

A Critical Review on Regenerating a Place's Economic Value through Landscape Restructuring: The Case of Dongdaemun Stadium*

Heesun Chung**

경관 재구조화에 의한 장소의 경제적 가치 재생에 대한 비판적 검토 -동대문운동장의 사례-*

정희선**

Abstract : Dongdaemun Stadium was the nation's leading modern sports facilities built in 1926 by Japanese colonists. It hosted a number of the nation's sports matches and cultural performances, filled with cultural and historic significance as a birthplace of Korea's sports. As the facility was aging, however, its functions became limited. With the so-called "restoration" of Cheonggye Stream, the stadium was reduced to a flea market, no longer used for its originally intended purposes. The Seoul Metropolitan Government demolished the stadium under the plan to develop the district into a tourism cluster dedicated to the design and fashion industries. This study takes Dongdaemun Stadium as an example to explain underlying meanings of capitalist restructuring of landscape which entails removal of modern cultural relics and redevelopment projects. Although Dongdaemun Stadium was not used in the way it had been designated to be used, it still had a value as a diachronic and synchronic record for the city. The rationale that the stadium should be torn down and reinvented as tourist attraction to reap huge financial benefits illustrates that the city government's development ideology gravitated towards public works projects. This approach may harm a place's genuine disposition or essence and create an artificially-induced placeness, undermining its historio-cultural values.

Key Words : landscape restructuring, landscape consumption, commoditization of place, placeness

요약 : 동대문운동장은 1926년 일제에 의해 건축된 우리나라의 대표적인 근대 공설운동장으로, 수많은 스포츠와 문화행사가 개최되어 한국의 스포츠 산실로서의 상징성과 문화역사성이 담겨진 공간이었다. 그러나 1990년대 들어와 시설의 노후로 기능이 축소됐고, 2005년 청계천이 복원되면서 주변 노점상들을 위한 품물시장과 주차장이 설치돼 운동장으로서의 기능을 상실하였다. 서울시는 동대문시장과 그 일대를 디자인·패션 중심 관광 클러스터로 개발한다는 계획 하에 2008년 운동장을 철거하였다. 본 연구에서는 동대문운동장을 사례로 서울시의 근대문화유적의 철거와 지역개발을 포함하는 자본주의 경관 재구조화의 이면에 담겨져 있는 의미를 살펴보고 이를 통해 현재 남아있는 근대문화유적에 대한 보존 또는 철거 정책, 그리고 경관 관리와 관련하여 시사점을 찾아보고자 하였다.

주요어 : 경관 재구조화, 경관 소비, 장소 상품화, 장소성

* This study was supported by a research grant from Sangmyung University in 2009.

** Associate Professor, Department of Geography, Sangmyung University, hchung@smu.ac.kr

1. Introduction

Dongdaemun Stadium, constructed in 1926, was the first modern sports facility in Korea. At the time of its establishment, the stadium was the second biggest sports complex in Asia and hosted a number of the nation's sports matches and cultural performances, filled with social significance and symbolism as a birthplace of Korea's modern sports (Son, 2003, 33-34). The structure, however, was demolished in 2008 under the plan by the Seoul Metropolitan Government to transform the neighboring Dongdaemun market into a tourism hotspot dedicated to the design and fashion industries by 2011. Public discussions to remove the stadium emerged in early 2000 and the government provided the following rationales: firstly, the stadium was aged and failed to serve its originally intended functions; and secondly, a major renovation of the landscape such as replacing the stadium with a park and square as a new landmark would be essential to revitalize the flagging Dongdaemun market and to further attract visitors (The Hankyoreh Daily, April 18, 2008).

Moreover, it was suggested that the stadium was built on the site of the Chosun Dynasty's Capital Fortress which had been torn down by Japanese imperialists to make way for the seat of the stadium. It was suggested that in order to restore the fortress, the stadium, a vestige of Japanese imperialism, should be removed. Most of all, the Seoul Metropolitan Government emphasized financial benefits that this development would bring to the local economy. According to the government's estimation, by the time the transformation is completed, the annual number of international tourists will have increased to 2.8 million a year and the project will have represented production output of 1.17

trillion KRW and more than 10,000 jobs (Yonhap News, November 23, 2007).

Despite such optimism, the nation's sports and cultural communities as well as civic groups protested the government's plan citing social and cultural values of the stadium representing Seoul's modern cultural relic and a birthplace for the nation's modern sports as well as the right to livelihood of street vendors and small businesses¹⁾ (Yonhap News, December 13, 2007). Amid growing protests especially from the baseball community among other groups, the city authorities offered to build baseball stadiums in seven different locations including Gueui and Shinwol. Finally, the groups acquiesced in the government's plan, clearing the way for the stadium's removal (The Hankyoreh Daily, November 22, 2007).

Although Dongdaemun Stadium is now demolished and cleared, the controversy surrounding its removal and other urban renewal projects involving demolition of the modern era's relics still raises the following questions on the relationship between society and space. What are the main factors that have impacts on landscape restructuring? What is the main cause of conflicts between the old and the new, or traditional orders and new orders? Is economic value a main element determining the fate of cultural assets? Who reaps the financial benefits from overhauling a place with distinct cultural and historic traits?

