Shaping Seoul
Employing Heritage in the Urban Regeneration Projects
Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon

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MA Thesis

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Note on Transliteration

For the romanization of names of Korean sites, projects, and architecture, this thesis follows the 'Revised Romanization of Korean' as officially in use in South Korea since July 2000. Korean family names (Park, Lee, Kim) are included according to the most commonly used transliteration.

Introduction

I Seoul You. As a Dutch researcher, this message reminded me of the 'I Amsterdam' sign at the Museum Square. Capital cities have become brands, catchphrases, images with a targeted message of authenticity, wonder and discovery. When I travelled to Seoul for the first time in 2016, its image unfolded before me and captured my imagination immediately. Unlike the Dutch cities I knew, Seoul was messy, crowded streets bustling with life, crooked buildings sitting right next to glittering skyscrapers, immense and luxurious department stores sliding into narrow alleyways, traditional Korean houses and restaurants, palaces, parks and mountains. In all its messiness, the city seemed to thrive, maintaining an intriguing balance of old and new, traditional and modern, a metropole both frozen in time and constantly changing.

Seoul definitely showed its very own identity, and I became curious as to how this identity was constructed, how it had developed, and where it was heading. The 2017 Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism seemed a good place to start, as it showcased through exhibitions, public programs and lectures the ongoing developments and innovations that have been shaping Seoul's image to a broad audience of national and international experts, officials and citizens. Seoul's current Mayor Park Won Soon follows this innovative tide through redirecting the city's urban revitalization policy. Instead of continuing Korea's 'demolition culture' of destroying complete compounds and replacing them with extravagant architectural projects, Mayor Park urges for a smaller-scale, community-based 'revitalization' of existing urban architecture (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "2016 New Year's Address", 2016). As part of the 2030 'Seoul Plan', heritage and culture became key elements in urban development, and have inspired over 100 architectural and community projects in the city. Two of these projects are Seoullo 7017 (서울로 7017), an elevated, green walkway designed by the Dutch architectural company MVRDV on the fundaments of a traffic overpass, and Sewoon Sangga (세운 상가), originally an arcade combining retail, residences, and small-scale electronic industry, reconstructed as part of the 'Again Sewoon' (다시 세운) project (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Seoul Urban Planning Charter", 2015). Both deteriorating structures dating from the 1970s industrial era of Seoul were preserved, revitalized and branded as 'Future Heritage' reflecting Seoul's industrial past.

In addition to their designation as Future Heritage, these sites are actively connected to the city's established heritage network, including National Treasure Nr. 1: Namdaemun or the Southern Gate, the UNESCO World Heritage Jongmyo shrine and Namsan Tower in a walkable display of the city's past. Through inviting commute, activities and experiences, the people of Seoul engage with the city's heritage on a daily basis.

Research Question

Considering this recent heritagization effort and the complex 're-imagining' of Seoul, my thesis explores the question: How and why is heritage significant in shaping Seoul's urban structure, focusing on Mayor Park's projects Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon branding Seoul as the 'heritage capital' of Korea?

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

My research involves a critical examination of the process of governmental heritage-making or 'heritagization', as defined by Sjoholm (2016), Kristiansen (2015) and Harrison (2013), focusing on Seoul through the cases of Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon. I will assess the notions of an 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) as defined by Smith (2006), of nationalism and nation-building as described by Anderson (1983) and Kal (2011), of naturalization and public memory, and of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969) and experiential heritage (Smith 2006, 2011) in the Korean context. Throughout this thesis, the 'Korean Nation' will be understood as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983). I will examine the perceived national threat of corruption and decay, leading to heritage as a crucial preservation tool of the nation as described by Harrison (2013) and Herzfeld (2014), and how these dynamics are currently playing out in Seoul to reshape its urban makeup. Building from a solid theoretical framework in the fields of Critical Heritage Studies, History, Korean Studies and Anthropology, my research demonstrates how the Seoul Metropolitan Government strategically employs heritage to facilitate changes in the cityscape. Through the use of heritage, these changes are naturalized within a chronological, progressive national narrative to be preserved in public memory. Industrial and experiential heritage, citizen experience, the construction of public history, memory and national identity constitute the central elements of this research. Government blogs, websites and other media outlets such as Facebook and Instagram, but also physical government campaigns in the city (posters, advertisements, exhibitions and brochures), and speeches are included as constituents of the governmental heritagization discourse. This thesis uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to make the socially constitutive and socially conditioned elements of this discourse more transparent and visible (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000, 448).

Additionally, stakeholder perspectives are included via qualitative interviews conducted in Seoul and the Netherlands in 2017 and early 2018 with eight stakeholders involved in the

case studies, ranging from architects and academics to curators, government officials and consultants. Their accounts, published with permission, reveal a variety of assessments of the use and value of heritage, the role of the citizens, and the impact of the revitalization policy on these citizens' daily lives and experiences. Due to time restrictions within the MA program, this thesis could not include local residents', activists or business owners' accounts, nor follow-up interviews or verification of terms used by the stakeholders translated from Korean.

Surely, heritage is by no means a static concept, but rather constantly renegotiated by different stakeholders, leading to new understandings, evaluation and various activities on and around the two sites. Analyzing the multifaceted nature of heritage is crucial, as it is not only employed by the government to legitimize the changes of Seoul's urban landscape, it also shapes the social experience of its inhabitants on a daily basis by informing and creating public memory. Heritage is part of a continuous memory-making effort, and understanding the dynamics of nationalism and national identity, citizen agency, and social experience is inherently tied to an understanding of heritage. As such, this Critical Heritage research adds considerable findings through closely examining the early stages of heritage creation in Seoul, thereby contributing to knowledge on 'new types' of experiential heritage that are currently under-theorized (Smith 2006).

Thesis Outline

The main research question will be answered through the following structure: chapter 1 will provide the historical context required to understand the current heritagization process by describing how urban planning, nation building, and heritage have been developed and employed by the government from the 1970s onwards. Chapter 2 introduces the two case studies and focuses on the current efforts and motives of Mayor Park and the Seoul Metropolitan Government to incorporate heritage in a newly established revitalization policy that clearly diverges from the former 'demolition culture'. Chapter 3 shifts our attention to the practical implications of Mayor Park's policy 'in the field' by incorporating the perspectives of different stakeholders who were involved in the two projects. The 'Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research' section integrates the findings of the previous chapters to demonstrate how and why heritage plays such a significant role in Mayor Park's urban revitalization projects of Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon. It reveals how the different visions, approaches and practices of both the government and the stakeholders reflect and evaluate the impact and value of heritage in Seoul, while also providing suggestions for future research based on these findings.

Chapter 1: 1970s - Present: Korean Nation-Building, Urban Planning and Heritage

Before analyzing current dynamics of urban planning in Korea and how it is intertwined with nation-building and heritage, this chapter explores how these processes have been developing in South Korea from the 1970s onwards. The 1970s marked a turning point in the country's urban planning policy as Seoul was transformed and industrialized at an unprecedented pace. Tracing back the uses and significance of heritage in the Korean nation-building process since the 1970s puts Mayor Park's current use of heritagization and urban revitalization into perspective.

Korea's occupation by Japan from 1910 until 1945 and the destruction caused by the Korean War (1950-1953) all set the stage for subsequent South Korean governments to construct a 'politics of memory' to reinvent the Korean nation and to regulate both public conduct and public history. After the authoritarian rule of provisional Head of State Syngman Rhee (1948-1960) and the short-lived presidency of Yun Posun (1960-1962), the presidency of Park Chung Hee (1963-1979) marked the start of the military regimes period and involved a fundamental shift in the official Korean commemorative culture. President Park came to power after a military coup in 1961 and lasted until Park's assassination in 1979. While he built upon previously used strategies of uniting the Korean nation through anti-Japanism and anti-communism, President Park also employed Korea's colonial memory as a tool to promote his rigorous economic development projects to overcome the destruction of the Korean War (Kal 2011, 58). A parallel can be drawn to the postcolonial 'memory boom' in Taiwan, where the self-fashioning of Taiwanese heritage became central to the nation-building effort and the creation of a 'de-sinicized' Taiwanese identity (Chiang 2012, 169-170).

The Park government made an ideological return to traditional Confucian values to counter the instability of the newly established military regime (Kal 2011, 60). Korean cultural elements like 'documentary history paintings', 'historical sites' and 'cultural properties' were marked as Korean national heritage by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, set up in 1968 to produce and conserve 'Korean Culture' in national heritage museums (Kal 2011,

60). Methods of categorization, preservation, and presentation were used by the government to establish a national heritage narrative. Smith has coined the term 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (AHD) to categorize such hegemonic heritage discourse (Smith 2006). The AHD is shaped, in this case, by the government, establishing 'expert' institutions to manage, propagate, and spread a particular heritage narrative to the public. The formation of an AHD can be seen as a process of heritagization in which either politicians or grassroots movements mobilize a selective past that shapes identities and lifestyles at national, regional, and local levels (Kristiansen 2015, 48).

Altogether, the Park regime structurally embarked upon such a process of heritagization, in which specific sites, objects, norms and values of Korean culture were categorized and given new meaning and significance as heritage objects within a government-led AHD. Within this process, public memory is built upon selective and strategic interpretations of the past, framed to become useful for present political purposes (De Ceuster 2010, 30; Harrison 2013). President Park incorporated this close link between heritage and nation building, as well as its regulatory potential in the newly established South Korean museums. They exhibited the nation's history, culture and civilization through material signifiers of its progress, framed as a collective achievement to become an inclusive display of power (Bennett 1998, 80). Additionally, Anderson's (1983, 163, 181) analysis of museums as 'institutions of power' includes that the monumental archaeology displayed in museums 'allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalized, but also local, Tradition'. In short, the museum serves as an inherently political tool for control, surveillance, and classification (Anderson 1983, 184). De Ceuster's research (2010, 14) adds a reflection upon museums' ability to propagate a specific version of national history, which is crucial to identity formation, the creation of loyal citizens, and to legitimize the past actions of the nation. Thus, within the AHD of the Park regime, heritage was a state affair to instill order, engage the Korean people to create public history, and to foster national identity and pride to pursue rapid economic and industrial development.

Shaping Seoul

Still, this heritage narrative of national progress and public history was not confined to museums. Moreover, it has been ingrained in the public sphere, and especially in the makeup of the cityscape of South Korea's capital, Seoul. The city came to constitute a specific social reality, constructed with political and ideological goals in mind (Kim 2008, 6-7).

The government took on massive urban planning projects with high-rise buildings and highways as symbols of productivity, self-reliance and progress, while at the same time producing an infrastructure that provides spatial signs of discipline, efficiency, and order (Kal

2011, 58). Kwak (2002, iii) notes that the late 1960s showed the development of a top-down imagined national space, a type of 'state urbanism' that became a turning point in Korean history of urban modernization.

