Master's Thesis of Engineering

The Exclusionary Tactics within the Public Realm

– Focusing on UN Village and Seorae Village as Comparative Case Studies –

UN빌리지와 서래 마을 비교를 통한 공공영역 내에 배제전략에 관한 연구

August 2021

Graduate School of Engineering
Seoul National University
Interdisciplinary Program in Urban Design Major

Ilgaz Elif Gocen

본 논문작성자는 한국정부초청장학금(Global Korea Scholarship)을
지원받은 장학생임

The Exclusionary Tactics within the Public Realm

- Focusing on UN Village and Seorae Village as Comparative Case Studies -

Advisor: Choon Choi

Submitting a master's thesis of Engineering

July 2021

Graduate School of Engineering
Seoul National University
Interdisciplinary Program in Urban Design Major

Ilgaz Elif Gocen

Confirming the master's thesis written by
Ilgaz Elif Gocen

Chair _____

Vice Chair _____

Examiner _____

The Exclusionary Tactics within the Public Realm

– Focusing on UN Village and Seorae Village as Comparative Case Studies –

Ilgaz Elif GOCEN
College of Engineering
Interdisciplinary Program in Urban Design
Graduate School
Seoul National University

Abstract

The Gatedness as an urban phenomenon inside contemporary cities points at increased segregation at neighborhoods on both spatial and perceptional levels, even when no physical gates or enclosure is present. In the case of affluent neighborhoods, tactics for exclusivity have been creating segregated environments inside the central urban areas, and in turn decreased community interaction within the neighborhoods. Gatedness , or exclusionary neighborhoods separate themselves from the surrounding communities, and create small niche neighborhoods of exclusivity that enhance spatial segregation. The UN Village and Seorae Village in Seoul, offer two case studies for how such tactics are hidden in plain sight. The tactical criteria used in those two villages are also widespread in other communities throughout Seoul, which possibly will give further evidence on how they affect the urban trends and influence public realm in communities of various economic and social backgrounds. This overall acceptance of gatedness and other exclusionary elements such as signage, lack of public

transportation, and pedestrian connectivity slowly have spread to other neighborhoods, creating a sense of otherness for outsiders.

Keyword : Gated neighborhood, UN Village, exclusion, otherness, spatial segregation
Student Number : 2019-24813

Table of Contents

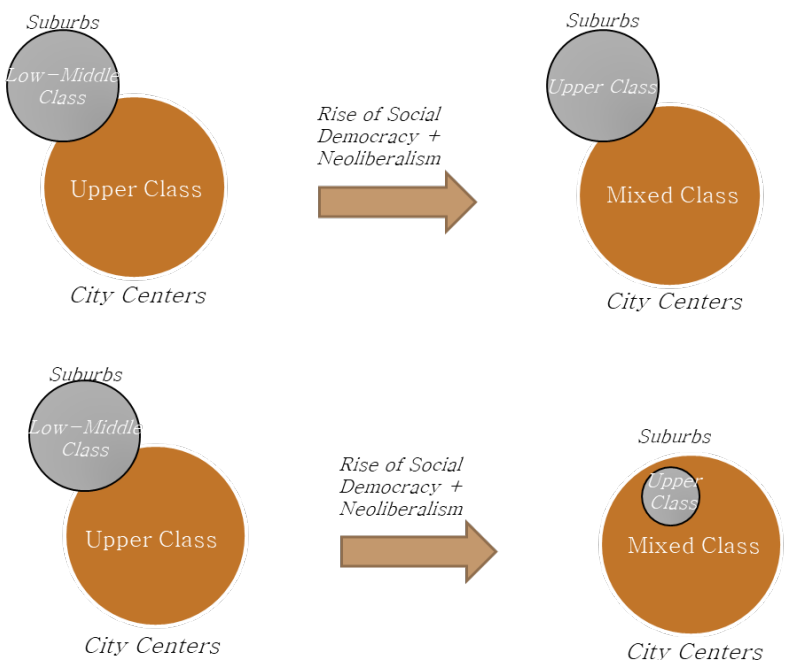
List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Background of Research

Since before the suburban communities gained popularity, upper classes have been occupying centers, while pushing lower classes to commuter zones on the outside layers of the cities. However, with rapid urbanization and rise of social democracy after World War II, more heterogeneous city centers, where everyone had more equal footing, became favored. In their 2015 *Beyond Gated Communities* book, Uduku and Bagaeen argue that as the acquisition of properties in city centers by the emergent middle-class caused insecurity for the upper-class. The mixed structure of the cities has eventually pushed the wealthy to find a new method to separate themselves from the rest (Uduku et al., 2015), so that they either started to move to suburbs with their gardened houses, or they fortified themselves hiding behind the gates of their houses in the centers.



<Figure 1.1> Movement of classes in the urban areas
(Western top, Korean bottom)

The South Korean upper-class, compared to other countries such as the U.S., has approached gated housing much differently. Rather than moving out to find their own suburbs or big houses, they chose to hide behind gates inside the city centers. While the Korean urban fabric is slowly getting gentrified through *high-rise gated communities* – or *apartment complexes* as they are known in Korea – affluent neighborhoods with villas manage to create even further exclusivity with no immediately visible forts surroundings them.

The exclusivity of these gated neighborhoods, referred to as "gatedness"[①] throughout this study, contributes to their perception as more refined and elegant dwelling areas, while at the same time hiding them in plain sight from the public and professionals, as well. The simultaneous ubiquity and invisibility of gated dwellings increases the spatial segregation, which results in decreased permeability, and the creation of an illusion of privatization of public areas.

Gatedness in neighborhoods implies much more than physical security – it also functions as a way to self-segregate from 'others' and object against the new urban form (Uduku and Bagaeen, 2015, Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Dinzey-Flores, 2013). The need for separation represents a conscious effort to keep others outside and show dominance over the city, affecting the city morphology and urban fabric on multiple layers in the process.

Karl Deutsch (1961) highlights the importance of human freedom and its connection to the availability of human transactions. According to this idea, the more interaction options we have in the metropolis, the more freedom is gained out of it, and, on a morphological scale, levels of permeability have a major connection

① Gatedness, though word itself doesn't exist in the English language, was used to represent the 'condition of being gated' for the neighborhoods.

to the percentage of choice mobility. With the usage of certain understated tactics, gated neighborhoods are managing to create a unified setting that increases exclusivity and segregation, which on a bigger scale decreases the permeability and connectivity of the urban networks of mobility. Furthermore, the tactics used by the affluent neighborhoods are slowly being spread to other areas of Seoul by the home-owners, to increase the image and value of their surroundings without being aware of the consequences.

The neighborhood Hannam-dong[②] (Yongsan-gu) is one of the most sought after, expensive areas of South Korea, subjected to high gatednessand segregation in many different aspects due to the affluent population and identity. The unique historical setting of the area and current residents manage to transform the public streets of UN Village into a public fortress, with no strict walls surrounding the area, but nevertheless accessible only via the public image they create, since most visitors do not have direct access to the public spaces in the area.

The public image of these neighborhoods is created by the movements of people and goods along the city, and the continuous interaction with the urban residents in the areas (Ley, 1982, Lefebvre, 1991). By decreasing permeability and comprehensiveness, gated town houses and villa complexes around Hannam-dong have been creating black zones in the middle of cities through exclusiveness. And while they are promoting communities for the people of similar background behind their gates, lack of community interaction is in reality confining them in and confining "others" out (Dinzey-Flores, 2013).

Gatedness as a word itself doesn't have any meaning in the English language, but the unique Korean gated residential areas, being neither community nor suburbs, originates the term. The

② `Dong` meaning smallest South Korean city division, administrative.

expression ‘gated community' gets re-defined in a general sense through these unique neighborhoods, in an effort to find patterns of tactics which increase the appearance of affluency and exclusivity.

2. Research Questions

Sets of question were formulated to address the causes and effects of the spatial segregation tactics formed by gated neighborhoods of Seoul. The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the differences between gated neighborhoods and high-rise gated communities in South Korea?

2. Do various tactical criteria, other than gates, cause gated neighborhoods to appear exclusive? If yes what are they?

3. How does exclusiveness manifest in central urban areas through spatial segregation and is there a tactical relation between gated neighborhoods?

3. Purpose of Research

Gated developments, not only create spatial segregation in the public realm but are also causing drastic irreversible transformations in the urban structure and the built realm through their bigger scale influence. Hidden neighborhoods with increased exclusivity are causing more strict segregation across different levels, but due to their private exclusive nature, there is a lack of research focusing on understanding them.

The purpose of this paper is first to define the unique phenomenon of gatedness in neighborhoods which creates spatial segregation, and then deduce the set of criteria used as tactics to change the urban fabric. Cross-checking the criteria obtained from

the case areas – UN village and Seorae Village – will show how these neighborhoods are segregating themselves from their surroundings for the benefit of certain groups of users. Furthermore, the study will look at the ramifications of gatedness across other residential areas in Seoul, showing how aspirations of social exclusivity alter the overall urban context and spatial structure of the city.

4. Research Methodology

This project began with a literature review to understand the concepts and definitions of gated communities across other continents, such as North and South America[③]. A number of studies differing in their methodological framework – from field and data analysis to interviews and questionnaires – were analyzed to gain a deeper understanding of the term and the concepts surrounding it.

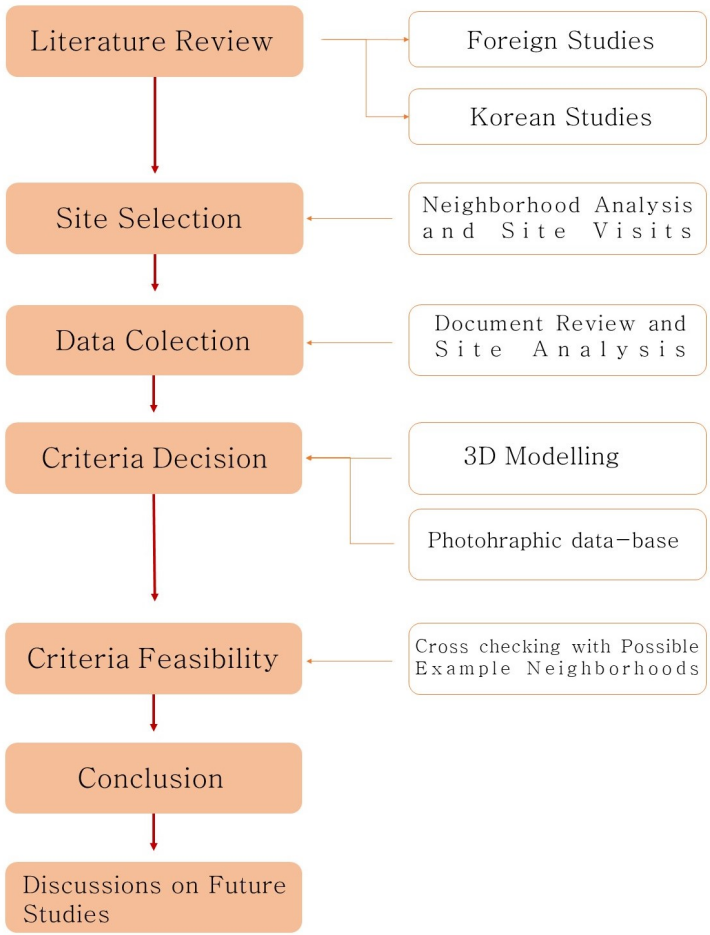
Further in the research, concepts that corresponded over to the South Korean examples were gathered to understand the history and circumstances that created the Korean style of urban gated residential units. Neighborhoods that stood out among the common gated forms of Seoul were chosen as investigation sites.

In the next step of the research, field visits and digital resources, such as satellite images and 3D models, were used, and new criteria were deduced for the unique spatial segregation tactics which lead to the gatedness phenomenon.

In the last step, to further solidify the criteria that create this unique form of segregation, other example neighborhoods with similar physical and social backgrounds were compared with the

③ Certain continents were mentioned due to the extensive literature founded on the areas and the huge impact they had over other cases, especially in South Korea.

research site. Finally, discussions related to future studies were added, such as consideration of the possible location and creation of the discussed gated fabric. Figure 1, shows the overall flow of this research.



<Figure 1.2> Research Flow (Drawn by Author)

Chapter 2. Literature Review

1. Gated Community Definitions

1.1. Physical Definitions:

Although there is not one clear definition to 'what is a gated community', there are various available interpretations. Urban planners, researchers, geographers, and sociologists have tried to define and understand the essence of gated communities and their relation to their surroundings and the city. Many even questioned the term itself, offering alternatives such as "gated residential developments" or "condominiums" (Roitman, 2009).

One of the first and most significant studies related to gated communities was done by Blakely and Snyder in 1997. In their book 'Fortress America', the authors stress the function of community in the gated residential units, using terms such as, "residential areas with restricted access", "designated perimeters, usually walls or fences", and privatized public spaces, to define the general concept of gated communities in American neighborhoods.

The authors further add that the characteristics of gated communities, such as the level of included amenities or more security, defines the portfolio of its residents and their needs, in conclusion creating a homogenous population holding a sense of community. So rather than giving a strict definition, they chose to create a list of features that can come together to create commonly found gate communities all throughout America. This loose description takes not only new settlements, but old neighborhoods into consideration, as well.

	Year	Location	Book	Definition
Blakely & Snyder	1997	America	Fortress America	Streets restricted for traffic, restricted access and increased security, amenities inside
Caldeira	2000	Brazil	City of Walls	Spatial Segregation, physically demarcated, security systems and guards,
Seta Low	2003	America	Behind Gates	Walls, fences or being situated in an inaccessible land which closes all amenities in. Restricted access and security in and around. Amenities inside.
Atkinson and Blandy	2005	–	Introduction: International Perspectives on The New Enclavism and the Rise of Gated Communities	Restricts public access, increased security with CCTV or guards, various facilities inside such as shops, collective responsibility of the area
Blakely	2007	–	"Gated communities for a frayed and afraid world"	Privatized with gates (especially public spaces), controlled access,

<Table 2.1> History of Definitions of Gated Community

Low (2003), Atkinson et al, (2005) and Blakely (2007) are three studies that define the gated communities in a direct way and with similar approaches, using field research. They all focus on the restricted access with gates, security, and amenities unreachable by the general public, which are closely related to the work also done by Blakely and Snyder. Atkinson et al. refers to them as *"walled or fenced housing developments, to which public access is restricted".*

Caldeira (2000) defines private residential developments as "fortified enclaves". One of the more important aspects mentioned

in her book, in addition to the security and restricted access, concerns the connections between the enclaved residential areas and the rest of the city. It is pointed out that gated communities are not closely connected to their immediate surroundings, but rather to the places situated on a bigger scale.

Her research, conducted in Brazil, offers different physical characteristics than that of Blakely and Snyder (1997). She adds "development of multiple residences, mostly high-rise" to her definition and takes high-rise gated neighborhoods into consideration – an aspect not considered in previous studies. In a general sense, while she keeps the definitive elements Blakely and Snyder offered, she further improves the definition by examining homogeneity, landscaping, and autonomy. Gated communities should be further separated from the rest, not only by physical gates, but also by avoiding any interaction with the outside, including services and amenities.

There seems to be lack of definitions on containment areas, house typologies, architectural elements, and shared facilities, such as street furniture and location. Research done by Ballent, (1999) in Buenos Aires, points out that first gated communities were small as they were more suburban and used only in rest days, further evolving to a bigger architectural form as residents moved more permanently.

Despite the difference in the methodological approaches, the studies above draw a set of shared conclusions regarding the main characteristics of gatedness, including the presence of gates for security, the presence of fences and walls, isolation from the surroundings, homogenous resident fabric, and a constantly evolving urban planning process aimed at accommodating the changing lifestyle of the residents. This change is affecting and creating new definitions and typologies we are yet to see.

1.2. Social Definitions:

Gated communities don't aim to just spatially isolate themselves from the rest, but also in the form of services and interactions provided by the city. According to Roitman (2009:32), "social exclusivity and social segmentation are also thus important elements to be considered when analyzing gated communities." This part will focus on the social expectations and definitions of gated communities in various aspects.

In terms of the social impact of gatedness, authors Blakely and Snyder explain that the need for gates comes from changes in the physical and social structure of cities. Gatedness is a form of escape, and the residents are refugees seeking shelter away from urban problems, creating privatization of civic duties and public necessities which in the end go against the core norms of democracy and nationhood (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). It further troubles the land-use planning as homogeneous groups create resistance against potential resolutions of municipal problems.

In their "Divided We Fall: Gated and Walled Communities in the United States" article from 1997, Blakely and Snyder also categorize the gated communities in 3 groups: lifestyle communities, elite communities, and security zones. According to them, these 3 styles have their own priorities in terms of identified social values: sense of community, exclusion, privatization, and stability.

	LIFESTYLE	ELITE	SECURITY ZONE
SENSE OF COMMUNITY	tertiary	tertiary	secondary
EXCLUSION	secondary	secondary	primary
PRIVATIZATION	primary	tertiary	tertiary
STABILITY	secondary	primary	secondary

<Figure 2.1> Priority of social values in each gated community typology
(Taken from: Divided We Fall: Gated and Walled Communities in the United States, 1997, Blakely and Snyder)

Lifestyle communities create separate and private environments and amenities for homogeneous groups of people, while elite communities allow stable and distinct prestigious groups of people to create rich enclaves. Elite community gates not only protect the physical elements on the inside but the economic and social status of the residents, as well.

Lastly, security zones enhance the feeling of security and protect the community while excluding the outside and all the threats it may impose on to the community. These zones were born through the fear of crime and not being able to control ones' surrounding/change. Security zones are not necessarily a mark of affluence, since they primarily appear in poor neighborhoods where residents attempt to control street permeability in order to reduce crime and illegal activities. However, in the case of Korea, which boasts very low crime rates, gatedness is unlikely to function as a form of security.

As seen in Figure 2, different communities prioritize different values on different levels. While this may be common case for the study of Blakely and Snyder, due to other aspects Korean examples may not fit in to those norms, which creates new forms and possibilities for gated community typologies.

2. Social Fabric of Cities

Confucianism, and neo-liberalism has pushed out the low-middle class people and created residential gentrification. Sassen mentions this phenomenon in a 1994 paper:

> "[...] the impact of global process radically transforms the social structure of cities themselves– altering the organization of labor, the distribution of earnings, the structure of consumption, all of which in turn create new patterns of urban social inequality." (1994)

Through globalization and privatization, the real estate market has gotten international investments, which in turn influenced the residential and commercial construction (Sassen, 1991). This foreign tendency introduced the gated communities to other developing countries as the “image of the international and modern elite” or part of a “global culture” (Janoschka and Glasze, 2003) which resulted in more expansion. This expansion resulted in the diversification of the gated typologies, focusing on classes beyond the upper-class in the social world (Roitman, 2009).

3. Korean Gated Residentials Units

Until now, most of the literature examples were focused on the suburban gated communities, with villas, open gardens and numerous amenities that took up considerable space, due to the large land surface they have to take up in order to accommodate the demands of middle- and upper-class residents comprising suburban communities.

Unlike the examples, Korea neither has the suburban culture nor the space to house gated communities, and laws are not accommodating for privatization of roads by closing them to public. Thus, different solutions were necessary to accommodate the middle-upper class’s demands for the real-estate market. Through these demands and as part of fast urban migration, common high-rise residential community appeared in the middle of central urban areas, and took up spaces to create superblocks in various neighborhoods, all throughout South Korea. This process of change was supported by the government due to a lack of funds after the war, so that privatization of neighborhoods started rapidly with a push by landowners and private sectors (Kim, 2017).

When apartments were introduced to the Koreans for the first time, there were many worries related to cultural adaptation in the space (e.g. storing kimchi jars), but as time passed the real-estate industry adapted the Western apartment typology to the Korean life norms, adding ondols, changing room placements, and so on, all of which increased their popularity in the real-estate world (Kim, 2017).

<Figure 2.2 > "Branded" Apartment Advertisements by
Korean Celebrities from early 2000s
(Taken From: https://www.m-i.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=249198)

From a historical and social perspective, it is argued that the population of South Korea puts high importance on ownership-oriented housing compared to rental-orientated, which results in %78.8 of total assets per households being occupied by real-estate. With the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the construction of Apgu-jeong apartments in Gangnam, half of the famous population had moved from Gangbuk neighborhoods to the area by 1989, contributing to a sharp rise in popularity and prices of property. People who had real-estate properties appeared to be the new middle-class after the IMF crises and the economic disorder (Kim, 2017).

After 1980s, apartments become the symbol of wealth and the most likely way for people to increase their status in the social ladders. Further, due to the government's housing supply projects, which focused on the apartments since 1970s, the value of apartments continues to increase until today. Now, in the modern urban planning process, they are the representation of wealth and status. People use the floor number, appearance, and view as elements to show off their wealth in the society, which can be related to ancient beliefs of the "sky father". as the rich want to "look down" on the rest (Wesiman, 1992).

Gated community (master-planned)			
Luxury townhouse	Apartment complex		
Privately owned	*Privately owned*	*Mixed tenure*	*Public rental*
	Objects of the study		

<Table 2.2 > Clarification of gated community and apartment complex in the Korean context of the study
(Taken from: 김희석, 2018)

According to the 2006 study done by Korea Institute of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, six out of ten high-income people now live in apartments, and more than half of low-income people live in Korean style detached houses. Middle and upper class look at apartments as properties that can increase their wealth and social status, but that doesn't fully represent the high upper class which still lives in villas in the selected neighborhoods.

After 2000s, using celebrities to advertise or brand apartment units, such as "Lotte Castle", further accelerated and solidified the social characteristics of each apartment brand. The individualization of apartment units directly challenged community ideologies, with the environment not supporting the development of internal social relations (Park & Hong, 1992). This has popularized apartments

and created a high-rise gated community craze in the urban fabric of Seoul, which now accommodates more than half of the city's population.

If we were to argue about this change through the neo-liberal approach, we could look at it through the lens of privatization. Low and middle class tried to fit into the upper-class, and chose to move into apartments which marked the privatization of housing systems. However, in reality, it is the upper-classes that popularized apartment living through advertisements, increasing their wealth while still residing in the villa style single-family houses in neighborhoods such as UN Village, which are the focus of this research.

