CSA. This means that intermediary actors have provided more flexible and long-term support to their former local partners by making use of diverse informal counter-hegemonic practices after the end of their short-term official responsibilities. For example, CSA's former COs continue to make indirect contributions to community development by constantly promoting local cooperative's members in CSA to engage in the informal process of lobbying for policy changes, disseminating local knowledge, and organising social events and circles. This can be seen as progressive intermediary intervention to create what Gramsci refers to as horizontal alliances by countering the hegemony of top-down participatory mechanisms. That is, intermediary intervention was initially co-opted into the state agenda, but is now serving to form the basis for expanding horizontal alliances with wider progressive social forces through more indirect, informal, individual, and flexible interventions. Such change is meaningful, because it signals the potential to build a foundation for progressive urban reform across the boundaries between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic bloc in the urban development process.

Despite its progressive potential, however, intermediary intervention still plays a limited role in elevating the improved community participation to the next level of community empowerment. While the intermediary intervention has been mainly instructed by the state, the community participation has become standardised rather than diversified. Compared to the past developmental state where community participation remained patchy and tokenistic, it is certain that the recent post-developmental state has given more prominence to active participation of a wider range of communities in the urban development process. At the same time, however, the state has imposed more regulations on community participation in order to institutionalise it through intermediary intervention funded by the state. In other words, while the state previously directed the market as a developmental engine, it is now steering intermediaries as a new instrument to mobilise community participation in urban processes. In this context, the state is seen

as an auditor or assessor influencing the way in which intermediaries work by standardising and evaluating what these intermediaries have to do. That is, the state enacts the 'rules of the game' of the URP while the intermediary organisation enforces the rules to activate community participation. In this game, however, community members have been excluded from the decision-making process of determining the rules of play, the system of refereeing or who plays. It is difficult for them to play a role in localising their intermediary mechanisms for more meaningful community participation. Under these circumstances, hence, community participation has been easily instrumentalised to achieve the state's desired goals rather than local interests or needs, while 'human flourishing' (Friedmann, 2000) is prevented from achieving genuine growth. In this regard, despite its inherent potential to shape progressive urban futures, it is understood that the intermediary intervention still preserves the sticky nature of the interventionist state and affects post-developmental urbanisation in Korea by controlling community participation through centralised financial and legal measures, which can be considered a developmental legacy of top-down decision making.

6.3. Is Intermediary-led Participation Professionalised?

6.3.1. Community of Practice through Professional Expertise

In the mayoral URP, new community initiatives emerged through the intervention of an intermediary organisation that promoted learning situations where residents could learn from each other while participating in intermediary-led community activities. Like the national URP, the mayoral URP hence gave prominence to nurturing community initiatives, which can be conceptualised as a CoP (Wenger, 1998). In the general view, the CoP emerging from the national and mayoral URPs went through a similar change in its organisational identity from a group of invitees to practitioners. However, a close look at the mayoral URP revealed that the change in its CoP took place in a slightly different manner. This is because the CoP in the mayoral URP has grown under the two distinctive intermediary conditions: the creation of the NID programme (for an extra time frame) and the addition of professional firms (for multi-level contractual system).

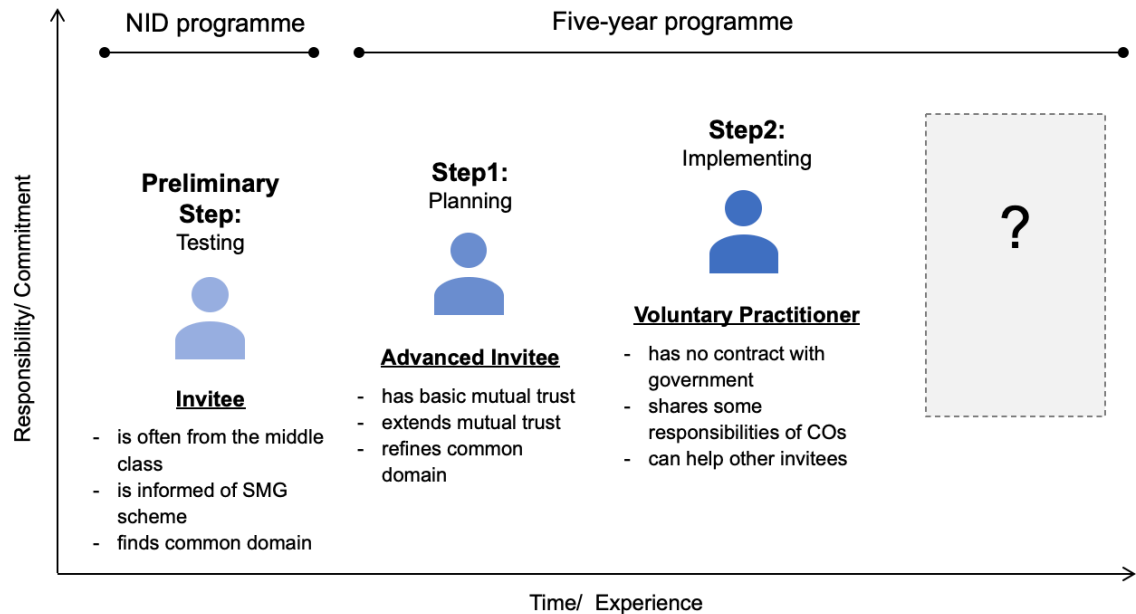


Figure 24. Change in the characteristics of the local initiative in CHA. Source: Author

As mentioned earlier, in 2006, SMG designated CHA as a housing reconstruction zone where old low-rise flats could be transformed into new medium-rise apartment buildings. However, it made little progress due to its building regulations, which restrict the height of new buildings and thereby lower the profitability of new reconstruction in CHA. As a result, the housing reconstruction in CHA was cancelled without a back-up plan, while social, economic, and physical deprivation in the region worsened. In order to prevent further deprivation, SMG launched a pilot NID programme, which is a preliminary step in the mayoral URP. Initially, residents appeared to believe that the new programme would also be cancelled or short-lived. Hence, during the NID programme, intermediary effort was made to convince the residents that the new mayoral URP differs from the cancelled housing reconstruction project. To this end, COs organised regular gatherings where residents could learn about SMG's urban regeneration approaches and restore confidence in the mayoral URP. This was pointed out by one of the residents who participated in the NID programme in CHA.

After the cancellation of the NTP in CHA, we distrusted SMG no matter what they suggested. When the NID programme was launched, we all suspected that COs would be no more than just public officials, but it was not long before that

turned out to be unfounded. I saw that the COs worked very hard, although they had nothing to do with our neighbourhood. Rather than working in an office, they were often in the field and they met as many local people as possible. Besides, the COs organised regular gatherings where anyone could come and learn more about Seoul's urban regeneration scheme, which was unfamiliar to us. In these gatherings, they tried to listen carefully to what we had to say about local issues or even personal difficulties, so I felt their true heart and thought that the mayoral URP should differ from other public projects in the past. I think such experience promoted my constant participation in community activities during the NID programme. (C2-CS-INT-2, 2018, a local resident)

This shows that intermediary intervention helped to reduce the residents' distrust towards SMG, which had cancelled the housing reconstruction in CHA. It was a small but important change that enabled the residents to change their minds and begin to pay attention to the mayoral URP. In the NID programme, residents were encouraged to participate in diverse workshops and construct their own local knowledge while studying collectively economic, social and cultural aspects of their neighbourhood. Based on their findings from the study, residents could identify shared domains of interests or needs and create new initiatives to address them. This can be seen as a preliminary step where a group of 'invitees' emerged as an initial community of practice that made preparations for the mayoral URP while growing a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, as stressed by a resident who attended many workshops.

The COs organised a variety of workshops where I could start to study my neighbourhood. For example, we researched underused local spaces such as vacant offices, abandoned pocket parks, or shopping arcades. Although I'm native here, I have rarely had a chance to take a close look at where I live, but attending these workshops gave me the chance to see more about my neighbourhood. In the beginning, the workshops helped us to understand general local features like the local economy, history, or education through desk research. Then, we went out to identify more detailed local issues such as an unsafe school zone, a lack of security cameras, or communal facilities. I really related to such local issues that I identified from the field. While exploring

every corner of my neighbourhood, I felt that I could develop a strong attachment and love for the place where I live. (C2-CS-INT-3, 2018, a local resident)

The workshops attracted a range of participants from different population groups, from students to retirees and from housewives to local politicians. This meant that each of the participants had different initial desires and they forged a variety of small initiatives with diverse themes. In this regard, it is seen that the NID programme contributed to proactive identification of different individual demands before the next step of the mayoral URP. Therefore, this was a preliminary step where the community members as invitees could prepare to classify their individual demands and develop them into collective action, as pointed out by a resident who tried to match her individual aspiration with the shared domain of communal interest, namely after-school childcare.

After taking a break from my career to become a mother, I felt that my life was dull and boring, but something has changed in my life since I participated in the NID programme. When I joined a local knitting club, I felt as if I was back in my heyday as a fashion designer. In the knitting club, I encountered some women in their 40s who were also young mothers like me. While meeting regularly with each other, we created another club for after-school childcare that we really needed. Even after the NID programme was completed, we actively and deliberately participated in the club activities, because we wanted to draw local attention to this after-school childcare issue in the next five-year programme. To be honest, I've never been so actively engaged in any other programmes promoted by SMG. I think it was possible with the great help from the COs, who guided us to find out what we needed during the NID and then put it into action in the next stage. (C2-CS-INT-5, 2019, a local resident)

The above description is just one of the many examples of how individual aspirations could develop into collective actions through interactions among the invitees. Community initiatives for urban gardening, DIY woodcraft, and a senior musical band are also cases in point (C4-IS-INT-3, 2018). Central to such emerging initiatives was the intermediary intervention, which served as a platform to encourage the invitees to associate their individual desires with broader local issues. To borrow Habermas's (1984) term, the invitees were initiated into the formation of 'communicative rationality' while interacting with each other in the intermediary-led community activities. One thing to note here is that the communicative rationality was widened and the consequent communicative action was diversified in the mayoral URP compared to the national URP. This meant that the invitees in the mayoral URP could undertake a wider range of communicative actions based on more comprehensive communicative rationality. This was made possible by introducing the NID programme, where the invitees were given one extra year to better explore their local issues and organise diverse initiatives to address these issues in advance.



Figure 25. Collective actions during NID programme in SDA. Source: SDA local UR centre

In the subsequent five-year programme, the intermediary organisation took on greater responsibility and engaged some invitees in more advanced participation: 'advanced invitees'. The advanced invitees were asked to support the intermediary organisation by sharing the increased intermediary responsibility. For example, the intermediary

organisation tried to engage the advanced invitees in paperwork such as creating a project proposal or an accounting book. Such engagement helped the advanced invitees to gain a sense of how to work with the public sector, as highlighted by a resident who assisted the COs in the local UR centre.

Indeed, we residents could learn a lot by watching how the COs worked with government. In planning step, I was given an opportunity to assist the COs in making official documents like a project proposal, a progress report and an accounting book. For example, I helped them to computerise a detailed breakdown of expenditure in the centre and make a monthly accounting book to be reported to government. Certainly, such practices let me better understand how the public budget is spent and saved to run diverse community activities in my neighbourhood. Despite my role being small, it was a useful experience for me personally, because it let me feel a basic sense of cooperation with government that I've never had before. (C2-CS-INT-6, 2019, a local resident).

This shows that the intermediary intervention enabled residents to experience the processes of working with the public sector, albeit indirectly. As its workload increased, the centre began to see residents as an alternative workforce and share some responsibility with them. From the intermediary organisation's point of view, it was a turning point where residents-turned-practitioners started to appear in its intermediary structure. From the residents' viewpoint, however, such change did not necessarily lead them to constructive dialogues or relationships with the intermediary organisation. Rather, it often made them feel disconnected from the intermediary organisation, and by extension, from the government. The reason is that the residents-turned-practitioners still remained as volunteers rather than staff, while their volunteering was taken for granted. That is, the advanced invitees, who took on some of the COs' responsibilities, were able to develop into practitioners only by working on a voluntary basis: 'voluntary practitioners'. The important point here is that these voluntary practitioners had no real power or influence in decision-making, as they were not regarded as official members in the intermediary organisation. This caused an ironic situation: the more active their participation, the less their sense of inclusion by the intermediaries, as described by a resident who participated as a voluntary practitioner in the implementation step in CHA.