In relation to urban redevelopment, a variety of theoretical themes are deployed in empirical research. The subject can be dealt with in terms of the politics of memory (Nagel, 2002; Chung, 2006; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007), the symbolic meanings or functions of historical sites and public spaces (Hayden, 1996; Paddison and Sharp, 2007; Chung, 2007; Azaryahu and Foote, 2008), the commoditization of place and culture (Lefebvre, 1991; Smith, 2007; Mansvelt, 2008), and

place attachment through old landscapes (Lowenthal, 1975; Pred, 1984) mainly from the social and cultural aspects. The removal of Dongdaemun Stadium can also be approached from the perspective of memory politics, the relationship between place identity and landscape, and other socio-spatial theories.

Still, the capitalist development of urban spaces with a sacrifice of historical edifices should be the focus of the issue as it is the main force driving urban spatial restructuring (Smith, 2007). In other words, the answers to the aforementioned questions could be easily drawn when examined in the context of the theory of landscape restructuring according to the logic of capitalism. Harvey (1982) argues that capitalism by necessity faces contradiction because, in order for it to further advance, past values created in specific locations during particular time scale must be preserved, but devaluation would still be inevitable to continue to achieve capital accumulation. Changes in urban landscapes are an expression of such inherent contradiction whereby capitalism seeks social and physical landscape that fits a unique image required in a specific point in time and under certain conditions. According to this view, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's plan to rearrange landscape in the Dongdaemun district by ridding the area of the sports stadium and replacing it for a convention center and design exhibitions reflects its intention to create a new venue for capital accumulation by reconfiguring the adjoining landscape which suffered devaluation in comparison with the so-called "restored" Cheonggye Stream.

The demise of Dongdaemun Stadium provides several insights on market-oriented urban restructuring projects and a series of removal of modern cultural and historical relics spearheaded by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. This paper takes the example of the stadium to

uncover implicit meanings in the remaking of landscape including removal of modern cultural properties within the system of capitalism that has been unfolding as part of the city government's urban renewal scheme. This study attempts to offer insights on policies toward remaining cultural properties of the modern era and landscape management.

2. Landscape restructuring by capital

Structuralist urban researchers including Castells, Peet, and Harvey viewed urban issues within the framework of capitalist mode of production (Castells, 1983; Peet, 1998; Harvey 1982; 1989). Their theories focused on the dynamics of capitalism and conflicts among various interest groups which influenced the making of urban spaces (Lee, 1991, 158). According to their contention, urban problems plaguing capitalist society went far beyond a momentary state of market disequilibrium. They were rather fundamental and structural, deeply rooted in capitalist mode of production and the dynamics of capitalism (Benko and Strohmayer, 1997, 186-189).

A coalition of powerful groups, especially related to the financial and real estate capital, wields great influence on urban planning because this is the way to acquire massive surplus from the general population, the users of the urban lands. To this end, these groups rely on various instruments including speculating, influence peddling, and illegal solicitation. They seek to reorganize urban spaces to maximize profits and redefine urban areas, particularly through redevelopment (Harvey, 1989, 33-40).

Construction and real estate capital play the most pivotal role in determining the structural formation of urban areas, and it treats urban

lands as a means to accumulate capital. With industries suffering a slowdown of growths and declining profits, excess capital tends to flow into urban land markets. With this trend, land becomes a permanent, fixed investment vehicle (Harvey, 1982).

Urban development inevitably gives rise to clashes among stakeholders. In particular, the dynamics of real estate capital leads to conflicts with small-scale land owners, and the state often takes side with capital's logic through enforcement of land appropriation. Although confrontations between construction and real estate capital can arise over development of urban lands, its likelihood in Korea is small because the two forces are virtually combined together. Central and provincial governments intervene in the urban land market through land policies. This creates a cycle where the greater state intervention occurs, and the fiercer clashes surrounding urban lands grow, which in turn leads to more state intervention.

Within the system of capitalism, the state uses tax revenue to promote urban agglomeration as a way to reinforce accumulation of capital, and utilizes urban planning policies as a tool in this process. In other words, it restructures cities through land policies in a way that is conducive to capital accumulation. The state increases investment in urban infrastructure to reduce the portion of reproduction of labor-power and production of capital, which contributes to capital accumulation. The state's urban planning policies reinforce capital accumulation, but also work as a control mechanism to alleviate social conflicts. Although this mechanism is supposed to promote redistribution of social wealth amassed from urban land use, the financial gain, in reality, will mostly benefit the capitalist class (Harvey, 1982; Smith, 2008).

City authorities and capitalists recklessly seek to amass capital. They offer various incentives and

create attractive spectacles to lure investors. City authorities refurbish urban landscape as part of marketing and fund-raising campaigns. They develop close ties with capital. The authorities entice supranational financial capital and bring in private-sector financiers to have them cover any shortfall in the funding. Robust purchasing power is an essential element in attracting interest from financial capital. Vigorous consumption provides it with much-needed assurance that the city's economy is stable. Prior to the advent of financialization, production was fueled by consumption. Now with financialization, consumption is fueled by production. In that sense, slogans such as better working environment and job creation is nothing more than self-deception on the part of the city authorities or the state. Their actual impact on the job market is only negligible. The ulterior motive is to secure more finance capital, and ultimately to win fierce competition among municipalities (Harvey, 1982; 1989; Smith, 2008).

With the spread of globalization, municipal authorities over the world are faced with crises. Multinational corporations put their investment all around the world to gain financial returns. The flow of capital fuels competition in this global network. Finance capital moves across national borders, looking for lucrative investment opportunities. Once returns are made, these funds are pulled out to be invested elsewhere. As for municipal governments, the more investment they attract, the better off they would be. This trend represents a global-scale competition (Smith, 2008).