4. Difference between Korean Gated Residential Units and Other Examples

Countries which take neo-liberal housing policies as a base seems to exhibit a similar trend – privatization in residential areas while forgetting the public areas (Kenna and Dunn, 2009). With the increase of private space in most Western countries, non-urbanized, isolated city outskirts developed to increase their value, simultaneously decreasing the value of properties in the city center (Caldeira, 2000).

As mentioned previously, the influence of Western examples on Korean urbanization, especially in residential areas, cannot be stressed enough, although the country retains its unique typology due to the various factors, mentioned in the previous chapter. The difference between the two typologies is in this section compared in more visual detail through two central examples.

Although they are still far from being organized and privatized, Korean 'New Towns' have managed to embody the suburban

typology similar to the cul-de-sac road structures in the outskirts of Seoul with the government support.

Unlike its Western equivalents, the high-rise typologies commonly visible in Korea represent the middle- and upper-class Koreans in Seoul. The Western image of apartments created a different dichotomy with the low-class "villa" typology of the historical Korean residential units.

Korean gated communities, apart from the gated apartment complexes as one of the most sought-after residential forms of 21st century, don't carry the similar characteristic of Western style suburbs. Due to land-shortage and rapid increase of population in the cities after the Korean war, high-rise apartment complexes and their gated forms have been in demand among both middle- and upper-class Koreans.

4.1. North American Examples:

North American examples are of particular importance to gated communities around the world since they initiated the craze of gatedness and influenced all future iterations. The above literature review points out that the gated neighborhoods in the West started as a retirement facility, and slowly expended as exclusive facilities focusing on rich residents, offering security with CCTVs and walls.

<Figure 2.3 >Beverly Hills Gated Communities in U.S.
(Taken From: variety.com)

Now, these neighborhoods represent and influence much more than what was initially intended. Renowned neighborhoods, such as Beverly Hills, which gained global prominence for its celebrity residents, offer an upgraded form of the first gated communities. Through extensive research done on American examples by Blakely and Snyder in 1997, it can be understood that US gated communities mostly have less than 150 units each and varied spatial organizations compared to similar neighborhoods in other countries.

4.2. Chinese Examples:

One of the most prominent examples that affected the trends and the construction fabric in Asia is China. Starting in 1950s with globalization movements and the privatization of housing stocks, high rise gated communities took over the traditional Chinese houses (Abdel-Hamid, 2020). Massive development projects took place till 2000s, with similar spatial organization created through master plan schemes.

<Figure 2.4 > A Typical Chinese 'residential quarter', gated community
(Taken from: Pu Miao, 2010 pp.48)

Similar to American examples, as the price range increased, so did the amenities inside, scaling from large green open spaces to swimming pools and culture centers. However, in terms of the design, the Chinese example differs since the communities are generally larger in population and are standardized so that the same model could be implemented in several locations, constructing the "monopoly of a single development model" (Miao, 2010).

These gated neighborhoods symbolize Western-style housing, desired by elite class Chinese residents. Just as in the Korean examples, these residents hide behind alleged safety and security concerns, in reality creating "otherness" for the rest of the public as they segregate themselves from the heterogeneous society.

5. Negative Influence of Gated Communities

In over a century of existence, gated communities came to be symbols of luxurious desires of the upper class, who used this form of residential typology to isolate themselves from the public space, behind such concerns as fear. Gated communities became popular with privatization of housing, using advertisements to spread an illusion of safety and security for the physiological concerns of the public (Abdel-Hamid, 2020). Against the chaotic lifestyle of the 20th and 21st century, they offered a safe environment from the heterogeneity of the public urban areas. Nowadays, gated communities expanded beyond their initial goal, becoming "exclosurtopias" – areas which allow residents to control the built environment according to their desires, while maintaining the illusion of safety and security (Low, 2008). Understanding gated communities beyond their masked image as safe environments, and seeing them as creators of real dichotomies between the utopic and dystopic, and the social and physical, helps us to see their role as the "geography of relations that produces

fear and anxiety" (Low, p.162).

Furthermore, in societies such as South Korea where gates are encouraged due to various reasons, they tend to create a trend which allows common elements in such affluent neighborhoods to appear everywhere. The popularization factor of gates creates a negative influence on the general public and affects the urban fabric. Using urban elements like they are fashion trends has critical consequences in public realms. Gated communities, just like the 21st century utopias of the modern South Koreans, appear one after another in cities and neighborhoods, slowly taking over residential areas. People who cannot be part of that modern utopia use any tools available to alter their surroundings to fit in and get out of "otherness".

For example, looking at my field research notes of certain neighborhoods, CCTVs appear as the most common elements that stand out in the urban fabric for various reasons. Residents who cannot afford to move into gated communities take certain elements and implement them to their surroundings. This creates a commonality for certain criteria, and in some cases, results in general acceptability of the otherwise odd element. Elements pedestrians are commonly seeing were created through a different cause-effect relation than what we usually perceive today.

Gated communities commonly seen in the American continent, influence central urban areas less, compared to the iterations in South Korea, due to their geographical separation of the urban and the suburban. Furthermore, CCTVs and gates are few of the most common urban elements that can be found in the any parts of cities in Korean, serving different purposes: some are for security in commercial areas, some are to catch litterers by home-owners. Although the ones installed by the government have the purpose of maintaining security in unlit areas of Seoul, private CCTVs create a feeling of being watched at all times.

<Figure 2.5> Signage in non-affluent neighborhoods
(Top-Left: *Throwing thrash illegally is banned, CCTV is recording.*
Top-Right: *CCTV is recording: If you litter on private propriety, your personal information will be revealed and you will be fined up to 1 million won.*
Bottom-Left: *Throwing trash illegally is banned.*
Bottom-Right: *Don't throw away dog excretion on the road and flower bed. We will check CCTV and report it.*)

These tactics which aim to imitate gated neighborhoods are also influenced by land-prices. The importance of land-ownership in Korea creates the tendency to follow the neighborhoods with high land-prices in order to to increase the value of less valuable property. Similar to how apartments were popularized in early 2000s, the movements of the upper-class are creating new patterns for the general urban fabric.

Examples show that the residents of low-middle class neighborhoods in the perimeter of the case study neighborhoods UN Village and Seorae Village, implement the same tactics of separation to control their surroundings like the upper class, often citing

different reasons, such as littering, as justification for their practices. Furthermore, this act of segregation by enclosing space further creates a fragmentation in the urban fabric and disturbs the continuity of space (Sikora-Fernandez, 2013).

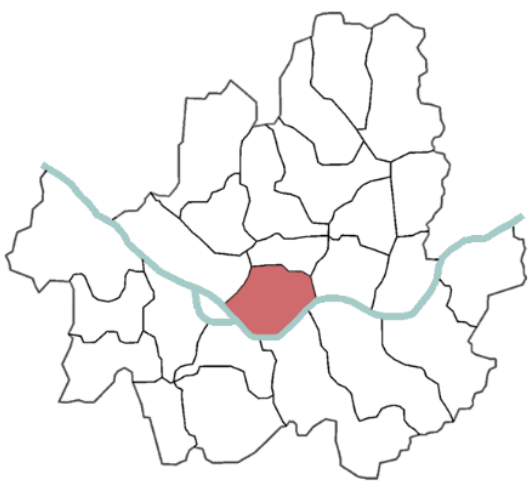
In his 1976 book "The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach", Manuel Castells defines urban segregation through the distribution of products. He regroups social features of residents, such as income, education status, and age, into products and groups them into spaces in the urban realm, where they could serve as the main cause of urban segregation. Spaces with "high internal social homogeneity" create neighborhoods, while "strong social disparity" of features and hierarchy between those neighborhoods determines the level of urban segregation (M. Castells, 1976: 169). The pre-determined creation of internal social homogeneity in gated communities creates strong social disparity in its surroundings, which leads to urban segregation that affects the quality of public life and forces some groups into their own homogeneous areas.

Apartments (gated high-rise communities), create suburban islands inside the urban areas, blocking the continuity mentioned by Castells (1976). The 2000s trend of apartments slowly taking over bigger areas resulted in super block islands adjacent to one another, blocking outsiders and creating a desire to belong for non-residents, incentivizing fortification in other neighborhoods and different residential typologies.

Chapter 3. Hannam-dong, UN Village

1. UN Village General Information

The area of Seoul has served as the capital of Korea since 1394, when it was known as Hanyang. The area was secured as the capital of Joseon for centuries, till the fall of the Dynasty in 1897, resuming as the center until the end of Korean war, before the fast-paced urbanization started. Originally, Seoul was considerably smaller, roughly the size of today's Jongno District which still serves as the historical center and home to many historically important buildings, such as Gyeongbok Palace and Changdeok Palace.



<Figure 3.1> Seoul's districts (Yongsan-gu Area marked red in the middle where the case study area UN Village is situated.)

Compared to the previous position of the capital, Hanyang and the Hannam-dong area, which is home to UN Village, was in the outskirts of the city. With the fast-paced urbanization of South Korea, especially Seoul, Hannam-dong moved its position to the middle of Seoul. Now, it is situated in the Yongsan-gu district of Seoul, close to the international neighborhoods in the west and

other heavily gated apartment complexes of Oksu-dong on the north-east side.

Neighborhoods surrounding Yongsan-gu include the central district Jung-gu in the north, Mapo-gu in the west, the residential areas of Seongdong-gu in the east, and two busy, affluent neighborhoods, Seocho-gu and Gangnam-gu, in the south. Due to the international and political importance of the area, home to the U.S. Army base and the Itaewon Mosque, and old neighborhoods in the area, Hannam-dong creates a unique environment to observe the gated forms of residential areas of UN Village.

<Figure 3.2>2018 UN Village Area and Surroundings Satellite View
(Taken From: http://www.nsdi.go.kr/lxmap/index.do)

UN Village occupies the east borders of the Yongsan-gu area. The most expensive apartment units of Hannam, dubbed Hannam The Hill, are situated in the north of the area, while the Han river and transit roads took up the areas in the south. To the east, Seongdong-gu fortifies the Village with gated apartment complexes, while a main transit road passes in-between the old neighborhoods of Hannam and UN Village.

To understand the current dynamic of the built environment, an Excel sheet with every unit in UN Village area was comprised. Information related to addresses, built areas (m2), appraised values of land, names of the building if available, floor levels, household units, construction year, building typology, height, floor area ratio, and latest update dates, were gathered to have a better understanding of the neighborhood. In Table 2, you can see a part of the table mentioned. Due to the size of the table, data from 1959-1992 were added as an example.

At a first glance, it can be understood that there are 196 units with a specified address in UN Village, most being either individual housing units or Korean style villas with divided units (average 6 households). 105 units are single family houses, and only 16 units have a higher tenant number than 10, as most town-houses or apartment units were built for small but privileged resident groups. Town houses in the area were constructed with the aim of imitating single family houses with gardens in the upper floors and incorporated open spaces.

지번주소	도로명주소	건축면적(㎡)	appraised value of land	name	floor	basement	세대수	construct	type	높이	용적률	data year
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-235	유엔빌리지2길 99	96,155	*8,310,000* 원/㎡		2	1		1959	단독주택	8,17	39,04%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-266	유엔빌리지2길 60	131,31	8,882,000	A동	1	1		1959	근린생활시설		14,40%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-284	유엔빌리지2길 24	97,75	*8,882,000* 원/㎡		1	1		1960	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 293-2	유엔빌리지2길 34-4	776,5	8,882,000	이탈리아대사관	2	1		1962	전시시설	7,95	27,17%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 287	유엔빌리지1길 34	110,65	8,013,000	크로바아파트	4	0	(3building	1967				2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 271-7	유엔빌리지길 28	143,19	7,098,000		4	1		1968	제2종근린생활시설	12,2	147,86%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-209	유엔빌리지길 200-1	136,79	*7,426,000* 원/㎡		3	0		1970				2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-209	유엔빌리지길 200-1	136,79	*7,426,000* 원/㎡	콘보이하우스 고리아	3	0		1970				2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-304	유엔빌리지2길 27	221,22	*7,510,000*		2	1	가구수2	1974	다가구용단독주택	7,95	33,86%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-311	유엔빌리지1길 10	184,69	*7,438,000*		2	1		1974	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-9	유엔빌리지길 127	697,97	8,882,000	한남국제연수원	3	1		1974	교육연구시설		22,81%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 36-8	유엔빌리지길 274	134,98			2	1	1	1974	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-280	유엔빌리지2길 34-9	136,69	*9,163,000* 원/㎡		2	1		1976	주택	8,41	47,70%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-266	유엔빌리지길 136-6	223,01	*9,590,000*		3	2	가구수2	1978	주택	11,2	58,66%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-335	유엔빌리지길 80-4	138,08	*9,702,000*	우이스튜디오	2	1	1	1978	제2종근린생활시설	6,4	47,49%	2019
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-383	유엔빌리지길 200-7	91,07	*7,720,000* 원/㎡		2	1		1978	주택			2018
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-383	유엔빌리지길 200-7	91,07	*7,720,000* 원/㎡		2	1	1	1978	주택			2018
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 399-14	유엔빌리지길 80-94	78,78		메종다꼬떼?	1	1		1978	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 399-15	유엔빌리지길 80-90	250,18	9,231,000	메르센에이전시	2	1		1978	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-15	유엔빌리지길 78	138,84	*9,985,000*		2	1		1979	단독주택	6,9	56,78%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-324	유엔빌리지길 74	137,57	*9,382,000*		2	1	1	1979	단독주택	8,22	51,38%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-329	유엔빌리지길 80-22	149,06	*9,985,000*		2	1	1	1979	주택		47,88%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 312-5	유엔빌리지1길 2	49,42			2	1		1979	근린생활시설	6,25	85,21%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 312-5	유엔빌리지1길 2	49,42	7,750,000	flower shop thing	2	1		1979	근린생활시설	6,25	85,21%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-323	유엔빌리지길 72	157,93	*10,060,000*	이창하 디자인연구소	3	1		1980	제2종근린생활시설	11,95	87,42%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-2	유엔빌리지길 200	139,04	*7,874,000*		2	1		1980	제2종근린생활시설	7,2	58,61%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-384	유엔빌리지길 198	210,84	*8,021,000* 원/㎡		2	1	1	1980	단독주택	6,9	41,53%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-385	유엔빌리지1길 24	139,64	*7,286,000* 원/㎡		2	1	1	1980	주택		69,22%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-325	유엔빌리지길 68-9	93,26	*9,787,000*		2	1		1981	근린생활시설	7,3	53,66%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-427	유엔빌리지3길 72	133,72	*9,379,000*		2	1	1	1981	단독주택	8	59,96%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-431	유엔빌리지3길 54-16	148,2	*9,147,000*		1	1		1981	근린생활시설	3	33,68%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-432	유엔빌리지3길 54-14	148,33	*9,147,001*	CESPMC	1	1	1	1981	주택, 근린생활시설	6,5	33,33%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-444	유엔빌리지길 80-34	68,83	*9,075,000*	에스티씨라이프	2	1	1	1981	주택	0	49,34%	2018
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-308	유엔빌리지2길 34-20	171,57	*9,331,000*		2	1	1	1982	주택		36,03%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-404	유엔빌리지3길 63		*9,590,000*		0	2		1982		4,8		2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 274-14	유엔빌리지길 20	125,62	9,840,000		4	1		1982	주택	12,7	173,27%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-276	유엔빌리지길 94	113,4	*9,144,000*	플러스준 스튜디오	1	1		1983	단독주택		47,05%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-293	유엔빌리지3길 34	182,42	*9,231,000*		3	2	1	1983	연구소, 주택, 근린생활시설		103,57%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-412	유엔빌리지3길 51	105,3	*9,973,000*		2	1	1	1983	주택	6,4	56,44%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 294-2	유엔빌리지2길 37	135,77	4,800,000	주한타지키스탄대사	2	1	1	1983	전시시설		74,78%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 775-10	유엔빌리지3길 156	97,38	9,991,000		2	1		1983	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 775-11	유엔빌리지3길 160		9,991,000		2	1		1983	주택			2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 775-12	유엔빌리지3길 164	119,59	9,991,000		2	1		1983	단독주택 근린생활시설	7,8	58,16%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 775-8	유엔빌리지3길 152	93,87			2	1	1	1983	단독주택		56,70%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-229	유엔빌리지2길 103	168,66	*8,476,000* 원/㎡		2	1		1984	주택	7,5	63,06%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-258	유엔빌리지길 178	110,52	*8,546,000*		2	1		1986	주택	5,1	58,63%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-457	유엔빌리지3길 195	112,59	*9,484,000*		2	1	1	1986	주택	6,1	59,72%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-225	유엔빌리지길 219	156,63	*7,488,000* 원/㎡		2	1	1	1986	주택	8,45	44,75%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-233	유엔빌리지길 193	324,04	*8,028,000* 원/㎡	중앙하이즈빌라	3	1	6	1986	연립주택	11,8	85,80%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-294	유엔빌리지3길 2-24	236,2	*9,231,001*	한강빌라	3	1	6	1987	연립주택	14,1	84,72%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-268	유엔빌리지2길 54	196,23	*8,882,000* 원/㎡		2	1	가구수1	1987	근린생활시설, 주택	11,2	50,31%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-292	유엔빌리지길 52	81,46	*7,286,000* 원/㎡		2	1	1	1987	주택	6,95	77,10%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-269	유엔빌리지3길 24	194,05	9,420,000	메종하남	2	1		1988	제1종근린생활시설	7	35,16%	2020
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-271	유엔빌리지3길 16	211,86	*9,796,00*		2	1	1	1988	단독주택	10,29	44,74%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 15-11	유엔빌리지길 188-12	177,38	*9,981,000*		2	1	가구 3	1988	단독주택		41,83%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-336	유엔빌리지길 80-16	164,85	*10,390,000*		2	1	1	1989	주택	8,7	56,82%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-301	유엔빌리지1길 6	152,36	*6,607,000*		2	1		1989		7,85	63,71%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 776-3	유엔빌리지3길 106	190,98	9,873,000	그레이스맨션	3	1	4	1989	공동주택 연립주택	10,36	89,80%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-47	유엔빌리지3길 66	277,34	9,014,000		3	1	가구2	1990	다가구 단독주택		47,12%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-42	유엔빌리지길 254	211,47	*8,331,000* 원/㎡		4	1		1990		15,82	158,84%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-306	유엔빌리지2길 34-24	109,15	*9,331,000*		2	1	1	1991	단독주택	7,9	59,38%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 11-461	유엔빌리지2길 34-26	109,02	*9,144,000*		2	1	1	1991	단독주택	7,9	59,30%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-226	유엔빌리지2길 109	321,57	*8,021,000* 원/㎡	하남유림빌라	3	2	6	1991	연립주택		89,82%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 7-5	유엔빌리지길 224	100,88	*7,712,000* 원/㎡	LIGHTHOUSE	3	1		1991	제1종근린생활시설, 단독	10,5	89,80%	2019
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-231	유엔빌리지길 237	266,19	*8,060,000* 원/㎡	신원빌라	4	1		1992		15	125,81%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-241	유엔빌리지길 259-5	300,74	*8,550,000* 원/㎡	힐탑빌라	4	1	8	1992	연립주택	13,9	199,60%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-290	유엔빌리지2길 16	195,23	9,069,000원/㎡		2	1	1	1992	단독주택	11,55	46,28%	2017
서울특별시 용산구 한남동 1-295	유엔빌리지길 42	608,49	7,358,000	유림유앤빌리지	3	1	9	1992				2017

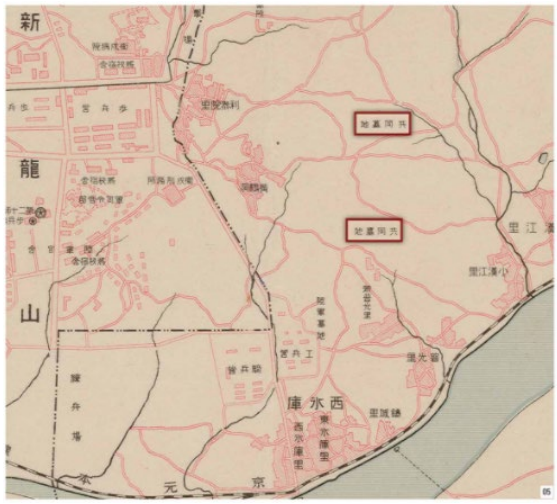
<Table 3.1> Building Data of UN Village

(Taken address as a base, full table can be found in the annex.)

The oldest remaining residential unit still being occupied by residents is from 1959, and it features a more open wall structure compared to newer constructions. Looking at construction patterns over the years in the area, it can be seen that 60 units were built between the years 1959–1989, all of which mostly consisted of individual residential houses. Although most of the 42 units built after, between the years 1990–2000, were town-houses, no-dominant typologies in the years after could be found. In the 21st century, 61 units were built between the years 2000–2010, while after 2010, 30 units in total were constructed.

2. History of the Area

Hannam-dong (한남동), the land between Han River (한강) and Namsan Mountain(남산) as the name suggests in Korean, was the area assigned to the foreigners (OEC, UN, American Army Members, etc.) living in Korea after the Korean War (6.25 전쟁) ended in the 1950s. Before that it was considered a small area, attached to the corner of Seoul with not many amenities, and due to military use of the area over the years, there is little publicly available information.



<Figure 3.3> Map of Yongsan Area from 1924, oldest mapt to show UN Village Area (Bottom middle)

The rarliest information related to the area is from 1860s, and it concern the transportation routes in Joseon Dynasty. The document recorded that Korean people frequently used the areas of Itaewon to reach the Han river from the city centers of Hanyang[④], as it had fewer obstacles on the way to reach the river, and people could cross it easily from the Seobinggo Ferry Dock (서빙고 나루터) to travel to other cities of Korea at the time. The area has slowly taken the form of a village in the early 1900s, focused on agriculture and featuring a relatively poor population. The area kept remained like this until the population started to increase a bit after 1930s due to the elimination of public cemeteries in the area and big scale development projects it brought in.

