

Creating Cultural Identity for Sustainable Urban Development A Case Study of the City of Cheongju in Korea*

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I Introduction

Cities, culture and sustainability are the key words preparing for the twenty-first century. The three themes are so broad for their own sake and closely interrelated that it may not be able to draw any universal and practical consensus even among the nations involved in this comparative case study. It will proceed by the conceptual underpinnings of three themes and by sketching country-specific characteristics of urban system, culture and the sustainability of cities, and then charting out some directions to cope with desirable future. The City of Cheongju has been selected for a case study, as the city is a typical medium-sized city with strong enthusiasm to be a culturally and environmentally sustainable city in Korea.

Most of humanity will soon live in cities, and the trend of urbanization is irreversible. Urban population in 1990 amounts 1.7 billion or 38 percent of the world total. At the outset of the twenty-first century a half of the world population is already in urban areas. Urban population is currently increasing at about 65 million per year, which is roughly equivalent to adding urban population of larger than a

* Paper presented at the International Conference on Culture in Sustainability of Cities: Creativity and Adaptation, organized by the United Nations University and the Ishikawa International Cooperation Research Center, October 2000 in Kanazawa, Japan.

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country of France. This rapid urbanization and the dimensions of urban transformation over the coming decades will impose a grave challenge to the world. Cultural lags and anomalies are common in all urban societies. In many cases of developed and developing countries, urban process threatens existing way of life, value system and social fabric. Cities hold tremendous potential as engines of economic and social development, creating jobs and generating ideas through economics of scale and creative and innovative civic cultures. But cities also generate many problems to the extent that very survival of cities is threatened and intensify social exclusion and homogenize cultural identity, which a city has accumulated wisdom and ways of life to survive throughout the history of mankind.

Global concern for urban issues was clearly pronounced at the 1st United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT I) in Vancouver in 1976 and the 2nd UNCHS (HABITAT II) in Istanbul in 1996, which firmly committed to work towards good urban governance in the world's town and cities. The flow of people to urban areas has been at flood stage for the last four decades in Korea. As Professor Meier succinctly pointed out, nowhere else in the world are processes of urbanization so intense, so compressed in time, as in Korea.¹⁾ About 90 percent of the nation's population is already residing in urban areas. The striking fact is that a half of the nation's population is concentrated in Seoul and its outlying area within the radius of 40 kilometers from Seoul of 11 million inhabitants. The whole country is almost becoming an urban area in terms of density and spatial integration. If this trend continues unchecked, there are many signs that urban Korea cannot economically and culturally sustain in the long run, although not in the immediate future. A new way of thinking about cities, where most Koreans are destined to live, has appeared on the horizon in the last decade.

It recognizes that Korean urbanites are scared to live in an environment that can unexpectedly collapse around them. People want their cities to be sustainable over the long-run, and able to overcome all the known threats. Nobody can deny that we have been better off economically and our life style has become more convenient and sumptuous. However, material affluence and convenience does not always guarantee a robust city that can withstand the loss of cultural identity and the destruction of our life style, which has sustained severe economic hardships and social unrest. People want an opportunity to enjoy life without unnecessary stress and pains and try to find an alternative way of life. It is time to change our paradigm from quantity to quality in urban development. The quality of life highly depends on subjective satisfaction of people in specific place and time, and is strongly culture-bounded.

Although the definitional problem of culture may not be within the scope of present research endeavor, it can be tacitly delved into two approaches: culture as a way of life and as artistic

1) Richard Meier, "Exploring Development in Great Asian Cities: Seoul", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Nov. 1970, p.382.

expressions. Culture can be also the ends of urban development and the means for urban development. A cultural city is the final state of urban development because a city is the most comprehensive form of cultural pursuit. Culture is broadly defined as a way of life or a living-pattern which is strongly embedded in behavioral and value system of the city, and as socially accepted norm or a cake of customs.²⁾ This concept would be better fitted for inquiry into the sustainability of cities, which seems more relevant to our research objectives. Culture can also be seen from expressive arts including various genre of artistic expressions like literature, music, fine arts and aesthetical elements of urban artifact. Although culture as expressive arts should not be overlooked its significance to the sustainability of cities, it is assumed that emphasis is more on the former concept of culture by our definition. However, it is hardly possible to separate out two concepts of culture because expressed arts is very much instrumental for the self-realization and nourishment of citizens' daily life and behavioral change.

Culture as an abstract concept would not be explanatory for sustainable urban development but can have strong power when it is permeated into other sectoral and functional concepts like governance, economy, environment, spatio-physical structure and societal system. Because all the functional sectors are also culture-bounded. Good urban governance is generally characterized by efficiency, effectiveness, fairness, transparency and civic engagement and participation. For a sustainable city, economic growth, stability, full employment and income generation of the city is more than necessary. Environmental sustainability is widely discussed and relatively well documented. Spatio-physical sustainability of urban structure is also greatly debated about a desirable urban structure and development pattern in terms of density, land use, transportation and urban community among urban and regional planners. As the city is one of the human settlements system, it should be equitable, secure and inclusive to sustain itself from social disintegration. These norms are interdependent, mutually reinforcing and culturally determined. Culture cannot stand alone and is meaningfully substantiated with other sectoral areas of urban system. A conceptual framework is schematically suggested in Figure 1.