Entering the five-year programme, I saw that the COs struggled with their increased workload. They worked with more staff and engaged with much more office work than before. I thought the COs wanted to share some of their responsibilities with active residents like me, but it was not easy without adequate training, as everything was new to us. So, the COs promoted us to participate in a variety of training workshops run by external organisations, such as a social enterprise association or a home repair cooperative. I found such workshops more practical and specialised than the ones held during the NID programme, but I found it difficult to practice such knowledge and experience in reality. This is because I haven't been allowed to participate as an official member in the local UR centre. I'm still only a volunteer who unofficially assists COs, so I feel I still have no real rights in the centre. I'm not sure that a basis for shared responsibility between the centre and us can be sustainable as long as we are forced to volunteer. (C2-CS-INT-1, 2018, a local resident)

The active residents were welcomed to come and assist the intermediary organisation, but were only allowed to work as voluntary assistants in the mayoral URP. This point was distinct from what was found in the national URP. For example, in the national URP, some active residents were officially hired as staff in the intermediary organisation, albeit on a part-time basis: as residents-turned-COs. This was possible because all intermediaries made direct contract with SMG. As mentioned earlier, however, the mayoral URP created a multi-level contractual system where all intermediaries had to make contracts through the profit-oriented private sector: professional firms. In this contractual system, the professional firms served as gatekeepers to control the process of employment and management of intermediary actors, while SMG stayed one step away from the process. Looking at this process, the professional firms deployed the existing employees rather than recruiting new staff from residents, as the firms were profit-driven. This meant that residents were given little opportunity to work as staff in the intermediary organisation, but as only volunteers. Unsurprisingly, the CoP in the mayoral URP was hence limited in its ability to communicate with SMG beyond the professional firms despite its increased collective capacity in the urban regeneration process.

6.3.2. Multi-layered Social Networks and Professional Structural Hole Spanners

The above consideration can be more clearly presented through the hybrid concept of structural holes (Burt, 2000) and social capital (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Woolcock, 2001). The diagram below shows a multi-layered governance structure in CHA, consisting of five distinctive groups: SMG (main funder), local government (commissioner), professional firm (implementer), participating resident group, and non-participating resident group.

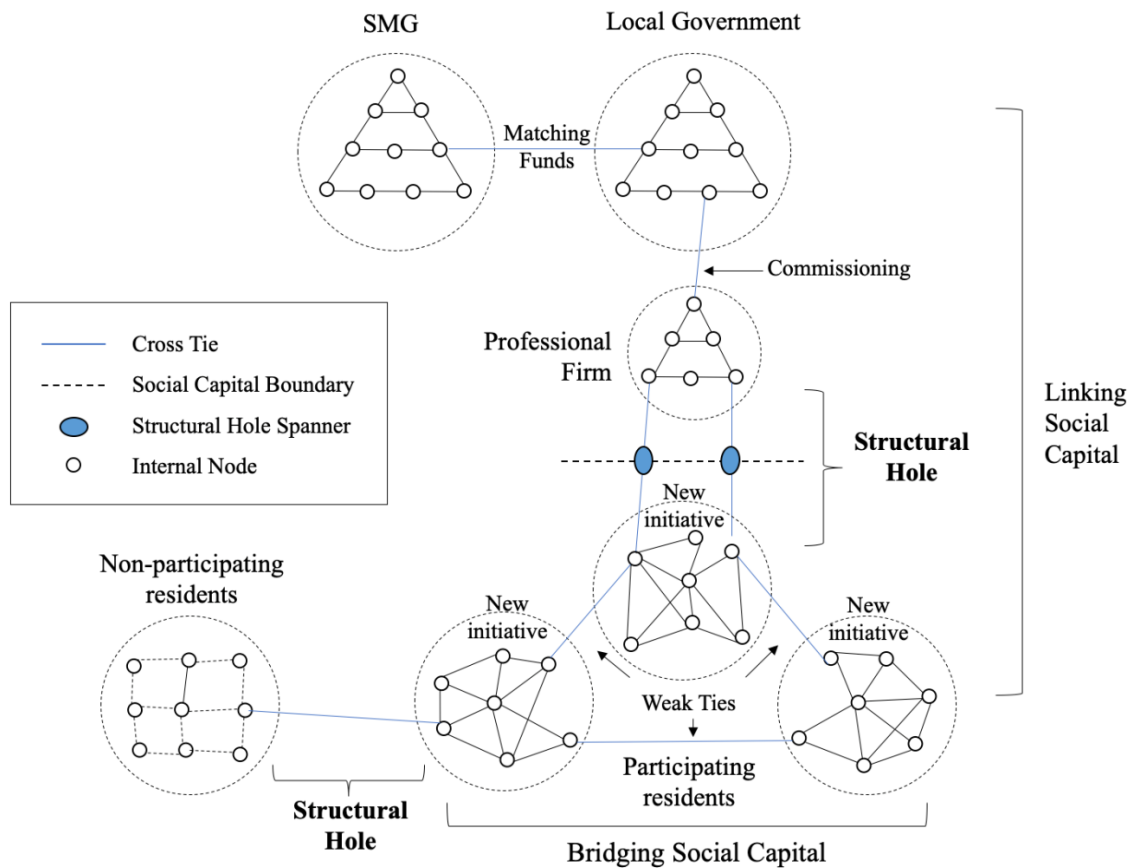


Figure 26. Structural holes and social capital emerging in CHA. Source: Author.

At the beginning of the mayoral URP, residents were invited to identify mutual interests and needs, and to create new initiatives to address them. Each of these initiatives was internally close-knit while making individual plans and taking immediate action. On the other hand, each initiative seldom interacted with other initiatives, and thereby they hardly expanded their membership beyond their existing domain of interests. Entering the next five-year programme, the intermediary organisation made an effort to facilitate the

inactive interaction between the close-knit initiatives by working closely with active residents. The active residents here performed a key role in promoting cross-initiative interaction while participating in multiple activities led by different initiatives. The intermediary organisation encouraged such participation by the active residents, leading to the creation of social ties among different initiatives. Moreover, the intermediary organisation engaged the active residents in building rapport with external players such as social entrepreneurs. Such experience enabled each initiative to extend its internal ties while communicating with those from external networks. In this sense, it is understood that the intermediary intervention contributed to developing 'bridging social capital' by encouraging the active residents to interact with those from different local initiatives, and by extension, with external communities or organisations.

However, as stressed earlier, most of the active residents were from certain groups of the population that could afford time to participate in multiple community activities. Many others could not manage to make time to participate during their working hours. Unsurprisingly, there was doubt as to whether the active residents could fully represent the opinions of all local residents. This is a point where a gap is identified between a participating resident group (e.g. housewives, retirees) and a non-participating group (e.g. ordinary office workers): that is, a 'structural hole' (Burt, 2000). The intermediary organisation tried to fill this structural hole, for example, by organising weekend activities aimed at increasing the participation of the non-participating residents. Despite such effort, the structural hole remained unfilled. This is because the extra effort served only as a stopgap measure and the increased participation ended up being short-lived in reality. That is, the interaction between the two different groups resumed through the intermediary intervention but failed to last long. Under the circumstances, the intermediary intervention could not adequately serve as a structural hole spanner between the two groups. Rather, it widened the gap and raised critical issues such as intermediary-led community representation and diversity.

Meanwhile, the intermediary organisation shared its responsibility with the active residents as its workload increased. For the active residents, this was a good chance to gain a better understanding of how the public budget is managed to maintain their community activities. At first glance, hence, the intermediary intervention seemed to

bridge the gap between the residents and SMG, which is another 'structural hole'. That is, it looked as if the intermediary organisation served as a structural hole spanner by incorporating the active residents into the intermediary structure. In reality, however, it turned out that even active residents were not closely connected with SMG through the intermediary intervention. This is because the residents were only allowed to participate in intermediary-led activities as informal volunteers rather than as official staff. Hence, despite their increased participation, the residents were given no real opportunity for direct negotiation or discussion with SMG beyond the professional firms in the official decision-making process. They were not given the opportunity to expand social ties across vertical differentials: that is, linking social capital. This trend will continue as long as professional firms remain as gatekeepers in the intermediary structure of the mayoral URP. This additional layer has made some positive contributions to specialising intermediary roles, stabilising intermediary positions, and thereby improving intermediary working conditions. At the same time, however, it has caused a lack of leadership and teamwork in the intermediary organisation and deepened the isolation of each intermediary member. Besides, the additional layer comprised well-trained professional members with profit-oriented strategies. In this context, the residents were barely regarded as decision-makers but rather were seen as mere service users despite their active participation. Instead, the professional firms appeared as official local counterparts of SMG in the mayoral URP. Accordingly, the CoP was unable to expand its social networks beyond the additional layer of professional firms.

In this regard, this thesis argues that the CoP here has been manipulated rather than cultivated through the multi-level platform, referring to meta-governance (Jessop, 2003). In the mayoral URP, the meta-governance created a structure of combined operation of the professional firms as implementers and SMG as an assessor of that implementation. In fact, this meta-governance structure was designed to decentralise decision-making processes, but in reality, it served to re-centralise these decentralised processes around new local pivots: that is, the professional firms. This means that instead of SMG, professional firms managed the middle-level actors' intervention, and consequently steered the low-level actors' participation in the mayoral URP. This was possible because SMG valued the professional firms' knowledge as standards for efficient implementation

of the mayoral URP. In other words, expertise and professionalism served as the new norms and rules for intermediary-led participation in the mayoral URP.

Such expertise-oriented approach may seem a democratic way of mitigating potential conflicts through technologies of expert administration and management. It also may be taken for granted that non-experts respect professional expertise as neutral scientific knowledge. By including professors, planners, and architects, the meta-governance structure served as a platform where non-expert residents were able to build consensus and take action with expert support. To put it in the post-political context (Ranciere, Panagia, & Bowlby, 2001; Swyngedouw, 2009), however, there turned out to be a 'post-political trap' in the consensus-building process. In the mayoral URP, consensus-building took place based on agreement achieved through the professional firms and tended to marginalise the diverse voices of the minority against the backdrop of majority consensus. This means that the consensus-building was caught in a trap, preventing minor groups from decision-making while excluding their progressive ideas, such as the right to city-making and claimed space, which are foundational to foster counter-hegemonic power in community participation. The established consensus ultimately served to rationalise SMG's regeneration agenda rather than to represent residents' diverse demands. The result is that SMG remains as the dominant hegemony in the regeneration process, while its technocratic apparatus as a gatekeeper continues to manage intermediary intervention and consequent community participation.

This points towards the emergence of the long arm of the state that can control intermediary-led participation, albeit remotely, through the multi-level platform in the mayoral URP. Under these circumstances, community participation has been improved while different opinions have managed to establish consensus and minimise contestation. However, at the same time, community empowerment remains stagnant due to the multi-level platform, which has filtered out potential alternative values or imaginaries of those who are against the majority consensus, which this thesis recognises as a legacy of the interventionist state in the new urban regeneration governance in Seoul. Hence, like the national URP, the mayoral URP has also struggled with state intervention, albeit in less visible ways, which discouraged community participation from becoming autonomous while undermining the transformative potential of intermediary intervention for

community empowerment through new rules and norms armed with expertise and professionalism, which were preferred and co-opted by the state. In this regard, it can be understood that intermediary-led participation in the mayoral URP preserves its top-down nature under the post-political multi-layered partnership.

