SOCIAL INTERACTION IN A LOCAL PHYSICAL SETTING: 
Towards Social Integration in City Making

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN ARCHITECTURE STUDIES AT THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.

February 1983

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FEB 17 1983
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A concept of community has greatly influenced the planning ideas of residential areas. Yet, often it has brought a normative view, regarding a local area as some kind of entity. This normative view is intensified by the hierarchy concept of urban structure. This study argues that this normative and hierarchical view hardly incorporates the issue of social integration in residential areas.

This study suggests a concept of intermediary structure as a way of reflecting the issue of social integration in a physical environment in residential areas. It emphasizes the interrelation between local areas simply through connecting the interactional webs in a local area, especially that of secondary interaction. This study attempts to see the effect of interaction between different social groups on a local physical setting in four cases. Cases are found in Seoul, Korea. They are examined in terms of allocation of social groups, coincidence between social grouping and physical grouping, physical configuration, and selectivity of use of services to see the possibility of applying the intermediary structure.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Great appreciation to Ed Robbins, Julian Beinart, and Gary Hack for their critical advice, practical guidance and encouragement.

Thank you, fellow folks in the S.M.Arch.S. program.

Most of all, thank you, my little girl for your patience, and my husband for silent encouragement.
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1 INTRODUCTION
The idea of social integration has been around for a long time in urban planning. Segregation according to class and income has been recognized as one of the problems of industrial cities. The arguments used in desegregation effort are well known: homogeneous areas promote bias and group conflicts which may lead to violence; segregation blocks communication between different social groups, imposes upon individuals rigid stereotypes, and perpetuates rigid stereotypes. Conscientious efforts on desegregation has flourished especially in new town planning, which is considered a great chance of redistributing population on a macro scale.

Social integration is usually dealt with as more specific goals, such as social balance or social mix which put emphasis on the distribution of population, or the provision of diverse employment opportunities. Also in social planning, the formulation of community organization is considered to achieve social integration.

There are two questions about these specific goals of social integration: in terms of sociological explanation and physical interpretation. Underneath these specific goals, there lies an assumption that social interaction
is a precondition to achieve social integration. Interaction can be defined as the reciprocal action of social groups not necessarily committed to each other; even if each group retains its own identity, interaction can favor economic and social actions which lay the base for integration. And here social interaction is generally derived from a normative view to social bindings.

There are three kinds of explanation about what motives cause social interaction, in other words, what makes people bind to each other: normative, coercive, and functional bonds. Normative bonds entail shared values and norms, coercive bonds, power conflicts, and functional bonds, utilitarian needs.¹

Normative bonds lead essentially to a consensus view of society; the social system is seen as comprised of roles and institutions that embody widely shared social expectations of appropriate or preferred behavior. From this view the existence of a value consensus is the measure to delineate a community or society. As an urban analysis the nature of community and the causal relationship between ecological aspects of locality and social relations are pursued from this view. From the coercive view, conflict is assumed to exist in all social groupings to some extent, thus any collective action takes place only when
some group has the power to impose its preference over others. And as functional bonds involves complementary interests, social relations based on this bonds are rational and continuous as long as interests are involved. The functional approach has been applied in an urban analysis to understand the urban social structure based upon the assumption of rational economic behavior of people. The influence of power conflicts over the urban structure is relatively new. Particularly, the study of community power conflicts has become introduced into traditional community studies.

The basic difference between these approaches is how they relate the social process and spatial process; community studies analyzes the social process in a spatial context, whereas power and functional approaches see a spatial process in a social context.

Community studies are usually criticized for having emphasized too much the role of normative values while overlooking the non-normative considerations, thus neglecting the fact that the social interactional patterns are powerfully shaped by the structured opportunities and constraints established by the prevailing class structure and the large scale economic and political institutions of the overall society. It is true to a certain extent that community
studies fall into the normative judgement of taking account largely of preferred behavior rather than actual behavior, thereby suggesting how people ought to be. In spite of these criticisms the idea of social integration is strongly associated with the concept of community. The reason seems to be that social integration needs some kind of common entity so that the population can be treated as some kind of a whole. Also the value consensus which is considered as a primary nature of a community is thought desirable as an ideal state of social integration.

The idea of social integration involves two specific goals: the interaction between social groups and the formulation of a community. These goals might seem contradictory to each other, as a community is easily created by people with similarities. However they are not necessarily so, if social interaction between social groups is based on the presence of the identity of each groups. In this respect the definition of social integration does not exclude a notion of conflict which is a type of interaction reinforcing the identity of social groups to each other.

Still there is a question of how spatial distribution of social groups influences the interaction. Practically, the idea of social mix poses several arguments about its values and how to mix which groups on what kind of scale. Though
social mix is now generally accepted as one of objectives in planning, very little empirical evidence exists to support the claims of those who favor residential mix. It is criticized as being based upon social ideology rather than on social reality. Obviously, social mix is not considered as a way of overcoming the inequality inevitable in a capitalist society. Rather it is considered just as a way of lessening the social distance between social groups. About the scale of mix, there are empirical studies suggesting that homogeneity of the immediate vicinity in residential environment is desirable and arguing that forced social mix on a micro level often results in worse effects. And at the other extreme, heterogeneity of everyday environment is a way of educating people to learn to cope with complexity of society.

This study is concerned primarily about the implications of physical patterns of residential areas in affecting social interactional patterns. Three questions are raised. First, what is an appropriate level of effective physical intervention in encouraging social interaction between social groups? This study puts more emphasis on the formation of secondary interactions rather than on arguing the validity of those claims of social homogeneity or heterogeneity. The second question concerns a social definition of that level. The idea of community should be
modified by more realistic approaches which consider the impacts of a larger social system. The third question is related to the overall urban physical structure. What will be an urban form which considers the formulation of local social interactions, and what kind of design approach will be needed?

This study begins with setting a concept of an intermediary structure which is defined as a physical structure representing the local interactional pattern in a larger urban system. The concept is derived from reviewing the concept of community in a locality in some theoretical and empirical community studies and the influence of an hierarchical model of urban structure on shaping the physical pattern of a local area. Four testable cases, which are found in Seoul, Korea, will be analyzed in terms of physical pattern, composition of social groups, and interactional pattern. And finally, some criteria which affect the formation of intermediary structure on a local level will be derived from the comparison of cases, and the implications of intermediary structure in reorganizing the overall urban structure will be discussed.

Before proceeding, the issue of social integration in Korean society will be briefly discussed in the next section.
1-2. SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN KOREAN SOCIETY

Korean society has experienced a great change during the last two decades. In the process of rapid industrialization and modernization, the Korean people have been struggling to keep pace by addressing new issues with traditional values, moralities and ethics. Traditionally, the consciousness of Korean people has been influenced by two values: respect for hierarchy associated with authoritarianism and extreme familism.

Notions of hierarchy are associated with philosophy and ethics rather than with accomplishment of practical matters. The division of hereditary classes was related to political power and economic privileges, and the respect for one's superiors was always laden in such class division. This was largely influenced by Confucian ethics; it was recognized that social harmony could be achieved only through the establishment of correct human relations, and for this goal relative status must be clearly expressed.

Familism is the other critical value in affecting the behavior of Korean people. This means not only a family relationship but also the formulation of cliques, whether interest, power or status of an individual. This has both good and bad sides. The formation of a mediating struc-
ture has a positive effect on deeping the identity of a group. Mutual-aid networks - especially popular in a low status group - and reciprocal expectations are such examples of good influences. On the other hand, emphasis on a totality of a clique sometimes develops the egoism of a clique which demands the values or interests of a group to be more important than each of the members. This often led to confusion of public and private life and a tendency to seek conformity.

The influence of the successive historical events since the turn of the century: Japanese colonization, independence, division of North and South Korea, and the Korean War, was not revealed until the 60's. Since the 60's, as the economic development has rapidly advanced, changes have become significantly clear to most of the people. The independence from Japanese colonization provided the general consciousness of equality, but it became threatened in the process of distribution of economic welfare after the Korean War, and of the outcomes of economic advancement since the 60's. There exists an increased gap between economic groups, while relative psychological deprivation becomes prevalent due to heightened expectations.

The other major change is the prevalence of individualism accelerated by more readily available opportunities in a period of rapid and unstable economic advancement, and a
greatly improved material condition. As this individualism is not based on responsibility to a community, it concerns only the interests of an individual and does not contribute to the development of a community.

These changes have modified the traditional values, bringing up some problems. One serious problem is that still a reference system of hierarchy is not established. Economic class functions to measure one's own social status, but it is far from the traditional sense of hierarchy. The unstable up and downward economic mobility makes it unacceptable as a reference system. The hierarchy of political power strongly exists, though different from the old lineage hierarchy, but it detached from the authority in a true sense. The separation between the minority power group and the majority of people, and the limited political access for the majority block the development of active political participation, thus making it difficult to function as a hierarchical system. Therefore there is a constant contradiction between a tradition of hierarchy confirmation and an absence of an agreed reference system.

The contradiction between individualism and familism presents different aspirations for life style according to various generations, economic statuses, and education levels. The problem is that individualism is generally
accepted as an inevitable outcome of modernization which is synonymized with westernization, and as a kind of status symbol.

These phenomena are most serious in Seoul, the Capitol of Korea, in terms of administration, economy and culture. While having grown to a city of 8 million, Seoul exhibits typical features of a centralized power. It is basically a mono-centric city with a converging form. All the competitive urban activities are located in the CBD except a few sectoral industrial districts. Residential activities are getting farther from the city center. Several subcenters have been planned but have not been successfully implemented except providing several convenient shopping facilities in newly residential areas.

The differentiation of residential area in terms of socio-economic class has been intensified by new development during the last two decades. Traditional residential area does not show a great differentiation except several sectoral upper class residential areas. New residential areas have caused a differentiation with their relatively higher quality housing than that of the old residential area and with the geographically segregated development of different quality housing. Thus generally the economic status level of the south part of Seoul is higher than that of the north part, and even within the south part
there arises great differentiation. This geographic segregation reflects not only the difference of income, but also the inequality of economic opportunities. Unstable allocative mechanisms of housing have produced a tendency to consider housing as an effective tool of investment, thus have brought a great deal of geographic mobility. In this situation the relative social status is measured mainly by the consumption level.

Still, a notion of community in an urban context is unsettled. Traditionally, Korean people have had a sense of common bonds, as a rural community is usually kinship-tied around cooperative farming. This developed into informal neighboring relations in the urban community, but the self-control existed in the rural community has disappeared in the large and mixed urban community. The urban community has no tradition of formal community organization as an interest group. However, many people still tend to keep and want a sense of belonging to a local community through close neighbor relations. This is illustrated in a phenomena of chain migration in a new residential area. Familism still affects the congregational behavior of a group of similar people.