Until the Korean War, Seoul had kept its traditional form, located north of the Han River. The city was embraced by mountains, harmonizing with the natural landscape and incorporating Confucian and Daoist principles of geomancy that ensured the city site's energy flows. The capital city had already been firmly present in the public imagination, as it had constituted the center of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897) for 500 years. However, the rapidly increasing levels of urbanization and industrialization that occurred under the Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan military governments from the 1970s onwards were unprecedented and drastically changed the urban makeup of Seoul. The city transformed from the political core of an agrarian nation to a considerable hub within the global economy within a few decades (1961-1987), a significant achievement for a formerly colonized and war-torn country (Kim 2008, 3-6). In 1966, Kim Hyun Ok became the Mayor of Seoul as a trustee of President Park. He became known as the 'Bulldozer Mayor', making the most significant changes to Seoul's urban structure and appearance since the city's designation as the capital during the Joseon Dynasty. During his first year, Mayor Kim focused on the expansion of Seoul's road system through the construction of (underground) walkways, overpasses, roads and elevated expressways (Kwak 2002, 72-73). Additionally, through state-sponsored urban 'mega projects', the cityscape was transformed to create a proud image of the South Korean nation. Seoul had to become the solid, physical proof that South Korea had managed to urbanize and modernize within a timespan shorter than the world had ever seen before. Furthermore, Kim's research shows that the government's incorporation of capitalism and the modernist values of functionality and efficiency led to the 'homogenization of space', creating a consistent material language of the nation (Kim 2008, 9).

The 1980s marked an age of prosperity for South Korea, praised globally for its 'miracle' of rapid economic development. The 'miraculous' achievements of the nation were strongly embedded in the nation's AHD, with the additional component of masculine symbolism to maintain order and to frame Korean history in terms of progress (Jager 2016, 118; Kal 2011, 60). Nevertheless, critical 'grassroots movements' of students and intellectuals arose in this period, questioning the development and representation of the Korean nation. They urged for a history that should turn towards the people (민종) as the center of national Korean history to democratize national history and to make it more representative of the public's sentiments and memory (De Ceuster 2010, 19, 17). As a result of these grassroots efforts, the Chun Doo Hwan military government (1980-1987) had to recast its public commemorative strategy (Kal 2011, 88; De Ceuster 2010, 20). The previous strategy of the 'politics of amnesia' and

masculine glorification of the nation was complemented by a policy of 'culture for everyone', popularizing culture as indicative of a new, modern era, exemplified by the National Museum of Contemporary Art (NCMA) (Kal 2011, 88).

The Global Gaze

The 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games marked a rigorous change in South Korean politics, fixing the gaze of the Western media onto the country. The military regime started to lose its legitimacy and in the same year, the first democratic government under Roh Tae Woo (1988-1993) was installed. Still, a conservative AHD was maintained, illustrated by The War Memorial of 1994. Constructed by the Roh government, it endorsed a firmly installed 'official commemorative culture' of masculinist patriotism, sacrifice, and a nation based on an 'ethnic lineage' of the Korean people (Kal 2011, 60, 73). This conservative AHD, as well as the country's urban planning policy, were drastically changed after the 1997 economic crisis (Lee 2010). As Korean art and culture were increasingly placed upon the international stage, politicians were inspired by cities like Dubai and Shanghai, recognizing the global appeal of high-rise, cutting-edge infrastructure and the name value of famous architects (Lee 2010). Urban development in Seoul would now pursue two goals: 'global progress' and 'restoration of the national identity', as Seoul became the emblem of the nation (Kal 2011, 102).

Additionally, 'green populism' and global tourism entered the stage. The Seoul Metropolitan Government strategically used the regulative power of the 'public plaza' to realize the greatness of the nation through staging national spectacles and inciting feelings of freedom and openness (Kal 2011,103). Former Mayor of Seoul, Lee Myong Bak (2002-2006) committed to this new rationale by 'recovering' the deteriorating Cheonggye stream, relocating the local people, and creating artificial river banks, consumer and tourist facilities. Diverging from the worn-out industrial modernity of the 1970s, Lee brought the urban planning focus towards 'nature', the 'common man', wellbeing and development, along with neoliberal, global standards (Kal 2011, 107, 109). In practice, this approach catered mainly to middle and upper-class needs.

This new focus in Seoul's urban planning strategy included turning the city from a 'hard' to a 'soft' urban space. Named the 'Design Seoul Campaign', this 'softening' of the city started in 2008. Its rationale allowed for constant urban restructuring in the South Korean capital, including the construction of 'Global Cultural Zones' (Yun 2011, 81, 91). Supporting this argument, Kal notes that Seoul's urban planning policy has recently focused on 'soft' notions like cheerfulness, softness, the everyday, and so-called 'creative pleasure', enhanced by

'playful' public artworks (Kal 2011, 113). Yun (2011, 82) comments that 'urban planners imagine that it is possible to elicit a certain kind of emotion by engineering physical environments'. This notion of urban space eliciting emotions in the public is crucial in the formation of an AHD, as it is perceived that historical relics and cultural heritage have to be actively incorporated within the urban landscape to improve the public's appreciation of 'Korean Culture' (Yun 2011, 81).

Nevertheless, it is unclear whether urban space does elicit the intended emotions and appreciation in the public. Additionally, the framing of these architectural structures as 'care for the citizens' has not led to unequivocal acceptance. For example, the urban mega project Dongdaemun Design Plaza, designed by globally renowned architect Zaha Hadid, has been challenged by political activists and citizens for not being fit to local needs, for 'gentrifying' the area and ousting local businesses in the construction process, as well as only appealing to a global audience of tourists (Yun 2011, 91). The public might perceive urban planning projects in a completely different light than urban planners or governmental bodies, with their own perceptions, incentives and memories guiding their conduct as well. Still, Seoul's urban planning policy, in restructuring the cityscape and public areas, creates unspoken boundaries and regulates public conduct, allowing and encouraging certain practices and social groups and denouncing or disabling others. These practices also include commemorative practices, as the politics of memory are still strongly present in current urban planning projects. As Kal (2011, 121) notes, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's discourse of 'wellbeing' is simultaneously a 'regulatory' one. In shaping specific conduct, passing judgment, and framing Korean culture and history in specific ways, the restructuring of the Seoul cityscape makes the public the means of national governance and of the politics of memory, rather than the object of it.

Building the Nation, Building Memory

Altogether, this chapter has shown that nation building, urban planning, and heritage are closely intertwined. The AHD of the South Korean nation, applied to Seoul as its national 'image', has developed along several military and democratic governments, fitting the specific political agendas of each. It aimed at creating an orderly image of the nation in which people feel connected through a common history, while also legitimizing the military regimes until the 1980s and the late 1990s. The AHD shifted from glorifying the nation through masculinist symbolism, national museums and an industrial, modern capital, to a more 'democratized' heritage narrative in which 'soft' public space and modern art regulated not only public conduct, but also public memory and history. This constant renegotiation of Korean heritage and commemorative practices demonstrates that the significance of sites and urban space is malleable. Still, citizen agency and perception have to be taken into account to

understand how public space affects the public in practice. As we will see in the following chapters, sites in Seoul have been 'revitalized' to fit the current mould of the Korean national historical narrative, shifting from decaying remnants of the past to emblems showing off Seoul's innovativeness and a new regard for the city's community.

Chapter 2: From Demolition to Regeneration: Heritage and the Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon Project

As discussed in chapter 1, Seoul symbolizes and reinforces the values of the Korean nation, its culture and its history. This chapter examines the urban planning policies of Seoul's current Mayor, Park Won Soon (박원순), whose aims for the city have markedly shifted compared to his predecessors. Through a Critical Discourse Analysis of the current heritage narrative of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, this chapter focuses on the heritagization process of Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon. This analysis involves not only the reconstructions and design elements of the two projects, but also the engagement of the public through several government media outlets, public programs, and the overarching rationale that designates and frames heritage within the cityscape to transform Seoul into a 'heritage capital'. Through these different government outlets, heritage is strategically incorporated in the two projects by placing them within a larger narrative of the nation's naturalized, progressive continuity, authenticity, citizen responsibility, and 'experiential heritage'.

From Demolition to Regeneration

Marking a clear break with the exclusive, grandiose and even controversial urban planning projects of former Mayors in Seoul, Mayor Park Won Soon announced in his 2016 New Year's Address that the city's new urban planning policy would be radically different (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "2016 New Year's Address"). Instead of demolition and a preference for mega-structures, he argued for the regeneration of Seoul through reinventing old structures, thereby creating a modern reference to Seoul's identity and past. Mayor Park focused on fostering feelings of belonging and local reinvigoration with regard to Seoul's specific history and the current social environment. The new urban policy of 2013, elaborated upon in the '2030 Seoul Masterplan' and the 'Seoul Urban Planning Charter', included key terms of heritage, identity, sustainability and participation (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "The 2030 Seoul Masterplan", 2014; "Seoul Urban Planning Charter", 2014). A core element to this revitalization policy and the heritagization process of Seoul is the 'Comprehensive Development Plan for the Seoul Station Area', announced in 2015 with the goal of 'integrated regeneration of areas near Seoul Station' (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Integrated Regeneration of Areas near Seoul Station", 2014). This area holds the potential

for a national imagining of Korean culture and heritage, which makes it extremely valid in terms of public history and memory as a hub in the propagation of a national heritage narrative. The Seoul Station area constitutes the historic city center of Seoul, including the nation's oldest and most prominent monuments, including 'National Treasure nr. 1', Namdaemun, the Southern Gate of the old Joseon Dynasty city wall, Gyeongbokgung Palace with its tumultuous history, as well as the statues of national war hero Yi Sun Shin and King Sejong, the inventor of Hangul. The area reflects Korea's complex history, housing both Korean, Western missionary and colonial Japanese remnants of the past. Close to Namdaemun, the first Catholic church of Korea is located, as well as the former Seoul Station, now 'Seoul Culture Station', a Japanese colonial building in neo-classical style, sitting uncomfortably within the urban landscape (Fig. 1). Close to this remnant of the nation's colonial past, a completely new Seoul Station is built in contemporary architectural style, as well as the main Korean governmental spaces: Seoul City Hall and Seoul Plaza.

Fig. 1: Seoul Culture Station, currently in use as a museum. Exhibition sign: 'Hanbok Market'. Hanbok refers to traditional Korean attire.