6.4. The More Freedom, The More Autonomy?

6.4.1. Community of Practice outside Government and Profession

In DJA, new local initiatives started to be formed, while the DJA *sarangbang* organised regular community gatherings and encouraged *jjokbang* residents to participate. Thus, the local initiative was not only a group of residents living in the *jjokbang* village but also an association of those interacting with each other through the regular community gatherings. Unlike CSA and CHA, the residents in DJA often shared their personal difficulties and sought solutions during the community gatherings, while learning from the experience or knowledge of other residents in similar difficulties. This group of residents, hence, could grow based on ‘self-governed learning partnership’ among people who find it useful to learn from and with each other about certain matters. In this sense, the local initiative that emerged in DJA can be seen as a kind of CoP (Wenger, 1998). Compared to CSA and CHA, however, the intermediary organisation in DJA (DJA *sarangbang*) had a more radical disposition while generating more progressive ideas and goals. As a result, the CoP went through a distinctive change in its collective identity through the radical intermediary intervention. The diagram below summarises the change in two consecutive steps: from enlightened invitees to community activists.

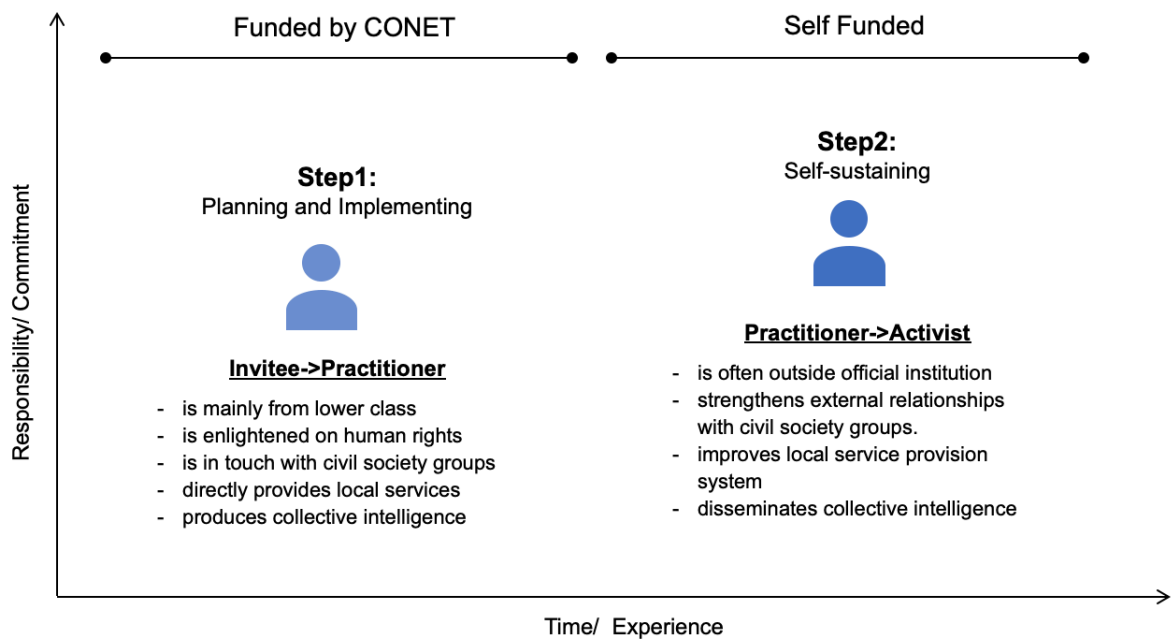


Figure 27. Change in the characteristics of the local initiative in DJA. Source: Author

As stressed earlier, *jjokbang* residents in DJA are mainly from vulnerable populations such as elderly, disabled or low-income groups. Most of them have lived alone without family for a long time and faced chronic difficulties such as economic poverty or social isolation. In an effort to address these difficulties, a civil society organisation called CONET funded a civil rights activist to establish the DJA *sarangbang*. As an intermediary actor, the civil rights activist organised diverse community gatherings such as potluck lunches and information-sharing meetings. At first, many *jjokbang* residents were reluctant to participate in such gatherings due to their suspicion about the activist's purpose. However, this attitude changed when residents who participated in the gatherings started to share their experience with others, as was described by one resident.

I was not a big fan of community activity, as I was used to keeping to myself. For me, cooperation was even awkward, as I had been barely helped or supported. So, I was not interested in the DJA *sarangbang* at first. Then one day, a neighbour told me that the *sarangbang* helped him get work despite his bankruptcy. After hearing that, I popped into the *sarangbang* and shared my issue about bad credit recovery during a gathering. I was given relevant

information and assistance and eventually recovered from my bad credit history. This was a big deal for me and made me continue to participate in the regular gatherings. (C3-CS-INT-2, 2019, a local resident)

There was no policy or legal framework to promote the residents' participation in the intermediary-led community gatherings. That is, the initial participation took place outside the formal institutional framework. While spontaneously participating in the community gatherings, some interested residents shared fundamental information for living, such as employment or subsidy advice, and benefited from such information sharing. These community gatherings helped to organically boost community participation, while those who benefitted voluntarily invited others to the gatherings. In these gatherings, the participants were enlightened regarding radical issues, such as social welfare rights, associated with their personal difficulties. Compared to the national or mayoral URP, thus, the community in DJA can be seen as a more radical group of 'enlightened invitees' learning human rights-related matters and seeking fundamental solutions to improve their quality of life in DJA. Such enlightened invitees played a key role in generating certain 'local knowledge' that covered chronic local problems such as poverty, poor health, and economic or social exclusion in DJA. This meant that the local knowledge produced in DJA was more about matters of the residents' survival rather than the beautification or modernisation of the neighbourhood.

Such local knowledge helped the *jjokbang* residents to resolve their personal difficulties, but it remained at the individual level. This meant that the initial local knowledge did little to systematically promote collective action at the communal level. In an effort to stimulate such collective action, the DJA *sarangbang* encouraged the residents to establish their own local system through which to provide community-based services such as local banking (DJA *hyeobdongheo*) and a local kitchen (DJA *sikdorak*). In this local system, as a main player, the CoP experienced a change in its collective identity: from enlightened invitees to autonomous practitioners. While turning more diverse and progressive ideas into practice, this group of autonomous practitioners could gain a sense of confidence, empowerment, and belonging, as was pointed out by a resident who participated as a service provider.

After its financial independence from CONET (in 2015), the DJA *sarangbang* began to put forward diverse communal services. Around that time, we (residents), together with the *sarangbang*, started to organise some small initiatives to manage the communal services on our own. I participated as a community carpenter in a small initiative for furniture repair service. Personally, such experience was really important in my life, because it gave me a sense of self-confidence, self-empowerment and belonging to DJA that I have never had before. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

Apart from this, a community care service, a cleaning service, and a funeral service were also similar cases where the autonomous practitioners acted as service providers. In the words of Jürgen Habermas (1984), such diverse services can be seen as stimulus for ‘communicative actions’ beyond individual behaviours. That is, the diverse service provision enabled the residents to generate communicative actions by developing local knowledge from the individual level to the communal level: advanced ‘communicative rationality’. This was possible because there was a certain degree of community spirit created through the regular community gatherings over a period of more than seven years. The important point here is that the communicative actions in DJA were more progressive and autonomous compared to those in the national or mayoral URP. The reason for this is that its communicative actions took place through more radical intermediary intervention outside the direct control or support of the public sector. DJA could be free from any rules of the game, as it had no official urban regeneration projects funded or approved by the public sector. Accordingly, taking advantage of this situation, the CoP in DJA was able to make more progressive communicative actions, albeit outside official institutional settings.

However, one thing to note here is that such communicative actions remained tactical and provisional. That is to say, the communicative actions were based on residents’ informal tactics rather than formal government strategies. Hence, it is no wonder that the communicative actions were barely supported or protected by official institutions. Rather, they were vulnerable to speculative property market forces, which hinged on the official institution. Recently, a collective action from landlords appeared, seeking a clean-sweep redevelopment in DJA. This new collective action threatened the existing *jjokbang*

residents with eviction and displacement, which could lead to the decline or extinction of their existing communal culture. Such gentrification issue motivated the autonomous practitioners to consolidate and take a more radical approach to what has happened in DJA.

As far as I know, a big redevelopment plan is underway in DJA. All I want is to be able to continue to live in this neighbourhood rather than being displaced or scattered to random places. I'm not sure if I can live with such a sense of belonging and confidence if that happens. I know the landlords will never listen to my voice. Also, SMG will not be able to stop the redevelopment itself as long as it complies with SMG's regulations. This is why we are now more likely to strengthen our solidarity and cooperate with external civic groups and human rights lawyers to protect our communal life from the speculative force. I think we may be forced to leave here and lose this community if the redevelopment begins without a backup plan for us. (C3-CS-INT-1, 2019, a local resident)

This implies that there was a considerable change in the collective identity of the CoP, while a potential risk of displacement emerged due to gentrification. Against this potential gentrification, the group of autonomous practitioners was transformed into an association of 'local activists'. As local activists, the residents started to organise protests as a way of making their opinions heard to ensure their basic rights in DJA. The concept of basic rights here did not only refer to human rights such as freedom or equality at the individual level. More importantly, it also embraced 'collective right to city-making' at the communal level, resonating with what Lefebvre (1968) termed 'the right to the city'. In this context, the right to city-making was not a legal right but a collective claim to the right to participate in the decision-making process about the speculative redevelopment. That is, the community of practice in DJA grew as an activist group while claiming its right to city-making as an alternative way of standing against a group of landlords with a speculative motive. This is because there was no legal right or basis for the community to influence the redevelopment, which would significantly affect the quality of communal life in DJA.

6.4.2. Isolated Social Networks and Radical Structural Hole Spanners

In an effort to improve the collective rights, the DJA *sarangbang* intervened to expand social networks of the residents in DJA by promoting an alliance between the residents and progressive civil society organisations outside DJA. In this alliance, the residents were able to refine their vision statements and share them with a wider audience: for example, through public hearings or press conferences at the local but also the national level. This approach contributed to attracting broader public attention to critical local issues such as potential gentrification and decline of communal life in DJA. Despite such contribution, however, the DJA *sarangbang* was not regarded as SMG's official counterpart in DJA. Instead, the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre was its official counterpart. For SMG, the DJA *sarangbang* was nothing more or less than one of radical local groups promoting tactical community activities outside its institutional boundaries. In this context, the DJA *sarangbang* was not able to establish new social relationships between the residents and SMG. Rather, it helped to reinforce the social bonds between the residents and the external civil society organisations against the bureaucracy of SMG. This idea can be well captured using the hybrid concept of structural holes (Burt, 2000) and social capital (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001).

The diagram below shows a social network structure among five main stakeholders in DJA: DJA *jjokbang* residents, DJA *jjokbang* landlords, other *jjokbang* residents, civil society organisations, and SMG. In fact, there was little mutual interaction among the DJA *jjokbang* residents until the DJA *sarangbang* was created in 2008. As most residents were from relatively vulnerable populations, they could hardly afford to care about anything other than their own personal difficulties. However, this trend was gradually changed when the DJA *sarangbang* began to organise community gatherings such as potluck lunches and information-sharing meetings. Such gatherings served to encourage the residents to identify local issues associated with their personal difficulties, such as poor credit history or inadequate cooking facilities. Some active residents, together with the DJA *sarangbang*, created local initiatives to address the identified communal problems. For example, a local initiative was formed to create an alternative local bank where residents with poor credit history could open accounts and obtain loans with ease. Another initiative was created to run a communal kitchen where residents with no cooking facilities could get home-cooked meals at an affordable price. Notable is the fact that such

collective ideas were put into practice through the intervention of CONET-funded intermediaries: the DJA *sarangbang* and *hyeobdongheo*.

