Agenda for the Enculturation of the Urban Environment of Local Cities: The Korean Case[**]

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Interpretation of Emerging Trends

A number of public actions initiated very recently by the Korean government seem to reflect a growing public concern about the quality of urban environment, particularly in the local cities, which has surfaced in the 1980's. The major actions are summarized as follows:

Policy Programs for the Development of Local Cities

According to the Second Comprehensive Plan for National Land Development (1982～1991), fifteen major local cities with high centrality and growth potentialities are to be intensively developed as growth centers. Other local cities are to be developed in accordance with their inherent characteristics and potentialities, while discouraging two metropolises (Seoul and Pusan) from further expansion. Three potential growth centers(Taegu, Taejon and Kwangju) are encouraged to raise the level of their respective cultural facilities.

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Policy Programs for the Development of Local Culture

The main points of the policy programs pursued by the Ministry of Culture and Information, and the Ministry of Home Affairs since 1983 are as follows: conservation and development of local cultures through the improvement of the cultural environment and enhancement of the pride of local people. Major action programs are to boost festival-like cultural affairs and events; foster local art organizations; improve cultural facilities; advance funds for local culture and art; enhance the working environment for local artists; conserve local cultural heritage.

Policy Programs for Developing the Cultural Environment of Local Cities

Since the summer of 1984 the Ministry of Home Affairs has been promoting nation-wide policy programs for developing the cultural environment of local cities. Endowing a unique character to each local city and providing a healthy environment for citizens are the major goals. For these ends, improvement of streetscapes and open spaces; conservation and re-creation of historic landscapes, and construction of symbolic monuments and facilities are to be forwarded as the major action programs. Implementation methods recommended include: urging local governments to prepare detailed implementation plans and programs; designating model cities and model districts to examplify the significance

〈**Table 1**〉 Summarized Action Program for the Improvement of Urban Cultural Environment

Goals	Objectives	Recommended Actions
Improvement of Streetscapes	—to create street spaces characterizing each city's tradition and individuality, by means of street facilities	—improvement of street furnitures —build-up of street atmosphere by street types —provision of mini-parks and resting places —creation of places of interest
Improvement of Open Spaces	—to afforest urban spaces —to conserve natural environment	—designation of representative tree species —systematic tree planting by land use pattern —conservation of natural green spaces
Conservation and Re-creation of Historic Environment	—to conserve historic remains of local culture —to integrate new development with historic environment	—conservation of historic buildings and structures —conservation of historic cites —conservation of dwellings associated with traditional culture
Set-up of Symbolic Monuments & Facilities	—to heighten erban images —to create civic focal points	—erection of symbolic monuments (tower, plaza, statue, memorial hall, etc.) —costruction of cultural facilities (cultural hall, museum, etc.)

Source: The Ministry of Home Affairs

and methodologies of such programs; persuading local cities to organize a tentatively-named "Townscape Committee," and establishing an "Urban Beauty Award." ⟨Table 1⟩

These policy programs can be summarized into a multidimensional movement which deals with *cultural aspects* (thematically) of the *urban environment*(ecologically) of the *local cites*(geographically) by *Governmental initiatives*(operationally). These programs can be interpreted as a positive reaction to a couple of social needs in Korea:

—first of all, this reflects the urgent and practical need to improve the urban environment of all cities to meet the big international events which are forthcoming.

—this is, from a political standpoint, to cope with the nation-wide desire for local autonomy reserved for a long time on some pretext or other, and to mitigate the regional gap between the overcrowded, outgrown capital region and the lagging local regions; from a social standpoint, to enhance social development also postponed because of economic reasons, thus redistributing the outcome of economic growth; culturally to enhance neglected cultural development for achieving more humane conditions of living; from an environmental viewpoint, to upgrade the quality of living and working environments deteriorated in the course of reckless industrialization and uncontrolled urbanization;

—ultimately this movement can be interpreted as initial steps in a sort of cultural movement expressed in environmental terms to enhance the existing Korean culture which has been forcibly acculturated and distorted in the course of modern Korean history.

With these brief observations on the emerging trends in Korea, this paper, presented to help municipal governments formulate a clearer perspective leading to proper policy-making for the Enculturation of Urban Environment, will discuss the ensuing topics:

1) As the *rationales* for the focusing this *cultural* movement on *local cities*, an overview on the *urban culture* and *cities* formed and changed in *modern history of Korea* is made;

2) For the basic *orientation* of this movement, and for the *conceptual framework* of this paper, an operational definition of the concepts of *cultural environment* and *enculturation*, and of the *qualifications* for cultural environment is made;

3) As the TARGET environments of this movement, four major features, *natural environment*, *public places* and *facilities*, *public art*, and *historic landscapes* are recommended;

4) For the *implementation*, the rationale and limit of *governmental initiative* are briefly

discussed.

