Ph.D. Dissertation in Landscape Architecture

Landscape Authenticities
in the Post-Industrial City

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for every drink we shared

Abstract

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This thesis begins with a question, *how can we understand and utilize the power of landscape authenticity, given the context of post-industrial city and the increasing commodification of urban landscapes?* This question is founded on the idea that the contemporary issues stem from a complex network of interests and desires that operate the urban society. This thesis believes that landscape authenticity is part of such an operation that is visible in our everyday lives. When considering landscape authenticity, the issues typically discussed in relation to urban revitalization of the post-industrial city such as urban homogeneity, gentrification and overtourism are in fact the by-products of the process where landscape authenticity is formulated, recognized, and appropriated by the cultural entrepreneurs, urban regeneration experts, municipal governments, residents, and the non-residents.

However, a critical issue faced by the landscape authenticity

discourse, particularly those who are trying to find ways of applying the concept to the post-industrial city, is that the existing definition and scope the concept does not sufficiently encompass the expanding field of landscape authenticity. Hence, in hopes of providing a suitable answer to the proposed question, this thesis covers a wide variety of topics related to urban landscape authenticity to illustrate the fluid and undefined nature of the concept, to provide a framework that allows for a wider spectrum of landscape authenticity to be included into the discussion of contemporary cities, to demonstrate how its uncritical application in the post-industrial urban revitalization sites can be disruptive to sustainable urban development, and to propose ways of harnessing landscape authenticity to in ways that include a diverse array of authentic representations that are authenticated through different consumer agencies.

First, this thesis aims to update and clarify the concept of landscape authenticity in the context of post-industrial city. The definition of landscape authenticity is necessarily complex and contextual. For the purpose of the discussions presented here, this study defines landscape authenticity as conspicuous representation of authentic qualities of a site in a specific landscape, where authentic qualities are qualities or elements that are authenticated by the landscape consumers.

Because our society is collecting resources from every corner of the earth in similar, if not uniform fashion, it is unlikely that any land can be described as untouched or pristine. This means that one cannot place the different representations of landscape authenticity into a hierarchical frame. Instead, *the Three Layers of Landscape Authenticity*, an analytical framework for understanding different layers of authenticity that are found on site, is presented as an alternative approach. Divided into site-specific, constructive, and projective authenticities, the framework is designed so that all types of authenticity representations, from natural and historical to

innovative and idiosyncratic, may be included.

A key agent in the discussion over urban landscape authenticity is the landscape consumer, whose agency is influential through the process of authentication. Landscape consumers are the main agents of authentication process, which refers to a process of aesthetic engagement with the site in terms of landscape authenticity. This process allows for landscape authenticity to be in constant flux in accordance with the society. Since the authentication of a landscape authenticity representation relies on the consumer, landscape authenticity functions as both index and icon, shifting from a reference to a realized architectural form, only to be adapted as a reference for other sites. In other words, landscape authenticity is an ever-evolving repository that is necessarily attached to the site.

Not all representations of landscape authenticity are conspicuous; considering the linearity of time, the most recent additions to the landscape, either idiosyncratic, iconic, or else, are more visible in urban settings. However, projective authenticity, due to its attachment to consumers, is subjected to political intentions that appropriate landscape authenticity in ways that do not consider the longevity of the complex relationship between the landscape authenticity layers.

In this thesis, two examples, the Seoul Forest Alleys and the Huinnyeoul Culture Village, were analyzed to attest to such a situation. Based on the analysis of two sites, issues regarding policy, agency, and understanding of landscape were identified. The image-specific landscape policies that are prone to projective authenticity have tendency to overwhelm the future landscape with little to no regard for other distinct layers of landscape authenticity on site.

In place of establishing image-specific landscape policies, this thesis proposes a more thorough survey of landscape authenticities by using the framework of *the Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity*. Key

function of this framework is to balance the consumer agency behind each layer and to create a more integrative archive of the site. This means that urban landscape authenticity as presented in this thesis may function as a platform from which interdisciplinary discussion regarding landscape may arise. This allows for landscape authenticity to remain in flux, updating itself through communication with the consumers, and to stay relevant for future landscape-related projects.

With many cities in developing nations shifting from manufacturing into service industry, different forms of urban regeneration will likely continue in different contexts. The topics and issues discussed in this paper may provide insight into how landscape authenticity functions in relation to the contemporary society, and how the induction of tourism industry through political measures in a residential site can cause confusion in terms of representation of authenticity. Finally, the extensive literature review conducted throughout this thesis that connects various fields in introducing and discussion the concept of urban landscape authenticity will lead other landscape and/or landscape architecture research to consider the concept of authenticity and take initiatives in formulating interdisciplinary network of ideas.

Keywords: landscape theory, authenticity, aesthetics, post-industrial city, consumer behavior, Seoul Forest Park Alleys, Huinnyeoul Culture Village

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

> *"In fact, the whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such*
> *country, there are no such people… if you desire to see a*
> *Japanese effect, you will not behave like a tourist and go to*
> *Tokio. On the contrary, you will stay at home and steep yourself*
> *in the work of certain Japanese artists, and then, when you have*
> *absorbed the spirit of their style, and caught their imaginative*
> *manner of vision, you will go some afternoon and sit in the Park*
> *or stroll down Piccadilly, and if you cannot see an absolute*
> *Japanese effect there, you will not see it anywhere."*
> *(Wilde, 2009, pp. 46–47)*

When Oscar Wilde described the Japanese effect to be a pure and imaginative exercise in the 19th century, the idea of authenticity of a specific site or place as absolute property was already in peril. As a romantic literary figure of his time, he was acutely aware of the disconnect between the imagined city of Tokyo in the English mind and the physical Tokyo landscape. The orientalism movement projected the imagined city of Tokyo onto modern English society as something that is authentic. Moving ahead into the 21st century, the Internet age and the hyper-communication era, such misunderstanding should have become obsolete. However, such discrepancy between the imagined and the real continues into contemporary times. In fact, one can argue that an imagined landscape constitutes a significant

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portion of the authenticity of landscape as much as the one that is standing on ground.

The argument that landscape is subjective as much as it is objective refers to the sociopolitical perspective that has shaped the view of landscape throughout the civilization (Cosgrove, 1985).[1] Such a view was more inclusive than the previous concept of landscape as territory; however, the constructive view of the landscape idea seems unsatisfactory when one considered the postmodern argument, which radically rejected any coherent idea of landscape. If one were to follow the postmodern logic, the landscape idea is simply another simulation, fakery, created by society without the actual thing itself present.[2] Baudrillard's argument against authenticity seems effective when one considers the countless copy-and-paste urban sprawls since the mid-20th century as well as the spectacle-centric community planning practices, or Disneyfication, of the everyday.

This existential conundrum often overflows into related and interdisciplinary issues involving landscape design. For example, it is not difficult to find computer game experts and virtual reality (VR) technicians to present papers and participate in landscape-related conferences. However,

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[1] The perspective discussed by Cosgrove refers to the bureaucratic and bourgeoisie vision of 19th-century Europe that focused on the constructive forces of the upper class; hence, Cosgrove argued that the concept of landscape has been adapted by humanistic writers for its holistic and subjective implications out of misunderstanding.

[2] This is referring to Baudrillard's argument for simulacra. See Baudrillard, 1988.

the questions remain largely unchanged: what makes landscape real (authentic)? What makes landscape *feel* real (authentic)? That is, through what ways can one create a landscape that feels as if it belongs here?

Of course, these questions lead us back to the most fundamental question in landscape architecture: *How can we plan, design, and construct a real landscape in an era dominated by inauthenticity (fakery)?* Previous solutions include attention to sociohistorical context, anthropological studies, mass survey, public participation, etc. However, as this thesis will argue, the concept of authenticity in landscape, particularly that situated in urban contexts, requires layered analysis that can encompass the seemingly contrasting ideas of authenticity. The issue of landscape authenticity, therefore, is timely and urgent.

This thesis is based on the belief that landscape authenticity is an important concept and should be treated as such, especially for the field of landscape architecture – the responsibility of which is to plan, design, and build landscapes that are meaningful and reflective of the site's potential. Furthermore, the industry-wide need for sustainability in landscape architecture practice calls for multimodal thinking in terms of the landscape's longevity. As will be discussed in the following chapters, this thesis finds that landscape authenticity is an important factor in planning and designing landscapes that will last longer, not only because it reflects the history but also because it is meaningful and engaging for the people who will be consuming the built landscape.

More specifically, this thesis aims to understand landscape authenticity agency, or the effect of landscape authenticity, with regard to urban landscapes. Reflection of a city's authenticity is a reoccurring theme that is in high demand by cities around the world. As discussed by urban scholars such as Richard Florida and Charles Landry, a city's future is directly related to its creative potential or those in the creative industry (Florida, 2002; Florida et al., 2015; Landry, 2000). This creative potential is believed to be heavily influenced by the city's authentic qualities. Urban tourist population, alternative consumers, and new generations of residents and companies[3] hoping to brand themselves as relevant entities in the world seem to be important ingredients for cities attempting to compete in the global stage.

Accordingly, the discussion of authenticity in relation to modernized urban living is hardly a novelty today, as evinced by countless literature from the fields of philosophy, art history, anthropology, food studies, geography, heritage studies, sociology, tourism studies, architecture, urban planning, etc. (Alfey, 2010; Benz, 2016; Beverland & Farrelly, 2010; Cohen, 2004; Ji, 2021a; MacCannell, 1976; Mitchell, 2008; Sinha et al., 2018;

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[3] For example, Amazon, a global corporation, announced the Amazon HQ2 plan in 2017 and released a request for proposals to municipal governments in North America. While business incentives in a financial form were comparable, each government boasted social and environmental capital that can attract the class of people deemed desirable by the company (Gupta, 2019; M. Shin, 2019).

Spector, 2011; Tate & Shannon, 2019; Trilling, 1972; Umbach & Humphrey, 2018). Even when the concepts of authenticity in different fields seem to counter each other, the overall influence of the idea on the contemporaneous society can be agreed upon. With such an extensive spectrum of associated fields, considering the authenticity in landscape as that of an artefact, social convention, and/or experience does not suffice; one must also consider the agency of landscape authenticity in creating the existing urban environment.

To further articulate the discussion, this thesis focuses on urban landscape authenticity in a post-industrial context. Here, the term post-industrial urban context should be understood as both sociocultural and economic terminology. It is sociocultural in that the term includes the social structure and culture, both local and global, that were born out of the transition away from the manufacturing industry-centric urban fabric.[4] Economically speaking, the term implies the previous existence of the

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[4] For this thesis, the terms *post-industrial* and *post-manufacturing* are used interchangeably. Ellen Braae describes post-industrial landscape as "ruinous industrial landscape" containing a certain degree of cultural heritage value (Braae, 2014, p. 14). She further describes that "post-industrial urban landscapes… are not planned, unified entities. They are accumulations of a series of decisions taken over time, each rational in its own right, which led to the current stage of urbanization" (Braae, 2014, p. 20). Because industrialization took place at different moments of history across the globe, post-industrial landscape cannot signify a specific timeframe even within a nation. Moreover, most post-industrial landscape research refers to the termination of primary and secondary industries in a specific landscape. In a typical post-industrial urban landscape, its industrial paradigm has shifted from either primary or heavy and light manufacturing to service industries, as in the case of Seongsudong (Seongdong Urban Regeneration Support Center, 2018).

manufacturing industry as a center of urban growth, which has now been replaced.

The reason for focusing on urban landscape authenticity in a post-industrial context is that such a background is increasingly a ubiquitous property for many of the cities in the developed world. Because any debate over authenticity begins only when a specific representation of landscape authenticity becomes debatable, it can be argued that the issue of urban landscape authenticity will become more urgent in cities that possess multilayered histories involving more than one stage of urban development and have entered the global cultural competition. This tendency is conspicuous in cities that have shifted to what can be described as post-industrial society, or a "society marked by a transition from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy," in which such a "transition…is also connected with subsequent societal restructuring" (Robinson, 2016).[5]

In addition to providing a more updated perspective on urban landscape authenticity in the post-industrial context, two case study examples from South Korea will demonstrate how the concept of urban

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[5] First coined by American sociologist Daniel Bell in 1973, the term post-industrial was adapted to describe, primarily, the social phenomenon in which practical knowledge is replaced by theoretical knowledge (Bell, 1974). The term is often used in relation to or synonymously with terms such as information society, postmodern society, third industrial revolution, etc. (Kumar, 1995).

landscape authenticity can be applied to interpreting the site, both successfully and unsuccessfully. Although in recent years, attempts have been made to situate authenticity discourse within local contexts to decipher its transnational significance, they are still in the early stages of development (Piazzoni & Banerjee, 2018; Tate & Shannon, 2019).

Because industrial development in South Korea took place decades later than in its Western counterparts, exploring the urban landscape authenticity in South Korea's post-industrial context can reveal how urban landscape authenticity is influenced not only by the narrative on site but also by internationally induced consumer preferences. Ji (2021) also noted that the post-industrial urban revitalization phenomenon in Seoul is heavily influenced by the commercial gentrification that is not always accompanied by the demolition of the existing urban fabric because of the industry-wide consumer preference for post-industrial aesthetics. Hence, the case studies presented in this thesis show the varying properties of landscape authenticity in contemporary society, which has not received the academic attention it deserves.

What this thesis shows in the following pages is that landscape authenticity is based not only in its past but also the novelty and idiosyncratic creativity that has been sustained for some time. In other words, landscape authenticity is constantly in renewal of itself, as per the idea of the landscape that it is attached to. The task for the planner and designers is to determine the sustainable potential in landscape and release it

through creative means such that they become part of the landscape authenticity.

1.2. Research Purpose

The primary purpose of this thesis is to update and clarify the concept of landscape authenticity in South Korea's post-industrial urban context and to present ways of harnessing its power by means of landscape planning and designing. To achieve its purpose, this thesis analyzes cases that demonstrate the significance of understanding the authenticity of a given landscape site. Such an endeavor will offer an alternative reading of the concept of authenticity in contemporary urban society that has shifted greatly from its ancient meaning of *originality, genuineness,* and *singularity*. As the concept remains under constant shift, the critical perspective as displayed in this thesis will be useful for future research on landscape authenticity.

Furthermore, this thesis presents a critical view of the academic term authenticity, which was born out of largely Western academic and literary traditions. As Yoko Akama eloquently writes, "Our fields – design, marketing, and consumption – must keep interrogating our power and politics of making futures, rather than assuming that innovation and newness is necessarily 'good'" (Akama, 2017, p. 277). More specifically, the discussion of landscape authenticity presented in this thesis provides a novel framework of landscape authenticity that has evolved out of the previous definitions of authenticity in landscape discussions to be more reflective of our times. This thesis also believes that the newfound

framework of landscape authenticity will prove to be a useful tool for creating and managing sustainable landscapes.

Authenticity in landscape discussion includes not only history and site context but also creative ideas and public opinions that constantly renew the very structure of landscape authenticity on site. Expanding the idea of landscape authenticity and the process of urban landscape authentication allows us to dismantle the concrete imagery of urban landscape ideal, thereby paving the way for an alternative understanding of urban landscape-making that imbues greater significance in process design and imagination. Hence, the ideas and discussions presented in this thesis should function as a framework for understanding landscape authenticity in contemporary urban contexts, post-industrial in particular, as well as for planning and designing authentic landscapes for the future.

1.3. Research Perspective

The first chapter of this thesis is best described as agglomeration of various fields that have taken an interest in the idea of authenticity during the latter half of the 20th century. Of the many philosophical, sociological, cultural, and political theories and ideas brought into this thesis, two interrelated theories, the postmodern critique of the modernist world and the Lacanian theory of alienation and authenticity, form the foundation of this thesis.

1.3.1. Lacanian Alienation and Authenticity

> *"...and we are seduced by [places/things/experiences deemed authentic] precisely because we are desiring Subjects seeking the materiality of the fantasy of authenticity. But because authenticity is a fantasy, we can never quite experience its material form… We remain alienated, even when we travel"* (Knudsen et al., 2016, p. 40).

Since the mid-20th century, many have claimed that the capitalist alienation from modernist social development is at the core of the continued search for authentic experience *outside* the tourist's everyday life (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1976; Wang, 1999). However, with several decades having passed since Boorstin's dismissal of authenticity in American tourism, as well as the wide-spread understanding of the corporate-driven Disneyfication of the everyday landscape, the average tourist is keenly

aware of the absence of authenticity and, often, the fakery as part of the experience. Nonetheless, urban tourism scholars and cultural geographers have noted in recent decades that realization of inauthenticity in tourism as well as the everyday has not stopped the search for the authentic. Although some aspects of the current authenticity phenomenon are part of the capitalist appropriation of the consumers desire, this cannot sufficiently explain the shifting forms of landscape authenticity and the consumer's continued desire to acquire it. Clearly, a different explanation is necessary; recent discussions regarding the Lacanian alienation and the adaptation of pseudo-modernism can be useful for understanding this seemingly ironic phenomenon.

Alienation is essential to psychoanalytical understanding of human behavior. It is only human nature to attempt to fill such a void through some type of substance – or, as Lacan called it, *object petit a* (Knudsen et al., 2016). It is important to understand that *object petit a* is not a specific element that has been lost through some course; it is the constant sense of something missing or lacking – unfulfilled desire. This unsatisfactory reality is reconciled through fantasy, which, according to Lacanian scholars, is the way to overcome the trauma of impossible reality human beings must endure.

Those who adapt Lacanian theory describe authenticity as a type of fantasy (Ji, 2020; Knudsen et al., 2016). Authenticity as a fantasy means that it is used as an abstract goal that is assumed to be useful in ameliorating

everyday alienation. When applied to urban landscapes, a landscape design element used to represent specific aspects of authenticity become a manifestation of such fantasy. In the discussion of American wilderness tourism industry, scholars describe the wilderness not as a physical object but as "a state of mind" in which the fantasy of authentic wilderness remains a driving force (Vidon et al., 2018, p. 66). Furthermore, Ji (2021) notes that "our compelling desire for authenticity" is the ultimate reason behind the exponential increase in the ruin aesthetic of retail gentrification in Seoul (Ji, 2021a, p. 223).

Following the lead of Knudsen et al. (2016) and Ji (2020), this thesis finds that the Lacanian theory of alienation and authenticity is better suited for understanding and adapting the desire for authenticity in urban landscape. Hence, it is not the social irony initiated by the capitalist tendencies that engender alienation and, thus, desire for authenticity; rather, it is mankind's instinctive desire to amend alienation through some fantasy of amelioration, where such fantasy is manifested as authenticity in urban landscape.

1.3.2. Postmodernism and Pseudo-modernism

Since the mid-20th century, postmodernist investigation of authenticity has questioned its veracity, often dismissing the concept in contemporary society as the imagination of idyllic modernists or as a phony spectacle. This dismissal is largely based on the modernist belief that events should be meaningful and contain substance – in other words, they should be authentic. The deconstructive tendencies in postmodern thought, which dismisses meaning or significance in a substance, has taken a toll on the idea of authenticity.

Postmodernist critique goes beyond the denouncing of modernism to deny the reality itself.[6] Described by Baudrillard in his discussion of *simulation,* the postmodern society is where the simulation, which began as a reference, essentially replaces the real (Baudrillard, 1988). When applied to the concept of landscape, such postmodernist conceptualization calls for an interrogation of the presence of authenticity in landscape. If one believes that landscape authenticity only refers to the historical and traditional context of the land, it is understandable that many of the postmodernist landscape designs feature seemingly incoherent references with

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[6] The postmodern critique of modernism was the conspicuous structural framework that is used to explain the social conditions that engender the desire for urban landscape authenticity (Appiah, 1991; Baudrillard, 1988; Fokkema, 1998; Foster, 1983). Such criticism notes that when society and culture become increasingly homogeneous in a modernized society, the distinction between the sign and the signified becomes insignificant.

achronological narratives.[7]

However, this thesis agrees with Vidon et al. (2018) in that while one finds many postmodernists abandoning the notion of authenticity altogether, the concept remains a strong enticement in specific contexts. If authenticity is insignificant to the postmodern world, then its seeming importance in the current urban landscape, or society at large, is an oxymoron. This shows that postmodern theory is inadequate or insufficient for the purpose of this thesis. Instead, this thesis incorporates discussions of *pseudo-modernism*, or what some have described as post-postmodernism (Canavan, 2021; Canavan & McCamley, 2021), to provide a better explanation that avoids this oxymoron.

Pseudo-modernism theory is a fairly recent discussion that emerged in the late 1980s with the advancements in performance theory in conjunction with the concerns over digital society (Suh, 2011). As Canavan and McCamley write, "Post-postmodernism… moves away from the postmodern stance of cynical, critical and deconstructive perspectives… towards concepts such as truth or reality," which means that post-postmodernism is a reconstructive movement (Canavan & McCamley, 2021, p. 3). In this study, they place pseudo-modernism between the modern and the postmodern, thereby filling the gap in the dichotomic view of the

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[7] According to the definition of postmodernist landscape provided by the Cultural Landscape Foundation, most contemporary cultural landscapes can be included in this category (The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2022a).

modern world (Figure 1). They further note that in comparison to the
modern and/or postmodern version, the pseudo-modern idea of authenticity
is "more reconstructive," and its process of authentication "more iterative"
(Canavan & McCamley, 2021, p. 9). Defying both the modernist concept of
mono-authenticity and the postmodernist concept of anti-authenticity, the
pseudo-modernist idea of iterative authenticity is what will be discussed and
argued for throughout this thesis.