As mentioned above, the structure of urban spaces is shaped neither naturally nor randomly, but rather, it is an expression of unique social structures. To help understand the above statement better, it is necessary to comprehend the logic of capital based on the mode of production, which forms the basis of social

structure. Ultimately, spatial forms seen in the production, trade, and use of urban land would be shaped by the capitalist mode of production as well as logic of capital.

3. Fossilized landscape in disharmony with its surroundings: the formation process of the placeness of Dongdaemun Stadium and Market

In the 1920's, no single stadium or designated sports facility existed in Seoul, and most sports events were, therefore, held on a square of a military training center or playgrounds of private academies such as *Baejae Hakdang*, *Gyeongshin Hakkyo*, and *Hwimun Uisuk*²⁾ (Son, 2003, 33-34; Hankyoreh 21, November 3, 2006). In 1924, the Japanese embarked on building Gyeongseong Stadium in place of the military training center square to commemorate the royal wedding of Crown Prince Hirohito. The stadium was located in what used to be *Hadogam*, an attached space of *Hullyeondogam* during the Chosun Dynasty. On March 31, 1926, 76,000 m² Gyeongseong Stadium, which featured an athletic field, a ballpark, a tennis court, a swimming pool, horseracing tracks, and greenery, opened to the public, and a number of sports games and high-profile national events were hosted at the stadium thereafter³⁾ (Son, 2003, 35-36).

Following Korea's liberation from Japan, Gyeongseong Stadium was renamed Seoul Stadium, and its nature underwent quite a transformation. In years leading up to division of the nation which plunged Korea into a political crisis, the stadium was no longer an ordinary sports venue, but was often used as a massive gathering place, frequented by protestors. It has

seen a host of rallies and specific functions including anti- and pro-trusteeship demonstrations, the 1946 Labor Day rally, and funeral rites for the prominent political figures, Yeo Un-hyeong and Kim Gu in 1947 and 1949 respectively to name just a few. As such, the stadium witnessed major events that reflected the ideological division of Korean society and took on political characteristics.

In the 1960's, the stadium underwent several rounds of renovation and facility expansion. The renovation work in 1962 included several additions such as a ballpark, a swimming pool, a volleyball court, and a tennis court, enabling the stadium to host international sports games. In 1966, extensive facility expansion took place, followed by installation of nighttime lighting equipments and scoreboards at the baseball stadium in 1968. The Dongdaemun Stadium hosted a series of international and domestic sports games for amateur and professional leagues including opening games of professional baseball and soccer and cultural performances, establishing itself as a birthplace of the nation's modern sports (Son, 2003, 34).

With the opening of Jamshil Sports Complex in 1986 ahead of Korea's hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games, Seoul Stadium was again renamed Dongdaemun Stadium, and soon the number of sports and cultural events hosted at the Dongdaemun Stadium diminished. Furthermore, the soccer games in the stadium were outshined by the presence of dedicated soccer stadiums in major cities for the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan. The activities hosted at the stadium were limited to a few functions. The stadium attracted fewer people than before and often lacked diversity in amenities to accommodate visitors compared to other modernized facilities. Its edifices grew so dilapidated as to be unfit to hold international games and were left almost deserted from the late

Table 1. Chronology of activities/events and renovation works undertaken at Dongdaemun Stadium

Year	Major activities/events	Symbolism
Chosun Dynasty 14 th -19 th century	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seoul Fortress and Hadogam, a sub-unit of the military training institution Hullyeondogam preceded the stadium. • The training site of Byeolgigun, Korea's first modern military unit was trained at this site. • The Military Mutiny took place in 1882. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • public space • publicness • state power
1924-1945 Gyeongseong Stadium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1921 - Hullyeonwon Park, the training center, was renovated to include an artificial pond. • 1924 - A plan for building a sports venue was conceived to celebrate the royal wedding of Japanese Crown Prince Hirohito. • 1925 (Oct. 15) - The opening ceremony of Gyeongseong Stadium was held. • 1926 - The mourning rites upon the death of Emperor Sunjong were held. • 1930 - A soccer match between Gyeongseong and Pyeongyang took place at the stadium. • 1936 - A swimming pool was added to the stadium. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shaping Korea's modern sports under Japanese Imperialism
1945-1953 Seoul Stadium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1945 - It was renamed Seoul Stadium. • 1945 - A welcoming ceremony celebrating the return to Korea of the officials of the Provisional Government including Kim Gu was held at the Stadium. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anti- and pro-trusteeship demonstrations were held following a 1945 meeting of foreign ministers of the U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union in Moscow. • 1946 - Labor Day rallies as well as anti- and pro-trusteeship demonstrations were held. • 1947 - The funeral rite for Yeo Un-hyeong, a leader of Korean independence movement was held. • 1949 - The funeral rite for Kim Gu, a leader of Korean independence movement was held. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A number of other major political rallies were staged. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political turmoil following the liberation • favored rally site for protesters on both sides of the ideological divide • public rallies and political functions
1953-1983 Seoul Stadium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1959 - There were renovation works for the baseball stadium. • 1962 - The first round of maintenance works were carried out. • 1966 - The major facility expansion was completed ahead of the 37th National Sports Festival. • 1968 - Grass surface was planted. Nighttime lighting equipment was installed. • 1975 - Tartan track was constructed, ahead of the hosting of the 1st Asian Athletics Championships at the stadium, and a scoreboard was set up. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • growth of Korea's modern sports • major sports matches staged
1984-2003 Dongdaemun Stadium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1984 - Seoul Stadium was renamed as Dongdaemun Stadium, with completion of Jamshil Sports Complex. • 2001 - A swimming pool, a venue for Korean traditional wrestling, ssireum, and a tennis court were dismantled to make way for the Athletics Park, with completion of Seoul World Cup Stadium. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • declination losing its functions
2003-2008 Dongdaemun Stadium (became a flea market and no longer served its originally intended functions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2003 - The soccer stadium turned into a parking lot. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The soccer stadium temporarily housed Seoul Folk Flea Market and the parking lot. • 2007 - The Seoul Metropolitan Government announced its plan to build the Dongdaemun Fashion Plaza and Park. • 2008 - The flea market was relocated to the site of Soong-in Girl's High School in Shinseol-dong. Dongdaemun Stadium including its soccer and baseball fields was demolished. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hosted occasional amateur and high school sports matches