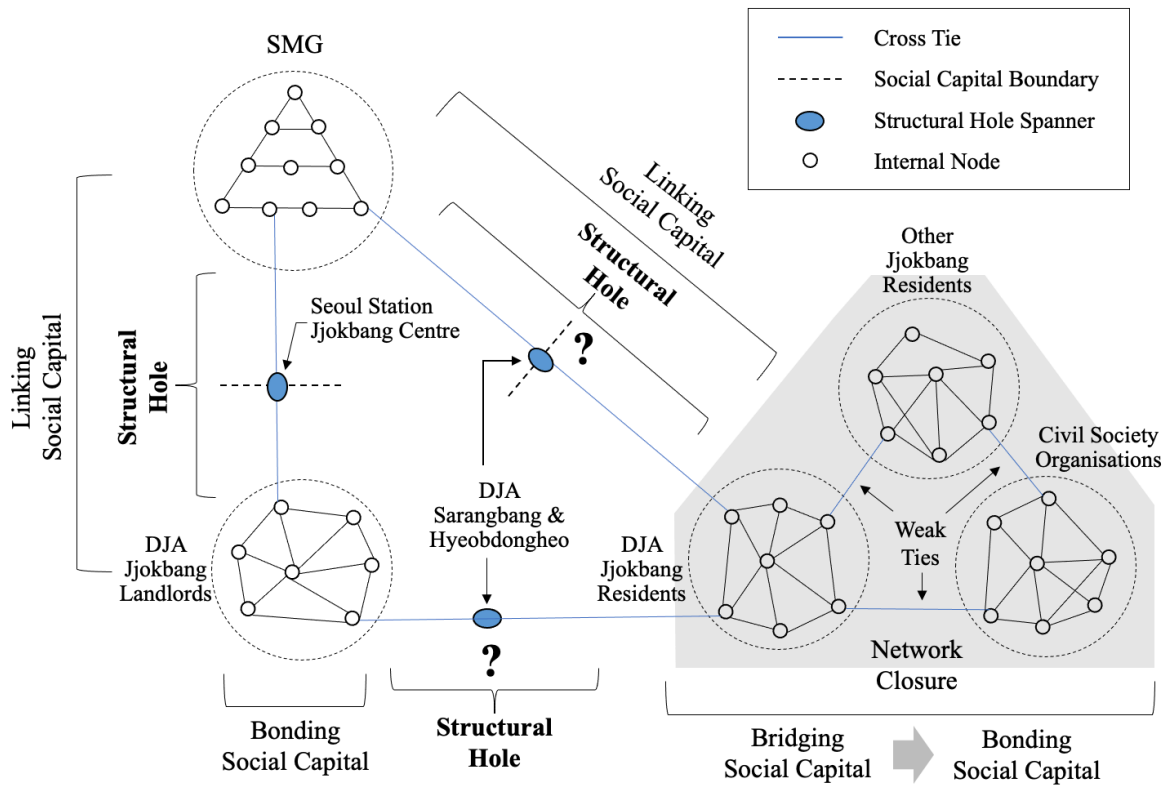


Figure 28. Structural holes and social capital emerging in DJA. Source: Author

In 2015, the intermediaries became financially self-reliant by making use of deposits in the local bank and donations from charities or individuals. As self-funded organisations, these intermediaries tried to broaden the scope of their work by supporting more diverse community activities. Examples include new community activities such as furniture repair, patient care, and communal funerals. The important point here is that such change contributed to expanding the social circles of the DJA *jjokbang* community through mingling with other *jjokbang* residents beyond DJA. This was possible because all the community activities were open to all comers regardless of where they live. Putting this change into the social network structure, it can be seen as the emergence of bridging social capital across different *jjokbang* villages.

However, such change in social network structure took place outside the institutional system. As stressed earlier, the DJA *sarangbang* was not in official partnership with SMG.

Instead, the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre was its official intermediary counterpart in DJA. As a result, the DJA *sarangbang* was often excluded from official decision-making processes for public projects. This meant that many *jjokbang* residents in collaboration with the DJA *sarangbang* were also excluded from these processes. This is a point where a gap is identified between SMG and the *jjokbang* residents in DJA: that is, a ‘structural hole’. In fact, the DJA *sarangbang* tried to fill this structural hole by, for example, engaging civil society organisations, which served to make the residents’ voices heard through press interviews or webcasts. However, the structural hole remained largely unfilled, because the intermediary effort remained tactical rather than strategic. In other words, the DJA *sarangbang* approached the structural hole by mobilising the tactics of the *jjokbang* community while challenging the bureaucratic strategies of SMG. This tactical approach contributed to keeping the community participation fairly flexible and autonomous. But, at the same time, it constrained the community participation from improvement with official support or protection from SMG. Ultimately, the DJA *sarangbang* was unable to act as a structural hole spanner between the residents and SMG while maintaining its focus on greater flexibility and autonomy of community participation.

Meanwhile, some *jjokbang* landlords in DJA had a speculative turn of mind, since SMG introduced a new urban regeneration strategy aimed at commercial revitalisation of Seoul station and its surrounding areas. Drawing on this new strategy, the *jjokbang* landlords began to convert their properties into commercial spaces such as tourist hotels with the expectation of higher profitability. Such emerging commercial redevelopment caused concern over potential gentrification in DJA. To mitigate the negative consequences, SMG had to negotiate with the *jjokbang* landlords over their proposed redevelopment. This point can be seen as an attempt to fill another ‘structural hole’ between SMG and the *jjokbang* landlords in DJA. As an official intermediary counterpart, the Seoul station *jjokbang* centre, rather than the DJA *sarangbang*, led the negotiation and drew up a five-year leasehold agreement. Such negotiation process served as an opportunity structure where the *jjokbang* landlords could create new relationships with SMG; that is, linking social capital. For the *jjokbang* residents, however, the negotiation was simply a stopgap measure or an interim step that helped the landlords to rationalise their future redevelopment plan in DJA.

During the period of the five-year leasehold, the *jjokbang* landlords formed a redevelopment association and pushed forward with their plan to convert their *jjokbangs* in DJA into high-rise apartment complexes. On the other hand, the *jjokbang* residents opposed the redevelopment plan, which could facilitate the demolition of their homes and the removal of their communal culture. Such conflict of interest generated another structural hole between the *jjokbang* landlords and the residents in DJA. The DJA *sarangbang* made an effort to bridge this structural hole: for example, by organising joint meetings of the two groups. However, this effort only contributed to reconfirming the differences between the groups. A group of the landlords had already built a strategic partnership with developers in favour of speculative housing redevelopment in DJA. In this strategic partnership, the negotiation with the DJA *sarangbang* was not preferred, but was seen as an optional extra. The reason is that the DJA *sarangbang* was neither a member of the strategic partnership nor a counterpart of SMG in DJA. Unsurprisingly, the landlords tended to give little attention to the local demands that the DJA *sarangbang* put forward despite their significance.

In this context, however, the *jjokbang* residents could not raise any legal objection to the redevelopment plan, as it was prepared within the legal framework. In other words, there was no legal basis for the residents to take action against the speculative redevelopment despite its potential negative consequences for their life in DJA. As an alternative, the DJA *sarangbang* promoted the residents to engage with a city-wide grassroots network resisting gentrification across Seoul. This alternative approach helped the residents to expand their social networks by interacting with those from different *jjokbang* villages as well as with a wide range of civil society organisations. However, it is noteworthy that the social network expansion was hardly observed beyond a limited circle of *jjokbang* residents or their philanthropic supporters. This means that the bridging social capital was gradually developed but eventually transformed into sizeable bonding social capital, resulting in the emergence of a large ‘network closure’ outside the institutional framework. That is to say, the *jjokbang* residents were able to broaden and strengthen internal relationships within the growing network closure, which articulated with external networks of radical civic groups. This peculiar condition gave rise to a unique CoP with radical collective intelligence and identity in DJA. Compared to national or mayoral URP

areas, the CoP in DJA carried out more ‘radical social praxis’ (Kwon, 2002), challenging the dominant hegemony of state and market while cooperating with the DJA *sarangbang* and its networked organisations. In other words, the radical intermediary intervention enlightened and motivated the CoP to create a counter-hegemony that can serve the genuine local interests.



Figure 29. A radical collective action for housing welfare in DJA and a UN rapporteur’s visit to DJA.
Source: DJA *sarangbang*

In this interpretation, the community is more than just a group of residents living in DJA, but also holds ‘associational membership’ based on communal life and culture in DJA. The intermediaries promoted such associational membership, rather than speculative collusion, by encouraging the residents to expand their collective intelligence and collective actions. In other words, the residents, rather than developers or investors, were given opportunities to nurture their associational power through the intermediary intervention that activated the interaction with radical civil society organisations. This can be seen as a process of shaping ‘urban citizenship’ (Purcell, 2003), referring to a new membership of the residents to reshape the processes of their urban regeneration in DJA. That is, the intermediary intervention served as an opportunity structure for the residents to establish community-based social membership beyond legally-defined citizenship or ownership and create differential or claimed spaces such as the local kitchen beyond invited or closed spaces in DJA. Hence, in this opportunity structure, the residents in DJA could be more empowered to plan and implement their own agenda compared to those in the national or mayoral URP areas.

Analysing this opportunity structure through Gramsci's counter-hegemony framework, one notes that intermediary intervention in DJA has served to balance the existing social order of hegemonic historical bloc with the new social order of the emerging counter-hegemonic bloc. By challenging the dominant hegemony of the state and the market, the intermediary organisation has played a key role in creating Gramsci's 'horizontal alliance' while promoting the residents to engage with wider social forces resisting gentrification across Seoul. Such horizontal alliance expansion has laid the foundation for advancement of a counter-hegemonic bloc where the residents can develop more accurate local rules and norms that reflect their common-sense values. Through this process of organisational development, local actors in DJA could become more flexible and autonomous in the mode of their participation by managing counter-hegemonic changes based on their own local values and beliefs.

However, one thing to note here is that while such balancing act has become skewed towards radical change, the improved community empowerment ironically constrained the residents from cooperation with the government. This is because progress in the community empowerment was made through the intermediary intervention, which prioritised residents' informal tactics over formal government strategies. This means that for the state, the intermediary-led participation was nothing more than a series of tactical actions that occurred outside its institutional framework. It is true that the intermediary-led participation was more self-determined and self-directed while being free from the rules of the institutional framework. That is to say, the residents' radical interests were well reflected in their community activities, leading to growth of genuine human flourishing beyond the control or influence of the government. In return for this freedom, however, the intermediary-led participation has had little support or protection from the government. Rather, it has been easily challenged or threatened by outside forces, such as speculative property markets, which mind the institutional rules. Under these circumstances, the intermediary-led participation in DJA could collapse at any time when market-oriented intervention takes place. This is an ironic point where the community has become vulnerable to the external forces while its internal autonomy is improved. In other words, the freedom helped the community to improve its self-reliance, but at the same time, it caused its exclusion from legal protection from potential threats of the market in compliance with government rules, which this thesis recognises as another legacy of the

interventionist state in the present urban processes. In this sense, it is understood that the intermediary mechanisms in DJA have another form of developmental legacy that puts tactical, radical, and plural approaches outside of the institution, leading to deepening precarity of the established communal autonomy.

6.5. Conclusion

Based on the findings from Chapter 5, this chapter further analysed and compared the three different types of intermediary-led participation through the lens of the conceptual framework set out in Chapters 2 and 3. In each of the three case studies, the intermediary-led participation was reviewed in terms of power mechanisms by examining changes and challenges that each CoP underwent. Then, the intermediary-led participation was interpreted in network mechanisms by scrutinising the social capital and structural holes emerging from each intermediary structure.

In the first case study of the national URP, there was a change in the collective identity of the CoP: from simple invitees to leading practitioners. As a group of invitees, the CoP started to build its own communicative rationality while participating in intermediary-led community activities. This led to the formation of its own collective intelligence, which served to inspire constant participation of the community beyond the bureaucratic knowledge of the government. Taking advantage of this collective intelligence, the CoP grew as a group of practitioners that established the local cooperative. The important point here is that the local cooperative took an intermediary role after its official intermediary organisation was disbanded. This signalled a change in the organisational identity of the intermediary from a government-led to a community-driven organisation. As a new intermediary, the local cooperative led their community activities and expanded their collective intelligence by making the community itself into a knowledge repository.

From the social network perspective, the local cooperative played a key role in enhancing mutual trust and understanding between the residents and the government. That is, it could act as a new structural hole spanner to form a bridge between the residents and the government by promoting linking social capital. However, as a structural hole spanner, the local cooperative could neither achieve financial autonomy nor have statutory rights to manage their communal spaces or provide public services. It was limited in its ability

to make autonomous decisions for its communal interests without governmental consent. As a result, the CoP is still reliant on government funds, while its decision-making is restricted by government legislation. In this sense, it is seen that the intermediary-led participation in the national URP preserves its top-down nature through centralised financial or legal measures, although it has contributed to improving the institutional capacity of the CoP by expanding its social relationships with the government.