Although intended to focus on the Korean case which are hopefully applicable and helpful to other developing countries, this paper is of rather abstract, theoretical nature, being concentrated on the overall concepts, issues and policy orientations: Korea is just now on the threshold of departure towards this movement, to our regret.

Urban Culture and Cities in Modern History of Korea

This chapter is presented to clarify the rationale for the focus of this *cultural* movement on *local cities*, by surveying briefly the urban culture and cities formed and changed in the modern history of Korea.

For the purpose of spotlighting the *cultural changes* and their consequences occurred in Korea, a general description of "urban culture" as a whole is preferably made here, with a personal view of "local culture" and "urban culture in local cities" as subculcure of "Korean culture" and "Korean urban culture." Also "local cities" is used here as a homologous term, in spite of considerable differences in view of location, population, functions, structures, and so forth: the point is not the differences among local cities, but the imbalance between the capital region as the predominant cultural center and the local cities as the culturally lagging areas on the whole.

Korea has experienced an involuntary acculturation forced or induced by the world powers during the last one hundred years, and in the process of enthusiastic nation-building, it has been widely and rapidly transformed in every field particularly during the past two decades. However, most significantly, local cities and their environments viewed from the cultural standpoint have been neglected and thus underdeveloped as a result of dis-equilibrated growth policies, which gave top priority to economic growth through patronizing a few selected industries, enterprises and regions.

Before the 20th Century

Korea remained for four thousand years as an independent nation with a unitary race and a characeristic culture before being colonized at the beginning of the 20th century (1910). The socio-political system was a monarchy with a class system discriminated hierarchically in order of esteem, the scholarly, the argicultural, the industrial, and the mercantile classes. Thus the economic system was on the pre-industrial level with agriculture as the main industry.

Culture had been sharply divided into two categories, the high culture and low culture, dispersed geographically all around the country. The high culture not accessible to the lower class was created and enjoyed exclusively by the upper class, *yangban*. The centers of high culture were not limited to the royal court and the capital city, instead, those were dispersed all over the country. However, those local cultural centers were not the local *cities*, instead, those were the manors and the villas owned by the local noble men, Confusian schools and academies ruled by the local scholars. Those places usually were located in the rural villages or occupied scenic spots.

On the other hand, the low culture which had nothing to do with the upper class was enjoyed solely by the low class folks. The cultural centers were not the local cities either, instead, those were the rural villages or the reservations for the underprivileged, such as the butcher and the wicker-worker. Literature regarded as one of the important subjects that should be mastered by noble men and officials was studied and enjoyed heavily, but fine arts and music received cold treatments as mere entertainment or as inferior arts.

Moreover the urban system was poorly developed: cities were limited in number and size, remaining only as administrative centers and/or military bases, due to the highly centralized governing system and the dominant way of life which favored the country life.

From the 1900's to 1950's

The Korean culture changed drastically during this period, while experiencing a number of national hardships including colonization(1910∼1945), liberalization, territorial division and wars. Cultures of traditional society were destroyed and depleted with the collapse of the *ancien regime* and shift of principal cultural actors, and most of all, by the Japanese policies and the Korean War(1950∼1953). Meanwhile foreign cultures were transplanted indirectly and selectively by Japanese colonists and western missionaries during the colonial period, and by the foreign aids and students studying abroad after the Korean War. These changes in culture in Korea were not made by a spontaneous, homogenous, progressive and positive "transculturation", or integration of native culture and foreign culture, initiated by the Koreans, but by a forced, heterogenous, drastic and passive "acculturation", unilateral changes in culture, pushed by foreigners.

Settlement systems also had drastically changed. During the colonial period. a deliberate urbanization had been forwarded by the Japanese colonists for the purpose of efficient rule

and exploitation. Traditional Korean landscapes were replaced by Japanese townscapes and Japanized western townscapes. To make matters worse Korean scenes already distorted had been reduced to ashes when the Korean War was over, and once more was disformed heavily during the period of hurried rehabilitation. This consequently superimposed new westernized townscapes upon the survivals of the war.

From the 1960's to 1970's

Most of the nation-building works were promoted and accomplished during these two decades. The uppermost national goal was geared to "growth", and the efficient strategy proposed for this goal was "growth via dis-equilibrium." According to this goal and strategy "economy" was selected as the leading sector. For this "Economy First Policy" (and perhaps for the national security against north Korean communists), a shipshape strong political leadership (which resulted in a dictatorship) and a firm social stability (which produced a social impotence) were brought on the secne, at the cost of socio-political development.

Even in the field of economy this same policy replaced agriculture-based national economy with heavy chemical industries mainly oriented to export purposes. This industrialization-oriented dis-equilibrium growth strategy was also applied to regional policy. Urban centers that had relative locational advantages as initial triggers to industrial growth and export boosting were purposefully patronized. Furthermore big cities and the capital city in particular were given the role of leading growth centers.