Source: Adopted from Son(2003) and Huh(2005).

1990's. The run-down and aged state of the structure made the stadium unsuitable for its surrounding landscape. It was standing detached like a set of ancient fossil remains, isolated from the outside world. Besides, the sprawling Dongdaemun Market made it look totally out of place (Table 1).

It is noteworthy that Dongdaemun Market is about 100 years older than the stadium, and predominantly defines the placeness of the whole area adjoining Ulchiro 7-ga, in which both the demolished stadium and the market are located. The origin of Dongdaemun Market dates back to the early 18th century when private merchants who engaged in warehousing businesses formed their base of operation in Baeogae within the walls of Dongdaemun (Great East Gate) to better respond to government-licensed shops (Huh, 2005, 17). While Jongno was a commercial district that was dominated by *sijeons* or government-licensed stores granted with special privileges, Dongdaemun emerged as a hub of unlicensed merchants. Under the Japanese colonial rule, Gwangjang Co. Ltd. was organized by merchants through drawing native Korean capital to protect their interest against Japanese merchants. The result was Gwangjang Market, the first Korean market which operated on a permanent basis, and a forerunner of present-day Dongdaemun Market. The market survived in the face of Japanese enforcement of requisition policy toward the end of the colonial rule and later the Korean War. Upon returning to the war-ravaged market, merchants set up makeshift tents and resumed their businesses by bartering everyday items including clothes and household furniture. Soon such items as goods donated by relief agencies, products illegally taken out of American military bases, and smuggled goods found their way into the market, which boosted up Dongdaemun Market.

In its heyday in the 1960's, Dongdaemun

Market started to see fabrics, textiles, and clothing vendors and factories cropping up along the adjoining Cheonggye Stream, and the market virtually determined fabric, textile, fruit, and vegetable prices in the nation. In 1990, Art Plaza, the nation's first modern-style high-rise shopping mall, was built. Since then, this once traditional marketplace has evolved into a modern shopping town, and modern-style wholesale shops have started to pack the east side of Dongdaemun Stadium. In 1998, Migliore, the high-rise mall featuring multiple retail fashion stores opened on the west side of the Stadium as Dongdaemun Market, expanded its reach from a traditional wholesale market to a retail market (Son, 2006, 29). Today the Dongdaemun shopping district consists of three parts: the old market which flourished from the establishment of Gwangjang Market until 1990 when Art Plaza was built; the new wholesale market cluttered with modern-style shops in high-rise shopping malls such as Art Plaza; and the new retail market created after the success of Migliore in 1998 (Son, 2006, 29).

Prior to the financial crisis that gripped the nation in the late 1990's, Dongdaemun Market evolved into a leading local fashion wholesale district as well as a manufacturer and seller of fashion items, catering to overseas markets such as Southeast Asia and Russia. Into the 2000s, the shopping town became a main attraction among overseas tourists, and the Seoul Metropolitan Government designated the area as Special Tourist Zone in 2002. However, Dongdaemun Stadium was no longer serving its originally intended function. The adjacent districts were turning into a slum, cluttered with street vendors and cars that were parked there illegally. In order to address the lack of parking spaces, Dongdaemun soccer field was used as a parking space to accommodate shoppers. When the Cheonggye Stream restoration project began in 2003, a flea market operated by small vendors

Table 2. Activities and events at Dongdaemun Ballpark, 2003-2007

	2003		2004		2005		2006		2007	
	number of activities/ days	number of visitors	number of activities/ days	number of visitors	number of activities/ days	number of visitors	number of activities/ days	number of visitors	number of activities/ days	number of visitors
Total	131/287	112,821	77/233	123,512	86/245	122,812	103/303	109,133	110	108,494
Sports matches	25/181	103,040	19/155	87,716	32/189	96,494	28/223	80,812	24	78,717
Non-sports events	17/17	1,180	22/42	31,347	15/17	20,693	34/39	25,495	43	26,552
Practice sessions	89/89	8,601	36/36	4,449	39/39	5,625	41/41	2,826	43	3,225

Source: <http://stadium.seoul.go.kr/>(Sports Facilities Management Center, Seoul Metropolitan Government)

along the stream was relocated to the soccer venue.

The soccer field was closed in 2003 while the baseball field was kept intact up until 2007. As shown in Table 2, activities and events at the baseball field in several years leading up to its closure in 2008 reveal that around 60 high school as well as university league games were hosted there every year and that about 100 matches took place at the stadium with sports and non-sports activities combined.