④ Historical name of Seoul, usually referring to the historical core of the city, as it was considered the city center.

The start of the Japanese invasion lead to an increase of foreign population in the area, due to the proximity of the Yongsan station. The Japanese Army influenced the Yongsan area till 1945, after which Japan signed surrender documents which disarmed and moved the Japanese Army out of the area. Yongsan and the barracks that were used by the Japanese Army were transferred to the U.S. forces.

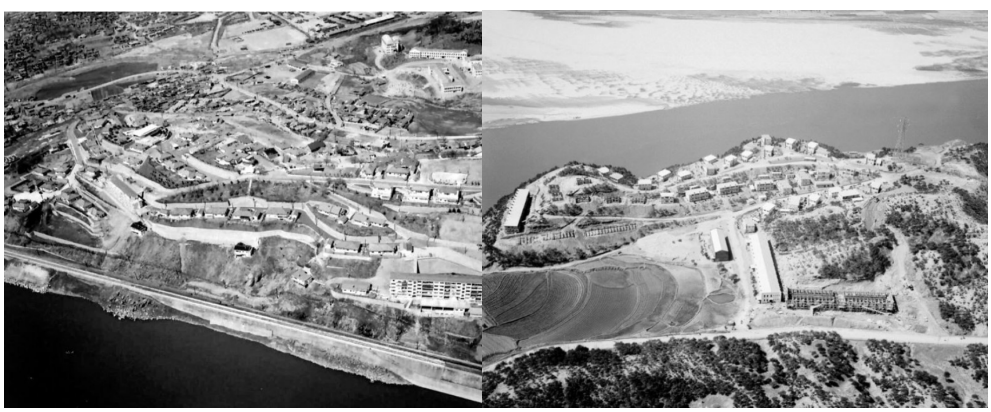
The calm in the area didn't last long. 3 years after the Japanese left, the Soviet Army invaded the area, which resulted in the evacuation of U.S. Army forces and the start of the 6.25 Korean War. Areas of Yongsan, due to their strategic position and proximity to the old capital Hanyang, got heavily attacked, which led to its residents leaving the area. Following the conclusion of the Korean War, the Yongsan-dong area changed over the years with various Army movements in the area, still remaining a small village and army base till the mid-20th century.

After the liberation and with the settlement of U.S. forces in the area, the whole dynamic of the area changed. Population increased due to the foreign population that came from other countries and the migration from other parts of Korea to the centers of Seoul. Comparing the 1924 and 1957 maps of the area shows the change in the building fabric of the area, and the expansion of residential zones. Koreans who started moving to Seoul, found it hard to settle in the centers of Seoul, choosing instead to settle in the areas of Yongsan after 1960s, which led to an increase of population in each neighborhood. On the other hand, the upper class population of foreigners which consisted of embassy workers, high position U.S. Army officers, OEC workers, and so on, led to development of 128 units (106 units of villa and 2 units of apartments) in 1956, in the outskirts of Namsan Mountain, where Hyatt Hotel is situated today. Together with the development of this area, construction of upper-class housing units started in the UN village area in 1959 and

between the years 1959- 1969, 264 units were built in the UN Village area.

This increase of population was also due to the 'Hannam-dong office of U.S. Army' in Yongsan, which was opened in 1961, and draw a lot of attention to the area with its beautiful scenery. The view of Han River and the vast land (now the areas considered as Apgu-jeong and Gangnam), created a higher demand among foreign residents, and created a unique architectural portfolio for Hannam-dong.

Between the years 1960 and 1974, many Western high-end housing complexes were built to accommodate various ranking officials, one of many being UN Village, which was built for high-ranking officers, such as ambassadors in the hills of Hannam-dong.



<Figure 3.4> 1960s Aerial View of UN Village, Hannam-dong (Taken from governmental archives)

UN Village and the surrounding areas were designed to give the privacy and open space resembling the suburbs, and serving as a place for officers to feel at home. The pictures from Bill Smother, member of an American army family who lived in Korea in 1960s, shows the reality and the pedestrian perspective of the area, and allows the comparison with today's UN Village to see the change over time.

However, as time passed, the area started gaining a reputation among Koreans, which in turn changed the whole urban and architectural fabric. Hannam, in recent years has gained the reputation as one of the most expensive neighborhoods in Seoul. Gated complexes such as “Hannam The Hill” has topped the lists for having the highest transaction cost for 4 consecutive years of around 7.75 billion South Korean Won, (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport’s 2018 data). Now Hannam has one of the most unique neighborhood typologies in Seoul, with highly gated and secured villas.

3. UN Village Surroundings

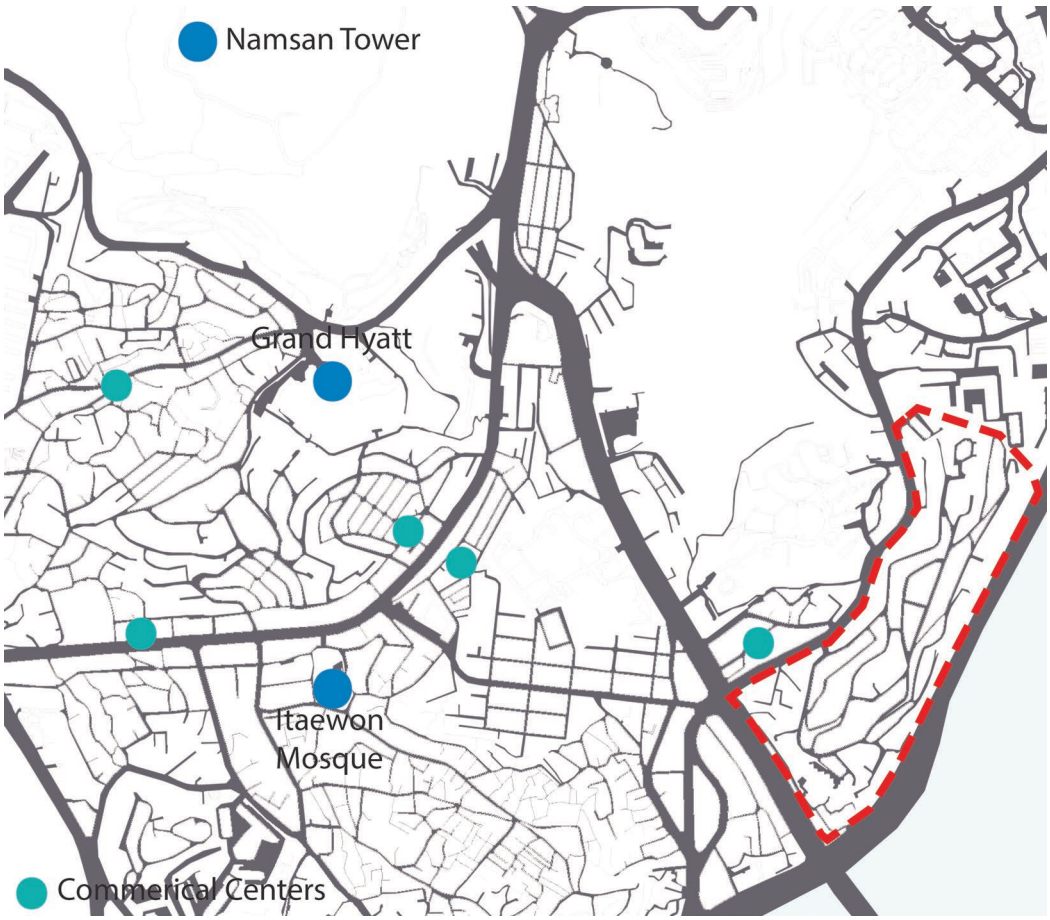
Today, UN Village and its surroundings has evolved to create a unique set of relations with each other. The Itaewon area on the left is known for its foreign population and commercial activities. The only mosque in South Korea is also situated in the area surrounded with other commercial facilities focused for Muslims living in Korea.

This unique culture has created complex roads juxtapositioned with grid patterns of recent developments. While the area around the mosque and main street is focused on foreigners, inner parts are home to old Korean residents, whereas the north side in the outskirts of Namsan Mountain has a similar pattern of gatedness like UN Village. New developments such as Hannam911, or Hannam The Hill are spreading from the east side to the other parts of Yongsan-dong and pushing for development.

Old residential areas are waiting to be re-developed with the governments’ upcoming ‘Hannam: New Town[⑤]’ project. The project

⑤ A master plan designed and initiated by the government to re-developed an old neighborhood from scratch: luxury project next to Han River, home to many residential and commercial units. Project has been in talks since 2002, but still yet to be realized (The Seoul Institute, 2017).

aims to improve the urban functions and the living conditions of the area, including broad areas of greenery, which will make the gatedness of UN village stick out more in the future. Figure 1 also further shows other important areas, such as Itaewon Mosque, Grand Hyatt Hotel, and Namsan Tower in close proximity of UN Village.



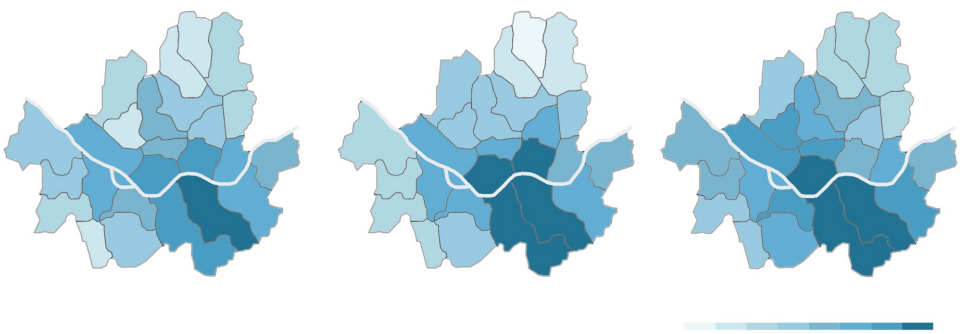
<Figure 3.5> UN Village (Red Marked Area) and significant nodes in the public areas (drawn by Author, 1/20 Scale)

4. Difference with Other Gated Neighborhoods of Seoul

This research focuses on the UN Village, a Hannam-dong

neighborhood in Seoul, South Korea. It was chosen for a number of reasons among the other influential and affluent neighborhoods such as Yeoksam-dong, Cheongdamdong, and Apgujeong-dong in Gangnam-gu.

According to the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport's 2018 data on transaction values of apartments and villas, Yongsan-gu, Seocho-gu, and Gangnam-gu had the highest transaction costs in various residential units (Figure 5). Although, this monetary value doesn't directly correspond to the affluence of a neighborhood, its effects cannot be unseen. As mentioned in the previous chapter, segregation from the rest of the public is one of the main causes of gated communities, and the affluent upper class is most likely to isolate themselves compared to the others. Given its low crime rates, South Korea does not feature an environment which would require gating for security reasons, instead signaling social classification and stratification as the main cause.

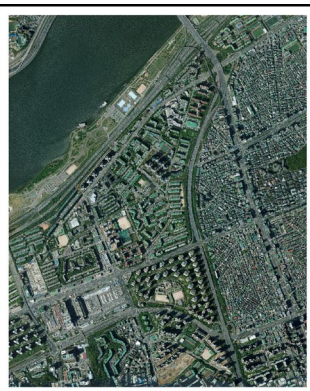


<Figure 3.6> Residential Typologies Comparison of Neighborhoods of Seoul per transaction cost, South Korean won (From left to right, apartments, villas and office-tells, in order)
Data: Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport

Furthermore, the most expensive residential units such as Hannam The Hill, UN Village, and 91 Hannam, are all situated in the mentioned districts and, to further argue, Hannam The Hill had a

transaction cost value of around 7.75 billion South Korean Won for 4 consecutive years. Transaction cost shouldn't be enough to indicate how gated a neighborhood is and how it is affecting the real fabric of the cities, but it does allow us to have an initial outline of the district units and further focus on the areas on a smaller scale.

Compared to other affluent neighborhoods, Hannam-dong has a longer history due to the American Army base and the foreign population of the area, providing an excellent research opportunity for gatedness. Compared to it, Cheongdam-dong and Yeoksam-dong urbanized after the 1980s through apartment projects and retail uses.

		
Samseong-dong Area	Banpo-dong Area	Cheongdam-dong Area

<Table 3.2> Residential Zones in Different Affluent Neighborhoods

For example, if we were to look at the history of Cheongdam-dong, popularized through the art craze of high and middle-class Koreans back in the 1980s, strengthened its reputation as a "venue for conspicuous consumption" after the 1990s, with luxurious retail chains and residential housing for the wealthy (Kim, 2007). Today, Cheongdam-dong is still home to many high-fashion brands, luxurious stores, gourmet restaurants, and sub-culture that focuses on the top-privileged among South Koreans, which creates a greatly gated environment. It creates a residential portfolio that is similar to its surroundings, such as Apgujeong-dong, Samseong-

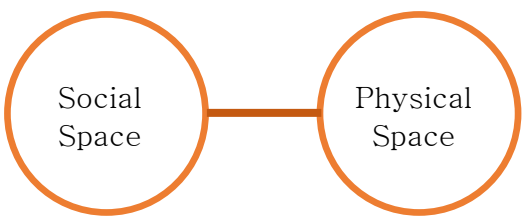
dong, Sinsa-dong or Nonhyeon-dong, formulating a solidified environment hard to differentiate.

On the other hand, UN Village is in the Yongsan-gu area, located next to the old and organic neighborhoods of Itaewon-dong and Hannam-dong. It is slowly affecting its surroundings with gated community projects like Hannam 911, while allowing UN Village to keep its unique quality. This enhanced uniqueness – a product of the surroundings and deep historical background that allowed UN Village to keep its gated form till now without change – is what makes it ideal for this research.

Chapter 4. Spatial Segregation – Gatedness

1. Definition of Gatedness

As it was stated in chapter 1, there is a lack of clear consensus about the definition of gated communities, or gated neighborhoods in general, especially as pertaining to central urban areas. This might be due to the expansion of typologies of gated community in the past few decades, and their spread across various cultures of Europe, Latin America, and Asia. To successfully define this spatial segregation – the gatedness in South Korea – which is highly dependent on social norms, it is necessary to look at other studies related to the *creation of space*.



<Figure 4.1> Connection of spaces

Physical and social space depend on each other more than we assume. The world out there and the world inside of our selves create a bilateral connection, which manifests even in language, with phrases such as “looking up to someone”, “looking down”, “high society”, “political circles” or “professional distance” etc. Our stance in the society is understood through comparisons to others, both physically and socially (Weisman, 1992).

This relationship can be born from gender differences, race, economical income, and more, all of which in essence take the idea of dichotomy and assume one element is superior to the other. It is due to the dominant power one has over the course of creation in

many aspects and being able to spread the created information wider, but that doesn't necessarily make the dominant information right (Haraway, 1991).

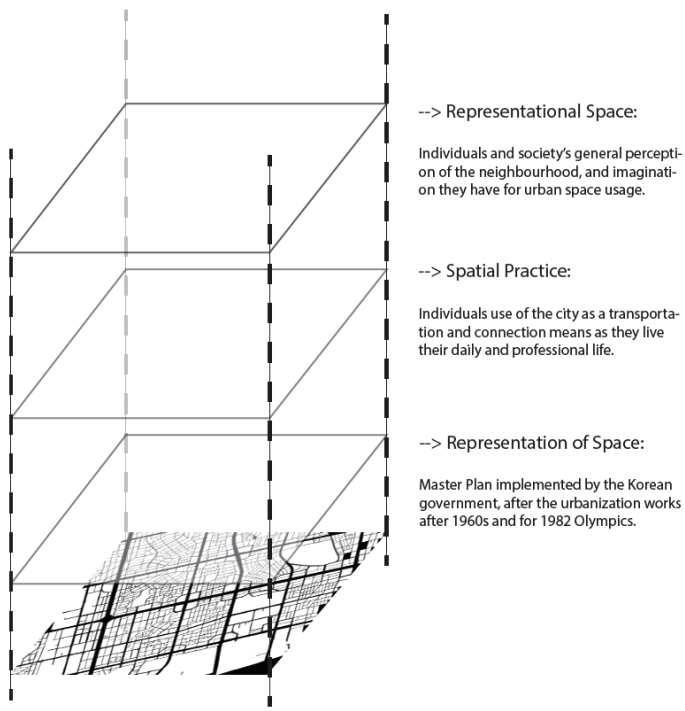
Creation of information, understanding can turn physical spaces to something more than we perceive with our senses. For example, Leslie Weisman says in her Discrimination by Design book:

> "Armed with a piece of chalk, children can turn public sidewalks into private gameboards that block pedestrian traffic. Armed with a can of spray paint, teenagers can turn the walls of public buildings and highway overpasses into private billboards. Armed with society's tactic approval, men can turn allegedly public streets into a private male jungle where women are excluded, [...]" (67, 1992)

This creation ideology, although originally used in the context of gender studies, can be further applied to theorize the make-up of affluent neighborhoods and their implicit otherness in urban areas. It can be rephrased as: "Armed with economic and social power roles, which are also enhanced by the society's approval, the upper class can turn neighborhoods and public streets to their gated fortresses inside cities."

Henri Lefebvre, one of the most important philosophers to have worked on the topic of creation of space, stresses the importance of the relationship between society and space: "space works as a toll for the analysis of society" (34, 1992). He creates a layered outlook to this creation, dividing space into 3 categories: spatial practice, representation of space, and representational space. These, in order, correspond to perceived, conceived, and lived space. Physical space, created by urban designers, can evolve to a different understanding through the layers of perceived space and lived space.

If we conceptualize these layers, they come together to create an understanding of a neighborhood structure represented in Figure 7. While each layer can be discussed individually, they cannot be separated from each other on a bigger scale. For example, the representation of space in terms of the road structure of “cul-de-sac” roads, notable in affluent neighborhoods, indicates that they were created to reduce car activity in the residential areas and to create the sense of a community. But this leads to decreased movement patterns and creates vague spatial practices, due to the less permeable environments. In the representational space layer, the lack of interaction with spatial practice leads to a new representational space for different users of the area, which spreads and creates the image of the neighborhood.



<Figure 4.2> Henri Lefebvre’s Creation of Space Layers
(Drawn by Author)

The compactness of cities forces every neighborhood to develop a unique identity (Lefebvre, 1974). In the case of Seoul, neighborhoods like Hannam-dong tend to create less permeable areas with weak identity due to a lack of interaction between pedestrians and the cityscape. Although it might seem that exclusion by gates only locks affluent people inside, in reality it has social costs for people outside, as well (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Spatial segregation, or gatedness to be more precise, is the act of creating fortifications across different layers of space creation. It is an enhanced form of gates, especially in the public's image of social aspects, such as reputation or otherness compared the rest of the city fabric, or creating an *otherness* in the eyes of the visitors of the area. This form of gatedness ensures that any visitor in the area feels like a visitor and not a resident by using elements such as signs, walls, secure entrances, and unusual luxury house names.

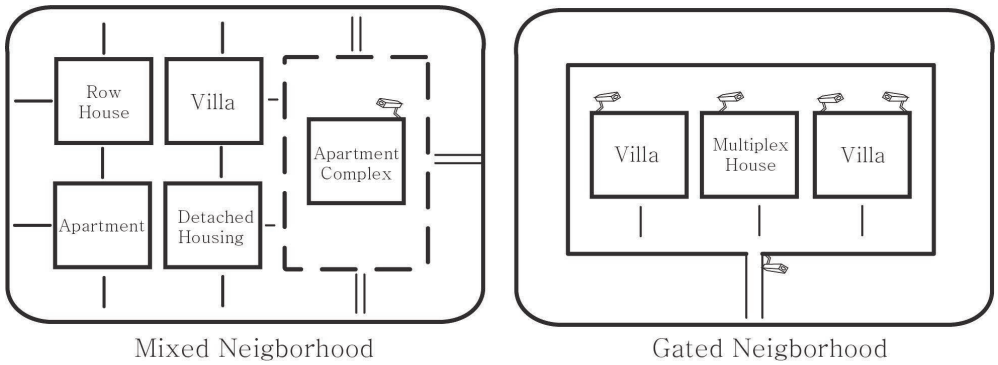
Previous examples stress the creation of gated neighborhoods through the eyes of the residents, such as desire for sense of community, social homogeneity or sense of safety, but gatedness due to its layered form, it also considers the criteria of creation for the outsiders.

2. Comparison of Gatedness and Gated Communities

The new type of gatedness illustrated in the previous chapter, creates a different atmosphere and impact compared to the gated communities usually seen in South Korea.

The definition of social gates inside the urban fabric, which in this research is called gatedness, will help us understand the social agendas and the distribution of power roles in the physical

setting. Information and detailed analysis can be further settled by a comparison with existing gated community typologies.



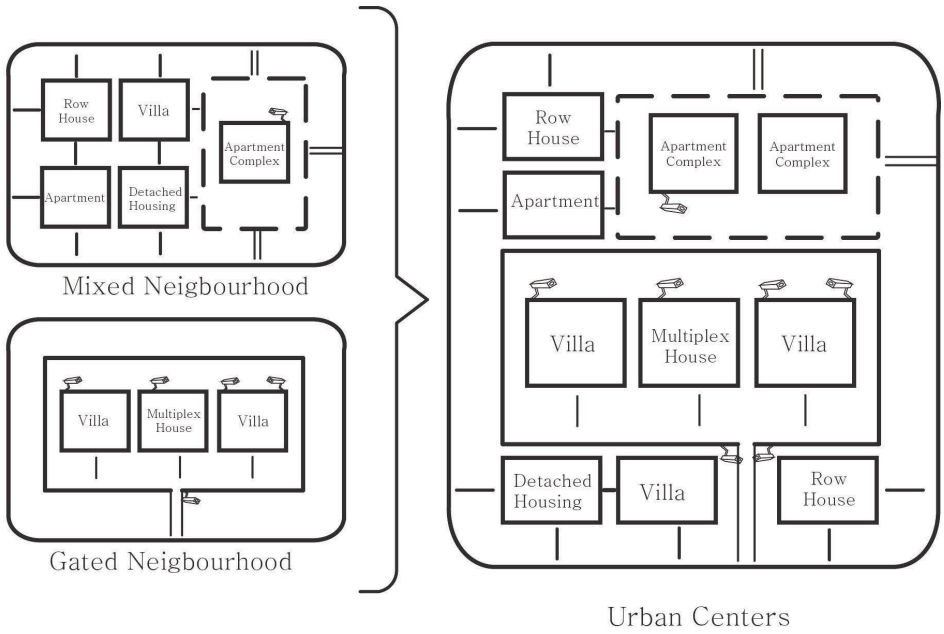
<Figure 4.3> Interaction Scheme of Neighborhoods, mixed and homogeneous gated neighborhoods

As seen in Figure 2, in commonly seen examples in Korea's mixed neighborhoods (Left), though *gated* apartment complexes create barriers, they are still physically permeable to a degree, and have higher visible permeability. In recent years, due to the government's push for more "publicness" in the urban areas, apartment communities are faced with challenge of keeping their private spaces more open to the public, with projects such as "*public architects*"⑥ or "*Demolition of Walls*"⑦ (Kim,2018). Even in the most extreme cases, such as elevated complexes (Kim, 2018), commercial areas on the ground floor allow for social interaction and contribute to the public.