In the second case study of a mayoral URP, there was also a change in the collective identity of the CoP: from simple invitees to voluntary practitioners. However, this change was slightly different from the one in the national URP. At the beginning, the CoP was invited to the NID programme where it could broaden communicative rationality while exploring more local issues over a span of one extra year. In the subsequent five-year programme, the CoP grew as a group of practitioners supporting the intermediary organisation. As practitioners, the community members took over some intermediary responsibilities and engaged themselves in more advanced community activities. In this transition, the CoP acted as a key driver, but could not make full use of its own collective intelligence due to the interference of professional firms.

Compared to the national URP, the mayoral URP created a more complicated, multi-layered partnership by adding professional firms to its intermediary structure. In fact, this additional layer was introduced to address the drawbacks of the national URP. It made some positive contributions to specialising intermediary roles, stabilising intermediary positions, and thereby improving intermediary work conditions. However, at the same time, it caused side effects associated with poor teamwork and leadership, which undermined internal cooperation in the intermediary organisation. For the community members, this additional layer was a barrier that restricted their inclusion in the intermediary structure. Because the professional firms were profit-oriented, they were reluctant to recruit new staff from the community members. Instead, their existing staff were deployed, or well-trained professionals were hired to maximise profits. As a result, despite their active participation, the community members remained as voluntary assistants with no official power in decision-making for the mayoral URP. This gave rise to an ironic situation: the more actively they were involved in the intermediary-led

activities, the more they became frustrated and excluded from the official decision-making process.

From the social network perspective, it is seen that the intermediary organisation acted as a structural hole spanner between the residents and the government by enabling the residents to experience how to work with the government. However, as a structural hole spanner, the intermediary organisation was not a neutral mediator, as it was mainly affected by the logic of the professional firms. This structural hole spanner was not able to promote direct social networks between the residents and the government. Instead, it served as a gatekeeper that prevented the residents from expanding their official networks with the government by excluding them from official positions in the intermediary structure. Under these circumstances, the government still retained remote control of the intermediary mechanisms by mobilising the expertise of the professional firms. In this regard, it is understood that the intermediary-led participation, which emerged in the mayoral URP, also has a developmental legacy of top-down decision-making formed through new rules and norms armed with expertise and professionalism under the multi-layered partnership.

In the third case study, the organisational identity of the CoP was transformed in a different way: from enlightened invitees to community activists. Unlike the former two case studies, the intermediary organisation in DJA maintained its financial autonomy through local trust funds and charitable donations. Taking this advantage, the intermediary intervention could enlighten the CoP about more radical issues such as social welfare rights. Hence, compared to the other case studies, the CoP in DJA was able to develop a more progressive disposition through the radical intermediary intervention. In this context, the intermediary intervention enabled the CoP to establish its local system for providing community-based services such as local banking and a local kitchen. In this local system, the CoP in DJA was able to create more diverse communal services and generate a stronger sense of confidence, empowerment, and belonging in its community life. However, such community-based activities took place outside the government institution. That is, the communicative actions in DJA were often considered unauthorised, as they barely followed the rules set by the government. Indeed, such approach helped the CoP to maintain its flexibility and improve its autonomy in the

communicative actions while being free from the government rules. In return for this freedom, however, the communicative actions were hardly supported or protected by the government. Rather, they were challenged and threatened by speculative property markets. This caused an ironic situation where the CoP has become vulnerable to external forces while its internal autonomy has been improved.

From the social network perspective, the intermediary organisation tried to act as a structural hole spanner between the residents and the government by encouraging the residents to collaborate with civil society organisations and make their voices heard by the government. However, this collaboration could not serve to establish linking social capital. Rather, it reinforced the social bonds between the residents and the civil society organisations, leading to the emergence of large network closure outside the institutional framework. In this context, the CoP grew as a group of local activists that claimed the right to city-making against the potential gentrification in DJA. Compared to the national or mayoral URP, the intermediary intervention in DJA enabled the CoP to be more self-motivated and self-directed by expanding internal social networks within the growing network closure. At the same time, however, the social network expansion was not able to go beyond the limited network closure, while external speculative forces established official relationships with the government. As a result, the CoP is often excluded from official decision-making processes for public or private-led urban projects, which would significantly affect the existing communal life in DJA. In this regard, it is understood that the self-funded intermediary-led participation has also struggled with another developmental legacy that would rule out the inclusion of radical intermediary intervention and consequent communicative actions.

Chapter 7.

Conclusion

7.1. Main research findings

This research presented detailed case studies of community participation led by different types of intermediary organisations in the recent urban regeneration of Korea. In the last two chapters, it examined how community participation led by publicly-funded intermediaries has been affected by centralised financial and legal measures that enable the state to retain its remote control over the intermediary mechanism. In particular, it transpired that such publicly-funded intermediary intervention was not adequate to serve to enhance communal autonomy but strengthened the post-political context where decision-making in regeneration has become more centralised among technocratic bureaucrats. The study also observed how self-funded intermediaries were deprived of opportunities to gain state support, as their intervention was framed as radical experiments outside the official instruction of the state. This observation revealed that the self-funded intermediary intervention enabled the locals to build their communal autonomy in the regeneration process. However, at the same time, this intermediary intervention remained tactical and, accordingly, restrained the established autonomy from being protected from waves of speculative but legitimate development movements. Now, at the conclusion of this thesis, the three research questions presented in Chapter 1 can be answered as follows:

1) How does intermediary intervention change governance arrangements in regeneration and affect power relationships in community participation?

Publicly-funded intermediary intervention contributed to the creation of multi-level regeneration governance in which the state was able to maintain its dominant power over the intermediaries by mobilising top-down financial resource allocations and strict national regulations. In this governance structure, communities were given few opportunities to cultivate counter-hegemonic power during their participation in regeneration, while the intermediaries acted as the state's apparatuses. Such

unbalanced power relations prevented the elevation of community participation to the next level of community empowerment in the shadow of hierarchy.

On the other hand, self-funded intermediary intervention served to form self-reliant regeneration governance, which acted as a local platform to enable communities to establish counter-hegemonic power against the dominant system of the state in regeneration. However, the established counter-hegemonic power has become precarious, while this intermediary intervention was considered illegitimate and subsequently challenged by speculative but legitimate market interference. Hence, it was difficult for this unstable counter-hegemonic bloc to constantly serve to improve the communal autonomy that could counteract the top-down power of the state or the speculative power of the market in the regeneration process. Rather, the community participation was more likely to become susceptible, albeit indirectly, to this power, by which self-funded intermediary intervention is excluded from state support and protection.

2) How does intermediary intervention develop social interaction patterns in regeneration and influence social networks in community participation?

From network perspectives, state-funded intermediary intervention served to generate linking social capital in regeneration by enabling participants to experience how to work with the state. It also encouraged the participants to interact with a wide range of people by expanding their collective intelligence across their neighbourhoods, leading to the building of bridging social capital. However, such social capital formation did not take place organically, but rather under the management of experts co-opted by the state. This created a multi-layered social network structure where intermediaries acted as gatekeepers, which directed bottom-up interactions based on new norms and rules with an emphasis on expertise and professionalism. In this multi-layered network structure, it was difficult for the communities to freely expand their social interactions beyond the intermediary layer due to the ‘post-political trap’, which led to standardisation in community participation by undermining its flexibility. Hence, the bottom-up interactions with power differentials often remained little more than tokenistic.

On the other hand, self-funded intermediary intervention was limited in its ability to create linking social capital, as it was positioned as a radical node outside formal networks of the state. Instead, it served to build bridging social capital by encouraging the communities to interact with radical groups of people or organisations beyond their own neighbourhoods. However, the bridging social capital was unlikely to expand beyond the limited circle of the radical groups, and, then, was transformed into sizeable bonding social capital, which gave rise to large network closure. This led to the creation of segregated social networks without connections with mainstream social networks in the official regeneration process. In this separate social network, while their social interaction with power differentials remained inactive, the communities have shown a more radical and tactical disposition in their participation in a wider range of neighbourhood improvement practices.

3) *Can intermediary intervention serve to sustain community participation and attain community empowerment in regeneration in the long run?*

The answers to the first and second research questions suggest that intermediary-led participation has inherent limitations resulting from the fact that intermediary intervention remains under the influence of the state and its technocratic apparatuses, albeit implicitly, in Korea's regeneration framework. Thus, it seems unlikely that an adequate level of community empowerment would be achieved through intermediary intervention in a set period of time. However, at a deeper level, power relationships formed by intermediary intervention are not bound in a static domination-subjection structure. Social networks emerging through intermediary intervention are also not tied to a binary inclusion-exclusion principle. Instead, they are all fluidly transformed and restructured while intermediary actors continue to communicate with their former partner communities, and thereby help them to make new networks and relationships even after the completion of the URP. Besides, intermediary actors have made constant efforts to identify problems related to intermediary intervention and persuade the state to modify the relevant legal or policy frameworks by making public the identified problems. Therefore, in the long term, intermediary intervention contains seeds of as-yet unrealised potential, albeit with the current flaws, for an alternative city-making pathway between opposition and adaptation to the dominant system. In this sense, intermediary intervention is understood as a 'site of complex struggles and

negotiations' where intermediaries continue to counteract the control of the state, albeit within limits, and suggest alternatives through constant communication with citizens for more inclusive regeneration.

These three findings are further discussed with three key themes in the following subsections. The three key themes are: 1) developmental legacies in intermediary intervention, 2) capitalist threat to intermediary-led participation, and 3) intermediary intervention as a site of complex struggles and negotiations.

7.1.1. Developmental Legacies in Intermediary Intervention

For a critical review of the intermediary intervention in Korea's recent regeneration, it is useful to revisit the historical overview of the state intervention in its urban processes. As explained in Chapter 2, Korea witnessed unprecedented economic growth in the second half of the twentieth century, while its state tried to tame and harness a small number of large industrial conglomerates for national ends. To facilitate late but rapid industrialisation, the state strategically intervened in developing a selection of cities as industrial bases by directing national resources and investments to the cities. Such state intervention led Korean cities to 'developmental urbanisation' (Hwang, 2016; Shin, 2016; Doucette and Park, 2019) where cities were deliberately expanded to support industrial and social policies that aimed to maximise national development. However, the mode of state intervention changed while the state experienced a neoliberal change in its property market that deregulated planning regulations and attracted foreign investments in an attempt to revive the domestic economy, hit by the 1997 Asian financial crisis. For economic turnaround, the state intervention served to promote large-scale housing or infrastructure projects as new vehicles to increase national capital accumulation. This state intervention served to facilitate speculative or neo-developmental urbanisation (Choi, 2012; Shin and Kim, 2016; Joo, 2019), leading to commodification and gentrification of Korean cities through market intervention managed by the state.

However, Korean cities experienced a property market slowdown, since the 2008 global financial crisis reduced or revoked opportunities for the state and the market to collaborate on new urban projects. This prompted calls for alternative approaches to the past state-led or market-driven development, particularly in unprofitable deprived urban areas. With

the introduction of the national UR Act, the Korean state set out to institutionalise community participation and promote community-based initiatives as acting associations in the urban development process of the deprived areas. In this institutional context, new intermediary intervention surfaced, whereas the state intervention took a step backwards. Such transition brought Korean cities to ‘post-developmental urbanisation’ (Jeong, 2016; Cho and Križnik, 2017; Park and Hong, 2019) where citizens can become more directly and actively involved in planning and management of their deprived neighbourhoods through the assistance of intermediaries.

As presented in Chapters 5 and 6, the findings of this study suggest that the new intermediary intervention still has legacies of the interventionist state in regeneration practices, although the state has drawn back from direct intervention in principle. At the core of the legacies are the centralised legal and financial measures for intermediaries, which put constant restrictions on the legal rights and financial resources needed for communities to sustain their participation in regeneration. In the legal framework, intermediary organisations were recognised as merely provisional agencies to support the delivery of the national or mayoral URP for a set period of time. There was no legal ground for intermediary organisations to direct their employment contracts, annual budgeting or business operations for community activities. Instead, national or local authorities had competence over such legal matters related to the management of intermediary systems. This resulted in a lack of long-term ownership of the regeneration process among intermediary actors. Furthermore, in terms of financial security, the intermediary organisations had limited sources of funds. They were not able to run profit-making businesses or to raise private funds, but only allowed to utilise public funds, which were given by national or local authorities during the URP period. Such narrow funding options prevented intermediary interventions from being financially self-reliant, which consequently undermined the formation of financial autonomy of community initiatives under time constraints. Accordingly, even after the end of the URP, local communities still struggle financially while relying heavily on limited amounts of competitive public funds rather than being able to self-fund their ongoing activities.