As for culture, accomplishment was not well organized. During this period, restoration and rehabilitation of cultural traits survived from the looting, exploitation, and destruction; conservation of natural landscapes; exaltation of great men and women; importation of western cultures were pursued by the government. Popular culture and folk culture were activated under the patronage and supervision of government.

These thoroughgoing dis-equilibrated gorwth policies in every field, coupled with a strong centralized government system, caused rapid urbanization, depleting men and women of talent, which include artists and intellectuals, out of the rural areas and local cities. To make matters worse, this rapid urbanization coupled with hurried industrialization brought severe deterioration of the living environment all over the nation, especially in the recently expanded urban areas and industrial towns. Most importantly the capital city which became a primate city with a ten million population and most substantial central functions has suffered from overgrowth and overcrowding, while local cities have fallen behind and at times been exploited.

Cultural Characteristics in Korean Cities

As the outcome of the acculturation process, there exist a number of cultural character-
istics in Korean cities as follows:

—As characteristics *common to Korean cities in general*, four points are mentioned:

1) in spite of an expectation that an urban way of life will dominate the Korean in
the near future, there still does not exist a consolidated, identical, and desirable way of
life for the urbanites, showing signs of a cultural crisis. In short urban culture has not
yet been established.

2) indiscreet acceptance of fereign cultures and deterioration of the cultural tradition
have been severe. As the world shirinks into a global village, foreign cultures especially
from the American continent and the Japanese Islands have been imported without much
discretion and sufficient readiness; consequently cultural traditions have been rapidly
disappearing or deteriorating.

3) a symptom of cultural lag has surfaced. Usually changes in the material side of
culture or the explicit culture advance faster than those of the spiritual side of culture
or the implicit culture. Furthermore, when cultural goals and norms are imported from
the outside, a gap between the ideal, envisioned state, and the depressed, existing state is
liable to occur. Korean situation seem to come under this case.

4) a desirable and agreeable state of high culture as well as low culture still does not
exist in Korea, and even worse, these two cultures are segregated from each other.

—As for the *local cities in particuar*, two points can be referred:

1) urban culture which is still premature and unsatisfactory is contaminating local cities
and rural villages, which are being rapidly urbanized in terms of life styles, and physical
environment as well.

2) as part of the centralization of the capital city in every field, the national culture is
dominated by the Seoulite culture, while local cultures including folk culture have been
shrinked, standardized, and commercialized.

Enculturation of The Urban Environment

The ultimate goal of this cultural movement to enculturate the urban environment of
local cities should neither be focused on a face-lift for big international events like '86
Asian Games and '88 Olympiad. nor a sugar-coating to placate the politico-social

grumblings of the local people. Also it should not be a barricade for discouraging the immigration of local people to the bigger cities, nor an anachronism to turn the cultural clock backward.

Instead it should be oriented to provide the Koreans with humane places in which people can enjoy a life worthy of a human being, wherever they live and visit.

For this argument an operational definition of the concept of cultural environment and of the qualifications for it is required.

Cultural Environment as Cultured Environment or Environment for Culture

When a complex term as "cultural environment" is equivocally defined, this leads to confusion in formulating the proper goal of this cultural movement: is this a *cultured* environment" or an "environment *for culture*"? Though both "culture" and "environment" are very ambiguous terms, the definition of "environment" may be relatively simple: it is agreeable to define environment as the set of conditions indispensable for the sustenance of life, biologically and socially. Confusion seems to be caused mainly by the differences in the conception of the term "culture." Many of the ambiguities of the concept of culture may be relieved, however, by abstracting hundreds of varying definitions into two antithetical, but in a way corresponding definitions: culture in anthropological terms is "a whole way of life, intellectual, material, and spiritual, of whole society," while culture in humanistic terms is "a general state or habit of mind, having relations with the idea of *human perfection*," "the general state of *intellectual development* in a society as a whole," or "the general body of the ARTS."

Therefore this dual definition of culture makes possible another dual definition of "cultural environment" to coexist: the one is "the *cultured* or *cultivated* environment," which indicates any ordinary environment altered by ordinary people for ordinary life or living; the other is "the environment *for culture*," which is the environment specified for displaying human perfection, intellectual development, and the arts. In the former case environment plays a positive role of a receptacle for an embodi ment of ordinary, real life of a whole society, while in the latter case it is often used passively as a playground or a canvas for a somewhat idiosyncratic, ideal life of a specific class in a given society. Furthermore, the former environment is usually shaped by means of progressive, and autogenous "generation" in the field of ordinary lives of ordinary people, as against the rapid, planned, and forced "plantation" of the latter.

These two conceptions of cultural environment deserve to coexist. It is not desirable to

judge which is wrong or which is inferior, because both reflect the way of life in a given society. However it is not desirable to be ambidextrous either. One between the two might be chosen for a constructive public policy on the cultural environment of *cities*. *The point is that the former should have the priority, while the latter not discarded completely.* The reasoning of this argument is as follows:

—the city is a functional, cultural entity or *civitas*, implying a way of life, as well as a physical entity or *urbus*, implying the structural form.