II. Historical and Cultural Characteristic of Cheongju

The City of Cheongju is located in the south-eastern inland and 70 kilometers away from Seoul, and is the provincial capital of Chungcheongbuk-do Province. It is one of the most rapidly growing city to the extent that its population has almost quadrupled over thirty years from 147,000 in 1970 to 582,000 in 2000. Cheongju is also a historical city dated back to 6th century. As the Cheongju region bordered by

2) R. M. Maclver and C. H. Page, *Society*, McMillan, 1957, p.57.

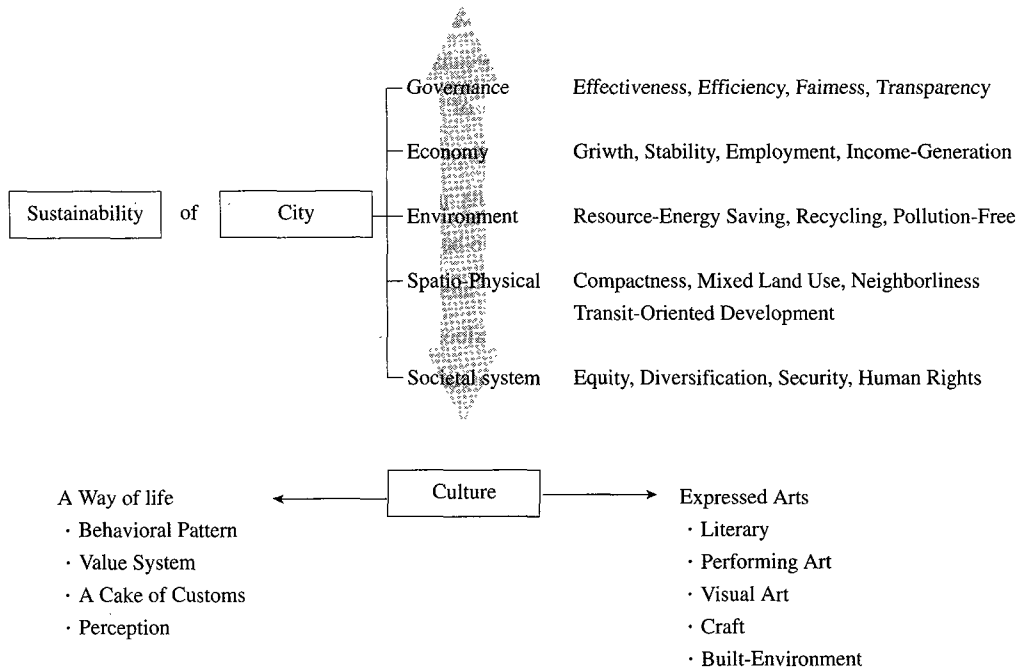


Figure 1. Cities, Culture and Sustainability

three kingdoms during the Three Kingdoms Period (1st century ~ 676 A.D.), the region created some unique cultural characteristics of its own by blending of the Three Kingdoms (Silla, Paekjae and Kokuryo). After the unification of three kingdoms by Silla in 676, the region centered at Cheongju was dominantly influenced by the Silla culture which was basically patterned from the eastward dissemination of Buddhist culture from Nepal via northern China to the Korean peninsula and Japanese archipelago along the Silk Road. In this regard, our three case study cities; Patan in Nepal, Cheongju in Korea and Kanazawa in Japan shares some cultural legacies and common cultural denominators.

Since Buddhism had almost a state religion throughout the Three Kingdoms period and the Unified Silla Kingdom (676-918), the printing of the sutras (Buddhist Scriptures) was a matter of utmost importance for teaching and dissemination of Buddhism. However, cultural legacy of Cheongju would not complete without mentioning the development of movable metal type in 1240, two hundred years before Gutenberg's Bible. The Selected Teachings of Buddhist Sages and Zen Masters (Pulcho Chikchi Simche Yojol) was printed and published with this metal type in Cheongju. Metal craft flourished with the introduction of Buddhism to Korea in 372 as ritual instruments such temple bells, gongs, incense burners, water cisterns, sarira cases and the like in great demand. Before movable metal type printing was invented, it was relied on wood-block print which was not durable and reassemble. The Unified

Silla Kingdom was succeeded by the Koryo Kingdom in 918 which patronized Buddhism as the state religion. During the Koryo Kingdom period (918-1392), many temples were constructed and complete sets of Buddhist scriptures were carved on wood-blocks for printing. Cultural remnants of today in Cheongju were largely built and created during the Koryo Kingdom period, including two temples and movable metal type printing.