This is evident in the first case study, where a community initiative remains financially dependent on public funds after the four-year URP was completed. For example, the

community initiative in CSA continues to apply for public funding programmes to cover taxes, utilities, and labour costs that incur from ongoing community events or workshops. They should also apply for the right to use their communal spaces, which are owned by SMG or local authorities. Even when the application is accepted at the regional or local level, it is hard for the community initiative to use the spaces in their preferred ways, as their legitimacy is strictly regulated at the national level. After all, the community initiative remains under the influence of top-down financial resource allocations and strict national legal restrictions, which this study recognises as a key element of developmental legacies underlying intermediary intervention in the recent regeneration practice.

Such developmental legacies have become clearer, albeit in more invisible ways, since a 'multi-level' contractual system was introduced to the intermediary structure. This is observed in the second case study, where all intermediary contracts were made with professional firms co-opted by SMG. In CHA, intermediary actors tended to work individually because each of these intermediary actors was contracted with different professional firms that directed, supervised, and controlled them in different ways while carrying out discrete intermediary tasks. This led to a lack of a coordination system for internal cooperation in the intermediary organisation and undermined intermediary teamwork and leadership, which consequently rendered the intermediary intervention less cooperative and coherent. This means that the multi-level contractual system deepened the isolation of each of the intermediary actors despite its contribution to their vocational specialisation in the intermediary organisation.

More importantly, direct engagement of professional firms in the intermediary structure gave rise to a clear distinction between expert and non-expert groups in regeneration. This distinction provoked the creation of a 'post-political trap' (Swyngedouw, 2009) in the intermediary structure in which professional expertise is recognised as standards for consensus-building, whereas many other minority voices are assessed and reviewed against these standards. This meant that decision-making in regeneration became centralised, albeit invisibly, among assumedly neutral scientific expert groups, while the need for non-expert groups' involvement and input in such processes has been downplayed. For example, even active community members in CHA were often excluded from important decision-making processes and prevented from taking official positions

in the intermediary structure. Instead, they remained engaged in regeneration practices as voluntary assistants for their professional firms, as they were considered merely active participants rather than experts or professional players in the regeneration framework. This expert-oriented approach strengthened the dark side of ‘meta-governance’ (Jessop, 2004) that operates under hierarchical chains of technocratic commands and controls. This means that the meta-governance has been armed with post-political technologies and rationalities, which could facilitate the technocratic consensus-building and enhance the effectiveness of intermediaries’ participatory qualities and output delivery within a given period. Under this meta-governance structure, the intermediaries acted as members of the state’s technocratic apparatuses who can be seen as the most able to ‘turn policy agenda into delivery based practice’ (Raco, 2015, p30). In this context, the state was able to keep control over community participation, albeit remotely, through technologies of expert administration and management accepted by the state. This points towards the emergence of another element of the developmental legacies underlying intermediary intervention: the multi-level governance hiding the post-political trap, which is hinged largely on monolithic technocracy in regeneration.

Against the backdrop of these developmental legacies, the new partnerships between the state and citizens were rendered governable in the shadow of hierarchy, while the operations of intermediary power in the partnerships were rendered invisible. Intermediaries tended to avoid any explicit display of insubordination and antagonism to the state. Owing to the fear of negative sanctions, the intermediary intervention was carried out in compliance with financial, legal, and professional standards that the state established or valued. Hence, even though there was no longer visible coercive power to suppress intermediaries, the new partnerships contained ‘disciplinary power’ (Gramsci, 1929; Foucault, 1980; Luke, 1981), which generated ‘invisible handcuffs’ that trapped the intermediaries within the narrow bounds of expert knowledge (e.g. law, social work, planning, architecture). Under the disciplinary power regime, intermediaries were in power relations without resistance and were unable to develop counter-hegemonic intervention during the URP. As a result, the growth of counter-hegemonic power in community participation was substantially undermined. It is true to say that citizens gathered and formed a ‘CoP’ (Wenger, 1998) through the intermediary intervention in regeneration practices. However, it transpired that the CoP could neither achieve financial

autonomy nor have statutory rights to manage its communal spaces or provide public services in its neighbourhoods. It was very limited in its ability to make its own decisions without governmental consent even for its communal interests. This means that intermediaries could not achieve meaningful interventions to empower the CoP due to the persistent developmental legacies despite their contribution to the formation of the CoP in regeneration.

Such critical viewpoint provides a more nuanced understanding of Korea's current planning context where intermediary-led participation has become popularised while community-based urban regeneration has gained prominence. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in fact, the novel urban programmes such as the URP were devised to incorporate more diverse actors beyond only property owners or investors and create community-based initiatives as acting associations in the planning and management of deprived neighbourhoods. Since then, community participation has been foregrounded as an essential element for the state to establish a new planning framework for more inclusive and sustainable urban development. However, the findings of this research revealed that community participation has become standardised or regulated through intermediary intervention rather than diversified or autonomised. This was largely due to the state's attempt to apply more rules than ever to community participation in order to institutionalise it through intermediary intervention.

Therefore, thinking critically, it is understood that while the state previously directed the 'markets' as developmental engines, it is now steering the 'intermediaries' as new instruments to mobilise community participation in urban processes. This particular way of viewing the intermediaries suggests that community participation is subject to instrumentalisation to achieve certain goals of the state rather than the local demands because the state remains influential in intermediary intervention in regeneration. In this sense, this thesis argues that the developmental legacies of the interventionist state exist in the recent regeneration in the ways in which the transformative potential of counter-hegemonic intermediary intervention is undermined, and the growth of counter-hegemonic power in community participation is consequently hindered under the disciplinary power regime, which is armed with the centralised financial, legal, and professional measures.

7.1.2. Capitalist Threats to Intermediary-led Participation

This thesis placed its initial focus on the transition in the urban development partnership from state-market collusion to state-citizen cooperation in Korea's planning system. Close examination of the latter illuminated detailed dynamics of community participation with a focus on intermediary intervention between the state and citizens in regeneration. In the examination process, the market was set back from the main discussion, as it was not an immediate member of the state-citizen partnership. However, this does not necessarily mean that the market was removed from or insignificant to community participation in the recent regeneration practices. Rather, exploration of the case studies revealed that the speculative market forces continue to exist and influence or even threaten the emerging community participation, albeit covertly, in the long term.

This is evident in the first case study, where a new local cooperative was declined permission to offer public services in their communal spaces. The local UR centre in CSA was originated from the group of the new breed of intermediary organisations, which receive sizeable financial support from the state within a 'fixed term' (see Chapter 3.4). This means that the intermediary organisation was formed temporarily and immediately disbanded after the fixed term. In CSA, potential capitalist threat was triggered in the post-project period when official state support and protection was terminated. For example, during the URP, the residents in CSA could create new communal spaces designed for purposes such as elderly care, lifelong education, after-school childcare and young business incubation. It was taken for granted that such welfare-related services would be provided by their local cooperative after the end of the URP. However, it transpired that the local cooperative had to compete with other professional firms, because the state regarded the local cooperative as one of the candidates for public service provision. The important point here is that the competition tended to give prominence to quantitative standards that measure the past performance of the local cooperative. Qualitative aspects of its future value, merit, or potential were barely considered. Fortunately, the local cooperative secured further short-term state support to experiment with the new service provision. Yet it is likely that the local cooperative will be threatened again with deprivation of the right to provide their communal services as well as the right

to manage their communal spaces by speculative service providers with proven track records when the short-term state support and protection end.

Such capitalist threat to community participation has appeared more obviously in the regeneration practices led by self-funded intermediary organisations. This is particularly evident in the third case study, where community participation has been challenged by potential gentrification caused by the commercial redevelopment that emerged around DJA. Unlike in CSA, the intermediary organisation in DJA was derived from the *minjung* (people's) movement organisations, which mainly fund themselves with charitable contributions from individuals or grants from corporate sponsors (see Chapter 3.4). Hence, the intermediary organisation in DJA was able to maintain greater financial autonomy through local trust funds and charitable donations. Taking this advantage, the CoP in DJA could be relatively free from the state's rules and norms, which enabled them to be more flexible and autonomous in the mode of their participation in regeneration. In return for this freedom, however, the community participation has had little support or protection from the state. Rather, it has been easily challenged and threatened by waves of speculative but legitimate development movements. Indeed, some intermediary efforts have been made to encourage the CoP to network with radical groups of people or organisations against the speculative waves, and to nurture their associational power, which could serve to form local-based collective intelligence beyond the market-oriented knowledge and inspire their constant participation in regeneration. This can be seen as a process of shaping 'urban citizenship' (Purcell, 2003) to reshape the regeneration process in DJA. That is, the intermediary intervention served to enable the residents to develop community-based social membership beyond legally-defined citizenship or ownership while creating 'differential or claimed spaces' (Lefebvre, 1974; Gaventa, 2004) rather than being complacent in invited or closed spaces.

However, the urban citizenship was not able to expand its membership beyond the limited circle of the radical groups. Rather, it was isolated from the mainstream planning framework. In other words, despite its growth in size, the new associational power was not truly effective, particularly when a group of landlords, together with a speculative developer, set out to plan a large-scale housing redevelopment in DJA. The reason is that the redevelopment plan was processed within SMG's official planning framework, whereas the associational power was deemed unofficial outside the planning framework.

This means that the statutory power of the market overrode the non-statutory status of the CoP, which gave rise to a threat to the established autonomy of the CoP in DJA. For example, some landlords had converted their *jjokbangs* into guest rooms for tourists, while other landlords sold their whole *jjokbang* buildings to a developer seeking to build a brand-new hotel. Such market-oriented changes are signalling that ‘speculative redevelopment’ (Shin and Kim, 2016) could emerge with a collective agreement and legal permission. However, there were no legal actions that the local residents could take against the speculative redevelopment movements, which were advocated in SMG’s planning framework. Hence, it seems more likely that the community-based places such as communal kitchens (*sikdorak*), common rooms (*sarangbang*), local bank office (*hyeobdonghoe*) as well as *jjokbangs* themselves could disappear in DJA. In other words, the speculative market forces could possibly lead to the diminution or extinction of the existing communal life and culture by lawfully encroaching on the places where community members have lived, gathered and interacted through intermediary intervention. This is seen as a potential capitalist threat by which the established communal autonomy can be undermined or even destroyed while the existing residents are confronted with forced eviction or displacement from the communal living environment as well as from personal properties.

To rephrase, regardless of funding sources, it is clear that intermediary intervention has contributed to the creation of ‘claimed spaces’ where the residents can try something new for their communal interests. It also served to nurture ‘associational power’, which could inspire the residents to constantly participate in new community activities by giving meaning to their participation. However, it transpired that the claimed spaces and the associational power still remain precarious due to the financial and legal limitations, which can create room for the capitalist competition and thereby threaten the existing communal life and culture that have been formed through intermediary intervention. This thesis recognises such critical point as another invisible struggle of intermediary-led participation whose communal sustainability continues to be challenged by the speculative but legitimate market forces, which extend their interest to the new communal spaces and services that have been created in the recent regeneration.

7.1.3. Intermediary Intervention as a Site of Struggles and Negotiations

The final finding of this study is that intermediary intervention has served as a negotiation platform to address the local struggles in regeneration, although it has also been an underlying cause of the struggles. As noted above, the present intermediary intervention retains the past developmental legacies, which can function to ‘instrumentalise’ community participation according to post-political standards. Moreover, the intermediary intervention tends to leave the door open for future market intervention, which can ‘threaten’ community participation by restraining communities from self-management of their community assets beyond capitalist values. However, close examination of local narratives from the case studies highlighted that each of the intermediary actors has made constant contributions to addressing the state’s instrumentalisation of and the market’s threat to community participation while persistently communicating with communities, negotiating with authorities, and, thereby, serving to rectify the relevant legal or policy framework, albeit within limits.