—on the one hand, *the city is a specific mode or way of life* that the mankind has chosen among alternatives, such as nomadic life or rural life. The city as a way of life has become more and more common since the first appearance of archetypes of the city about ten thousand years ago when the way of life of the pre-historic mankind shifted from the nomadic hunting-gathering to the sedentary farming. It nowadays is not only a common, but also a typical and predominant culture all over the world, except for a few regions. However in "a" city which encompasses the total fabric of man's life in a given society, a diversified way of life usually coexists, i.e., a city as a total culture includes a number of subcultures, such as high culture and low culture, adult culture and youth culture. But *its essence comes from the daily, ordinary life of the "people in general."*

—on the other hand, *the city is an environment*, a built or man-made environment which mankind changed for the purpose of adaptation to, or control of the natural environment is a cultural element or a cultural complex, the shelter and container for the fulfillment of urban life. However, *the urban environment is to be conceived for the most part as an ordinary enviroment*, which has great significance, practically and ideologically. It includes those "cultural facilities" like music halls, art centers, museums, for the ordinary people and for the culturati. But it is also composed of those ordinary elements cultivated by people who manage ordinary life, whatever they may be.

—However the utility of the environment *for culture* should not be neglected. This aspect of environment performs the role of a culture-forming or culture-leading agent. As a matter of fact, culture is being changed in history, while it is being moved in geography. It is said that such cultural changes take place and proceed through "innovation," which arises internally by inventions and discoveries, and externally by a diffusion process. *The city has been generically the source and center of innovation and the major vehicle of diffusion and thus cultural change.* The same is true with this aspect of environment. It performs as an innovative environment from which ordinary environment

can find good examples to follow and valuable hints to develop, on condition that these two aspects take same root in the ground. The environment *for culture* should not be conceived and used as an esoteric sanctuary for a handful of lofty culturati, nor as an anachronistic monument.

Qualifications of Cultural Environment

As defined and justified above, the cultural environment takes on the meaning of the cultured or cultivated environment, or any ordinary environment altered by ordinary people for ordinary life. If so be, is any man-altered environment qualified as a cultural environment? The occasion forbids tuch strained interpretation. *The cultural environment is a quality environment for quality life,* which fulfills the ensuing qualifications.

The quality of life and environment can be envisaged as a matrix consist of the nature of mankind and the level of basic needs. ⟨Fig. 1⟩

As for the level of basic needs, A.H. Maslow's well-known theory on the hierarchy of human needs is adopted: human motivation on the whole represents the individual's endeavor to gratify five basic kinds of needs: *physiological needs, safety and security needs, love and belongingness needs, self-esteem needs, and self-actualization needs,* which are arranged hierarchically in terms of relative importance. The most critical needs are physiological, of course. These needs are directly related to the survival. The next needs
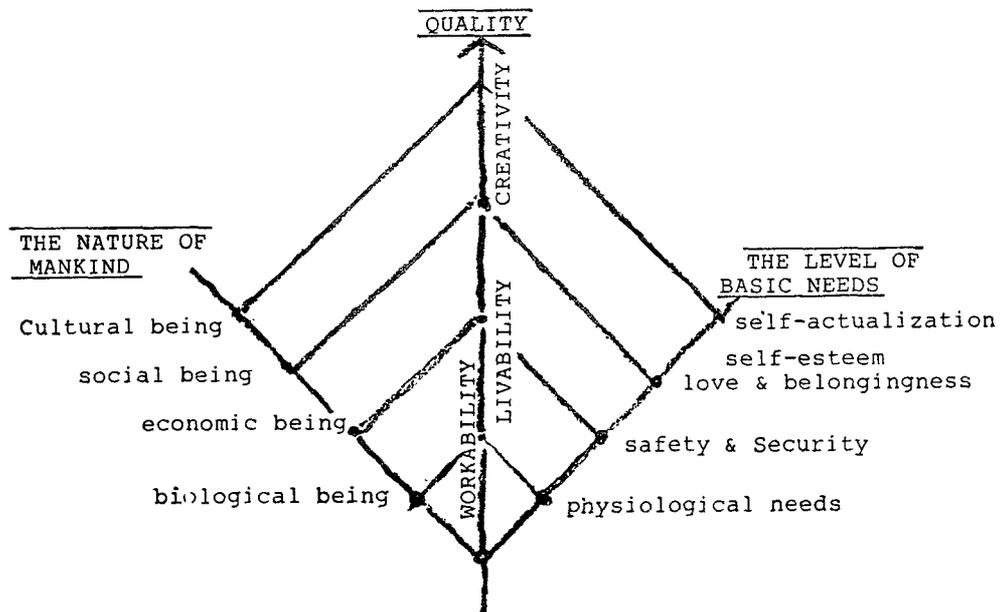
⟨**Fig. 1**⟩ The quality of life and environment

are those related to safety and security, which may be expressed in the form of food acquisition and shelter building, for examples. The next needs are love and belongingness needs, and self-esteem needs that have to do with the social problems. The highest needs for self-actualization or self-fulfillment needs indicate the human needs to develop one's potentialities to the fullest extent. These include the desire for knowledge and for artistic, aesthetic satisfaction, and are very critical for mental health.