These neighborhoods, mentioned in Figure 6, come together and interact to create urban centers, where the impact of gatedness is more visible. This argument can be seen clearly in Figure 7, where neighborhoods with high gatedness create

⑥ Representative of public in the big scale project, connected to Seoul Metropolitan Government.
⑦ Movement which started at 1996, to change the walls in various building typologies such as apartments, schools, etc. With greenery.

superblocks with one main entrance and disassociate themselves from their surroundings with extra layers of surveillance.



<Figure 4.4> Interaction of neighborhoods on the urban center

While in the case of gated neighborhoods such as Hannam-dong and UN Village, due to identifying gatedness in the urban centers and various physical criteria such as geography, signage, accessibility, etc. creates severe impacts compared to its other examples.

Chapter 5. Criteria of Spatial Segregation – Gatedness

Although spatial segregation caused by gatedness inside urban centers follows similar patterns all throughout, there has not been any conclusive attempt at identifying the set of criteria that cause this exclusion. The tactics that result in segregation may operate within hierarchies of influence or can be equally important for the end result. As such, to be able to understand how spatial segregation occurs apart from the known criterion of gates, there is a need to point out the clear criteria which govern spatial segregation inside central urban areas.

Based on the information gathered in the previous chapter and the conducted field research. these criteria can be categorized into 5 parts: *otherness*, *reputation*, *geography*, *connectivity*, *accessibility*, and *signage*. Although some of these criteria have a more direct influence than others, all of them are equally important in terms of creating a private gated neighborhood inside central urban areas, which results in an architectural black hole that does not interact with the overall fabric but is simultaneously not united enough to create a uniform gated community.

1. Social Criteria

1.1. Otherness:

Otherness has been of interest to sociologist, geographers, philosophers, and many more from 1990s till today, especially surrounding the topics of political rights, citizenship, and access to rights (Whitson, 2017). Urban space in the public realm, as the center of everyday life, creates areas for grouping, participation, and interaction for the community. Additionally, the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1996) and geographers stress the

importance of the public realm in creating spaces for inclusion, participation, and access. As urbanization increased the areas of heterogeneity, it often failed to accomplish the outset goal of inclusivity. Instead, it increased the polarization of groups on a bigger scale, with each end of the spectrum exponentially moving toward the extremes, which begs the question "who has the right to control the spaces around them?" (Whitson, 2017:79).

The market-oriented policies of Neoliberalism, where governments are less involved and *privatization, de-regulation, free-trade,* and *globalization* are favored, affected the urban design policies, resulting in increased privatization of public goods and decreasing the public housing system. This, in turn, further diminished the value of low-income neighborhoods and normalized gated-communities (Whitson, 2017:92). The normalization of gatedness has created an otherness in the surroundings of residential centers, which in the long term caused gentrification and big-scale revitalization programs.

Surrounding the UN Village, the low-income neighborhoods of Hannam-dong and, Itaewon-dong have born the consequences of shortage of low-income housing for many Koreans and foreigners who live in Seoul. Being surrounded by high-income residential units created many living difficulties, leading to a rise in projects for re-vitalization and re-construction of the area. The *Hannam New Town* project has been in talks for more than 10 years, but is yet to be realized, leaving the residents of the area in a limbo of residential ownership, while gated neighborhoods remain untouched, segregating themselves from the rest.

1.2. Reputation:

Reputation is another important criterion for gatedness in central urban areas. Following global trends, real-estate agencies

often employ influential or famous people to sell commodities. Korea much like other countries mentioned in the previous chapters, has used famous faces to represent gated communities and sell the dream of a utopic residential area. While gated communities have created their own brands, such as "*Prugio*", "*e-편한생활*", or *"Lotte Castle*", gatedness examples followed a similar pattern. This influence has even emerged itself in popular culture, in such songs as "Gangnam Style" by Psy, or "UN Village" by Byun Baekhyun.

<Figure 5.1> News Related to Hannam-dong's Aflluent Neighborhoods
(Left: 동아일보 제고 1984.08.31 – "20 Luxury Villas are built in the sunny forest, at the foot of Namsan Mountain, where picturesque wine houses are gathered"
Right; http://www.bizhankook.com/bk/article/17062 12019.01.25 –
"High-end villas owned by chaebol families, including SK Chairman Choi Taewon, Daecyo Chairman Kim Youngjoong, and executive vice president Lim Sangmin.")

UN Village area has a reputation for being linked to famous people, and it is known for being the residential area for many influential people, such as singers, actors, CEOs, or ambassadors. This link has created an indirect advertisement for the area. Articles related to celebrities living in the neighborhood, not only limited to UN Village, but also its surrounding new residential units, have increased the overall image of affluency in the area. This affluent reputation is decreasing visitor frequency even prior to the application of the other criteria.

2. Physical Criteria

To further argue and enhance the idea of otherness, mentioned as part of the social criteria, physical criteria will look at the elements that enhance otherness and gatedness. Physical criteria concern various qualities of space, including geography, accessibility, and signage that can be overlooked while passing by.

2.1. Geography

Geography emerged as another important criteria for gatedness inside the urban centers. To increase the sense of separation and security, high-income neighborhoods tend to be located in areas on top of hills not easily accessible by pedestrians. The increased slope, combined with other elements such as wet areas. create a natural barrier and intensify the effects of gates in the area, creating inaccessible zones and encouraging otherness.

<Figure 5.2> 3D Modelling of UN Hannam-dong
(Created by the Author)

Previous studies on the impact of slopes on pedestrian activity showed that slopes have a negative influence on walking attractiveness (Meeder et al., 2017, Broach and Dill, 2015), which is especially pertinent to UN Village, as an area which offers a view of high walls, making it unrewarding for pedestrians who input the extra effort caused by the slope.

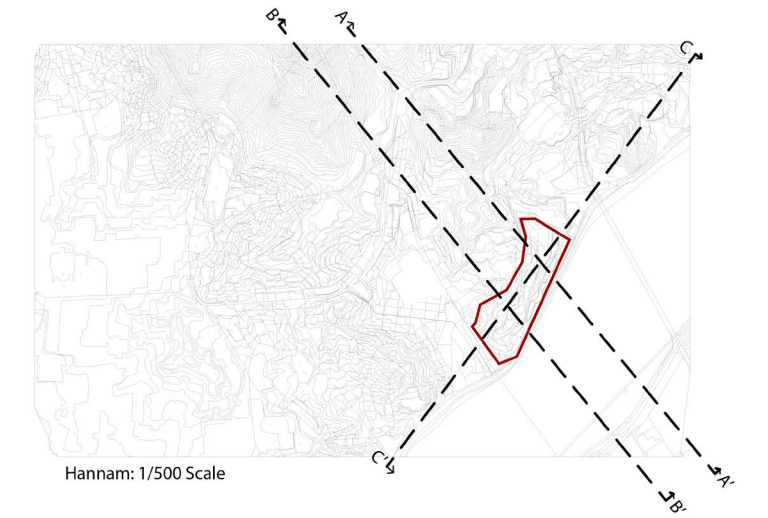
Another physical element which leads to isolation is the Han River on the south-east side of the area, which is further enhanced by the Gangbeyon Expressway. The busy expressway that passes by the Han River links various neighborhoods and increases connectivity – which will be further researched in the next point – but blocks the area for close accessibility. The numbered connection points and the elevation of the expressway also increases separation in the public spaces near Han River.

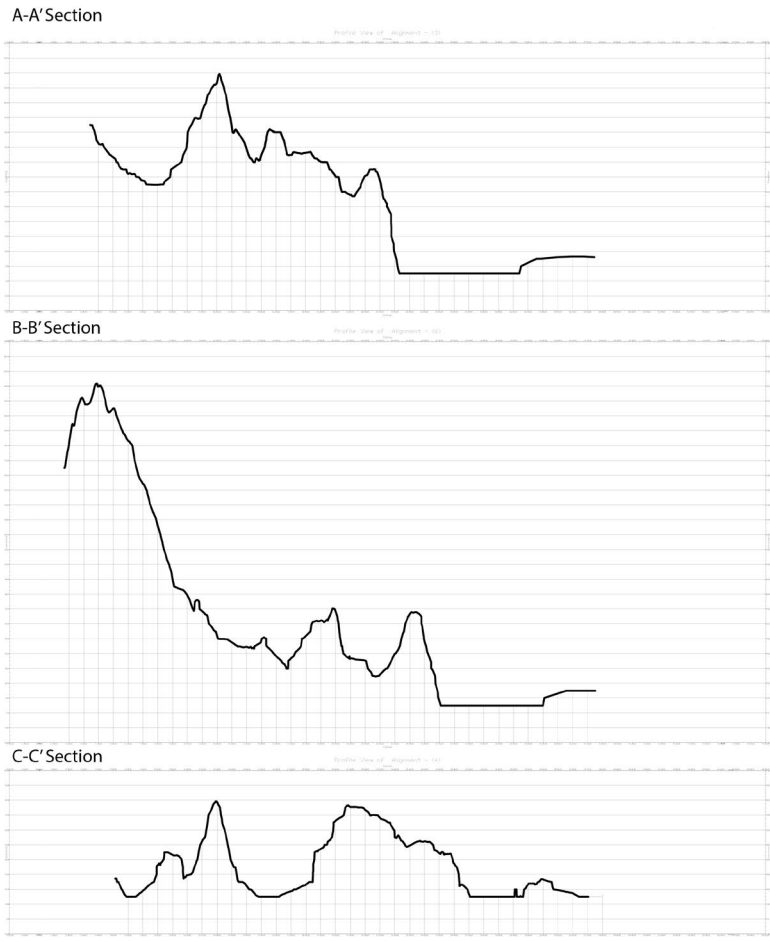
Figure 5.2. shows the difference between UN Village's geography and its surroundings. Its proximity to Namsan mountains and other hilly areas elevates UN Village at a higher slope. Hilly areas in Korea are generally reserved for parks or green areas, but due to its social agenda and long history, UN Village is situated on top of a hill.

The section analysis done on the 3D model of the research area (Figure 5.3) shows the steepness of the hills in the area. The Yongsan area, except the Itaewon neighborhood, has a hilly overlook due to its proximity to the Namsan Mountain, but UN Village is the only area that is densely inhabited with high-end housing units. This caters to the residents of the area, as they are highly dependent on private vehicles and rarely interact with the area as pedestrians. For them, the elevated geography offers both a good view and segregates them from the rest.

The height of the area can be further argued to symbolize the status and the power roles of the classes. In here 1992 book,

Leslie Weisman argues that the ideology of height is associated with power connected to the cosmological space of heaven, which further signifies the power of patriarchy in the sense of a "Sky Father" and "Mother Earth". This ideology of height has emerged in architecture over centuries, with the rich and powerful always choosing to live in penthouses or other high places to "see the world under their feet" (Weisman, 1992). With the influence of Confucianism in Korea, patriarchy is one of the main elements to influence the society. This social background and other small details set up the reasonings for choosing hilly areas to build affluent forts in urban centers.





<Figure 5.3> 2D Section Views from UN Village
(Marked Red Area)

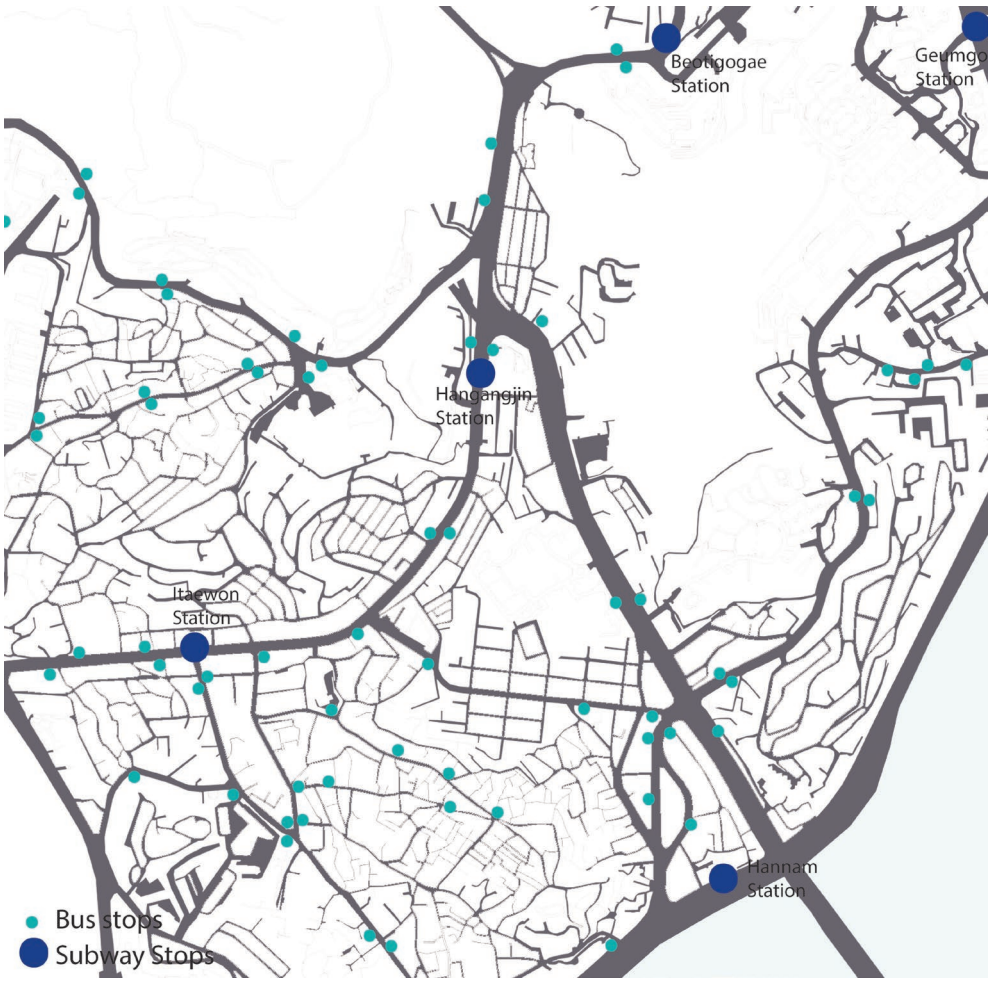
2.2. Connectivity

Connectivity refers to how a place is connected to other elements of the city, tying into qualities such as transport means and time. Compared to other residential units, gated communities are more connected to bigger scale networks rather than their immediate surroundings, which is the area the gates are facing (Cladeira, 2000). This lack of connection to the immediate surroundings creates deeper alienation and a physical dichotomy in the city, which leads to segregation and otherness.

As it can be seen in Figure 5.4, compared to its surroundings, UN Village has little connection to the general network of public transportation, showing high dependence on private vehicles of residents.

Hannam-dong and Itaewon-dong, as mentioned in the previous chapters, have a road infrastructure leftover from the first modern attempts at urban planning in the 1960s, and no other urban revitalization project on a bigger scale has been implemented yet. Due to this, there are many parts which are hard to incorporate into the public transportation system, which creates a problem for some in the area, such as elderly residents.

On the south-west side of the area, where the oldest housing units and long-term residents live, not being able to access the public transport creates hardships in their daily patterns. On the other hand, upper-class neighborhoods of Hannam on the north and south-east side secluded themselves from the rest, creating a severe separation as they do not often use the public transportation system.

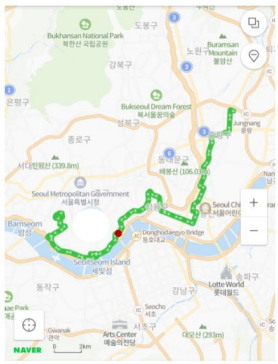
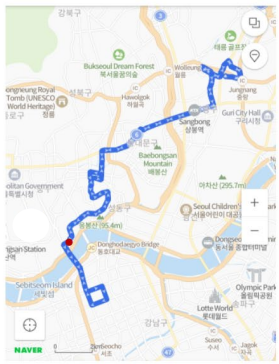
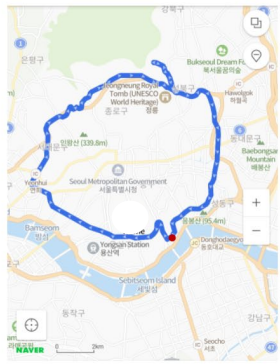


<Figure 5.4> Map of close public transportation points to the UN Village (1/20 Scale)

Seoul offers a great network of public transportation, both for buses and subways. Many locals in the area prefer the subway to eliminate traffic during rush hour, and real-estate unit's proximity to a subway station exponentially increases its value. UN Village has the Hannam Station as the closest station, but due to UN Village's single entry-exit, residents have to take the long way around. If someone were to walk from the farthest north-east side of UN Village to Hannam Station, it would take them approximately 25 minutes, and they would have to cross 3 traffic lights. Although it was created to control outside movement, this single entry-exit in the end affects all the residents in the area

Although it was established in previous research that UN Village residents are more likely to use their private vehicles for transport, it is still necessary to look at the general connectivity to other neighborhoods of Seoul with UN Village.

Researching the closest bus stops in the area, "한남동⑧" was first taken into consideration due to the minimal walking distance to the UN Village and the decrease in the walking slope. However, there are only 3 main buses that pass through the area: 2016, 241, and 110A고려대 (hereafter 110A).

		
2016	241	110A고려대

<Table 5.1> Bus Routes from the Closest Bus Stop from UN Village
(UN Village shown with red mark)

Only 110A provided a connection with the rest of Hannam-dong, passing through the main commercial street of Itaewon and following a circular route that connects many places on a greater scale.

2.3. Accessibility

Accessibility is related to how individuals move inside a site, and is measured in terms of the amenities provided to accommodate and include the diverse needs of residents in an area. Compared to

⑧ Hannam-dong in Korean alphabet Hangeul.

connectivity, accessibility considers the movement patterns on the micro scale and looks at how pedestrians and cars move inside a particular area.

2.3.1. Pedestrians

The movement of pedestrians inside UN Village is not encouraged, as there is no available pedestrian walk in the site since everything is arranged for car transportation. Residents of the area move mostly by car, exiting only when inside private garages, which entirely reduces their interaction with the public realm.

<Figure 5.5> Open Public Spaces in UN Village Area
(Drawn by Author: 1/10 scale)

These car-based movement patterns are further encouraged by a lack of public space in the areas. As it can be seen in Figure 5.5, there are only 2 public parks in the area – a resting space and a children's park – which are both hidden by the walls of their surroundings. Although the resting space in the middle of the site offers a great view of the Han River, there were almost no

users in the many times the author has been to the site.

The view is usually enjoyed by people who come with their cars and rest on the side of the road, rather than using park facilities. On the other hand, the children's park situated in the north of the neighborhood is well hidden and located in a cul-de-sac road, blocking non-residents and, through inaccessibility, creating a fabric of security.

Dokseodang Park

Hannam Children Park

<Table 5.2> Public Parks in the UN Village Area
(Photos: Taken by Author)

The first criteria mentioned, geography, further discourages any pedestrian movement, ultimately decreasing accessibility. A lack of public infrastructure in the area for pedestrians, such as sidewalks, stairs, or street furniture, creates a dangerous environment. Narrow streets where cars and pedestrians have to move almost side by side discourages any prolonged movement, and disturbs the focus of the pedestrian.

2.3.2. Cars

Accessibility problems for vehicles in the UN Village area start with the narrow roads that make it difficult for 2 cars to pass at the same time. The complex road structure with only one entrance to the area creates a focused traffic zone, where people enter only to reach a certain unit in the area rather than to use it as a mediator area for another destination. The only users of vehicle roads are the residents in the area, visitors, and services such as postal delivery.

Another accessibility problem for the vehicles is apparent during emergency situations in the UN Village. Due to narrow streets that do now allow passage of other cars, streets are filled with no-parking signs. Private vehicles are the main transportation means for the residents of UN Village, but the narrow roads common throughout the area do not allow for a pleasant experience, which also manifests in the direct signage elements such as “don’t park” signs. In this manner, roads in the area transition from public to quasi-private property.

2.4. Signage

Signage is an important element for gated residents who use direct and indirect signs to indicate to pedestrians and vehicles that they don’t belong there. Their main purpose is communicating what people need and want to know about a certain neighborhood or a place (Diko, 2013) in a manner which transcends language alone. In other words, signs “are also productive signs: they have important economic and social consequences, and can affect those who would visit, work or live in a given neighborhood” (Leeman and Modan, 2009:332). In the case of certain affluent neighborhoods where visitors are not welcome, the purpose of signs is to keep out non-residents from the area.

As the easiest and the most versatile method to create exclusion, signage has been visually recorded in the UN Village area, and photographs of various exclusion tactics were presented in a collage form in the next pages. The category of signs was divided into 2 sub-units – direct signage and indirect signage – to account for the difference in the linguistic presentation of the exclusionary message.

2.4.1. Direct

Direct elements of signage have been chosen according to the writing and the message they transfer. Signs such as "No parking", which ban a certain action or impose a certain behavior directly, were chosen as examples of direct signage.