In this context social integration refers both to the integration between social groups which is distinguished at the present by the economic level, and to that between
new and old values associated with life styles. Therefore two specific goals should be pursued: to reduce the social distance, and to provide the base for recovering a traditional sense of belonging and further creating the ability of self-organization.

Finally, it should be noted here that the social integration pursued in this study by way of encouraging social interaction recognized the importance of reeducation of the middle class. Of course it is necessary to upgrade life chance for the low status group. But in the present Korean context, the education of the middle class, especially the new middle class which has emerged with the expansion of tertiary jobs, is critical, as this group is growing very fast to take a major proportion of the population. Also, it must not be neglected that many people consider themselves part of the middle class, encouraged by the improved living standards.

Still, Seoul is experiencing the expansion and redevelopment of residential areas. And for the next several decades, the rapid development on a mass scale is expected in the form of new towns or the growth of existing small cities. Thus the idea of social integration should be considered in the context of such mass scale development, which suggests the importance of the overall urban structure.
DENSITY MAP

1,000 p/km²

over 40

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

RADIALS AND RINGS
EXISTING SUBWAY
PLANNED SUBWAY
RAILROAD
RESIDENTIAL AREA
INDUSTRIAL AREA
GREEN
SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTOR ANALYSIS

Two major factors: Income and family status are used.

* Still high status residential areas are located near the city center, with high land values, and reputation of stable residential area. However, since the 1970's, new high status area has formed along the River and in the southern part of Seoul.
The population pyramid of new residential area shows a relatively high proportion of young couples, which suggests a high portion of new middle class.
2 INTERMEDIARY STRUCTURE
Urban theories, which explain the urban process in a sociological, economic, or organizational approach, are often transformed into rigid principles when they are applied to planning and design. This tendency stems from the nature of both theory making and planning. Theory making seeks to generalize phenomena through constructing regular rules via some analytic concepts. It does not mean that any theory does not clarify explicitly the reasons and limitations of generalization. Unfortunately simplified generalizations often seem clear, and plausible, thus powerful. As a result, the simplicity of principles is favored in planning practices of which the nature is basically goal-oriented. In such a unitary approach, a future spatial pattern is proposed as a final goal by means of a general comprehensive plan in which the steps of implementation are specified in a fixed plan.

The usual strategy of structuring a city, though it is a complex process, can be simply classified with three ideas: hierarchy of physical structure in relation to a hierarchy of functional systems, specification of subsystem, and network function which connects subsystems. Obviously ease of manipulation and co-ordination of parts is the main criteria of this strategy. When these three components are put together, it is hard to find a rule of
interrelating them as each component works separately for different goals. The usual design step is figuring out different rules of each component, juxtaposing subsystems and hierarchical functions, and then deriving differentiated subsystems. This approach is useful for analytic purposes. Yet its limitation is its static nature, that is, it is apt to neglect the relationships between parts within a whole, thus it causes fragmented parts.

In the process of formulating this strategy, the complex theories of city planning have turned into a simplistic principle in structuring residential areas. The false assumption is that there is a large measure of internal consistency of all the subsystems in terms of values, aspirations, needs and behavior; there can be an agreement among individuals and groups as to social goals; these social goals are not radically disputed; so individuals and groups adjust to each other to achieve the goals. Thus the concept of unit as an entity and a spatial configuration shaped by the hierarchy principle have been emphasized in planning practices based on this assumption.

The validity of the concepts is examined in this chapter. The points of argument is simple. The unit concept inherently assumes the internalized closed system, thus
discouraging the accommodation of diverse groups in a local area and further the interrelation between local areas. The assumption does not conform to the objective of social integration which basically needs to regard a local area as a setting of social interaction between social groups.

Two sets of theory and planning concept are reviewed in this chapter: the concept of community as a sociological theory and an ecological approach of a local community; the concept of hierarchy and central place theory and a centrism of physical pattern in a local area. From the review the hypothesis of intermediary structure will be derived. The hypothesis will be discussed in terms of definition of a locality as a setting of social interaction, the level of physical framework, and the implication of physical configuration.

2-1. CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY IN A LOCALITY

There is no more controversial subject than the definition community in urban sociological study. Sets of definition have been suggested, however, analysis of community studies so far concludes that there is an absence of agreement on the definition of community, other than the fact that community involves people. The crucial reason for this is that most community studies are based not only on what,
the community consists of in reality, but also on what the community should consist of. Thus there is constant confusion between what it is and what is desirable in analysing and applying the concept of community.

Three features are common in community studies; area, common ties, and social interaction, on which each community study focuses respectively or in a combined way. Among these features area is treated as the least significant factor. A definition of community as a sociological concept suggests that a community can not be an area and is not an area, though it can not be denied that area could be an element of community.\(^4\) From this view, area is merely a setting where people interact and develop common ties. Thus spatial pattern is regarded relatively unimportant in affecting social relationships and much emphasis is put on the interactional pattern influenced by the social characteristics of people.\(^5\)

On the other hand, in urban studies related to a physical environment, two features of community, area and common ties, have usually been emphasized. Ecological approach as a method of analysis of urban growth and, further, a neighborhood idea as a planning concept, which have been much influential in explaining and structuring a city, have their roots in this approach to community study.
The Ecological Approach

The ecological approach put great emphasis on the physical nature of a locality, having a view of community as the solidarity and shared interests of community members as a function of their common residence. Communities are in this sense identified as locally based functional systems which are irreducible to the common overt and measurable elements of which they are composed. Thus it was thought possible to discover empirical regularities between different communities, and thereby inductively to develop plausible hypotheses and generalizations.

There are two major criticisms about the ecological approach. First, how can a view of community as an empirical category, an observable and measurable object, be reconciled with the parallel view of community as an analytical construct? And secondly, as an analytical concept, community refers to a specific aspect of human organization which is identified theoretically as the unorganized and unconscious process whereby the human population adjust to its environment through unrestricted competition. Community here is not a thing but a process, not a separate and visible object.

Thus the ecological approach, in many cases, fails to provide explanations of the social interactions in a
local area. Clearly, the community structure in the ecological approach refers to a property of the aggregate, not to the attitudes of individuals. It ignores what really happens in a local area. The problem here is in making a statement about individuals from aggregate data, which is now known as the 'ecological' fallacy\(^7\) in sociology.

Ecology renders only a fruitful source of hypotheses concerning the community rather than a testing of them. In this sense, it is a positivistic methodology while rejecting attempts to theorize the underlying forces determining the mode of human organization.

**The Idea of Neighborhood**

The neighborhood idea has its theoretical root in the ecological approach. If the ecological approach explains a locality as an entity, then it seems naturally plausible to create such a locality as an entity. This is the assumption of the idea, while it concerns how to create common ties bounded in a local area. In this respect, the idea can not be free from ideological dilemma. The neighborhood as a local community was seen as the answer to the weakening of social bonds in the rapidly expanding cities, the substitution of indirect for direct social relations, and the anomic society. So the neighborhood
idea carries too much connotation about the remedies for social anomie, which is characterized as the absence of common values and a sense of identity. 8

There has been, however, no clear definition of the kind of common bonds a neighborhood tries to create. This question is in the following way: "Is it expressed when residents in an area join together to resist the appropriation of land for the building of a hostel by the local authority? And what is the ideal relationship between sentiment for the town as a whole and sentiment for the neighborhood? Or again, is the ideal neighborhood feeling an awareness and knowledge by the residents of the intimate behavior of neighbors and a social control excercised by gossip and extending to the items display on the wash-line? Or are there degrees of neighborhood sentiment, and if so, what degree of intimacy and affective ties is desired?" 9

Without a clear definition it is not possible to devise the means to achieve the end. This is a crucial criticism that the neighborhood unit idea adopts very arbitrarily some partial definition of what constitutes a satisfactory final state of community.

By its clarity as a defined unit, however, the neighborhood idea was considered a convenient tool of planning. It was favored by planners because it makes it easier for
the planner to attempt to forecast the demands for the future use of land and other resources by specifying the standards of the optimum use of social investment in the form of housing, roads, schools, cultural and entertainment provision. Unfortunately the specification of standards has become considered a direct way of creating common bonds in a neighborhood. In this way, sociological terms were translated too easily into physical terms.

Furthermore when the idea of social balance was introduced into the neighborhood idea, it turned into the middle class ideology. As far as the neighborhood idea aims at stabilized common ties, a neighborhood tends to be homogenized in its residents' characteristics and the dominant reference group is sought from the middle and upper classes. The realities of class relationship and social dominance is obscured by the mutuality and integration implied in the idea of local community. And as a conservative or liberal reformist nature, the concept of balanced community serves the forces of law and order, middle class morality, and the social and political status quo. Thus the reformist idea originally contained in the idea of social balance yields actually to the idea of stability which accepts and adapts to what was believed to be middle class segregation.
Need of Realistic Approaches

In short, the two approaches which deal with a locality as a community have three deficiencies. First, the problem of community integration has been approached in the wrong order: that is to say, the integration of the community was put forward first as though that were a matter of course, and all other problems were examined from this essential pre-condition. Secondly, this approach ignores the fact that the social reality of interactions linked by common bonds does not exclude the existence of inner conflicts, power groupings, and a lack of inner homogeneity in terms of cultural aspects and ways of life. Change and conflict may also be one form of interaction toward integration. Thirdly, community integration lacked the consideration of the relationship to an external social system. The position of a local area in the urban spatial structure and that of residents in the social structure affect local social interactional pattern.

When these concerns are reflected upon, the arguments of whether or not local communities exist as common bonds is no longer important. Search for a community in a local area has put too much emphasis on common ties and values bounded within a local area. Therefore the argument that community as a common bond disappears or dissolves in the
wake of urban and industrial revolution is too easily associated with the assumption that the whole development of social humanity is fulfilled itself from community to society. 14

Still community can be considered as a basic unit, though it can have many different forms. What is needed is to be free from normative preassumption, to consider more practical concerns related to a social reality. Community typology in terms of integrational forces, structural aspects of community, and an operational definition of community are such attempts.

Already there have been various efforts to classify the community typologies. Typologies based on the possible community integrational forces classified normative, communicative, cultural, and functional integration. 15 Also typologies based on a local neighborhood classified ecological, neighborhood resources, symbolic or ideological, and subcultural neighborhood. 16 These classifications do not suggest that any locality is put into one of these typologies. They are just useful tools to explain the diverse possibilities of integration, as generally there exist sub-groups in any local area. Even in cases where a certain local area can be defined as having one dominant integrational force, there may exist sub-groups
within a larger group which do not join with the dominant force.

