

A Comparative Analysis of Urban Redevelopment from the Viewpoint of Ethical Redevelopment:^{*} Seoul's Cheonggyecheon and the New York High Line

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Linear redevelopment has become more common in recent decades, especially on expensive real estate that is attractive for development. However, advocates may push forward because of the value. Such projects may arouse strong sentiment among the public and are not easily contained to a single geographic area. All of this makes evaluation more difficult. The principles of ethical redevelopment are being used for redevelopment in the US and have been used in one Korean study to evaluate the qualitative traits of Seoul's Seoulo 7017. This study used more detailed qualitative data to evaluate and compare Seoul's Cheonggyecheon and New York's High Line. The study calculated qualitative scene data from 665 High Line amenities and 1703 Cheonggyecheon amenities photographed on site in the first half of 2016. The scene sub-dimensions were matched to the ethical redevelopment principles and the scene scores were compared. Neither project was a complete match with the ethical redevelopment model, with the Cheonggyecheon only having a partial match for two of nine traits and the High Line partially matching five of nine traits. Ethical redevelopment shows potential for further qualitative evaluation of urban projects, especially large and linear projects that are not compact.

Key words _ Urban Redevelopment, Ethical Redevelopment, Linear Redevelopment, Cheonggyecheon, High Line

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윤리적 재개발 관점에서 도시재개발 비교분석: 한국 청계천과 뉴욕의 하이런 사례를 중심으로

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최근 수십년 동안 도시 재개발은 부동산 가치를 중심으로 이루어져 왔다. 그러나, 부동산 중심의 개발은 프로젝트 찬반 논란을 야기하고 파편화된 여론을 형성한다. 또한, 도시 재개발은 특정한 지리적 위치에 국한되지 않기 때문에 질적 평가의 필요성에도 불구하고 그 대상이 되기 어렵다. 재개발 프로젝트를 평가하기 위해 미국에서 만들어진 윤리적 재개발의 원칙은 서울의 서울로 재개발 프로젝트 평가에 적용된 바 있다. 본 연구는 서울의 청계천과 뉴욕의 하이라인을 윤리적 재개발 관점에서 비교 분석하여 보다 심층적인 질적 연구를 진행하고자 한다. 연구수행을 위해, 2016년 상반기에 수집된 하이라인 씬(Scenes) 데이터 665개, 청계천 씬(Scenes) 데이터 1703개가 연구자료로써 사용되었다. 또한, 윤리적 재개발 원칙들에 대응되는 씬(Scenes) 이론의 하위 개념들을 토대로 씬(Scenes) score가 도출되었다. 분석결과, 두 프로젝트 모두 윤리적 재개발 모델에 완전히 부합하지 않았다. 청계천 프로젝트의 경우, 9개 원칙 중 2개 원칙에, 하이라인 프로젝트는 9개 원칙 중 5개 원칙에 일치하는 것으로 나타났다.

Key words _ 도시 재개발, 윤리적 재개발, 선형 재개발, 청계천, 하이라인

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I. Introduction

Recent decades have seen an increase in the development of linear urban spaces around the world as part of improving urban quality of life. The United Kingdom debuted the 15-mile Jubilee Walkway in 1977 to connect numerous landmarks around London in celebration of Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee. The walkway provides a scenic route for sightseeing for the tourist, common directions for healthy exercise for the resident, and an interesting thoroughfare for people working in the area. Many parts of the walkway are separated from automobile traffic, increasing safety and getting pedestrians away from unpleasant and smelly exhaust.

Such spaces have increasingly involved redevelopment, taking advantage of strategically sited locations abandoned or no longer as valuable as at their peak use. A truly worldwide trend, France redeveloped such locations as the Promenade Plantee (1993), the Petite Ceinture (2007), Promenade du Paillon (2011). Japan has the Yokohama Train Road Promenade (2002), Spain has the Cobertura de la Ronda del Mig al carrer Brasil (1997), and the Parc del Tramvia (2001), and the USA has the Reading Viaduct (2003), among many others. To these projects should be added other linear urban redevelopments such as river restorations, which have also become major recent trends (Grêt-Regamey et al., 2016), not to mention the redevelopment of waterfronts (Choi, 2008).

These sorts of reused spaces share a number of characteristics. First, they renew and recycle the discarded litter of postindustrial landscapes—often roads, railroads, streams, rivers, canals, and waterfronts. This makes them attractive because they target old, run-down, or abandoned areas. This has the potential to minimize the number of perceived losers. It may also present once-valuable real estate as a relative bargain for development. These linear redevelopments take features that, using Lynch's (1982) terminology, were previously paths (connecting other places together) or edges (separating different parts of the city) or both, and transforms them into landmarks that become destinations all their own. This makes them places of gathering, but also places that are highly walkable due to their linear structure, whether or not they were previously paths. Walkability gives rise to cultural and political participation, adding to the cultural and political significance of the new spaces (Knudsen et al., 2015:58-59). Finally, they tend to be on a large scale but are not compact and thus may connect or cross multiple neighborhoods or districts. This makes them more difficult to evaluate in traditional ways because they are not contained to a single area where data are

normally collected. They must be measured with ad hoc data sets or with evaluation left to subjective issues of preference and taste, which are difficult enough to measure in a compact and cohesive area but more difficult to do across multiple areas that may have varying degrees of contact with a linear redevelopment.

These traits make it particularly difficult to make objective qualitative evaluations of such projects that go beyond the individual preferences and tastes of the evaluator, their standing in relationship to the project, and extraneous factors that may pollute the perception of evaluators. That is, returning to the traits above, there may be a strong motivation to make a positive evaluation because of interests involved. There may arise sensitive but passionately felt matters related to politics and culture. There may be big splits between users and non-users, between people proximate to and distant from a project.