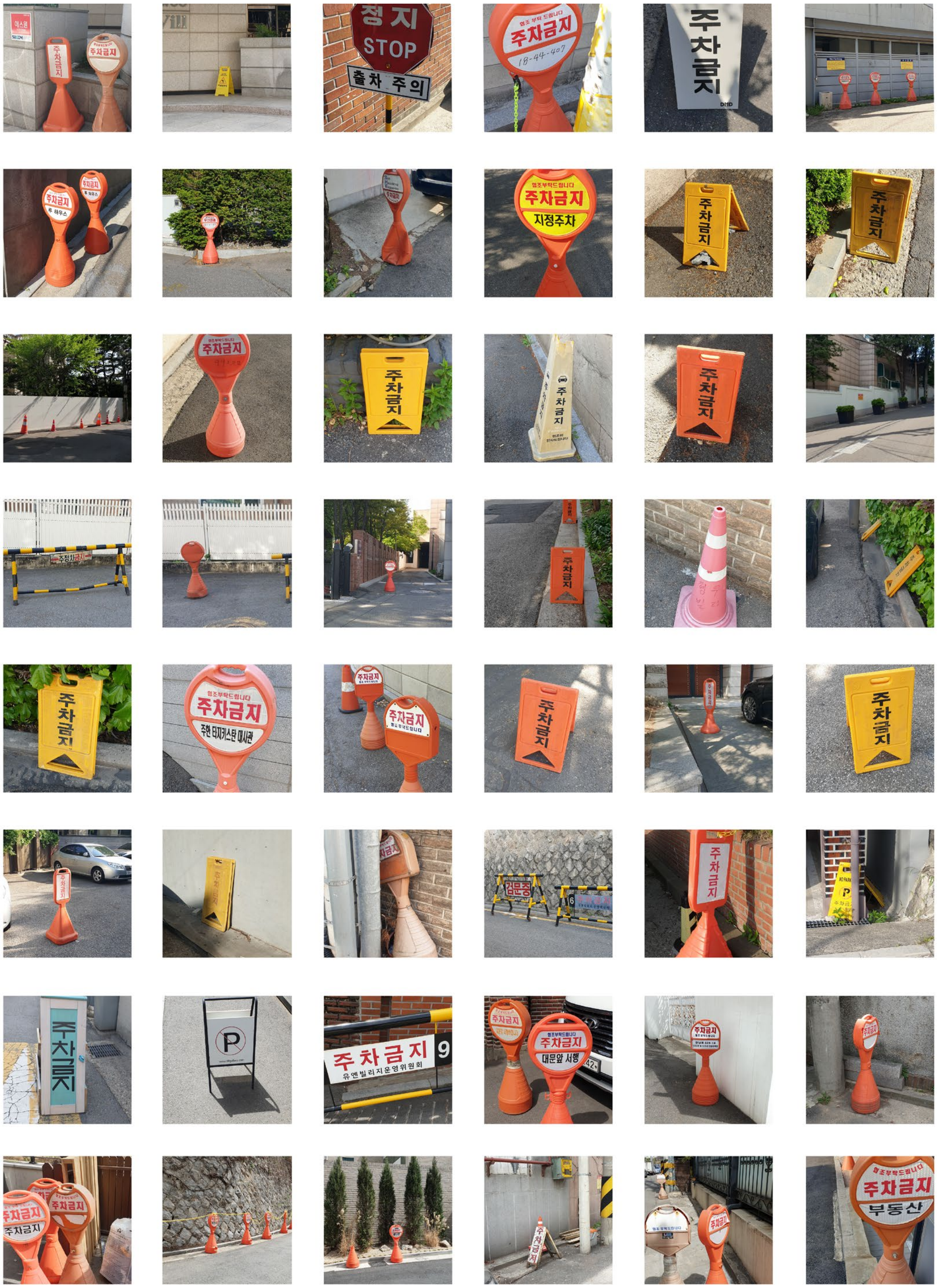
<Figure 5.6> Illustrated examples of direct signage for cars

Due to the multi-cultural background of UN Village, which is still home to corporate workers from foreign companies and embassies in the area, signs were found both in English and Korean. The signs put up by Yongsan Municipality provided reasoning and asked residents for understanding, while private signs either gave no information or just provided information on ownership.

Public signs put up by the municipality featured messages regarding the narrowness of streets and the danger parked cars pose in case of an emergency. This criterion is the result of accessibility criteria and the general road structures, with just focus on segregation rather than usage.

Figure 5.6. shows the elements commonly used for no parking signs all throughout the UN Village area, if not in general Seoul. Physical elements such as barriers and 2D signs, are used in the area to express the norms and rules to outsiders, as most residents have parking space in their garages or places assigned to them. This also brings the question of “who are these signs for?”, given that the road structure and lack of connectivity in the area implies that mostly residents or the working population is frequently entering.

The usage of words across languages did not correspond as expected. In the example for ‘no parking’ signs, while English signs just stressed that parking is not allowed, some signs in Korean language used the word “외부” which translates as “outside” in English. Translated, the Korean signs would mean “No parking for outsiders”, which embodies the otherness in a physical, i.e. lexical form.



<Figure 5.7> Some of direct signage elements – Traffic Cones

<Figure 5.8> Some of direct signage elements – No Parking Signs

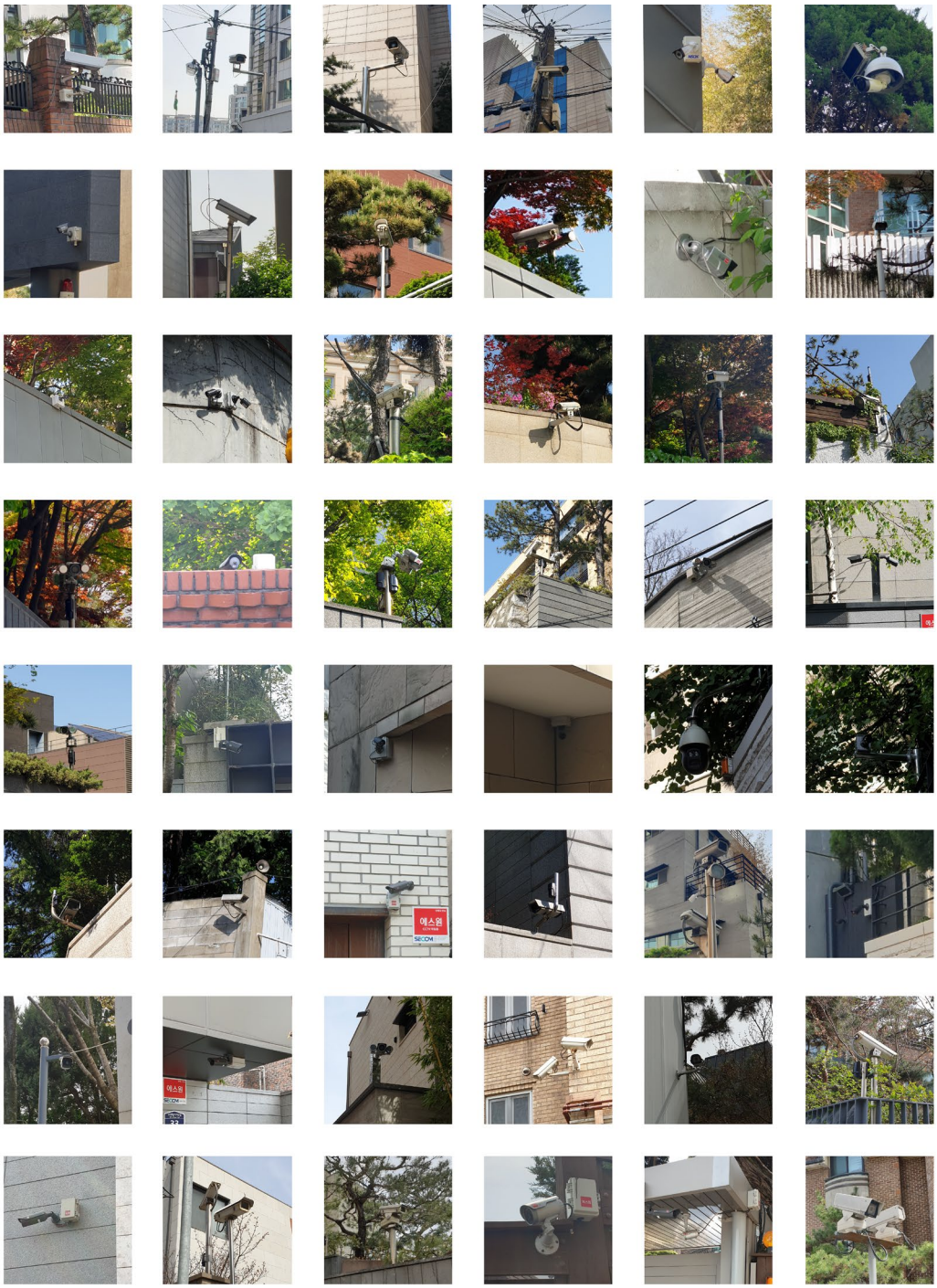
2.4.2. Indirect

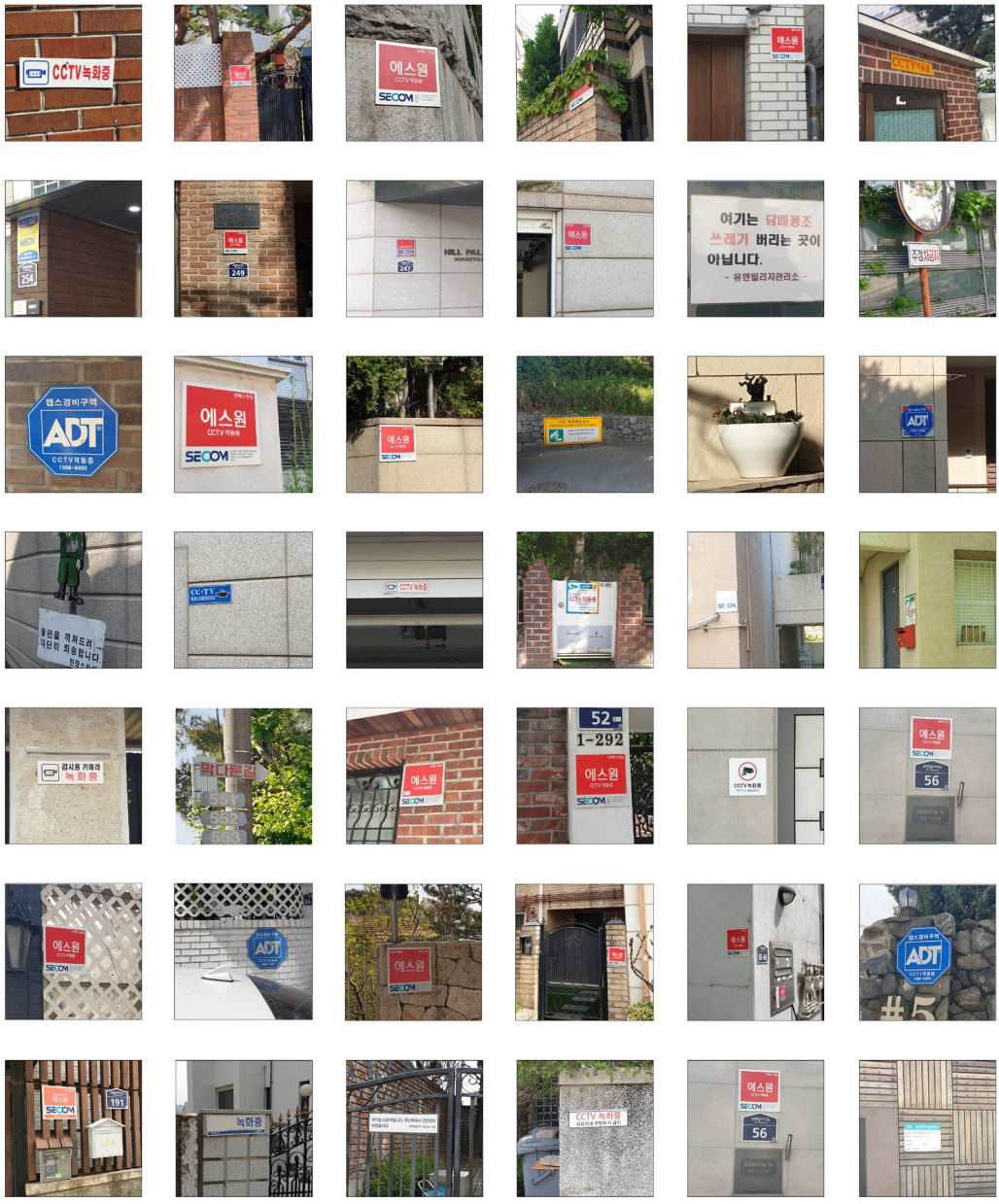
Elements such as CCTV signs, spiked fences, or surveillance cameras, although not openly prohibiting outsiders from entering a certain area or banning a particular activity, creates uneasiness in the public space. As Jane Jacobs mentions in her book, a lack of eyes on the street and closure created with high walls, decrease the safety of an area, especially at night.

Most commonly found signs were the CCTV signs, cameras, large-scale car doors, and 2 story high walls which separate the living areas of residents and the public pedestrians. Any elements of openness on ground floors, such as windows, were covered by materials to block the view, even if they were looking to the garages of the units. Resident mostly use mobile garage doors to enter their own units without needing to leave or interact with the public scape of the roads.

While create a feeling of safety for the residents, cameras encourage uneasiness in the area. The field research done by the author showed that during different days and times the most commonly seen visitors were workers, such as security, guards, cleaning ladies, or couriers.

To further understand the background of CCTV's, the crime rate of South Korea was compared with other countries with high density of gated communities or gated neighborhoods. Korea has comparatively low crime rate, which brings into question the necessity of CCTVs, especially when combined with the existing fabric of walls. This data implies that this form of separation was born from otherness and the exclusivity of social layers.





<Figure 5.9 > Common in-direct elements, found on the site
(Pictures: Taken by the Author)

3. Impacts of Criteria on Surrounding

Realizing the exclusionary tactics of affluent population through the sets of criteria mentioned, further improves the perception of their impact on the public street and its users. Unlike gated high-rise communities, gated neighborhoods such as UN Village, offer criteria that can be implemented on the smaller scale neighborhoods easily. This criteria trends spreading to the bigger scale neighborhoods will possibly affect the pedestrian experience and the usage of public space in the central urban areas and change the urban design processes.

Unlike other public goods in the city shared by all, public areas such as parks in UN Village, are not truly available to all as they are fully surrounded and enclosed by the affluent neighborhood (Webster et al. 2006). Public areas through non-direct implementation such as low accessibility and connectivity, geography etc. get lower usage, which in the end may end up being privatized. Illusion of public areas in privatized neighborhoods, while they increase the value and quality of life in the gated neighborhoods unnecessarily, neighborhoods which needs public development and government implementation cannot evolve. Big scale projects to change old neighborhoods of Seoul are not being implemented due to government problems such as budget, which leads to low life standards for the residents each passing day.

Home-owners or residents of the gated neighborhoods are taking the rights of people: right to experience and use the public space in the general perspective due to appropriation of public street.

Chapter 6. Comparative Study on UN Village and Seorae Village

1. Seorae Village

Seorae Village is an affluent, formerly French-inhabited neighborhood in Banpo-dong, Seocho-gu area of Seoul, South Korea. The village itself does not have a long history. Formed after 1985, with the relocation of the "Lycée Français de Séoul" to the area from Hannam-dong, Seorae Village is a continuation of the UN Village ideology, both in terms of space and social constitution. This historical connection serves as a pattern for indicating gatedness, forming a lasting criterion for future implementations of such forms of spatial organization.

Both UN Village and Seorae Village have a foreign-focused history, but further analysis and research is necessary to understand the influence of foreign cultures on the affluent gated neighborhoods of Seoul. This part of the research will focus on the criteria of the previous chapter due to research limitation and a lack of historical information related to the area, and compare the two cases.

<Figure 6.1> Seorae Village Area Limitations considered for the field research

2. Criteria in Seorae Village

2.1. Otherness:

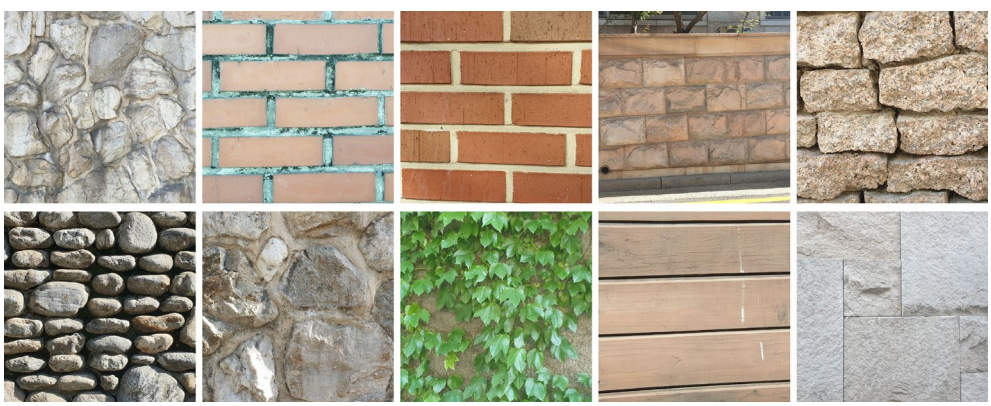
Otherness, as one of the main criteria that makes certain neighborhoods stand out in the public realm, is severe in Seorae Village. The old and newly developed high-rise gated communities in the Ban-po district made the unique gated fabric of the Seorae Village stand out from the rest, with the foreignness of the area serving as the main element that creates the sense of otherness.

Considering not only the urban elements such as French signage, high walls, CCTVs, and security guards, the experience of the neighborhood itself creates the sense of a unique environment.

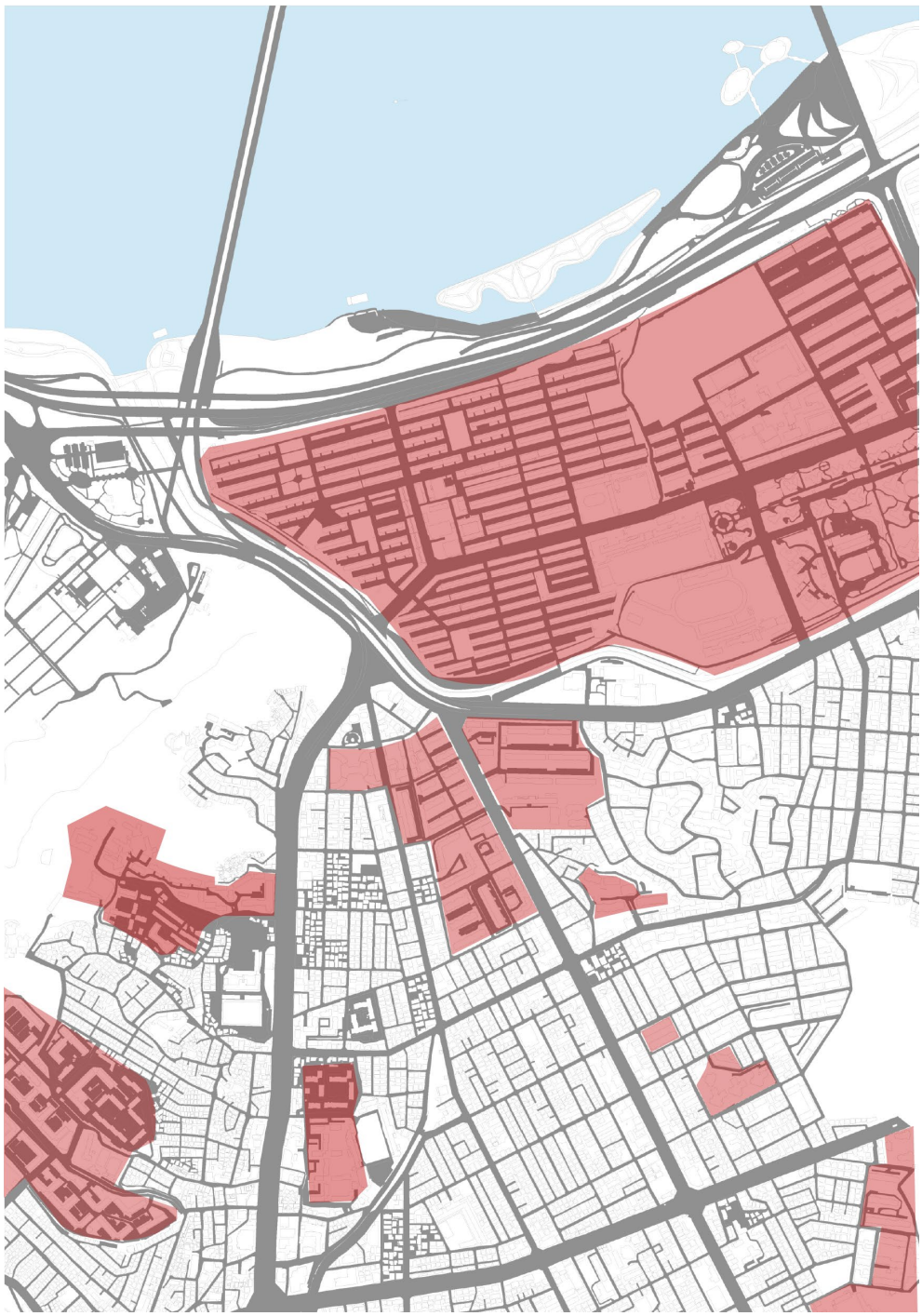
French speaking people in the surrounding residential units behind the gates create a micro-climate inside Seoul, which enhances the "otherness" of Seorae Village. Further, old buildings in the area from the 1980s create a unique fabric as you walk along the streets, which can be seen in figure 6.2.