Altogether, the Seoul Station area is an amalgam of tradition, culture, history and heritage, mixed with the modern hustle of crossroads, highways, traffic overpasses, hotels and skyscrapers. Despite this richness in national monuments and complex cultural heritage, with

the development and rise of the Gangnam (south of the river) area from the 1990s onwards, the city center's population moved to this newly developed and more popular area (Kang 2015; Yim 2018). The area became a place for businesses, highways and traffic, losing its appeal for the public. Major Park's urban revitalization policy is aimed at countering this development. Based on three central tenets, community, pedestrian and industrial revitalization, his policy focuses on the cultural heritage of the Seoul Station area as the key component in making Seoul a 'cultural heritage capital'. The Seoul Station area will be the nation's representative 'face' for both nationals and foreign visitors, drawing them into a national heritage narrative that celebrates Seoul's traditional and modern history (Hur and Sim 2018).

## Seoul Future Heritage and Industrial Heritage

In order to realize this goal, Mayor Park deliberately engages Seoul's community in the heritagization process. In 2013, the Seoul Metropolitan Government presented a new heritage strategy through the development of the 'Seoul Future Heritage' public program (서울미래 유산), in which heritage is framed as a shared public property and responsibility. The Seoul Future Heritage website explains the term 'future heritage' as the cultural heritage of modern Seoul, in need of the citizens' preservation efforts in a rapidly changing society (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "서울미래유산 소개, Seoul Future Heritage Introduction", 2016). The website presents the selection criteria for qualification as Seoul's Future Heritage to allow citizens to enlist their own 'heritage'. Both tangible and intangible heritage can be enlisted, ranging from objects, practices, sites, industries, even foods that are not designated or registered cultural properties yet, clearly placing Seoul's heritage in the hands of the citizens. With a focus on voluntary citizen participation, responsibility and a customized, flexible preservation approach, the government's Future Heritage program is presented as truly representative of Seoul, 'democratized' and owned by the citizens, while still embedded into the grand narrative of the national Korean AHD.

By framing heritage as a 'shared responsibility', the Seoul Metropolitan Government incorporates the public in the 'democratic' creation of Seoul's heritage narrative which aims at fostering local support for urban redevelopment plans. Still, an examination of community engagement using Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation', reveals that the heritagization process is not as 'democratized' as it is represented. The participatory structures of both projects reach a maximum of five or six (Placation or Partnership) out of eight, meaning that the impact of citizens in decision making and planning is effectively limited to an advisory or 'informative' position (Arnstein 1969, 216-224). Hence, citizens have very little space to participate in the heritagization process, with the additional confinement of their heritage

experience within the boundaries of the national AHD. With Seoul and its heritage being emblematic in the nation's narrative, the AHD promotes a restricted social and cultural experience of this heritage, befitting the city's 'dominant aesthetic'. As such, the revitalization of Seoullo 7017 and Sewoon Sangga coincided with a determined effort to shape a specific heritage experience of middle-and upper class leisure, culture, and value (Smith 2006, 30-31).

Seoullo 7017 and 'Again Sewoon' embody this regulatory heritage discourse, being framed as 'Industrial Heritage' through their enduring significance in the construction of 'modern Seoul' (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "서울미래유산소개", 2016). Harrison argues that the heritagization of industrial sites exemplifies nations' late 20th-century perception of increased risk and vulnerability, supposedly countered by heritage preservation. The fear of decay accelerated the preservation of 'defunct objects, buildings and landscapes', generating the pragmatic category of 'industrial heritage' to address this surplus (Harrison 2013, 80-81). The two case-studies will illustrate the process of transforming decaying industrial sites into valued landmarks within a heritage network.
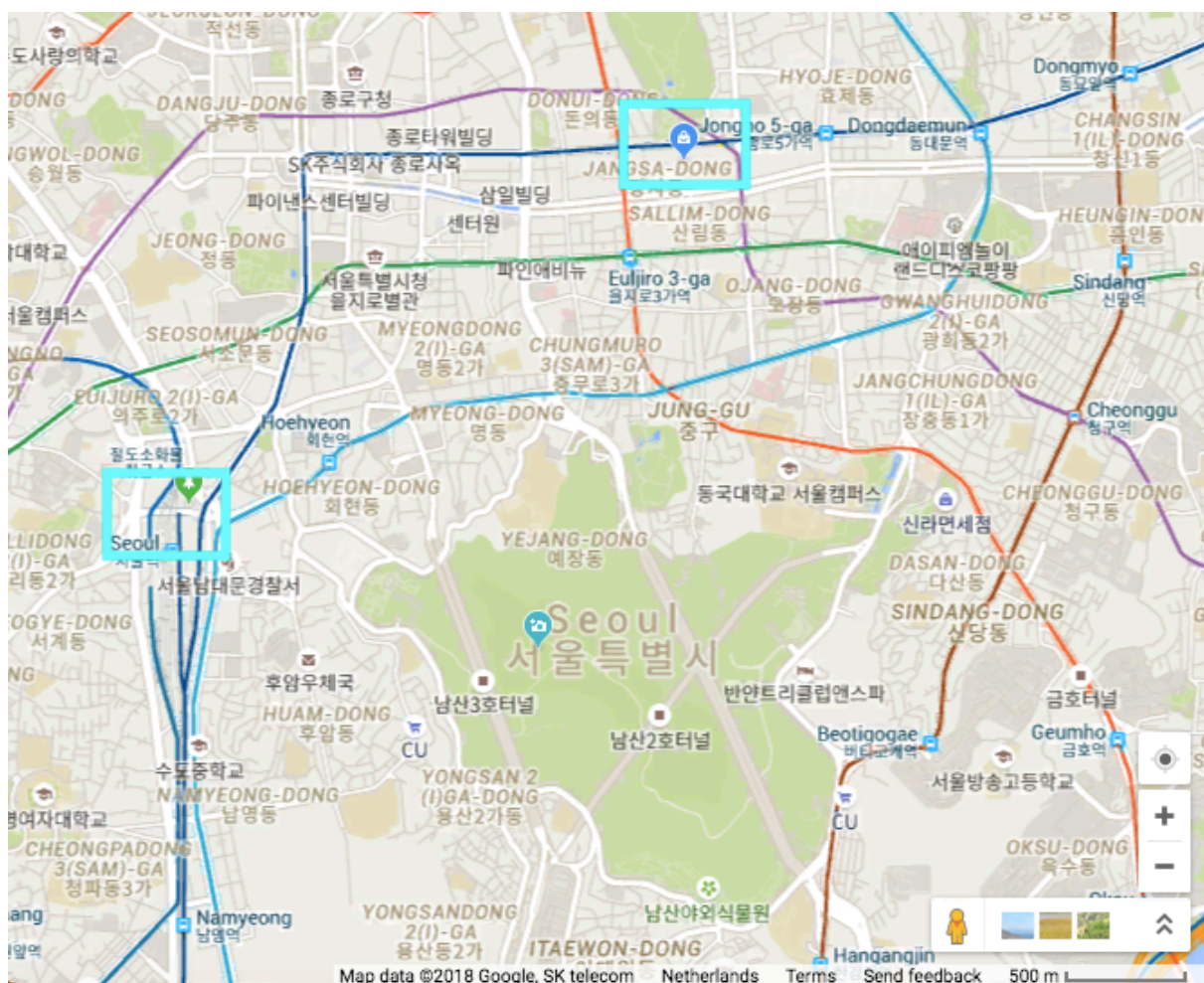
Map of Seoul indicating the 2 projects.

Revitalization through Seoullo 7017: Future Heritage, Living Heritage

Mayor Park's Seoullo 7017 project started in 2015 and had to be finalized within the short time frame of two years. The project involved the rigorous reconstruction of a deteriorating 1970s traffic overpass, a remnant of the rapid industrialization and modernization of Seoul's urban infrastructure under Park Chung Hee. Over the years, the overpass had become a concrete embodiment of Korea's industrialization, in daily use by Seoul's commuters since the rapid industrialization of the 1970s. As such, the overpass was firmly present in the public imagination and memory and therefore suitable to be represented as Seoul's modern heritage. The name of the project, 'Seoullo 7017' translates to 'towards Seoul', implying movement and transition. 70 refers to the 1970s industrial revolution in Korea, the birth of the traffic overpass, and 17 to its 'rebirth' as a pedestrian overpass in 2017. Thus, within the urban revitalization plans of Seoul Station area, the overpass presented the possibility for a rhetoric of 'renewal' with respect for Seoul's industrial past. Additionally, it could reconnect different landmarks, encourage leisurely commute and it could become an eye-catcher for the public with new, appealing design and multiple consumer facilities through one inventive change: turning the traffic overpass into a pedestrian walkway.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government presented Seoullo 7017 as the beginning of a 'new chapter of walking tourism in Seoul's history' (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Integrated Regeneration of Areas near Seoul Station", n.d.). It announced the Urban Renewal Headquarters as furthering a 'new paradigm' for Seoul's urban development: 'Seoul-Style Urban Renewal'. This 'style' was framed as the 'role model' for the regeneration of the city, based on revitalizing the overpass instead of tearing down the 'aging structure'. The Seoullo 7017 project was born and embedded in a heritage rhetoric of preserving Seoul's industrial past, while also introducing a new and unique era in Seoul's urban planning policy, which would now put the citizen, the pedestrian, in the spotlight. An online announcement of the Seoullo 7017 project stresses its function within a 'network of culture and history', including Seoul Culture Station, Seosomun Gate, Son Gi-Jeong Memorial Park, the old Joseon Dynasty Seoul City Wall, Namsan Mountain and Namdaemun Market (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Integrated Regeneration", n.d.). The project thus becomes firmly grounded in the traditional heritage narrative of the Korean nation trough rhetorical and physical connections as a historical pathway to traditional heritage sites. This clear linkage to heritage and memory was confirmed by Hur and Sim, government officials currently working at the Seoullo Office. They note that the renewed overpass, as located in the city center, aims at preserving and retrieving the many 'lost memories' that people have tied to the area.

While Seoullo used to be a mere traffic overpass, reinvented as an attractive pedestrian road including trees, plants, cafes, and connecting to several facilities, it has the capacity to motivate people to explore 'symbolic places' in Seoul's city center (Hur and Sim 2018).

Additionally, the Seoul Metropolitan Government describes the project with a vocabulary that evokes images of development and progress, including repeated use of phrases like 'innovative', 'rebirth', 'urban regeneration', and 'rejuvenating'. This language establishes a link with the future that encompasses not only the traditional interpretation of heritage as a relic of the past, but also its less tangible notion of a daily practice in the present and a newly invented form of Seoul's 'Future Heritage' (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Integrated Regeneration", n.d.). Government officials at Seoullo Office Hur and Sim (2018) further note that 'industry revitalization' is addressed by Seoullo's capacity to reconnect the more affluent area West to Seoul Station with the deteriorating area to the East. This connection provided by Seoullo 7017 and the resulting commute, leisure facilities and business activity is expected to 'balance' the two areas.