This is especially true in a mixed community where various sub groups distinguished by class relationship exist. In this case, it is important to consider two forms of integration simultaneously: horizontal integration which relates sub groups on the same status level in a spatial order, and vertical integration which relates each sub group to a compound group of higher order. In dealing with the community integration of social groups, often vertical integration has been emphasized more, especially in the formal activities of community organization. However, as it is, no doubt, difficult to achieve community integration purely in the vertical social sphere because of the diversity of interests involved, it is rather realistic to think first of the possibility of horizontal integration.

In this respect, the operational definition of community in a locality is useful. The influence of structural aspects should be investigated both in terms of physical environment and of social interaction. However, in dealing with an actual case, it is realistic to start considering the structural aspects related to the impact from outer system, and then to investigate how it is reflected in a locality.
in terms of horizontal groupings and of interactions between them. Thus the operational definition includes the differentiation of social groups, the differentiation of physical group and the extent of the coincidence between them. And further the behavioral circuits of each social group can be traced and related to the physical pattern.

2-2. HIERARCHY AND CENTRALITY

The concept of hierarchy is based on general systems theory in a broad sense. In the context of systems theory, the definition of system is that of consisting of a set of entities among which a set of relations is specified. The deduction is possible from some relations of an entity to others. System refers to a complex of interdependencies between parts, components, and processes that involves discernible regularities of relationships, and to a similar type of interdependency between such a complex and its surrounding environment. The dichotomy of wholeness and partness, and of autonomy and dependence in a complex of interacting elements is explained as a hierarchical order.

The consideration of the spatial components has been particularly developed by geographers who have examined the distribution of commodities and more recently, services. The basic method for identification of an area is to fix
nodal points and then divide the territory of the city into tributary area. This leads to a hierarchical model of the city, in which the central business district becomes the node of the highest level system. Various studies have systematized different functions, such as education, administrative, commercial and employment as a hierarchical order. And based on those studies, central place theory interpretes an empirially derived hierarchy in central place terms through analyzing the patterns of central functions within the city. More sophisticated studies have been developed to predict the future space demand through identifying centers of a comparable competitive level in a hierarchy, thus have shown the diverse forms of hierarchy and made it possible to explain some specific situations. The analysis of the detailed contents of those studies is beyond the scope of this study. In this study, it will be analyzed just how the underlying assumptions of both hierarchy and central place theory have affected a local physical configuration.

The central place theory assumes that the process of forming the nodal points sorts themselves out into distinct levels of importance in terms of the number of people and size of service area. The process is considered to be attributed to the principle of least effort: all things
being equal, behavior of people similar. Certain functions sharing a similar range and threshold, therefore, are regarded to group in centers of similar size within a hierarchy of centers. Such a gravitational approach, while intensifying the concept of unit as an entity, has produced a centrified form of local physical pattern.

The assumptions can be criticized on three aspects: behavior of people, operational efficiency, and social symbolism. There are empirical studies suggesting that consumer behavior does not conform to such a gravitational model. Irregularities in the pattern of consumer behavior arise from a variety of reason, such as different habits of shopping, preference of use of space, efficiency and even about entertainment. Group elements in consumer space preference also can not be ignored. Differences of income, age groups, sex, and occupation influence shopping behavior, which is called the difference of 'mental synthesizing abilities'. This is significant in arranging spatially service centers for different socio-economic status groups. The potential of mobility allows high income people to afford a long trip, while making low income people bound to a local area. In this respect, far from exhibiting an overall hierarchical arrangement of service centers, a city must be expected to develop distinctive subsystems which reflect the spatial distribution of socio-economic groups.
Behavioral research also suggests the reinterpretation of operational efficiency. The nature of convenience as a locational factor refers to both users and retailers. As already discussed, users have different view about convenience of their shopping behavior. From the retailers' point of view, the availability of suitable accommodation of land at a reasonable price, the proximity to lines of communication, and the availability of parking space are more important than proximity to the residential population. These locational priorities do not conform to the centrality principle.

The straggling shopping streets in any existing city is the evidence of a more complex array of forces than simply that of gravity. The combined form of centrality and linearity is observed in existing pattern: "The criteria to cluster in certain places within a linear continuum of functions, then the fact that only a few functions are investigated means that distinctive nodes will appear when these are mapped. Thus it is possible to observe both a linear pattern and a sets of nodes in the same area, simply because of this method of classifying functions." 22

The principle of centrality has also been too easily attached to social ideals: center functions not only as a center of services but also as a symbolic center and as a node of social interaction. In this way, a center is
treated as an object which expresses the sense of beauty, permanence, or esteem.

The social interaction in a planned center in a residential area, usually called a community center, intensifies anonymous interactions rather than encouraging personal interactions. Social relations on an everyday level in a local environment are developed much more informally rather than in a structured way. Therefore it is hard to expect a local center to function as a focus of interactions.

Hierarchy and central place theory, despite their merit of positive application, have been confused as normative applications of nuclear form to urban structure. And this approach has neglected two important goals of social integration which can be achieved in the process of structuring local environment: increasing choices and access to different groups of people and expanding more equitable distribution of facilities.

2-3. INTERMEDIARY STRUCTURE

In the previous sections, two arguments were discussed. One is that although the application of a concept of community in creating local social environment has the risk of imposing the desirable state of community, a concept of community is still valid for understanding local social
interactions. In this respect, what is necessary is to overcome the rigid concept of viewing a local community as an entity, and to develop certain tools to introduce the impact of the outer system, especially in terms of structural aspects of local residents, to the studies of localities. The other is about spatial issues. Functional hierarchy exists to a certain extent, however, it can not be directly related to a spatial hierarchy. The idea of centrality, which is easily associated with a hierarchy concept, reveals several deficiencies in imposing its assumption of consistent human behavior. Most of all, it can be criticized as regarding a local area as an entity, self-contained to some degree, along a line of hierarchy, thus causing segregated local areas as subsystems.

When considering social integration in physical terms, two concerns are most important: the presence of diverse social groups in a local area, though the definition of mixed level and scale is not clear, and the interactions between them. A locality as an entity, socially and physically, can not deal with these concerns effectively. An alternative can be found in a concept of a locality in relation to a larger system so that the interdependence between local areas can be reflected both in social and physical environment. And as interactions between social groups is presented mostly in the use of services, services should
be allocated so as to encourage intergroup contacts. The idea of intermediary structure has, therefore, two aspects: the interrelatedness between local areas and the interactional webs which contribute to the interrelatedness.

Social Interaction in the Intermediary Structure

Social interaction aims primarily at lessening social distance through increasing social visibility between social groups. Physical environment is certainly limited in its ability to generate the structured continuous contacts which have more potential of decreasing social distance. The unstructured continuous contacts which the physical environment can affect, however, can not be said to contribute definitely to lessening social distance. It has been observed in community studies that "once a joint settlement has taken place and joint action has developed under outside pressure, such social differences arise with the development of the internal system and a common standard of values is constantly threatened." 24 The same is true for anonymous contacts. For example, the anonymous contacts on the streets or in the subway are egalitarian contacts in a sense that there is no psychological involvement caused by the social differentiation. However, these contacts often tend to support the preconceived
psychological mechanisms by which a sorting of group differences is strengthened.\textsuperscript{25}

Nevertheless, encouraging unstructured continuous contacts is critical in creating physical environment. It provides the basis on which personal interaction can be improved. Therefore encouraging the interaction in physical environment as much as possible is the most critical condition in achieving social integration. And that kind of interaction can take place more intensely in a larger context than in the immediate vicinity of housing groups.

Definition of Level

Essentially a local area is the base of the intermediary structure as a subsystem. The boundary and size of an area, however, is not an important matter, since a local area consists of various sub groups, whether in which residents identify themselves and develop communal consciousness, or where they simply happen to congregate without any communal sense. And as the intermediary structure aims at providing diverse physical settings of social interactions between different social groups, the extent to which the physical structure can accommodate such settings is more important.

The boundary of a local area is rather determined by other ways, such as administrative boundary, topographic condition or engineering of transportation means. These
boundaries are indirect in affecting the internal social relations in a local area, though often the spatial factor defined by the boundary elements works as one force of creating a common consciousness. But it is relatively weak compared to that developed from internal networks.

Physical Configuration

The intermediary structure has more connotation of physical pattern rather than that of boundary and size. Three features of physical pattern seem critical; network pattern, allocative pattern of local and urban service facilities, and pattern of housing grouping.

What is important is how to initiate the diversity of social groups and interactions between them in an un-enforcing way. From this point of view, the distribution of housing grouping, which has been considered as a powerful way of providing diversity, is not the best way, although planning of housing groups is certainly needed to some extent. Empirically planning housing groups on social categories has turned out to be less successful than was expected. As already mentioned, there has been a tendency towards homogeneization and irregular coincidence of physical and social groups. The liability and the allocative pattern of services are more critical in affecting social interactional patterns. The availability and accessibility to
services determines the status of a local area, thus affecting the composition and distributional pattern of the characteristics of potential residents.

**Alternative Pattern**

It is evident at this point that the intermediary structure assumes that there needs to be some degree of decentralization of the functional system. Through distributing urban activities in a more dispersed pattern, the differentiation of the local area will be alleviated so that each local area can have a possibility of attracting diverse socio-economic groups with its more even liability.

Even if there exists some kind of hierarchy in the provision of services, although in some cases it is not stable, it does not mean that the best way of accommodating these services is to provide a hierarchy of centers. The increasing mobility of people suggests the arrangement of services to be displayed complementarily rather than hierarchically. Within such a system individual aggregated services are likely to offer similar varieties of convenience goods to the local population, but will specialize in the provision of certain high order goods and services to a population that may be drawn from the other parts of the city.
This suggests that the design approach should be changed from the normative approach which fixes its future plan to the adaptive approach which focuses on process and seeks to encourage various development forces at work rather than aiming for a future form as a goal. This approach makes it possible to include competition and change and thus to respond to such influences as population migration, change of the infrastructure and planning policies.
3 CASE STUDIES
3-1. FRAMEWORK OF CASE STUDIES

Like the contrast between the way of life in suburban housing and in inner city housing in America, the contrast between the way of life in detached housing area and in apartment housing (both walk-up and high rise) is a popular argument in Korea. Certainly sentimentalism toward a traditional community life characterized as close neighborings, mutual-aid networks, sharing everyday events, and an attack against a westernized, modernized way of life characterized as a loss of neighborliness, calculated social relations and inhumane environment are laden in the argument.