Each level of these human needs is corresponding respectively to the each aspect of human nature: psysiological needs to biological being; safety and security needs to economic being, love and belongingness needs and self-esteem to social being; self-actualization to cultural being. The higher needs usually develop later than the lower needs in both the evolution of the species and the maturation of the individual.

This theory is originally and mainly related to the individuals, however, it is useful for the collective life of a city. With these somewhat personal view, the qualities of urban environment in terms of performance level of above-mentioned basic needs are asserted presumingly:

—the lowest level of quality has to do with *workability* of urban environment for the bare gratification of the scanty livelihood of the individual, and for the narrow operation of the urban system as a whole. This performance level may be associated with the level of physiological needs of biological being, and with that of safety and security needs of economic being. At this stage, governments and individuals strive hard on acquisition of minimum shelters, including rudimentary infrastructures, with a survival pressure.

—the next level of quality is concerned with *livability*. Though got over the critical hardships for survival, the quality still hangs on the levels of safety and security, and social cohesion. Efforts are made to build up a healthy economic base, and to provide basic infrastructures, and some basic amenity facilities.

—the uppermost level of quality bears on *creativity* of the urban environment which permits individual members *to become their own creator, and to realize one's fullest potential abilities* by working on the world outside them in cooperation with their fellow citizens.

It is assumed by Maslow that the lower needs must be satisfied before higher needs can be expressed, and that repeated gratification makes possible the expression of still higher needs, that repeated gratification of needs at a specific level in the long run results in a

stabilization of those needs such that they have relatively little influence on behavior. *A major consequence of need gratification is freedom and liberation from vain ambitions and alienation.* Therefore, the quality levels of workability and livability should be fulfilled to the greatest extent, while pursuing the highest quality, creativity that is the vital condition for the humane life should not be neglected. These qualifications of life and environment are dilated further:

  — *Variety within Unity beyond Multiformity and Uniformity* ⟨Fig. 2⟩
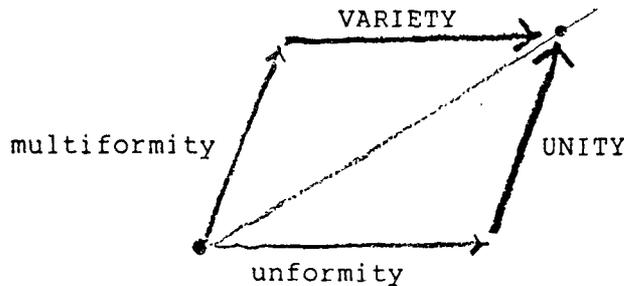

⟨**Fig. 2**⟩ Variety within Unity

Culture is a grammer of life formulated and shared by the society as a whole, though expressed and embodied by the individual. Therefore culture is not endowed naturally to the individual, but transmitted through social heredity. Culture created by man teaches man *vis-a-vis*:man becomes socialized through this process and culture keeps the stability of overall framework by its socialized members. Particularly in cities, in spite of heterogeneous members, a cultural entity can exist mainly because of this cultural role of cities.

This socialization function should not be misunderstood. It does not necessarily mean a uniformity, that there is a single way of life to which every member of society should conform. Rather it means that there must be, in any city, considerable opportunities for any portion of city dwellers to perform and enjoy a specific partial culture, whether for popularity or for pedantry, within the overall framework of total culture. Thus variety should not be confused with multiformity.

  — *Speciality within Ordinariness beyond Eccentricity and Mediocrity* ⟨Fig. 3⟩

Variety within Unity naturally leads to another qualification of speciality within ordinariness. As mentioned above ordinariness is the natural property of urban culture and urban environment. A city is a culture that is the collection of a multitude of individual life styles of ordinary, anonymous people. Also it is a place for this kind of culture. So be it, this property does not necessarily have to do with mediocrity, which may be a

SPECIALITY

eccentricity

ORDINARINESS

mediocrity
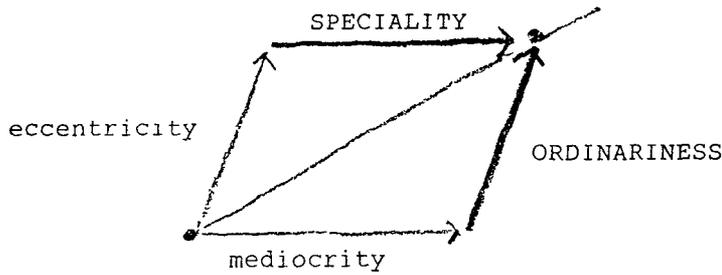
⟨**Fig.** 3⟩ Speciality within Ordinariness

common bias. Furthermore this does not exclude the possibility of speciality, which is over the level of eccentricity. Rather this indicates the high quality which can be found and appreciated at all places and at all times in a given city.