Figure 1. Diagram of Modernities and Authenticity, after Canavan and McCamley (2021)
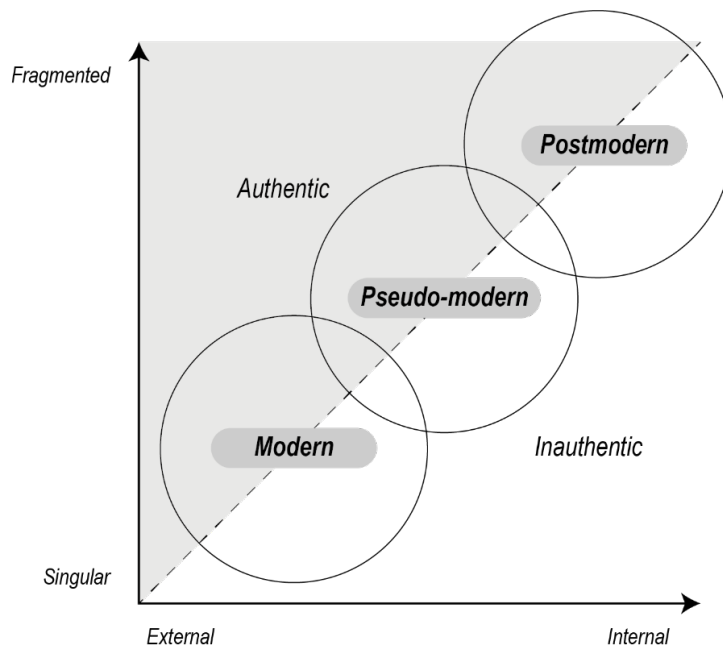
Source: Canavan & McCamley (2021) p. 9.

1.4.   Research Scope and Methodology

1.4.1.   Scope

As this thesis focuses on the idea of urban landscape authenticity in post-industrial contexts, the temporal scope of this study is from the late 20th century to the present. Depending on the development of a country or city, the post-industrial context may refer to vastly different points in time. The contextual difference reflects the issues confronted by the contemporaneous society at large but not necessarily the absolute position in time. For example, in cases of the red brick universities in Britain, the 798 Art Zone in Beijing, and Seongsu-dong Red-brick Landscape (H.-S. Cho & Kim, 2010; M. Shin & Pae, 2019; Whyte, 2015; Yin et al., 2015), red bricks, a modern construction material, came to signify modernity and industrial development, albeit in different time periods.

Even if industrialization took place at different points in time, this thesis primarily focuses on post-industrial context. Hence, the temporal scope of this discussion is the late 20th century and afterward.

In terms of geographical scope, most of the sites and case studies brought to attention in this research are grounded in the post-industrial urban context. In particular, cases from South Korea provide a great example of the purpose of this thesis for two reasons. First, South Korea is placed above average in terms of urbanization globally, with 81.4% of the total population considered urban residents (Central Intelligence Agency,

2022). With a 0.3% urbanization rate per year, South Korea is a stabilized urban nation. South Korea's nation-wide urban landscape is a good candidate as this thesis focuses less on the material presence of post-industrial artifacts and more on the context of the post-industrial phenomenon overall.

Second, due to relatively late industrialization in the mid-20th century, South Korea had fewer opportunities for its industrial landscapes to be turned into ruins. While the typical post-industrial urban landscapes in the West are reusing landscape references from the 18th and 19th centuries, the industrial age in South Korea took place during the latter half of the 20th century after the Korean War.[8] Many studies imply the presence of ruins in speaking of post-industrial landscape, yet the situation in South Korea is more closely associated with continuous reinvention of the urban landscape, including its post-industrial context. Hence, the cases presented in this thesis, which are residential-to-commercial urban landscapes located in cities that have left the manufacturing industries in the past, can demonstrate

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[8] This is not to say that all post-industrial cities in South Korea refer to the rapid industrial era after the Korean War. Some parts of city quarters in Incheon, Yongsan, and Gunsan have "modern history and culture zones" that originate from the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the effects of global industrial development left traces (M. Cho & Shin, 2014; J.-H. Choi & Nam, 2014). However, these are deemed post-colonial historic areas relating to the Japanese Colonial Period rather than industrial development. While the relationship between the two notions in the Korean context deserves further investigation, this thesis focuses on sites that were developed after the Korean War to concentrate the discussion on the topic of landscape authenticity.

how the idea of authenticity does not necessarily have to be site-specific in reality, that is, the argument for the presence of projective authenticity.

1.4.2. Methodology

This thesis consists of an in-depth literature review followed by case study involving data collection, analysis, and focus group interviews. For Chapter 2, a literature review of multidisciplinary academic sources demonstrates the convoluted nature of the idea of authenticity in urban landscape as well as how such an idea is being discussed and adapted in related design fields. Some of the academic fields brought into the discussion include heritage studies, tourism studies, sociology, entrepreneurship, organizational behavior, consumer studies, urban studies, aesthetics, and design studies. This evinces the fact that the issue of authenticity has remained in the minds of many scholars; it is a topic that deserves an in-depth discussion, particularly today, as it takes varying forms in different fields despite the amount of influence it asserts over consumers. In other words, although philosophical and historical studies are precedents in the developmental course of the concept, wide interest in authenticity is connected to the expanded market-based economy and consumer culture.

In Chapter 3, a review of literature presenting authenticity categories analyzes each categorization to produce a new framework for urban landscape authenticity titled *the Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity*. Chapters 2 and 3 collectively formulate a theoretical understanding of authenticity in urban landscape. Consisting of site-specific, constructive, and projective authenticity layers, the Three Layers model

form a basis for the following chapters. Specific examples are brought to support each layer that are likely to overlap on site. By noting that, in reality, each layer is not mutually exclusive to another, the framework's purpose is to dismantle the authenticity-inauthenticity dichotomy that has been the dominant paradigm for decades, if not centuries.

For Chapter 4, two case studies are presented to demonstrate how the framework can be used to understand in-situ urban landscape in a post-industrial context. Each case study involves data collection and analysis. Furthermore, a qualitative analysis consisting of focus group interviews of 15 adult individuals involving the aforementioned case study sites shows how the two cases have demonstrated their urban landscape authenticity thus far. Through various forms of analysis on specific examples drawn from South Korea's urban revitalization programs, Chapter 4 criticizes the common practice of inconsiderate adaptation of projective authenticity and the consequences of such action, which is often made visible as homogeneous landscapes. Issues regarding policy, agency, and landscape design are summarized to demonstrate the complex relationships surrounding landscape development.

Finally, in Chapter 5, implications of urban landscape authenticity are summarized and demonstrated in micro- and macroscopic levels. Subchapters make cases for adapting urban landscape authenticity as presented in this thesis as well as the Three Layers model accordingly. By expanding the discussion further, this chapter offers a lucid and prospective

vision of the concept for the field of landscape architecture as well as other related fields.

1.4.3. Organization

Figure 2 shows the overall organization of this thesis. To portray a credible spectrum of the concept of authenticity in urban landscape discourse, the following chapter of this thesis, titled *Development of the Landscape Authenticity Idea*, presents a review of the development of authenticity in related fields. These include but are not limited to philosophy, sociology and cultural studies, tourism studies, and urban design discourse. The literature review for authenticity in urban studies and design fields (2.2.3.) is further divided into three subsections, 1) Delirium: The Designer as a Source of Inauthenticity, 2) Natural Authenticity in Decommissioned Infrastructure, and 3) Authenticity as an Intangible Urban Asset in Tangible Form. The purpose of these three subsections is to provide a complete spectrum of the various concerns in the design fields with regard to authenticity. The literature discussed and analyzed here is fundamental throughout the chapters.

Following a comprehensive discussion of authenticity in landscape discourse in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 presents a summary of various authenticity categorizations from existing literature, which forms a foundation for establishing *The Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity* (3.2.). Included in these layers are *site-specific authenticity* (3.2.1.), *constructive authenticity* (3.2.2.), and *projective authenticity* (3.2.3.), which are explained and illustrated with several examples.

Chapter 4 presents an example of how the Three Layers Model can be applied to actual sites for further analysis. Two sites from South Korea with a post-industrial urban context are adapted. As discussed in the Research Background (1.1.) section, cases from South Korea present unique yet widely applicable conditions in discussing the urban landscape authenticity concept as a transnational phenomenon. In the issues section (4.3.), the side effects of the inconsiderate application of projective authenticity in urban landscape development are discussed in three different categories. Although incomplete, this crude categorization offers a structural and critical understanding of the issues that may arise as a result of applying authenticity concepts without pursuing thorough investigation.

While Chapters 2, 3, and 4 focus on presenting the issue – the need for a new framework for landscape authenticity – and how it can be useful for the current urban environment, Chapter 5 concentrates on future-forward ways of adapting the ideas presented in this thesis. In particular, it calls for an adaptation of the authentication process in specific programs to accommodate the landscape authentication processes to come. The following section summarizes the implications of urban landscape authenticity in contemporary landscape studies and related fields, thereby providing a conclusive summary for the thesis overall.

Figure 2. Research Flow
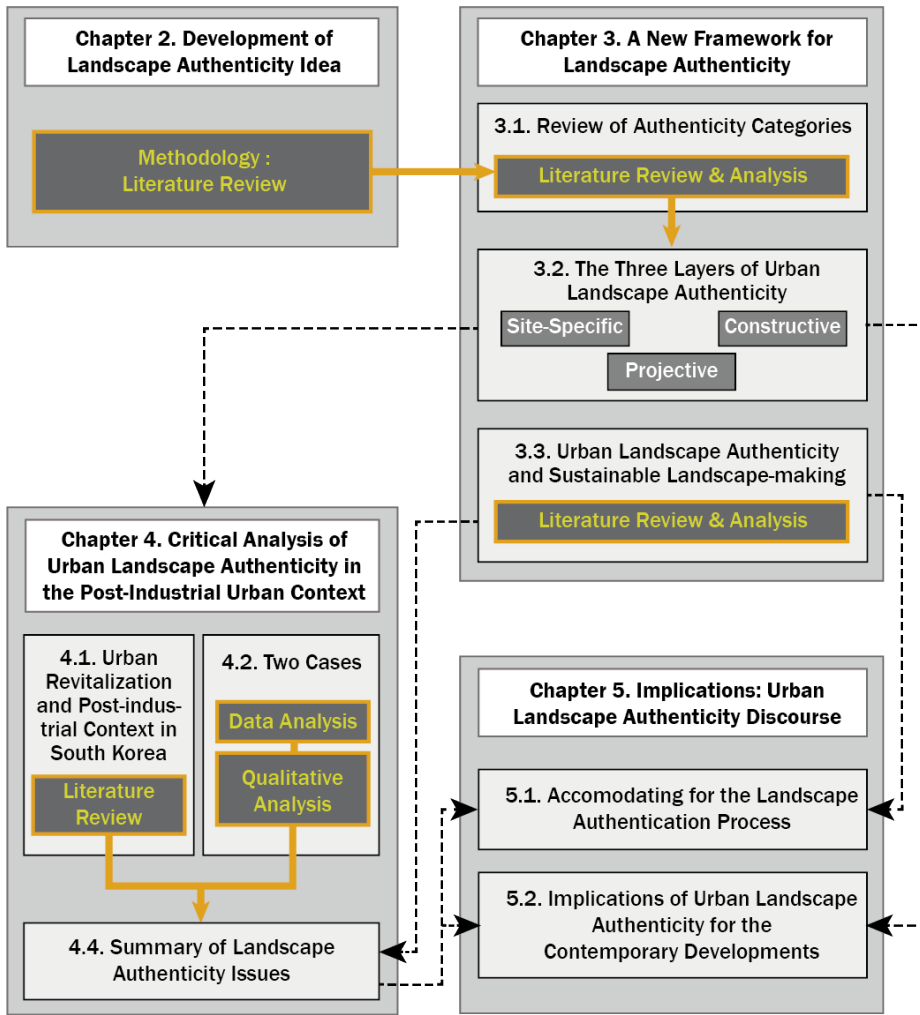
II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANDSCAPE AUTHENTICITY IDEA

When speaking of the development of the idea of authenticity in Western academic tradition, scholars often attribute the rise of authenticity to Rousseau and romanticism and the idea of emotional attachment of the pure and genuine to the story of Eden and define the development of landscape paintings as visual communication of the authentic (Umbach & Humphrey, 2018). Following the romantic ideals, the relationship between authenticity and nature gave way to the emergence of self-led spirituality with transcendentalism as well as to the narratives of great wilderness in America (Murphy, 2005). Constantly reverberating between the external and internal in terms of its origin, the development trajectory of authenticity contributed to the wide spectrum of meanings signified by and associated with the term *authenticity*.

2.1. The Historical-Philosophical Development of Authenticity

2.1.1.   Why (Urban Landscape) Authenticity Now?

The question regarding authenticity is based in the Western aesthetic concept of *mimesis*, or the representation of the original or the reality.[9] For example, Theodor Adorno has discussed the issue of mimesis in terms of human experience in space as "an adaptive behavior that allows humans to make themselves similar to their surrounding environments through assimilation" (Katodrytis, 2006, p. 170). Throughout the course of history, a number of philosophers have referred to this ideal type – the truth, the prototype, the ideal – in various ways, including but not limited to urtext, eigentlichkeit, sincerity, divine design, aura, and authenticity.

Walter Benjamin adds that mimesis is a human faculty that allows for humans to find significance in the world (Benjamin, 1996). In his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," Benjamin discusses the aura of an artwork that is determined historically.

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[9] Encyclopaedia Britannia defines mimesis as "basic theoretical principle in the creation of art," where art refers to a wide variety of expression or application of human creative skill and imagination. Mimesis was first used by classical philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle as the representation of nature. In the visible sphere, mankind is only able to perceive a shadow of the representation of the God-created ideal type, or the real and original. Through mimesis, mankind imitates the shadowy imitation (Auerbach & Trask, 2013; Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia, 2011).

When speaking of aura, he is referring to the result of artistic mimesis that successfully imitates the ideal prototype – in other words, authenticity. Benjamin criticized technological reproducibility, stating that it reproduces the surface but reduces, if not terminates, authenticity. What this means is that artwork, to be considered artwork, requires not only analysis and reproduction but also creativity and imagination to capture the essence or authenticity.

How can this idea of authenticity as integral to human expression and imagination be adapted to the discussion of the built environment and urban landscape? As Cosgrove observed, landscape is composed of a multitude of narratives that are in constant flux (Cosgrove, 1998; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). Where and how can one pinpoint to specify what constitutes landscape authenticity?

An etymological approach to the term 'landscape authenticity' may be useful. First, the term 'landscape' comes from the 16th century Dutch word *landscap*, which is a combination of the words *land* ('land') and suffix -*scap* ('-ship' or 'condition'). This means that the term landscape means "a tract of land with its distinguishing characteristics," where the characteristics used to define the bounds of the land are left subjective and negotiable. Hence, human perception is integral to defining landscape.

Second, the etymological roots for the term 'authenticity' can be traced back to the ancient Greek words *autos* and *hentes*, which mean 'self' and 'being,' respectively. Although the current use of the word is heavily

influenced by the 14th century French word *authentique*, which signified something as being canonical and authoritative, the term remains open for interpretation.[10] Because the terms 'authenticity' and 'landscape' are both interpretive in their signification, they have become transitional terms throughout the centuries. Due to their transitional character, their definitions and referents have become ambiguous.

The sense of ambiguity associated with the concept of landscape authenticity is made even more complex when viewed in the perspective of postmodernist critique of the neoliberal capitalism that seems to have perforated contemporary society. Deliberately adapting the term *production* in place of *mimesis,* many have noted the procedural loss of authenticity in the production of space (Buckley & Strauss, 2016; Lefebvre, 1991; Schmid, 2018). Recall that Baudelaire used the term *simulacra* to emphasize the lack of genuine reality in the postmodern interconnective world (Baudrillard, 1988). He notes that simulacra are imitations of not only of individual objects or phenomena but also the process or system that produces the perceived world. Hence, the resulting copies become increasingly similar, especially as the simulation process continues. In place of double mimesis – where artist imitates shadowy imitation, which is the perceived world – are *reproductions*, which are repetitions of the production of exchangeable goods (Molotch,

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[10] This is obvious when one considers synonyms to authenticity, such as *genuine*, which implies disreputable truth or originality.

1993). Expanding from this dialectic understanding of spatial production, Edward Relph has described such reproduction without reality as causing placelessness and igniting the transition of places into non-places.

Applying the postmodern critique, one finds that landscape is also being produced as part of the economic logic under the capitalist culture. Furthermore, it is the repetitive production, or reproduction, of landscape that causes the loss of authenticity. In fact, this thesis would argue that the loss of authenticity will be even more detrimental to the idea landscape, as the idea of landscape is susceptible to visual senses much more than other concepts of space and place; however, the landscape idea cannot be created without human perception, putting the idea of landscape authenticity in a precarious state.

With the increasing importance of social sustainability, authenticity has become a buzz word in design fields (Niskasaari, 2008; United Nations, 2022; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Obtaining authenticity in design is important, if not necessary, for works that involve human society. As a result, one is confronted with a situation in which one is able to critique contemporary society as well as the planning design practices in particular with regards to the loss of landscape authenticity. On the other hand, however, one is unequipped with adequate understanding of how landscape authenticity is represented and manifested in our contemporary world and, even more importantly, how we can plan and design landscapes that embody authenticity.

2.1.2. Development of Authenticity Discourse since the 18th Century

Discussion of authenticity as human nature first appeared in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an 18th century philosopher and writer, in his notes regarding the nature, *Noble Savage*, and alienation of man as a result of socialization (Morgenstern, 2016). As man became part of the social convention, one necessarily had to imagine oneself as an outsider, alienated from the immediacy of lived experience. To return to one's true self, Rousseau placed authenticity at the center of the ideal education of man, "which allow[ed] human beings to develop their innate character, rather than press them into a mold dictated by social convention" (Umbach & Humphrey, 2018, p. 40). Such conception refers to the classical notion of authenticity as ideal typology, something that can be perceived by man only in its imitation. The idea that authenticity lay in nature or within oneself as a 'given' prior to exposure to social convention – which, according to Rousseau, takes place prior to man's discovery of himself – meant that authenticity is ever unattainable; rather, it is something that has to be recovered by looking within oneself, focusing on the emotions, such as love, and aesthetic qualities of nature, such as the sublime.[11]

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[11] Rousseau's discussion of the purity of authenticity in nature is also significant for the development of landscape architecture in relation to the Transcendentalism movement during the 19th century. The focus of literary figures in North America such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and later, Walt Whitman (Madden & Madden, 1994; Murphy, 2005)

Lionel Trilling further emphasizes the individualistic aspect of authenticity that became widely accepted in the early 20th century by comparing the concept to sincerity (Trilling, 1972). According to Trilling, the idea of sincerity as "the state or quality of self" became the core of the European moral life (Trilling, 1972, p. 2). However, with the advances in socialist art and literature theories at the turn of the century, which described the artist as a reflection of the masses rather than as an individual, the concept of sincerity became a derogatory designation for creative works. Trilling sees this shift as a cause for the increased popularity in authenticity, which is a "more strenuous moral experience… [and] more exigent conception of the self and of what being true to it consists in, a wider reference to the universe and man's place in it, and a less acceptant and genial view of the social circumstances of life" (Trilling, 1972, p. 11).

Hence, authenticity replaced sincerity during the modern period as greater concerns were placed on being genuinely individualistic (*authentic*) as opposed to socially true and respectable to oneself (*sincere*). The cultural idea of authenticity during the early 20th century was affected by the rise in industrial manufacturing processes and became increasingly internalized. While the transcendentalists were notably the anti-industrialists directly affected by Rousseau's thoughts, Trilling finds that more influential was the

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on the Great American wilderness as a source of one's discovery of oneself had a significant effect on the development of urban parks and the national park movements.

ever-increasing social abundance of fakery and its normalization in the increasingly homogenizing world, which triggered the deeply personal search for authenticity across different fields.

2.1.3.   From Innate to Acquired Quality

The concept of authenticity as something prototypical, ideal, and original, as opposed to fakery, was quickly replaced by the reconceptualization of the idea as a subjective construct. One finds that the shift in the concept of authenticity from an innate quality to something acquired began during the early 20th century. In the field of post-war philosophy, Martin Heidegger is often quoted for having popularized the concept of authenticity as a deeply personal journey through his text *Being and Time* (1927). He describes authenticity, or *eigentlichkeit*, as the foundational concept that can direct one's actions despite a person being part of the social herd, or a crowd.[12] Eigentlichkeit is what dictates the ontological significance of being a person through self-inquired rediscovery of the everyday. An authentic person in Heideggerian authenticity discourse is a person who possess "a standpoint of one's own [judgment] which informs how one lives," while an inauthentic person is "dispersed into *das Man* – 'the They'" (McManus, 2019, p. 1184). Through his treatment of the concept, Heidegger was able to transform the religion-saturated notion of

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[12] Many have noted that Heidegger's notion of *eigentlichkeit*, neologism Heidegger founded, is related to Kierkegaard's work on authenticity. Kierkegaard placed authenticity in the heart of becoming oneself through his or her relation to God. Those that follow Kierkegaard continued to work on the religious undertones of the idea of authenticity, while whose who follow or criticize Heidegger went on to focus on the philosophical (both existential and/or ontological) aspects of the concept.