For the project's innovative redesign, the Dutch architectural company MVRDV had been selected through an international design competition, set out by Mayor Park in 2017. The design of architect Winy Maas kept the concrete structure almost intact, but added trees, shrubs and other plants on the walking surface in large, round, integrated plant pots. At night, the pots would illuminate and showcase these plants with blue and white LEDs underneath (Fig. 2). The flora included in the design changes with the seasons, includes both Korean indigenous and non-indigenous species, and is ordered along the Korean Alphabet, Hangul

Fig.2a: Seoullo 7017, Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2017.

Fig. 2b: Seoullo 7017 pedestrian deck.

(한글), where plant names follow the order in which the Korean letters are listed. Small, round compounds are attached as cafes or information centers, and extensions to the walkway can be made to connect with surrounding buildings and sites.

The original design by Maas, however, had to comply with the inclusion of specific elements that incorporate Seoul's heritage, brought forward by Mayor Park. Design elements include the original materials and glass 'windows' showing the deteriorating concrete and wrought iron of the old structure. Hur and Sim (2018) explain that references to Korean culture and information signs about surrounding cultural heritage sites were ordered by the Mayor to make Seoul's city center the 'most representative area' in a cultural sense. They further state that Seoullo 7017's free access and central position were expected to attract many citizens and tourists. They could then be informed about Seoul's 'old heritage', visible from the walkway or in the near vicinity of the site (Fig. 3).

Indeed, the tourist brochure of the Seoullo Office, completely in English, lists six possible heritage sites that one can visit from Seoullo by foot (Seoullo Central Office, *Seoullo since 7017*, 2015). These include 'Culture Station Seoul 284', the old Japanese colonial train station, 'Sungnyemun Gate', National Treasure Nr. 1, 'Hanyangdoseong' or the old city wall, and 'Son Kee Chung Sports Park', a memorial park dedicated to a Korean marathon runner 'who aroused Koreans' spirit of challenge and hope in the Japanese colonial era' (Seoullo Central Office, "Seoullo since 7017", 2015; Fig. 4).

Fig. 3: Seoullo 7017 heritage information, including the original concrete balustrade.

Fig. 4: Seoullo Office brochure, heritage sites near Seoullo 7017.

Fig. 5: Seoullo 7017, EXO (Kpop boyband) song lyrics 3.6.5:
세 번까진 부딪혀 봐여섯 번쯤 울지라도다섯 번 더 이겨 내면끝이 보이기 시작해
Crash against it three times
Even if you cry six times
If you overcome five more times
You will see the end

Further cultural references are playfully included as Korean popular song lyrics, quotes, literary fragments and poems written on the plant pots (Fig. 5). A final, strong statement is made through the Future Heritage placard, placed on Seoullo's balustrade and clearly visible for the visitor when entering the site (Fig. 6). It 'proves' Seoullo's significance as future heritage, but its position on the structure merits further explanation. When facing the placard, the visitor's gaze is directed towards National Treasure Nr. 1: Namdaemun, the Joseon Dynasty Southern gate and key Korean heritage site. This visual link between Seoullo as Future Heritage and Namdaemun as 'traditional', national heritage creates a sense of continuity, a linear progression of the Korean nation and culture from Joseon Dynasty until now, the era of 'Future Heritage'. This narrative of continuity is considered a common obsession among nationalist ideologies. In the words of Anderson (1983, 11-12): 'It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny', the nation-state emerging as an ever-present entity, both historical and moving into a 'limitless future'.

Altogether, by symbolizing a new direction in urban development, Seoullo 7017 is presented as a role model of Future Heritage that focuses on the 'human scale', the citizen and the environment. Seoullo functions as a public space that aims to facilitate participation, transition, experience and connectivity, also building upon the innovative appeal of sustainability and 'green development'. Filled with integrated pots that showcase different kinds of plants, including indigenous Korean vegetation that changes with the seasons, the site itself is continually in transition. As stated on the MVRDV website, Seoullo 7017 was intended to function as an 'urban nursery', incorporating innovations of urban farming and producing seedlings for the rest of the city (MVRDV, "Seoullo 7017 Skygarden", n.d.). Seoullo Officers Hur and Sim (2018) explained that the site has indeed been used to invite such 'green' activities on a small scale. Public projects of planting 'old wheat' (오랜 밀) have been conducted on-site, and there are plans to develop a network of urban beekeeping (도시 양봉), starting from Seoullo.
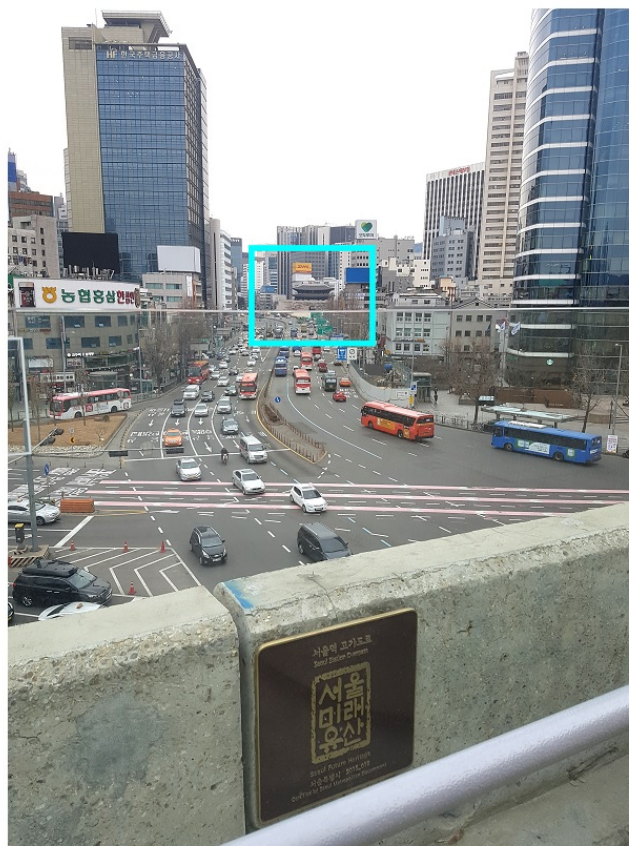
Fig. 6: Seoullo 7017 Future Heritage placard on the old concrete balustrade facing Namdaemun, highlighted by the author.

Activities like these create a diverse sense of 'living heritage'. Seoullo will serve as a 'new, multifunctional cultural area' that 'rejuvenates' urban space through 'cultural programs and activities', thereby creating 'new culture based on local cultural resources' (Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Announcement of the Seoul Station 7017 Project", n.d.). Hur and Sim (2018) state that alongside cultural and educational events, people can engage with the site as volunteers, managing the structure and the plants, or through 'citizen idea subscription'. The latter involves public donations of artworks which are exhibited on Seoullo. In the advent of the Seoul Olympic Winter Games, Seoullo hosted the public art project 'Signal, Lights, Connected' and other exhibitions that turned the plant pots into life-size photo frames (Fig. 7). These activities on-site become part of its 'experiential heritage' and therefore embedded in the heritage-making process. However, this type of local heritage-making is only allowed after the finalization of the project and, as noted earlier, caters to a specific middle-and upper class, cultured experience.

Fig. 7: Seoullo 7017 Pyeongchang 'Signal, Lights, Connected' and public photo exhibitions.

Seoullo 7017: Heritage, Continuity, Experience

Returning to the three central tenets of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's urban renewal strategy, one can see that the area's industrial, community and pedestrian revitalization are all included and promoted by the government through the use of heritage. Seoullo's old structure might not have had a strong cultural significance as a traffic overpass, but it is transformed into a significant hub in a heritage network in the city center of Seoul. The site becomes heritage through daily activity and engagement, contributing to the image of Seoul as a 'cultural heritage capital'. The rhetoric of heritage justifies the restructuring of the area by claiming cultural continuity, connecting Future Heritage to 'old' and 'traditional' heritage. Additionally, the rationale of cultural progress, of linking future and past heritage, strengthens both the national AHD and Seoul's naturalized heritage narrative that reveres both traditional and industrial structures as part of a shared history. The community level of the project aims at fostering a sense of agency in which citizens contribute to the preservation of a shared Seoul that is both historically relevant and directly linked to the modern, daily lives and experiences of the cultured middle class.

As such, the 'revitalization' capacity of Seoullo and the 'upgrading' of the area do have their negative aspect, mainly within the context of gentrification. As Hur and Sim (2018) note, the few residents that were left in the Seoul Station area are now moving away or rent out their property because of rising real-estate prices and strong competition since the completion of the project. Mainly larger businesses, like upstate hotels, shopping malls and restaurants have established connections to the walkway surface of Seoullo, which creates the risk of homogenization and exclusion of a less affluent part of the public at these facilities. This goes directly against the 'industry revitalization' goal of Seoullo connecting and 'balancing' the inequalities between the affluent Western and deteriorating Eastern area. The Seoullo Office has noted these issues, but has concluded for now that this process of gentrification is very complex and difficult to address (Hur and Sim 2018). Thus, gentrification will most likely continue to affect the area without further government intervention.

Again Sewoon: We Shall Overcome

The original traffic overpass that became Seoullo 7017 can be seen within the same historical setting of rapid industrialization and major changes in Korean urban planning history. The contemporary, late 1960s Korean rationale of modernization and industrialization, combined with the idealism of Seoul's Mayor Kim Hyun Ok, the renowned architect Kim Soo Geun and the influence of Western urbanism, including architects like Le Corbusier, all contributed to the development of Sewoon Sangga as an impressive and unprecedented mega-structure in

the Korean capital. As the epitome of all these converging societal currents, Sewoon Sangga can be considered the 'first official redevelopment project in Korea'. Kwak's (2002, iii) research has highlighted Sewoon Sangga's historical significance, reflecting the rationale of the late 1960s: the idea of an industrial, modern city with an 'utopian destiny', envisioned and designed by architects in agreement with military government agendas of modernization.

Sewoon Sangga's place in Korean history can be best explained by providing a summarized historical context. The history of the site is complex and holds a multitude of connotations, hopes, ideologies, and memories. Under the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945), the site served as one of several 'fire-break zones' in Seoul, in which all the existing buildings were cleared and the construction or renovation of structures prohibited. After the liberation of Korea and the end of WWII, the area was cleared of the Japanese settlers and Korean occupants who had gradually started living in the empty space. The Korean War interrupted any effort to redevelop the site. After the war ended, the evacuated fire-break zones were either neglected, redeveloped into thoroughfares, pedestrian walkways, or, in the case of the present Toegyero (the present Seoullo), turned into paved roads. The future Sewoon Sangga site became occupied by North Korean refugees, squatters, and brothels. During the 1960s, the original residents were ousted when local merchants bought the property rights of the land, transferring about half of it to the private sector (Kwak 2002, 102-107).