—*Participation and Invitation beyond Alienation and Mobilization* ⟨Fig. 4⟩

Although it is often proclaimed that the citizens are the masters of the civic life and the principal users of the urban environment, an alienation phenomenon among people, between environment and people often exists in the city. People become more and more alienated to others or their environment, losing a close relationship of affection or other familiar bond between people, and a sense of controllability and belongingness to their environment. Especially in a city where the heterogeneity and anonymity are serious, the physical and psychological oppression from alienation are felt acutely.

Alienation would be overcome when the citizens became self-conscious enough for understanding their environment and for control of their own activities to the fullest extent. The enculturation of urban unvironment might be oriented to encourage the citizens to have spontaneous participations in the communal life and attachments to the urban environment, so as to help them overcome alienation for themselves. This could only be acquired by the warm invitation and consistent persuasion, in stead of forced mobilization and insistent recommendation.

PARTICIPATION

alienation

INVITATION

mobilization
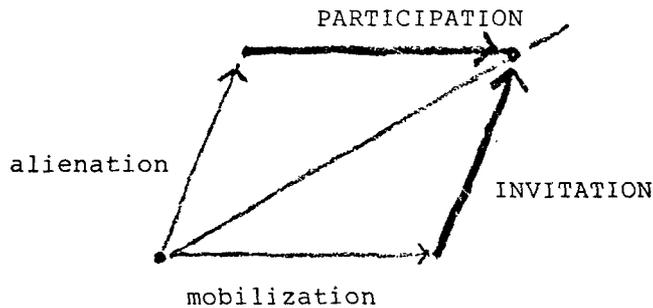
⟨**Fig.** 4⟩ Participation and Invitation
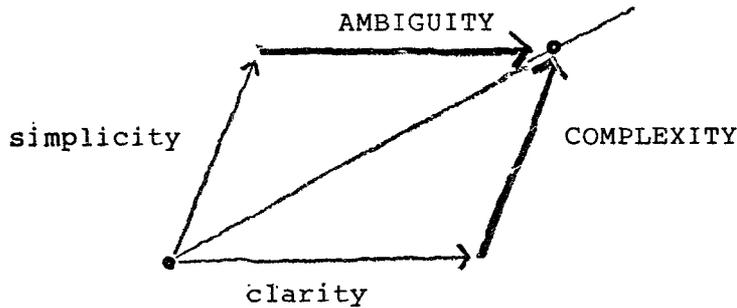
〈**Fig.** 5〉   Ambiguity & Complexity

—*Ambiguity and Complexity beyond Simplicity and Clarity* 〈Fig. 5〉

Any environment can be a kind of symbol-structure. It is a vehicle to objectify and embody those intangible values and norms of a given society, and to help people seek after or become familiar with the idea of good environment. Thus, the more congruent the symbol and the environment symbolized are, the better understandable the life and the environment are. In a more congruent environment, "one needs to learn, order, and recall less, in order to know more." This property of congruence will be of great help to relieve the degree of alienation, and to make environment more understandable and eventually creative. However the importance of ambiguity in stead of simplicity, for the content of symbol, and complexity in place of clarity for the structure of environment should be realized, so as to make an environment more creative and interesting to live in or to visit.

The cultural environment is an environment where variety and unity, speciality and ordinariness coexist. It is an environment which stimulates spontaneous participation. To enculturate an urban environment therefore means to transform the ordinary environment into a livable and creative environment where every ordinary citizen can enjoy a life worthy of a cultural being, and into an understandable, meaningful environment where one can feel a sense of belongingness and self-esteem, and can develop himself to be his own master. It is an ordinary, but a quality job.

Major Environmental Features As Targets of Enculturation

Enculturation by definition is concerned with every environmental feature whatever it may be, on condition of meeting the above-defined qualifications. However this approach is not feasible operationally in the cities, and not desirable practically in the

policy-making process.

Therefore certain environmental features of the total urban environment matrix should be selected purposefully as the effective targets of enculturation. Consequently it may be controversial to decide what kind of features should be chosen.

The following features are proposed here, judging from the above-mentioned qualifications as the main criteria, with the back-up of the theory of "three-fold scheme" that is one of numerous alternatives concerning the universal patterning of the contents of culture.

Natural Environment

Artifacts are those cultural contents related to material culture or physical environment essential to biological and social survival of mankind. This includes food acquisition, clothing and adornment, settlements, transportation, tools and machines, etc. These features reflect the adaptation of mankind as "biological being" to the natural environment for the fulfillment of above-mentioned physiological needs, and safety and security needs. The city as a culture is the representative of this adaptation.