Rousseau's authenticity into one that is more secular and human-centric.

Several philosophers followed or reacted to Heidegger's description of authenticity. A similar view of authenticity is provided by Charles Taylor in his book *The Ethics of Authenticity* (1991). Taylor describes authenticity as a modern moral ideal of being true to oneself, resonating with Heidegger's existentialist notion of the term. However, Taylor finds that the universal post-war feeling of loss pervades contemporary society, which has its roots in the rise of authenticity as the principle moral value (C. Taylor, 1991). He criticizes the authenticity-praising culture in which the universal pursuit of self-fulfillment is leading to neutralism toward any value or morality. Taylor concludes that contemporary society is in peril because of such neutrality, which leads to evasion of serious discussion regarding authenticity. In his conclusion, Taylor further notes that self-fulfillment requires references to the existing forms of tradition and rituals rather than the pursuit of authenticity.

However, some have refused to accept the existentialist concept of authenticity entirely. For example, in *The Jargon of Authenticity* (1964, English translation 1973), Theodor Adorno criticized the German existentialist concept of authenticity as popularized by Heidegger. Adorno noted that by using a neologism – *eigenlichkeit* – rather than the existing term – *authentizät* – Heidegger deliberately made the concept ambiguous, thereby simply replacing religious spirituality with authenticity (Adorno, 1973). In essence, one finds that Heideggerian authenticity was closely

related to the idea of self-discovery and transcendence, while Adorno found authenticity to be a construct of social and biological dynamics.

During the 1990s and 2000s, argument against the previous concept of authenticity circulated further. For example, Lau writes that "under globalization, because emergent cultures of every society are multiply-originated, there are no longer essential origins, hence every society's culture loses its essential/originary distinctiveness" (Lau, 2009, p. 491). Scholars finding this perspective useful dismissed the objective, empirical, and provenance-based definition of authenticity as a thing of the past (Meethan, 2001, 2003). This departure from the concept of authenticity as historical verity meant that authenticity is negotiable or even acquired in some cases, whether through social inquiry or personal search.

The historical-philosophical development of authenticity demonstrates that the significance of authenticity shifted dramatically. In Rousseau's discussion, it was the essence of a person or a society that was innately within a person. Later scholars found that authenticity is something to be discovered and sought – building an existentialist foundation for the concept. However, this was soon followed by constructivist authenticity, where social context remains inseparable from what consists of authenticity. As a result, authenticity in contemporary society has become convoluted terminology that is difficult to define despite its prevalence across all fields.

2.2. Authenticity and Landscape

The concept of authenticity as a social construct became a major narrative in the study of authentic tourist experiences. In fields of socio-tourism studies and human geography, several scholars have made significant developments to interpret the modern tourism phenomenon since the 1960s (Cohen, 1988, 1988; J. Kim, 2020; Shim & Santos, 2012; Zukin, 2009, 2011). As the concept of authenticity shifted from a philosophical and religious ideal to an experience of environment or place, it became an indexical measure for qualities such as placeness often employed for evaluating cultural landscapes (Mitchell, 2008).

One of the most recognized institutions in deciphering authenticity of a given site is the intergovernmental committee for the protection of world cultural and natural heritage at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). While authenticity has long been considered a fundamental criterion for determining heritage values as the "link between attributes and outstanding universal value (OUV)," its significance has increased since the inclusion of cultural landscapes in the heritage listing following the Nara Conference in 1994.[13] At the Nara Conference on Cultural Diversity and Heritage in 1994, the

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[13] Authenticity has been recognized as a crucial part of a heritage site since the 1960s. In the Venice Charter 1964, also known as the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, authenticity is cited as the core purpose of conserving and restoring historically significant heritage sites.

concept of heritage authenticity was reintroduced as a culturally diverse value (ICOMOS, 1994, 1995; Stovel, 2008).

According to the document, authenticity is the "essential qualifying factor" concerning heritage values but one that must also be evaluated and recognized for "the specific nature" of its culture. The below excerpt from the Nara Document on Authenticity shows the cultural and context-centric focus in determining the authenticity of a given site.

> *[From the Nara Document on Authenticity]*
>
> *10. Authenticity, considered in this way and affirmed in the Charter of Venice, appears as the essential qualifying factor concerning values. The understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories.*
>
> *11. All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.*
>
> *12. Therefore, it is of the highest importance and urgency that, within each culture, recognition be accorded to the specific nature of it.*
> *(ICOMOS, 1994, p. 2)*

This extended meaning of authenticity has continued to expand into different fields. For example, Cornelius Holtorf argues for a combination of materiality and context when determining authenticity – that is, "pastness emancipates archaeological authenticity from the object's inherent material substance" (Holtorf, 2013, p. 431). Accordingly, the concept of authenticity in archaeology has evolving into a dialectic dichotomy whereby public reception is considered in determining the inherent quality of authenticity, or 'pastness.'

However, the context-centric concept of authenticity in landscape based on the Nara Document cannot fully convey its significance in contemporary urban environs, as landscape and its elements have become the cornerstone of city branding efforts during the late 20th century. A city in search of a renaissance often undergoes an urban revitalization program, during which it must re-configure the hierarchy of authenticities embedded within its landscape.[14] Urban landscape design is often employed to attract population to the city, whether the target market is everyday passersby or those seeking the spectacular (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2014; Kavaratzis, 2004; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006). Furthermore, with conservation and regeneration practices as part of city branding strategies, particularly in relation to the post-industrial landscape discourse, the concept of

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[14] Although not necessarily limited to urban municipal governments, city branding and marketing practices are often pursued by city officials who believe that the image of a city is a significant factor in urban development, as it will attract more population to a city.

authenticity is recognized as an important part of the urban landscape jargon (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2014; Piazzoni, 2019; Rius Ulldemolins, 2014; Zukin, 2009).

This chapter deals with diverse meanings and contexts signified by the term authenticity in fields concerned with urban landscape – heritage and tourism studies, entrepreneurship and consumer studies, urban studies, and design fields. Because literature on landscape authenticity is often interdisciplinary, one finds that this literature often overlaps.

2.2.1. Authenticity in Heritage and Tourism Studies

The concept of urban landscape authenticity in heritage and tourism studies represents the development of the concept during the latter half of the 20th century. While most scholars in this field have focused less on landscape and more on the experience of tourists during their encounter with the landscape, it is important to note that many of the *tourist experiences* discussed in this field can be understood as reception of the landscape agency. Early development in the sociological interpretation of authentic tourist experiences demonstrates a Marxist-inspired postmodernist critique of the modernist society (Cohen, 1979; Jamal & Hill, 2004; J. Kim, 2020; MacCannell, 1976; Wang, 1999). On the other hand, one also finds recent developments in the tourism studies in which the origin of the urge for authenticity is explained through Lacanian psychoanalysis – that is, locating a tourist's search for authenticity in a light similar to Lacan's notion of a person's innate alienation from biological desire (Canavan, 2021; Knudsen et al., 2016; Rickly & Vidon, 2018).

1) Authentic Tourist Experience of a Site

An early source of sociological understanding of authentic tourist experiences, Dean MacCannell, presented the dialectic of authenticity, along with the concept of *staged authenticity*. In this view, modern tourists are in search of authentic experiences 'out there' as opposed to the "phony,

pseudo, tacky, in bad taste, mere show, tawdry and gaudy" of the everyday (MacCannell, 1976, p. 155). The idea that the modern urbanite's urge for authenticity stems from its absence in everyday modern living formed the core argument for the sociological explanation regarding the need for authentic tourist experiences in the modern age (Lau, 2009; Wang, 1999).

Following this perspective, Ning Wang emphasized the constant shift in the concept of authenticity with regard to the tourist experience (J. Kim, 2020; Wang, 1999). In his survey of theoretical endeavors related to authentic tourism experiences, Wang presents three perspectives as an analytical framework – objective, constructive, and postmodern – with an outlook for existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). Wang's emphasis on objective, constructive, and postmodern authentic experiences reflects his interest in the shifts in authentic tourist experiences that aligns with social changes.

However, Wang's mention of existential authenticity remains, at best, speculation. As existential authenticity in the tourist experience is subjectively evaluated based on activities rather than sites of tourism, it seems to be suspended in a different dimension from the rest of the framework. Nonetheless, it is important to understand that Wang's existential authenticity differs from Heidegger's existential authenticity, as the former places significance on the site. As Jillian Rickly-Boyd argues, tourism is an environment-based endeavor in which the performance of the environment plays an important role in tourists' experiences (Rickly-Boyd,

2013).

Erik Cohen, on the other hand, provides a more inclusive concept of authenticity in the tourist experience. Rebutting MacCannell's view of staged authenticity as a commodified fakery that cannot induce authentic experience, Cohen noted that authenticity in the tourist experience is a phenomenological spectrum with five modes, with additional *emergent authenticity* that can take place after certain time has passed (Cohen, 1979, 1988). Cohen differentiated the modes in accordance with the tourist's purpose, thereby including the consumer perspective as an important factor in determining authenticity.

Cohen's discussion of *emergent authenticity*, in which "a cultural product, or a trait thereof, which is at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic, even by experts," should be understood as an "invention of tradition" (Cohen, 1988, pp. 379–380). Cohen's embracing of the commodification process in the discussion of authenticity reflects the increased attention to urban tourism in recent decades. Commodification cannot be the ultimate factor that denounced a product or an entity as being meaningless anymore because tourism has become so complex; commodification may, in some cases, serve the site-specific context that determines the authenticity of a tourism site.

2) Authentication and the Tourism Consumer

Cohen also brings his audience to another facet of the authentic tourist experience: the issue of authentication. Although the discussion of authenticity in the tourist experience continues, many scholars have noted that perhaps one must focus more on the issue of authentication, in terms of both its agency and the process (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Mkono, 2013; Selwyn, 1996). These scholars claim that rather than analyzing *what* it is that makes something an authentic experience, one should instead bring forth questions regarding *how, why,* and *for whom* as authenticity in contemporary society is always accompanied by its constructed meaning, which depends on the sociopolitical climate. Furthermore, because it is futile to discuss from where a specific reference originates in the current Internet age, one should instead discuss the process (*how*) and logic (*why*) through which certain entities or things are considered authentic by a set society. For example, Selwyn (1996) and Cohen and Cohen (2012) adapted the media studies-inspired framework of 'hot and cool' to show how there can be different modes of authentication. The 'cool' authentication corresponds to common sense and the dictionary definition of the authentic, while the 'hot' authentication is socially constructed (Cohen & Cohen, 2012).[15]

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[15] Some have also included the agency of local residents/the community in the discussion of authentication in an attempt to embody the postcolonial perspective (Appiah, 1991; Cole, 2007). While the postcolonial analysis of the authentication process is useful for most tourist

When it comes to the construction and consumption of what are considered authentic heritage sites, David Herbert, on the other hand, discussed the reciprocal relationship between the site's producers and consumers (Herbert, 2001). Arguing that "tourists are not passive and developers need to be sensitive to their perceptions and needs," Herbert's discussion finds the producers (or managers, in the case of historical heritage sites) and consumers to be distinct entities that can influence each other (Herbert, 2001, p. 317).

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sites, the subject of this thesis – urban landscapes in a post-industrial context – deviates from the spectrum of this perspective as the residents and the visitors are mostly of the same nationality. One can argue that the tourism marketing for these sites targets not the global audience but visitors of the same nationality, if not from the same city, who are looking for a foreign sight without leaving the border.

3) Lacanian Psychoanalysis and Authentic Tourist Experiences

Finally, recent developments have been drawing connections between authentic tourist experiences and Lacanian psychoanalysis. These studies are founded on the idea that a Marxist-inspired explanation for tourists' search for authentic experiences in not sufficient. For example, when discussing tourist experiences that lie outside the typical tourist destinations, as in the case of urban tourism, a tourist's desire to remove oneself from the alienation of the modernist everyday cannot serve as sufficient logic behind their motive. Instead, the tourism scholars adapting Lacanian psychoanalysis note that alienation, which is the cause of tourists' search for authentic experiences, is simply part of human nature (Ji, 2021a; Knudsen et al., 2016).[16] Hence, while alienation is a real threat to a person's well-being, a fantasy serves as a remedy – albeit a placebo – that can help a person live through the instability of alienated life. In a discussion of the American wilderness tourism industry, Vidon et al. (2018) describe the wilderness not as a physical object but as "a state of mind" in which the fantasy of authentic wilderness remains a driving force (Vidon et al., 2018, p. 66). Therefore, the search for authentic experiences attributed not to alienation from modernist-capitalist society but to alienation, an existential

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[16] A detailed explanation of this concept is provided in the Research Perspective (1.3.2) section.

condition of being a human. However, because alienation is inseparable from the human condition, authenticity cannot be satisfactorily found, nor can its search be terminated; rather, authenticity is a fantasy that allows for a person to continue functioning.

The perspectives provided above demonstrate a strong argument against those who dismiss the concept of authenticity in an experience of tourism sites, particularly those that have become tourist destinations and/or have undergone commercial development. Based on the above literature review, the authentic tourist experience of a site is closely associated with the sociocultural context (external forces) as well as a person in search of existential experiences through their longing for authenticity (internal forces). Even if a site is heavily commodified, it can retain, if not gain, authenticity because the concept of authenticity is established both externally and internally.

2.2.2. Authenticity in Entrepreneurship and Consumer Studies

Studies in entrepreneurship, business studies, and consumer studies have often focused on authenticity in relation to brand authenticity and local entrepreneurship with particular interest in food trucks and/or ethnic restaurant business during the 1990s (Södergren, 2021). In particular, these studies consider the idea of authenticity in urban landscape not only from the creator's perspective but also from the perspective of the consumers (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010; Gilmore & Pine, 2007). Recent literature also shows a focus on urban subculture and a flexible concept of authenticity that is dependent on site specificity (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021).

An analogy by Gilmore and Pine (2007) shows that the criteria for determining authenticity regarding cultural properties at a world heritage site can be applied to the types of authenticity one finds in the commercial realm. According to the authors, the current market is the result of continuous development in goods and services aimed at meeting the customers' preference (Gilmore & Pine, 2007). They also place the rise of the experience economy as the most important context for the surge of interest in authenticity. In their analogy, the commodity-centric market places significance on natural authenticity, or the use of material that "exists in its natural state in or of the earth, remaining untouched by human hands"

(Gilmore & Pine, 2007, p. 49). This can be linked to the 'material' category that appears in "the test of authenticity" for the criteria as mentioned in the UNESCO Operational Guideline for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1997). Similarly, the current state of the experience economy prizes 'referential authenticity,' or the drawing of "inspiration from human history, and tapping into our shared memories and belongings; not derivative or trivial," which relates to the 'setting' category in the test of authenticity (Gilmore & Pine, 2007, p. 50) (Table 1). In other words, the discussion of authenticity in consumer studies continues to be heavily influenced by the concept of authenticity described in heritage and cultural studies.

Table 1. Market Offerings and Perceived Authenticity in Comparison to the Test of Authenticity, according to Gilmore and Pine (2007)

Market Offerings	Perceived Authenticity	The "Test of Authenticity" according to the UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Properties
Commodities	Natural Authenticity	Material
Goods	Original Authenticity	Design
Services	Exceptional Authenticity	Workmanship
Experience	Referential Authenticity	Setting
Transformation	Influential Authenticity	Spirit/Feeling

The issue of authenticity regarding ethnic and local restaurant entrepreneurship has been heavily debated in food studies as well (Abarca, 2004; Imbert, 2015; King, 2019; Oleschuk, 2017; Pratt, 2007; Ray, 2016;

Sims, 2009; Strohl, 2019) (Figure 3).[17] In many cities including those located in South Korea, the post-industrial urban landscapes that are subject to urban regeneration projects are notorious for retail gentrification that focuses on food and café culture (Ji, 2021a; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006; Ko & Kim, 2018; J.-Y. Park, 2022).

Figure 3. Twitter Thread by Chef Preeti Mistry, 2018/03/15.

Thus far, these studies have primarily focused on local phenomena in most developed cities and analyzed issues of gentrification and/or overtourism as result of city marketing efforts. With multiple cultures

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[17] An interesting point to note is that the issue of authenticity in food studies was first raised by a number of scholars studying Indian cuisine in New York City. A notable connection to the rise of authenticity in urban studies can be made here, but further discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis.

blending in an urban environment, authenticity became a contested notion as well as a buzz word among cultural entrepreneurs. However, this thesis finds that one must also look at studies that are concerned with the categorization and agency of authenticity in urban sites. For example, a recent study by Schifeling and Demetry (2021) examined the spatially uneven emergence of gourmet food trucks in the United States by looking at geographical and statistical data. Based on the categorization of urban foodscape authenticity by Carroll and Wheaton (2009), the authors concluded that what constitutes *authentic* depends on the characteristics of the local community, which, in turn, is affected by the local history and consideration for *craft authenticity,* or the "pursuit of uniqueness within a shared adherence to craft values," rather than objective historical context (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021, p. 149).

Overall, one finds that there is an impetus in the fields of entrepreneurship and consumer studies to consider geographical and, more specifically, landscape elements as major factors in business profitability. Equipped with agency of its own, the concept of authenticity in an urban environment is adapted as the bridge between the land and business. As with heritage and tourism studies, most recent studies in this field also agree that consumers have significant influence over the creation of the offering. Adapting the business perspective is also useful in understanding the process of authentication in heritage and tourism studies. While tourism market and/or cultural entrepreneurs often produce their offering (urban

landscape) more directly, their performance is heavily influenced by consumer agency in the form of the authentication process. Figure 4 demonstrates this cyclical relationship of performance and agency.

Figure 4. Entrepreneurship-based Agency Cycle in the Production of Authentic Urban Landscape
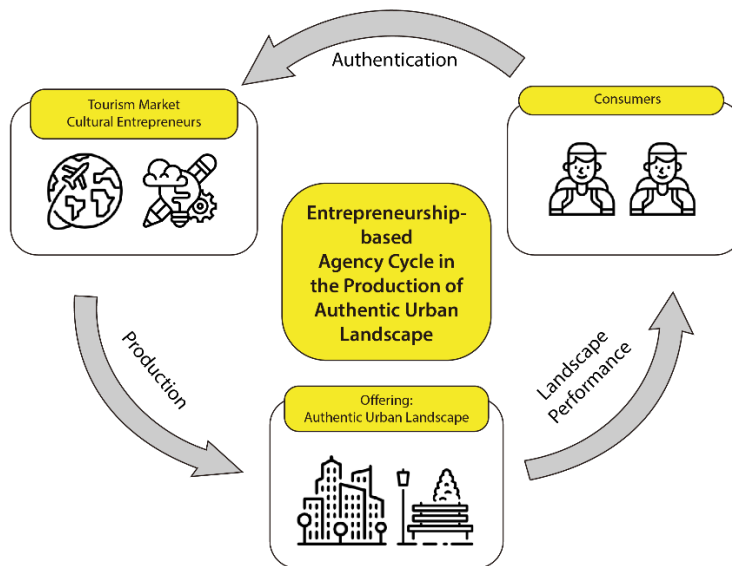
2.2.3.   Authenticity in Urban Studies and Design Fields

Recently, urban planners and urban sociologists have been tackling the idea of authenticity in a diverse array of urban situations (Alfey, 2010; Piazzoni, 2019; Piazzoni & Banerjee, 2018; Rius Ulldemolins, 2014; Tate & Shannon, 2019; Zukin, 2009). In the meantime, urban designers and architects have noted the phenomenon of authenticity in their own terms, both in community agency in the urban landscape and the design process and ethics (Fine, 2003; Spector, 2011; Tate & Shannon, 2019). While the discussion of authenticity in urban studies and design fields covers a vast spectrum, this thesis finds the following three categories of literature to be most relevant to the discussions that follow: (1) the designer as a source of inauthenticity, (2) nature and authenticity in decommissioned infrastructure, and (3) authenticity as a site-specific asset.[18]

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[18] The papers discussed in this subsection allude to a theme that penetrates throughout not just this thesis but the modern and contemporary history of urban design and landscape architecture. This theme is the issue of the origin of authenticity in spatial design. As this thesis continues to discuss below, the origin of authenticity – whether it lies outside in nature (the Rousseaunian view of authenticity) or within a person (the psychoanalytical view of authenticity) – forms the *dialectic of urban landscape authenticity.* While far from being conclusive, the review of literature regarding authenticity in urban studies and design fields below illustrates the ways through which designers and municipalities have attempted to work within this dialectical framework.

1) Delirium: The Designer as a Source of Inauthenticity

Since the days of landscape paintings, nature has been imagined as the repository of the truth, the spiritual, and the single genuine entity. It was believed that mankind's artistic practice, or *mimesis*, was deemed mere attempts to follow God's will that was present in nature.[19] This perspective – that nature is the source, while the designer is a medium of authenticity – is made clearer when one considers the 19th century transcendentalist movement that was heavily influenced by Rousseau's idea regarding the relationship between man and nature. In this case, society was understood as a mediator or veil between truth, or authentic self, and man. The transcendentalists, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, believed that authentic living with nature, or the unmediated everyday, is key to finding the authentic truth (Emerson, 2018; Madden & Madden, 1994; Thoreau et al., 2012).