One possible solution that would supplement existing methods for evaluation would be to use the nine principles of ethical redevelopment developed by artist and University of Chicago professor Theaster Gates in the process of using the arts and culture for redevelopment. The purpose of the research is to develop a practical means for evaluating linear developments using the principles of ethical redevelopment and then to demonstrate the application using two real cases. This research will evaluate the Cheonggyecheon in Seoul and the High Line of New York by operationalizing the nine principles of ethical redevelopment. This paper first reviews relevant literature, then develops and explains the methodology, conducts the analysis, and then draws conclusions.

II. Theoretical Background

1. Culture, Amenities, and Scenes

Urban traits may be divided into five different features to aid in imagining and rebuilding cities: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Lynch, 1982). Linear redevelopments begin as paths or edges but are then transformed into landmarks that are simultaneously paths connecting multiple districts or nodes. Redevelopment is a complicated and contentious process that comes with loaded vocabulary. Urban renewal has come to be associated with business redevelopment that displaces decaying neighborhoods but often has strong negative connotations associated with profit-motivated destruction of community

(Spates and Macionis, 1982:421) whereas urban regeneration is “the promotion of the social, economic, an environmental well-being of an area” and has more positive connotations (Davies, 2001:2). This study uses the more general term redevelopment, which is used by Theaster Gates and his Place Lab.

Florida (2002) identified the trend of developing the “creative class” of highly-desired creative knowledge workers to develop cities. This is done to attract and cultivate “talent” with culture and urban amenities as “where you live is one of the most important decisions a person can make (Florida, 2008; Florida, 2017). The qualities of the city are both based on and determine the people who live there (Florida, 2002).

Culture and amenities may be disruptive and bring congestion as events and attractions gain in popularity, but seem less disruptive and more gradual than other redevelopment methods. It also has the further advantage of being able to provide very direct and tangible benefits to local residents in terms of quality of life (Clark, 2004; Anderson, 2010; Lee and Anderson, 2013). Amenities represent “various non-market urban features that citizens and industry desire” as well as how they lead to development as scenes (collections of amenities) (Anderson, 2010, Silver and Clark, 2016).

Amenities and scenes research flows out of the Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation project and subsequent New Chicago School of urbanism (Judd and Simpson, 2011:5-6,205-219,220-239). The school is particularly interested in citizen participation and creative approaches to urban development (Clark et al., 2014), and has worked in broad areas from the New Political Culture (Clark and Hoffman-Martinot, 1998) to urbanism as consumption (Clark, 2004) to scenes (Silver et al., 2006).

Scenes are based on how people act in the city. Scenes are collections of amenities in an area. Scenes are “expressive and leisure social worlds” located in public places defined by action, availability, and a central leisure activity (Irwin, 1978; Blum, 2003; Silver et al., 2006). Scenes emphasize the participatory role of individuals (as residents, visitors, or tourists) through consumption and sharing the experiences offered by physical amenities in developing social bonds based on lifestyles (Clark, 2004; Silver et al., 2006; Anderson, 2010; Silver et al., 2011). Urban neighborhoods provide an overall experience related to the package of amenities that urban actors can use to attract the particular sort of urban resident or tourist they desire through scenes (Silver et al., 2006; Silver and Clark, 2016).

Scenes are described in three dimensions: legitimacy, the basic foundation for an amenity/scene; theatricality, how people behave in relation to an amenity/scene; and authenticity, what makes an amenity/scene real). The three dimensions are further divided into five sub-dimensions. This allows for a very specific description of urban space with each scene described by fifteen traits (see <Table 1>). This regular

definition also allows for assigning numerical scores on the basis of statistical or other data (Silver et al., 2006). Silver et al. convened researchers to assign sub-dimension scores to a variety of amenities on a five-point scale, where one represents the trait is not possible for the amenity and a five represents the trait is necessary. Statistical data drawn from public databases has been used to compile scene data and relate it to various outcomes such as development, citizen participation, and tourism (Silver and Clark, 2016). The procedure for calculating the scene scores for the fifteen dimensions involves counting the amenities and then multiplying the sub-dimension scores by each of the amenities. The total is then divided by the number of amenities to determine the scene score for the area.

Scenes have been used to map Seoul (Byun et al., 2010), track population growth (Anderson, 2010), relate to economic development, residential patterns, elections, social movements, and cultural policy (Silver and Clark, 2016).

〈Table 1〉 Scene Dimensions, Sub-Dimensions, and Definitions

Dimension		Sub-Dimension	Definition
Legitimacy	the basic foundation for amenity/scene	Tradition	customs and how things were done in the past
		Utilitarianism	usefulness and practicality
		Self-Expression	displaying and activating creativity
		Egalitarianism	a commitment to equality and equal treatment
		Charisma	related to famous personalities
Theatricality	how people behave in relation to an amenity/scene	Exhibitionism	acting in public to see and be seen
		Transgression	acting against the usual way of doing things
		Glamour	following fashion, attractiveness, and setting trends
		Formality	following social etiquette and social rules
		Neighborhoodness	trying to fit in with those around you
Authenticity	what makes amenity/scene real	Localism	identified with place
		Ethnicity	associated with particular ethnic groups
		State	associated with the state and government
		Corporate	associated with big corporations
		Rational	associated with conscious choice and planning

2. Ethical Redevelopment

“Ethical Redevelopment makes the case for mindful city-building. By utilizing cross-city networks and cross-sector innovation, Ethical Redevelopment encapsulates a philosophy by which to shift the value

system from conventional, profit-driven development practices to conscientious interventions in the urban context.” (Place Lab, 2019).