The complicated construction process of Sewoon Sangga was finalized in 1967. 'Bulldozer Mayor' Kim Hyun Ok had to push through multiple administrative procedures and government officials' objections, backed up by the full support of President Park to develop the degraded Jongno area. Kim cleared nearly two thirds of the squatters in the Jongno and Jung-gu districts within two months in the summer of 1966, before getting the Central Urban Planning Committee's approval. Kim still pursued and called the project of a large, mixed-use arcade 'Sewoon Sangga', an arcade 'moving forward into the world' (Kwak 2002, 108-111).

In 1966, state-employed architect Kim Soo Geun had convinced the Mayor to adopt the latest trends in Western modern urbanism to allow not only for a greater density of the structure as a 'multi-leveled city', but also for it to function as an idealistic, progressive symbol with monumental value. The arcade buildings had to become layered and multi-functional, with both residence and office spaces, a roof garden, ensuring high quality of living and a 'pedestrian axis' to connect with the surrounding areas and shopping malls (Kwak 2002, 115, 118-120). Countless investors became interested in the project, and the city selected major developers like Hyundai and Daerim, but also landowners' unions like the Cheonggye

Sangga Company for finance and construction aid. The initial building of Sewoon Sangga became a trail of arcades connected by elevated pedestrian walkways. The modern and innovative connotations of Sewoon Sangga had a significant socio-political impact in shaping Korea's urban modernization process. The Sewoon Sangga development came to symbolize Korea's modernity and progress as it transitioned a slum into an imposing, mixed-use urban megastructure where only the rich and famous could afford to live (Kwak 2002, 126-128, 139).

However, from the 1980s onwards, the area around Sewoon Sangga fell into decay, with only four out of the eight intended blocks of the project completed. The connecting pedestrian deck was never finished. In the following decades, several other arcades were developed, without success (Kwak 2002, 140-146). In 2008, Hyundai Sangga was demolished as part of the area's urban redevelopment, which included plans to demolish Sewoon Sangga as well. With the appointment of Mayor Park Won Soon in 2011, a completely different answer to the decay of Sewoon Sangga and the surrounding Jongno area was announced. Through a public speech at the Sewoon Shopping Mall central square, Mayor Park presented the 'Again Sewoon' (다시 세운) project in January 2016. Organized for local residents, Mayor Park explained how Sewoon Sangga would contribute to the regeneration of Seoul, finally regaining honor for the name of 'Sewoon', standing for 'attracting all the energy of the world' (Mayor's Hope Journal, Seoul Mayor Park Won-soon Announces the "Dasi (Again)-Sewoon Project, 2016).

Claiming Sewoon as housing the 'Third Industrial Revolution' of Seoul and the whole of Korea in the 1970s, Mayor Park presented his urban revitalization plan to make Sewoon Sangga once again an innovative force, this time for a 'Fourth Industrial Revolution'. Through nostalgic anecdotes about the area, Mayor Park emphasizes the heritage value of Sewoon Sangga as a space in public memory that should be restored and protected. While taking governmental responsibility to achieve this, he also places responsibility firmly upon the citizens, stressing the site's common value for the city. He puts it explicitly in his speech: 'we must recover its potential'. The Mayor also addresses the previous, failed attempts to revitalize the site, the loss of faith in the local government by the residents of the area, and the consistent focus on demolition. He assures the audience that a new direction will be taken, one of a responsible, communicative government responsive to its citizens: 'you residents are the real architects of the new Sewoon Shopping Mall' (Mayor's Hope Journal, "Seoul Mayor Park", 2016).

In his speech, Mayor Park further explains the broader policy structure of pedestrian, community and industry revitalization. Industry and community revitalization are targeted through consulting global and local 'experts' in advisory groups and forums to work together in designing a 'public space for citizens' (Mayor's Hope Journal, "Seoul Mayor Park", 2016). In terms of participation, this corresponds with Arnstein's 'Consultation' level in which participation is still limited and primarily a 'window-dressing ritual' (Arnstein 1969, 216-224). From within, the electrical manufacturing industry of Sewoon Sangga is modernized through the influx of students through the 'Meister Program', where they work together with local 'Meisters' in the electronic manufacturing business. Lee (2018), team leader at the Historic City Center Regeneration Division of the Seoul Metropolitan Government explains that the honorable title of 'Meister' designates the manufacturers of Sewoon Sangga as skilled teachers and mentors. The government runs symposia where these Meisters can showcase their work.

This participation stage of 'Placation' indicates a government-picked base of 'worthy citizens' instrumental to the governmental revitalization effort. However, these citizens only have an advisory function that does not allow them to make final policy decisions (Arnstein 1969, 216-224). The participatory levels of Consultation and Placation both fall under 'Tokenism' and do not allow actual citizen control. A local high school specialized in technology and 'inventions' has shown interest in educational programs at Sewoon Sangga as a 'Meister High School', where high school students can take additional classes. Already in January 2018, student programs involved working with drones and developing tools to measure fine dust in the air, focusing on local issues and modern technologies (Lee 2018). Lee states that Sewoon Sangga can give these students, the young generations, the motivation to develop these ideas in reality.

Considering the structural 'revitalization' of the program, the original architecture of Sewoon Sangga and the history of the site were carefully incorporated (Fig. 8). The square in front of Sewoon Sangga has been 'tilted', leading up to the main building and positioned straight across from the Confucian Jongmyo shrine (Fig. 9). Walkways and pedestrian overpasses are reconstructed to connect the city's heritage elements up until Namsan Tower, creating a symbolic network that connects deteriorating areas to their thriving counterparts in a 'pedestrian friendly city' (Lee 2018). Posters for future events on the site provide a welcoming atmosphere, and underneath the tilted square, an exhibition about the history of urban planning in Seoul positions Sewoon Sangga within a larger narrative of progress, negotiation, change, and a strong link to history and memory (Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Retrospective Futures, Seoul Regeneration*, exhibition brochure, 2017; Fig. 10).

;. 8: Sewoon Sangga facade, tilted square and public artworks, with the entrance to the
nibition room on the bottom right. Seoul Metropolitan Government, n.d. Electronic retail,
luding a governmental banner stating: 'Let's meet a new Sewoon!'

Fig. 9: View from Sewoon Sangga upon Jongmyo park; Yeongnyeongjeon Hall, Jongmyo shrine.
Korea Tourism Organization, 2016.
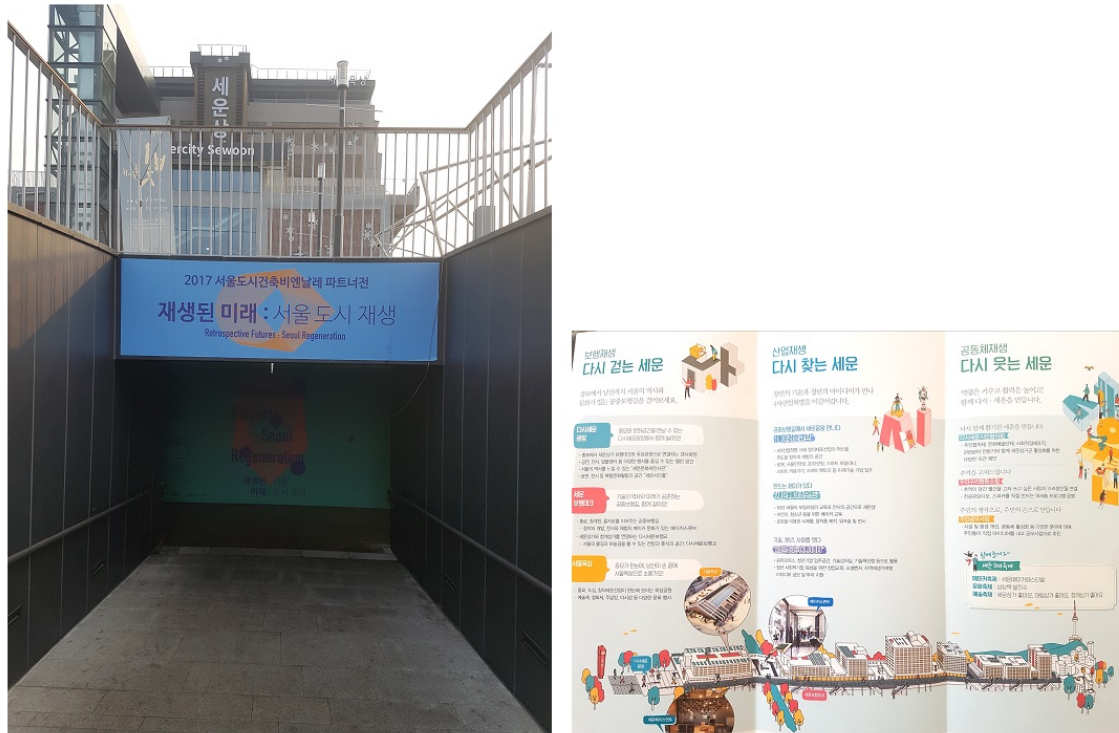
Fig. 10: Entrance to the exhibition 'Retrospective Futures: Seoul Regeneration', part of the Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism, running from November 2017 until January 2018 and Again Sewoon brochure with a map connecting Sewoon Sangga to Jongmyo shrine and Namsan Tower.

Underneath the facade of the building, the glass floors allow the visitor to see the fundaments of not only the demolished Hyundai Sangga, but also the remnants of a Joseon Dynasty building fundament (Fig. 11). Additionally, several glass showcases and information signs tell the story of Joseon Dynasty daily life, complemented by archaeological finds of tools, pots, and other materials that were found on-site (Fig. 12). When taking the elevator to the roof terrace of Sewoon Sangga, the modern metropole of Seoul presents itself to the visitor in full flourish. The roof terrace is leveled with several staircases and benches to invite leisure, tastefully lit at night to give an impressive overview of the city as if one stands at its heart. When Professor Hwang took me to this roof terrace on a winter night, I felt overwhelmed by the beautiful and impressive skyline: Namsan Tower to the South, Jongmyo to the North, glittering skyscrapers and dark mountains all around, I felt embedded within the fascinating history and modern grandeur of Seoul (Fig. 13).

Fig. 11: Choson Dynasty site revealed within the Sewoon exhibition room and underneath the Sewoon Sangga arcade.

Fig. 12: Display of Choson artifacts excavated on-site. Freely accessible to the public and located underneath the Sewoon Sangga arcade, near the original site.

Fig. 13: Sewoon Sangga rooftop view onto Namsan Tower and Seoul's skyline.