This perspective, in which society and its institution are questioned for their deliverance of authenticity, has made its way into contemporary times. One may even claim that a series of site studies and community involvement are ways to justify the design as authentic, that is, ways to *authenticate* the design.

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[19] I would also like to point out that a similar philosophy is present in religious paintings across civilizations. Because the concept of authenticity has its roots in religious and philosophical contexts, this association is worth considering; however, it falls beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be discussed further.

According to Gary Alan Fine, "authenticity refers to the recognition of difference… [it] can be linked to an absence of cognitive understanding, creating an unmediated experience" (Fine, 2003, p. 155). Based on this notion of authenticity requiring unmediated experience, one can see that the designer or artist may be considered responsible for authenticity and/or inauthenticity in the resulting work. In his discussion based on the self-taught art community in North America, Fine notes that the identity of the artist, designer, or entity to whom the object is attributed is often the source of authentication when it comes to artwork. Because the contemporary art world is inseparable from institutional commodification, such as auction houses and biennale networks, works of art created in such a context by the established artists are considered aloof and *inauthentic*. On the other hand, works by self-taught artists are considered to undergo a process that is categorically detached from the inauthentic art world. In this identity-driven context, to be authentic in the identity narrative is "to have an authentic biography" (Fine, 2003, p. 176).

Tom Spector observed a similar phenomenon with his architecture students, who were dismayed by the fact that design education was supplying them with an inauthentic skillset (Spector, 2011). According to Spector, the students long for authenticity without arbitrariness, much like Le Corbusier's accolade for silo and grain mills in the 19th century. He views the situation as ironic; in his view, the students' desire for authenticity in design necessarily excludes the designer's hand. Considering the

subjective turn of authenticity in urban design, Spector introduces an example of Bricktown in Oklahoma City, USA, where the "careful aesthetic framing for the purpose of commodification" has caused the site's failure in terms of drawing in urban tourists (Spector, 2011, p. 30). Reminiscent of Cohen's discussion of emergent authenticity as well as Lefebvre's spatial triad, Spector concludes that it is the accommodation of human activity – the public's use of the site in question – that can reclaim the authenticity.

Fine's claim and the self-criticism of Spector's students are similar in that they place the source of the authenticity of the design/artwork outside the designer/artist. Such a perspective is founded on the historical-philosophical development of the idea of authenticity centuries prior, particularly the origin of authenticity, involving questions such as "Is the origin of authenticity located in nature or mankind?"

Some have attempted to answer this question. Already in the early 1980s, "an authentic city" was considered a city where "the origins of things and places are clear," with its "urban environment… [revealing] its significant meanings" and "[presenting] itself as a readable story, in an engaging and, if necessary, provocative way, for people are indifferent to the obvious, overwhelmed by complexity" (Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, p. 116). The idea of authenticity in a city was more than adaptation of the site's contexts – it required creativity and novelty to enliven the authentic potential. In the view of Jacobs and Appleyard (1987), an authentic environment was something to be designed and nurtured.

Anita Berrizbeitia discussed the issue of assigning authenticity to the designer in landscape architecture (Berrizbeitia, 2013). Berrizbeitia writes that since the early 20th century, modernist landscape architects have shown different attitudes as to what constitutes the arbitrary. Similar to Spector, she notes that modernist ideas such as "the medium is the message" and "the arbitrary in design is eliminated through careful attention to program, the needs, of the users, and site" have resulted in another formal language, modernist design (Berrizbeitia, 2013, pp. 19, 21). She notes that as process-driven design and ecological complexity gain significance in landscape architecture, the designer's formal translation – or the arbitrary formal representation – of the process will become necessary.

The issue of authenticity in design fields and the role of a designer in the creation of an authentic environment nonetheless seem to be recurring issues. Depending on one's understanding of authenticity in spatial terms, the issue of authenticity in urban landscape design may elicit entirely different design approaches. For the purpose of this thesis, however, which is to demonstrate landscape authenticity in a post-industrial urban context and to present ways of harnessing its power, the views shared by Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) and later reinforced by Berrizbeitia (2013) are more useful and adaptable.

In terms of design strategy, two methods have arisen from the aforementioned concern with the designer's capacity to deliver authenticity. Each strategy relies on what is viewed as the source of authenticity in urban

landscape, either mankind or nature. The first strategy involves public engagement as part of urban planning and design practice and emerged during the mid-20th century (Arnstein, 2019; Bidwell & Schweizer, 2021; Bobbio, 2019; Connor, 1988; M. Shin et al., 2022). Several terms are used interchangeably in the field of public participation. However, with academic development in the field, a more precise use of each term has been put forward. Public engagement "requires an active, intentional dialogue between [public] and public decision makers whereas participation can come from [public] only" (Lodewijckx, 2020). Hence, the public participation in terms of government-funded urban landscape planning and design projects should be understood as public engagement.

As public engagement became a widespread phenomenon across both public and private sectors regarding planning and design, the purpose of public engagement has also shifted from ideation to the co-creation of values with the public, or the *consumers* (Sanders & Stappers, 2008). Co-design practice is a more integrative way of public engagement, in which the roles of researcher, designer, and consumer (public) shift accordingly. The researcher's role shifts from translator to facilitator, while the professional designer's role shifts from designing "stand-alone products" to entire systems and the consumer's role from user to co-designer who contributes to the design through creative expression (Sanders & Stappers, 2008, p. 15).

While early studies in public engagement focused on the

involvement of consumers, one finds that increasingly, researchers and practitioners alike are looking for ways to incorporate the consumers in more significant ways with a purpose of creating a sustainable outcome. One can see that planners and designers have sought to incorporate consumers in the planning and design process to create an outcome that can be perceived by the consumers as authentic. In other words, authentication is incorporated into the creation process.

2) Natural Authenticity in Decommissioned Infrastructure

The second strategy, which involved nature reinforcing authenticity in design, is visible in the adaptation of nature for decommissioned infrastructure rehabilitation. While the first strategy focused on incorporating consumer authentication as part of the creation process, the second strategy uses a historically proven representation of authenticity as part of the outcome. During the 20th century, the dichotomy of nature as genuine, truth, and spiritual and civilization as dishonest and worldly continued in the form of urban nature (Dudley, 2011; Marx, 2008; L. J. Taylor, 2013). For example, to reverse the effect of industrialization, municipalities and local activists alike focus on urban nature, as in the case of urban agricultural practices (Asdal, 2003; Mares & Peña, 2010; Weilacher, 2010). Furthermore, urban nature often becomes a way to rectify the negative association of decommissioned infrastructure in post-industrial urban landscape (Braae, 2014; Fassi, 2010; M. Lee, 2019; Storm, 2014). Recent studies argue that while nature and urban may seem like binary concepts, in practice, the underlying foundation that contributes to the proliferation of 'greening' in city marketing today is based on the same urban ideal – that is, a city's desire to become advanced by global standards (Angelo, 2021; Rigolon & Németh, 2020).

With an increasing number of cities entering the post-industrial economic phase and abandoning manufacturing for service industries, the

practice of incorporating nature into the post-industrial urban context is a widely practiced urban planning and design trend worldwide (M. Lee, 2019; Yin et al., 2015; Yusuf & Nabeshima, 2006; Zukin, 2011). Furthermore, urban reclamation and revitalization projects that focus on the city's past industries are popular ways through which cities rebrand themselves (Dai et al., 2015; Eom & An, 2018; Hee et al., 2008; Loures et al., 2011; Loures & Panagopoulos, 2007). Considering that most contemporary urban landscapes feature some degree of reclamation or reuse as part of their design strategy (Reed, 2005) and that post-industrial landscapes have been successful in a number of cities (Hennigan, 2018; Loures, 2008), adapting urban strategies to appropriate industrial heritage for municipalities is highly appealing.

In landscape architecture, the popular trend of adapting underused railway as an open space project continues to produce post-industrial and railway parks (Figure 5). Large parks such as Seonyudo Park and Oil Tank Culture Park in Seoul have been influenced by Gas Works Park in Seattle and Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord, not only in terms of their concept but also in their use of large-scale industrial objects as park follies and the juxtaposition of lush greenery against rusting machinery (M. Lee, 2019; M. Shin & Pae, 2022). Here, the industrial objects become follies for the lush greenery, similar to the miniature ruins that added character and depth to the picturesque gardens.

Figure 5. Examples of Post-industrial and Railway Parks

Left: Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord, 1991, Duisburg-Meiderich. Source: Wikipedia
Center: Gas Works Park, 1975, Seattle. © Joe Mabel
Right: Seonyudo Park, 2002, Seoul. Source: Seoul Metropolitan Parks

Described as 'ruin porn' by some, the juxtaposition of abandoned infrastructure against nature "provokes an infinite number of narratives," among which is a "narrative of authenticity [that] has become particularly betrothed to the melancholy that contemporary ruins exude" (Lyons, 2018, p. 5). In other words, many of the post-industrial landscape design projects embody authenticity through not only the use of nature but, more precisely, its contrast with the post-industrial elements left on site. Through such juxtaposition, the design becomes evidence of temporality, or time that has passed, making the project seem to naturally belong to the site – in other words, authentic.

3) Authenticity as an Intangible Site-Specific Asset

Finally, there is another method that is adapted by not only planners and designers but also municipal officials and cultural entrepreneurs eager to appropriate the cultural narrative on site. Particularly in the field of urban revitalization, authenticity is often considered an intangible urban asset that exists on site as a given property. In such cases, those executing urban revitalization concentrate less on the authentication process and more on the identification of authenticity on site as well as its preservation.

The issue of landscape authenticity in the urban environment as discussed in this regard has been shaped by Sharon Zukin in her decades-long study of urban authenticity in New York City (Zukin, 1982, 1998, 2009, 2010a, 2011). Her focus on the local in relation to the transnational idea of authenticity is particularly useful for the purpose of this thesis.

Of particular interest is Zukin's description of how local entrepreneurship, municipal interest, innovation-ridden society, and the economic situation overall come together to focus on selective landscape authenticity and produce a specific urban landscape. According to Zukin, authenticity in an urban context belongs to an aesthetic category (Zukin, 2010b). By aesthetic category, Zukin means that the authenticity of urban landscape is not something objectively quantifiable or even identifiable; rather, it is something that is sensed and recognized as an integrative phenomenon. For example, in her discussion on community gardens in New York City, the gardens seemed to embody urban landscape authenticity

despite the internal struggles among their users to define what aspect of urban authenticity is symbolized by the garden (Zukin, 2010b).[20]

Because visual representations of authenticity such as old housing units and/or industrial factories often function as drawing points for urban dwellers and corporations alike, one discovers a ubiquitous urge in both consumers and producers to appropriate these forms in urban planning and designs. With the advanced status of cultural assets in globalized cities, the aesthetic quality of a city becomes part of the entrepreneurial strategy for multinational corporations (Gupta, 2019), local entrepreneurs (Michael, 2015; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021), and municipal governments (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2015; Zavattaro, 2010) alike. Although specific local conditions may differ, one finds a common theme among these situations: the *urge for authenticity*, as Zukin describes, which operates as an important element in urban landscapes. However, Zukin also warns her readers that this universal urge for authenticity can have a negative effect in urban landscape by creating a condition for homogeneous urban landscapes (Zukin, 2009).

It is important to note that one finds a strong correlation, if not a causal relationship, between the discussion of authenticity and placeness. Based on Yi-Fu Tuan's definition of space as a location without human-

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[20] Zukin notes that [the differences in user groups] challenged a common ideal of authenticity" (Zukin, 2010b, p. 209). For example, certain ethnic groups demonstrated ethnic identity, while others desired artistic and environmental expression.

related social connections and of place as location created by human experiences with no observable boundaries, this thesis agrees with international conventions and legal measures that landscape is a culmination of space and place in a visible plane (Council of Europe Landscape Convention (ETS No. 176), 2004; Landscape Act, 2018; Tuan, 2007).

Edward Relph has argued that standardized landscape-making and the gradual loss of place identity lead to a place becoming a *non-place* in the phenomenon of *placelessness* (Relph, 1984). Since Relph's introduction of the concept, advocating for placeness in human/cultural geography, urban design, and landscape-making has been a recurring theme in these fields. In response to this, Mike Crang notes that "[m]uch of the worry over 'placeness' can be interpreted as fear that local, supposedly 'authentic' forms of culture - made from, and making, local distinctiveness - are being displaced by mass-produced commercial forms imposed on the locality" (Crang, 1998, p. 115). Furthermore, in her introduction to the elements involved in sustainable placemaking, Marichela Sepe writes that "[c]ontemporary urban design is… simultaneously concerned with the design of space as an aesthetic entity and as a behavioral setting. Accordingly, it places greater emphasis on understanding how spaces function and on what cultural meanings and values are expressed" (Sepe, 2013, p. x). In other words, placeness can be understood as an intangible form of urban landscape authenticity for the purpose of this thesis.

Parallels with Relph's concern are observable in the academic

discussion of urban landscape authenticity. Some have adapted the term *simulascape* to describe phenomenon in urbanizing cities in which an entire urban design scheme is based on the imitation of the other, producing a homogeneous landscape as a result (Bosker, 2013; Piazzoni & Banerjee, 2018). For example, Piazzoni and Banerjee (2018) criticize the "mimicry in design" that they find is prevalent in urban landscapes of the developing world. This reproduction practice can be traced back to the 19th century World Fairs and theme parks in America. Quoting King, Bosker writes that "this phase of replication and imitation is inherent in the process of global modernity and has been repeated in other contexts" (Bosker, 2013).[21] While examples from China cannot be applied directly to the cases in South Korea, they are useful in that they offer insight into how and why urban design practices in East Asia imitate and create landscapes of simulation, resulting in questionable urban landscapes in terms of authenticity.

Due to its relationship with urban revitalization, urban landscape authenticity is also often associated with the issue of gentrification (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Ji, 2021b; Y. Kim, 2016; H. Shin, 2015). A number of scholars consider authenticity to be something that can become lost, which forms a core criticism of gentrification. Myung In Ji (2020) offers an interesting point of departure. In her thesis, she interviewed several

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[21] Here, Bosker (2013) is discussing the idea presented by Anthony King. See Anthony D. King. (2004) *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity.* New York: Routledge.

long-time residents in Seochon, an old neighborhood in Seoul, to understand how the neighborhood's identification of what is authentic is in constant struggle. When a neighborhood's constituents change, their view of what is authentic in a site changes accordingly.

Ji (2021)'s exploration of *retail gentrification* in South Korea in relation to Lacanian understanding of the fantasy of authenticity is particularly useful for this thesis. However, while Ji has focused on the site's authenticity as a contested concept among community members, this thesis illuminates the layers of authenticity in urban landscape and its adaptation for future landscape planning and design. This thesis also expands on Ji's findings by critically analyzing the landscape design schemes and policies that have made use of the ideas of landscape authenticity with less-than-ideal outcomes.

As the paragraphs above have demonstrated, the discussion of authenticity in a post-industrial urban context requires in-depth interdisciplinary reading on the multifarious ways the concept of urban landscape authenticity is associated with contemporary urban society. However, until recently, the discussion of urban landscape authenticity and its agency in the process of landscape planning and design has been absent from academia. Despite Ji's (2020, 2021) recent attempt to analyze the urban regeneration site in Seoul from a Lacanian authenticity perspective, its leniency toward the issue of gentrification fails to fully portray the issue

of urban landscape authenticity in terms of municipal policy and its lasting impact on sustainable landscape development.

This is particularly concerning for cities and nations in non-western hemisphere, such as South Korea. As discussed above, the post-industrial urban context in South Korea presents a different landscape condition – rapid turnover of industries and the absence of ruins, for example. As cities that developed after the mid-20th century quickly move into the service industry, it is necessary to interpret urban landscape authenticity in the post-industrial context of these developing nations with a new framework that takes into consideration the entrepreneurial mode in urban planning and design across both public and private sectors that inadvertently diminish the divide between the provider and the consumer.

III. A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR LANDSCAPE AUTHENTICITY

3.1. Review of Urban Landscape Authenticity Categories

3.1.1. From Authentic Tourist Experiences to Authentication

Cohen proposed the five modes of phenomenological tourist experiences according to "the depth of experience the individual seeks in tourism" (Cohen, 1979, 1988, p. 376) (Table 2). Consisting of existential, experimental, experiential, diversionary, and recreational tourist experiences, these five modes embrace the diverse forms of tourism rather than dismissing them entirely. An interesting point to note here is that Cohen places the criteria on the tourist rather than the site, thereby underscoring the significance of subjectivity when determining authenticity.

He also contends that, contrary to arguments by Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1967), commodification does not necessarily diminish the authenticity of the tourist experience but, rather, causes its modification (Cohen, 1988). Hence, he introduces the concept of "emergent authenticity," a novel authenticity related to the "phenomenon of invention of tradition" (Cohen, 1988, p. 380). Although contact with the outside can lead to the commoditization of the object under discussion, "just as a new cultural

product can become with time widely accepted as 'authentic'… through commoditization, acquire a new meaning for its producers" (Cohen, 1988, p. 382).

Table 2. Five Modes of Authentic Tourist Experience (Cohen, 1979)

Mode	Summary	Examples
Recreational	The tourism experience is a form of entertainment that is 'enjoyable'	Carnival, Film tour
Diversionary	An escape from the boredom and meaninglessness of routine, everyday existence (makes alienation endurable)	Vacation Resort Holiday
Experiential	Purpose of the tourist experience is to search for meaning through the life of others	Backpackers
Experimental	Engagement in a quest for an alternative in many different directions	Hippie communes, alternative lifestyle communities
Existential	Characterized by the tourist's commitment to an 'elective' spiritual center that lay outside of his or her native mainstream society	Religious and/or cultural pilgrimage

More recently, sociologist Ning Wang has made significant strides in the sociological discourse on the authenticity of tourism, mainly by proposing a framework that categorizes the concept of authenticity in tourism into objective, constructive, and phenomenological phenomena, which many continue to adapt to this day (J. Kim, 2016; Wang, 1999). Wang's typology of authenticity considers not only the experience of consumers but also the geographical property. Hence, there are two perspectives based on whether the authenticity in question is considered a property of the object or of the experience of the person speaking about the

object (Jamal & Hill, 2004) (Table 3).

Wang also argues that the concept of existential authenticity may be influenced by the experience of the site but formulated subjectively by the tourist; this means that when speaking of existential authenticity, the exact constituents of the authentic cannot be defined. Hence, further exploration of existential authenticity requires a careful analysis not only of the site in question but also of how the individual subjectively recognizes the site.

Table 3. Three Types of Authenticity (Wang, 1999)

Types	Summary	Examples
Objective	Refers to the factually evidenced originality; in the case of objects, author can be identified and/or verified	Judgment on whether a recent auction item is by Leonardo da Vinci
Constructive	Socio-politically constructed through a negotiable process; authenticity is dynamic and projective	'Real' craftwork by a Native Indian from 21st Century
Existential	Achieving a certain state where the object induces the onlooker to enter an authentic experience or feeling	The Camino de Santiago is sought after the authentic soul-searching

3.1.2.   Indexical and Iconic Authentications

Interested in authentic tourism experience from business perspective, Kent Grayson and Radan Martinec use Charles Peirce's semiotic framework to distill authentic market offerings into two types of authentication: *indexical authentication* and *iconic authentication* (Grayson & Martinec, 2004) (Table 4)[22]. Because Peirce wrote extensively about the people's desire to discern the real from the unreal, "his ideas therefore provide a useful foundation for exploring and understanding how consumers evaluate indicators of authenticity" (Grayson & Martinec, 2004, p. 297). Based on the well-researched fact that the contemporary consumers seek authenticity in goods and services, the authors write that there are different sign cues for different types of authenticity. Adapting a semiotic framework, a sign allows for a consumer to recognize the object as authentic through an authentication process. Hence, it is important to understand how a sign becomes associated with authenticity, how the authentication process takes place, and to what result.

The authors conclude that there are different types of authenticity that take place simultaneously in the formulation of the consumer

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[22] Although the authors do not distinguish the terms authenticity and authentication, this thesis finds that Grayson and Martinec (2004) focus less on the actual sign and more on how the sign influences the consumer behavior. Hence, for the purpose of this thesis, the categorization provided by the authors is best described as indexical and iconic authentications.

experience. Indexical authenticity refers to a situation in which the sign refers to the signified through physical and/or psychic connections that create a factual and spatio-temporal link. In the meantime, iconic authenticity refers to a situation in which a person's senses are used to create a link between the sign and the signified. For example, an actual timber shard from the disused and demolished railway station can convey indexical authenticity; on the other hand, a recreation of the old railway in a museum nearby the original site can be described as having iconic authenticity.