Dongdaemun Stadium was a central venue for the development of Korea's modern sports under the rule of the Japanese colonialism. It evolved into a public gathering place which served as an outlet for the public's voice amid Korea's political turmoil followed by the nation's liberation from Japan. Ever since the end of the Korean War throughout the early 1990's, the stadium served as a public venue which saw major sports matches and events. As the stadium grew outdated in the mid 1990's and no longer served its initially intended purposes, its placeness as a public space was also compromised. This reduced the stadium to a marketplace that temporarily housed vendors displaced by the Cheonggye Stream restoration project in 2003 and

eventually led to its demise and capitalist development.

4. Devaluation of modern cultural relics and generation of capitalist profits: the demolition process of Dongdaemun Stadium

With fewer activities and its dilapidated landscape, various discourses emerged from the late 1990's in Korean architectural circle on the development of Dongdaemun Stadium to boost up the local business and to maximize efficiency in urban space utilization. The proposals included remodeling of the stadium to revitalize the commercial district, development of underground space, replacement of its soccer field with a park, and removal of the entire venue to make way for high-density development such as a public transit or convention centers (Huh, 2005, 20). Nonetheless, most of these approaches were based on the assumption that at least part of the stadium would be kept intact. This was because the urban transportation network created by the

main street that converged into Ulchi-ro and Dasan-ro and two huge structures that made up the stadium had existed for a century and had been considered part of landscape and placeness of this district.

There was some minority voice calling for a refurbishment of the area through the removal of the stadium. From 2000 "Dongdaemun Forum" a private group put forward a proposal to dismantle the stadium and use the vacated site as a park. The Forum was a kind of private interest group organized by government officials, professors, researchers, journalists, and merchants as a way to stimulate the market. This group formulated a basic blueprint for reinvention of the stadium into a park as part of a landscape refurbishment and sought to earn public support. Such effort may have been behind the decision made by two leading Seoul Mayor candidates Lee Myung-bak and Kim Min-seok in a roundtable held in May 2002 to embrace the idea as one of their campaign pledges (The Donga Daily, May 23, 2002).

In December 2003, over the course of the Cheonggye Stream restoration project, new Seoul Mayor Lee Myung-bak pledged before displaced street vendors to foster Dongdaemun Stadium as an 'internationally recognized flea market.' Convinced by Lee's words, the vendors moved their operation to the stadium. The new flea market housed within the stadium opened to the public in 2003. Initially the market attracted a great deal of interest and drew as many as 100,000 to 150,000 visitors on the weekends, but as time went by, the number of shoppers dwindled⁴⁾. Shortly before he left office, Mayor Lee promised to create a 9,917 m² street market in place of the stadium. Nevertheless, this decision was reversed by the next mayor.

Upon his inauguration in July 2006, incoming Seoul Mayor Oh Se-hoon announced a plan to get rid of Dongdaemun Stadium along with the

flea market and to build a modern design park by 2011. Although the initiative was met with opposition by some baseball professionals, and civic groups, the city authorities pushed ahead with the plan. The baseball community, which was the most vocal opponent, however, acquiesced after the city government offered to establish seven ballparks in Seoul as substitutes⁵⁾. Consequently, the authorities held an international competition and chose a design submitted by Zaha Hadid, a renowned female architect (Yonhap News, August 3, 2007).

The demolition of Dongdaemun Stadium was implemented as part of Seoul Metropolitan Government's plan to renovate Dongdaemun Fashion Town. The initiative to build a park to replace the stadium succeeded the Cheonggye Stream restoration project in a series of schemes to relocate or redevelop facilities which are incompatible with the landscape and placeness of the district, such as U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Hullyeonwon Park, the National Medical Center, a Police Commando unit, and Hanyang Technical High School (The Donga Daily, January 13, 2008). The move was carried out in line with the city's bid to increase competitiveness of Dongdaemun as a special tourist zone, targeting economic benefits which this renovation would bring to the shopping district. In the minds of financial and real estate capital which profited heavily from rising property prices fueled by the so-called "revived" Cheonggye Stream, the demolition of the old stadium promised even greater returns. This perception had been confirmed earlier by soaring prices of land near Cheonggye Stream. Upon completion of the newly-created waterway, prices of land hiked by 45% and 81% on average in the stream's neighborhood and in the adjacent Sewoon Commercial District respectively (The Chosun Daily, September 26, 2006).

While the aging of the stadium which had been

aggravated in the 1990's was one of the main reasons for its demise, capital amassed through the "revival" of Cheonggye Stream was another force at work behind reinvention of the landscape as a means to further amass profits. Eventually Dongdaemun Stadium was deemed to be something of a misfit, an indication that it was no longer an attractive resource for capital.

5. Confusion between reality and myth: demolition of Dongdaemun Stadium and pursuit of hyper-reality

It is necessary to analyze several issues on Seoul Metropolitan Government's development approaches demonstrated by establishment of the Dongdaemun Design Park and Plaza on the site of the demolished stadium. Most of all, it needs to be reminded that Seoul Metropolitan Government's landscape development is based on a capitalist mechanism. The policy is all about conjuring and selling certain images about a place as a way to attract more tourists and investors and to create jobs. This approach focuses more on capitalist logic than on development of unique place features. Although the landscapes in our society are perpetual landscapes of capitalist nature, it is critical to remind that every landscape has its own unique space-time structures. Capital preserves and exploits what is necessary for its existence while repressing what is not (Harvey, 1982). From the perspective of capital, Dongdaemun Stadium needed to be torn down in order to reinvent the district as consumption spaces. Modern cultural remains were removed to make way for an urban spectacle, and visitors also became part of the cultural politics represented by images emanating

from this place. A contradiction is inherent in the system of capitalism no matter how historical and human activities make it look less evident at times. In order for capitalism to further develop, past values in specific duration of time and space need to be preserved, but at the same time they must be undervalued to create a room for capital accumulation. Landscape is shaped and reshaped by this contradictory mechanism.