Yet most arguments miss the important fact that a way of life is affected more by the residents' status on a socio-economic scale than by the settlement type. There can be various life styles in each settlement type. Of course, a certain residential area has its own dominant image, such as a middle class detached housing area, or an old traditional housing area. Behind those dominant images, however, there intermingle various social relationships between different social groups. Moreover, in an area of mixed settlement types, whether planned or unplanned, a physical deterministic view confuses understanding of complex social relationships caused by socio-economic characteristics of residents.
The contrast between middle class, upper class and working class life style is often so great within or between local areas that such differences are emphasized, neglecting more subtle and important distinctions. The term 'class' is usually used in a categorical term, mostly on a statistical income scale, thus it tends to simplify the complex variables which affect ways of life; that is to say, there are differences in terms of occupation, career orientation, mobility, and work milieu with the associated educational experience, even in one categorized social class. Particularly the term 'middle class' is usually used, more collectively, as a blanket term. In the context of Korea, there is also the tendency of people to label their status as middle class, which has been strengthened by the improved living standards and upward expectation in a process of economic advancement.

These two arguments suggest that there is no absolute determinism of social relation in a local area either by physical variables or by social variables, and that there needs to be a framework by which these two variables can be interrelated. Often physical planners are criticized as being oriented to merely reconciling competing claims for the use of limited land so as to provide a consistent, orderly, and balanced arrangement of land use, or to dealing with technical practices such as formulating
minimum standard of living. Also, they are criticized for being unable to handle the diversity of life styles and values, thus hiding behind a fixed planning system and a fixed idea. These are the points of argument on which most sociologists attack physical planners.

It is easy to say that people in different social categories not only need different physical facilities, but that they use the same facilities in different ways. Yet it is difficult to say how these differences should be reflected in the physical environment.

What is investigated in these case studies is basically the relationship between social interaction and physical environment, focusing on people's behavior and activities affected by social status. The immediate objectives are distinguished as the following three:

- How do residents distribute themselves in terms of social and physical groupings? There is expected to be a tendency of homogeneization in a proximity but the question of scale is open to discussion. The coincidence of physical grouping and social grouping is not assumed, but is expected to vary case by case.
- How do residents interact with each other, within and among social groups? What kind of social relations are developed in intra-group level and in inter-group level, and in what form? And what kinds of status attributed behaviors intervene?

- What kinds of physical facilities and distributional pattern are affected by, or affect community behavior? How has the physical pattern been changed and how adaptable is it to change?

The ultimate objective of case studies, as already mentioned in the idea of intermediary structure, is to find how physical patterns of local areas influence social interactional patterns, and to suggest possibilities of how these patterns, as a manipulable subsystem, can be used in shaping a whole urban system.

The selection criteria are following:
1) Diverse groups in different distributions - To see the social interaction between different social groups, areas which are composed of several groups were chosen. As seen in the socio-ecological study of Seoul, each area is identified as a dominant image of one social character. Yet within each area, there are, to a certain degree, a
variety of social groups and distributional patterns.

2) Old and new settlement areas - Both old and new areas were chosen, as they are expected to represent not only the difference of settlement type but also that of development type and planning ideas. Time intervention is also an important factor in reflecting residents' self-control.

3) Different physical pattern - Each case has a different structure in terms of physical boundary, network, and service allocation pattern, from which different social implications of physical pattern are expected to be derived.

As discussed in the definition of community, the boundary of an area is hard to define in a single way. The boundary of each case is defined arbitrarily on the basis of some identification of a local area from outside. Within the boundary of each case, there are overlapped administrative units, service areas, physically defined areas, and small groups identified by residents.

There is a limitation in relating social interactional pattern and physical pattern, since there are enormously various social relationships which are independent from
physical terms. There are few empirical studies which deal with both and relate them. Especially status attributed activities is hard to define, thus a lot of discussion is based on the assumption.

The case studies are based on personal observation, since there are not many objective census fact on a local level. And even the available census tracts are based on administrative units, which are not consistent to the area identified by residents in many cases. Moreover there are no objective facts about small-scale housing group, on which this study focuses to find a coincidence of physical grouping and social grouping. Thus most description is based on personal observation, which has certain risk to fall into observer's judgement. Three of the cases are based on the author's observations over a period of at least one year of living. The case describing the traditional settlement area is based on the author's observations over a series of visits.

FRAMEWORK OF DESCRIPTION

As it is not possible to deal with all the physical and social variables and patterns of social relations, it is necessary to define several key factors to which the other dependent variables can be supplemented. Also, as each
case has a lot of variations in terms of social networks, it is useful to abstract here some common social networks.

A. Physical Description

Each case will be described mainly in terms of network pattern, allocation of services, and physical group differentiation and its way of boundary definition. Some other factors, such as relation to a larger context, development stage and type, land and property right, and administrative boundary will be added when necessary to explain the process of physical configuration.

B. Residents' Characteristics

As local social relationship is interactional rather than attributional,\(^1\) it is hard to classify residents' characteristics on the basis of income scale or household size and cycle which are usually used in census tracts. Also, each area has various social groups ranging from upper to lower in a relative sense, and residents behavior is differently affected by class-attributed or status attributed behavior.\(^2\) Especially in Korea, it is extremely hard to identify people's social class position, as a stable reward system is still not established. Income can not be an absolute measure because it has various
hidden sources, such as the interest from personal possession of property, or assistance from family or relatives, and even illegal sources which accompany with certain kinds of jobs.

Social status scale is classified here, as it affects lifestyle and social interactional pattern more strongly than social class scale does, though they can coincide in some cases. Housing status in terms of ownership and size of house, mobility orientation, consumption pattern, and orientation for children education are basic variables of classification. Further, occupation, life cycle and educational background will support the classification.

(1) Large property owner whose income source is not just from a regular job but from an investment on real estate or private money market. This group has greatly benefited from the industrialization process, and most of all from the land investment in the urbanization process. Wherever they live, their activities are not bound merely within a local area. Many of them own cars which make them accessible to various services. Although this group has a great potential of mobility, actual geographic mobility is determined by such factors as chances of education for their children, and preference for a more convenient life, which are affected by life cycle. They are high class
professionals and managerials, in many cases, with inherited properties.

(2) New middle class which has emerged during the last two decades of the industrialization process. This group includes the organization class with a high educational background who work for high salaries in large-scale firms, and self-business owners who are involved in new types of tertiary jobs. As this group has a high upward expectation of living standards and also has a potential of upward mobility, the life style and living standards of this group are based on their expected future status rather than on their actual economic status. This group is highly career-oriented, and is eager to provide their children with high-quality education, thus they are highly mobile and their activity range is quite large. This group is not bounded within their local areas, but they are very sensitive to pursue their interests in local actions such as management decision or attracting infrastructure services.

(3) Old middle class who owns some capital, but whose future career is limited. This group is a majority of traditional middle class which includes small-scale business runners and clerical workers. They maintain traditional kinship ties and family ties. They are bounded
within a local area, thus generally geographically stable. They are devoted to their children but they still maintain patriarchal order in a family, putting more emphasis on children's behavior rather than on their achievement and attitude, unlike the new middle class. It can be said that this group feels the discrepancy between traditional values and new values the most.

(4) Working class with some capital who has regular job in manual labor. This group can afford to keep their low quality housing inherited from parents, or to get small public housing. This group has similar aspiration for social relations to that of the old middle class. However they are different in the sense that they are pretty anxious to improve their social positions through getting life chances. Therefore this group is relatively mobile both socially and geographically.

(5) Working class without capital who does not have specific skills for regular jobs or access to public housing. They can just afford to keep squatter housing or rental rooms. Although their future is quite limited, crimes or extreme anti-social action are not often observed among this group. This is apparently due to their low expectation for themselves and for their children's future. There are another groups in rental housing which are
unstable because rental housing is not an official form in the housing market in Korea, and many decisions are made on informal agreements basis between owners and rentees. Eagerness to own housing has deep roots in the consciousness of Korean people associated with familism, thus rental housing has a strong character of transient housing and rentees have little sense of belonging to a community.

(6) Tenant in a rental house, usually in apartment housing, whose size has increased rapidly since the provision of apartment housing was enlarged. The economic status of this group varies by the quality of rent housing. Generally rentees put themselves on the same status scale to the owners of the same quality housing due to their similar consumption level. The new middle class and working class with some capital on their way of upgrading social position prefer this type of housing as transient homes.

(7) Tenants in rental rooms include rather lower groups on the economic scale. Rental rooms are a popular phenomenon in an old detached housing area where renters and rentees are on more intimate relationship sharing common life styles and everyday activities. New detached housing area also accommodates rental rooms which, however, are more expensive and privacy-oriented.
c. Social Interaction in a Local Area

Social ranking is a pervasive aspect of everyday life. It is a fact, as any community investigation can easily prove, that practically every member of a community has the tendency to classify himself and others. Ranking others into social classes, whatever the motivation, serves as a means of reducing uncertainty in the interpersonal environment. Ranking systems can be studied, not in terms of statistical averages, but in actions of small groups which act and interact together or against each other. All members of a particular community are well aware of all the imponderables operating in the whole complicated system. Thus their behavior is reflected in the interactional pattern in a community.

The difficulty in describing social interactions in a local area is that even in a social group categorized in the previous section, there are numerous variations affecting primary interactions, secondary interactions and organization activities. It is hard to generalize the causal relationship between them and to depict a comprehensive picture of local social interactions.

Generally local social interactions have been explored focused on primary relationships, such as making friends, neighbors, children's play group, etc., which are expected
to encourage positive interpersonal relationships. This approach is appropriate for investigating intra-group interactions which are basically created within a group sharing common life styles, but is not appropriate for investigating inter-group interactions. The analysis of organization activity can explain more comprehensively the complex relationship between social groups in a local area, but it is not so relevant in explaining the spatio-social relationship.

The recognition of other social groups is made mainly through secondary interactions which are influenced by the availability and distributional pattern of service facilities. As the main concern of this study is to find an effective method of physical intervention in affecting local social interaction between different social groups, secondary social interactions will be focused on. However the formation of primary relations is an important aspiration to most Korean who are used to having a sense of belonging to one's community. This affects indirectly forming the grain of homogeneized social group and the use pattern of services. Therefore this factor will be supplemented when necessary to explain the pattern of secondary interactions.

Organization activity is very weakly developed in Korea,
especially on a local level. The T'ong\textsuperscript{5} office, the administrative agency at the lowest echelon, is the only active organization, of which activity is usually ordered by higher echelons and is restricted to issuing registration and certificates. Yet, almost no voluntary organization based on communal interests of a local area has been formed. In recent years, there have been efforts to encourage urban community development, initiated by the government level by means of a 'pan' committee, a monthly meeting. Its major activity is formally the notice of messages from governmental agencies about safety, public health and T'ong level activities. It aims to encourage communication between residents and T'ong officers who attend a meeting, through which common problems and opinions on a small local level can be represented for administrative action.