Table 4. Indexical and Iconic Authentications (Grayson and Martinec, 2004)

Types	Summary	Examples
Indexical	Contains indices, or factual and spatio-temporal link that is claimed by the sign	A timber shard from demolished old railway station
Iconic	Convey verisimilitude that is often associated with the phenomenological and aesthetic experience	A replica of the railway station in a museum nearby the original site

However, through empirical research on literary heritage sites, they determined that iconic and indexical cues have a similar effect in terms of authenticity evaluation, that is, how people accept the site a being authentic. In particular, they found that iconicity had an even greater impact than indexicality in terms of conveying antiqueness; in other words, the visual experience of the antique, or the aesthetic judgment, had greater influence on the determination of authenticity than the knowledge of an object being from certain historic time period. Furthermore, the study also found that the

assessment of authenticity was not necessarily correlated with nostalgia or the past, even when the object in question was determined to be authentic. Fictional stories were also considered authentic through what the authors describe as "hypothetical indexicality," in which "imagination influences the perception of authenticity even in relation to someone with historical status" (Grayson & Martinec, 2004, p. 307). This means that novelty items, whether iconic or indexical, can be considered authentic – in that the sign of a novelty item refers to what is signified – without necessarily being historical.

3.1.3. Interpretation of Authenticities in Commercial Landscapes

Glenn Carroll and Dennis Wheaton (2009) have proposed a typology that is based on the discussion of authenticity in cultural studies and organizational studies. Based on an analysis of online restaurant reviews, they confirmed that there are two classical symbolic interpretations of authenticity and two emerging meanings of authenticity that reflect the sociopolitical changes (Table 5).

Table 5. Organizational Construction of Authenticity (Carroll and Wheaton, 2009, p. 273)

Type	Summary	Examples
Type (Classical)	Conformity to a code of expectations regarding the type assigned or claimed	Mid-century steakhouse in NYC selling mid-century steak
Moral (Classical)	Interpretation of an object or service as imbued with moral meaning	Goods or services claiming veganism and/or no animal testing
Craft (Emerging)	Application of advanced knowledge, skills, routine, tools, and ingredients derived from a craft	Premium ice cream shop based on proprietary recipe
Idiosyncratic (Emerging)	Symbolic or expressive interpretation of aspects of an entity's idiosyncrasies	A doughnut chain known for over-sized doughnut structure above the shop

The more classical forms of authenticity are *type* and *moral* authenticity, which, through time, sociopolitical changes, and economic shifts, have engendered *craft* and *idiosyncratic* authenticity. While type authenticity is the most visible form of authenticity in commercial fields, craft authenticity is rapidly expanding in cities where the service industry

accounts for a large portion of the economy. The authors note that type authenticity has even evolved into craft authenticity, as the focus of conformity has shifted "from outcomes to the process" (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 268).

On the other hand, moral authenticity is based on the transcendent value of the market offering. For instance, if the object or market offering is craft beer, the consumer will "take into account not just the actual look, smell and taste… but also the brewer's goals… the ingredients used… and the production techniques" in terms of their "abstract message" and social mission (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 269). In this case, the consumer is determining the authenticity of not only the object but also whoever is responsible for producing and maintaining it, similar to the assigning of authenticity to a designer and/or artist as discussed in the previous chapter. Hence, for type, craft, and moral authenticities, the consumer's authentication process takes place in a similar manner; the consumer compares and evaluates the offering in terms of its conformity to his or her recognizable sign of authenticity.

However, the final – and perhaps most interesting – category developed by Carroll and Wheaton is *idiosyncratic* authenticity. The authors describe this category as association with peculiarity that distinguishes the object from the others. Unlike the moral authenticity category, what engenders idiosyncratic authenticity is often a quirky and uncommon fact or history that, through time or word-of-mouth, has become "embodied in a

collectively known and oft-repeated story" (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 271). Hence, idiosyncratic authenticity is a departure from the expected norm of the everyday and enters the territory of novelty and imaginative. It makes a site unique and recognizable for a consumer. An example provided by the authors is the case of McSorley's Old Alehouse in New York City. Although many tourist guidebooks and locals alike speak of the site's relationship to Abraham Lincoln, there is no evidence of this story being true. However, this lack of factual evidence – indices – does not impede the site being considered authentic due to an interesting story that differentiates it from other locales.

The role of human involvement has a significantly larger influence for these four types of authenticities. Even when determined to be type authenticity, which is the most conservative of the categories presented by the authors, it is the consumer perception that compares the presented object to what is expected (conformity) to evaluate the object as a sufficiently fitting type. In other words, in authenticity negotiation, the site property matters less than audience acceptance.

Based on Carroll and Wheaton's study, Todd Schifeling and Daphne Demetry's interdisciplinary research explores geographic community characteristics and authenticity-based entrepreneurship (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021). From statistical data as well as an extensive literature review, Schifeling and Demetry found that the spatially uneven emergence of gourmet food trucks across the U.S. can be attributed to the different

capacity in urban cultural flexibility in terms of authenticity. The significance of this categorization is that it shifts the discussion of authenticity in an urban environment from the dichotomy of authentic and inauthentic to a spectrum of authenticities that is influenced by the consumer demographic.

3.1.4. Authenticity Triad in Urban Planning

In the field of urban planning, Laura Tate and Brettany Shannon have presented the types of authenticity in the form of a triad, consisting of *mooring* authenticity, *performing* authenticity, and *healing* authenticity (Tate & Shannon, 2019) (Table 6).

Table 6. Urban Authenticity Triad (Tate and Shannon, 2019)

Type	Summary	Examples
Mooring	Some degree of consistency while also allowing for a degree of motion and fluidity	Efforts taken by Chinatown community against the inflow of coffeeshops
Performing	Connection with something beyond oneself (transcendental), usually creative in nature, in order to create authenticity in home or in a community	Tactical urbanism cases to revitalize underused space
Healing	Normative use of authenticity towards healing after a major destabilization event that has threatened community identity	Urban development of abandoned site based on site origins as well as modernized style

Of particular interest is mooring authenticity, which Tate and Shannon describe as a key tether that provides stability to the dynamic society. This type of authenticity is also relevant to city marketing schemes, as a specific aspect of landscape is selected to moor the community's identity throughout the social dynamics. More concerned with placeness, those who discuss mooring authenticity nonetheless find evidence of authenticity from visible landscape. For example, one contributor, Vika Mehta, discusses Main Street in the city of Clifton, Cincinnati, USA, as a

place for seeing and sensing authenticity among the members of the community. Authenticity remains an invisible concept, but witnessing the community's everyday social activities come together in a communal space confirms its presence (Mehta, 2019).

However, as this thesis later argues, the process of selecting such element as mooring authenticity is not founded on solid ground, whether historical indices and/or community. Such a tendency is more visible for *performing authenticity*, a type of authenticity that adjusts creative approaches to the adaptation of authenticity to revitalize neighborhoods. One should note that unlike the previous categorizations, which were mostly analytical and descriptive in nature, Tate and Brettany's authenticity triad is normative and usage-driven. In this regard, authenticity is considered a referential resource for sustainable urban planning.

Recalling Schmid's urban trialectic,[23] which is a variation of Lefebvre's spatial triad, Tate and Shannon's categorization is more concerned with the centrality, or the material production of physical designed space. Although the cases depicted in the literature refer to the designers' concern with the concept of lived space (or the difference, in the

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[23] Schmid's trialectic is a variation of Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad. Schmid presents three concepts: (a) centrality, or the material production of physical designed space; (b) mediation, or the representation and regulation of the spatial production; and (c) difference, or the experience of lived space (Schmid, 2018). The main difference between Lefebvre's and Schmid's diagrams is the scale – in particular, Schmid focuses on urban space that is interconnected via global networks.

case of Schmid's urban dialectic), the texts mainly view authenticity in urban environments as a positive element. Throughout the text, authenticity is considered a vital resource that is necessary for creating a sustainable urban environment. However, this thesis finds that equating authenticity in urban environments as a benign idea may have consequences, depending on how the urban planners and designers adapt landscape authenticity. As is discussed in the next section, urban landscape authenticity can be either present or projective, on site or imagined, or even unfounded in relation to the site in question. Thus, it is important to present and explain a new framework for understanding landscape authenticity for a post-industrial urban context that presents an inclusive spectrum rather than a dichotomy.

3.2. The Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity in the Post-Industrial Urban Context

Table 7 is based on the review of authenticity categories in relation to urban landscape-making. Although the four categories of authenticity in urban settings differ in their field and key concepts, they present a useful spectrum of perspectives through which urban authenticity can be analyzed.

Table 7. Summary of Landscape Authenticity Categories

Authenticity Categories	Field	Key Concepts
Four Types of Authenticity (Wang, 1999)	- Sociology - Tourism Studies	- Object-based vs. Subject-based authenticity typology
Indexical and Iconic Authenticities (Grayson and Martinec, 2004)	- Business studies - Place Management	- Semiotics (Icon vs. Indices) - Hypothetical authenticity
Organizational Construction of Authenticity (Carroll and Wheaton, 2009)	- Organizational Behavior	- Social changes due to globalization - Idiosyncratic Authenticity
Authenticity Triad in Urban Planning (Tate and Shannon, 2019)	- Urban Planning	- Normative categorization - Authenticity as performance

Table 7 shows that the idea of authenticity for urban environments exists in varying spectrums. For example, Grayson and Martinec's (2004) categorization relies on the physical presence of the historic index in comparison to the public recognition of the authenticity on site. This is in contrast to Carroll and Wheaton (2009), who find that consumer recognition is of utmost significance when determining the type of authenticity. On the

other hand, Tate and Shannon (2019) find that authenticity in urban planning should be considered a performance or measure that varies across sites. Although diverse in their spectrum, the categories discussed have in common the idea that authenticity in an urban context should be discussed not in terms of scale or degree of existence but variation in manifestation. In other words, signs of authenticity that refer to opposing ideas, such as old and new, can coexist in an urban context.

Figure 6. The Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity
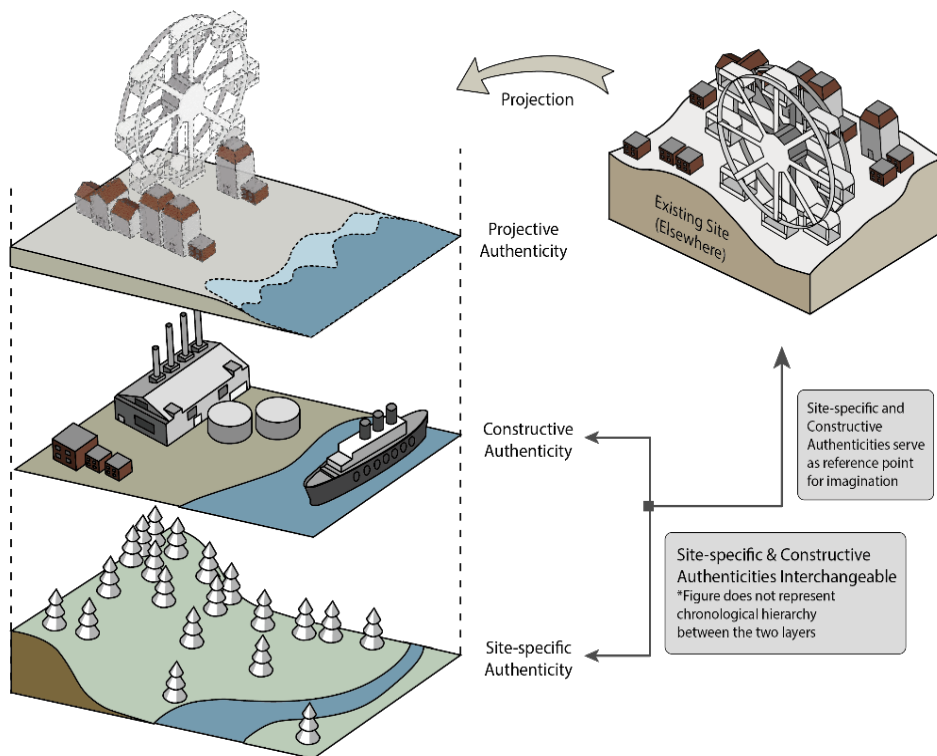
Based on the above analysis, the following demonstrates an alternative perspective for understanding urban landscape authenticity. Titled the *Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity* (hereinafter the *Three Layers Model;* see Figure 6), the model consists of *site-specific authenticity, constructive authenticity,* and *projective authenticity*.

The Three Layers Model is founded on the idea that authenticity in urban landscape must be understood in terms of layers that overlap each other. This model provides a new framework for understanding landscape authenticity that differs from the previously discussed typologies in three ways. First, unlike the typologies by Wang (1999) and Grayson and Martinec (2004), the objective/subjective distinction is not a significant factor in the determination of each layer. Rather, there are aspects of objectivity and subjectivity that are constantly negotiated for each layer. In manner similar to that of the typology presented by Carroll and Wheaton (2009), each layer of the Three Layers Model is based on the *authentication process* – in other words, *how certain aspects become recognized and accepted as representations of authenticity*. Hence, the Three Layers Model is more phenomenological and ontological than empirical and epistemological.

Second, similar to the categorization presented by Tate and Shannon (2019), the underlying purpose of Three Layers Model is to understand the current urban landscape projects in terms of their adaptation of authenticity to not only present an alternative perspective but also provide normative

guidelines as to how the idea of urban landscape authenticity can – and should – be combined with urban planning and design projects.

Finally, the Three Layers Model is founded on the idea that contemporary urban societies, particularly those that have transitioned into service industries, consist of transnational individuals rather than identifiable communities. As Zukin notes in her discussion of New York City, the movement of individuals within or between cities is a phenomenon easily found in most major post-industrial cities (Zukin, 1982). This is precisely why cities compete internationally in terms of sociocultural infrastructure. Similar to the idea of creative class as discussed by Richard Florida, the constituents of cities in a post-industrial urban context are mobile individuals that actively consume the landscape rather than form a community around it (Florida, 2002). Hence, particularly in the discussion of the projective authenticity, the community – those who will be using and developing the landscape in the long run – is expanded to include landscape consumers or anyone who contributes to the authentication process. This perspective is particularly useful for the purpose of this thesis, as those who are interested in urban developments in post-industrial contexts typically consider not only individuals living directly at the site but also those who will potentially visit and/or occupy the site in the future.

3.2.1. Site-specific Authenticity

Simply put, *site-specific authenticity* refers to a quality in visible landscape that is authenticated through its physical association with a piece of land or a site at which it is located.[24] It can either be born and nurtured on site or exist as a fundamental part of the landscape through a temporal relationship. Unlike the objective authenticity as discussed by Wang (1999), site-specific authenticity should not require full-length provenance. Examples of site-specific authenticity include nature or wilderness, waterscape, urban nature, and urban patina.

Of the three layers, site-specific authenticity is most comparable to the concept of authenticity as described in the UNESCO Heritage documents (ICOMOS, 1995; Stovel, 2008), which specifies that the physical site is accepted as the origin of said authenticity variant. It is based on the historically accumulated understanding of authenticity on the site in question from an age-old association with nature and sacredness to the eventual abandonment of the urban fabric.

The inclusion of nature is particularly important in the context of urban revitalization sites in post-industrial contexts, as the new insertion of large open spaces, such as parks and/or waterfronts, into an existing urban

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[24] Use of the term *site-specific* may recall site-specific installation and land art movements in the art world (M. Kwon, 2002; Reynolds, 2008). This thesis has adapted the term deliberately to emphasize the physical relationship between site-specific authenticity and the site.

fabric catalyzes a series of urban redevelopments (M.-S. Park et al., 2019; Rigolon & Németh, 2020). Considering that the transformation of abandoned or decommissioned urban infrastructure into green space is no longer a rare example, the physical presence of urban nature on site plays a significant role in instilling authenticity in landscape.[25] Thus, as mentioned in the previous chapter, adaptation of urban nature as part of urban redevelopment or revitalization schemes deliberately requests consumers' recognition of *site-specific* authenticity.

The last of the examples mentioned for site-specific authenticity – urban patina – requires a more in-depth discussion as it may create confusion with constructive authenticity. While specific uses of the term *patina* vary by field, by definition, it refers to a shallow layer of some deposit or discoloration on a surface that has accumulated over time. When speaking of *urban patina*, the term means precisely that – a visible layer over the existing site that has accumulated over time.

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[25] This thesis recognizes that many would argue that an urban park should be considered a social construct rather than part of nature, which would place it in the constructive authenticity layer. However, based on the previously mentioned criticisms on the appropriation of urban nature to promote authenticity (Angelo, 2021; Dudley, 2011), one can also argue that all forms of nature are constructs. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, various forms of urban nature will be considered non-constructive.

Figure 7. Abandoned Packard Automobile Factory, Detroit, MI over 6 Years

ⓒ Albert Duce, 2009.   ⓒ Ken Lund, 2015.

A well-known example of a post-industrial urban site is Detroit's
sublime ruinscape (Figure 7). Described by some as representing the
solstalgic[26] landscape, the abandoned structures in Detroit remind the
viewers of the modern success of the city that has reached its demise (Wells,
2018). Photographed and documented throughout the years, the city of
Detroit in ruins has come to be the face of the fall of capitalism. However,
this thesis finds that while the ruinscape may be attributed to the
sociohistorical situation of Detroit, its gaining of urban patina, or the ruins
becoming *acclimatized* as part of the urban environment, falls into the
category of site-specific authenticity. It is not social willpower that caused
the urban patina but nature and the passing of time. Therefore, depending on

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[26] Solstalgia is a neologism referring to emotional or existential distress caused from
environmental change, particularly climate change and its impending impacts. (See Knopp,
2014).

the aspect one is looking for, whether it be a ruin or plant overgrowth on the ruin, one can be referring to either constructive authenticity or site-specific authenticity.

3.2.2.   Constructive Authenticity

Constructive authenticity in urban landscape refers to the concept of authenticity that can be traced back to human and/or social origins on site. Carroll and Wheaton's presentation of type authenticity, craft authenticity, and idiosyncratic authenticity (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009) can be considered synonymous with constructive authenticity as well as most forms of authenticity discussed by Tate and Shannon (2019) in terms of its relation to the community. This type of authenticity is also represented by the concept of authenticity as employed by the UNESCO Heritage Documents in relation to cultural landscapes. Examples of constructive authenticity include ruins, historical sites, heritage, rituals and traditions, and community identity.

To understand constructive authenticity, one must first note that this thesis has deliberately used the term *layers* in place of category and/or typology. The three authenticities presented here are not independent and mutually exclusive constructs but, rather, interrelated layers that coexist and influence each other. For example, as mentioned in the previous section, site-specific authenticity and constructive authenticity can co-exist aton a site with no predetermined hierarchy. An example of such a case is Berlin's Tempelhofer Feld, a post-industrial era site turned urban open space (Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Images of Tempelhofer Feld, Berlin, since 1915

From Left: Former airfield of Tempelhof Airport in Berlin. © A. Savin, 2017.

Center: Aerial View over Tempelhofer Feld on May 1st, 1933. Source: Das Bundesarchiv.

Right: 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards marching, before 1915. (Original Caption: The historic poplar tree on the Tempelhofer Feld. It stood here since the time of the King Frederick the Great. 3rd Guards Regiment is passing on the image)

Figure 9. Tempelhofer Flugfeld Opening on May 2010

© Times, 2010

Because of its relationship with the post-industrial context as well as lengthy sociohistorical associations, this site unequivocally represents

constructive authenticity (Mackrodt, 2019; Tempelhofer Projekt GmbH, 2021). However, its current state of being an urban open space with little adornment should be considered a situation in which urban nature has acclimatized the site after its decommissioning. Hence, because of this contemporary history, Tempelhofer Feld also conveys site-specific authenticity.

How can one distinguish the co-existing authenticities? First, in the case of site-specific authenticity, the key concept lies in the passing of time that allows for the site to become acclimatized. It forms a background narrative from which other narratives can originate. For constructive authenticity, the agency that has engendered it has a concrete foundation and visibility in the social realm. Hence, agency is a significant element when discussing constructive authenticity. Some examples of urban revitalization schemes in the post-industrial urban context have been drawn from various corners in South Korea to explain the diverse spectrum of constructive authenticity.

Guro Manufacturing Complex, known as Guro Industrial Complex or Seoul Digital Industrial Complex today, is a case of constructive authenticity that has emerged after a municipal-led urban revitalization scheme (Figure 10). The Export Industry Complex at Guro was planned and built during 1960s with a focus on products made with metal, synthetic resin, fabric, wood, glass, rubber, etc. The site had a significant role during the rapid economic expansion in South Korea for several decades. However,

with rising labor prices, global companies also moved onto other, cheaper labor markets. Responding to the situation, the Industrial Complex underwent a complete transformation into a service industry with significant help from the government (J. Park, 2006). The name changed to 'Seoul Digital Industrial Complex,' reflecting the neighborhood-wide industrial restructuring and redevelopment.

Figure 10. Past & Current View of Guro Industrial Complex

Source: 'Chimney Industrial Complex becomes 'Service' Complex, See Twice the Job (The Joongang, 2006/01/31)

With the transition to the IT industry, the adjacent residential areas, such Garibong-dong, became subject to change as well. Previously considered a symbol of a low-quality labor residential area, Garibong-dong was left with the signs of industrial history on its surface (Seoul Museum of History, 2013) (Figure 11).[27] At the Guro site, the type of industry has shifted from manufacturing to information technology and expanded to include art and cultural projects (Koo, 2018; N. Y. Lee & Ahn, 2017; H. Shin, 2016). Whether one focuses on the industrial shift and subsequent

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[27] Garibong-dong was later designated the urban regeneration site in 2016.

changes to the urban fabric (Koo, 2018), or the gentrification process innate in such an industrial shift and how it is represented in art and cultural projects (H. Shin, 2016), one can see that the authenticity of the Guro site is formulated by industry acting as the agency of urban change throughout the years.