The Dongdaemun Stadium renewal project is an attempt to manipulate culture, history, and placeness for the sake of increasing inflow of capital from outside the community while justifying redevelopment within the community. Place development for the benefit of profit-seeking capital is obsessed with appearance rather than reality, giving birth to hyper-reality whereby what is artificial looks more real than what is real. In addition, architecture would become overly reliant on material values, which obliterates history and traditions embedded in a place, and as a result, the distinction among different places becomes blurred. The layers of landscapes and regions having shaped by history and traditions represent people's way of life as well as cultures. Aged structures hold chronological records of places and regions. Accordingly, removing a certain historical edifice of a place often amounts to obliterating cultural legacies and identity unique to the place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). The present world is influenced by the past landscapes left in people's memories, which are usually outlined in the form of history and traditions. At some occasions, the vivid memories of the past landscapes are more meaningful to society than the current landscapes as they continuously remind people of their identity imbedded in their places (Pred, 1984). In this sense, the value of history and traditions represented in old landscapes formed through time outweighs the economic benefits which the creation of new

urban spectacles is supposed to generate (Hayden, 1996, 226-238).

Meaningful urban spaces and buildings end up being destroyed in the process of urban planning, threatening to rid the city of genuine placeness and individualities. Such tendencies lead to subjugation to market values, which is a driving force of commoditization of space, and technical rationality of capital accumulation. The Dongdaemun Design Park and Plaza seeks to emulate only exterior features of the mixed use development concept often applied to cities in advanced countries without taking a deep look into the composition of urban space.

In addition, it needs to examine the meanings of the attempt to define placeness through an artificial way (Baik, 2004). As people's memories, experiences, or daily routine unfold in a building or a space, those physical realms becomes favored places, meaningful to society (Hull *et al.*, 1994). This kind of place cannot be created at once, but only shaped over time. It helps develop genuine placeness of an area to preserve individual memories, values, and traditions. The government's urban renewal projects based on reckless removal and redevelopment force the public to believe that only what is foreign and creative has cultural values. Placeness and regional qualities reflect the identity of dwellers of a certain area (Choi, 2008). A new architectural design proposed by a foreign architect severs continuity in the sense of place and history exuded by Dongdaemun Stadium. In urban planning, cultures that have no connection with a certain place are often sought after, and this indicates deliberate manipulation of cultural and historical resources of a certain place or city by powerful social elites possessing a capital means to pursue their own interests and maintain grips over society. The capital accumulation through urban development is obviously connected to the power strengthening of the groups with vested

rights. As revealed in the discourse of the necessity of urban redevelopment which "Dongdaemun Forum" and the merchants of Dongdaemun Market formed, the capitalists have the power to decide the way of developing urban spaces and directing its process. In other words, the social groups with vested interests reinforce their control over the factors of production by maneuvering urban development into commoditization of urban spaces.

An architectural project entitled "Metonymic Landscape" designed by Zaha Hadid will be built on the site of the demolished stadium. According to the city government, her design focuses on a harmony between nature and architecture and is supposed to become a tourists' landmark that would draw visitors here at home and from abroad. However, the new design center is entirely different from its predecessor in both forms and qualities, given that the latter has developed its own unique placeness for more than a century. The establishment of a structure that is far removed from the real world blurs separation between fantasy and reality. In this sense, Zaha Hadid's proposal represents a pursuit of hyper-reality. Her design covers up the dark side of capitalism and generates fictional reality. The idea of bringing nature back to the city by merging together the place and the environment is a myth.

Developing historical places should take a different approach from that of residential development so that their unique identities can be preserved. A city is an evolving multi-purpose and multi-functional existence and has a life cycle of birth, growth, and decay. Over time, it develops its own economic, cultural, and political history. Historical footprints help preserve its own unique identity. Historical architecture and at times, those mundane buildings, structures, roads, districts, and signs, though less than graceful at times, connect the past and the present and bring

joy of life and shared values to city dwellers (Kim, 2004, 161).

Additionally, another aspect of the renovation project which needs attention is that the debates over the development of the stadium left out architects and other expert groups who are decision-makers in the public use of urban space. The majority of the discourse has been commanded by some interest groups or civic organizations which lack either understanding or social responsibilities. Dongdaemun Stadium had been built on the site of the Chosun Dynasty's fortress, and its demolition gave rise to clashes among different historical values. Decision-making should be done based on consensus among policymakers and experts for the good of the public. In the case of Dongdaemun Stadium, however, decisions to tear down the stadium for a design park was made unilaterally without making sufficient efforts to facilitate deliberation among stakeholders. The stadium should not have been used as leverage in negotiations by civic groups including some sports professionals who demanded substitute sports facilities in exchange for the extinct stadium.

The city government should embrace various needs of stakeholders and effectively distribute spaces according to these requirements. Seoul, as a historic city, is faced with spatial dilemma between preservation of historical memory and effective reinvention of urban space, and this requires a careful balancing act. While a city is like an archive generating and storing individual memories, it instills those memories with a sense of collective publicness which makes them all the more meaningful. At the same time, any genuine attempts made by experts to improve cities and reorganize urban spaces efficiently for public good should not be mistaken for greed and obliteration of history.