Theaster Gates has been working with a growing group of concerned experts since 2014 in urban redevelopment through culture and the arts through his Place Lab. Like the origin of the New Chicago School, Gates and his Place Lab is located at the University of Chicago and pursues similar interests. Gates has been working on participatory and culture-oriented development, much like the New Chicago School. However, he has emphasized a practical project-based approach of putting theory into practice. He has followed a set of nine ethical redevelopment principles as they target buildings and neighborhoods for redevelopment (Gates and Edwards, 2016; Place Lab, 2016a). The nine principles and their concepts are listed in <Table 2>.

The first principle is Repurpose + Re-propose, associated with the concept of possibility and transgression. The goal is to take advantage of resources that already exist and to imagine creative possibilities, even if they are done differently from how things are usually done. The reimagination of people, property, and materials allows for replacing profit considerations with other drivers for creating place.

The second principle is Engaged Participation, associated with neighborliness, localism, and access points. The stress here is on diverse and transparent involvement in the process, allowing for participation “for many, with many, and, ultimately, by many.”

The third principle is Pedagogical Moments, related to the concepts of knowledge transfer, and social responsibility. This principle recognizes that all work teaches and involves learning and that redevelopment projects should help cultivate the talent they need.

The fourth principle is Indeterminate, related with imagination, intuition, and faith. Ethical redevelopment is driven by vision, but the means to the vision is not determined but is creative and may be based in open approaches.

The fifth principle is Design, connected to the aesthetic and desirability. Everyone deserves to have beauty and to live in a place of beauty but is not just beauty as presentation but also beauty as content, even beauty as meaning.

The sixth principle is Place over Time and the concepts here are flexibility, nimbleness, aggregation, and anchor space. The recognition here is that places are not made out of nothing but grow, evolve, change, and are more authentic the more they are connected to a history and roots.

Seventh is Stack, Leverage + Access, related to scaling up and strategy. This concept is about the

combination of motivation and creative approaches to build on possibility to acquire resources or to grow in scale to achieve greater purposes.

The eighth principle is Constellations, connected to the concepts of ecosystem and diverse entities. Here is a stress on charisma seen from above, with the need for the leader and the followers to work together as diverse elements of a project.

Finally, the ninth principle is Platforms, which are the thing that makes the thing, hang time. This means facilitation, with the project serving as something that will enable new things and opportunities to be created or added, even beyond what is imagined by the developers (Place Lab, 2016a).

As noted above, most of the work by the Place Lab has been practical. This includes sponsoring meetings of experts, promoting the principles of ethical redevelopment, meeting with community members, and raising funds and applying the principles to actual redevelopment (Place Lab, 2016b; 2019).

〈Table 2〉 Ethical Redevelopment Principles and Associated Concepts

Repurpose + Re-propose	possibility, transgression
Engaged Participation	neighborliness, localism, access points
Pedagogical Moments	knowledge transfer, social responsibility
Indeterminate	imagination, intuition, faith
Design	aesthetic, desirability
Place over Time	flexibility, nimbleness, aggregation, anchor space
Stack, Leverage + Access	scaling up, strategy
Constellations	ecosystem, diverse entities
Platforms	the thing that makes the thing, hang time

(Place Lab, 2016a)

Research employing the principles has been scarce so far. Wang (2016) used media reports and site visits to review Seoulllo 7017 from the perspective of the nine principles. She found that the project was both consistent with Mayor Park’s concept of platform administration and all nine principles of ethical redevelopment. However, most of the media coverage of the project was positive so it is possible that may have influenced the results.

There has been connection between scenes work and ethical redevelopment. In addition to general assistance among researchers, sharing resources and expertise, lead New Chicago researcher Clark joined to assist Gates with an urban workshop (Place Lab, 2015), a large group of New Chicago researchers attended Gates’ performance convening (Gates and Edwards, 2016), and Gates joined a conversation with scenes

researchers from around the world. Both the Place Lab and New Chicago research work through the Harris School of Public Policy. Furthermore, both trends are interested in urban participation and the application of culture to urban development.

Wang addressed a regular weekly New Chicago research meeting in Spring 2017 to present the findings of her piece analyzing Seoulo 7017 from an ethical redevelopment perspective (Wang, 2016). The presentation stimulated substantial discussion over the ethics of various redevelopment projects, particularly the private management of public space in the case of the High Line.

This research seeks to deepen and extend these connections by using scenes scores to measure the nine principles by using two cases that cover both major types of linear redevelopment (water rehabilitation, and land path redevelopment) in order to suggest a method of qualitative evaluation for linear redevelopment.

III. Methodology

1. Selection of Cases

The Cheonggyecheon and the High Line were selected as cases because of prominence as cases of linear development. The Cheonggyecheon “has also emerged as a common point of reference in Asia” for urban river rehabilitation (Grêt-Regamey et al., 2016) while more than 60 projects around the world have cited the High Line as an influence (James and Diller, 2015). This makes the two cases among the most recognized examples of linear redevelopment, with the Cheonggyecheon presenting an example of a redeveloped waterway and the High Line a restored train line. In addition, the cases make for useful comparisons and contrasts. Both developments were large linear redevelopments in major cities, have been widely benchmarked, and increased tourism to their area. However, one was a leadership-driven project while the other was grassroots in origin. One was polarizing between political camps in the city while the other was unifying. In addition, both cities are pursuing people-oriented development. Mayor Park has stressed platform administration, urban participation, reduced tuition, and free school lunches in Seoul while Mayor de Blasio has tried to reengage citizens while providing universal day care in New York. Therefore, the cases were seen as particularly appropriate for evaluation using scenes and ethical redevelopment methods.