Whatever the reaction to the 'pan' committee (sometimes, it is criticized implicitly as having been devised as a chain mechanism of surveillance on a local level), it provides an valuable chance for residents to communicate each other in an semi-institutionalized setting. The communication in 'pan' committee is, in many cases, rather informal - mere socializing among housewives - and is hardly developed for pursuing common interests. In some cases of apartment area where management problems become
common hot issues and a group with some experience of organization activity consists of a large portion of residents, this meeting seems to be developed to organize residents to take action for common interests, which suggests a possibility of developing self-control abilities of residents. However, this seems to be far in the future.

Generally, Korean people enjoy socializing in an informal setting with others who are personally related by family ties, friendship, or business matters. 'Kye', a popular form of association, is such an example. Having its root in traditional mutual-aid networks, it aims primarily at saving money by accumulating sums of money from members and giving to one member in turns, but it has also a motivation of socializing within similar groups. This has some implication of spatial groups; a kind of chain migration in a local area, especially in a new apartment housing area, motivated by friendship relations is associated. Informal communications mechanisms are involved in this pattern. Nevertheless, the spatial implications of these organization activities is still minimal. The distribution of residents is largely influenced by liability of services and quality of housing.

In this context of weakly developed formal activities,
informal secondary social interaction is more important in shaping social relations. It can not be said that all behavior is determined by consciousness of social status. There are, however, a lot of everyday events which cause residents' recognition of social status, consciously or unconsciously. Such events like informal gathering, children's play groups, moving in and out, going to work or to school influence such recognition to some degree. Most of all, the use pattern of services, shopping, going to the workplace and school, using open space and streets, or using institutional services reveals a tendency of selecting services of each social group and the degree of social visibility of services and places. Any place or service has both selectivity and interpenetrability of use. The crucial question is to which and between which groups they work. In the case studies, along with the distribution of physical and social grouping, social visibility, accessibility of services and boundary definition will be discussed in the context of allocational pattern of services.
CASE I

location
INDEX FOR DIAGRAMS

SITE AND ALLOCATION OF SERVICES:

- COMMERCIAL
- STRIP DEVELOPMENT
- MARKETPLACE
- PRIMARY SCHOOL
- SECONDARY SCHOOL
- NATURAL GREEN
- PLANNED GREEN
- INSTITUTION

SELECTION OF USE OF SERVICES

- OPEN
- SELECTIVE
- HIGHLY SELECTIVE
- INTER-LINKED
- DISCRETE GROUP BOUNDARY
- LOOSE GROUP BOUNDARY
- DIRECTION OF USE
- GROUPING
3-2. CASE I - TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT AREA

This area has a relatively long history, showing a typical residential development: a geographically defined area, major subdivision along arterials, squatter settlement on a hillside, and spots development of new housing. The major arterials were established in the 1920's, during the early colonization period, and then subdivision, zoning and housing construction were followed in the 30's and 40's. Most flat land was parceled out and built up in a traditional urban court housing style. Most of these housing were preserved during the Korean War and were occupied by the old middle class after the war. After the war, rural migrants occupied the hill top area and built self-help housing. Also, the lower hill side area and some flat area were subdivided in a larger lots so as to attract high income residents. Now as traditional housing becomes delapidated, an invasion of modern style housing is taking place on a small scale.

The area is located within 20 minutes distance by bus to CBD, served by a minor arterial which connects two major arterials. The area has good access without much through traffic. The whole area is divided into 8 T'ong administrative units of which the population ranges 4,000 - 6,000. Though these units are belong to three different large T'ong units
CASE 1 site & allocation of services

TO ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

CHAIN OF SMALL STORES:
grocery, tea shop, bakery,
restaurant, pharmacy,
clinic, shoe store, etc.
neighborhood facilities

SMALL-SCALE MANUFACTURING
SHOPS: mechanical services

OPEN MARKET PLACE:
working class entertainment
services

TO CBD

COMMERCIAL NODE:
estention of CBD,
specialized shops,
auto services, foods
wholesale

TO A SUB CENTER

COMMERICAL STRIP & MARKET PLACE

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES: district
police, administration office

UNIVERSITY

MARKET PLACE:
open market, manufacturing shops,
food process or clothing

1 km
Fine grain of mix have formed through a relatively long period of development. Yet, coincidence of physical group and social group is observed in several newly developed housing groups.

**CASE I**
for administrative convenience, residents in this area share the general attachment to the whole area, as their living ranges take place within similar boundaries, and most of all the hills on both sides give a strong image of geographic boundaries.

The allocational pattern of facilities exhibits an extreme linear development between two commercial nodes at the cross points of one minor arterial and two major arterials. The small scale shops and a market along the arterial are major commercial facilities where all kinds of neighborhood transactions, such as shopping mostly, going to work and school, and socializing, take place. Some large scale institution such as schools, university and hospital are located on several spots on a hill side. These facilities were built after most of the flat area had been occupied by housing.

Homogeneization is occurring across the contour line. Along a major traditional court housing sites in a regular pattern. Large houses built later than court housing is located on some spots, and low income housing usually faces the court housing.

The court housing area is broken down into small housing blocks. Each housing block has a variety of expressions of territoriality according to various ways of scaling-down
characteristics of people

subdivision process. Originally, a block was planned to accommodate for a dept of two lots, yet it was divided to have more lots, which created semi-private places such as a long inner alley, short alley, or dead-end alley. This kind of semi-private place is also created in a low income housing area while forming a more irregular pattern along contour lines.

The residents are generally very stable; most households have lived here over generations. Turnovers occur mainly in the rental rooms and partially through the building of a new housing to replace delapidated housing on some lots. The majority group is the old middle class, of which life style, stabilized with close neighboring and activities bounded to this local area, represents the image of the area. The working class who lives in a rental room of court housing are easily assimilated with the rent owners. Low income families with their own houses have a life style similar to that of the old middle class. Even the character of the large property owners in this area is absorbed in the general character of the old middle class, as they have lived for a long time in this area and as they are not segregated on a large scale. This does not mean that they have the same expectations for neighbor relations or child raising, but it means that they have an attachment to the area without a sense of seclusion, while joining to a
Although there is a certain degree of coincidence between social grouping and physical grouping in this area, the mixed level of residents is much finer than that in a planned residential area. The main reason seem to be the small scale development which allows the various expressions of residents' needs, and a loose control of subdivision. Also, the residents' need for installing rental rooms has directly affected the high degree of social mix.

There are two distinctive characteristics which encourage the strong attachment to the area: one is the generally accepted communal life style encouraged by a common long residence, and the other is the strong topographic element, the hills. Most of the everyday activities except working are satisfied in the local area. Women and children, locally bounded, create most of the local activities. Street life is lively as most people enjoy outdoor living. Lack of green space encourages more active use of streets. Public use of streets such as shopping, children's playing is usually mixed with semi-private use such as sitting, chatting, drying clothes. On the other hand, hills on both sides lends a strong legibility and a sense of stability to the area. Residents' image of the area can be illustrated as "In back of my house, there is a hill, in front
there is a lively main street". The inwardness of a valley reminds symbolically of the old image of home in a rural community, "Lies there a mountain in my back, runs there a stream in my feet".

This symbolic and communal attachment, however, is not developed to a conscious identification of a community as a whole. Residents recognition of community is closely related with an immediate neighborhood where neighbors share everyday events around commonly used street and corner services. Of course this kind of close neighborliness is not developed everywhere in the area. In the sub area of large property owners, residents are much more inward oriented and more selective in making neighbors. Yet the transition between different social group is informally made through shared streets and facilities while maintaining block scale group territories. Generally it can be said that informal block scale sub groups are interwoven to form the whole area.

The area shows a legible directionality of residents' circulation. The strong axis of shopping facilities along major street attracts people downward from the hills. This intensive axis of interaction has several branches on major access streets to housing areas and aggregated small corner facilities, typically composed of grocery stores, real estate agencies, laundry shop, beauty shop and bathhouse.69
In a sense, these diverse facilities form a certain hierarchy of residents' use and a hierarchy of age groups activity range. These shops are generated spontaneously by combining factors with residents' preference for nearby interpersonal shops and a general tendency of preferring to own a self-business even on a small scale. Informal sector economy is prevalent in this area.

There is also an upward circulation to school facilities and some institutions on the hillside area. These downward and upward circulations are rather routinized, however, they are perceived informally by the residents. They seem to be perceived as an extension of the intimate scale of neighboring groups along a line of interpersonal places. The coexistence of downward and upward circulation has an advantage of facilitating intermixed activities. A disadvantage is the inability to accommodate large institutional buildings, which needs a more articulated design solution. The presence of institutional functions would expose the area to outsiders, which would not necessarily be damaging to the residential environment.

REVIEW

The distinctive characteristics of this area are the interwoven small groups and the legible axis of interactions, which can be said to be typical in traditional settlement areas. Whereas, the recognition of an area as a whole is 70
CASE I selectivity of use of services

- **sharp boundary**
- **loose inter-group boundary**

**TEMPLE:** its green inaccessible to local residents, visually open

**LINEAR LOCAL STORES:** accessible to both sides of main street and adjacent housing groups

**MANUFACTURING SHOPS:** work and living

**OPEN MARKET:** highly open

**MAIN STREET:** highly open to all kinds of residents with its homogeneous quality

**MARKET PLACE**

**LINEAR STORES:** highly open to both local and regional use

**OPEN SPACE:** exclusively used by nearby residents visibly and physically closed to residents in other parts

**SCHOOL:**

usually limited to the use of students

**LINEAR STORES:** exclusively used for regional shopping and entertainment, some local use
weak, though symbolically cohesive, the small group in a block scale is relatively close-tied. There observed various social groups in distinctive parts: however, generally status-attributed behavior is not significant in this area, and the transition between different groups is well managed with sharing the lively street and their facilities. Most of all, common long residence has created a kind of cultural integration in this area.

Although there is a hierarchy of convenience shopping, the major axis of facilities along a main street attracts most of important transactions. People seem to prefer to congregate more in this lively street, rather than in a recreation place which is of a more public nature. It can be concluded that people with a traditional life style tend to feel comfortable in a place of a more private nature. A sense of belonging is a critical criterion for their use of places.

The problem of this area is its vulnerability to the invasion of large scale institutional facilities. A design solution is necessary, but what is really needed is an attempt to use such facilities as resources for local residents' use. Open space on the hilltop, which is informally used at present might be closely related to such facilities. This kind of attempt will be effective only when community participation is consciously organized, which is another task to encourage social integration.
3-3 CASE II—STABLE APARTMENT AREA

The area has been developed for about 20 years, since late 1960's. The early development which was one of the first attempts of mass development, was initiated by the KHC (Korea Housing Corporation). About 1,500 units of walk-up apartments were constructed at one time. The development was very experimental at that time, as apartment housing was still considered an alien type of housing, so that occupancy was delayed. But in the 70's, the apartment type housing became popular, several private developments succeeded. After having passed the period of high turnover rates in the 70's, the area has become relatively stabilized compared to other new development areas.