Although Dongdaemun Stadium did not serve its initially designated purposes, it still was a

record in a modern city. Other than historical meaning and symbolism, the place had potential values from various aspects. Historical sites are part of our lives and are essential elements in defining identity of human beings and ways of living. In short, a city retains old traces of lives of its dwellers, and its historical environment develops unique culture over time. Landscape development may put history, identity, and culture of city dwellers at risk, and so it needs to be pursued in a way that preserves the unique history, culture, civic characteristics, and placeness.

6. Summary and conclusion

Dongdaemun Stadium is one of the nation's leading modern public sports facilities built on the site of Seoul Fortress in 1926 by Japanese colonists. The place provided city dwellers with urban amenities in order to disseminate modern sports among the general public. As the facility was aging, however, its functions became limited. With the so-called "restoration" of Cheonggye Stream, the stadium was reduced to a flea market and a parking lot, and was no longer used for its originally intended purposes. The Seoul Metropolitan Government demolished the stadium under a scheme to develop the district into a tourism cluster entirely dedicated to the design and fashion industries. A sprawl of adjoining Dongdaemun Market, a changing landscape and capital inflow fueled by the restoration project, and a decay of its physical structure all contributed to a perception that the stadium created disharmony with its surroundings. This paper takes Dongdaemun Stadium as an example to explain underlying meanings of capitalist rearrangement of landscape which entails removal of modern cultural relics

and redevelopment projects in Seoul. This research intends to offer insights on policies on modern cultural properties and landscape management.

Landscape reorganization which has been undertaken as part of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's urban renewal scheme follows the logic of capitalism. In the production process of capitalism, the whole point of capitalist rationales is creation of surplus value. Subsequently, urban redevelopment serves as a driving force behind reconfiguration of urban spaces according to capitalism's logic. Urban renewal policies implemented by Seoul city authorities boost real estate markets which help capital accumulation, and the gains made through urban lands flow to the capitalist class with the means of production, thus contributing to unequal distribution of wealth. The stadium met its fate because the facility was dilapidated, unable to attract tourists and shoppers, being a useless structure that no longer contributes to the accumulation of capital. The extinct stadium suggests that the ever-evolving and escalating logic for capital accumulation is a formidable force that brings with it a set of whole new overwhelming cultural rationales.

Although Dongdaemun Stadium which formed the strata of a historic city was not used the way it had been intended to be used, it still had a value as a diachronic and synchronic record for a modern day city. The rationale that the stadium should be torn down and reinvented as tourist attraction to reap huge financial benefits illustrates that the city government's development ideology gravitated towards public works projects. This approach may harm a place's genuine disposition or essence, and create an artificially-induced placeness, thereby undermining its cultural and historical values.

Today a main trend in the development of consumption spaces is the emergence of a

festival-like urban marketplace characterized by convergence of shopping and entertainment, and of leisure and consumption. As this trend develops, we see a growing emergence of the so-called "post modern consumer culture spaces" which feature modern amenities all-in-one to accommodate a new generation of shoppers to revitalize troubled urban districts. In this process, recognizing those lesser-known cultural assets of the modern era has become an increasingly important task because of their potential role in helping our city to maximize competitiveness and develop its own identity. In this respect, it is essential to re-evaluate buildings and sites with cultural and historical traits as part of an effort to rediscover our city, and to explore new urban planning strategies based on preservation of our cultural heritage.

Lastly, the limitations of the study need to be noted. It does not touch upon forming of new placeness and its meaning given that an effort to establish a fashion and shopping complex on the site of the now-extinct Dongdaemun Stadium is currently underway. Furthermore, the paper is mainly based upon secondary data and includes neither viewpoints of various stakeholders on the projects nor empirical data. The paper just presents a theoretical discussion on the remaking of landscape through capital and explores how the placeness of Dongdaemun Stadium and the market has changed. Furthermore, as this study highlights the underlying meaning in the removal and transformation of the sports venue into a designated fashion and shopping district, the part of revealing a specific mechanism of determining development or conservation of historical sites needs thorough examinations and comparisons of diverse cases in future studies.

Notes

- 1) Dongdaemun Stadium's athletic field was closed down in March 2003 and was used as a temporary parking lot to accommodate shoppers and as a flea market for street vendors displaced from the "restoration" of Cheonggye Stream.
- 2) The stadium was located on the site of Hadogam (Hullyeonwon), the military training bureau during the Chosun Dynasty.
- 3) In 1926 a mourning ritual for the death of Emperor Sunjong, the last emperor of the Great Han Empire was held in Kyeongsong Stadium. It was also a venue for friendly soccer matches between the cities of Seoul and Pyeongyang and between two renowned private academies, *Yeonhui Jeonmun* and *Bosung Jeonmun*.
- 4) The number of visitors continued to drop until the closure of Dongdaemun Stadium was finally announced in 2007 with as few as 20,000 to 30,000 shoppers just during weekends.
- 5) An agreement was signed to establish a regular baseball stadium to replace the Dongdaemun Ballpark on the site of sports facilities in Gocheok-dong, Seoul in addition to six smaller ballparks.