However, the demise of the Koryo Kingdom witnessed the decline of Buddhism. The Chosen Kingdom (1392-1905) introduced Confucianism as the state religion although private devotion to Buddhism passively persisted. As Cheongju and its region happened to be a strong-hold of Confucianism during the Choson Kingdom, Buddhist temples and legacies were destroyed or were ruined by neglect of maintenance and renovation. The old part of built-up area or central business district in today's Cheongju was temple sites, only leaving stone walls, foundation stones and the iron flag pole untouched. One of the first attempts was made to restore the iron flag pole of the Yongdusa Temple and urban renewal around the iron flag pole by the group of citizens led by Professor Choi, Hyo-Sung of Cheongju University in the late 1980s. The iron flag pole was erected in 962 during the Koryo Kingdom, which the date of construction was inscribed in the third cylinder of the iron flag pole originally composed of thirty cylinders. A lone campaign had been continued by a small number of citizens group until the municipal authority of Cheongju finally took the reins of purchasing land around the pole and clearing some obstructive buildings to give way to the creation of the Chuldanggan Plaza (Iron Flag-pole Plaza) in the very center of downtown Cheongju. It is a success story how can the restoration and preservation of a historical heritage be saved and renovated by citizens' initiative. Another venture to be reborn Cheongju as a cultural city was the restoration of the Hungdoksja Temple site where the oldest movable metal type printing was made, although original buildings were torn down and the printed sutra was kept in the Louvre Museum in France, and only parts of the original printed sutra is displayed in Cheongju.

As the result of the questionnaire survey turns out, more than 65 percent of Cheongju citizens are most proud of that Cheongju was the first city to print with movable metal type much earlier than Gutenberg's innovation of printing technology which made one of the greatest advances in the Western civilization. In this hindsight, the City of Cheongju has aspired to be reborn as a city of printing and publication, has hosted the International Printing and Publishing Expo the 2000 this year from 22 September to 22 October, and has also built the Cheongju Early Printing Museum. By the Expo, the city is attempting to uphold its urban identity as a cultural city and to create a sense of belonging for the up-rooted citizens in a rapidly growing city like Cheongju under the catchphrase 'From Chikchi To Digital', intending to bring about the image of high-tech city as well. Surely, there are today very few places in

the world, and certainly none of which can be satisfactorily understood or explained in isolation from national and global context in which they are set. Historical incidence of printing technology in Chikchi is materialized into modern concept of digital world for the economic revitalization of Cheongju by high-tech industries which the city hopes to be.

Cheongju as a seat of the prefectural governor seconded from central government throughout the Chosen Kingdom had become the provincial capital of Chungcheongbuk-do in the late 19th century and had naturally been an educational city of many universities and famous high schools including the Chungbuk National University. Government functions and educational institutions had been a backbone of urban economy in terms of employment and income generation until the late 1970s. However, taking the advantages of spill-over by the government's punitive industrial location policies to disperse industries from the Seoul metropolitan region (SMR), where about 50 percent of industrial establishments and more than 45 percent of the nation's population is concentrated, Cheongju have transformed a sleepy administrative and educational city to a vibrant and multi-functional city. Since early 1970s the government introduced a variety of measures to control the influx of industries and population into the Seoul metropolitan region. The government delineated the boundary of SMR's restrictive controls like tax penalty and an outright prohibition of development permit, the city has gained a relative locational advantage and has eventually become a locational haven for anew and relocated industries, because they can still enjoy agglomeration economies of what SMR offers. Since then, Cheongju has gained a momentum of rapid growth. Many universities and higher education institutions have been relocated or built for a second campus. A quiet administrative and educational city has suddenly become a boom town with good access to newly-built express highways.

Immigrants have outnumbered the natives. Population of Cheongju has quadrupled since 1970. Culture of the city could not be built in a day. Resiliency of the people and the rapidity of urban growth could not be met by cultural needs and has resulted in the loss of cultural identity. People are culture-bearing beings, but culture is not going to break out where people are anonymous and transient and thrown together in a mass. Cultural identity could disappear because it has been swallowed by mass culture. The questionnaire survey turns out that the majority of citizens think that cultural consciousness is relatively low, and the respondents having lived more than 40 years in Cheongju greatly concern about cultural uprootedness of the new immigrants and lack of my-home-town spirit. The natives want to keep Cheongju image as a cultural-educational city, while the majority of citizens, especially young and middle-aged new comers express that Cheongju should be developed to a city with diversified functions rather than a cultural-educational city.