<Figure 6.2> Dwelling styles from different eras in the Seorae Village area
(Before 20th century examples up, 21st century examples down)

The difference between the building generation and the overarching trend in the area, combined with the culture differences from Western and Asian perspectives, is embodied in the materials used in the gates. Not commonly seen facade materials in the area, such as natural stones, made the neighborhood stand out even more.



<Figure 6.3> Unique material fabric of the Seorae Village facades



<Figure 6.4> High-rise gated communities (Apartments)in surrounding Seorae Village, indicated as red parts

2.2. Reputation:

The reputation of Seorae Village is mainly the result of the main

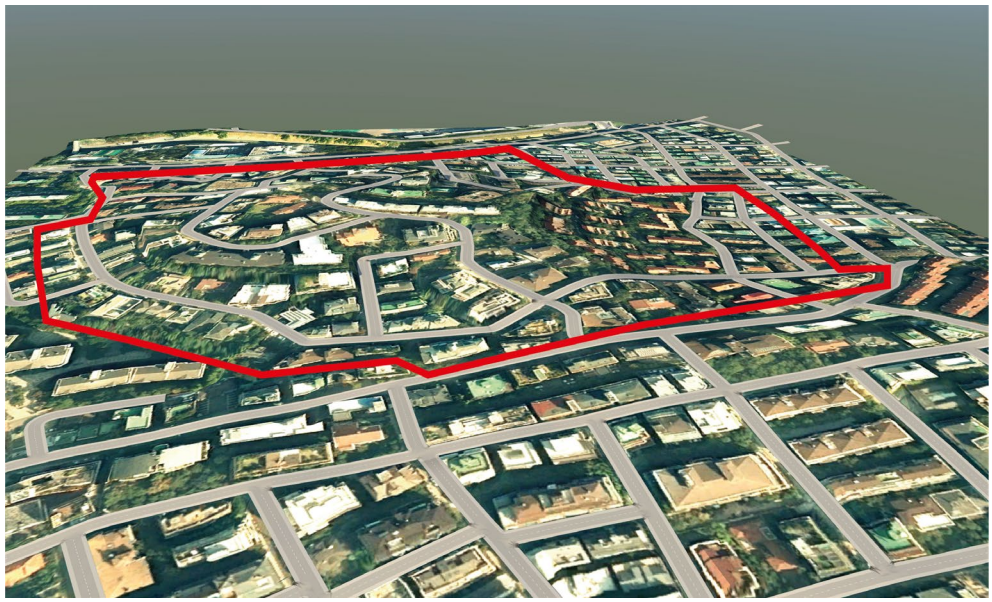
commercial street on the east side of the residential area. The variety of foreign commercial products offered to South Koreans makes the area famous, even more than the residential properties and the urban fabric which distinguish UN Village. It can be said that Seorae Village, while fitting the criteria set by UN Village, cannot live up to the standards set by it.

Furthermore, it is understood that UN Village became more exclusive as it got more popular among Korean residents, whereas Seorae Village has been commercialized as Koreans got interested in the French culture offered by the local French people. In terms of residential interaction, this resulted in higher interaction of residents when compared to UN Village.

2.3. Geography:

Seorae Village mimics the geographic aspects of UN Village in Hannam-dong. The hilly placement of the neighborhood discourages pedestrian movement in certain areas. Residential units on the highest parts are severely gated, with other criteria deduced from the UN Village.

Although geography is not one of the main aspects of gatedness, it supports the presence of gates and separation. It discourages the pedestrians and creates a harsh environment for large cars such as public transportation to enter the area and increase the connectivity elements.



<Figure 6.5> 3D Modelling of the Seorae Village
(Created by the Author)

2.4. Accessibility

As stated beforehand, the accessibility criterion concerns the movement patterns inside the area and the availability of facilities for all types of pedestrians, such as elderly, people with kids, or disabilities etc. Seorae Village is prone to creating danger to the pedestrian with a lack of pedestrian roads not separated from the main car road.

The area itself is surrounded by several Korean and International schools, or children-focused facilities such as language schools, which creates more interaction with pedestrians and the built fabric when compared to the UN Village.

Furthermore, from the road structures of the area, it can be seen that the curvature of roads in Seorae Village area decreases the accessibility of the area for vehicles, in contrast to the grid structure of the neighborhoods surrounding it.

2.5. Connectivity

Looking at the connectivity of the Seorae Village, the public transportation in the area was researched. Due to the curvy and narrow roads situated on top of a hill, public transportation vehicles cannot enter the area. Due to that, surrounding main streets are used as the main public transport method, particularly since subway stations are situated far away, requiring around 20 minutes of walking.

<Figure 6.6> Bus Stops around Seorae Village
(Demonstrated as blue dots)

Buses that pass through or close to the area were 142, 148, 406, and small-scale town buses Seocho10, Seocho14, Seocho21, Seocho13, and Seocho15.

2.6. Signage

Signage in the Seorae Village follows similar patterns that were found in UN Village. The dense fabric of CCTV cameras and no-parking signs were strengthened with word choices like “위부인”, ”outsider” in Korean. Signage in the area was more severe than it was found in the UN Village, since indirect elements were implemented on the facades to block any type of intruders.

2.6.1. Direct Signage

Direct signage tactics refer to the language openly used to ban a certain activity. Most commonly used forms were the “no-parking” signs that used similar patterns of Korean and English words such as “위부인” and “outsider”. Some signs were related to no littering or strict trash dumping guidelines in the area. These signs follow no preset design pattern, but are placed in easily visible areas for pedestrians in terms of height and fonts.


주
차
금
지

주차금지

Parking
주차장 (B1층)
P



지부차량
주차금지

주차금지
견인지역


견인지역


주차금지

주차금지


외부차량
주차금지

주차금지
견인지역

외부차량

관계자외출입금지
CCTV촉영중


담배꽁초
무단투기 금지


서 래 로 5 길
Seorae-ro 5-gil
외부차량
주 차 금 지

외부차량
주차금지


주차금지

외부차량
주차금지
금 연

주차금지

외부차량
주차금지

외부차량
주차금지구역
관리실

외부차량
주차금지구역
관리실
소파리모델링

주차금지

외부차량
주차금지

주차금지

3면 거주자의
주차금지

CCTV 촬영중
견인조치

올라이주세요

오토바이
출입금지


거주자우선주차구획에
요금(9,000원) 부과 및

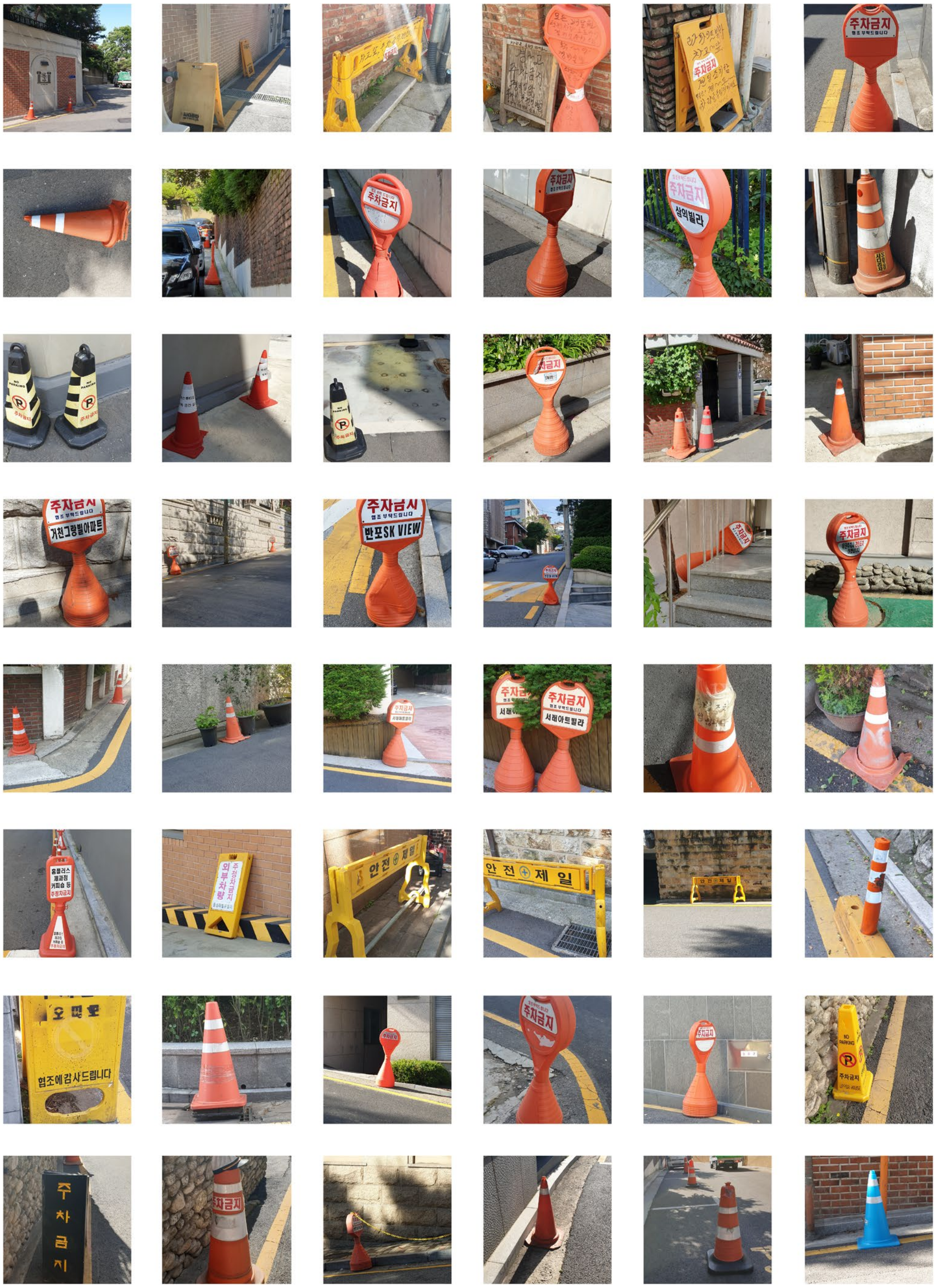
외부인 출입금지

쓰레기 무단투기 금지
쓰레기는 내집 · 내점포 앞

거주자 우선(유료) 주차장

거주자 우선 주차장

주차금지



<Figure 6.7> Direct Signage

2.6.2. Indirect Signage

ADT

CCTV 설치안내

CCTV 녹화중

에스원
SECOM

CCTV 녹화중
씨씨티비천사 1544-0327
CCTV1004.COM

CCTV작동중
Video Camera Recording
1544-0327
CCTV1004.com

서래로5길
73
CCTV녹화중

쓰레기 무단투기 금지

KS

캡스경비구역
ADT
CCTV작동중
1588-6400

ADT

캡스경비구역
ADT
1588-6400
고객센터

CCTV녹화중
탑스
보안구역

KT텔레캅

KT텔레캅

CCTV작동중
Video Camera Recording
1544-0327
CCTV1004.com

CCTV녹화중

캡스경비구역
ADT
CCTV작동중
1588-6400

캡스경비구역
ADT
1588-6400

CCTV녹화중

캡스경비구역
ADT
CCTV작동중

19
ADT

감시용 카메라
녹화중

관계자외출입금지
CCTV녹화중

지킵시다
TOPS
탑스
보안구역
남산교회

캡스경비구
CCTV작동중
1588-6400

ADT
1588-6400

CCTV작동중

CCTV작동중

ADT

HYUNDAI
1588-71

캡스경비구역
ADT
1588-6400
고객센터

ADT

사평대로8길
캡스경비구역
ADT
CCTV작동중

CCTV작동중
Video Camera Recording
1544-0327
CCTV1004.com

효성빌라 전용주차장

CCTV녹화중

캡스경비구역
ADT
1588-6400
고객센터

ADT

CCTV 설치안내

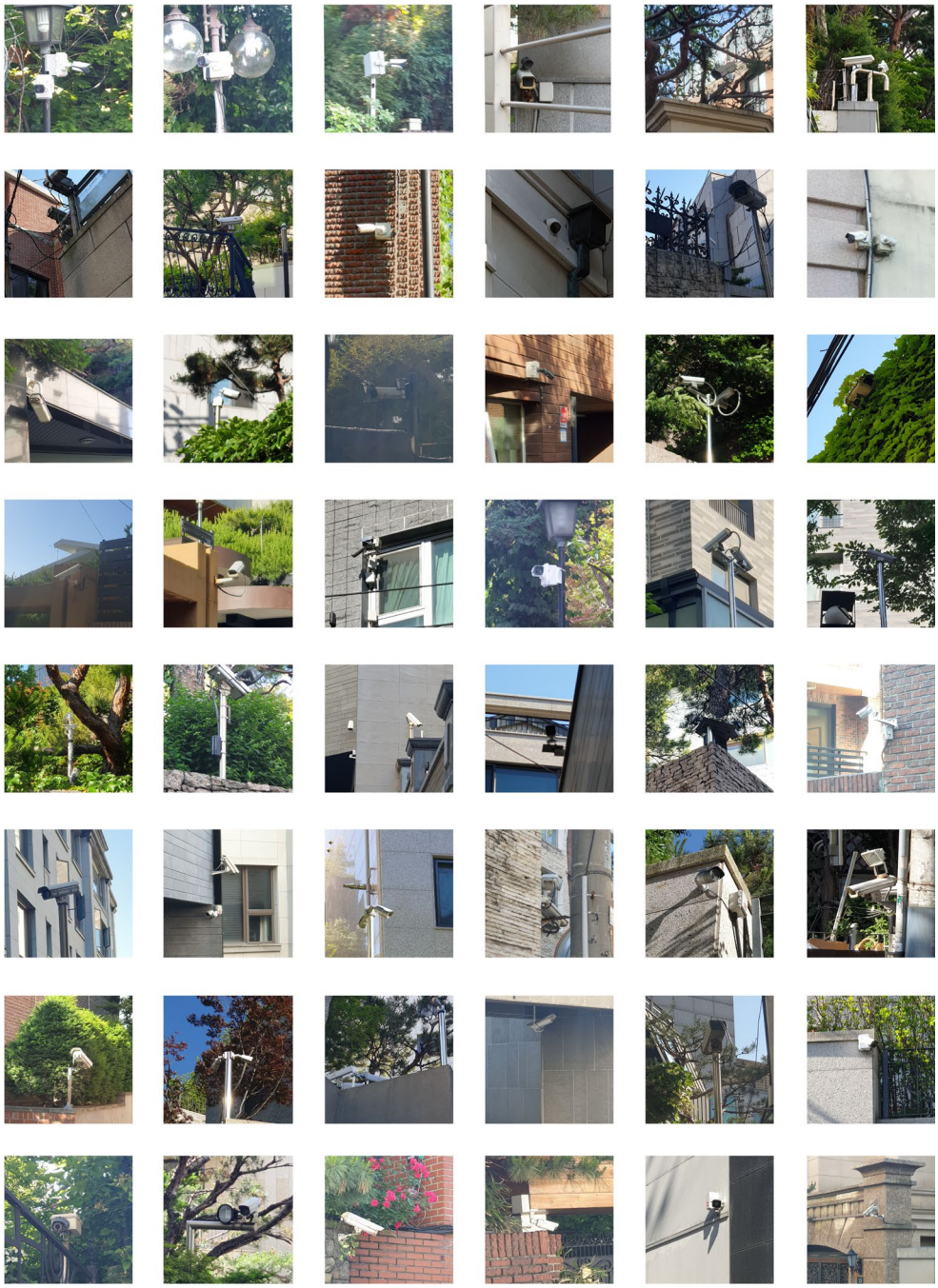
감시용 카메라
녹화중

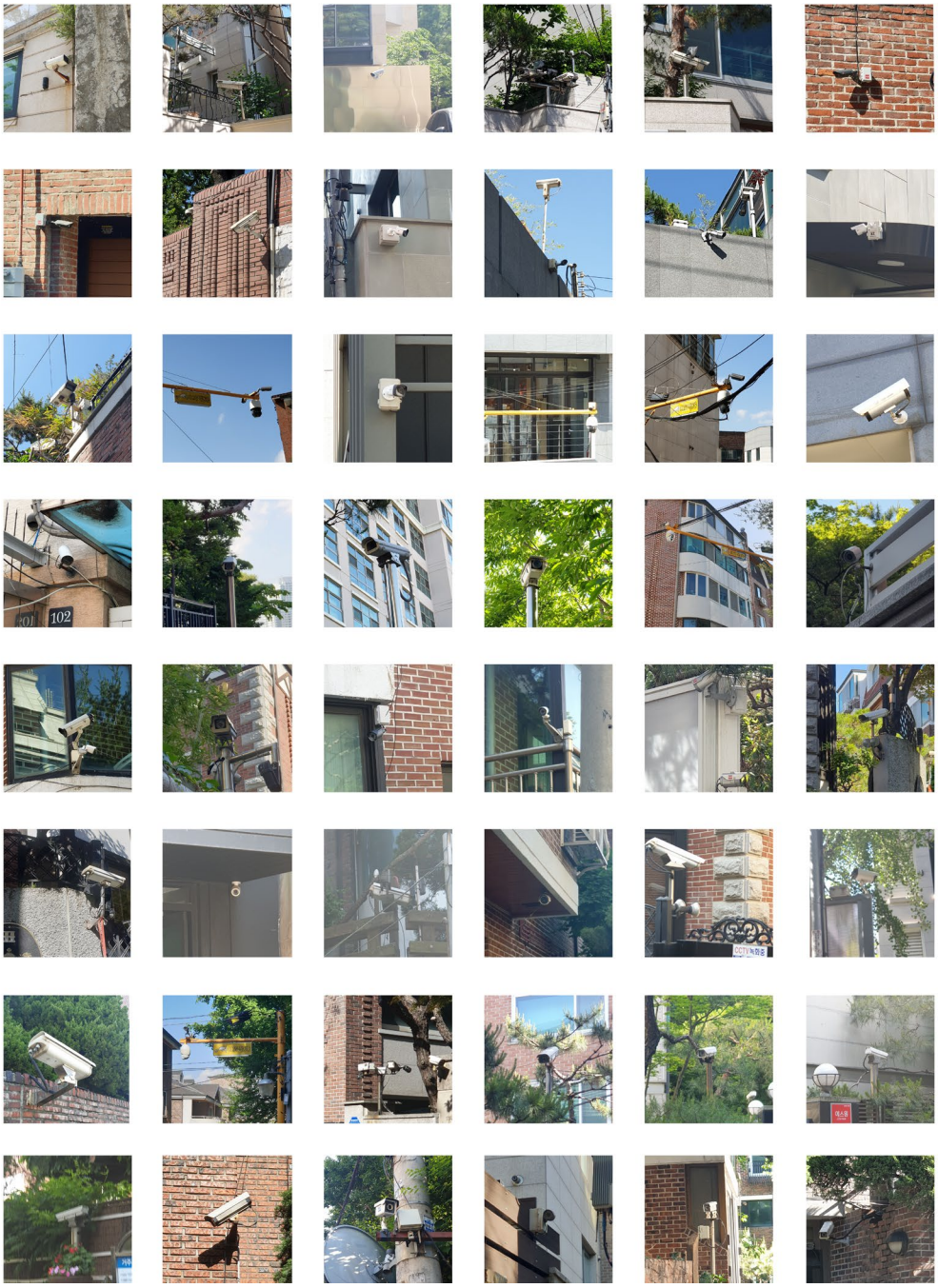
ADT

캡스경비구역
ADT

캡스경비구역
ADT
CCTV작동중

CCTV





<Figure 6.8> In-direct Signage

Compared to UN Village, Seorae Vilage has more various and extreme examples of indirect signage. This can due to the diverse traffic of pedestrians with school activities and higher unit numbers. For example, in <Figure 6.9>, we can see more physical 3D signage, such as spikes on the gates and pipes to block intruders, but as mentioned before, low crime rate in Korea does not create an environment that requires these solutions.

<Figure 6.9> Physical in-direct Signage

Furthermore, Seorae village has less of a reputation among Koreans, which leads to fewer new development projects. It has a

considerably higher percentage of old settlements left from 1980s. This comparison of old and new architecture in the area also proves the change in the urban trends and fortification of the neighborhoods over time.

3. Comparative Study on UN Village and Seorae Village

As it was understood from the previous section, Seorae Village mostly matches to the criteria established from the example of UN Village. Levels of implementation were matched according to the existing spatial and demographic conditions of the area.

<Figure 6.10> Selected areas for field study: Seorae Village, Left and UN Village, Right

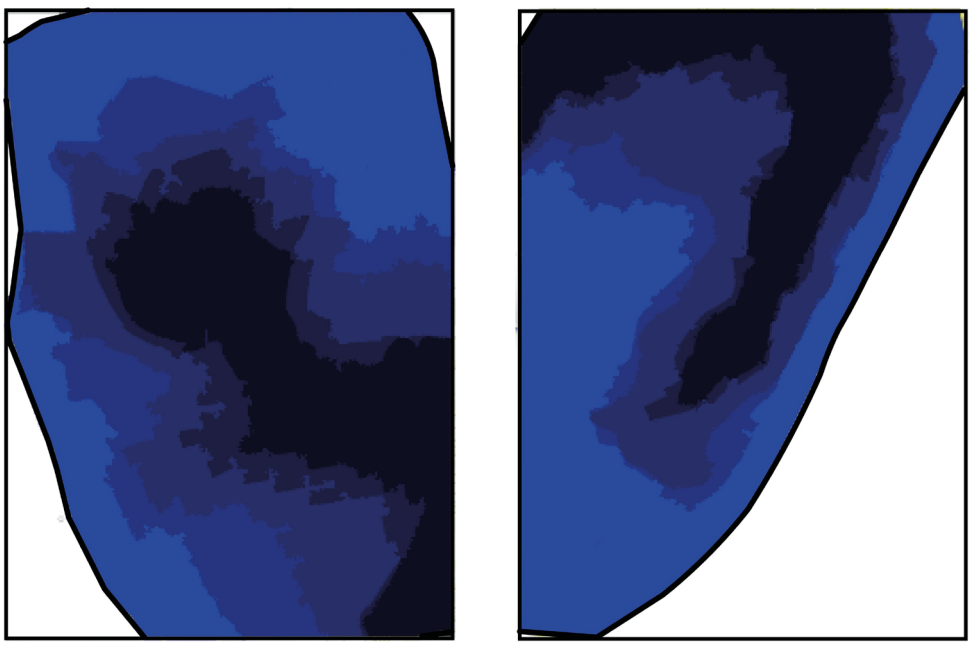
Both areas are residence focused and have a history of foreignness that affected their development in terms of architecture, urban design, and living pattern.