As a result of the revitalization efforts of Mayor Park, Sewoon Sangga is not only framed as a nostalgic remnant of Seoul's industrial past, but also as a steady architectural landmark that adjusts and innovates, that connects to people's daily lives, experiences and memory, and a site that has overcome so many struggles and keeps reinventing itself without losing sight of its origins. Framing the project as 'Again Sewoon', the reconstructions and urban redevelopment schemes become incorporated in a narrative of retrieving and protecting a valuable part of Seoul's past, placed within the broader image of Seoul as a 'heritage city' in which national treasures, heritage sites, and daily life spaces are all represented. Thus, similar to the Seoullo 7017 project, a clear connection to Seoul's modern heritage embeds Mayor Park's urban planning policy in public memory to foster a sense of urgency and responsibility in Seoul's citizens to protect and revitalize these formerly decaying sites as places of shared heritage and belonging.

Marketing Memory

A final but crucial component to the heritagization of both Sewoon Sangga and Seoullo 7071 by the Seoul Metropolitan Government is its PR in public space and online. The government launched a public campaign throughout the city in which both projects were marketed to the citizens and placed within an overarching heritage narrative (Fig. 14). A telling example is the poster campaign in Seoul subway station Jongno 3-ga in January 2018. Featuring a city map and small images of 3 key urban revitalization projects in the city center: Seoullo 7017, Again Sewoon, and the restoration of Dokseogung Palace, it addresses Seoul's commuters with the slogan '잘 생겼다!' (Fig. 15). The slogan gracefully employs this phrase's double meaning of both 'Well Done!' and 'Looking Good!', praising the citizens for their 'contribution' to these revitalization projects while also claiming the urban planning policy's success in making the city more beautiful and appealing. To further aid in the 'branding' of both sites as heritage, the Seoul Metropolitan Government organizes regular public events and exhibitions that are promoted on its social media accounts to draw visitors and to appeal to the younger generations. As noted before, Seoullo 7017 hosted a public photography exhibition in January, while Sewoon Sangga hosted a 'lights festival' with an arts installation and several other facilities.

Fig. 14: Seoul Metropolitan Government Seoullo 7017 promotional poster at a Seoul subway station. '서울역 고가의 새로운 탄생': The Seoul Station overpass' new birth.

Fig. 15: Promotional poster of the Seoul Metropolitan Government urban revitalization policy at the Seoul Subway station Jongno 3-ga, featuring a map of Seoul indicating the different urban regeneration projects throughout the city, highlighting 3 projects on the bottom left: the Again Sewoon Project, the restoration of Dokseogung Palace, and Seoullo 7017. Main title: '잘 생겼다!' Well done! or Looking good!

Heritage: Connecting Seoul's Past, Present, and Future

Altogether, this chapter has shown that two formerly decaying sites in Seoul's historic city center were reframed as Industrial Heritage through the government's own Future Heritage Program. Within this ideological framework, both Seoullo 7017 and Sewoon Sangga were re-imagined as meaningful spaces that reflect Seoul's modern experience, as well as its industrial past through a linear development. The strong effort to engage and mobilize the citizens in a threefold industry, pedestrian and community revitalization 'authenticates' the rapid adjustments and changes to the cityscape, ending Korea's former 'demolition culture'. As a result, the reshaping of the city becomes part of a heritagization narrative in which Seoul's people are the transformative, responsible preservation 'actors', creating Seoullo 7017 and Sewoon Sangga as public spaces firmly rooted in Seoul's naturalized, progressive trajectory from past to present and into the future. Through a consistent narrative and a

physical connection of these sites through pedestrian walkways, they become part of public memory, (re)created and reinforced every day in the use of public space.

Considering Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, both projects are essentially envisioned top-down by the Seoul Metropolitan Government, even though there is a new and significant consideration of the human scale through focusing on experiential heritage and citizen consultation. Both projects highlight being authentic, localized and small-scale to counter the negative connotations of urban planning with grandiose, disconnected architectural projects. Still, these ambitious aims have evoked critical questions and issues, which will be addressed in the next chapter that incorporates the perspectives and evaluations of different stakeholders involved in the Seoullo 7017 and Again Sewoon project.

Chapter 3: Stakeholder Perspectives

In contrast to the former chapters, this chapter is based on the interviews conducted in The Netherlands and Seoul from December 2017 to February 2018. These qualitative interviews with different stakeholders involved in the projects of Seoullo 7017 and/or Again Sewoon shed new light upon the practical implications and current developments 'in the field' of Mayor Park's urban revitalization policy. The stakeholders' accounts reveal how this policy has been implemented and experienced by academics, curators, consultants and architects, demonstrating the highly variable dynamics between grassroots efforts and the government. Additionally, their perspectives allow for a critical reflection upon the use and usefulness of heritage within the urban revitalization effort. All interviews in this chapter have been conducted in English. Due to time restrictions, additional interviews with local residents or business owners could not be included to allow for a wider range of stakeholder perspectives. As a result, these interviews serve as an illustration of multifaceted, complex opinions in the field, instead of an all-encompassing image of city-wide sentiments or 'culture'.

Professor Yim, one of the founders of architectural design and research firm PRAUD, places the Mayor's revitalization policy within the larger and relatively recent trend of 'urbanism' in the architectural field. As part of a 'social responsibility as an architect', people in the field have started to focus on their contribution to the city as a public space. Yim further emphasizes that Korea's 'demolition culture' is crucial to understanding the impact of Seoul's current urban revitalization policy:

> 'The more you understand that culture of demolishing things in South Korea, the more you appreciate this sort of effort of keeping these infrastructures or buildings. […] Seoul has been the capital city for more than 600 years, but you don't see that long history in Seoul' (Yim 2018).

Keeping deteriorating 'megastructures' like Sewoon Sangga, or the traffic overpass that became Seoullo 7017, was a 'crucial change' (Yim 2018). Yim explains it as a wholly different attitude. Not only do people 'appreciate more if you understand what was the culture in the past', Mayor Park's urban regeneration policy was also a 'very political decision' and a 'catchphrase for his party' through which he can transform the city and leave

his 'mark' through urban projects, but without demolition. Here, the Seoul Future Heritage Program played a crucial role. Professor Yim clarifies:

> 'Before, we only considered, let's say a couple of hundred years old architecture as heritage. Which is why we demolished all the colonial buildings without any kind of hesitation. Because before, in Korea, all these modern buildings started to emerge during the colonial period. So modern equals to the colonial. Which is why people didn't really want to keep modern buildings. But after all of these kind of 'cruel' demolitions, a lot of discussions on this, and a lot of people started to think that even the modern period heritages, are heritage' (Yim 2018).

This shift seems quite remarkable, especially considering Yim's statement that the selection of heritage is not bound by clear criteria but mostly informed 'politically'. Hence, the demolition of colonial buildings might be integral to a former national agenda to remove the remnants of the nation's 'dark' colonial history.

The 'lack of criteria' in Seoul's current heritagization process can be partially explained by taking a closer look at the dynamic between the Seoul Metropolitan Government and UNESCO. By creating Seoul's own, localized form of heritage through the Future Heritage Program, the government avoids the restrictive, supposedly 'universal' heritage criteria of UNESCO. The hard to navigate and static UNESCO reports of Seoul's heritage were 'updated' by Professor Hwang and her colleagues. They created a new 'mobile smart monitoring system' for the old Seoul city wall, an updatable digital index to monitor the types of 'living heritage' in Seoul (Hwang 2018). This illustrates a more 'flexible' type of heritage compared to the UNESCO guidelines, which had even excluded the Joseon City Wall from enlistment based on altered or repaired components. Professor Hwang, former curator at the Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism, currently teaches at Seoul University and Sewoon University and is involved in the community aspect of Sewoon Sangga's revitalization.

Heritagization of Seoullo 7017 and Sewoon Sangga

In short, after Korea's 'demolition culture', Seoul needed iconic landmarks rooted in the city's past and Mayor Park strategically took up this task of creating new, urban heritage beyond the UNESCO framework. Seoullo 7017 and Sewoon Sangga are two projects reflecting this heritagization effort, focusing on Seoul's 'industrial heritage'. Professor Zoh, working at Seoul National University's Department of Landscape Architecture and jury member in the international design competition for Seoullo 7017, explains that the Seoullo

7017 project had a 'multileveled' intention. Seoullo provided a 'powerful psychological landmark' that could symbolize the Mayor's efforts, while also connecting to 'some kind of cultural heritage' and providing an appealing destination for foreigners (Zoh 2018).
Ben Kuipers, who worked on the design of Seoullo 7017 as a landscape architect, points out that the project could be an 'icon for the rebuilding of the city' after the Korean War.
By turning it into an elevated park, it becomes a public 'place where you want to be', that connects different areas of the city (Kuipers 2017). Professor Hwang (2018) argues that 'even though Seoullo really pursued, wanted to pursue a kind of functionality, visually it's much more powerful'. Through pedestrian walkways and connections, there is a visual access from Jongmyo to Sewoon Sangga, all across to Namsan, passing over Seoullo and several national monuments. 'This walkability, it's like a monument itself'. Sewoon Sangga might have been less of an architectural 'eye-catcher', but was still incorporated in the heritagization process as part of industrial heritage and a connecting 'nod' within the aforementioned walkable network of national monuments. As mentioned earlier, there has been a lack of clear criteria for the inclusion of these two industrial heritage sites as national monuments within the heritage network. Professor Zoh explains the case of Seoullo 7017 as follows:

> 'In terms of industrial heritage, there has not been that much advice or criticism'. They just kept the structure and 'face-lifted' it, but 'basically, it is ok, in terms of heritage, as the main structure was really kept' (Zoh 2018).

As such, the only requirement for preserving the overpass as 'heritage' was to keep the main structure, while radical design changes and additions were still considered 'upgrades', harmless to its authenticity as industrial heritage. To realize this 'upgrade', academics were consulted for advice in the reconstruction process. Citizens were mostly left out of the dialogue, except for a 'balancing' consultation of the public involving NGO's, for example 'Seoul Walk', where people volunteered and discussed with local residents and business owners to support the project (Zoh 2018).

Clear references to heritage at Seoullo 7017 were accomplished through government-enforced inclusion of 'heritage elements' in the design and information signs, as explained in the former chapter. Still, Professor Zoh (2018) notes that Korean historians were the main proponents of this strong emphasis on the many Korean cultural and architectural heritage sites surrounding Seoullo 7017. Thus, academics also had a clear goal of incorporating Korean heritage in the narrative of Seoullo 7017, despite a sense of suspicion within the academic and advisory fields at the first stages of the project, which was initially perceived as yet again a top-down example of urban planning.