III. Cultural System Dynamics of Cheongju

Not necessarily to quote Gravier's famous eulogy of 'Paris and the French Desert'³⁾ which means that Paris is culturally so dominating that the rest of France is almost culturally desert, Korea is not greatly different from France. Seoul has always dominating over local cities. Regional cities like Cheongju have been assimilated by what has been happening in Seoul. More than 50 percent of cultural events and artists are concentrated in Seoul where the patronage of cultural activities and market for cultural products are readily available as shown Table 1. Cheongju has a very meager share of cultural activities and artists of the nation's total. In addition to cultural centralization, Cheongju is just located within cultural shed of the powerful Seoul metropolitan region and is hard to maintain its own domain of cultural identity and market. Historically, Korea has been characterized by a highly centralized country in terms of political and administrative system. Top-down command and bottom-up expectation has been a rule in every spheres including cultural affairs, that was somewhat different from Japan where the feudal system had allowed a certain degree of local autonomy in economy and culture, and local or regional culture could be flourished with some distinct local characteristics during the Edo period and had been even encouraged to compete with localities and cities like Kanazawa under the Kaga Lords. Such a historical legacy of centralization dies hard in Korea and regional cultural identity has been weak from the outset of modernization and persistent even until today.

It has consequently resulted in the absence of local cultural diversity and easily subject to uniformity. Identity of place or locality is formed largely by the history of relation with other places and localities.

Table 1. Number of Cultural Producers and Artists by Cities

	Literary Events	Music Performance	Drama/Ballet Performance	Fine Art Exhibition	Literary Writers	Musicians	Fine Artists
Nation	196 (100.0)	795 (100.0)	596 (100.0)	1,872 (100.0)	2,684 (100.0)	3,940 (100.0)	857 (100.0)
Seoul	73 (37.2)	373 (96.9)	349 (58.6)	967 (51.7)	1,468 (54.7)	2,521 (63.5)	635 (74.1)
Cheongju	- (00.0)	10 (1.3)	7 (1.2)	2.5 (1.3)	36 (1.3)	15 (0.4)	5 (0.6)

The Yearbook of Culture and Art, 1996

3) J. F. Gravier, *Paris et le Desert francaia*, Paris, Flammarion, 1947.

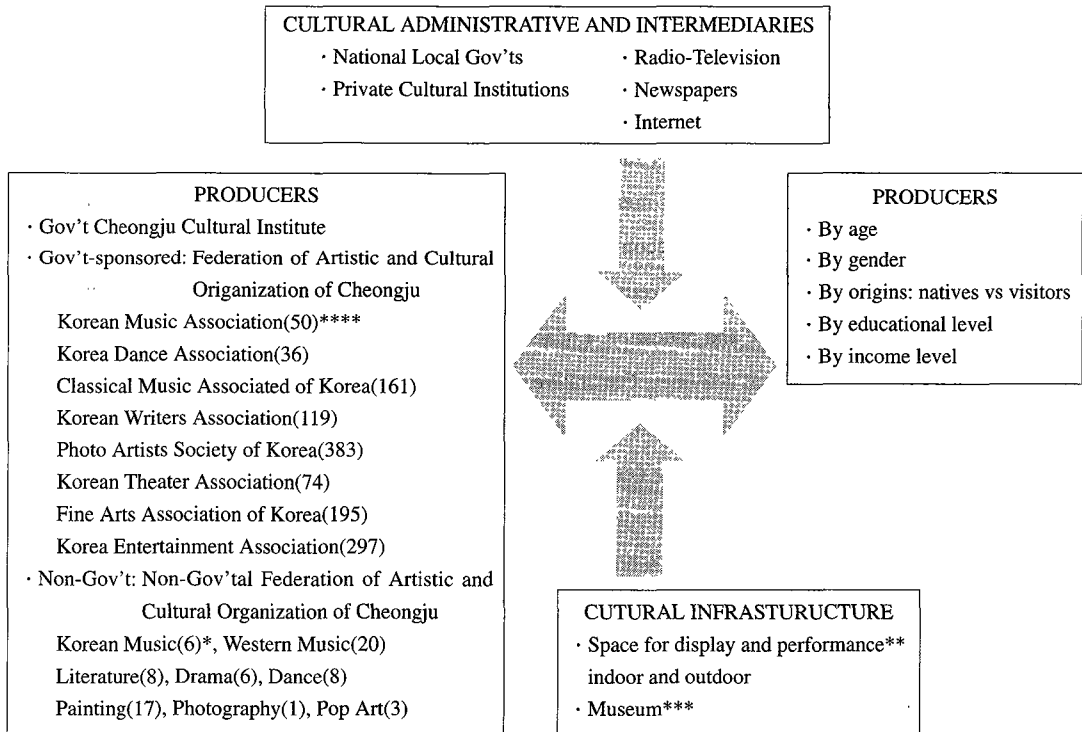
Diversity and uniformity can be understood as two sides of the same coin, in which two centrifugal and centripetal forces can be held in tension with each other.⁴⁾ A pattern of extreme centripetal political dynamics, resembling a vortex, has swept all active elements of the society upward toward central power and culture in Korea until early 1990s. However, Korea has restored a local autonomous government system and has been in the process of decentralization. Since then, almost all localities and cities have attempted to create their own cultural identity and to sell their place for economic development. Cheongju is not an exception.