References

- Azaryahu, M. and Foote, K. E., 2008, Historical space as narrative medium: on the configuration of spatial narratives of time at historical sites, *GeoJournal*, 73(3), 179-194.
- Benko, G. and Strohmayer, U. (eds.), 1997, *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Baik, Seonhae, 2004, The introduction of art festivals in small cities and the creation of placeness, *Journal of the Korean Geographical Society*, 39(6), 888-906 (in Korean).
- Castells, M., 1983, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*, Arnold, London.
- Choi, Byung-Doo, 2008, A critical reflection on formation of regional identity and construction of public space in urban development strategy, *Journal of the Korean Association of Regional Geographers*, 14(5), 604-626 (in Korean).
- Chung, Heesun, 2006, Reflecting collective memories on landscapes: disputes over the Statue of General Douglas MacArthur in Incheon, South Korea, *Geographical Journal of Korea*, 40(2), 169-184.
- Chung, Heesun, 2007, Politics of spatial representation and practice: applying Lefebvre's spatial triad to Seoul plaza, *Geographical Journal of Korea*, 41(2), 123-137.
- Foote, K. E. and Azaryahu, M., 2007, Toward a geography of memory: geographical dimensions of public memory and commemoration, *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 35(1), 125-144.
- Harvey, D., 1982, *The Limits to Capital*, Verso Press, London.
- Harvey, D., 1989, *The Urban Experience*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Harvey, D., 2006, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, Routledge, New York.
- Hayden, D., 1996, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Hong, Seong-Tae, 2004, Chunggyechun restoration: what is it for?, *The Civil Society and Nongovernmental Organization*, 2(2), 63-86 (in Korean).
- Hull, R. B., Lamb, M., and Vigob, G., 1994, Place identity: symbols of self in the urban fabric, *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 28(2), 109-120.
- Huh, Woo-young, 2005, *Dongdaemun Shoes Market Planning: A Proposal for the Concept of Text, Context, and Hypertext by a Principle of Market Constitution*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Hongik University (in Korean).
- Kang, Jeong-hun, 2004, A study on the political processes of local government: focusing on the interest groups involved in the restoration project of Cheonggyecheon in Seoul, *Urban Studies*, 9, 218-240 (in Korean).
- Kim, Hong-Gi, 2004, An analysis on the characteristics of historical city centers revitalization in the federal of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany, *Journal of Architectural Institute of Korea*, 20(5), 161-170 (in Korean).
- Kim, Ji-yeon, 2008, *A Study on the Realization of the Sense of Place through the Historical Context*:

- Focused on Seoul Castle through the Dongdaemun Stadium*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Hongik University (in Korean).
- Kim, Minjung and Jung, Sungwon, 2007, A management and design proposal for place-capacity in the Dongdaemun stadium, *Proceedings of the Biannual Meeting of the Urban Design Institute of Korea*, 25-33 (in Korean).
- Lee, Jong-Yeol, 1991, The political economy of urban land use with reference to urban redevelopment policy, *Korean Public Administration Review*, 25(1), 157-176.
- Lefebvre, H. translated by Nicholson-Smith, D., 1991, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Lowenthal, D., 1975, Past time, present place: landscape and memory, *The Geographical Review*, 65(1), 1-36.
- MacLeod, G. and Goodwin, M., 1999, Reconstructing an urban and regional political economy: on the state, politics, scale, and explanation, *Political Geography*, 18(6), 697-730.
- Mansvelt, J., 2008, Geographies of consumption: citizenship, space and practice, *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(1), 105-117.
- Nagel, C., 2002, Reconstructing space, re-creating memory: sectarian politics and urban development in post-war Beirut, *Political Geography*, 21(5), 717-725.
- Paddison, R. and Sharp, J., 2007, Questioning the end of public space: reclaiming control of local banal spaces, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 123(2), 87-106.
- Peet, R., 1998, *Modern Geographical Thought*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Pred, A., 1984, Place as historically contingent process: structuration and the time-geography of becoming places, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), 279-297.
- Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D., and Azaryahu, M., 2008, Collective memory and the politics of urban space: an introduction, *Geojournal*, 73(3), 161-164.
- Smith, M., 2007, Space, place, and placelessness in the culturally regenerated city, in Richards, Greg (ed.), *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, Howorth Press, New York, 91-112.
- Smith, N., 2008, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*, University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Soja, E. W., 1989, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, Verso Press, London.
- Son, Hwan, 2003, A study on the Korean modern sports facilities during the Japanese colonial rules with reference to Gyung-sung ground, *The Korean Journal of Physical Education*, 42(4), 33-43 (in Korean).
- Son, Sunhwa, 2006, *A Study on the Proposed Remodeling of Dongdaemun Stadium based on the Feature of Conventional Market as the Spontaneous Program*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ewha Womans University (in Korean).
- Twigger-Ross, C. L. and Uzzell, D. L., 1996, Place and identity processes, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16(3), 205-220.
- <http://stadium.seoul.go.kr>
<http://www.chosun.co.kr>
<http://www.donga.co.kr>
<http://www.hani.co.kr>
<http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr>
- Correspondence: Heesun Chung, Department of Geography, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sangmyung University, 7 Hongji-dong, Jongno-gu, Seoul, 110-847, Republic of Korea (e-mail: hchung@smu.ac.kr, phone: +82-2-2287-5057)
- 교신: 정희선, 110-847, 서울특별시 종로구 홍지동 7, 상명대학교 인문사회과학대학 지리학과 (이메일: hchung@smu.ac.kr, 전화: 02-2287-5057)
- Received May 12, 2009
 Revised Jun 12, 2009
 Accepted Jun 15, 2009