Figure 11. View of Garibong-dong Residential Area

Source: Seoul Museum of History, 2013.

Despite the obvious industrial gentrification, Shin (2016) notes several artistic projects that appropriate the industrial heritage, even if with a critical attitude. The continued reference to the industrial heritage and how industrial change has impacted the urban landscape means that what consumers expect from the landscape – industrial heritage – conforms to what one finds on the surface. Even the fact that the immigrant labor forces have made Garibong-dong their home attests to the fact that industrial

history is maintained in the post-industrial context of those who reside here. Hence, despite the dramatic changes to the physical urban landscape represented by a rapid increase in high-rise structures, Guro Industrial Complex (or G Valley) and the neighboring area of Garibong-dong continue to convey constructive authenticity.

As previously mentioned, community identity is also a significant factor in determining constructive authenticity. The small community gardens and artwork in alleyways of the Dalsung-Tosung Village in Daegu Metropolitan City constitute a visible sign of constructive authenticity (Y.-O. Choi, 2019; K. D. Lee, 2019; N. Y. Lee & Ahn, 2017). Despite its short history, the community garden at Dalsung-Tosung Village is known nationwide for its bottom-up public engagement efforts. Community leaders, including the neighborhood representative and installation artist, decorated the alleyways and concrete walls of this run-down village occupied mostly by low-income households with plants and murals.[28] The dramatic changes to the neighborhood landscape became the foundation for the village to earn financial assistance from the federal government in 2013 as well as other assistance afterward.

As of 2019, there were 18 community gardens located within this

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[28] Details of the community efforts at Dalsung-Tosung Village were confirmed through community interviews conducted in 2018 as part of the project "Design Guideline Development for Social Integration-based Urban Community Garden" under the Rural Development Administration.

village that symbolized community efforts and formed a background for neighborhood festivals. Here, the community-wide maintenance and stewardship of the gardens form a distinguishable community identity and represent the constructive authenticity on site (Figure 12). A tourist whose plan is to consume the site's tourism substance (landscape) can visit the site and easily recognize the meaning behind these carefully maintained gardens. Furthermore, it is the fact that the gardens have been taken care of by the community members – that they have been involved in the creation of the landscape over the years – that further emphasizes the authenticity of the site; this narrative conforms to what the consumer expects from a Dalsung-Tosung community garden.

Figure 12. Dalsung-Tosung Community Gardens, Daegu

ⓒ Author, 2018

3.2.3. Projective Authenticity

Finally, *projective authenticity* is the most important, and perhaps most innovative, authenticity layer in relation to this thesis. Projective authenticity refers to the concept of landscape authenticity that has been transplanted from elsewhere and visually manifested on site with or without specified regard for contextual congruences. While the above two authenticity layers are recalibrations of previously existing authenticity definitions, the inclusion of projective authenticity is a direct response to the landscape planning and design practice in many contemporary cities today – a transplanting of narratives based on hypothetical and imagined associations to recreate or to emphasize authenticity on site.

Whereas site-specific and constructive authenticity are indexical in the sense that their signs are materially present on site, projective authenticity is purely iconic. It is related to what Grayson and Martinec described as *hypothetical* authenticity, in which an unproven relation to a historical fact or anecdote is sufficient to convince the consumers of the site's authenticity (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). Because of this hypothetical association, the projective authenticity is a major force behind many of the urban landscape developments and revitalization efforts. A case in point is the proliferation of red brick structures in various corners in South Korea's urban landscapes. Red brick buildings have long been associated with industrial revolution and rapid urbanization, particularly in the West (Whyte,

2015). During the 1990s, however, have exposed red brick interior became fashionable in the highly developed Western metropolises, such as New York City, as a sign of historical heritage or an *authentic* lifestyle (Zukin, 2010a).

Regarding the adaptation of red bricks in many of South Korea's urban landscapes, it is interesting that they bear little to no direct relationship with such an industrial narrative. Although some cities, such as Incheon, have traces of early 20th century developments, most metropolitan cities in South Korea, such as Seoul and Busan, underwent industrial development after the Korean War. Moreover, most red-brick residential buildings in South Korea are remnants of mass housing developments since the 1980s (H.-S. Cho & Kim, 2010; M. Shin & Pae, 2022). Hence, the proliferation of exposed red brick buildings and exterior décor can be understood as the projection of an imagery of authenticity onto the site that otherwise lacks any association with the material. Urban development using red brick buildings and the resulting urban landscape are effectively the visual representation of projective authenticity – a result of an authentication process in which the site's redevelopment conforms to the consumer's imagination of the site's potential.

An interesting argument can be made here that connects the concepts of projective authenticity, consumer imagination, and aesthetic judgment. An important keyword is *imagination.* Without the physical material foundation as in the case of site-specific and constructive authenticity, the

projective authenticity feature can only instigate a subjective assessment of authenticity based on iconic evidence. Hence, it is up to the imaginative capacity of the consumer to authenticate a feature in projective authenticity. If one concurs with Zukin in that authenticity in an urban environment falls into an aesthetic category, the assessment of authenticity is analogous to aesthetic judgment.

On the other hand, aesthetics scholar Emily Brady has noted that imagination is an important and necessary process in aesthetic judgment, particularly when it comes to environmental aesthetics (Brady, 1998, 2007). In a manner similar to hypothetical authenticity, as discussed by Grayson and Martinec (2004), projective authenticity is recognized and accepted through a process of authentication. While imaginative capacity is an important function for the authentication of all three layers, projective authenticity authentication is of particular interest, as one does not have a material foundation that can act as empirical evidence. Instead, imagination and aesthetic judgment play a critical role in the authentication of projective authenticity (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Authentication Process for Projective Authenticity
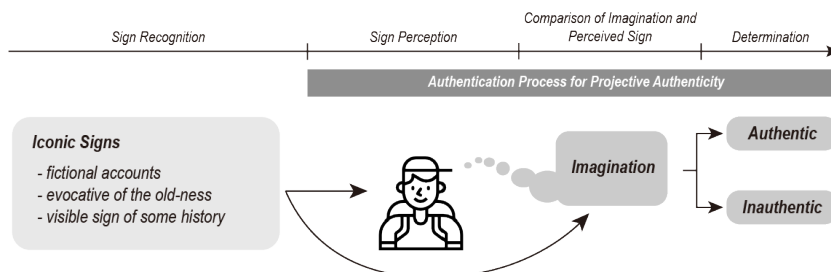
Source: Grayson and Martinec, 2004, and Brady, 2007; Diagram by author.

Like the two other layers mentioned above, projective authenticity can also co-exist with other layers of landscape authenticity. The first case is one in which an urban development that seems to have little to no relationship to the surrounding landscape eventually gains different layers of authenticity afterward. An example is the Dongdaemun Design Plaza (DDP) in Seoul, which opened in 2014. This site, while still jarring in its detachment from the rest of the urban fabric, has gained landmark status as an entirely unique and alienated structure unlike anything seen elsewhere in South Korea. Furthermore, because it has become so recognizable, the surrounding urban landscape has effectively gained an entirely new projective authenticity, which also reinforced the site's constructive authenticity from its association with the fashion industry.

Since its opening in 2014, the DDP has served as the site for the Gansong Art Exhibition, one of the most prestigious art museums in South Korea, as well as several highly recognizable fashion house exhibitions (Yonhap News, 2013). This association effectively instilled an artistic element in the site, which was previously known for high-fashion sweatshops. On the other hand, as the DDP and the surrounding area have become the annual site for Seoul Fashion Week, a high-end appeal has been added to the existing industrial heritage on site to reinforce constructive authenticity related to its decades-long fashion industry.

Due to its relationship to consumer imagination and desire, the issue of commodification is indispensable from the discussion on projective

authenticity. However, such a critical view of the phenomenon requires further analysis, as projective authenticity does not only pertain to negative connotations. First, one should recall the concept of *emergent authenticity* that was introduced by Cohen (1988). Cohen questioned whether commodification causes a loss of authenticity, as claimed by scholars such as MacCannell and Boorstin. In his conclusion, Cohen noted that while commodification does lead to an inauthentic tourist experience of a site, a commodified site can nonetheless act as a foundation for a new layer of authenticity to emerge, hence, this new authenticity that he called emergent authenticity

Projective authenticity used in this thesis is an umbrella term that includes emergent authenticity, as emergent authenticity remains limited in that Cohen deems commodification a cause for the loss of authenticity. However, this thesis argues that projective authenticity may emerge and co-exist regardless of commodification, if not because of such a transition in urban landscape. Such a case is demonstrated by Maria Francesca Piazzoni in her study of urban developments in China that deliberately replicate other cities to meet the expectations of middle-class consumers. Adapting Lefebvre's spatial concept of lived space, Piazzoni claims that "engaging with the physical and symbolic dimensions of space, city users transform spaces of conceived and represented authenticity into authentic lived space" (Piazzoni, 2018, p. 5).

Based on the explanation of the Three Layers Model above, it should be clear that authenticity is a neutral term that is related to landscape consumers through the process of authentication. The unique and useful features of the Three Layers Model in comparison to the previous categorizations are its inclusive manner and the dismissal of any hierarchy among the layers, with a heavy emphasis on the consumer authentication process. Instead, each layer has a different authentication condition (Table 8).

Table 8. Key Concepts for the Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity

Urban Landscape Authenticity Layers	Definition	Key Concepts
Site-specific	Urban landscape authenticity that has become part of the landscape through a natural passage of time	Temporality, Acclimatization
Constructive	Urban landscape authenticity that has been put in place through the agency of a person or a group	Agency
Projective	Urban landscape authenticity in which a hypothesis has been projected onto a given site based on the site condition.	Consumer Imagination

## 3.3. Urban Landscape Authenticity and Sustainable Landscape-making

3.3.1. Authentication and Landscape Consumer Agency

Throughout this thesis, the term *consumer* has been used in place of the public or community deliberately to emphasize the postmodern and pseudomodern conditions from which the discussion of urban landscape authenticity in a post-industrial context is developed. By viewing the public as landscape consumers, one can consider their agency in landscape planning and design practice in ways similar to how one would consider consumer desire and need in product development. Considering landscape consumer agency in terms of landscape planning and design is difficult because one tends to think of landscape development as a process with defined parties that have specific roles. With the term landscape consumers in place of the public or community, can one consider the relationship between the developers and the consumers in terms of more abstract, market-based behaviors.

Similar to most other fields, landscape planning and design are subject to market-driven tendencies of contemporary urban society. When speaking of a postmodern context in urban landscape, the landscape consumer asserts his or her agency over the landscape planning and design in both direct and indirect ways. Face-to-face public participation programs fall into the former category; however, as consumers, their opinions and

desires are brought forth during the landscape planning and design process. This is because the distinction between the landscape planning and design – landscape development, in other words – and the consumption of the developed landscape becomes ambiguous, not because the processes cannot be analyzed separately but because the two practices simultaneously reference each other, blurring the exact directions of agency. For example, David Herbert's discussion regarding the tourism of literary places reveals that the development and consumption of heritage sites is a cyclical process in which the consumer and the producer are interconnected in a loop (Herbert, 2001) (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Construction and Consumption of Heritage Place
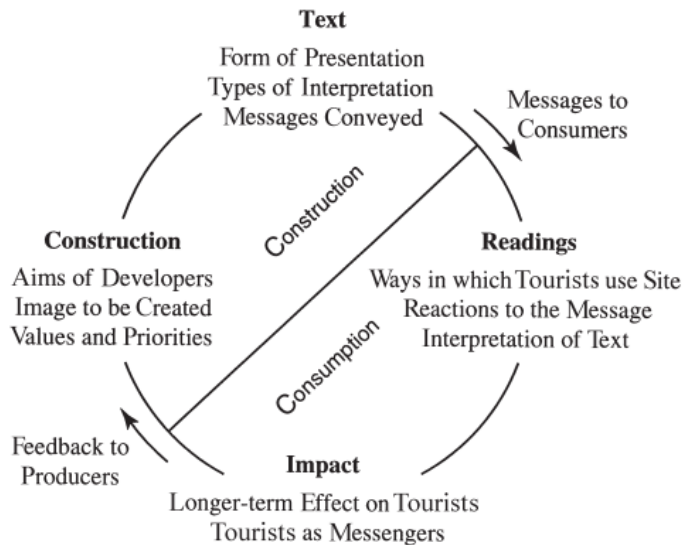

Source: Herbert (2001), p. 317.

Herbert's diagram shows that the consumers, who are responsible for the consumption of a developed heritage site, and the producers, who are responsible for its construction (development), are interconnected because consumers and producers communicate to each other through direct and indirect ways.

This thesis takes a step beyond Herbert's diagram to ask a fundamental question: *How are the (landscape) consumers recognizing and evaluating landscape*? It is through this question that one can explore how and why certain landscapes receive a greater number of visitors and maintain a positive image. While there are numerous ways a person can become involved with a site, this thesis focuses on the process of authenticity and the layers of authenticity in urban landscape. As it was established in previous sections that the authentication of urban landscape is executed by landscape consumers, it seems plausible to claim that landscape consumers exercise agency over landscape planning and design practices through the process of authentication. However, another question lingers: *Why and how are the landscape consumers taking part in the authentication process*, and *why is this an important element in the grander scheme of landscape development?*

These questions can be answered by considering landscape authenticity as a form of aesthetic category. Post-industrial materiality is a preferred aesthetic for many urban landscape consumers. For example, leaving post-industrial remnants in open space is considered an aesthetic

preference today, similar to how ruin-esque follies were preferred garden décor for the English nobles in the 18th century (Füller & Michel, 2014). Whether these landscape consumers are described as urban tourists (Jansson, 2018), entrepreneurs (Yoon, 2016), the creative class (Florida, 2002), millennials (Smith, 2011), or hipsters (Hill, 2016; Michael, 2015; M. Shin & Pae, 2019), they are actively involved in the creation of urban landscapes through their preference for post-industrial materiality, which then influences the ways these urban landscapes will be designed and constructed during development (Figure 15). In other words, landscape consumers exercise their agency through the expression and consumption of personal preference in search of authenticity. Hence, the search for authenticity in landscape by the consumers leads to their involvement in the process of authentication.

Figure 15. Agency of the Urban Landscape Consumer
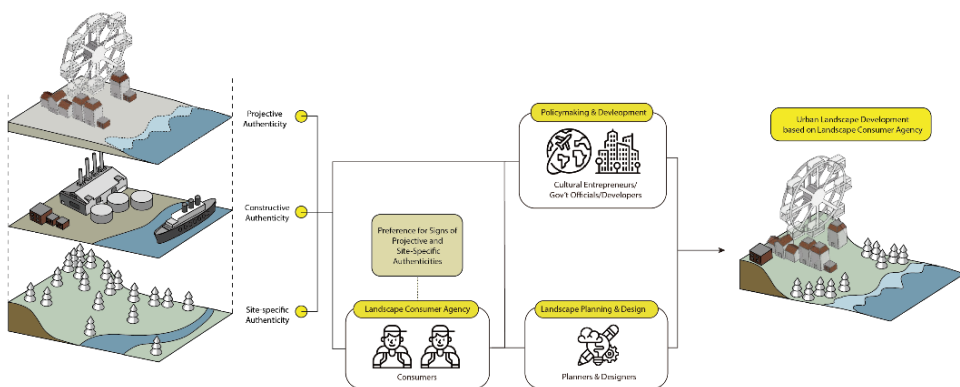
3.3.2. Landscape Consumer Agency and the Power of Aesthetics

As discussed above, considering landscape authenticity a type of aesthetics bridges landscape consumer agency and the landscape development and consumption process. If a collective post-industrial aesthetic shared by a collection of individuals is somehow exercising agency over the urban landscape development process, both directly and indirectly, one can assume that such aesthetic taste and preference has certain power over the physical world. Adapting Yuriko Saito's claim for the power of aesthetics in her theory of *everyday aesthetics* provides useful insight as to how the individual landscape consumer formulates their aesthetic vision, how they are coagulated into a powerful force, and how this understanding can assist in future landscape planning and design practices (Saito, 2007, 2011, 2017).

1) Saito's Theory of *Everyday Aesthetics*

Saito's everyday aesthetics argument is established on the theory of environmental aesthetics, which is concerned with the aesthetic engagement of the individual with the surrounding environment, be it an agricultural industrial complex or a forest nearby their hometown (Berleant, 1991, 1992; Brady, 1998; Carlson, 2009; Maskit, 2007). Environmental aesthetics emerged in the late 1960s in tandem with the increased interest in

environmental crisis (Drenthen & Keulartz, 2014). However, during the decades that followed, much debate over the relationship between nature and art took place within the discipline, which led to a diversification of topics. Emily Brady's discussion of imagination that was mentioned to explain the logic behind projective authenticity also falls into this field of environmental aesthetics.

The main subject of everyday aesthetics is the everyday situation an urban resident may confront. While Saito presents several cases and ideas throughout her publication, three concepts are of interest for the purpose of this thesis. First, Saito discusses the aesthetics of distinctive characteristics, defined as

> *"[A] kind of experience… primarily directed toward the way in which each object or a phenomenon expresses its distinctive characteristics"*
> *(Saito, 2007, p. 105).*

There is no singular form of aesthetic for all objects; instead, the object can be appreciated aesthetically if it possesses qualities that make it what it purports to be. She also describes this as an appreciation of "the essence of its identity" that is necessary for an objective to be considered aesthetically relevant (Saito, 2007, p. 119).

This concept reinforces the idea of *conformity* that was introduced as part of the Three Layers Model. When a person encounters a sign of authenticity, the object will be recognized if and when it corresponds to

what the person would deem authentic to the site. The problem, however, rises in practice; as there are layers of authenticities at any given site, the person engaging with the site may find different types of authenticity appropriate for the site. In this condition, the larger the landscape consumers responsible for the authentication process there are, the more diverse the resulting authenticities will be in practice.

Second, the spectator (in the case of this thesis, the consumer) has an active role in the creation of an aesthetic experience (Saito, 2017, p. 52). According to Saito, in 1958, John Dewey discussed the problem of focusing only on the receiving end of aesthetic experience, as the perception should be considered a two-way process. Recalling Dewey's and Berleant's discussions, Saito claims that everyone, whether they are producing or consuming, is "an active agent of creative engagement with what we are perceiving" (Saito, 2017, p. 53).

As previously mentioned, the situation in which the agency of landscape consumers in terms of landscape development plays a critical role is catalyzed by the Internet age, in which the constant feedback of preferences and aesthetic experience blur the distinction between the producer and the consumer. Hence, the roles of the consumer as *an active agent of creative engagement* expands. Perceiving urban landscape authenticity from the perspective of everyday aesthetics helps establish authenticity as an aesthetic idea shared and promoted by the landscape consumers who ultimately affect landscape development practices.

Third, the power of aesthetics in the market-centric society must be considered. As introduced in the above paragraph, an interesting characteristic of Saito's claims lies in the belief that consumers' aesthetic engagement in the everyday exercises power in the real world. Many have written about the negative result of consumer aesthetics – or appropriation of aesthetics by capitalists – that is infiltrated with "too many moral, political, and environmental problems that result from the industry's effort to satisfy consumer's aesthetic demands (although these demands are often artificially created by the industries themselves)" (Saito, 2017, p. 149).

This negative impact is impossible unless aesthetic engagement exercises power. In terms of landscape consumers, their aesthetic engagement with landscape authenticity – that is, the authentication process – exercises power, particularly during the landscape development process. The positive and/or negative result of this exercise of power is the subject of the next subsection.

2) Landscape Authenticity and the Power of Aesthetics

As previously mentioned, landscape consumers engage with the landscape aesthetically; when engaging with landscape authenticity, such engagement is the process of authentication. The effects of the landscape consumer's agency in terms of the power of aesthetics require further explanation with concrete examples for both pros and cons.

The negative side effect, or what Saito describes as the *immoral use of aesthetics*, is visible in many urban revitalization sites where landscape is used as a way to quickly satisfy consumer expectations. In such projects, the parties on the developer's side – the municipal government officials, cultural entrepreneurs, and even public organizations – are so eager to cater to the consumer expectations that the diversity of landscape authenticity layers is underrepresented. For example, Seochon, an urban revitalization neighborhood located in Seoul, has undergone what some describe as *retail gentrification* (Ji, 2021b) (Figure 16).

Ji notes that Seochon's current landscape is dominated by retail gentrification aesthetics that prize post-industrial materiality and aged buildings. While the developers attempt to revitalize the landscape through the tourism industry, the tourists seek retail gentrification aesthetics (Nah, 2015); hence, new retail shops lining the streets of Seochon form what is described in the Three Layers Model as *projective authenticity*.

Figure 16. Seochon's Commercialized Streets

Source: 'Seochon, Space of Co-existence between the Past and the Present' (*Chosun-Ilbo*, 2015/08/10)

Projective authenticity itself is a neutral term; its negative effect, however, is visible when the resulting landscapes are homogeneous. According to Zukin, municipal governments' efforts to revitalize downtown areas often elicit the spatial reproduction, or homogeneity, of specific types of landscapes that are desirable by the public (Zukin, 2011). As municipal government officials, urban revitalization administrators, and local entrepreneurs actively collaborate to draw from contextual resources to promote a site and achieve success as an urban regeneration site, the same effort results in the creation of homogeneous landscapes that prioritize projective authenticity. When cultural entrepreneurs successfully enhance the local economy, their efforts in landscape-making invoke, if not strengthen, specific images that fit the popular demand of landscape

consumers as well as the site conditions. This cycle is detrimental to preserving urban landscape diversity, which is a key reason to consider authenticity in landscape.