Culture is a state of mind of the people who are the consumer and final beneficiary of cultural products. Cultural system in the city would be composed of four components: producer, consumer, mediator, and infrastructural facilitator. Expressive artists are a main producer of urban culture and the general publics are a consumer. Cultural mediators are an intermediary linking cultural producers and consumers and can be mass media or journalism or citizens group. Cultural infrastructure includes facilities and spaces for cultural performance, display and dissemination. Cultural administrators can be public and private institution to promote and manage cultural activities. Cultural system in a narrowly defined sense of culture is operated by the interplay of four major components as shown in Figure 2 and its governance highly depends how do those actors play in a city.

In Cheongju, there are not negligible numbers of cultural producers: governmental and non-governmental, and also government-sponsored or subsidized cultural institution. The most important players are the Cheongju Cultural Institute under the municipal government of Cheongju, and the Federation of Artistic and Cultural Organization heavily depending on the subsidy of national and local governments, which is the Cheongju branch of the nation-wide organization. The Federation has 8 sub-committees and the total number of memberships is 1,470 that would not be so small. However, their activities are quite nominal and annual budget is less than \$100,000 that is barely enough to cover the maintenance of the office and secretarial services. As the artists and cultural organizations want to be free by nature from any governmental interference, there is still another non-governmental Federation of Artists and Cultural Organizations although it is not always anti-governmental, and the two Federations are not always cordial either composed of 9 committees and 830 members.

Cultural infrastructure including indoor and outdoor facilities for display and performance and museums has been overly expanded and has been built to make an image of cultural city throughout 1990s. Most facilities have been underutilized because of lack of cultural activities and are suffering from budgetary deficit even for day-to-day operation. As our questionnaire survey turns out, a small

4) Doreen Massey, "Questions of Locality", *Geography* Vol. 78(2), 1993, pp.142-144.



**** Number of persons
 * Number of groups
 ** Indoor

	Floor Area (m ²)	Number of Seats
Cheongsa Art Hall	360	300
Cheongju University Hall	210	250
Neoromsae	2,310	150
Citizens' Hall	345	120
Chungbuk Art Hall	270	130
Norimadang Ullim	450	200
Dooraec-maul	135	100
Total	4,080	1,250

Outdoor

	Area (m ²)	Capacity (persons)
Cheongju Cultural Center	15,000	15,000
Seowon Univ. Amphitheatre	1,500	3,000
Chungbuk Outdoor Performance	4,500	5,000
Total	21,000	23,000

***** Museum**

	Area (m ²)	Items Displayed
Cheongju National Museum	1,311	8,671
Cheongju Early Printing Museum	1,386	637
Cheongju Educational Univ. Museum	84	601
Cheongju University Museum	1,014	1,250
Chungbuk National Univ. Museum	1,287	5,940
Total	5,082	17,099

Figure 2. Urban Cultural System

number of citizens had complaint of lacking cultural facilities and are very much concerned about contents to be performed and displayed in those facilities. Mass media plays a very important role to disseminate cultural activities taking place in the city as citizens have been known cultural events, and exhibition and performance by means of mass-media like television and radio. Placards, wall bulletins and leaflets are also a very effective means to bring citizens to the venue of cultural activities. Especially, Internet and website is becoming popular means among youngsters in the city to get information about cultural events. Citizens or the customers of cultural products are also becoming diversified by age, sex, income and education. Locals and visitors tend to have different perspectives on what the city offers for cultural activities. Generative system of culture seems highly dependent on how are those four sub-systems incorporated to work in a city. The governance of cultural system is to bring the four actor together into cumulative synergy for the cultural development of cities. Learning from the experience of Cheongju, urban cultural system does not work as it should be. Expertise of cultural administrators has to be strengthened. Cultural media including local television and newspapers have to share more time and space for local cultural affairs. Cultural producers have to overcome inferiority complex to a centralized cultural system dominated by Seoul, and have to find a niche for local cultural identity preparing the era of localization and devolution which was just started. Although it should not be overlooked that the sublimation of cultural and artistic expression per se is important, economic consequences of local cultural development have to be given fair consideration for mundane local economic development including place-marketing, the commodification of local culture and the creation of urban artifacts as a city as a whole.