2. Matching Scenes Sub-Dimensions and Ethical Redevelopment Principles

The institutional (University of Chicago) and thematic (participation, culture, urban development) connections as well as shared work between urban scenes research and ethical redevelopment suggested a use of scene dimensions for measuring adherence to ethical redevelopment principles, particularly as the two areas have substantial overlap in concepts. The language describing scenes traits and ethical redevelopment principles is often very similar.

Wang (2016) used media impressions to use ethical redevelopment to evaluate the Seoulo 7017 but it was felt by this study that the criteria were not objective and were possibly tainted by a flood of positive coverage. The generally positive coverage of the High Line was seen as a potential issue in repeating this approach. As a result, this study proposed matching qualitative scene data with the nine principles to evaluate the two cases.

Silver and Clark (2016:66-67) define a number of ideal scenes based their earlier works. These include an ideal scene, Black is Beautiful, to represent the sort of ideal Chicago neighborhood that Theaster Gates started working to redevelop. Silver and Clark (2016:67) include nine of the fifteen sub-dimensions with higher than average scores. These nine sub-dimensions were compared against the nine principles, looking for a sub-dimension to match each of the nine principles. The matches were made on the basis of common vocabulary in the principle, the concept, and/or common definitions. <Table 3> shows the matches and the criteria used for selection.

There were two difficulties in matching the principles and the sub-dimensions. First was that many of the terms were used multiple times and that more than one match was possible. For example, Engaged Participation mentions both Neighborliness and Localism. Therefore, the traits were considered and reconsidered for a best match of the nine variables so that the scenes definition of Localism was determined to be closer to Stack, Leverage + Access while Neighborliness was closer to Engaged Participation. The second difficulty following from the first was that the criteria were not the same for each match. Instead, a best match that would connect all nine principles and sub-dimensions was sought. Ultimately, the matches were based on the definitions and descriptions of the scene traits from Silver et al. (2006) and Silver and Clark (2016) and the ethical redevelopment concepts, principles, and discussions found in the description listed by the Place Lab (2016a).

<Table 3> Matches between 9 Principles and Scene Sub-Dimensions and the Criteria

Repurpose + Re-propose	Transgression	Transgression used in the concept
Engaged Participation	Neighborliness	Neighborliness used in the concept
Pedagogical Moments	Formality	Formality used in discussion
Indeterminate	Self-Expression	Similar discussion of creativity in principle
Design	Glamour	Common aesthetic concern
Place over Time	Tradition	Common definition of connectedness over time
Stack, Leverage + Access	Localism	Local used in discussion; importance of local infrastructure
Constellations	Charisma	Discussion of principle opens with charisma
Platforms	Ethnicity	Similarity between trait and principle discussion of community

3. Data and Coding

Anderson (2010) used photographs to calculate scenes scores where normal statistical data were not available by counting the amenities in photographs of an entire area. This study visited and photographed the entire High Line from February 10-12, 2016 and photographed the entire Cheonggyecheon May 29, 2016. From these pictures, 665 amenities were counted on the High Line and 1703 were counted on the Cheonggyecheon. Each of the amenities was coded as an amenity on the master list compiled by Byun et al. (2010) with scores for 520 separate amenities calculated by Byun et al. (2010) and Anderson (2010). Each amenity on the list is scored from 1 to 5 on each of the 15 sub-dimensions so that 1 = the amenity cannot have that trait, 2 = it is undesirable, 3 = neutral, 4 = desirable that the amenity have the trait, and 5 = the amenity must have the trait. Most amenities are rated three on most traits so scene scores are heavily weighted towards 3 (see <Table 4>). The scene sub-dimension performance scores are calculated as the mean of the scores of the amenities found at the site (Silver and Clark, 2016:341).

<Table 4> Scene Amenity Scale

Score	Relationship between Trait and Amenity	Definition
1	antithetical	Not possible for the amenity
2	undesirable	Not good in the amenity
3	neutral	Does not matter for the amenity
4	desirable	Good in the amenity
5	essential	Necessary for the amenity

This study counted the amenities in the photographs and then multiplied the amenity scores (Byun et al.,

2010; Anderson, 2010) by the counted amenities and divided by the total. For example, <Picture 1> shows the JW Marriott Dongdaemun hotel on the banks of the Cheonggyecheon. The amenity scores for hotel from the above studies are 3 for all scene sub-dimensions except utilitarianism (2 because a hotel is better if it is not utilitarian), self-expression (5 because a choice of hotel is expressive), egalitarianism (2 because a hotel should display status), exhibitionism (5 because people are seen at a hotel), glamour (5 because hotels should be attractive), and corporate (4 because corporate chain hotels are often better hotels). <Table 5> shows all of the scores for the hotel. These are multiplied by one for the number of hotels for the hotel picture scene score.

<Picture 2> is from the High Line and shows the Bertrand Delacroix and Doosan art galleries. The amenity scores for art gallery from the above studies are 3 for all scene sub-dimensions except self-expression (5 because a gallery is expressive), exhibitionism (4 because people are seen in an art gallery), glamour (4 because art should be attractive). <Table 5> shows all of the scores for art gallery. These are multiplied by two for the number of galleries for the art gallery picture scene score.