Architect Kuipers notes that these top-down pressures from Korean historians and the Mayor constituted 'quite a task' to the architects. This 'task' was to incorporate parts of the old overpass and to treat them as authentic heritage that had to be clearly readable for the visitors in the design. The inclusion of old concrete balustrades and glass 'windows' showcasing the overpass' internal construction forced, according to Kuipers, a 'compromise' of the initial design. In addition, he states that the Dutch architects had to 'defend' their design towards several Korean stakeholders, including architects, academics and government officials who felt like this 'Dutch design style' was imposed by the Mayor and did not align with their sense of culture and principles of 'harmony' (Kuipers 2017). MVRDV architect Lee explains how 'fake' heritage elements were perceived as authentic references, such as old balustrades placed on a newly constructed floor. He points out that it made him realize that:

> 'In the end, people in Seoul don't really care about the history, but they care about the feeling that they are doing something, that they are preserving something. That's the problem' (Lee 2017).

Lee's statement indicates that citizens value their experience of and their participation in the heritagization process more highly than the governmentally assumed authenticity or the physical qualities of the final heritage object. Therefore, their active participation in the heritagization effort produces localized meaning.

Experiential Heritage

While heritage criteria were very flexible for the reconstruction of Seoullo 7017 itself to facilitate change, the rhetoric of heritage can also impede it. Lee notes that during the early stages of the Seoullo 7017 project, the old Seoul Station fell under the national heritage department of the national, right-wing government. Mayor Park's 'left-wing' project was then impeded by dismissing all of the 50 designs for a connecting branch to the station as it would 'block the view to the heritage' of the station. Lee disagrees:

> 'Heritage is not only to see, heritage is to be experienced. By connecting it, you are there, you are inside' (Lee 2017).

Lee's comment touches upon a crucial definition of heritage as a process, an experience, instead of a physical and static 'object'. As noted before, these experiential, mostly upper-class forms of heritage are now targeted by the government through public events and art projects on the surface of Seoullo, like the Pyeongchang photo exhibition mentioned in the

former chapter. Following this 'experiential' definition, the 'Again Sewoon' project focused on the industry and community aspect of the site. Kim Mee Soh, Knowledge Headquarters Consultant at cultural planning company METAA, has worked on the 'Again Sewoon' project and explains the 'culture' of Sewoon Sangga as an 'accumulated history of people making things'. Hence, METAA's revitalization vision of Sewoon Sangga's heritage became centered around its 'maker culture' (Kim 2018).

Professor Hwang takes this idea further by stating that the area of Sewoon Sangga was already a place of discovery, constant change and creativity before government intervention. She explains that media artists, including the renowned Nam June Paik, were inspired by the industrial atmosphere of the Sewoon area and settled there because of the low rent. These young designers and creators thus wanted to pursue and preserve the unique value of Sewoon Sangga for their career, developing into a creative grassroots preservation movement that could resonate well with the recent Seoul Metropolitan Government's revitalization aims (Hwang 2018). Thus, Hwang's account points at a high level of public engagement driving the preservation and revitalization effort, based on a definition and valuation of the area's cultural heritage by a distinct group of people. It is striking to note that the government is not presented as the main driver of the site's heritagization, but the citizens themselves.

Fig. 16: Sewoon Campus event poster 'Again Sewoon' and robotic arm at the SewoonLab.

Consulting the Community

Both Kim Mee Soh and Professor Hwang were government-invited and hired stakeholders working on the Again Sewoon Project. METAA consultant Kim came to Sewoon Sangga for 'industrial vision consulting' to plan and govern the newly constructed parts within the arcade, including the spatial planning for the makers' cubes, small, container-like rooms for startups, the Sewoon Campus, and to create a software program on how to utilize these new spaces (Hwang 2018; Kim 2018, Fig. 16). According to Kim, METAA based their 'urban creative manufacturing industry' vision for Sewoon Sangga on about 200 resident interviews conducted by local organization 세운공공 (SewoonKongKong), which was hired by the Seoul Metropolitan Government because of their strong ties with the Sewoon community. This vision included the 'synergy' and cooperation of 30 percent of Sewoon Sangga manufacturers with 'more advanced and creative industry' from the outside, inviting young creators to work together with Sewoon's older generations as mentors in several pilot projects (Kim 2018).

As the government facilitated and financed significant changes and innovations for the community, the 'Again Sewoon' project received surprising levels of support. Professor Hwang notes that the local residents and business owners reacted relatively positively to the Mayor's presentation of the revitalization plan. They even worked on a symbolic gift from the community to the Mayor, a 3D-printed miniature 'trophy' of Sewoon Sangga. Thus, the revitalization project provided the local community with the tools to counter an impending sense of risk and decay, leading to an urge to preserve the site as their 'heritage':

> 'Local people and businesses, they really think it's important to preserve the place and to keep innovating, and to keep using it as it was intended, a place where new things are made. […] People are aware that it (Sewoon Sangga) is heritage' (Hwang 2018).

Again, Hwang's explanation alludes to the presence of a grassroots heritage discourse and awareness at Sewoon Sangga that drives local people to actively engage with the governmental revitalization efforts. It reflects an ambiguity in the relationship between a governmental AHD and a localized heritage discourse and experience. In addition to the perceived local engagement in the revitalization process, the Seoul Metropolitan Government also fostered a sense of pride of the Sewoon community to further mobilize changes, for instance by employing famous media artist Nam June Paik as a Meister. Giving speeches, he raised public attention and respect for the skills and experience of the 'makers' of Sewoon Sangga, taking on the role of 'leader' of the Meister group (Hwang 2018). His impact on the

Sewoon community is still felt, according to Professor Hwang. Professor Hwang considers herself part of an ongoing revitalization movement at Sewoon Sangga, aiming to make a lasting impact through the Sewoon Campus and SewoonLab (Hwang 2018). The latter, located in the basement of Sewoon Sangga, is a telling example of a lasting space that fosters local students' creativity through lectures, workshops, and collaborations with the 'Sewoon community' as well as foreign universities (Hwang 2018; Fig. 17).

Fig. 17: Sewoonlab material studies & printed sound-wave artwork in collaboration with the Technical University (TU) Darmstadt.

Hwang's consistent use of the words 'Sewoon community' to describe the diverse group of students, local businesses, residents and manufacturers that interact with Sewoon Sangga is significant. She describes a strong sense of connectedness through the examples of a lively chatting room of over 300 people of this 'community' on the popular Korean social media platform KakaoTalk, a common fund for repairs, and every floor having its own 'leader' (Hwang 2018). Professor Hwang further mentions the strikingly fast decision-making during the open community meetings at Sewoon Sangga, even considering critical issues like the budget and the historically fraught relationship between the government and Sewoon's local stakeholders.

Completely different is the community aspect of Seoullo 7017 as a public space for urban commute. While the Seoul Metropolitan Government has made an effort to foster public engagement in the project, Professor Yim (2018) notes that these efforts, mostly 'public hearings' organized by the government constitute 'a process just for the sake of having it'. He further explains that there are only a few public 'voices' to begin with, mostly when people are concerned about their real estate. He argues that 'people do not really care a lot about these heritages' as the discourse on heritage actually started in academia, disconnected from the public. METAA consultant Kim (2018) also noted a problematic lack of a 'public discourse on cultural heritage or urban regeneration', as it is now driven politically. This markedly contrasts the high engagement and awareness of heritage value as portrayed by Professor Hwang when she described the Sewoon Sangga community, showing a large divergence in the portrayal of citizen engagement and the presence of a public heritage discourse.

Sustainability and Future Use

In terms of sustainability, Professor Hwang (2018) mentions that governmental guidelines and targets are needed, but that Sewoon Sangga's success depends on the intentions of the stakeholders. Those who are 'concerned about the community the very first', regardless of profit, will allow Sewoon Sangga to flourish. She seemed optimistic and highly engaged in the revitalization effort, determined to make a positive change to the area. METAA consultant Kim's perspective is divided. While she points out several successes of the project, she also explains the struggle to create synergy and connectivity between generations and to engage people who feel disaffected or threatened by the change that the project brings. While revitalization is better than demolition, she is worried that it will be 'too much':

> 'Too much money, too much everything, while urban regeneration projects need time, first and foremost' (Kim 2018).

Professor Yim (2018) is quite doubtful about the future of Sewoon Sangga, which 'cannot be sustainable' as government subsidies do not foster any competition and leave startups without the obligations to survive and develop. He is more optimistic towards Seoullo 7017's future. Seoullo 'still functions as infrastructure', so this project will exist regardless of its use or impact. Its success as heritage, however, is limited to community engagement and whether there will be a bottom-up appreciation of its heritage value: 'By the end of the day, it all depends on the people's perception, not the government policy'. MVRDV architect Lee (2017) also focuses on the material aspect, which leaves future opportunities in additional

connections and facilities at the overpass. 'Seoullo is finished in 2017 May, but it's just a beginning'.

Gentrification

Another prominent aspect influencing the future of both sites is gentrification, a process where former working-class areas get appropriated by middle-class settlers within a complex framework set by the state, capital, and consumer culture. Zukin (2016, 203-204) explains the centrality of aesthetics in the 'gentrification habitus': gentrifiers select and settle in neighborhoods with aesthetic and 'authentic' appeal, appropriating them for their own use, informed mostly by cultural cohort and social class. The euphemistic descriptor of gentrification as 'urban improvement' reflects only one of many facets in its ability to reshape urban environments (Smith 2006). The question arises who benefits from this 'urban improvement'.

Gentrifiers fuel a demand for typical middle-class facilities such as art galleries and cafes. This development, leading to displacement and alienation of original residents and businesses, is often considered a 'natural law of the urban environment' (Zukin 2016, 204-205). As gentrification is driven by capital, heritage has become integrated due to the recognition of its commercial value. The designation of a site as heritage increases its value and leads to surging real estate prices and speculation, inciting a process of eviction (Herzfeld 2010, S259-S262). Strikingly, Arkaraprasertkul's (2018) research on urban Shanghai illustrates how a flexible notion of heritage allows working-class residents who understand the middle-class value system to profit from selling their 'old' properties as middle-class heritage. In any case, heritage remains a middle-class affair, closely connected to gentrification. Herzfeld (2010, S266) notes that a critical awareness to societal complexity and ethical conventions is crucial when addressing gentrification and its inherent risks of enforcement of unity, relocation of ownership favoring the upper classes, and assimilationist practices.