IV. Sustainable Urban Development and Culture as a Way of Life

Korea has gone through drastic during the past half century. Population has almost doubled. Per capita income has increased about 100 times from \$100 in 1960 to \$10,000 in 1998. Automobile has increased from 15 thousands to 11 millions during the same period. Life expectancy has changed from 50 to 74, becoming one of the aging societies wherein age cohort over 65 is expected to go over 15 percent within a decade and so. Consumption pattern including energy, electricity and water has become quite alarming, accelerating the depletion of available resources and depending on imported materials and foodstuffs. Environmental degrading is everywhere, leaving irreversible scars on land, inland water and coastal areas and threatening the very sustainability of the Korean people. Sustainability is originally an ecological concept. It applies to circumstance, where death rates are equal to birth rates, and resources for making good livelihood have not exhausted. As a global agenda, the concern for environmental

sustainability first appeared in the United National Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972. Subsequently, the United Nations Environmental Programme was created in Nairobi. The UNEP established the World Commission on Environment and Development headed by Gro Brundtland, the former Prime Minister of Norway. The report of the Commission entitled 'Our Common Future' was released in 1987. In this report, sustainable development was defined, as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. Since then, the term, sustainable development has emerged as a key concept and has discussed and debated extensively in academic circles and international organizations.⁵⁾

However, the notion of sustainable development is not always clear and uncontested. It has become multi-dimensional concept covering environmental, socio-economic and cultural. Its meaning and interpretation seem to vary from different perspectives and disciplines, although the basic trust of this debate has been to suggest that society cannot take resources than is put in over time. Particularly, the sustainability of cities and human settlements in general was brought into international front at the 2nd United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Istanbul in 1996. It has confirmed that sustainable urban development is the most pressing challenge facing humanity in the 21st century and cities are centre-stage on the environmental drama. The World Assembly of Cities and Local Authorities was created to coordinate and implement the UN policies and programmes for a sustainable urban development. Many national governments have established a national commission for sustainable development, and cities and local authorities have also been preparing action programmes for sustainable development. Korean cities are actively participating to these ends.

Especially, Korean cities have been alerted by the IMF bail-out from foreign debt crisis in 1997 and recently by soaring oil price. In the process of the overall restructuring of national economy, many firms have been closed, pushing out the lay-offs to street in cities and urban economy on the verge of total collapse. In Korean cities, 11 million automobiles cannot afford to run without further increase of oil price. Few people were seriously concerned about the implications of the habitual patterns of consumption until recently, especially those that were being embraced as a consequence of economic affluence, where the increments were largely made up of images of American standards as sold over the mass media. The Korean urbanities have slowly been awakening that they may not sustain with the present pattern of living as diagrammatically shown in Figure 3.

Korean cities' consumption pattern in domestic sector has followed that of the United States and Japan and would have gone beyond to meet the craze for modern living. Electricity consumption per

5) Ratna S. J. B. Rana, "Culture and Sustainable Development Paradigm", *A paper presented at the international Conference on Culture in Sustainability of Cities* organized by IICRC, Kanazawa, Japan, 18-19 2000, pp.4-5.

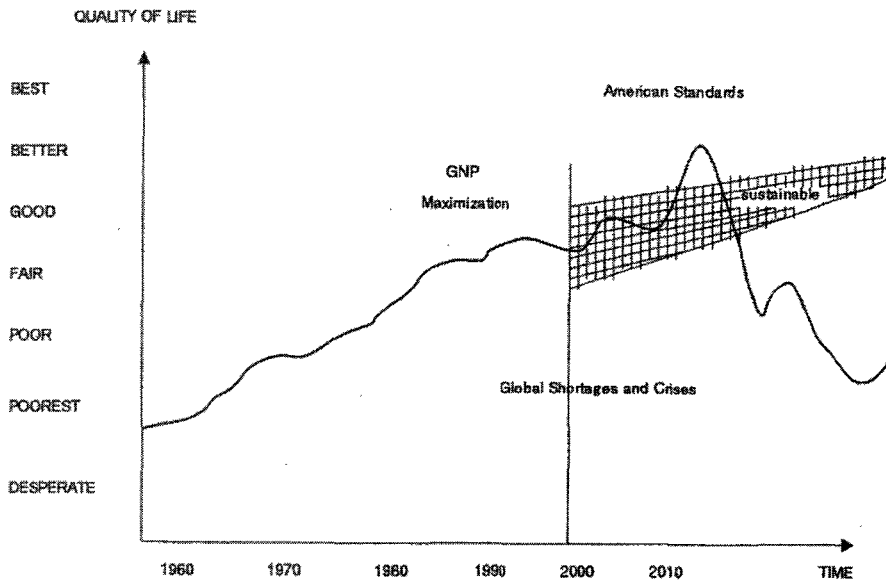


Figure 3. ALERNATIVE FUTURES FOR URBAN KOREA

capita in household sector is already over any advanced countries. It has become obvious that the Korean cities including Cheongju are no longer a frugal society. Household appliances such as refrigerators, air conditioners, washer-driers, micro-wave ovens, rice cookers and color televisions are becoming necessities in everyday life. One foreign economist ridiculed Korea as a pot and pan economy. Korea does not produce a single drop of oil but entirely depends on imported fuel, spending one third of hard-won foreign currency reserve to meet electricity for household appliances and gas for automobiles. A drastic turnabout in people's behavior of consumption is needed to sustain urban Korean who must plan for the provision of a comfortable and convenient urban habitat with an alternative way of life.