<Picture 1>

The JW Marriott Dongdeamun, 5/29/16



<Picture 2>

Two Art Galleries by the High Line, 2/11/16



Next, imagining that the two pictures comprised all of the pictures in a particular scene, the performance scores would be calculated by totalling the individual scene. All of the scores from all of the pictures would be totalled and then divided by the number of amenities to produce the performance score. For example, hotel has a 2 score for utilitarianism (hotel amenity score), which is multiplied by one for one hotel (hotel picture scene score). Art gallery has a 3 score for utilitarianism (art gallery amenity score), which is multiplied by two for two art galleries (art gallery picture scene score). If the two pictures made up an entire

scene, then the 2 of the hotel picture scene score and the 6 of the art gallery picture scene score would be added together and divided by three for the three amenities (one hotel, two art galleries) for a performance score of 2.67 (see <Table 5>). However, in this case, these two pictures were not actually added together in the study as one is from the Cheonggyecheon and one from the High Line.

<Table 5> Sample Scores and Calculation for <Picture 1> and <Picture 2>

Sub-Dimension	Hotel Amenity Scores	Hotel Picture Scene Score (score x 1)	Art Gallery Amenity Scores	Art Gallery Picture Scene Score (score x 2)	Performance Score (Total/3)
Tradition	3	3	3	6	3.00
Utilitarianism	2	2	3	6	2.67
Self-Expression	5	5	5	10	5.00
Egalitarianism	2	2	3	6	2.67
Charisma	3	3	3	6	3.00
Exhibitionism	5	5	4	8	4.33
Transgression	3	3	3	6	3.00
Glamour	5	5	4	8	4.33
Formality	3	3	3	6	3.00
Neighborliness	3	3	3	6	3.00
Localism	3	3	3	6	3.00
Ethnicity	3	3	3	6	3.00
State	3	3	3	6	3.00
Corporate	4	4	3	6	3.33
Rational	3	3	3	6	3.00

The performance scores of the two sites were calculated as per the above methods and the results are shown in <Table 6>. The performance scores were then compared to verify difference using a Pearson Chi square and then Cramer's V to determine the scale of effect. The scene scores were then compared against the nine principles.

First, a description of the cases is presented. Next, are the calculations made with the performance scores. Finally, the two cases are compared showing the nine principles evaluated on the case/site visit basis, a comparison of the performance scores, and finally the performance scores as matched against the ideal scene score from Silver and Clark (2016).

IV. The Cases

1. Cheonggyecheon, Seoul

The Cheonggyecheon is a stream running through central Seoul along a course of 10.9km, feeding into the Jungrecheon, which empties into the Han River. The stream was constructed in 1412 to handle floods and waste water. The stream became heavily polluted in the modern era. The people living on its banks were forced to move so the stream could be covered over and developed. The stream started being covered over in the late 1950s. The historic Jangtonggyo Bridge was lost in 1959. The stream was converted into a sewer emptying into the Han. The elevated highway that went over most of the stream began construction in 1967 and finished in 1976 (Choi, 2008; Lee and Anderson, 2013).

Faced with major repair and maintenance costs, Mayor Lee Myeongbak embraced the Cheonggyecheon restoration. This became a major project under his administration and contributed to his successful campaign for president. Mayor Lee connected the plans to the creation of environmental spaces to brand his policies as a “new developmentalism” that was to be environmental, inclusive, and citizen-friendly (Anderson, 2010). The elimination of a highway heading into central Seoul meant major changes to traffic so the restoration plans were connected to the creation of new area subway stations as well as mass transit lanes and center islands around the city (Lee and Anderson, 2013). The project went from 2003-2005 and was very expensive (Lim et al., 2013). There was less violent confrontation than many earlier urban redevelopments. The mayor involved himself personally to sell the project to skeptical stakeholders, negotiated conflict (or allowed to wither in committee discussions), and provided temporary space to displaced shopkeepers (Park, 2006). Many Seoul citizens rallied around the opposition to criticize the mayor and the project.

The restored stream provided a new symbol for Seoul outside of Korea, contributing to the city image. There was a major increase in tourism with more than 30 million visitors in the first year, though the numbers quickly dropped. The new transportation plan reduced congestion in the area and improved travel time. The air quality improved around the stream. However, a gradual development of the economy around the stream led to gentrification that forced some business owners out of the area. In addition, many small businesses displaced by the project continue to struggle or fail in the less prominent space provided them. Cost overruns meant the project was more expensive than advertised, while maintenance costs have also

been more expensive (Lee and Anderson, 2013; Lim et al., 2013).

2. High Line, New York

The original purpose of train lines running through New York was for efficient freight delivery but regular trains running through town at ground level killed and injured too many pedestrians and caused too many vehicular accidents. The elevated line that would become the High Line was approved in 1927 to take train lines off of the streets. It officially opened in 1934 and was hailed by the New York Times as "...one of the greatest improvements in the history of New York." (David and Hammond, 2011:ix). The line became less used after about thirty years of operations and parts began to be torn down. The final train ran in 1980 and the line sat unused and idle. The large open space was seen by many as an eyesore, especially as it came to be used as an informal garbage heap. It also attracted unwanted attention at night as a party space that would disrupt apartments in the neighborhood. The experience of this pushed a gradual movement from 1980 to 1999 to rip up the remaining 2.3 km of train tracks and tear down the elevated train line to make way for more typical real estate development (David and Hammond, 2011).