In 2018, the Seoul UR centre, together with about one hundred other local UR centres, established the so-called association of urban regeneration support centres at the national level (C4-IS-INT-3, 2018). This nationwide intermediary association has organised regular committee meetings and workshops where member organisations could exchange information and accumulate practical knowledge with regard to their intermediary works in regeneration. Such regular gatherings have been foundational for the member organisations to take collective actions to identify their common challenges and seek possible solutions to them throughout the regeneration process. In particular, Seoul UR centre has played a leading role in sharing the identified challenges with the state and proposing possible solutions to the state. To give an example, Seoul UR centre collected opinions from different local UR centres and suggested to SMG the new concept of Community Regeneration Corporation (CRC), which is a community-based business initiative with a legal right to deliver communal services (see Chapter 5.2). Such efforts of Seoul UR centre urged SMG to stipulate the concept of CRC in its ordinance and provide institutional support until the system of CRC is settled. In fact, in many URP areas, such as CSA and CHA, community initiatives such as local cooperatives were not able to properly use their community assets without governmental consent or market competition. However, the introduction of the CRC prepared the ground for such local

initiatives to manage their communal spaces, provide communal services, and even run for-profit businesses for communal interests beyond legal limitations, albeit with limited institutional support.

Moreover, Seoul UR centre put forward a standard guideline for communal space planning and management, and persuaded SMG to bring the guideline into its policy framework (C4-IS-INT-3, 2018). As noted in Chapter 5, local residents tended to be excluded from the actual process of surveying, negotiating, and acquiring local properties for future communal spaces. This important process was reviewed confidentially by the public sector, such as SMG or local authorities, as the public sector was supposed to have ownership of the properties. Accordingly, the exclusion of local actors often caused some specific problems such as inflexibility in the use of communal spaces or inadequacy in the selection of their locations. In this light, it was significant to create a standard guideline for communal space planning and management in the policy framework, because it was the first step to officially engage community initiatives in the actual process of decision-making for their communal spaces from an early stage.

Such collective efforts of intermediary organisations were also observed in DJA. For example, one of the local challenges in DJA was the potential gentrification, which could cause the forced eviction or displacement of the local residents. A regional association of *jjokbang* village support organisations was formed and pushed SMG to negotiate with *jjokbang* landlords over their proposed redevelopment plan by controlling its permission process. Certainly, such intermediary effort contributed to reaching a pragmatic compromise on a five-year leasehold extension. Even though it is seen as a stopgap measure, this intermediary collective effort was also important in the sense that it triggered a wake-up call for speculative redevelopment movements, regardless of their legitimacy, if there is a strong likelihood that they would cause harmful influence on the existing communal life and culture in certain deprived neighbourhoods with no sensible solutions or alternatives.

What is more interesting is that such intermediary contributions were not only made by macro-level collective actions. More diverse cases were found in micro-level individual interactions, which have been generated in more relaxed, friendly and informal ways. For

example, after the URP was completed in CSA, the local UR centre was disbanded, and the community organisers (COs) started to work in other places. However, even though they have left CSA, the former COs continue to communicate with the residents in CSA and encourage them to expand their collective intelligence and improve their communal autonomy, albeit indirectly. As described in Chapter 6, one of the former COs who got a public job in SMG has kept the residents updated with regeneration information from across different departments in SMG. She also has sent them informal invitations to a variety of gatherings, such as social enterprise seminars, at which they could establish new relationships with people from the social enterprise sector as well as the public sector in a casual fashion. Another former CO opened an architectural studio and started to work as a consultant for different urban regeneration areas. Since then, she has organised a study group where COs from different URP areas gather to discuss their community work. The residents in CSA are welcomed to join the study group informally, at which they can observe what happens in other neighbourhoods and take a more objective view to assess their own status quo. In other words, the residents are given more opportunities to expand social networks as well as broaden collective intelligence through ongoing, albeit unofficial, interventions of the former COs after the official end of the URP.

The important point here is the fact that such intermediary interventions have become more informalised and diversified, which can be seen as a result of the evolution of ‘hidden resistance’ (Scott, 1985, 1990) of intermediary actors. In fact, many intermediary actors were aware of the dark side of the state’s ‘disciplinary power’ (Gramsci, 1929; Foucault, 1980; Luke, 1981) but could not help hiding their resistance while exhibiting outward compliance during the URP. That is, a group of intermediary actors tended to be engaged in disguised, low-profile and undeclared forms of resistance while working as COs in certain URP areas. However, the trend has been changed since they were freed from their duty to deliver the URP. They no longer need to take passive or obedient attitudes towards the disciplinary power. Instead, they have each become individual supporters who are willing to encourage their former partner communities to improve their counter-hegemonic power, albeit remotely, while performing diverse intermediary roles in many different fields, serving to create and expand Gramsci’s horizontal alliances.

Such subtle evolution of intermediary resistance gave rise to a meaningful change in intermediary intervention. This means that intermediary actors could see their way to provide more flexible and long-term support to their former local partners by making use of a wide variety of informal counter-hegemonic practices after their short-term official responsibilities. The informal practices include, for example, lobbies for policy changes, creation of standard guidelines, informal dissemination of practical knowledge, social events and circles, and learning group organisation and sharing. It is certain that these informal practices have helped community initiatives to manoeuvre around the disciplinary power in a pragmatic manner rather than merely reinforcing their cohesive and unified force against the ruling power.

Such consideration implies that although intermediary intervention was co-opted into the state agenda at first, this co-optation is now serving as a stepping-stone towards achieving balance between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces to sustain progressive urban reform in the long term. Regardless of macro- or micro-level actions, the ongoing interactions between the locals and the intermediaries have expanded the basis for building Gramsci's horizontal alliances, which distil a new social order from the existing hegemonic social order by making use of informal counter-hegemonic practices. Such constant intermediary intervention has put the power dynamics of hegemony and counter-hegemony on a path with possibilities of resistance, emancipation, and negotiation beyond a fixed power relationship. This means that the intermediary intervention has maintained counter-hegemonic forces, enabling the locals to transform the mode of their participation while achieving balance between opposition and adaptation to the dominant policy system. In this sense, the informal but constant intermediary intervention can be seen as an opportunity structure that serves to build a foundation for progressive urban futures where the co-optation can transcend cycles of bureaucratisation, professionalisation, and institutionalisation of counter-hegemonic ideas and practices.

This new way of viewing intermediary intervention suggests that intermediary actors are no longer merely post-political agencies to turn policy agenda into delivery-based practice. Rather, each of them can act as useful and necessary companions to the local actors involved in the recent regeneration while constantly trying to identify, review, and address the invisible local struggles through more indirect, informal, individual, and

flexible intervention. In the long term, this can lead to gradual improvement or adjustment of the recent regeneration framework through informal counter-hegemonic practices of intermediaries. This novel understanding of intermediary intervention highlights its future-oriented value, enabling community initiatives to become more autonomous by directly and more actively engaging in the regeneration process, although its current outcomes seem to show a lack of local capabilities.

From the long-term perspective, therefore, it is understood that the intermediary intervention contains seeds of yet-to-be-realised potential, albeit with the current flaws, for creating a future city-making pathway between opposition and adaptation to the dominant disciplinary power, which can serve to render progressive values and imaginings of the city. In this sense, this thesis argues that the intermediary intervention is a 'site of complex struggles and negotiations' in which the locals continue to struggle to improve their right to participation in city-making while the intermediaries maintain communication with the locals and negotiation with the state to address the local struggles by changing their own resistance modes throughout the continuing regeneration process. This can be seen as a signal of building a positive foundation for more inclusive and sustainable urban futures in the long term.

7.2. Contributions of this Research

This study contributes to the existing body of literature in several aspects. Firstly, it provides a combined overview of urban development and intermediary organisations in the historical context of Korean cities, particularly Seoul. While much of the literature focused on Korean urban development and its transformation, this study allows us to gain insight into how the urban development and intermediary organisations have been related to and affected each other in Korea's changing planning context. While some studies have focused on the evolution and contribution of the intermediary organisations in welfare policies, they have not extended their debates to the new type of intermediary organisations that have emerged in the recent planning policies. In this sense, this research bridges the gap between these studies by developing the debate on the new intermediaries in Korea's urban planning context beyond its social welfare context. By doing so, this study serves to expand a conceptual basis for a comprehensive understanding of the recent

community-based regeneration with attention to the new intermediaries working between the state and citizens in Korea.

Secondly, this study provides an empirical basis for illuminating the complex dynamics behind intermediary intervention in the community-based regeneration. This study is one of the first qualitative studies on power relationships and social networks of communities that are constructed through intermediary intervention in Korea's recent regeneration framework. Several planning studies on intermediary intervention have been conducted to date, but they have mainly paid attention to intermediary operation or management in regeneration. While such studies tend to focus on the functional aspects of intermediary intervention, this study expands its focus to the social aspects by examining how intermediary intervention has affected the formation and transformation of power and network dynamics of community participation in the regeneration process. In other words, this study provides knowledge of 'subjective reality' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) beyond objective facts, which enables us to gain critical insight into the fundamental nature of community participation in Korea's recent regeneration framework.

In this context, the unveiling of *the developmental legacies and capitalist threats in intermediary intervention* is a specific and original contribution of this study to knowledge of the socio-political dynamics underlying the community-based regeneration in Korea. Close examination of the case studies demonstrates that the financial resources and legal rights of communities remain restricted due to the centralised financial and legal measures for intermediaries in regeneration. These financial and legal limitations create room for capitalist market intervention in regeneration, which can threaten to deprive communities of their right to community assets and, eventually, to communal life in their neighbourhoods. But, at the same time, the case studies also show that these intermediary actors continue to serve as collective or individual platforms to address the local struggles by changing their own resistance modes throughout the regeneration process in the long term. In this regard, the uncovering of *the latent potentials of intermediary intervention as a constant negotiation site between the state and citizens* is another significant contribution of this study to the current academic debates on challenges and opportunities of intermediary-led participation in Korea's planning system. Such findings concerning the current problems and the future value of intermediary intervention provide a more

balanced understanding of the recent community-based regeneration based on new partnerships between the state, citizens and intermediary organisations in Korea.

Finally, these empirical findings contribute to existing knowledge of the ‘post-developmental urbanism’ in Korea (Jeong, 2016; Cho and Križnik, 2017; Park and Hong, 2019). As noted in existing literature, Korean cities were often used as subnational political units to support national economic growth, by which citizens were largely excluded from urban processes. But they have recently experienced a post-developmental turn in urban processes through decentralised decision-making authority, depoliticised forms of governance, and institutionalised mechanisms for community participation in city-making. While the existing literature tends to present a general overview on the post-developmental turn, this study adds a critical review by providing a deeper understanding of intermediary intervention in city-making. The critical review maintains that intermediaries often serve as technocratic apparatuses of the state to centralise the decentralisation, bureaucratised the depoliticisation, and instrumentalise the institutionalisation of community participation. That is, intermediary intervention can be associated with new modes of hierarchical control over community participation, albeit indirectly, in city-making. This represents one of the significant characteristics of Korea’s post-developmental urbanisation that embeds the top-down dynamics, referring to the developmental legacies, in urban processes. However, the critical review also highlights that intermediaries do not only serve as a shadow state, but also act as constant mediators to soften or blunt the embedded top-down dynamics in the long term. This means that intermediaries expand their role from a short-term delivery of progressive urban projects to a long-term transformation of state institutions, laws, and regulatory processes to allow citizens to manoeuvre through rather than against the existing system. In this regard, this study provides a fuller picture of Korea’s post-developmental urbanism, which continues to transition from a state intervention regime to a civic participatory regime through the changing intermediary intervention in city-making processes.