Per capita water consumption in Korean cities is record high in the world. Water-consumptive bath-tub and kitchen facilities patterned from the American standard is usually installed even in low-income housing unit. A well-to-do house has more bath-tubs and flush toilets than the number of family members. In Korean cities there will be many years when the monsoon fails, so there will not be enough water to go around. A more dependable supply of municipal water can be obtained by building and expanding reservoirs and up-stream dams. That means submerging some of the best agricultural land to meet water consumption. In Chungcheongbuk-do province, the most productive land covering four counties had to be submerged to meet urban water supply of downstream cities. In addition to water-saving measures including the recycling of water for intensive commercial farming in urban fringe and fish pond, Korean cities have to introduce drastic change in the pattern of water consumption. Many

Koreans are quite amazed by smaller size bath-tub and washer in Japan which consume a half of water as compared to Korea. Professor Ue-Ryong Lee, the former Minister of Culture wrote a book titled 'Japan: A Country of Minimizing Syndrome' and became one of the best-seller list a couple of years ago. Korean urbanities have to learn from Japan how to live in a city where land and water is one of the most precious and expensive resources. Not necessarily need to quote E. Schumacher's 'Small is beautiful', a cultural by-product of the Western civilization must clearly be as devastating for the underdeveloped countries which import its vision of life as for the developed societies which originated it.⁶⁾

The automobile population in and around Korean cities is exploding from 61 thousands in 1970 to 12 millions in 2000. Each vehicle requires 20 to 25 square meters of parking space near home, and roughly equal amount that it shares at work and other destinations. Therefore, about 50 to 60 square meters of space that each new automobile in Korean cities demand in order for it to function. We have built about 5 million units of housing to accommodate new immigrants into cities, encroaching fertile agricultural land for residential uses. The total agricultural land of 22,099 square kilometers of agricultural land has been converted to other urban uses. Unplanned leap-frog urban development is taking place in and around Cheongju without an exception. If this trend continues, Korea cannot be sustainable in terms of food production and environmental degradation.

As the Korean economic miracle was fading away and economic crisis came close to financial moratorium in 1997, austerity measures had been becoming a part of daily life for Korean urban dwellers. Everybody is realizing that they cannot afford urban life they have enjoyed during the heydays of economic prosperity. They are trying to find an alternative way of life, naturally retreating to the humble and frugal life, which Buddhist and Confucian thinkers have long cherished and prepared for the worst scenario. Many may give up their private car, seriously take step to save resource consumption by more traditional ways, and consider going back to the rural homeland where they used to live. A way of life is highly culture-bounded.

Among many cultural roots of the city formation of Korea, Buddhism and Confucianism as seen in the history of Cheongju can be traced back as the most important cultural denominators. Values nurtured by Buddhism and Confucianism, now internalized and no longer conscious have provided a cultural and behavioral basis for daily life and requisite urban process, and to create leverage for sustainable urban society. The most relevant nature of Buddhist way of living is frugal and philanthropic life to be reincarnated to higher and more fortunate conditions of life by the whole ethical consequence of one's

6) E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*, Haper and Row, 1973, p.7.

actions after death. The important Confucian values include filial piety, moral emphasis over material well-being, concern with social harmony, and an obstructive living with nature.⁷⁾ Among others, frugal life and environmental perception toward nature are what we need now to be a sustainable society after all. Filial piety or family royalty, usually coined with the extended family and the caring of parents by their offsprings, seems greatly facilitative to reduce the societal burden of urban governance for the aged and juvenile problems. The extreme comodification of human relationships that subordinates social and cultural institutions to the utility of market tends to result in urban societal disorder. Another attribute of Buddhist and Confucian virtues is a moral emphasis over material well-being and an emphasis on self-cultivation and education. Wealth can be the object of envy but has never been fully respected.

Korean cities would not be greatly deviate from being physical and spatial expressions of Korean culture that has been largely dominated by Buddhism and Confucianism. Korean cities seem a relatively egalitarian city. Cheongju indeed has both poor and high-income residential blocks. Residential segregation by income, religion and social status is hardly problematic and has never been a great social issue. As compared to the Western cities, Korean cities are compact and characterized by mixed land use and temporal patterning. Urban neighborhood is still humane and convenient for living. Each section of urban residential block has various services, shops and eateries. The central business district of Cheongju does not show any symptoms of decay and decline. After an enchanted way of urban life which has been featured by unlimited low-density growth, center-less transportation network, and segregation of land use by the Euclidean zoning for more than half century; the Western cities, especially the American cities are looking for alternative vision of urban growth.⁸⁾ Key words of a new paradigm are compactness, mixed land use, urban growth boundary, transit-oriented development, lively neighborhood, diversification and inner city gentrification which seem nothing new for Korean cities as well as Japanese, Nepalese and Malayan cities. Most Asian cities have made the risk of blind imitation of the alien urban paradigms. Now, it is time to find out our own paradigm and to construct a new physical-spatial structure of our own which is culturally embedded and sustainable.⁹⁾ It does not pretend to foretell what Korean cities culturally should be. Many attempts have been made in this regard. The present endeavor on culture and the sustainability of cities must be the beginning of a long journey exploring a new urban cultural paradigm toward the 21st century.