Two members of the community, Joshua David and Robert Hammond were among the large but disorganized group of people in the area who were saddened in 1999 to hear proposals to tear down the abandoned rail line. They viewed it as a unique community resource that would just disappear in favor of more apartments, retail, and commercial space. They decided to organize and formed the group that would become the Friends of the High Line to preserve the space in some form, eventually deciding to manage it as a public park. For the next ten years they learned and practiced grass roots community organizing. Over the period they built up extensive local community support and listened to the concerns of everyone so that they eventually won the support of most of the active members of the community, including much of their original opposition. They organized on apolitical lines, specifically targeting the leadership of the major New York City political groups in order to build cross-party support. They enlisted Republican (later Independent) Mayor Bloomberg and Democratic Council Speaker Christine Quinn, both New York US Senators, Hillary Clinton and Chuck Schumer, powerful US representative Jerrold Nadler, as well as famous celebrities such as actors Edward Norton and Kevin Bacon, all of whom appear pictured attending the book attending the ground breaking as supporters of the project (David and Hammond, 2011).

They also hired professional fundraisers to help teach them how to attract money while they built business

support and raised \$50 million in private capital to get construction underway by 2006 and opened in 2009. The High Line has since been remade into a park managed by a private foundation in affiliation with the Whitney Museum. More than four million visitors came in the first two years with an estimated half coming from out of town. The park includes an integrated sculpture garden and is open for many popular community uses such as the High Line Renegade Cabaret (James and Diller, 2015).

V. Analysis

The calculated scene scores are shown in <Table 6>. The difference between the two cases is verified using Pearson Chi-squares. All of the results were significant, except for Charisma. This means that the null hypothesis that the scores are not independent is rejected for all sub-dimensions except for Charisma. Cramer's V was calculated and compared to the degree of freedom to determine the scale of effect of the Pearson Chi-squares, which are reported below in <Table 6>.

<Table 6> Cheonggyecheon and High Line Scene Scores and Pearson Chi-Square Results

Sub-Dimension	Cheonggyecheon	High Line	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V	Scale of Effect
Tradition	3.09	3.04	13.176	2	0.001	0.075	small
Utilitarianism	3.37	3.28	157.555	3	0.000	0.258	med/large
Self-Expression	3.18	3.85	472.789	3	0.000	0.447	large
Egalitarianism	3.28	2.97	242.573	3	0.000	0.320	large
Charisma	3.02	3.03	1.056	1	0.304	0.021	—
Exhibitionism	3.06	3.48	602.013	4	0.000	0.504	large
Transgression	3.00	3.00	25.502	3	0.000	0.104	small/med
Glamour	3.36	3.46	176.311	4	0.000	0.273	large
Formality	3.05	3.01	35.567	3	0.000	0.123	small/med
Neighborliness	3.02	3.06	16.620	3	0.001	0.084	small/med
Localism	3.00	3.10	52.638	3	0.000	0.149	small/med
Ethnicity	3.04	3.18	96.294	2	0.000	0.202	small/med
State	3.00	3.02	29.345	3	0.000	0.111	small/med
Corporate	3.01	3.00	13.631	4	0.009	0.076	small
Rational	3.07	3.07	27.643	3	0.000	0.108	small/med

The characteristics relating to the two cases are listed below for each of the nine principles of ethical redevelopment on the basis of the case/site visit and the general match is judged. The calculated scene scores are given for the scene dimension paired with each principle and compared. The scores are also compared against the ideal scenes scores. The results are summarized below in <Table 7>, with the scores compared with the ideal scene score from the Black is Beautiful scene chosen from Silver and Clark (2016:67) to represent the traits of Ethical Redevelopment.

1. Repurpose + Re-propose (possibility, transgression): Transgressive

Both of these cases have been repurposed and re-proposed. The Cheonggyecheon was transformed back into a stream with streets running alongside. The stream itself has been revealed by removing the previous road running on top of it. However, very little was actually really repurposed. The High Line was transformed from an abandoned elevated rail line into an elevated park. Most of the original construction is in place but used to embrace new possibilities. On the basis of the case and the site visit, the Cheonggyecheon partially meets the first principle, but the High Line does so more completely as with extensive repurposing.

The amenity/scenes data show both the Cheonggyecheon and the High Line at a perfectly neutral 3.00 for transgression so there is no comparative difference from the scene score. The ideal score is 4.00 so neither case approaches the ideal score.

2. Engaged Participation (neighborliness, localism, access points): Neighborly

The level of participation was not immediately apparent in the case of the Cheonggyecheon, which was constructed as a leadership-driven project without much in the way of participation apart from the mayor's salesmanship. The Cheonggyecheon is well-used, though it is not very participatory. The origin of the High Line is more participatory, based on the neighborhood Friends of the High Line. The actual course of the park can be described, like the Cheonggyecheon, as having frequent access points and likewise being an area for people to use and was developed on a participatory basis. On the basis of the case and the site visit, the Cheonggyecheon does not meet the second principle, but the High Line does.

The amenity/scenes data show the Cheonggyecheon with 3.02 for neighborliness, while the High Line has a higher 3.06 so there is only a very small comparative difference in favor of the High Line. The ideal

score is 4.00 so neither case approaches the ideal score.

3. Pedagogical Moments (knowledge transfer, social responsibility): Formality

There is the Cheonggyecheon Museum, as well as a reconstructed shanty town. Other pedagogical elements are scattered throughout, and include statuary, traditional motifs, and a bridge reconstructed from a historical pattern. The High Line has been reconstructed with substantial art installations that make it almost an open-air art gallery, and has two seating areas that are intimate enough they can be used for performances. On the basis of the case and the site visit, both cases meet the third principle.

The amenity/scene data show some difference, with the Cheonggyecheon having 3.05 and the High Line a close to neutral 3.01 formality. The ideal score is 4.00 so neither case approaches the ideal score.