	UN Village	Seorae Village
Otherness	Severe spatial segregation that encourages otherness due to low class residential units in the surroundings	Spatial segregation through high gates, but more blended due to the high-rise gated communities in the surrounding.
Reputation	Residential otherness and otherness through social classes	Foreignness and commercial value
Geography	One of the main elements to create separation. Usage of hills, and wet areas -Highest point in the surroundings	Supportive element, hills further encourages the separation rather than used as a main element. -Highest point in the surroundings
Accessibility	Less accessible, concentrated public and open areas such as public parks	More accessible and pedestrian friendly but doesn't have open areas in the center but in the peripheral.
Connectivity	More dependent on the personal vehicle usage	High dependence on the personal vehicle transportation + good connection to the public transport
Signage	Exclusiveness but further enhanced with the usage	Encourages exclusiveness
Direct	Common	Common
In-direct		Common + 3D elements

<Table 6.1> Use of Criteria in Study Areas, and their role

In terms of the history, the Korean population that moved into UN Village used their reputation to create a socially and economically hard-to-reach area, full of gates and signs, where outsiders are not welcomed. In contrast, the reputational value of

Seorae Village is a product of the areas foreign and commercial appeal to Koreans. Activity in the commercial street of Seorae Village keeps the affluent residential part of Seorae in the background, affecting the residential privacy more when compared to UN Village.



<Figure 6.11> Topography comparison of each area: UN Village on left and Seorae Village on right. (Highest point depicted with darkest color)

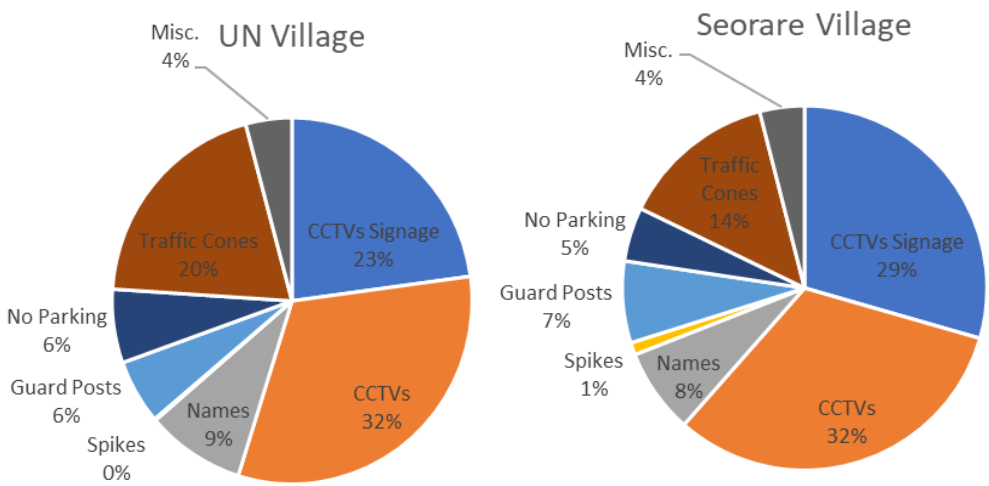
Geography of the area is used as the first element to decrease visitors. Although the reason for relocating the French school in unclear, it is apparent that high-altitude zones were intentionally chosen for building dwellings. In both cases, geography is used as the determining element for social class and power. The increased view-scape of surroundings, especially Han River, was an important consideration for maintain the illusion of higher social status.

<Figure 6.12> Entrance of residential areas: UN Village on left and Seorae Village on right. (Highest point depicted with darkest color)

In terms of accessibility, Seorae Village is more accessible when compared to UN Village. With more than 10 entrance areas, Seorae Village allows frequent pedestrian activity and visitors, even with the hilly geography of the area.

Signage, which is usually used in urban environments for safety and public interest reasons to help people “be aware of the dangers in the urban realm and where to find help when there is danger” (Diko, 2013), has been used in opposition to its main purpose in both case areas. While both areas share common elements, Seorae Village features extreme examples, such as spikes on pipes and walls, creating a non-safe image for the public realm surrounding the gated houses. However, the crime rate in the area does not support the “danger illusion” created by the homeowners. Furthermore, while the safety of the residents was cited as a point of concern in signs, accessibility for the public

users of the roads or any other public elements does not reflect it. Most roads lack paved pedestrian roads and public furniture to ensure a safe separate environments for pedestrians. Service cars, such as post or couriers who need to stop by the public roads, create inconvenience in the vehicle traffic due to narrowness of streets.



<Table 6.2> Signage frequency

Through graph 6.1, the frequency of each sign ⑨ was deduced to examine possible correlations or hierarchies in tactics resulting in exclusiveness. CCTVs in both areas were the leading factor in creating uneasiness, while the signage related to their existence comes in second place. Traffic cones were more frequently found in the UN Village area, which is arguably due to disadvantages of the single entry of the neighborhood. Signs put up by the Seoul municipality stressed that in case of an emergency, ambulances and fire-trucks will not be able to get into the area due to illegal parking. These signs are aimed at the outsiders, as residents mostly have their private parking areas and garages in their luxurious units, and they are aware of the dangers caused by

⑨ Signage which is visible from the public street was considered at the data, as it effects the pedestrian view and contributes to the exclusion of the others.

the narrow roads.

Furthermore, most of the miscellaneous signage under both direct and indirect signage was related to littering. Names of the houses, rather than being aimed at the outsiders to the area, were designed for the residents. Names, usually in English, are created to give an exclusive and high-status feeling to the residents, and also to attract newcomers with similar social status to the area. “Mercer House”, “Riverway”, “Windsor House”, “Upper House” are a few examples. With the image of exclusivity they create through tactics and reputation, they are expanding to the other neighborhoods of Seoul.

<Figure 6.13> Construction area for new gated housing unit brands, expanding from Seorae Village

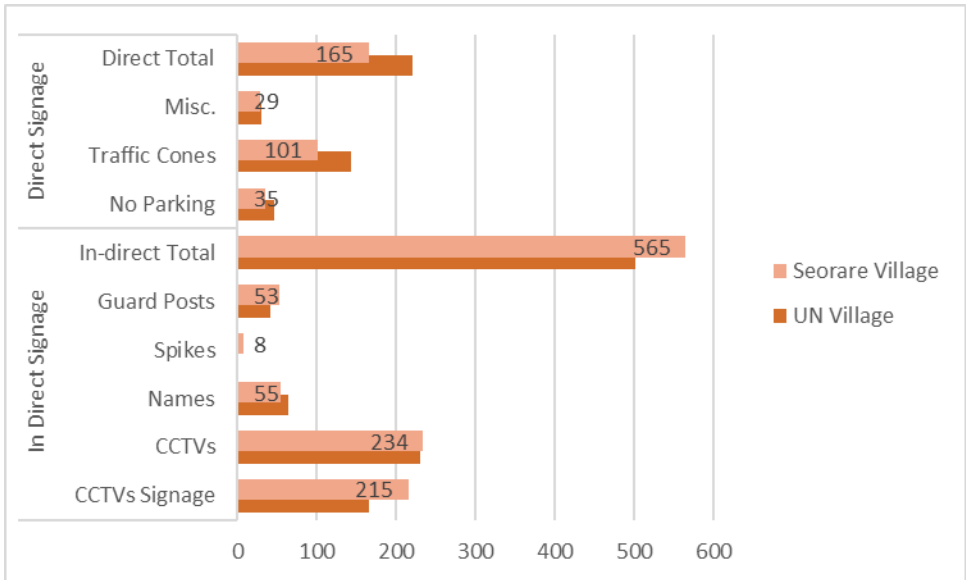
Guard posts in the area had similar values for both areas with 6-7% among other signs. Looking at the map and the site research experience, guard posts on the outer layers of each area were most visible and had active security guards at stand-by. These posts are huge contributors to the exclusion tactics, even to the extent of asking the researcher to not take pictures. During various observations, the researcher, an outsider, was questioned regarding her actions and presence in the UN Village by the security guards, whereas Seorae Village was more accommodating

to outsiders.

<Figure 6.14> Guard Post distribution in Seorae Village (Left), UN Village (Right)

Looking at the numerical data collected from the site surveys and visual data of the area, direct signage is more frequently used in UN Village compared to the Seorae Village, whereas indirect signage correlates oppositely. Through Graph 2, we can see the overall overpowering significance of indirect signage over direct signage.

Considering the fact that Seorae Village came to exist as a separate part of UN Village through the relocation of “Lycée Français de Séoul”, they match the given criteria evenly. The power structures on each criterion change according to the need and other criteria in the area, but the tactics they use to impose certain feelings on the outsiders are certainly the same.



<Table 6.3> Direct and In-direct Signage Values in UN Village and Seorae Village

Initial criteria, such as accessibility and connectivity, create otherness through a lack of facilities and accommodating elements in the public realm, while criteria such as signage was put in the public places only for one purpose. That is why in the initial stages of the research it was perceived as having greater impact on exclusivity, but through the overall comparison research it was understood that every criterion had similar effects, leading to the conclusion that they share an equal footing. It can be argued that they are not connected via importance, but rather the order in which they are represented to the outsiders.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Understanding gated communities was an important aspect of this research in redefining the new spatial segregation, or gatedness criteria. Commonality and density of high-rise gated communities, or apartments, as they are called in the Korean society, puts them in the spotlight, and makes other, more gated fabrics, unseen by researchers. Neighborhoods, such as UN Village and Seorae Village chosen in this research, create more severe spatial separation and exclusivity in the urban fabric, which is usually unseen by most people. This acceptance of gates and other separative elements such as signs, lack of accessibility, and connectivity, is slowly being spread to other neighborhoods, creating otherness for public users.

Any kind of gate in the urban environment creates a fake sense of security for its residents, especially in cities such as Seoul, where crime is not as prevalent as some Western cities. However, walls are not the only tactic affluent neighborhoods use as an exclusionary method. Understated criteria, such as geography, signage, accessibility, and connectivity, have a tremendous effect on the urban environments. Through these vague elements' residents create the illusion of exclusion, physical safety, and security. This illusion in reality does not require any lock and guards, because it is for the home-owners or the residents to feel better about their social status and class, while the world around them rapidly changes. As such, they live in a form of "heterotopia" (Low, 2008).

The illusion of safety inside the walls can be purely due to selfish reasons of the residents, but their decisions intendedly or unintendedly affect the public setting. As Low said, "they are distributive of other people's ability to experience 'community'" (Low, 200:162). For neighborhoods that lack the community, they

are disturbing the ability to experience public connection with other places.

Through this research it can be understood that central urban areas have been privatized further than it was realized, and other gated forms such as gatedness have been creating strict spatial segregation to further encourage this privatization. Public street, as perceived by pedestrians, are filled with elements that affect the perception of the space. Exclusiveness tactics used by the affluent class in certain residential areas manage the connectivity and quality of the public connection. As such, housing in the post-civil society represents the world on a bigger scale, providing benefits to a small group of people, while excluding others from the necessities or any benefits of the society.

Criteria deduced from this research was the first step to understand the gated neighborhoods in Seoul, which separate themselves from gated apartments. One of the famous gated neighborhoods, UN Village, was taken into consideration, but there are many more that create spatial segregation and cause exclusive neighborhoods with public spaces. Although signage was considered to be the main element that affects the pedestrian perception in the area, it was understood that all criteria are distributed similarly in the two example neighborhoods.

The sample areas, UN Village and Seorae Village, represented the overall segregation situation caused by exclusion, and helped to deduce widespread tactical criteria used in similar backgrounds, which possibly will give further evidence on how urban trends will progress and influence the public realm in other parts of Seoul in the future. Future studies can consider other gated neighborhoods that cause spatial segregation through exclusiveness in central urban areas, and add the user's perspective on both sides of gates, as it will also be important for the level of impact on daily life.

Bibliography

Abdel-Ghani, Taher & Tahoon, Zeinab., (2020). Enclosurotopias: A Heterotopian Simulation of Reality. 281-287.

Atkinson, R. and Flint, J., (2004) Fortress UK? Gated communities, the spatial revolt of the elites and time–space trajectories of segregation. Housing Studies, 19(16), 875-892.

Atkinson, R., & Blandy, S., (2005). Introduction: International perspective on the new enclavism and the rise of gated communities. Housing Studies, 20, 177–186.

Bae, Joo, "The Making Of Gangnam: Social Construction And Identity Of Urban Place In South Korea", (2009) 『Urban Affairs Review』, Vol.56, No.3, 2019. pp.726-757.

Bagaeen, Samer, and Ola Uduku., (2015) 『Beyond Gated Communities』, New York, NY: Routledge.

Bagaeen, Uduku, Bagaeen, Samer, and Uduku, Ola., (2010) Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments / Edited by Samer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku.

Blakely, E., (2007) Gated communities for a frayed and afraid world. Housing Policy Debate, 18(3), pp.475–480.

Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio., (2000) City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo / Teresa P.R. Caldeira.

Castells Manuel, (1976) The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, The Pitman Press, pp.168-172

Community in Chinese Cities and Its Solution, Journal of Urban Design, 8:1, 45-66, DOI: 10.1080/1357480032000064764

Deutsch, Karl W, (1961) "Social Mobilization and Political Development.", 『The American Political Science Review』, Vol.55, No.3, pp. 493–514.

Diko, Stephen., (2013). SIGNAGE: LAND-USE PLANNING ISSUES AND DYNAMICS (End of Semester Report submitted to Land Use Planning Course).

Dinzey-Flores, Zaire Zenit., (2013) 『Locked In, Locked Out: Gated Communities in a Puerto Rican Ci』, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Evan McKenzie, (2005) Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas: A Case Study of Emerging Trends in American Gated Communities, Housing Studies, 20:2, pp.187-203.

김희석, (2018) Formation and Resident Perception of Gated Communities: the Case of Apartment Complexes in Seoul, 빗장주거단지의 형성과 거주자 인식에 관한 연구: 서울의 아파트 단지를 사례로.

Foucault, M., (1993). Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias. J. ed. Architecture Culture, 1943(68), pp.419-426.

Gelézeau, and 길혜연, (2007) 아파트 공화국 : 프랑스 지리학자가 본 한국의 아파트 / 발레리 줄레조 지음 ; 길혜연 옮김 .

Haraway, Donna J., (1991) Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature.

Kenna, Therese & Dunn, Kevin., (2009). The Virtuous Discourses of Private Communities. Geography Compass. 3. 797

Kim, and Choe, (1997)『Seoul: The Making Of A Metropolis』, Choice Reviews Online, Vol.35, No.04,. pp.99.

Kim, Hakhee, (2007) "The Creative Economy and Urban Art Clusters: Locational Characteristics of Art Galleries in Seoul", 『Journal of the Korean Geographical Society』

Kwon, Bonghee, Saehoon, (2005) "The Seventeenth-Century Transition Of Seoul´s Spatial Structure To Functional Pragmatism", 『Journal Of Asian Architecture And Building Engineering』, Vol.14, No.2, pp.419-426.

Leeman, Jennifer, and Gabriella Modan., (2009) "Commodified language in Chinatown: A contextualized approach to linguistic landscape1." Journal of Sociolinguistics13, no. 3, 332-362.

Lefebvre, Henri, (1991) The Production of Space, pp.31-41.

Ley, David., (1983) 『A Social Geography of The City』, Harper & Row.

Low, S., (2003). Behind the gates: Life, security and the pursuit of happiness in fortress America. New York: Routlge.

Low, S. (2008). The gated community as heterotopia. In M. Dehaene & L. De Cauter (Eds.), Heterotopia and the City: Public space in a post-civil society, pp.153-165

Mark Meeder, Tobias Aebi, Ulrich Weidmann, (2007) The influence of slope on walking activity and the pedestrian modal share, Transportation Research Procedia, Volume 27, pp.141-147

Moraes Netto, Vinicius. (2016) The Social Fabric of Cities, Vinicius M. Netto.

Oberhauser, A.M., Fluri, J.L., Whitson, R., & Mollett, S., (2017) Feminist Spaces: Gender and Geography in a Global Context (1st ed.). Routledge., pp. 77-105

Pietikäinen, Hadid, Zhao, Ahonen, Hadid, Abdenour, Zhao, Guoying, and Ahonen, Timo., (2011) Computer Vision Using Local Binary Patterns [electronic Resource] / by Matti Pietikäinen, Abdenour Hadid, Guoying Zhao, Timo Ahonen. 1st Ed., ed. 2011. Computational Imaging and Vision, 40. Web. pp.277

Pu Miao (2003) Deserted Streets in a Jammed Town: The Gated
Roitman, Sonia. (2010). Gated communities: Definitions, causes and consequences. Proceedings of The Ice - Urban Design and Planning.

Sassen S (1994) Cities in a World Economy. Pine Forge Press, London.

Sikora-Fernandez, Dorota., (2013). Private cities. Spatial and economic consequences of gated communities in Poland. RESEARCH PAPERS OF WROCŁAW UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS.

Soe Won Hwang & Hyo-Jin Kim, (2020) The intensifying gated exclusiveness of apartment complex boundary design in Seoul, Korea, Planning Perspectives, 35:4, 719-729,

Tonkiss, Fran, (2015)『Space, The City And Social Theory』, 1st ed., Cambridge: Polity, pp. 19-97

Weisman, Leslie. (1992) Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

서울생활문화자료조사, 이태원 - 공간과 삶, 2010

OTHER SOURCES ON INTERNET

Bizwatch. "Most Expensive Areas to Live in Seoul in South Korea as of October 2020, Based on Average Selling Price of Apartment (in Million South Korean Won per 3.3 Square Meter)." Statista, Statista Inc., 26 Nov 2020, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1023632/south-korea-most-expensive-areas-to-live-seoul/

Maeil Business Newspaper. (December 11, 2020). Most expensive apartments in South Korea in 2020, based on actual transaction value (in billion South Korean won) [Graph]. In Statista. Retrieved April 05, 2021, from **https://www.statista.com/statistics/1072380/south-korea-most-expensive-apartments-by-transactions-value/**

Seoul Open Data Plaza, Available at: **http://datakorea.datastore.or.kr:8080/profile/geo/seoul/#house_real_trade_officetel**

Seoul Open Data Plaza, Available at: **http://datakorea.datastore.or.kr:8080/profile/geo/seoul/#house_real_trade_alliance**

Seoul Open Data Plaza, Available at: **http://datakorea.datastore.or.kr:8080/profile/geo/seoul/#house_real_trade_apt**

Appendix

Table related to building data of UN Village area, pp.25:

Address	*Built Area (m²)*	*appraised value of land*	*Name*	*Upper floor*	*basement floor*	*Number of units*	*construction year*	*type*	*Height (meter)*	*Floor area Ratio*	*data year*
유엔빌리지길 274	134,98			2	1	1	1974	주택			2017
유엔빌리지길 80-4	138,08	*9,702,000*	무이스튜디오	2	1	1	1978	제2종근린생활시설	6,4	47,49%	2019
유엔빌리지길 200-7	91,07	*7,720,000*원/m²		2	1	1	1978	주택			2018
유엔빌리지길 74	137,57	*9,382,000*		2	1	1	1979	단독주택	8,22	51,38%	2017
유엔빌리지길 80-22	149,06	*9,985,000*		2	1	1	1979	주택		47,88%	2017
유엔빌리지길 198	210,84	*8,021,000*원/m²		2	1	1	1980	단독주택	6,9	41,53%	2017
유엔빌리지1길 24	139,64	*7,286,000*원/m²		2	1	1	1980	주택		69,22%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 72	133,72	*9,379,000*		2	1	1	1981	단독주택	8	59,96%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 54-14	148,33	*9,147,001*	CESPMC	1	1	1	1981	주택, 근린생활시설	6,5	33,33%	2017
유엔빌리지길 80-34	68,83	*9,075,000*	에스티씨라이프	2	1	1	1981	주택	0	49,34%	2018
유엔빌리지2길 34-20	171,57	*9,331,000*		2	1	1	1982	주택		36,03%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 34	182,42	*9,231,000*		3	2	1	1983	연구소, 주택, 근린생활시설		103,57%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 51	105,3	*9,973,000*		2	1	1	1983	주택	6,4	56,44%	2017
유앤빌리지2길 37	135,77	4,800,000	주한타지키스탄대사관	2	1	1	1983	전시시설		74,78%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 152	93,87			2	1	1	1983	단독주택		56,70%	2017

유엔빌리지3길 195	112,59	*9,484,000*		2	1	1	1986	주택	6,1	59,72%	2020
유엔빌리지길 219	156,63	*7,488,000*원/m²		2	1	1	1986	주택	8,45	44,75%	2017
유엔빌리지길 52	81,46	*7,286,000*원/m²		2	1	1	1987	주택	6,95	77,10%	2020
유엔빌리지3길 16	211,86	*9,796,00*		2	1	1	1988	단독주택	10,29	44,74%	2017
유엔빌리지길 80-16	164,85	*10,390,000*		2	1	1	1989	주택	8,7	56,82%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 34-24	109,15	*9,331,000*		2	1	1	1991	단독주택	7,9	59,38%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 34-26	109,02	*9,144,000*		2	1	1	1991	단독주택	7,9	59,30%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 16	195,23	9,069,000원/m²		2	1	1	1992	단독주택	11,55	46,28%	2017
유엔빌리지길 188-16	191,31			2	1	1	1994	단독주택	7,93	58,88%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 55	106,02	*9,781,000*		2	1	1	2000	단독주택	10,5	58,35%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 55	106,02	9,781,000		2	1	1	2000	단독주택	10,5	58,35%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 191	232,34	9,666,000	한남에코빌라	3	4	1	2001	주택	11,9	88,64%	2018
유엔빌리지길 80-68	237,67	10,080,000	유엔빌리지주택	2	1	1	2004	단독주택	11,32	52,07%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 78	184,31	*8,886,000*		2	4	1	2005	제2종근린생활시설	11,03	50,31%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 82	159,98	*8,372,000*원/m²		2	1	1	2005	단독주택	9,3	51,45%	2017
유엔빌리지1길 8	231,91	*7,438,000*		2	2	1	2006	단독주택	11,9	71,51%	2017
유앤빌리지2길 60	142,27	8,882,000	B동	3	2	1	2011	단독주택	10,3	33,46%	2017
유엔빌리지길 56	219,71	*7,286,000*원/m²		3	1	1	2013	단독주택	10,81	116,30%	2017
유엔빌	205,91	*9,350,000*원/m²		3	1	1	2013	단독주택	11,9	66,22%	2017