7) Sang-Cheul Choe et. al, *Culture and City in East Asia*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

8) Anthony Downs, *New visions for Metropolitan America*, Washington: The Brooking Institution, 1994, pp.123-128.

9) 波邊俊一, 比較都市計劃序説, 東京: 三省堂, 1985, pp.275-276.

Appendix

Questionnaire survey on the cultural perception of Cheongju citizens was conducted from 28 September to 2 October 2000 in Cheongju with help of Professor Hee-Yeon Hwang and students of the Chungbuk National University. A stratified sampling of 315 was made by age, sex, occupation and the period of living in Cheongju. The followings are a simple enumeration of questionnaire survey but cross-tabulation and analysis is not complete.

<Q-1> How do you think the level of cultural mindedness of Cheongju citizens in general?

	No.	%
Very high	10	3.1
High	116	37.4
Low	180	57.9
Very Low	8	1.6
Total	315	100.0

<Q-2> Cheongju has been famed as a cultural-educational city in Korea. What does it make such fame?

	No.	%
High level of cultural consciousness	24	7.6
Many cultural assets and remains	51	16.2
Numerous schools and students	203	64.5
Many cultural events and festivities	14	4.4
Excellent cultural infrastructure	6	1.9
Others	12	3.8
No answer	5	1.6
	315	100.0

<Q-3> The City government has carried out many cultural events like exposition, performance and exhibition. What is your evaluation?

	No.	%
Too many and too often	31	9.8
Government-led and lack of citizens participation	155	49.2
Not greatly contributing to urban economy	79	25.1
Low level of citizens cultural mindedness	37	11.7
Others	5	1.6
No answer	8	2.5
Total	315	100.0

<Q-4> What is the most critical problem for Cheongju to be a cultural city?

	No.	%
Lack of cultural infrastructure	73	23.2
Inactive artists and performers	36	11.4
Lack of financial support and investment	111	35.2
Lagging citizens cultural education	60	19.0
Carelessness of historical cultural assets	25	7.9
Poor accessibility to cultural assets	3	1.0
Others	7	2.2
Total	315	100.0

<Q-5> What is the most desirable policy option for the development of Cheongju preparing for the 21st century?

	No.	%
Strengthen economic base by high-tech industries	85	27.0
Expansion and improvement of urban infrastructure	95	30.2
Creation of urban identity by cultural development	126	40.0
Other	9	2.8
Total	315	100.0

<Q-6> By what means do you know cultural events and cultural activities in the city?

	No.	%
Television and radio	147	46.7
Placard, poster and handout	149	47.3
Personal contact	14	4.4
Other	5	1.6
Total	315	100.0

<Q-7> What is the most urgent action to be taken for the cultural development of Cheongju?

	No.	%
Expansion of cultural facilities and spaces	69	21.9
More support for cultural institution and artists	27	8.6
Urban economic development by cultural products	176	55.9
Strengthening of citizens cultural education	43	13.6
Total	315	100.0

<Q-8> What is a alternative for the cultural development of Cheongju?

	No.	%
Decentralization of Seoul-oriented cultural activities	51	16.2
Creating cultural identity of the dity	127	40.3
Internationalization of local culture	65	20.6
Recovery of Chongju's role for regional cultural center	62	19.7
Rebirth as a historical city	5	1.6
Others	5	1.6
Total	315	100.0

<Q-9> What is the most proud cultural asset in Cheongju?

	No.	%
Iron flagpole Yongdusa Temple	37	11.7
Sangdang Mountain Wall	61	19.4
Movable metal type printing	206	65.4
Prefectural governor's house	2	0.6
Namseok stone bridge	3	1.0
Others	6	1.9
Total	315	100.0

<Q-10> Which is the most impressive cultural event undertaken recently?

	No.	%
Chongju Aviation Expo	30	9.5
International Craft Biennale	80	26.3
Chongju Printing and Publishing Expo	121	38.4
Citizens Day Festival	15	4.8
Restoration of the Iron Flagpole of Yongdusa Temple	23	7.3
Performance of the Opera 'Chikchi'	22	7.0
Others	10	3.2
No answer	11	3.5
Total	315	100.0

<Q-11> How do you think about a desirable future image of Cheongju?

	No.	%
Cultural-educational city	160	50.8
Diversified regional city	112	35.6
Industrial city	14	4.4
Tourism city	19	6.0
Administrative city	10	3.2
Total	315	100.0