4. Indeterminate (imagination, intuition, faith): Self-Expression

Both of the spaces are creative. The Cheonggyecheon has a different character at different points, has some art, features bridges ranging from traditionally-inspired to post-modern in their design. The stream also flows by the major fashion markets approaching Dongdaemun. The High Line combines the original architecture used for train transportation with creative new uses across its lengths so that the relationships between and surrounding buildings are constantly changing. The neighborhood is filled with art galleries, design offices, and fashion boutiques so that many casual people on the street are very self-expressive. On the basis of the case and the site visit, both cases meet the fourth principle.

The amenity/scene data show both scenes with heightened self-expression. The Cheonggyecheon has an elevated 3.18 and the High Line has a much more pronounced 3.85, making the High Line relatively more Indeterminate. In addition, the ideal score is 4.00 and the High Line score of 3.85 is only 0.15 less than the ideal.

5. Design (aesthetic, desirability): Glamour

As it is with the indeterminate, it is even more so with design and glamour. Both projects were worked on by major designers. Both areas are heavily associated with design, as noted above with the Pyeonghwa

and New Pyeonghwa fashion markets followed by proximity to Dongdaemun Market and the extensive textile industry on the banks of the Cheonggyecheon. In addition, Seoul is a UNESCO City of Design (Lee and Anderson, 2013). The High Line also has the museum, the art installations, the art galleries, but also the surrounding boutiques. Tourists from around the world often wear high-end fashion like that sold in the neighborhood. A local pizza place by one of the entrances even has an artistic High Line mural on the wall where customers wait for food. On the basis of the case and the site visit, both cases meet the fifth principle.

The amenity/scene data show a meaningful difference, with the Cheonggyecheon having a 3.36 and the High Line having a more pronounced 3.46 so the High Line is relatively more Design-oriented. The ideal score is 4.00 and neither case approaches the ideal score, though this is the highest score for the Cheonggyecheon and the second highest for the High Line.

6. Place over Time (flexibility, nimbleness, aggregation, anchor space): Tradition

Both of the spaces maintain a sense of connection to their original purpose. The Cheonggyecheon was restored to a stream that follows its historical course though much of the course is also distinctly different in style from the surrounding scene, betraying its separate origins. The High Line shows more of its evolution, with the train tracks still visible in places, and the wall surrounding the tracks evident all along its length. The buildings can be seen to evolve over time. Many of the old buildings the High Line was originally meant to serve are still connected to or hanging over it. On the basis of the case and the site visit, the Cheonggyecheon partially meets the sixth principle, while the High Line fully does.

The amenity/scene data show elevated scores and a difference between the two, with the Cheonggyecheon having a comparatively higher 3.09 and the High Line having 3.04. The ideal score is 4.00 and neither case approaches the ideal score.

7. Stack, Leverage + Access (scaling up, strategy): Localism

Both of the spaces are constructed to do more than what they do. They are both obviously modern spaces and are part of big cities. The Cheonggyecheon joined a reworking of Seoul traffic and an effort to improve the local air. The stream entrances allow regular access and the regular system of roads and bridges is very planned. The original High Line was about traffic safety and protecting lives during efficient transportation.

The structure remains from the original purpose as do many of the buildings served by the line, showing an unusual structure. The new park is based on a strategy of scaling up and gaining access to power. The high cost and cost overruns limit the ability of the Cheonggyecheon to be a match whereas the High Line has used fewer resources to leverage more and scale up.

The amenity/scene data shows the Cheonggyecheon with a neutral 3.00 and the High Line a comparatively higher 3.10 localism. However, the ideal score is 4.00 and neither case approaches the ideal score.

8. Constellations (ecosystem, diverse entities): Charisma

Both of the redevelopments are part of diverse ecosystems, but not in any way that particularly stands out. Rather, they are looked on but are apart from diverse neighborhoods (Cheonggyecheon) or hang above a diverse neighborhood (High Line) looking down on it. Neither looks yet to be the essential glue holding the neighborhood together, but exist as strips running through. Neither case seems to be a good match to the principle on the basis of the site visit or case background.

The amenity/scene data were not statistically different so they cannot be said to be independent. Neither the Cheonggyecheon (3.02) nor the High Line (3.03) approaches the ideal.

9. Platforms (the thing that makes the thing, hang time): Ethnic

Both the Cheonggyecheon and the High Line have a platform element where they can be used for other purposes not integral to them, though the High Line seems to be more active in this regard. On different trips to the High Line people were seen using the park in creative ways and passers-by would feel free to join in with strangers. School-age kids practicing dance moves in one of the small theater spaces attracted an audience on one occasion and students studying in the same space attracted more students on another. The surrounding neighborhood also has numerous open galleries and small shops that are very open and allow different purposes. On the basis of the case and the site visit, both meet the ninth principle, though the High Line moreso.

The amenity/scene data show a slightly elevated scores of 3.06 for the Cheonggyecheon but a higher 3.18 ethnicity for the High Line, making it comparatively more in embrace of the principle. However, the ideal score is 5.00 and neither case approaches the ideal score.

10. Summary of Results

Three separate methods were used to evaluate the two linear redevelopment cases. The first was to do an evaluation of the principles in light of the case background and the site visit. The second was to compare the scene performance scores for the two cases. The third was to compare the scene performance score to the ideal scene score.

In terms of the site/case background evaluation, the Cheonggyecheon was found to match four of nine principles (Pedagogical Moments, Indeterminate, Design, and Platforms) and had a partial match for three more (Repurpose + Repropose, Place over Time, and Stack, Leverage + Access). The High Line was found to be a match for all of the principles except for Constellations.