리지길 67											
유엔빌리지길 188-15	195,17	*9,991,000*		2	1	1	2013	단독주택	7,8	48,00%	2020
유앤빌리지3길 111	202,67	9,787,000		2	1	1		단독주택			
유엔빌리지2길 34-16	230,9	*8,957,000*		3	1	2	2001	다세대주택	11,85	64,55%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 95	63,75	9,603,000		3	3	2	2005	다세대주택	10,71	85,69%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 169	125,5	9,787,000		3	1	2	2006	단독주택 다가구주택	10,7	77,94%	2021
유엔빌리지길 84	189,59			3	2	3	1995	연립주택	11,9	84,96%	2017
유엔빌리지길 177	96,84	*7,712,000*원/m²		3	1	3	1997	다가구용단독주택(3가구)	10,4	80,39%	2017
유엔빌리지길 259	220,4	*8,384,000*원/m²	써미드하우스	4	1	3	2000	연립주택	12,3	216,79%	2018
유엔빌리지길 79	210,93	*9,163,000*원/m²		3	1	3	2002	다세대주택	11,98	81,25%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 91	63,75	9,409,000	지메이	3	3	3	2005	공동주택 다세대주택	10,71	85,69%	2017
유엔빌리지길 136-10	205,08	*9,590,000*	mercerhouse	4	2	3	2016	공동주택	10,94	76,90%	
유앤빌리지3길 106	190,98	9,873,000	그레이스맨션	3	1	4	1989	공동주택 연립주택	10,36	89,80%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 112	260,9	*9,680,000*		3	1	4	1992	연립주택		77,99%	2017
유엔빌리지길 181	124,57	*7,874,000*원/m²		3	1	4	1995	다세대주택	10,9	89,20%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 165	203,82	9,787,000	지베이	3	2	4	1995	연립주택	9,2	87,28%	2017
유엔빌리지길 156	185,55	*9,484,000*	한남리버뷰	2	1	4	1997	다세대주택	5,85	59,09%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 2-20	289,07	9,231,000	우림빌라 A동	3	1	4	1997	다세대주택	11,23	44,92%	2020
유엔빌리지3길 2-20	289,07	9,231,000	우림빌라 B동	3	1	4	1997	다세대주택	11,23	44,60%	2020

유엔빌리지3길 74	201,38	*9,379,000*원/m²		3	2	4	1998	공동주택(연립)	11,9	89,06%	2017
유엔빌리지길 29	106,82	7,990,000	버밀리아하우스	4	1	4	1998	다세대주택	14,22	233,20%	2017
유엔빌리지길 80-38	220,48	*9,164,000*	준빌라3차	3	2	4	2000	연립주택	11,9	89,75%	2020
유엔빌리지길 253	226,73	*8,384,000*원/m²	피치빌아파트	4	1	4	2000	연립주택	13,6	229,52%	2017
유엔빌리지길 249	201,38	*8,226,000*원/m²	형우스위트빌	5	1	4	2000	공동주택	15,9	233,31%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 6	153,77	*7,590,000*	오케스트라 아파트	4	1	4	2000	다세대주택	13,4	236,67%	2017
유엔빌리지길 80-58	245,7	*9,118,000*원/m²	한남동준빌라	4	1	4	2001	연립주택	13	157,67%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 84	288,015	*9,680,000*	헤렌하우스 102동	3	2	4	2002	연립주택	11,55		2017
유엔빌리지3길 84	282,87	*9,680,000*	헤렌하우스 103동	3	2	4	2002	연립주택	11,55		2017
유엔빌리지3길 75	150,76	*9,590,000*원/m²		3	2	4	2002	다세대주택	13,15	82,64%	2017
유엔빌리지길 80-82	227,26	*9,420,000*	주머니빌라(캐스팅스타)	4	1	4	2002	공동주택	13,4	156,77%	2017
유엔빌리지길 168	134,95	*9,302,000*		3	1	4	2002	다세대주택	11,2	88,25%	2017
유엔빌리지길 244	176,06		원저하누스	4	1	4	2003	다세대주택	12,65	211,80%	2017
유엔빌리지길 252	156,43	*8,506,000*원/m²	ester haus	5	1	4	2014	다세대주택	19,96	156,21%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 20	223,89	*10,030,000*	빌라드그리움L	3	2	4	2020	연립주택	10,9	67,20%	
유엔빌리지3길 46	243,28	*9,231,000*	원도우하우스	3	2	5	1996	공동주택	10,78	87,05%	2017
유엔빌리지길 220	229,17	*7,874,000*원/m²	한남빌리	3	1	5	1997	연립주택	11,3	84,76%	2017
유엔빌리지2길	232,8	*8,270,000*원/m²	형우빌라	4	2	5	1998	연립주택	11,6	234,98%	2017

57											
유엔빌리지2길 68	278,15	*9,237,000*원/m²	한남동K빌라	3	2	5	2001	연립주택	11,95	78,68%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 2-4	140,41		갤러리빌라	4	2	5	2001	다세대주택'근린생활시설	13,6	124,94%	2020
유엔빌리지2길 95	213,7	*8,476,000*원/m²	매그놀리아빌라	4	1	5	2002	다세대주택/근린생활시설	14,4	207,84%	2020
유엔빌리지2길 89	199,66	*8,476,000*원/m²	웨스트우드	5	1	5	2006	공동주택	15,2	214,99%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 94	329,82	*8,904,000*원/m²		3	2	5	2011	연립주택	11,98	84,90%	2017
유엔빌리지길 193	324,04	*8,028,000*원/m²	중앙하이즈빌라	3	1	6	1986	연립주택	11,8	85,80%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 2-24	236,2	*9,231,001*	한강빌라	3	1	6	1987	연립주택	14,1	84,72%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 109	321,57	*8,021,000*원/m²	하남유림빌라	3	2	6	1991	연립주택		89,82%	2017
유엔빌리지길 204	280,77	*7,720,000*원/m²	준빌라	3	1	6	2002	연립주택	11,87	88,63%	2017
유엔빌리지길 200-8	516,16	*7,642,000*원/m²	두산빌라	3	2	6	2005	연립주택	11,8	87,71%	2017
유엔빌리지길 36	246,03	7,358,000	에스오디-5	5	1	7	2002	공동주택	16,9	167,43%	2017
유엔빌리지2길 85	218,36	*8,310,000*원/m²	크리스탈코트	6	0	7	2003	다세대주택,제2종근린생활시설	17,4	287,26%	2017
유엔빌리지길 247	192,93	*8,226,000*원/m²	힐팰리스 하우스빌	4	1	7	2003	공동주택 다세대주택	16,46	203,66%	2017
유앤빌리지길 155	553,57	8,812,000	루시드하우스A동	1	2	7	2007	연립주택	11,55		2017
유엔빌리지길 200-14	434,26	9,884,000	klein haus	3	2	7	2007	연립주택	11,5	87,88%	2017
유엔빌리지길 230	265,88	*7,830,000*원/m²	루 하우스	8	1	7	2015	아파트	26,09	215,28%	2019
유엔빌리지길 259-5	300,74	*8,550,000*원/m²	힐탑빌라	4	1	8	1992	연립주택	13,9	199,60%	2017
유엔빌	297,92	7,358,000	DM타운	4	1	8	1993	연립주택	11,8	143,98%	2020

리지길 40											
유엔빌리지길 89	301,54	*9,069,000*	힐미드빌라	3	2	8	1996	연립주택	9,35	89,83%	2021
유엔빌리지3길 36	411	*9,231,001*	수빌라	3	2	8	1997	연립주택	10,78	83,96%	2017
유엔빌리지1길 48	314,6	*8,270,000*원/m²	피콕빌라	4	1	8	1997	연립주택	12,33	202,47%	2017
유앤빌리지길 62	574,17	7,071,000	한남리버힐 B	4	1	8	1999	연립주택	16,45	131,61%	2017
유앤빌리지길 62	601,53	7,071,000	한남리버힐 C	4	1	8	1999	연립주택	16,45	126,53%	2018
유엔빌리지길 80-46	332,06	*9,231,000*	준빌라	3	2	8	2000	연립주택	11,98	89,98%	2020
유엔빌리지3길 84	567,29	*9,680,000*	헤렌하우스 101동	3	4	8	2002	연립주택	11,55		2017
유엔빌리지3길 67	377,53	*9,590,000*	리버웨이	3	3	8	2002	연립주택	10,4	87,17%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 190	489,42	10,070,000	코번하우스	3	4	8	2006	연립주택	11,9	75,16%	2020
유앤빌리지길 155	561,37	8,812,000	루시드하우스 B동	3	3	8	2007	연립주택	11,5		2017
유앤빌리지길 42	608,49	7,358,000	유림유앤빌리지	3	1	9	1992				2017
유엔빌리지1길 50	270,27	*8,270,000*	빌라노바	4	2	9	2002	연립주택	13,6	209,46%	2020
유엔빌리지3길 2-10	200,19	9,420,000	파빌리온빌라	4	2	9	2003	공동주택 연립주택	12,19	159,01%	2017
유앤빌리지3길 145	344,2	10,070,000	더하우스 아파트	3	3	9	2007	연립주택	10,6	89,14%	2020
유엔빌리지길 267	554,13	*8,104,000*원/m²	삼성한남빌라	4	1	10	1996	연립주택	12,15	211,30%	2017
유엔빌리지길 200-9	183,63	*5,257,000*원/m²	보보스가든	3	3	11	2002	연립주택	11,59	88,34%	2017
유엔빌리지길 200-9	183,63	*5,257,000*원/m²	보보스가든	3	3	11	2002	연립주택	11,59	88,34%	2017
유엔빌	759,06		박뷰빌	3	1	12	1994	연립주택	11,8	88,90%	2017

리지길 200-13			라								
유엔빌 리지길 275	528,27	*8,518,000*원/m²	다이아몬드 프리자	4	1	12	1994	연립주택	14,5	198,61%	2017
유엔빌 리지1길 17	560,42	*7,830,000*	형우 베스트빌라	4	2	12	1997	공동주택	13	218,12%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 53	413,15	*7,590,000*원/m²	로얄튼빌라	8	2	14	2002	공동주택	23,9	298,54%	2017
유앤빌 리지3길 118	1047,21	9,680,000	라테라스 한남	3	3	15	2012	연립주택	12	75,02%	2019
유엔빌 리지3길 52	533,93	*9,231,000*	상월대 2동	4	2	15	2013	공동주택 연립주택	12,35	149,77%	2020
유앤빌 리지길 62	1307,99	7,071,000	한남리버힐 A	4	1	16	1999	연립주택	17,55	120,00%	2017
유앤빌 리지길 80-36	1198,54	8,834,000	장학파르크 한남	6	3	17	2020	아파트	17,98	163,00%	
유엔빌 리지3길 54-10	787,17	*9,231,000*	상월대 1동	4	3	19	2013	연립주택	10,67	138,45%	2020
유앤빌 리지3길 2	616,6	10,280,000	효성빌리지	6	2	26	2000	공동주택 - 아파트	20,35	258,80%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 200-16	1657,71	*9,163,000*원/m²	hilltop treasure	12	1	65	2003	apt	40,71	216,44%	2017
유엔빌 리지3길 155	557,84	9,787,000	제이하누스	3	3	(2bina) 10	2010	연립주택	10,86	88,90%	2017
유앤빌 리지1길 34	110,65	8,013,000	크로바아파트	4	0	(3building)12	1967				2017
유엔빌 리지길 289	691,95	7,990,000	twinwill B	7	3	19	2008	아파트외1	23,85	199,62%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 11	739,61	7,990,000	twin willA	7	3	19	2008	아파트외1	23,95	199,98%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 83	182,6	*9,350,000*		2	2	2가구수	2013	다가구주택	11,2	45,56%	2020
유엔빌 리지길 80-86	247,61	*9,420,000*		3	1	2호 1가구	1995	제2종근린생활시설	11,84	111,59%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 25	145,01	*7,750,000*		4	1	2호 2세대	1998	다세대주택 및근린생활시설	12,6	183,16%	2017
유엔빌	232,42			5	1	2호 6	2015	2종근린생	19,53	164,19%	2017

리지2길 33						세대		활시설			
유엔빌 리지2길 46	138,66	*9,069,000*		3	1	4가구	1996	단독주택	11,5	88,44%	2017
유엔빌 리지3길 102	342,01	9,873,000	sweet castle 3	3	5	6호 8세대	2008	연립주택 및 근린샐활시설	10,75	85,97%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 188-12	177,38	*9,981,000*		2	1	가구 3	1988	단독주택		41,83%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 34-12	154,29	*8,882,000*원/m²	카네이테이	3	1	가구 3	2003	다가구주택	12	79,74%	2020
유엔빌 리지3길 66	277,34	9,014,000		3	1	가구2	1990	다가구 단독주택		47,12%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 54	196,23	*8,882,000*원/m²		2	1	가구수 1	1987	근린생활시설, 주택	11,2	50,31%	2020
유엔빌 리지2길 27	221,22	*7,510,000*		2	1	가구수 2	1974	다가구용단독주택	7,95	33,86%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 136-6	223,01	*9,590,000*		3	2	가구수 2	1978	주택	11,2	58,66%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 59	234,16	*9,724,000*원/m²		2	1	가구수 2	1993	다가구용단독주택(2가구)	8,9	56,61%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 99	96,155	*8,310,000*원/m²		2	1		1959	단독주택	8,17	39,04%	2017
유앤빌 리지2길 60	131,31	8,882,000	A동	1	1		1959	근린갱활시설		14,40%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 24	97,75	*8,882,000*원/m²		1	1		1960	주택			2017
유앤빌 리지2길 34-4	776,5	8,882,000	이탈리아대사관	2	1		1962	전시시설	7,95	27,17%	2020
유앤빌 리지길 28	143,19	7,098,000		4	1		1968	제2종근린생활시설	12,2	147,86%	2020
유엔빌 리지길 200-1	136,79	*7,426,000*원/m²		3	0		1970				2017
유엔빌 리지길 200-1	136,79	*7,426,000*원/m²	콘보이하우스 고리아	3	0		1970				2017
유엔빌 리지1길 10	184,69	*7,438,000*		2	1		1974	주택			2017
유앤빌	697,97	8,882,000	한남국	3	1		1974	교육연구시		22,81%	2017

리지길 127			제연수원					설			
유엔빌리지2길 34-9	136,69	*9,163,000*원/m²		2	1		1976	주택	8,41	47,70%	2017
유엔빌리지길 200-7	91,07	*7,720,000*원/m²		2	1		1978	주택			2018
유엔빌리지길 80-94	78,78		메종다꼬떼?	1	1		1978	주택			2017
유엔빌리지길 80-90	250,18	9,231,000	메르센에이젼시	2	1		1978	주택			2017
유엔빌리지길 78	138,84	*9,985,000*		2	1		1979	단독주택	6,9	56,78%	2017
유엔빌리지1길 2	49,42			2	1		1979	근린샐활시설	6,25	85,21%	2017
유엔빌리지1길 2	49,42	7,750,000	flower shop thing	2	1		1979	근린샐활시설	6,25	85,21%	2017
유엔빌리지길 72	157,93	*10,060,000*	이창하디자인연구소	3	1		1980	제2종근린생활시설	11,95	87,42%	2017
유엔빌리지길 200	139,04	*7,874,000*		2	1		1980	제2종근린생활시설	7,2	58,61%	2020
유엔빌리지길 68-9	93,26	*9,787,000*		2	1		1981	근린생활시설	7,3	53,66%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 54-16	148,2	*9,147,000*		1	1		1981	근린생활시설	3	33,68%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 63	191,16	*9,590,000*		0	2		1982		4,8		2020
유엔빌리지길 20	125,62	9,840,000		4	1		1982	주택	12,7	173,27%	2020
유엔빌리지길 94	113,4	*9,144,000*	플러스 준 스튜디오	1	1		1983	단독주택		47,05%	2017
유엔빌리지3길 156	97,38	9,991,000		2	1		1983	주택			2017
유엔빌리지3길 160	210,94	9,991,000		2	1		1983	주택			2017
유엔빌리지3길 164	119,59	9,991,000		2	1		1983	단독주택 근린생활시설	7,8	58,16%	2017
유엔빌	168,66	*8,476,00*		2	1		1984	주택	7,5	63,06%	2017

리지2길 103		*0*원/m²									
유엔빌 리지길 178	110,52	*8,546,000*		2	1		1986	주택	5,1	58,63%	2017
유엔빌 리지3길 24	194,05	9,420,000	메종하남	2	1		1988	제1종근린생활시설	7	35,16%	2020
유엔빌 리지1길 6	152,36	*6,607,000*		2	1		1989		7,85	63,71%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 254	211,47	*8,331,000*원/m²		4	1		1990		15,82	158,84%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 224	100,88	*7,712,000*원/m²	LIGHTHOUSE	3	1		1991	제1종근린생활시설, 단독주택	10,5	89,80%	2019
유엔빌 리지길 237	266,19	*8,060,000*원/m²	신원빌라	4	1		1992		15	125,81%	2017
유앤빌 리지2길 34-4	776,5	8,882,000	이탈리아대사관	1	0		1993	전시시설	5,2	7,59%	2020
유엔빌 리지길 188-16	191,31	*9,700,000*		2	1		1994	단독주택	7,93	58,88%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 145	281,78	*8,629,000*원/m²		3	1		1996	교육연구시설	11,73	67,79%	2020
유엔빌 리지2길 42	221,5	*9,163,000*원/m²		2	1		1997		9,28	49,56%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 151	171,29	*9,180,000*원/m²	베이스M스튜디오	3	1		1999	주택	12	49,66%	2020
유엔빌 리지1길 18	348,13	*7,438,000*	디자인플러스아파트	4	2		2000		15,2	228,13%	2017
유엔빌 리지3길 8	238,5	*9,985,000*	타원빌라	1	0		2001		14,72		2021
유엔빌 리지길 148	304,91	*9,590,000*원/m²	파인코트빌라	3	2		2001	주택	12	87,25%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 34-21	155,79	*8,415,000*원/m²		2	1		2001	단독주택		51,89%	2014
유엔빌 리지1길 14	342,14	*7,286,000*		2	1		2002	단독주택	6,85	54,99%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 212	101,88	*7,565,000*원/m²		3	1		2003	단독주택	9,9	70,99%	2017
유엔빌	159,04	*8,904,000*원/m²		2	1		2005	단독주택	8,35	49,42%	2020

리지2길 88											
유엔빌 리지길 1	83,15		emlakci	4	1		2005	제2종근린 생활시설	13	186,78 %	2017
유엔빌 리지길 24	128,9	7,840,000	필갤러리	5	2		2007	제2종근린 생활시설	16,39	213,50 %	2019
유앤빌 리지3길 183	112,34	9,787,000	한남동 빌딩	3	3		2007	제2종근린 생활시설	12,7	87,08%	2020
유엔빌 리지길 166	264,46	*9,666,000*		3	3		2011	단독주택외 1	11,26	69,72%	2020
유엔빌 리지2길 20	161,3	*9,069,000*		2	1		2012	단독주택	8,54	55,30%	2020
유엔빌 리지길 32	248,16	7,358,000		4	1		2013	단독주택 및 근린생활시설	17,8	166,70 %	2017
유엔빌 리지길 80-30	157,86	*9,787,001*	한남테리뷰	2	2		2014	제1,2종근린 생활시설	7,156	54,16%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 5	273,64	*7,990,000*					2014	주차자동			2017
유엔빌 리지3길 168	190,24	*9,787,000*		1	2		2015	제2종근린 생활시설	6,36	29,69%	2020
유엔빌 리지3길 96	235,24	9,873,000		3	1		2015	제2종근린 생활시설	11,5	83,32%	2017
유엔빌 리지길 80-68	348,62	8,732,000	장학파르크 한남					주치장		85,88%	2017
유엔빌 리지2길 17		*7,510,000*						자동차관련 시설			2017
유엔빌 리지길 14	143,7	12,610,000		3	0			제2종근린 생활시설	7,7	141,82 %	2017
유엔빌 리지길 80-36											

Abstract

현대 도시 내부의 도시적 현상인 '게이티드니스'는 물리적 출입문이나 외함이 없는 상황에서도 공간적, 지각적 차원에서 동네의 분리가 심해지는 것을 가리킨다. 부유한 지역의 경우, 배타적 전략을 통해 도심 지역 내에 분리된 환경을 조성하고, 지역 내 지역사회 상호작용을 감소시켰다. 게이티드니스(Gatedness)는 주변 지역사회와 분리되어 공간적 분리를 강화하는 배타적 작은 틈새 동네를 만든다. 서울 유엔 빌리지와 서래 마을은 이런 전술이 어떻게 눈에 띄지 않는가에 대한 두 가지 사례 연구를 제공한다. 이 두 마을에서 사용되는 전술적 기준은 서울 전역의 다른 지역 사회에도 널리 퍼져 있으며, 이는 이 두 마을들이 다양한 경제적, 사회적 배경을 가진 지역 사회의 공공 영역에 어떤 영향을 미치는지 추가적인 증거를 제공할 수 있을 것이다. 이러한 '게이티드니스'에 대한 전반적인 인식과 간판, 대중교통 부족, 보행자 연결성 등 배제 요소가 다른 지역으로 서서히 확산되면서 외부인에게도 다른 느낌을 주고 있다.