The creation of homogeneous landscape is just one of the effects landscape consumer authentication processes can assert on the existing world. A theoretical explanation of the process behind the creation of a homogeneous landscape requires further reading into everyday aesthetics. Saito describes the landscape one encounters in one's everyday as impacting the important moral judgments a person makes in their life. Supported by such agency, the process of aesthetic judgement can exercise power in the real world. Because authenticity is a type of aesthetic property, one can understand the relationship between the process of authentication and its power as follows: *When the landscape consumer agency engages with urban landscape authenticity, such agency can exercise power or cause changes in the real world through the process of authentication.*

The ideas provided in this section thus far have important implications for why one must try to attain authenticity in landscape. By considering landscape consumer agency in relation to landscape authenticity and by relating landscape authenticity to the diversity of landscapes, it becomes clear that to create landscapes that convey authenticity in diverse ways or to avoid the reproduction of homogeneous landscapes, it is important to involve landscape consumers. More specifically, it is important to mobilize landscape consumer agency in ways that can benefit landscape

in terms of attaining diverse layers of authenticity because such an endeavor will also guarantee the long-term involvement of consumers and prolong the social sustainability of the site (Figure 17). Hence, it is the goal of the landscape planners and designers to harness this power during the landscape creation process in meaningful ways.

Figure 17. Example of Landscape Development-Consumption Cycle
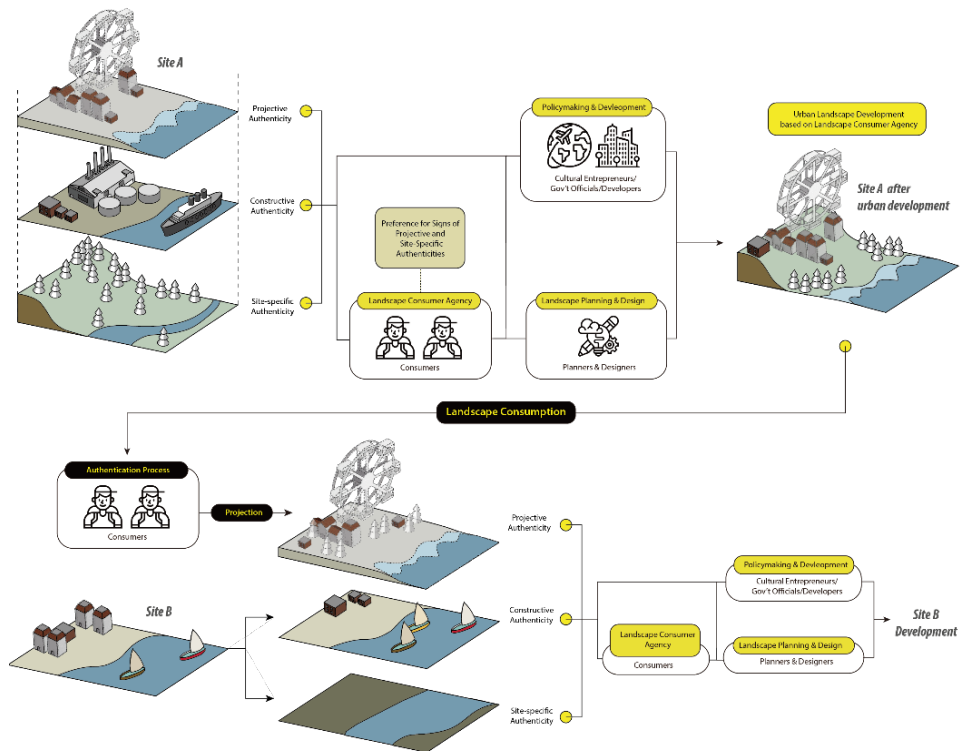
IV. CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN LANDSCAPE AUTHENTICITY IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL URBAN CONTEXT

4.1. Urban Revitalization and the Post-industrial Context in South Korea

With an increasing number of cities moving away from the manufacturing industry, government officials in every corner of the world are given the task of spatially reconfiguring the landscape to become more accommodating to the incoming industries. Whether through revitalization, reclamation, or conservation, urban landscapes built during the industrial period are undergoing spatial renovation for this purpose (Loures & Panagopoulos, 2010). These revitalization projects may take on different forms depending on the geographical conditions of the city, but the impetus for these projects is often found to be ubiquitous – historical preservation for future generations and cultural sustainability (Birkeland, 2008; Loures, 2008). Furthermore, with the increased interest in urban industrial heritage among landscape consumers as well as those directly involved with landscape development, urban revitalization projects are planned and executed not only as a method to revitalize the neighborhood but also to promote urban tourism and boost local and cultural businesses (Füller &

Michel, 2014; London, 2013; Zukin, 2011).

During 2000s, the South Korean government began transferring central budget responsibilities to the provincial and municipal governments, as it was believed that local government had a better understanding of the city's needs and potential. Simultaneously, the concept of urban revitalization rose to public consensus during the 2010s, resulting in a series of 'urban regeneration' projects all around the nation based on the 'Special Act on Promotion of and Support for Urban Regeneration (Act No. 17737)' (hereinafter the Urban Regeneration Act). The projects spanned a wide array of urban reclamation purposes, from the revitalization of derelict areas to an industrial shift to a service economy and the expansion of public interest in historic preservation, cultural sustainability, and community development (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2021). The sites selected for urban regeneration projects also varied greatly, from industrial cities such as Changwon to cities popularized for traditional residential landscapes such as Jeonju and smaller sites in Seoul and/or Busan. Because there were several programs in the urban regeneration scheme with assistance from the central and/or municipal government, the execution of urban regeneration projects varied according to the site's scale.

Seoul's urban development strategy has gone through several transitions since the 1980s as a result of internal and external forces. The urban regeneration projects in semi-urban sites and urban sites in smaller cities were heavily influenced by the rapidly changing industrial conditions

in conjunction with the global economy. Hyunjung Lee situates the cause for Seoul's urban regeneration projects in the 2008 global financial crisis and drastic urban decline in industrial areas (H. Lee, 2019) (Figure 18). With the rapidly changing industrial economy and the government's determination to catalyze the transition, it was only a matter of time before the former manufacturing factories were repurposed, if not demolished completely, to make room for the new generation of city-based industries, its workforce, and urban dwellers (Eom & An, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015, 2017a).

Figure 18. Timeline of SMG City Development Policies[29]
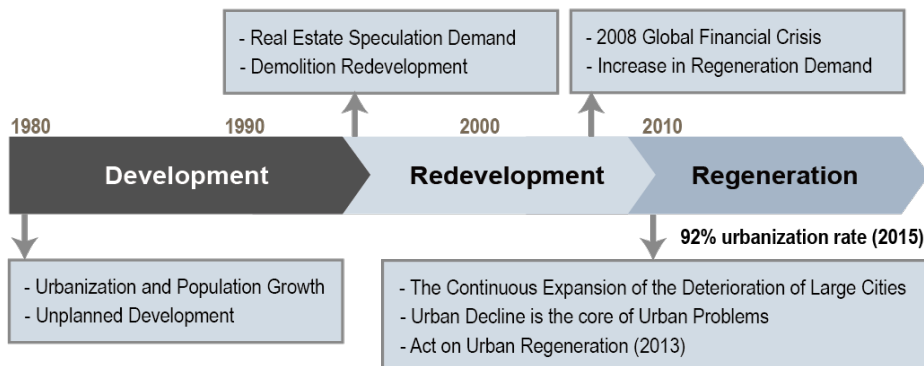
Source: Recreated by author, based on H. Lee (2019).

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[29] During the course of the review, a committee member noted that the developmental progress in Seoul should resemble less of a linear progression and more of a parallel progression of the three development policies side by side. For example, several urban regeneration policies in Seoul have taken place as a result of or simultaneously with multi-dwelling residential complex redevelopment. For the purpose of this thesis, however, H. Lee's (2019) diagram remains useful in that it indicates an approximate timeline of when

Another context in regard to the surge in South Korea's urban revitalization efforts is that the new development and renewal projects from the 1990s and 2000s have been the subject of criticism for having resulted in "reduced population growth, change in industrial structures, unplanned urban expansion, and ageing residential environments" (M.-S. Park et al., 2019, p. 4). Since the enactment of the Urban Regeneration Act, a total of 581 sites have been selected for urban regeneration projects in South Korea, of which 27 are located in Seoul Metropolitan City and 31 are in Busan Metropolitan City (MOLIT, 2022) (Table 9). The urban regeneration projects in metropolitan cities such as Seoul and Busan took many different approaches, from neighborhood revitalization to city-wide economic and financial assistance.

Table 9. Number of Urban Regeneration Sites in South Korea Selected per Year

Year	2014	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2022	Total
Total Sites Selected per Year	13	33	68	99	116	117	87	581
Seoul Metropolitan City	1	3	0	7	8	7	1	27
Busan Metropolitan City	1	4	4	7	7	7	1	31

Source: Summarized and reorganized by the author, based on the Urban Regeneration Information System (MOLIT, 2022) (Last Accessed 2022.06.27.)

certain development policies were *introduced* in Seoul.

However, the figures in Table 9 does not include the urban revitalization projects that predate the Urban Regeneration Act, such as the Urban Vitality Enhancement District Scheme (2012–2016). This project was carried on urban sites as part of the overarching regional development scheme under the 'Special Act on Balanced National Development (Act No. 17597),' which took off in 2006.

Often, cities and neighborhoods benefitted from multiple programs. For example, the urban reclamation efforts at Huinnyeoul Culture Village (HCV) in Youngdo, Busan, began in 2015 as part of the Urban Vitality Enhancement District Scheme. Considering that there have been several short- and long-term urban reclamation policies that predate the Urban Regeneration Act, it is useful for the purpose of this thesis to keep in mind that the interest in urban reclamation in South Korea began in the late 2000s, with policy implementation taking off in the early 2010s.[30]

Urban regeneration programs in South Korea, similar to urban reclamation projects in other nations, are often criticized for systematic limitations and side effects – primarily gentrification. The systematic issue arises because most urban regeneration programs in South Korea that are

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[30] For a detailed explanation of the urban regeneration typology in South Korea, see J. -Y. Kim, 2019. However, it is important to note that the urban regeneration scheme in South Korea is rather ambiguous, as it can refer to both the urban revitalization policies (legal definition) and any possible effort(s) to reclaim urban fabric (general definition).

conducted as part of the longer (five year) project are short-term, making it difficult for the local and site-specific characteristics to be fully incorporated into the project (Ryu, 2014). This means that rather than formulating programs based on the site's existing context and potential, the program substance is often benchmarked from similar projects in other cities (M. Shin & Pae, 2022). Added to the short-term evaluation timeframe, this situation can cause a critical problem in the economic sustainability of urban regeneration projects, as project managers will be more likely to rely on government funding to create immediate results rather than developing long-term goals (W. Lee, 2020).

The second criticism often cited with regard to the urban regeneration projects in South Korea involves the issue of gentrification (Ji, 2021a, 2021b; Y. Kim, 2016; H. Shin, 2015). Yeonjin Kim discussed the issue of 'art-led gentrification' that often takes place after a site has been revitalized through cultural and artistic programming, leading to an increase in the urban tourism (Y. Kim, 2016). Kim notes that Seoul's gentrification cycle is inseparable from the urban revitalization process today, as the media and the public sectors as well as the cultural entrepreneurs have become active stakeholders seeking to harvest the potential profits of urban revitalization programs. On the other hand, Ji (2021a, 2021b) discussed what she describes as the 'retail gentrification' that is unique to Seoul's urban regeneration practice. Ji finds that the concept of authenticity is an important value for these retail owners who benefit from the local landscape

more than the residents, who may benefit more from urban renewal projects (Ji, 2020). Basing her discussion on authenticity on the tradition of Lacanian psychoanalysis, Ji claims that the role of authenticity in creating sustainable fantasy for urban dwellers must be appropriated with care so that the retail gentrification process does not misrepresent and/or misuse the authenticity of the site.

As the early urban regeneration projects are coming to an end, terminating their five-year scheme, a number of studies are taking a critical look at the programs and achievements of urban regeneration practices in South Korea thus far. For example, a recent book by the Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS) presents a thorough criticism regarding the matter of urban regeneration policy in South Korea from a variety of angles (W. Lee, 2020). This thesis adds to such efforts, aiming to illuminate the pending issues and possible solutions based on the concept of urban landscape authenticity, with particular attention to projective authenticity. As will be discussed in the rest of the chapter, the projective authenticity in the post-industrial urban landscape is misrepresented and appropriated in ways that do not benefit the long-term landscape-making practice. According to this thesis, the key to resolving this problem lies in the careful delineation of the issue of authenticity from the vague adaptation of placeness in municipal policy implementation.

4.2. Two Cases: SFPA and HCV

Urban regeneration schemes in South Korea combine urban renewal and urban revitalization approaches in the hope of bringing a new socio-cultural-economic impetus into a neighborhood (J.-D. Lee, 2015; M.-S. Park et al., 2019; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2021). Elements of landscape authenticity are often built into the application for financial assistance. Financial assistance is an important step in South Korea's urban regeneration project; when the HCV project was selected for the Urban Vitality Enhancement District Scheme in 2015, 3.4 billion Korean won out of the total of 5.1 billion Korean won was supported by the Busan Metropolitan Government. The rest of the budget was supported by the central government (LH, 2015). This allowed for the execution of infrastructural developments, which require a large sum of money.

In a typical urban regeneration project, the presence of authenticity is implied by referring to the cultural and artistic contexts of the site. These elements can be turned into programs and specific landscape design features to function as anchors for bringing in a new population of consumers. Accordingly, one finds a proliferation of community archives (libraries), local museums, and artist residences in relation to urban regeneration projects.

The underlying belief is that a city is revitalized – one assumes a resurgence in vitality – when signs of authenticity are present and visible in

a community (Zukin, 2009). For example, an urban regeneration project may include historical features such as old bridges in juxtaposition to urban open space, often sylvan in nature. Such open space may function as the catalyst for urban regeneration. It is then supplemented with public programs in effort to engage local visitors through cultural enticement. This trend is reflective of a larger global trend, in which the reuse of historical elements such as post-industrial features contrasts with urban nature for new and profitable uses (Füller & Michel, 2014; Höfer & Vicenzotti, 2019; Rigolon & Németh, 2020; Zukin, 1982).

In this section, two sites are presented as case studies that will use the Three Layers Model of Landscape Authenticity to analyze the landscape and to see how certain adaptations of such authenticity can have a positive and/or negative impact. Data for the analysis were gathered through archive review and inquires to municipal offices as well as in-person focus group interviews. The results of the focus group interview are presented here in summarized form to demonstrate landscape consumers' experiences with the site and opinions formulated from those experiences.[31] Landscape-related urban regeneration project(s) from each site are then analyzed in detail to show how landscape authenticity can have a long-term effect on the physical landscape. The final subsection is meant to provide a summary of the situation at each case study site before moving on to a more integrative

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[31] Details on the focus group interview methodology as well as results can be found in A3.

discussion in 4.3.

The two sites discussed in this thesis are Seoul Forest Park Alleys (SFPA) in Seongdong-gu, Seoul, where the Red Brick Preservation Project (RB Project) took place, and Huinnyeoul Culture Village (HCV) in Yeongdo-gu, Busan (Figure 19). They have both been selected for urban regeneration and for implementation of small-scale landscape management schemes that focus on heritage values as well as commercial revitalization (Table 10).

Table 10. Summary of Case Study Sites

Site Name	Seoul Forest Park Alleys	Huinnyeoul Culture Village
Municipality	Seoul Metropolitan Government	Busan Metropolitan Government
Area (㎡)	Approx. 71,000	Approx. 29,000
Number of Buildings	248	256
Urban Regeneration Project Year	2014 - 2019	2015 - 2021

Source: (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a; Yeongdo-gu, 2018)

Figure 19. Location of Case Study Sites

ⓒ Author, 2022. Created using QGIS ver. 3.26

4.2.1. Seoul Forest Park Alleys (SFPA)

1) Site Background

Seongsu-dong (SSD), an administrative district for Seoul Forest Park Alleys (SFPA), was one of the first neighborhoods to receive the urban regeneration site designation in 2014. The site enjoyed high population density and economic growth between the 1960s and the 1980s and has entered an industrial shift in recent years. Seoul Forest Park served as a key urban amenity drawing many visitors as well as urban developments. The industry shift varied, for example, from the textile and fabric manufacturing industry to fashion design and from manufacturing to IT-based venture companies.

SSD became a popular destination in the 2010s. The opening of Seoul Forest Park in 2010 increased foot traffic in the area, paving the way for an increase in businesses targeting pedestrians. On the other hand, local entrepreneurs and creative sector businesses began renovating the 1970s red brick factories near Seongsu Station and transforming them into cafés and cultural facilities (Ko & Kim, 2018; S. Lee & Yoon, 2016; S. Park & Lee, 2018). Owing to these changes, SSD became a prime location for young designers in various fields, from fashion to graphic design, as well as for co-working spaces, startup companies, and companies with socially conscious aims.

Finding such changes to be significant factors for the overall

neighborhood, the Seongdong-gu Office, the administrative office for SSD, began a series of urban regeneration projects in the area. Some projects focused on community development, such as the Eco-School Project (2016) and the Community Revitalization Enhancement Programs (2016–2019), but most of the projects focused on the physical changes to the landscape (Table 11). Even though the list is far from conclusive, these provide a glimpse of what was happening in the neighborhood. There were a number of projects the purpose of which was to revitalize the neighborhood without being titled 'urban regeneration project.'

The SFPA, initially called Atelier Street, were also part of urban revitalization efforts without the label. Home to neighborhood-wide art projects, such as guerrilla gardening, as well as designer boutiques and local shops, the area became recognizable for its unique appeal in comparison to the surrounding area.

Table 11. List of Landscape-making Related Seongsu-dong Urban Regeneration Projects

Category	Project Title	Project Year
Collaborative Project	Socio-economic Assistance Center	2015 – 2017
Collaborative Project	Seongdong-gu Design Week	2016 – ongoing
Collaborative Project	Seongsu Neighborhood Park Restroom Remodeling	2017
Collaborative Project	Seoul Forest Park Understand Avenue	2015 – 2016
Collaborative Project	Seongsu-2-ro Bicycle Pathway	2016
Collaborative Project	Rainbow Creative Playground	2016 – 2017
Collaborative Project	Street Tree Environment Enhancement	2017
Collaborative Project	Sangwon-gil, Hand-made Shoe Street Urban Landscape Project	2017
Collaborative Project	Seoul Forest Park Alleys Pedestrian Street Paving	2015
Collaborative Project	Seongsu Handmade Shoes Project	2012 – ongoing
Collaborative Project	Special District for Socially Conscious Economy	2016 - 2018
Collaborative Project	Socially Conscious Economic Fashion Cluster	2016 – 2017
Collaborative Project	Public Commercial Lots for Anti-gentrification	2016 – ongoing
Collaborative Project	Policy for Anti-gentrification	2015 - 2016
SURC Project*	Seongsu Industrial Innovation Space	2016 - 2019
SURC Project*	Growth-Specific Spatial Enhancement	2016 - 2019
SURC Project*	Neighborhood Safe Street Construction	2016 - 2019
SURC Project*	Daily Bicycle Cyclical Pathway Construction	2016 - 2019
SURC Project*	Local Culture Special Avenue Construction	2016 - 2019

Source: Seongdong-gu Office, 2022. https://www.sd.go.kr/main/contents.do?key=4014&.
*Seongsu Urban Regeneration Catalysis Project

2) Landscape Consumer Experience

Based on the focus group interview, the landscape consumer experience at SFPA is confirmed to be heavily influenced by the site's proximity to a major urban open space, the Seoul Forest Park, and the post-industrial buildings and café streets in the Seongsu-2-gil area that is located few kilometers to the east of the case study site. Seoul Forest Park had a significant impact on the experience, as it was often the cause for a visit to the case study site. In other words, landscape consumers believe that urban nature (*site-specific authenticity*) is most important when it comes to the authentication process.

> *"Visually speaking, Seoul Forest Park is really the most important. The name has a strong role here. When you think about the Seoul Forest Park Alleys, the greenness of the visual reference is the most significant." (Interviewee 22B05)*

> *"The visibility or aesthetics is the most important element of the Seoul Forest Park Alleys. The Park is really large, and the landscape of a natural forest is visually overwhelming. Image-wise, it is the first thing that comes into my head. But in a way, this visibility is what carries the commercial aspect of the Seoul Forest Park Alleys." (Interviewee 22A02)*

The landscape consumers authenticated the SFPA as having site-specific authenticity due to its relationship to the Seoul Forest Park. They do not distinguish the SFPA from the Park because the Park's imagery has a significant function in the recognition of the SFPA. Furthermore, landscape

consumers discussed at length how the Park conforms to what they believe an urban green space should be.