The highly mixed level of economic groups of the area has been arbitrarily formulated rather than done in a planned way. The reason for this is that each sub group is usually packaged for around 300 - 500 units in a similar unit size and that during the period of construction, the standard of housing quality has been highly upgraded. As a result, the later private developments set their housing market for the high income group.

The area which locates 5 km from CBD, has very good access to various city services in terms of time. But as it is
CASE II  site & allocation of services

MARKET PLACE:
- manufacturing shops:
  - furniture, food, clothing
- chain shops, clothing, real estate
- chain stores, supermarkets

SPECIALTY SHOPS:
- small offices
- future extension to south suburbs
- luxury specialty shops
- churches, specialty shops, restaurants, super markets

CBD TO CBD RIVER

SOUTH SUBURB

0.5 km
CASE II

High degree of coincidence between physical grouping and social grouping exists depended on the division of public and private development and the division of housing unit size.
separated from a major arterial to CBD, it does not have many choices of public transportation. Relatively few bus lines serve the area. The eclipse-shaped area has definite boundaries: the Han River and the railroad track to the south and north respectively. The only connection to a major arterial is made by the main street penetrating the whole area. Along the main street service facilities locate, which attract both neighborhood and some regional shopping activity.

Commercial services in the area are very diverse, ranging from retail shops along the street, super markets which are now one of the basic forms of market for convenience goods shopping, specialty shops and restaurants, to an open market with small scale manufacturing shops. There are one primary and two secondary schools and there is almost no public green space.

As development type and stage are different in each housing group, there tend to be discreet distinctions between housing groups. The names, which are named for the development agencies responsible for their construction, such as public officials apartment, or KHC apartment, etc., mark the difference. Also, a physical boundary with high block walls or fences reinforces the edge definition of each housing group.
characteristics of people

The residents in this area generally have high mobility orientation. Two facts affect the orientation. One is that the apartment type of housing is still considered a transient place to live until the residents can buy a detached house. The other is that many people regard apartment housing as a tool of investment. Concerns about the risk of the filtering down process and about investment in promising new development areas affect the motivation of mobility. However, this area is relatively settled compared to other new development areas.

In terms of social groups, there are large property owners, a large portion of new middle class, some portion of old middle class and working class, a small portion of lower class who work in the marketplace, and tenants in rent housing. Spatially there is an obvious social division north to south and east to west. The social division is made by the division of development type. Usually, access to private development areas is highly controlled both on the site and at building entries by security personnels. Security, easy maintenance, and anonymity are prevalent, which are attractive to those who favor them, like the large property owner, and the new middle class.

Residents in relatively low quality public housing are the ones who could get their ownership through long-term
redemption plan. They brought the old middle class life style and try to keep it, but they seem to feel conflicts about their lower consumption level compared to that of residents in private apartments. Those who live in better quality public housing have a more or less intermediate character. The new middle class life is a dominant image, but quite a portion of the stabilized families who moved in from detached housing for more convenient living struggle between their previous life style and the new life style demanded by the dominant character of the area.

There are almost no units which are planned for rental housing, except a few for foreigners. But about 10 - 15 percent of all the units are occupied by rental households in the form of deposit rental system. These people are aware of their status based on their consumption level, not by their status of housing ownerships. They are sure that they can afford to buy houses in the near future. Thus they tend to regard themselves on the same status level as those who own housing of a similar size.

An interesting phenomenon is the chain migration. As the information about the reputation of each area is communicated on a person-to-person basis between people affiliated by primary relationships, family, relatives, friends, and especially between women, the similar life style of each housing groups is more strongly maintained than if it depended on an open information system.
As the area is strongly identified by its demarcating boundaries, and as the development initially attracted relatively high income people, the image of the whole area to outsiders is of an enclave of the upper class. High prestige is laden in the name of 'Riverside Apartment'. In this sense, the whole area is symbolically homogeneous. Yet in every day life, that kind of whole symbolic prestige is challenged even in a small event like coming home by taxi. Taxi drivers know well the status difference among housing groups, "I used to get out of the taxi on a main street and walk home, especially when I shared the taxi with someone else" said one resident in a low quality apartment. The residents in private apartments do not care to be driven to their doorsteps. "I can feel what is in the mind of taxi drivers. Not all of them. But most of them think that I do not have the right to get to my doorstep by their taxis." said the resident again.

There is certainly the residents' consciousness about their housing status regardless of their personal status. Definite distinction of the development type makes the difference of housing status legible.

In each housing group, generally social groups of similar economic background and life cycle congregate, as each housing group accommodates housing units of similar size.
In the case of mixed size housing group, groups of similar consumption level congregate. What determines residents' homogeneous characteristics is the reputation of each housing group. And this homogeneization is further strengthened by the discreet physical boundaries. Residents of each housing group, therefore, tend to be inward to their formal territory.

The advantage of this area is the diversity of facilities, ranging from an open market, associated manufacturing shops, super markeks, corner stores, and specialty shops, to some offices. As these facilities locate along a main street, the main street is highly livable. The tendency of inwardness in each housing group is lessened in this semi-public area.

However, there are some locational factor affecting the degree of selectivity of facilities. A market located near the low income housing group is highly open to all kinds of resident, whereas, the specialty shops on both ends of the area are very selective. As this area has kind of dead-end character, the directionality affects the selectivity of use pattern. The same is the case of the extent of exposure of high income housing at the east end. The downward use is easily made, but the upward use is made with difficulty, although there is not much difference of actual
cost of use. Status attributed bahavior seems to be intensified by the separation of housing quality and to be represented in use pattern.

Nevertheless, the linear pattern of this area not only increases accessibility but also adapts well to the continual change of services used. The contents of services have been changed and stabilized while reflecting the general trend of consumption and residents' needs. A lot of real estate agencies in an early period of development has changed to neighborhood services like groceries, bakery, clinics or drug stores. As all the area was being occupied, a specialized services for different age and social groups showed up. The high degree of exposure to users of linear pattern seems to have helped clarifying residents' needs and stabilizing services.

**REVIEW**

The area consists of several housing groups, of which the social characteristics of the people are determined by the development type and period. These housing groups are juxtaposed along the major street, where most secondary interactions are concentrated. In this respect, the physical pattern of this area is similar to that of the traditional settlement area, though this area lacks the cohesion of a small group.
CASE II selectivity of use of services

MARKET PLACE:
highly open to all kinds of resident group, high visibility, mostly used by residents in north part

OFFICES:
mainly used by outsiders

SOUTH SUBURB

HAN RIVER
MIXED TYPE:
selectivity depends on quality of each shop

SPECIALTY SHOPS:
highly selective to lower group, low visibility, attracts a lot of outsiders for luxurious shopping

MIXED TYPE,
but mainly for local residents of new middle class and large property owners

* Each housing group has discreet physical boundary
The presence of diverse social groups, though segregated geographically, produces different forms of facilities, both old and new, which increases the extent of choices and provides diverse experiences. However, the fact that the general consumption level is high enough to accommodate such diverse facilities can not be neglected.

It is observed that people tend to feel comfortable using the lower quality facility, in this case the old type of use pattern, such as an open market, and feel uncomfortable using the higher quality facility, regardless of the actual cost of purchasing goods. This fact suggests that the distribution of housing classes and the associated facilities are important factor which affect the degree of social interaction between social groups. If this area is opened on both sides, and high income housing locates in a more dispersed pattern, it can be expected that the intermixed activities will increase more. The isolation of this area seems to function to give a strong identity to this area, however, that very fact seems to inhibit the potential interactions between separate groups.
There were distinctive periods of housing development in terms of housing type and development process since the late 1960's when an enormous residential area was newly developed in the southern part of Seoul. The development in the late 60's and the early 70's was mainly the subdivision for detached housing directed by public agencies and small-scale private agencies. Since the early 70's a large-scale apartment development, in which public forces were involved, became prevalent. Soon there was a housing boom. And, encouraged by a housing policy which provided various forms of benefit to mass developments, a lot of private agencies became involved in apartment construction. Since the late 70's, when large-scale land acquisition became more difficult and an absolute amount of land was in short supply in the region of Seoul, the high-rise apartment became a popular housing type, developed mostly by private agencies.

During these periods, two typical development processes were prevalent: one is a mixed development in terms of development forces, housing type, and time period. In the latter case, an area becomes fully inhabited after some large-scale housing development has been initiated and has provided stability for an area.
CASE III  site & allocation of services

CBD & west
INDUSTRIAL
DISTRICT

HAN RIVER

CBD

CBD

RIVERSIDE
HIGHWAY

CBD

DETACHED
HOUSING
AREA

NATIONAL
CEMETERY

RECREATION

OFFICES:
SEWAGE SYSTEM

REGIONAL
BUS TERMINAL

SHOPPING CENTER for neighborhood use: super market, clothing, groceries, clinics, etc.

0  0.5  1 km

TO SOUTH
SUBURBS

DETACHED
HOUSING
AREA

STRIp DEVELOPMENT: offices manufacturing shops

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CASE III

- This area exists as one of large sub systems developed in southern part of Seoul.
- Coincidence between social group and physical group is depended on the division of development type and housing unit size. However, in this case, high quality public housing attracts a large portion of upper class group.
CASE IV  site & allocation of services

regional facilities
reserved-used by small
scale manufacturing
shops temporarily

SURROUNDING SUBURBS
SPECIALIZED SHOPS:
construction materials dealer

LOCAL STORES:
intensified over existing facilities

undeveloped land

APTS
super markets

real estate agencies
restaurants

large lot subdivision
along contour lines

0 0.5 1 km
CASE IV

Mix of social groups take place by means of mix of different housing types and relatively large grain of housing groups.
Cases III and IV represent, respectively, typical cases of these two forms of development. As these areas have been developed with a similar idea of physical pattern, a comparison of these two cases can show the effect of a development process on the composition of residents and further on their social interactional pattern.

Case III, which describes a completely new construction on vacant land, deals with a relatively large area developed since the mid 70's. The infrastructure of this vast area was planned as a whole and the area has been filled with large-scale aggregates of public and private apartment developments. This area, despite its size, shows a very simple structure. Case IV, a mixed development, was also put on vacant land for the most part. But an existing settlement along a major arterial and a stable large-scale apartment complex nearby attracted a private apartment and subdivision investment from an early period, which resulted in the private development of most of this area. The full occupation of this area has proceeded slowly since the late '60's to the present.