Considering the scene performance scores in comparison, both the Cheonggyecheon and the High Line had a neutral score for Repurpose + Re-propose, and there were no significant results for Constellations. The Cheonggyecheon had a higher score on Pedagogical Moments and Place over Time. The High Line had a higher score on Engaged Participation, Indeterminate, Design (though this was the Cheonggyecheon's highest score as well), as well as Stack, Leverage + Access, and Platforms. The High Line was a better match for ethical redevelopment than the Cheonggyecheon with five higher scores to two.

In terms of the absolute comparison of the scene performance scores against the ideal scene score, however, only in one case did the mean number of amenities with a desirable score pass 50%. That is, only the High Line came within 5% of any of the principles and only in the case of Indeterminate. As a result, the better match of the High Line is a relative and limited match, depending on the standard used (see <Table 7>).

<Table 7> Amenity/Scene Scores Compared against Principles, Traits, and Ideal Score

Principle	Sub-dimension	Case/Site Visit		Ideal Scene Score	Cheonggye Cheon		High Line	
		C	H		Performance	% Ideal	Performance	% Ideal
Repurpose + Re-propose	Transgression	P	O	4	3.00	75%	3.00	75%
Engaged Participation	Neighborhoodness	X	O	4	3.02	75.5%	<u>3.06</u>	76.5%
Pedagogical Moments	Formality	O	O	4	<u>3.05</u>	76.3%	3.01	75.3%
Indeterminate	Self-Expression	O	O	4	3.18	79.5%	<u>3.85</u>	96.3%
Design	Glamour	O	O	4	3.36	84%	<u>3.46</u>	86.5%
Place over Time	Tradition	P	O	4	<u>3.09</u>	77.3%	3.04	76%
Stack, Leverage + Access	Localism	P	O	4	3.00	75%	<u>3.10</u>	77.5%
Constellations	Charisma	X	X	4	3.02	75.5%	3.03	75.8%
Platforms	Ethnicity	O	O	5	3.04	60.8%	<u>3.18</u>	63.6%

Results for Charisma were not significant, X = No match, P = Partial match, O = Match. Underlined performance score = relatively highest. **Bold** performance score = ideal match.

VI. Conclusion

The newer methods of understanding and analyzing cities related to the New Chicago School, such as scenes and ethical redevelopment are highly consistent with the current trends in Seoul and New York. Both are pursuing people-oriented development. Mayor Park has stressed platform administration, urban participation, reduced tuition, and free school lunches while Mayor de Blasio has tried to reengage citizens while providing universal day care. This study operationalized ethical redevelopment by using scenes methods to measure and compare two large linear projects in Seoul and New York that are both noted for their participatory elements.

Three different methods were used for the evaluation. The most subjective was to search for a match among the principles in the case and during the site visit. The Cheonggyecheon matched four principles and partially matched three. The High Line matched eight. This method, however, is not particularly rigorous and is most easily open to varying interpretations.

The second and third methods involved the use of qualitative scene performance scores gathered by photographing amenities instead of using a public listing of amenities. The scores are calculated using a specific procedure that is not open to much subjective judgement. The amenity is or is not on the list and the score is calculated. These scores may be used for a relative comparison between different projects as in the second method, where the Cheonggyecheon had a comparatively higher score on two principles, while the High Line had a higher score on five. Alternately, the scores may be more rigorously compared against the ideal ethical redevelopment principle scores. In this case, only a single principle was found to be a match in the case of the High Line.

Both of the redevelopment projects examined here, one leadership-driven and one more bottom-up and grassroots, have been benchmarked for other projects around the world as well as in Korea. Bucheon restored the Simgogcheon patterned after the Cheonggyecheon but on a much smaller scale, while Seoul's Mayor Park cited the example of the High Line as partial inspiration for the Seoulo 7017. The actual projects carried out so far explicitly on the basis of the ethical redevelopment principles have been an order of magnitude smaller (Place Lab, 2016b) at their most ambitious than the smaller and less expensive of these projects, the High Line. Therefore, it is not surprising that major projects would fail to meet the more rigorous standards set forth by the University of Chicago Place Lab.

However, ethical redevelopment has potential as one means to evaluate large urban redevelopment projects that involve the transformation of entire neighborhoods where the use of amenity data to connect scenes concepts to ethical redevelopment is possible. Measuring scenes through an urban ecology approach has the benefit of being able to address a linear project as a whole, even when it crosses neighborhood boundaries. It may also provide a picture that is more reflective of the experience and use of the urban space. Ethical redevelopment also has potential for guidance in redevelopment according to higher standards more responsive to community needs. Any of the three methods presented here may be appropriate for different uses. A site visit and/or case background would be the least rigorous but easiest to perform and would be the most likely to provide legitimacy to a project. A comparison of scores can examine relative strengths and weaknesses when projects or options are compared. An absolute comparison of scores against an ideal may provide rigorous guidance on an important principle or principles.

Up to now, evaluation of large projects has generally been based on listing winners and losers (Mayor Lee versus displaced small shopkeepers or friends of the High Line versus local developers), has been subjective, or has been calculated on the basis of various cost-benefit analyses that do not necessarily take into account the qualitative aspects of the project. Ethical redevelopment may be able to do this for a number of characteristics that urban dwellers find important. However, future attempts should be made to extend the concept and try other methods.

Further, ethical redevelopment has not been widely studied and has mostly been advocated in application. Both ethical redevelopment and amenity/scenes concepts may be further applied to understanding urban redevelopment in Korea and around the world as part of an effort to engage residents in the process of redevelopment with a cultural and participatory emphasis.

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