At the earliest stage of civilization, nature was the master of mankind, something to respect and conform to, as against the reversed relationship of today. The early city was an artifact placed in nature and vividly contrast to it, with walls to keep *natura* without and *cultura* within. The size of a city was limited, however, this same limitation guaranteed ready access to the wilderness and the country and thus occasional relief from the oppressive life within the walls. The modern city becomes an artifact fully artificialized. Nature has become subsurvient to man, and introduced into a city in a miniaturized, mechanized form. City dwellers must go farther to make contact with the survivals of nature.

The true self of the natural environment to be enculturated should be genuine nature as interpreted as an ecosystem, beyond the parks and greens manufactured and mounted in the economically mechanized urban setting, developed for occasional relief and visual satisfaction. The city is not only an economic system, but also an ecological system. *One dimension of enculturating the urban environment is geared to provide an ecological base for the human habitat in a proper way.* The major projects include:

—bringing the natural environment into the built environment in full stroke, so as to provide a symbiotic habitat for both mankind and other living things;

—providing plenty of places for recreation and leisure for the greater part of the urban population;

—controlling environmental deteriorations such as pollution and natural hazards.

Public Places and Facilities

These are for the sociofacts, which are concerned with interpersonal relations, i.e., these are supplied to ensure the structural capacity for a society to carry out countless individual and collective tasks required by a viable functioning society. Also these are provided for fulfillment of love and belongingness needs, self-esteem and self-actualization needs. These include a variety of physical elements such as streets, malls, parks, plazas, stations, etc.

These are provided mainly by the public sector, of course. It is also true, however, that these are not for high-ranking officials or foreign visitors, but for ordinary people who pay for and use them. These are not only for parades or ceremonies, but for daily communal life. In a modern city the viability of the urban environment is a function of the quantity, quality and location of its public places and facilities, in view of the inherent, but changed nature of the culture of cities: The concept of "city as a way of life" advocated by Louis Wirth points out some characteristics of this specific way of life common among all cities, that is, large population aggregate, high density of settlements, heterogeneity of inhabitants and communal life. This theory has the following implications:

—a ctty inhabited by a large number of people in higher density accommodates various ways of life, reflecting the heterogeneity of inhabitants. This cultural trait produces a vivacious and energetic urbanity, but in some cases, indifferent and hostile relationships among citizens, because of anonymity and conflicting interests.

—dut to its social system which favors and encourages innovations, a city is the place where everything changes very rapidly. This character stimulates flexible adaptation to and adoption of new environments, but on the other hand stirs up alienation among people, and estrangement between people and environment.

However most recently these classic aspects of the culture of cities have begun to change:

—in terms of population, there have emerged super-sized megalopolises like Seoul with lower density sprawled beyond the limited territory.

—people have become more heterogeneous, due to the enlarged population created mostly by rapid social mobility, but on the other hand have become more homogeneous, due to extended mass communication and education;

—people have attached themselves to the land in terms of ownership, while detaching themselves from the environment, physically and psychologically.

With these common characteristics of the culture of cities, the cases on the part of local cities are that population aggregate is smaller in size and lower in density, of course, and above all, is not so much heterogeneous due to its composition, and smaller social changes. And there still remains a trait of communal social life. With rapid urbanization, however, these local cities are in transition to the way of life n the bigger cities, wanted or not.

It is an agreed fact that the physical environment seldom determines human behavior, however, it can influence, facilitate, make possible, even probable certain kinds of human activities. If so, we can respond positively to the changing way of life in cities. That is we can help relieve the degree of alienation by means of providing quality places and facilities in which people can have a feeling of social belongingness and physical mastery. The individual member realizes himself through the medium of the culture he identifies with. Thus the level of cultural environment, especially of public places, facilitates his potentialities.

Public Art

Since the beginning of history and in all cultures, art fulfilled a spiritual need that is as important as the utilitarian need. It served to evoke sensitive responses of the onlookers and satisfied their desire to express something important to them.

However there is a big contrast between the ancient and contemporary world in terms of the use of art and the role of artists: in antiquity, enjoyment of art was monopolized by the upper class; works of art were limited to the domain of palaces, temples and salons; artists were employed and patronized by the upper class. However, art which was not easy to understand or awkard to enjoy, and artists who were not obedient were excluded or discouraged.

In our time artists are no longer subordinate to somebody: they are independent and at times somewhat self-conceited. *In the meantime people became estranged from the art,* which is a natural expression and thus upholding of spirits of human being, whoever he or she is, even though enjoyment of art is open to all classes, and works of art are accessible to the public, in galleries, museums, houses and buildings, and even in the streets and on mass publications and T.V. *People became illiterate, apathetic, and destructive to the life and environment by way of estangement from the art.*

Interestingly there emerges low, but resonant voices for advocating "public art" in the contemporary societies including Korea. But these voices are still discordant: is this art

accessible and understandable to the public? or is this expressions of the ordinariness of daily life in an ordinary environment? or does this indicate works of art displayed in public places? or is this monumental artifacts and architectures? or is this those reproduced works of art cheap enough for public access? These controversies seem to occur due to the ambiguity and practical problems of this concept.