The physical pattern of new residential area developed in the 70's was determined by the neighborhood unit idea. Once access to the CBD is made by major radials and rings, the super grid is superimposed on a residential area.
grid is surrounded by the major traffic roads and services are planned to locate in the center of the grid. Thus the general pattern becomes the juxtaposed nuclei, which is supposed to satisfy the residents' needs within each cell. In case III, where mass housing was constructed in a short time, this pattern is most obvious. There exists hardly any difference between the appearance of super blocks: the same housing types with highrise flats and walk-up flats, a south-faced parallel site plan, and a community center building. A regional bus terminal, planned as one of the decentralization projects is located in the central part of the area, which resulted in a difference of residential quality between the east and west parts. The poorly-planned urban high order facility turned out to be unsuccessful because it is not closely connected to a subway transit, and thus attracts a lot of through traffic in the area. Also, as the land use is fixed and the facilities were installed on the basis of a rigid plan, there is little flexibility.

In the mixed development area in case IV, rather flexible land use regulation, a longer period of development, and diverse intervening development forces made it possible to alleviate the planned nucleus structure. Besides the planned facilities in the center of the area, a linear pattern of shopping facilities has been developed and pro-
recognition of community

Property owners live in a secluded area on a hillside and a high proportion of a new middle and upper class occupy apartment housing. This is because the former owner of a vast land area parceled out relatively large lots for luxury housing and developed high quality apartments. However, a grain of housing group is relatively smaller and the mixed level is much higher. A mixed group of new and old middle class and rental owners is spread over the area. Among this group, the working class lives as rentees of detached housing.

It is hard to judge whether residents in a mass development area identify with their own community. Most residents, though they regard their apartment housing as transient homes, have a self-satisfaction with their ownership. However, it can not be said that this satisfaction develops into a positive sense of belonging to the community. Residents identify themselves as common residents in a newly developed area. Each super block, distinguished by its housing status, is supposed to meet everyday needs of residents. However, this superblock as a functional entity has little base for encouraging a sense of belonging. The short common residence and a high ratio of turnover seem to be the main reasons. Also the lack of architectural articulation and landscaping elements makes it difficult for residents to identify their immediate territory.
In a mixed development area, the stability of the area is most critical to forming the identity of the area. And the differences between social groups and housing types seem to function to reinforce each other's identity. Various groups, having relatively clear group territories, share common facilities and reputation of the area.

The central place theory was exclusively applied as a planning idea in a mass development area, simply to ensure the ease of breaking down the planning unit and the convenience of residents' use. However, the centrally located shopping facilities are used differently in each super block according to differences of social class.

The shopping center in a relatively upper income housing area is much more actively used. The marketability is high enough to support a center. Some shopping centers even have luxurious specialty shops to attract people from other residential areas. Shopping behavior is convenience oriented rather than interpersonal. Order and delivery systems are popular and the way to shopping center which is used most often is short-cut. Still, shopping is an important form of entertainment for most wives but is very luxury-oriented. It seems that this lack of interpersonal interactions is generally welcomed in the upper income housing area. But the problem may be that many of these people need more interpersonal interactions.
This is the case of the public housing area. Low income people are used to enjoying more open neighboring, to spending most of their time outside of their homes, and to enjoying interpersonal shopping. To them everyday chore activities are also a main source of entertainment, since they can not afford to other types of entertainment. And as their daily activities are more restricted to their home boundary, they need a more diverse environment. The planned environment of a shopping center, where regularity and order are emphasized much more than in a traditional marketplace, is not pleasing to them. Furthermore, a low marketability due to the low consumption level leads to the decline of a shopping center, which is worsened by the absence of job sources nearby. Residents are forced to purchase their daily goods more expensively. Many residents prefer to have a long shopping trip to a larger market in a city center, which is the opposite of an expected convenient living.

In a mixed development area, both old and new types of shopping facilities are arranged to cater to residents' needs. Some apartment groups have their own facilities, but they are arranged along the streets so as to attract outsiders. Planned shopping centers of the area have been transformed closer to the quality of a traditional market after several declines and have been stabilized. And a
chain of shops has incrementally grown to keep pace with housing construction. Enough choices and easy accessibility make behavioral circuits of various groups intermingle, which increases the chances of getting acquainted with others in the area. Whereas in a mass development area, circulation routines of residents are calculated to be a short cut to facilities and major transport lines, this area has various routines of circulation to various bus lines, which also contributes to increasing social contacts.

Generally speaking, the interactional pattern of a mass development area is limited to several formal routines within each super block, discouraging informal meandering behavior, thus limiting the degree of exposure between super blocks. The anonymous public nature of each sub area does not facilitate inter-community relationships. Whereas, in a mixed development area, such informal circuits are spontaneously made, overcrossing group territories, based on residents' needs.

REVIEW

From the comparison of the two cases, it is seen that similar ideas of physical pattern have been developed into different configurations during the development process. The idea of centrality is maintained in a
**CASE III selectivity of use of services**

- Mixed use with high degree of exposure
- Highly selective
- Sub-divided use by immediate local residents, separated in each housing group

* Each housing group has a sharp physical boundary.

Bus Terminal: regional use, but negative effect on residential quality

- Highly open both to local and regional use

Scale: 0 - 0.5 - 1 km
CASE IV selectivity of use of services
mass development area, while causing the sharp social differentiation between cell-like grid units. It is lessened in a mixed development area comprised of linear development of communal facilities and small residential groupings.

The major effect of these differences is the formality and the informality of behavioral patterns in each area. The interactional pattern in a mass development area is much more limited within each super block along expected behavioral routines, while that in a mixed development area is more diversified without having formal routines. The overlapping of facilities between group territories which are formed on an intimate scale seems important in encouraging interaction within intra-groups and between inter-groups.

Many disadvantages of a mass development area are caused by instant development, which hardly allows the time for reconsidering the residents' needs, and by a high density housing. However, there can be an alternative physical structure which can alleviate those disadvantages. More flexible physical patterns and more articulated housing grouping can be recommended. And more dispersed facilities, shown in a mixed development area, seem desirable, which suggests the street-oriented site plan as an alternative.
4 CONCLUSION
Social interactions between social groups is certainly a precondition towards social integration. Yet, the coexistence of diverse social groups does not necessarily ensure interactions between them. Social interaction can be achieved only when interactions between social groups are generated voluntarily. The formation of secondary interaction is important in this sense. The concept of intermediary structure is, therefore, defined to be a physical structure where secondary interactions take place. This concept has the implication of pattern - physical configuration.

Based on the case studies which dealt with new and old environments and different settlement patterns, two discussions are inferred: one is about the integrational force in each case and its relation to a larger context. The other is about the implications of physical patterns in encouraging social interactions.

The intermediary structure sees a local residential area as a manipulable base for constructing a city, while emphasizing the interrelation between local areas. As a general conclusion, it will be discussed how the results of the case analysis support the hypothesis of intermediary structure and what the overall urban structure will be.
4-1. FROM THE CASES

A. About Integrational Forces

It was pointed out that a notion of urban community was not settled in Korea. Community as common bonds no longer exists, community as an organized unit have not yet developed. In the Korean context, residents' recognition of a local area is basically the primary territory consisted of immediate neighboring groups and convenient services. A local area for functional purposes is well developed. The consumption of people is largely bounded to a local area, as most movement of people is depended on walking and mass transport, and as the small scale business is prevalent due to economic structure. Close neighboring makes it easy to develop common values, which, however, have been generated in the social condition whose direct impacts on most people was not rapidly changed until the 1960's.

As shown in a traditional settlement area, the main integrational force of the old residential area is grown in its long common residence sharing the history and change of the area. Certain values about behavior, manners, attitudes for raising children are developed. Violation of those values is paid for losing neighbor relations, which is considered seriously by those who live in old residential areas. It is doubted, however, whether those kinds of
cultural and normative integration found in old residential would be developed in newly planned areas even after a longer period of time. It is difficult to define the character of each area simply, as these areas are still in a process of change. However, several reasons can be pointed out.

Newly planned areas - particularly mass housing areas - are basically enforced communities. People in these areas move in to find their own houses which are hardly got in other ways. Generally the first reaction is satisfaction for their housing ownerships. They showed patience to inconvenient facilities in an early period of developments, or to the lack of neighboring relations and of intimacy of the area. There is still not a consciousness of community. As the area becomes fully occupied and as services are supplemented, a nature of community life becomes apparent to the residents. Relative status of sub-groups become revealed and the differentiated use of services become formulated. Since this process proceeds in a short time in new residential areas, contrast between status differences is sharply established. And it becomes more perpetuating, strengthened by different quality of maintenance between sub-groups.

Since newly developed areas start with no dominant image in terms of life style, and since residents bring various expectations for community life according to their social status scale, it is difficult to find an agreed-upon
values about communal life. In old residential areas, the
dominant image, developed previously, absorbs easily new
life styles brought by new residents. In this case, a kind
of intermediary structure on an abstract level intervenes
residents' recognition of community. Sharing common life
style and values to a certain extent and assimilating with
them make it possible to diminish the potential of conflict
due caused by the social difference. It seems that residents
in old residential areas do not develop consciously the
recognition of community so as to develop an active partici-
cipation in community actions. However, they usually
perceive unconsciously the existence of a community to which
they can put themselves as sharers of communal life.
Whereas, in new residential areas, potential residents al-
ready have their own values and life styles which are now
more differentiated than at the time when old residential
areas were developed. And the more a new area tries to
incorporate diverse social groups, the more difficult it is
to interrelate differentiated values and life styles and to
get a certain agreement. New residential areas are influen-
ced much more strongly by the structural aspects of resi-
dents than old residentials areas are. Thus it is not easy
to develop normative or cultural integration.

In this situation, the intermediary structure in new resi-
dential areas can be set up first on functional level.
Functional integration based on sharing community resources can contribute to increase more intensive interactions between social groups. However, as already argued in chapter 2, functional integration should not be dealt with as some kind of functional entity, which are often found in planned new residential areas. The case of traditional settlement area suggests some references regarding incremental growth and change added on major structure. Though some facilities established later show malfunction to an existing fine block fabrics, the facilities are generated based on residents' needs. They are formulated with close linkage and high degree of exposure in relation to an adjacent context.

The problem is that the fast development hardly allow such incremental growth. Nevertheless, some advantages which are associated with incremental growth can be applied possibly in respect to physical pattern.

B. About Physical Pattern

Several facts can be derived from the cases. First, each area has a typical interactional pattern which represents that of the dominant group of residents, however, there are actually various patterns which are maintained or desired by the minor groups. The expectations of the minor groups are especially neglected in a mass development area,
where the uniform need of the new middle class is presupposed for the ease of planning; whereas in a traditional settlement area, the upper class as a minor group still enjoys services provided for the major old middle class. In a stable new apartment area and a mixed development area, the needs of both groups are well presented, though there is a certain degree of geographic separation. There are dual phenomena of selection of services. Downward selection, which means the selection of services provided for lower social groups, occurs easily in a stable area. But upward selection is observed in an area occupied dominantly by the new middle class, which is often exploited in the planning of the provision of services in the new development.