While all stakeholders in Seoul's urban revitalization projects realize gentrification's risks and negative connotation, the people working in the academic or architectural field mostly stress its benefits. Professor Zoh and Professor Yim both emphasize that gentrification is necessary for urban development and growth. Architects Kuipers and Lee both note that gentrification effects of rising real estate prizes and newly attracted economic activity are beneficial for the city and part of a natural 'city dynamic'. Professor Zoh explains that while 'there are many bad sides to gentrification' and that 'we need to provide some legal system to

slow down gentrification or block it', it still serves as an essential tool for changing the urban landscape:

> 'Gentrification is a kind of face-lifting' […] Some people move out, some people move in'. (Zoh 2018)

Professor Yim (2018) also expresses the need for an organized effort that can 'minimize the side effects of certain classes being kicked out' […] where 'tax should be used to support certain classes, or areas'. As an architect, he focuses on the balance within the city, in which different classes should be represented throughout the city to allow for a diversified, properly functioning workforce. Indeed, while projects like Seoullo 7017 will attract more tourists and allow new cafes and leisure facilities in its proximity to flourish, the people of the adjacent Namdaemun Market area strongly resisted to the project, fearing for lessened accessibility to their businesses when the traffic overpass would become a walkway. However, Lee (2017) notes that their businesses' decline was due to their lack of adaptation to new demands, younger generations and the growing influence of internet commerce.

Thus, in the case of an open urban site like Seoullo 7017, stakeholders perspectives differed widely between citizens and project stakeholders. These perspectives again differ when considering Again Sewoon, a residential and commercial space. Some Sewoon Sangga residents and business owners feared for detrimental effects of gentrification, while others actively engaged in the revitalization effort to protect and innovate their livelihoods (Hwang 2018). Professor Hwang (2018) expresses her concerns that gentrification can happen 'very quickly' without a pre-existing 'action plan' or legal framework to counter it. She interestingly explains the emergence of a 'new business model' in which 'impact investors' intentionally buy old buildings to create 'social impact', authenticating them as community heritage. Such an 'impact investor' being featured as the 'good guy' in a Korean Drama shows how trendy this practice of 'authenticated gentrification' has become.

Consultant Kim states that gentrification needs to be 'monitored' to prevent some very commercial businesses like cafes or retail to come in:

> 'We want to preserve this place, preserve its meaning, so we're trying to figure out ways to maybe limit the types of industries that come in here' (Kim 2018).

Heritage, Value, Participation: Diverging Perspectives

Altogether, a strong effort is made by the Seoul Metropolitan Government for local heritagization based on clear boundaries following the AHD. Still, the government also facilitates bottom-up processes of preservation and innovation through public programs, consulting, and by closely involving local stakeholders. Through these local stakeholders, it becomes clear that Seoul's communities cannot be considered passive receptors of a strictly top-down revitalization policy. However, the stakeholders' opinions on the degree of public attachment to 'heritage' and the levels of public engagement and their motives in the preservation of the two sites differ markedly. While some argue that the community is highly involved in the development of the project and its preservation as 'heritage' in the case of Sewoon Sangga, others argue that the public mainly engages from their self-interest. Divergences also relate to Seoullo 7017 being a public space in a non-residential area and Sewoon Sangga being privately owned and located in a residential and commercial area. Community concerns of gentrification are being discussed, but the process of gentrification is mostly seen by involved architects and academics as 'collateral damage' in the process of 'urban improvement'. Other stakeholders are concerned about the lack of a legal framework to manage gentrification, which might interfere with preservation efforts. Thus, the stakeholder perspectives have shown the complex and multi-layered dynamics 'in the field', where the value and significance of heritage is not as clear as the government might imply.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

I have explored how and why heritage is significant in shaping Seoul's urban structure, especially within the Seoul Metropolitan Government's current urban revitalization policy, by first tracing back Korea's historical development in terms of nation building, heritage and urban planning since the 1970s. The historical trajectory was then contrasted to Mayor Park's current urban revitalization policy in Seoul, closely examining the governmental heritagization discourse and processes through the case studies of Seoullo 7017 and the Again Sewoon project. As a final component, stakeholder perspectives from different disciplines were included to allow for a critical analysis of the two projects' developments, the use of heritage, and practical implications 'in the field'.

Combining these components, several conclusions can be drawn about the importance of heritage in South Korean urban planning, with Seoul as the nation's 'heritage capital'. The historical overview of Korean urban planning since the 1970s illustrates how nation-building efforts were strengthened by fostering a sense of Korean 'nationhood', an image of the nation constructed not only through national museums, monuments and historical sites, but also through a transformation of Seoul's urban makeup into an orderly, industrialized metropole. From the 1970s onwards, urban planning and nation-building efforts have employed heritage in the 'politics of memory' as both a preservation and a disciplinary tool to regulate public memory and history. While national heritage within the AHD stressed a common Korean history serving to legitimize the military regimes through a heroic, masculinist symbolism, grand national monuments and museums until the late 1980s, South Korea's democratization urged for a more fitting, 'democratized' heritage narrative that could also appeal to the Western and global gaze. As such, the AHD shifted towards 'popular' and 'modern' art, reshaping the rigid and industrial urban space of Seoul to a softened, playful and welcoming counterpart. Still, major critique remained as these reshaped spaces were still enforced top-down and catered mostly to an upper-class and global audience, disregarding local needs and perspectives.

Mayor Park's urban regeneration policy addressed this concern through again employing the power of heritage. Remarkably, he dissociated his policy from the former 'demolition culture' that had mainly focused on exclusive, large-scale urban projects in Seoul by neglecting local needs and criticism, and instead turned his policy towards cityscape revitalization. With a

new regard for decaying buildings and industrial infrastructure, his policy aimed at transforming these defunct urban sites into emblems symbolizing the history of modern Seoul, following a global trend in which heritage is employed to counter corruption and decay (Harrison 2013; Herzfeld 2014).

Mayor Park's Seoul Future Heritage Program encouraged citizens to take up their responsibility in the preservation of Seoul's heritage, including the category of Industrial Heritage as reflecting the city's industrial past. While participation was framed as a key element in Seoul's heritage narrative, a critical examination using Arnstein's ladder shows that citizen participation is limited to an advisory role, with the government still in charge through top-down decision-making processes, appointing 'worthy', 'expert' stakeholders to relay its policy message and to mediate with local residents and business owners.
The restructuring of a deteriorating traffic overpass in the Seoul Station Area, known for its density in traditional, colonial and modern heritage sites, became the face of Seoul's future heritage: Seoullo 7017. The overpass is turned into a green walkway, an appealing and leisurely public space hosting art exhibitions, events, public programs, connecting the area's heritage sites in a walkable network presenting Seoul's vibrant history. As such, Seoullo 7017 incorporates the power of heritage as a shared experience.

A similar strategy of experiential heritage was employed for the Again Sewoon Project. Built on a historically complex site merging traditional Joseon finds, colonial memory, utopian urban planning visions, and a decaying electrical manufacturing industry, the Again Sewoon project proudly took up these memories to restore its status and function in the city as a site of 'maker culture' fostering innovation and creativity. Through reconstructions, public programs, attracting young startups and students in the technological field, regulated by consultants, academics, curators and even a famous media artist, Sewoon Sangga was revived through daily activity honoring the local residents' profession and the site's industrial, artistic appeal. Through the project, the site is elevated from a remnant of a distant industrial past to an active space of memory making, further strengthened through its position within a walkable network of heritage sites from the Confucian Jongmyo shrine to Seoullo 7017 and Namdaemun, all the way to Namsan Tower. It thereby becomes part of Seoul's image as a 'heritage city'.

Thus, the current urban planning policy of Mayor Park heavily relies on a heritagization narrative that embeds the newly reconstructed urban spaces in Seoul's past, in public memory, and in the citizens' daily social experience. Now it has become clear *how* heritage is used by the Seoul Metropolitan Government, the question still remains *why* heritage is used

to frame these urban revitalization projects in the city. Considering the rapid and drastic changes of Seoul's cityscape, both historically and currently, an appeal to heritage is crucial to create a sense of continuity and belonging, especially as Seoul embodies the Korean nation. By honoring Seoul's past, whether it dates from the Joseon Dynasty, the colonial era, or the industrial era, the government must ensure the citizens' perception that Seoul is rooted firmly in national history and follows a naturalized, linear trajectory into the present. This is exactly what Mayor Park's walkable network of Seoul's heritage sites aims for: smoothly connecting the nation's past, present, and future using Seoul as a national heritage emblem symbolizing the nation's progress through time. Only through this heritage narrative of naturalization that roots the continuous adjustment of Seoul's urban space in public memory can the current architectural projects by Mayor Park be justified. Mayor Park's use of heritage engages the public in reshaping Seoul's image, making them feel like the changes are authentic, natural, and justified, a fitting use of heritage in the self-fashioning of the nation with Seoul as its emblem.

Despite this clear ideological grounding of Mayor Park's policy, stakeholder perspectives indicate the complexity of its practical outcomes in the two case studies. While being a top-down effort, Seoul's citizens are by no means passive receptors of a ready-made heritage narrative. Suspicion, fears of gentrification, a lack of public discourse and interest in heritage, and the primacy of personal needs are contrasted with a strong sense of community, awareness of heritage value, and responsibility to preserve and innovate. Adding to these diverging outcomes in community engagement and motives regarding heritage, stakeholders also voice their concerns about the projects' sustainability, depending on citizen's own efforts and preservation goals, and whether these projects can sustain themselves without government support.

These findings generate remaining questions about the actual impact of heritage in both urban revitalization projects. Does the heritage message really get across to the public? Do Seoul's citizens indeed care about the heritage value of these sites? Will these sites be maintained and experienced as heritage by the citizens, or will they fail to appeal to the public and eventually fall back into decay without government subsidy? These questions mostly center around the citizen perspective, which could not be included in this research due to time constraints and limitations in the structure of the MA-program. Therefore, future research into the visitor dynamics on Seoullo 7017 and Sewoon Sangga, taking into account demographics, socio-economic status, behavioral patterns, as well as perceptions of heritage, usage of the sites, and impact on people's daily lives, would constitute a crucial supplement to this research in understanding heritage and the governmental heritage narrative at the grassroots level. Interdisciplinary Critical Heritage and Visitor Studies research based on a mixed-methods

approach including participant observation and surveys would provide suitable tools to collect such data.

Additionally, this research has been conducted at the early stages of an ongoing heritagization process at both revitalization sites. As spaces of 'living heritage', further research will be fruitful to understand the implementation, adoption, adjustment or rejection of top-down government policies that will depend largely on citizens' daily use and perception of these sites. Analyzing online sources and social media such as blogs and travel reviews might reflect these public perceptions and changes. Ongoing research allows us to interpret the city of Seoul as a dynamic 'organism' in which cultural rootedness, public space and public memory, as well as the constant force and pressure to improve, connect, and innovate, mould the cityscape. As such, the 'shaping of Seoul' will never cease, and will continue to provide a complex and intriguing source for future research.

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