This critical review provides an opportunity to expand the empirical basis for a wider discourse on post-developmental urbanism in East Asia. As much of the literature shows, other East Asian cities such as Singapore, Taipei and Hong Kong are also in a post-developmental turn of urbanisation where their states take a progressive stand on their

urban policy formation on the one hand (Cabannes, Douglass and Padawangi, 2018; Douglass, Garbaye and Ho, 2019) while their policy implementation still retains the sticky nature of developmental statism on the other (Park, Hill and Saito, 2011; Doucette and Park, 2018). As these cities learn from each other, similar tools are often being shared. These include innovations such as the sharing economy, collective land tenure, participatory budgeting, community currency, and urban community gardens, to name a few. One shared characteristic is that the innovations often entail the creation of new urban governance accompanying intermediary intervention rather than direct civic participation due to the lack of civic culture (Lam-Knott, Connolly and Ho, 2019).

Following this line of thought, considering Seoul as an empirical site for analysing ‘the urbanism as a way of life’ (Wirth, 1938), this study provides empirical evidence for a better analysis of the contemporary urbanism in the Asian context with attention to intermediaries emerging in a post-developmental turn. While the co-opted intermediary intervention is regarded as a stepping-stone towards progressive urban reform, the concept of urbanism is situated in the context of power and network dynamics of negotiation where counter-hegemonic forces collaborate between opposition and adaptation to existing top-down systems, whereas hegemonic forces oscillate between oppression and persuasion of emerging bottom-up initiatives through intermediary intervention. Such nuanced understanding of power and network dynamics constructed through intermediary intervention serves to capture the evolving nature of post-developmental urbanisation, which signals the potential to build a foundation for progressive urban futures in the long term. This particular consideration contributes to expanding the scope of the recent progressive cities debates (Cabannes, Douglass and Padawangi, 2018; Douglass, Garbaye and Ho, 2019) by adding a critical review on transformative intermediary intervention across the boundaries between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic blocs. Through this, therefore, it is understood that the findings from this study serve as a puzzle piece to draw a bigger picture of the contemporary urbanism of Asian cities with similar developmental legacies. In this regard, this study provides the opportunity to contemplate the pluralistic concept of Asian urbanism discourse (Hogan et al., 2012; Bunnell and Goh, 2017; Shin, 2019) by sharing empirical insights into the development of intermediary intervention in Korea’s post-developmental urban processes.

7.3. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

There are three main limitations to this study and suggestions for future research. First, this study involved time-restricted research. As Farrington et al. (1993, p.159) observed, 'partnership is an evolving process which has both passive and active elements over time'. Accepting their observation, this study attempted to comprehensively examine the evolving process of state-citizen partnerships in urban processes against the backdrop of an extended period of time, running from the pre-partnership era (developmental period) to the current partnership stage (post-developmental period). Even after the two fieldworks in 2018, the researcher continued to review and update data according to the changes to the regeneration partnerships in the case study areas. This diachronic approach has allowed the researcher to discover unexpected consequences in the changing partnerships and find their significance within the wider planning system of Korea, which otherwise would have gone undetected.

However, this study could not discuss all of the recent events, which might bring about considerable changes to the regeneration partnerships in the future. For example, SMG officially launched a pilot programme to promote the CRC (Community Regeneration Corporation) in URP areas in 2019. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the introduction of CRC is important, because it can enable community initiatives to gain the legal right and financial support to utilise their community assets, which can protect them from capitalist competition against external market forces. However, at the same time, concern has been raised that it would cause further competition over the limited amount of competitive public funds to gain legal rights and financial support. That is, new institutional change to promote community initiatives has its own double-edged nature. This critical point may require a more detailed examination. Besides, during the interviews with COs, the researcher happened to hear of their future plans after the completion of the URP. Using their personal networks, which have been formed during the URP, some of them planned, or had already started, to establish new social enterprises specialising in community work together with former or current COs. This means that a group of COs have endeavoured to collectively create a community work-based intermediary platform beyond an architectural or planning profession-based agency. This change is significant, as it can serve to foreground community-oriented value rather than profit-driven logic in the process of intermediary intervention. However, because this intermediary change was still

in a rudimentary stage at the time of writing, this research could not deal with this issue in the main chapters, despite the fact that it is likely to have a profound influence on the ways in which intermediary actors work. In this regard, further investigation on the recent events related to institutional or intermediary changes may be necessary to account for their potential impacts on the community-based regeneration in the long term.

Second, this study did not discuss the power relations between communities and markets, which are interested in community assets such as communal spaces or services. As noted in Chapter 2, to promote the creation of community assets was a huge and unprecedented step towards more inclusive urban development beyond the past state-led or market-driven approaches. However, during the fieldwork, it transpired that most of the communal spaces were owned by the public sector, while communal services were run by public funds. Hence, it is no wonder that it was difficult for communities to improve their communal autonomy, particularly in the use of their community assets. As Chapters 5 and 6 briefly addressed, such limitations rather allow external market forces to intervene in the process of communal space management or service provision, which could threaten the established communal life by stripping communities of their right to community assets. These market forces may include, for example, external housing cooperatives or community service agencies that apply commercial strategies to maximise their profits, as well as private property developers or investors. However, the case studies showed only a signal of the conflicts between communities and markets, which had not yet surfaced, as they were still under the state's support. For this reason, the power relations between communities and markets and their effects in the regeneration process could not be explored in depth despite their significance. Moreover, this study could not properly reflect on the viewpoints of elite intermediary actors such as directors in UR centres and leaders in professional firms, as they were reluctant to grant official interviews during the period of URP. This resulted in the limited analysis and interpretation of their perspectives in the process of intermediary-led participation. Further discussion on these issues may be possible by examining market intervention or involvement in the continuing regeneration process or exploring how former intermediary directors or leaders review their URP after the state support or protection is terminated.

Lastly, this study calls for comparative analysis of intermediary-led participation in urban regeneration in different cities in Korea. With the three case studies, this research does not claim to have found universal characteristics that may be straightforwardly applied to all the recent urban regeneration projects across the country. Indeed, Korea's tax revenue is highly centralised, while its tax expenditure is relatively decentralised (Hong and Kim, 2016). This asymmetrical balance of tax revenue and expenditure causes many local authorities to rely heavily on national government subsidies to experiment with new policy programmes such as the URP. Given that Seoul is one of the wealthiest cities, with a high level of financial independence, such national dynamics may produce uneven experiences of intermediary intervention in other Korean cities with weak financial independence. Hence, it is worth undertaking a cross-city comparison of experiences of intermediary-led participation for a more comprehensive understanding of the recent community-based urban regeneration in the wider national context of Korea.

Such cross-city comparison is also worthwhile in the international context. In particular, it would be useful to compare and contrast the experiences between Korean cities and other East Asian cities with similar developmental legacies. Despite sharing historical similarities, it is true that each of the East Asian cities have developed their own unique social, political, economic, and cultural environments in their urban processes. For example, Singapore is a land-scarce state where 90 percent of land is publicly owned, while Seoul is not land-scarce, and land is privately owned (Huat, 2000; Halia, 2016; Joo, 2019). That is, in Singapore, citizens' dependency on state provision renders them clients of the state, while land rent is a significant source of the state's revenue, but for Seoul, property development is more likely to have benefitted the private developers or landowners. Such comparative dynamics may produce non-identical experiences of intermediary intervention, which could provide a richer understanding of post-developmental urbanism in progressive cities of East Asia. This comparative approach can allow us to capture the nuanced nature of the recent community-based regeneration in Korea while broadening our horizons on the current post-developmental urbanism taking place in East Asian states. In this sense, the cross-city comparative investigation of intermediary-led participation will be able to offer a helpful framework through which to decipher complex dynamics behind the emerging urban regeneration partnerships and,

by extension, the changing citizen-state relationships in urban processes in Korea and East Asia.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Interviewees from Case Study 1

Sector	Identification	Affiliation	Interview Date	Duration (hours)
Public Sector	C1-PS-INN-1	Official from SMG	Jan. 07. 2019	1
Intermediary Sector	C1-IS-INT-1	Current community organiser in CSA (local cooperative leader)	Dec. 20. 2018	2
	C1-IS-INT-2	Former community organiser in CSA	Dec. 22. 2018	1
	C1-IS-INT-3	Former community organiser in CSA	Jan. 04. 2019	1.5
Community Sector	C1-CS-INT-1-1	Local resident in CSA (former anti-NTP camp leader)	Dec. 29. 2018	2
	C1-CS-INT-1-2		Jan. 12. 2019	0.5
	C1-CS-INT-2-1	Local resident in CSA (local cooperative member)	Dec. 29. 2018	2
	C1-CS-INT-2-2		Jan. 12. 2019	0.5
	C1-CS-INT-3	Local resident in CSA (local cooperative member)	Dec. 29. 2018	2

Appendix 2: List of Interviewees from Case Study 2

Sector	Identification	Affiliation	Interview Date	Duration (hours)
Public Sector	C2-PS-INN-1	Official from SMG	Dec. 07. 2018	1
	C2-PS-INN-2	Official from local council in SDA	Dec. 21. 2018	1
Intermediary Sector	C2-IS-INT-1-1	Current community organiser in CHA	Nov. 13. 2018	1
	C2-IS-INT-1-2		Jan. 04. 2019	2
	C2-IS-INT-2-1	Current community organiser in SDA	Dec. 11. 2018	0.5
	C2-IS-INT-2-2		Jan. 03. 2019	2
	C2-IS-INT-3	Current community organiser in SDA	Jan. 03. 2019	2
	C2-IS-INT-4	Former community organiser in CHA	Jan. 04. 2019	2
Community Sector	C2-CS-INT-1	Local resident in CHA (former community leader)	Nov. 13. 2018	1.5
	C2-CS-INT-2	Local resident in CHA	Dec. 24. 2018	1.5
	C2-CS-INT-3	Local resident in CHA	Dec. 24. 2018	1.5
	C2-CS-INT-4	Local resident in SDA (current community leader)	Jan. 03. 2019	1
	C2-CS-INT-5	Local resident in SDA	Jan. 03. 2019	2
	C2-CS-INT-6	Local resident in SDA	Jan. 03. 2019	2

Appendix 3: List of Interviewees from Case Study 3

Sector	Identification	Affiliation	Interview Date	Duration (hours)
Intermediary Sector	C3-IS-INT-1-1	Current community organiser in DJA	Jan. 04. 2019	1
	C3-IS-INT-1-2		Jan. 06. 2019	2
	C3-IS-INT-2	Current community organiser in DJA	Jan. 06. 2019	1
Community Sector	C3-CS-INT-1	Local resident in DJA (current community leader)	Jan. 04. 2019	1.5
	C3-CS-INT-2	Local resident in DJA	Jan. 04. 2019	1.5
	C3-CS-INT-3	Local resident in DJA	Jan. 04. 2019	1.5

Appendix 4: List of Interviewees outside the Case Studies

Sector	Identification	Affiliation	Interview Date	Duration (hours)
Public Sector	C4-PS-INN-1	Official from Ministry of Land	Dec. 11. 2018	1
	C4-PS-INN-2	Official from local council in a different district of Seoul	Dec. 12. 2018	1
Intermediary Sector	C4-IS-INT-1	Community organiser in different area	Nov. 22. 2018	1
	C4-IS-INT-2	Community organiser in different area	Dec. 04. 2018	1
	C4-IS-INT-3	Director in Seoul urban regeneration support centre	Dec. 11. 2018	1.5
	C4-IS-INT-4	Community organiser in different area	Dec. 11. 2018	1
	C4-IS-INT-5	Community organiser in different area	Dec. 11. 2018	1
	C4-IS-INT-6	Social entrepreneur in Sharing for Future	Dec. 18. 2018	1.5
	C4-IS-INT-7	Social entrepreneur in Jegi-dong Sarangbang	Jan. 08. 2019	1.5
Community Sector	C4-CS-INT-1	Local activist	Dec. 16. 2018	2
	C4-CS-INT-2	Local activist	Dec. 20. 2018	1
Other Sector	C4-OT-INT-1	Anglican Priest	Nov. 12. 2018	1
	C4-OT-INT-2	Researcher in Korea Research Institute for Human Settlement (KRIHS)	Nov. 27. 2018	1
	C4-OT-INT-3	Researcher in Architecture and Urban Research Institute (AURI)	Jan. 05. 2019	1