Secondly, there is certainly a tendency of homogenization in terms of social class in every case. However, the scale of homogenized grain varies according to each case. In a traditional settlement, the grain is much smaller so that the area accommodates more diverse social groups within its everyday contact range; whereas, in a mass development area, the homogenization is made extremely on a super block level which is supposed to satisfy everyday requirements. The scale of housing groups which affects the scale of homogenization mostly is determined mainly by the scale of development type, since a development agency tends to limit the kinds of housing over a small range.
Thirdly there has been observed little sign of open conflicts on the action level between social groups. The main reason is the weakly developed community organization. Also, the limited administrative power on a local level causes a low recognition of community issues which involve the residents' interest. The conflict seems to occur rather on a psychological level of the residents in doing everyday activities, which suggests the importance of secondary interaction as a major opportunity of getting acquainted with other social groups.

In the analysis of these cases, two assumptions were made: one is that the coexistence of diverse social groups is the primary condition of creating diverse forms of secondary interaction, and the other is that the heightening of the intensity of secondary interaction is the main function of the physical environment in affecting the degree of social integration. Two questions can be posed about these assumptions. The first one is how does the presence of various social groups contribute to interaction between them. Here interaction means primarily the spontaneous constant contacts through which recognition of other social groups can be cultivated.

As the possible relationships between residents is stimulated usually by the commonness of life styles in an immediate scale of everyday life, the congregation of residents
with similar social background on an immediate neighborhood level seems desirable. The satisfactory formulation of primary neighborhood groups can make each social group accept further contacts with other social groups without feeling a risk of sacrificing their own territory.

For the purpose of increasing contacts, a diversity of facilities is necessary. The presence of various groups can attract diverse facilities to an area, however, population must be large enough to support such facilities. A traditional settlement where the old middle class occupies most of the area can hardly accommodate entertainment facilities due to the low consumption level. On the other hand, in a mass development area where the division of social groups is discreetly made on a super block level, one block can maintain only one kind of facility. It is not realistic to suggest the full range of social groups in an area needed to accommodate diverse facilities. And in respect to this problem, the physical pattern of a residential area can have a conditioning role.

Therefore, the second question concerns how the physical pattern affects the pattern and the intensity of secondary interaction. The formation of secondary interaction of each case is expressed, though simplified, in a diagram. Cases I and II exhibit a typical linear form. But the traditional area lies as part of a larger context,
COMPARISON OF CASES

CONTEXT

I: GEOGRAPHICALLY DEFINED. PART OF TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT AREA
II: ISOLATED
III: PART OF SUPER GRIDS
IV: PART OF DIFFERENTIATED PATTERN

GROUPING

I: FINE GRAIN OF MIX. SECTORAL DIFFERENTIATION
II: JUXTAPOSITION OF DIFFERENTIATED HOUSING GROUPS
III: JUXTAPOSITION OF DIFFERENTIATED SUPERBLOCKS
IV: MIXED WITH DIFFERENTIATED HOUSING GROUPS

ALLOCATION OF SERVICES

I: LINEAR
II: LINEAR
III: NODAL
IV: LINEAR + NODAL

CIRCUITS

I: DIRECTIONALITY 
II: SINGLE DIRECTIONALITY
III: FOCUSING
IV: FOCUSING + MEandering

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whereas the stable apartment area stays as an isolated area. Case III, the mass development area, shows an extremely simplified centralized form, while demarcating each super block. Case IV, the mixed development area, combines a nodal and linear form. The comparison of these patterns is basically that of linearity and nodality of an allocational pattern of services, but in relation to the distribution of social grouping. And the discussion will be made in regards to accessibility, opportunity of choices, openness, intensity and flexibility.

Generally it is known that a nodal form has an even accessibility to every resident and a concentration of choices in one place, and that a linear form has a short-cut access but needs a longer trip to use a specific facility. This is true in respect to physical accessibility. However, a linear form has several advantages concerning social access. Facilities in a linear form are much more exposed to everyday perception, which contributes to widening the experience. The concentrated use of a nodal form can work well only if the consumption level of users reaches over a certain level as services in a concentrated form tend to be set on a narrow range of quality, which is well illustrated in a nucleus form of a mass development area. The length of the interactional surface can increase the interactions through making more trips. What is important is the allocation of
social groups and the openness of an area. As seen in Case II, the segregation of social groups in several distinctive parts causes the use of some facilities more selective, and also the dead-endedness of the area makes facilities less exposed.

The other advantage of a linear form is the potential of overlapping use on an inter-community level. For example, in a mixed development area like case IV, the shopping facilities on an existing arterial attract residents of both side communities supported by an easy accessibility along a mass transport line. This fact suggests that if the community facilities located in a central place of a super block in a mass development area are located on the border of superblocks, it might increase overlapped use, and thus will increase the intensity of contacts.

Flexibility concerns how to enable communities to grow and develop to the point of appreciating and claiming their own needs. As pointed out in case III, the central community facilities installed during the early period of development are not able to accommodate changing needs. In cases II and IV, changes were constantly made to adapt to the change of residents' use. Of course this concerns not just a matter of form but also a flexibility of land use policy and a length of development period. However,
it can not be denied that physical form affects the degree of flexibility.

Although several advantages of a linear form has been listed, the absolute advantage of any form can not judged simply. Rather several criteria, including accessibility, opportunity of choices, openness, intensity and flexibility, should be considered in designing the allocational pattern of a local area.

4-2. GENERAL CONCLUSION

The intermediary structure presumes the social interactional pattern to be an important determinant of physical pattern. Further, it defines a local area in the context of interactional relationship within a larger urban system rather than as a self-contained interactional entity. This is because the intensity of secondary interaction, which is considered the base for interaction between social groups, is largely determined by the diversity of services. On a functional level this requires the attraction of high-order urban facilities and the encouragement of overlapped use. In terms of physical pattern, it is desirable, as already suggested, to relate services closely to major circulation lines. Also, local areas are not separated by their discrete physical boundaries, though they can be distinguished by the interactional pattern.
Urban structure based on these considerations does not impose an orderly skeleton composed of units which are planned to restrict the residents' needs uniformly on an average level, but provides webs of interaction closely associated with residential activities, thus interrelates urban sub areas into a whole. In terms of a form, poli-nucleated high-order facilities and associated linear development of local facilities will be finally presented. What is critical to produce the interactional webs is the open-endedness of physical structure which allows for flexible development. Technically, a concept of service reservation can be applied in an early stage of installing infra structure.

The cases do not show enough about the effect of the urban high-order facilities in a local area, as they have grown in the extreme situation of a centralized form of Seoul. Some cases have such facilities as some educational and medical institutions in a traditional settlement area, or a bus terminal in a mass development area. However, as they are planned completely separate from housing development, they have little interdependence with nearby housing, except such examples as specialized manufacturing shops or a market in a traditional settlement area. In order to function as a source of interaction, urban facilities should be associated with nearby housing as job sources,
shared spaces or symbolic or physical landmarks, which can be implemented through a more conscious policy of decentralization. Still this consideration seems difficult to apply to the Korean context.

In the Korean context, a traditional interactional pattern seems easily applicable to the formulation of the intermediary structure. As seen in a traditional settlement area and a mixed development area, the area developed by private forces for a relatively long period does not set its physical boundary limits, but forms intensive interactional webs around the range of everyday activities. The image of this kind of residential area is intimate and highly open, even though it has distinctive group territories. Also, a relatively dense settlement with a heavy dependence on mass transport services which accompany a concentrated use of services and an intensive behavioral routines seems likely to adopt the concept of intermediary structure.

The constraints are heavily associated with a centralized political power and economy. They brought not only the concentrated urban activities in the city center in existing Seoul but also a strong tendency to prefer a hierarchy of physical structure in developing a new urban area. In the need for economic advancement and fast
construction of housing during the past decades, powerful public intervention might have been necessary, however, disadvantages of this intervention were illustrated in a segregated phenomena in Seoul. Also, a rigid development process, orderly land use regulation which increases segregation, and a small degree of participation of private developing forces and residents in the decision-making process are other constraints.

It becomes more evident that physical structure can not be shaped for its own goals but is highly dependent on socio-economic forces. In the Korean context, the task of decentralization of administration and economic activities, of improving the development process, and of developing community participation seems not so easy to achieve in the near future. However, when considering that the urban physical structure can of itself resolve an issue of social integration, what can be done in shaping the physical structure at present is to adopt a more flexible structure which will allow for the intervention of forthcoming change.
NOTES

CHAPTER 1.

1. Wilson & Schultz, p 171

CHAPTER 2.

1. Several definitions are found in "South Hampshire Study", Vol. 2 by Buchanan, 1966, chapter 2, 'An approach to Urban Structure'. 'Sub system' is defined as the tangible and intangible elements which comprise part of the city; of finite size, for example, a residential area including houses, shops, open spaces, schools, roads, etc. 'Functional system' is defined as the intangible elements comprising a subsystem devoted to a specified function; of indefinite size, for example, functions of education, employment, shopping. 'Network' is defined as the tangible connection within and between sub system.
2. Simmie, p18
3. Hillery, "Definition of Community: Areas of Agreement", Rural Sociology 20. Hillery analyzed 49 definitions of community and delineated the common factors of definition of community into several categories.
4. Bell and Newby, p29
5. Gans is the leader of this argument.
6. Sauders, p58
7. Bell and Newby, op. cit. p34


10. Simmie, op. cit. p29


12. Orlans, p99

13. König, pl41

14. ibid., pl35


16. Keller, chapter 2

17. Morris and Mogey, p81

18. Rapoport, "System Analysis" p453

19. The work of Christaller, Losh and Berry


21. Scargill, pl19

22. Davies, pl12

23. 'local area' is used to designate the area with tangible elements; housing groups, roads, shops, schools, etc. 'locality' is used to describe a combined form of tangible and intangible elements, such as residents' definition of community, interactions, organization activities.

24. König, op. cit. pl45

25. Besher, p182

26. Scargill, op. cit. pl16

27. Foley, p57
1. When dealing with local stratification, sociologists have tried to distinguish social class and social status. Sometimes these are seen objective and subjective respectively. The critical reason of the priority of status group is that whereas class is an abstract, status group can, in many circumstances refer to a group recognition, which develop the consciousness of similar life style and attitude.

2. Form and Stone suggested from their survey of different social groups that informants from the lower stratum tended to use class symbolism to distinguish strata; middle class persons tended to use status symbolism; those from the higher strata even more consistently employed status symbolism to describe other strata.

3. For a more detailed discussion, refer to Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Class, Status and Power"

4. Bell and Newby, p119

5. There are officially four hierarchical administrative units in Korea: district, T'ong, Tong, Pan (20 - 30 households).
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