In essence, *public art should be interpreted as an attitude as well as an effort to awaken the general public's forgotten sensitivity and creativity toward life and environment, so as to recover the will to be the master of life and environment. Therefore it is very important to integrate these public art with public places and facilities: it facilitates self-actualization and relieves estrangement.*

Historic Landscapes

Just as culture is the expression of human response to the environment, so the environment is a record of cultural activities or the interaction of man and nature, which is termed "cultural landscape." Just as the temporal facts of culture is the concern of history, so the spatial facts of culture expressed in the cultural landscape. This conception leads into a complementary view, "historic landscape."

There are usually many motives for the enculturation of historic landscape or "historic conservation." these include scientific, educational and economic interest. However, most importantly, *historic landscape should be conceived and treated as an effective vehicle for the maintenance and development of. cultural values in a given city. It is also an efficient coupling device for a community to have a sense of culture and history, which is vital for enhancing the quality of life.*

This historic landscape, by definition, encompasses every element and artifact, regardless of age and physical condition. As we can not deal with every cultural landscape, we can not deal with every historic landscape. If then, what kind of historic landscape is the relevant target of enculturation? The concept of cultural properties legally defined as artifacts, arts, historic sities, scenic landscapes, significant animals and plants, etc. does not meet the operational aspect of the concept. Rather the following conception may be helpful: *the relevance of historic landscape might be drawn from she concept of "cultural tradition," which is different from that of "cultures of the traditional society."* The latter implies the dead, obsolete remains of past society whose values and norms are inappropriate for contemporary society, while the former implies the living heritage from history as a whole, which is still useful for understanding and enhancing the meaning of life and

environment.

Towards Successful Implementation

As a conclusion of this paper, some general ideas which may be helpful for successful implementation of enculturating the urban environment are proposed hereinafter.

Cultural Environment as a Legitimate Area of Concern for Public Administration

Traditionally public policies and governmental activities, especially those of local cities, have not treated culture as a legitimate or significant matter of concern and inquiry. Rather it was kept at a respectable distance, and thus was conceived as auxiliary works given by the central government or by the higher officials, or as transcendental and uncomfortable activities pursued by abstruse artists. It was an intangible property, or a glorious aureole to be proud of.

On the other hand, urban environment has occupied major areas of concern in policies and administration for a long time. The quality of environment, however, received little and wrong considerations; it has been interpreted and expressed in terms of quantity, grandeur, a face-lift, and pomposity. As a consequence, *enculturation of urban environment requires fresh and positive efforts by municipal governments, combining cultural and environmental aspects together*. The following preparatory works are recommended to the municipal governments to proceed with the assistance of central government, the support of professionals, and the participation of citizens:

—SYSTEMATIZATION to reconstruct the supply mechanism which is composed of government as a main supplier and as a maneger of the cultural environment, professionals as assistants to government, and citizens as final users and substential payers; to reorganize those dispered, conflicting laws, policies and institutions, etc., under a single umbrella; to augment manpower, budgets, and organizations;

—REVITALIZATION to activate the reconstructed mechanism; to secure consistent efforts and substantive investments;

—SPECIALIZATION to train public officials in charge of cultural affairs; to activate voluntary participation of professionals.

General Awareness

These positive actions, however, can not guarantee the success of this cultural movement..

—Limit of Governmental Initiatives should be understood: though culture has the character of a public or merit good, it is not in essence a "good." It can not be manufactured overnight. It is true with the urban environment. Urban culture and cultural environment may be better off, if these could be generated autogenously in the long, and continuous process of voluntary participation by a large number of anonymous people, the real creators as well as the final users. Thus the limit of governmental interference in the supply mechanism of cultural environment must be thoroughly understood. The government is not an actor, but a promoter who provides opportunities for cultural development, a prompter who reminds the people what to do, and a pilot who helps the people steer towards a desirable direction.

The fact that culture and urban environment in local cities have changed, and are being changed does not necessarily mean that these changes are geared to a desirable direction. *Governmental initiatives in in these delicate cultural affairs are intended to make a carefully planned change of reinterpreting and reidentifying the Korean cultures distorted by forced acculturation, transculturating the foreign cultures with the cultural tradition still remaining in the local cities, and ultimately, stimulating cultural development as a whole, with safety measures against politicalization of culture.*

Cultural environment is not a mere, auxiliary adornment to the environment. Enculturation of urban environment is not a goal, but an efficient vehicle for improving the quality of life. Particularly in local cities, it should be *OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE and FOR THE PEOPLE.*

CULTURE IS THE LIFE, AND ENVIRONMENT THE PLACE OF SUCH A LIFE, above anything else.

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Policy Programs related to the thesis of this paper