Regarding the commercialization that took place at the SFPA, resulting in retail landscape, the opinions were divided. While everyone found the retail landscape to be an important layer, the evaluation of the feature in terms of authenticity – that is, authentication – varied. Those who described the retail landscape as meaningful in its own right authenticated it constructively; in other words, the retail landscape became meaningful through its association with a narrative of young designers' venture into a new area and of the booming dining culture on site.

> *"There was an old and dark feeling attached to the area. This has been changed because the younger designers and makers went into the area and revitalized it. That's the image I have. In that sense, there is a positive image associated with the SFPA." (Interviewee 22B03)[32]*

> *"Seoul Forest Park Alley has the café street that is really famous, so that's where the commerce comes from. The stores and cafés have this village-like feeling, with the multi-housing residences. A lot of people come here because they like that scenery." (Interviewee 22A01)*

> *"The SFPA has what you might call a hipster atmosphere. You know, going and finding this one small thing in a corner of a town. Those who were walking and passing by were wearing*

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[32] Only the excerpts from interviews are presented here. For the comprehensive results of focus group interviews, see Table A-1.

very hip fashion." (Interviewee 22B01)

On the other hand, there were some who had no specific image of the site despite their experience with the retail landscape. For example, although they recognized the SFPA and have visited a number of times, they were unable to identify specific sites or activities that they performed while visiting:

> *"I don't really have a specific image of the SFPA other than the long lines of people waiting to get into stores and restaurants. And the crowded corners and streets." (Interviewee 22A07)*

> *"But Seoul Forest Park is so contemporary that I don't really feel much regarding history. There's a lot of commerce here." (Interviewee 22B02)*

Those who had a negative image of the site, however, found the retail landscape to be a projection or a copy. One participant (22B04) maintained that the retail landscape at the SFPA is but one of many urban revitalization sites that one finds in Seoul:

> *"I think the buildings at the SFPA are really similar to any other buildings in Seoul's residential blocks. The reason why the SFPA became popular is because of the fashionable people roaming the area and the placeness of Seongsu-dong in general... I prefer buildings that have diversity. These days, when it comes to urban regeneration projects, there's a limit to having diversity. The fact of the matter is that there are a lot of limitations and regulations*

*to what can be done within the architecture code system in
Korea. So I felt that if there was something that made these
buildings more unique, truly unique, it can be a bit better."
(Interviewee 22B04)*

Based on the interview results regarding the SFPA, one can assume
that landscape consumers authenticated the landscape features in all three
landscape authenticity layers. The landscape consumers recognized urban
nature in relation to Seoul Forest Park (site-specific authenticity),
association with the hipster culture that arose during the recent years
(constructive authenticity), and homogeneous building designs (projective
authenticity).

When questioned verbally, the participating consumers demonstrated
an affinity toward site-specific and constructive authenticities. However,
when shown the map and the images of the SFPA, they recognized the site
not through the map (proximity to the park) but the prevalence of red brick
buildings. When asked if the red brick structures were recognizable, the
participants recalled the industrial red brick buildings of the Seongsu-2-ga
café streets rather than the SFPA.

3) Layers of Authenticity at the SFPA

Based on interviews with landscape consumers, officials, and the author's observations on site, a list of layers of authenticity at the SFPA was developed (Table 12).

Table 12. List of Layers of Authenticity at SFPA

Authenticity Layer	Description	Related Year
Projective	Post-industrial Site	2010s, 2020s
	Seongsu Brooklyn (Red Brick Buildings)	Since 2014
	Atelier Street	2010s
Constructive	Urban tourists	2010s
	Café and restaurants	2010s
	Local shops and novelty stores	2010s
	Urban Regeneration Project	2014
	High-rise buildings	2010s
	Fashion Design Houses	2010s
	Hand-made shoes Industry	Since 1960s[33]
	Leather manufacturing	Since 1960s
	Horse manor and racing track	Joseon Period, 1954 - 1989
Site-specific	Low-rise multi-dwelling residential buildings (Red Brick Buildings)	1970s, 1980s, 1990s
	Above-ground subway station	Since 1983
	Proximity to Apgujeong/Myeongdong	Default
	Seoul Forest Park (urban open space)	2010
	Proximity to Hangang River and Park	Default
	Location in Seongdong-gu, Seoul	Default

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[33] History of hand-made shoes in SSD is related to the development of fashion industry in Myeongdong, central Seoul. When the economy began to bloom, SSD became the preferred site for mass-production of hand-made shoes, leather goods and accessories. For more information regarding the hand-made shoes industry in SSD, see Jeong et al. (2017).

Because landscape authenticity is subjectively determined through an authentication process by landscape consumers, the list cannot be terminally complete. Furthermore, the designation of authenticity layer type may change depending on the author. For example, in Table 12, both 'Atelier Street' and 'Seongsu Brooklyn' are listed as projective. In both cases, comparatively minor landscape features were used for neighborhood branding purposes (Y.-E. Kwon, 2020; Seongdong Urban Regeneration Support Center, 2018). However, those who participated in the street festivals in the early 2010s may recognize the term 'Atelier Street' as constructive authenticity but dismiss 'Seongsu Brooklyn' as projective authenticity.

Figure 16 shows the network among landscape authenticity features at the SFPA. While it is based on the Table 12, it allows for a more illustrative display of how each layer of landscape authenticity is connected to different contexts. The diagram describes how the layers are interconnected on site as well as through contexts that go beyond the limits of the site. For example, the red brick residential buildings at the SFPA are related to a boom in the fashion industry by means of indirect connections that include rapid economic development, which took place most visibly in Apgujeong and Myeongdong, where the fashion industry and related fields became among the important economic powerhouses (J.-C. Jeong et al., 2017).

Figure 20. Network of Landscape Authenticity Features at SFPA
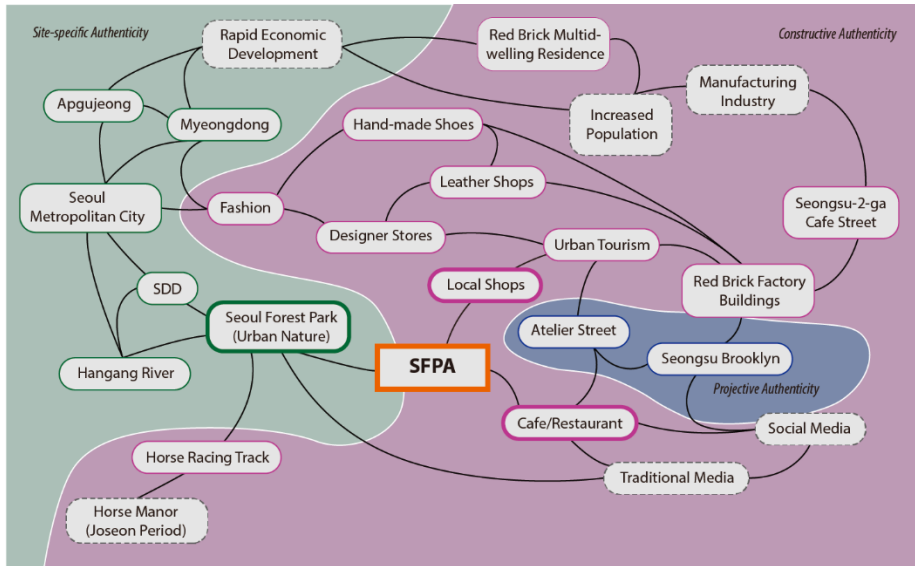

© Author, 2022

Figure 20 is a visual summary of how the landscape authenticity features at the SFPA as identified through site background information and the landscape consumer experience findings are interconnected. The local shops, café, and restaurants, and the Seoul Forest Park (urban nature) are immediately connected to the SFPA, as authenticated and discussed by the landscape consumers. However, these features are further elaborated and connected to other features in multiple ways. The items on dotted lines (rapid economic development, the increased population, the manufacturing industry, etc.) are not landscape authenticity features per se, at least not particularly for the SFPA; however, they demonstrate how certain landscape authenticity features are connected. For example, the red brick multi-dwelling residences are related to the rest of Seoul because of its association

with the rapid economic development and an increase in population. Furthermore, the diagram demonstrates that although there are at least two separate landscape authenticities featuring red brick buildings, they are connected to different time-space clusters. While the red brick multi-dwelling residence is related to the larger socioeconomic context in Seoul, the red brick factory buildings have greater proximity to the specific site context.

4) Red Brick Landscape Preservation Project

The Red Brick Preservation (RB) Project was a collaborative project between the Seoul Metropolitan Government's urban regeneration and the residential departments with support from the Seongdong-gu Office. The initial plan for the RB Project in SSD began in 2015. Policy research and guideline production took approximately two years, resulting in the 'Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance on the Preservation and Support of Red Brick Building' in 2017 and the publication of architectural design guidelines the following year (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2017b, 2018b, 2018a; Red Brick Building Preservation Ordinance, 2017). The purpose of the 'Architectural Design Guideline for the Preservation and Use of Seongsu-dong Red Brick Buildings' was to "establish a preliminary management model for preservation and use of the red brick buildings in Seongsu-dong, as this area is contextually and historically significant with a number of red brick factories, warehouses, and residential housing still in place" (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a, p. 5). Therefore, the guidelines focused the modern history of the SFPA, the importance of preserving industrial-era heritage, and a survey of the red bricks in Seongdong-gu, particularly the 685–580 area, which includes the key red brick factories and warehouse sites near Seongsu Station. The guidelines also include a series of criteria for the designation of red brick buildings, ranging from brick color to building use and safety (Y. Cho, 2020; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a) (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Pages from the Architectural Design Guideline for the Preservation and Use of Seongsu-dong Red Brick Buildings
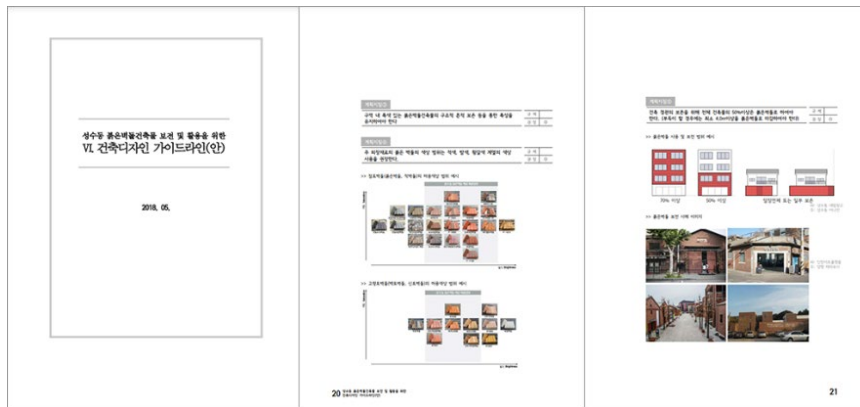
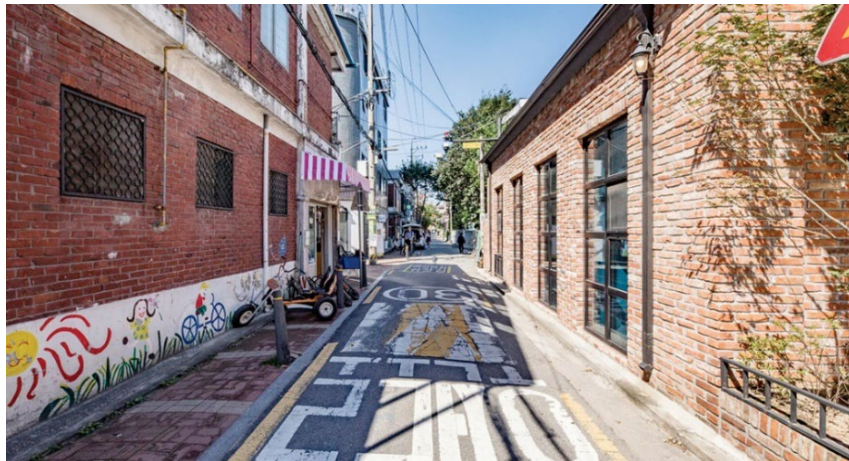Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a. pp. 1, 20, 21.

Selected as the preliminary testing site for the RB Project, the SFPA consists of a series of alleys adjacent to the northern edge of Seoul Forest Park. It is surrounded by several highways that line both edges of the Han River and Jungrangcheon Stream as well. However, the SFPA is located outside the main industrial site near Seongsu Station, where most of the red brick factory and warehouse buildings are located (Figures 22, 23, and 24). In place of industrial buildings, SFPA is lined with single or two-story residential buildings that have red brick surfaces, with occasional high-rise buildings in between that were built after the 2010s (Figure 23). However, as one of the many urban revitalization sites at SSD, the RB Project guidelines for the SFPA nonetheless emphasize the overall regional history in relation to industrial development during the latter half of the 20th century.

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Figure 22. Map of Seoul Forest Park Alleys and its Surrounding Area

Ⓒ Author, 2021. Created using QGIS ver. 3.26

Figure 23. View of Seoul Forest Park Alleys

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Walking the Red Brick Village in Seongsu-dong", 2019. https://love.seoul.go.kr/asp/articleView.asp?intSeq=6951.

Figure 24. Location of the Seoul Forest Park Alleys in relation to Other Urban Regeneration Sites in Seongsu-dong

Source: Shin and Pae, 2022. Reproduced with permission.

After gathering the data from the municipal offices, it was deemed necessary for the purpose of this thesis to evaluate the RB Project regarding achieving its purpose of preserving and using the red brick buildings in terms of landscape authenticity. Based on the conclusion provided by the guideline, it was clear that the red brick buildings were employed as symbols of constructive authenticity referring to industrial modern history. Because preservation was considered a key reason for the policy's existence, it is fair to state that the RB Project assumed the following hypothesis:

1) The red brick buildings in the SFPA are adequate examples of industrial modern history in Seongsu-dong.

2) Based on the emphasis of 'usability' of the buildings, the

creating and promoting of the red brick buildings on this site is beneficial for the area.

Analysis for the RB Project began by collecting building age data using official registration dates, for which data were available from the National Spatial Data Infrastructure Portal (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transportation, n.d.). Using QGIS software, data were plotted over the map (Figures 25 and 26). Next, based on the RB Project data received from the Seongdong-gu office, land registers for each plot were obtained, and in-person site visits were conducted in November 2020. By early 2021, at which point the RB project ended, a total of 23 buildings or plots under construction had been designated as red brick preservation sites (Table 13).

Administratively speaking, the RB Project was a financial assistance program in which construction and repair expenses were compensated in the hope of encouraging the building owners to help construct urban landscape filled with red brick structures. Four types of compensation were available depending on the scale of repair: new, major repair, repair, and renovation. Of the 23 sites visited in January 2021, 10 were repairs or major repairs, of which two were renovations. Only one building (SD-9) dated from the 1980s; nine buildings were from the 1990s, and the rest were built after November 2018, which is when the project began.

Table 13. List of the RB Project Buildings (2021.01.13.)

RB No.	Plot Address	Building Use**	Height (m)	Structure ***	Exterior	Registration Date	RB Project Type
SD-01	668-76	NCF	19.6	CS	Red Brick	2018-11-16	New
SD-02	668-134	NCF/MDH	9.9	CS	Red Brick and Paint	1991-10-16	Major Repair
SD-03	685-480	NCF	6.9	Brick	Red Brick	1994-09-27	Major Repair
SD-04	685-414	NCF/MDH	13.33	CS	Red Brick Slab Finish	2019-04-02	New
SD-05	685-259	NCF	19.1	CS	Red Brick	2019-06-04	New
SD-06	685-431	NCF/MDH	6.7	CS/Brick	Red Brick	1993-06-09	Major Repair
SD-07	668-103	NCF	12.3	CS	Red Brick	1990-09-28	Repair
SD-08	668-136	NCF	10.2	CS/Brick	Red Brick (Pre-existing)	1992-07-15	Renovation, Major Repair
SD-09	668-108	NCF	9.75	CS/Brick	Red Brick, Exposed Concrete	1989-10-30	Renovation, Major Repair
SD-10	668-123	NCF/MDH	-	CS/Brick	Red Brick	1991-12-12	Major Repair
SD-11	685-342	NCF/MDH	15.9	CS	Red Brick	2019-07-25	New
SD-12	685-345	NCF/MDH	15.03	CS	Red Brick	2020-01-02	New
SD-13	668-42	NCF/MDH	19.85	CS	Red Brick, Exposed Concrete	2020-03-19	New
SD-14	685-329	NCF	10.1	CS	Red Brick and Galvanized Steel	1993-09-10	Major Repair
SD-15	685-463	NCF	8	CS/Brick	Red Brick	1993-08-10	Major Repair
SD-16	685-448	NCF	13.1	CS	Red Brick	2020-06-30	New
SD-17	668-89	NCF	-	CS	Red Brick	2020-11-18	New
SD-18	685-421	NCF	12.4	CS	Red Brick	2020-10-08	New
SD-19	668-110	NCF/MDH	15.75	CS	Red Brick	Not Available	New
SD-20	685-484	NCF	12.95	CS	Red Brick	Not Available	New
SD-21	685-496	NCF/MDH	13.6	CS	Red Brick, Colored Steel Plate	Not Available	New

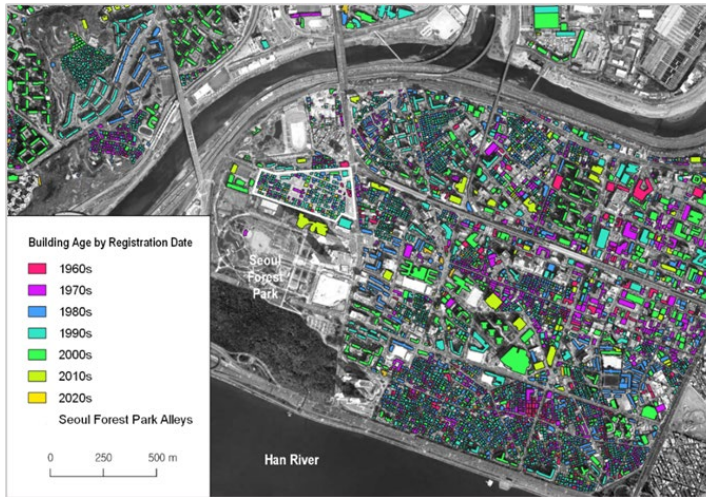| SD-22	685-467	NCF	9.9	CS/Brick	Red Brick	1993-10-06	Repair
UC*	685-507	-	-	-	-	-	New

*UC = Registered in the system, but under construction
**NCF = Neighbourhood Commercial Facility; MDH = Multi-dwelling Housing
***CS = Concrete Steel
Source: Shin and Pae, 2022. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 25. SSD Building Construction Ages by Registration Date

Source: Shin and Pae, 2022. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 26. RB Project Building Plotted over SSD Building Construction Ages Map

Source: Shin and Pae, 2022. Reproduced with permission.

5) Discussion: Transplanting Landscape Authenticity

The case of the RB Project demonstrates that the issue of landscape authenticity in urban revitalization is a locally and globally influenced matter (M. Shin & Pae, 2022). The desires of those involved in landscape development and those of landscape consumers converge at specific points to authenticate the landscape features that are not specific to or originating from this site. In other words, the RB site is an example in which projective authenticity became the central narrative of its landscape scheme.

Based on the way the Seongdong-gu Office is promoting this site as well as how the media and consumers are responding to the promotional narrative, at least two layers of landscape authenticity are involved in the RB Project. First, there is the constructive authenticity that refers to 1960s and 1970s red brick factories and warehouses near Seongsu Station, which has been projected onto the SFPA. Second, the more general association of red bricks to post-industrial urban landscape, such as in the cases of Brooklyn and London, is being invoked here, as is visible in the often-deliberate description of the SFPA as 'Seongsu Brooklyn.'

However, there are several critical problems that arise in terms of landscape authenticity. The issues vary slightly in terms of their scale; first, the RB Project does not fulfill its presented purpose within the limits of the SFPA. Second, red bricks have become such a ubiquitous urban regeneration language that site-specific contexts are often lost when implemented in practice.

A. A Lost Cause: Mismatch between History and Site

According to the guideline, the area north of Seoul Forest Park, the SFPA, was selected as a preliminary testing area because of the abundance of red brick buildings and easy monitoring (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a). Although the site began as an amenity district to Seoul Forest Park, which was heralded as one of the largest and most well-designed parks in South Korea upon its opening, the SFPA quicky became a comparable major attraction for drawing urban tourists to this region in its own right (S. Park, 2021).

However, the decision by municipal officials to turn the SFPA into a test site conflicts with the guideline, which notes that most residential red brick buildings in the SFPA are of little value in terms of preservation (Y. Cho, 2020).[34] Hence, the decision to select the SFPA seems to be based on a criterion that differs from the aforementioned purpose of the project.

The guideline states that the "red brick structure" in Seongsu-dong is defined as "structures in Seongsu-dong, which was an industrial district, built out of red bricks that were popular during 1970s… they are architectural assets that create unique local landscape through unique beauty and spatial environment and have historical and cultural significance for

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[34] The guideline noted that although many of the red brick buildings are part of the mass residential blocks, these buildings would be included in the project if the owners demonstrated a willingness to participate, as they may be useful in renewal and renovation by providing amenities in the area.

preservation" (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018a, p. 5). The historical and cultural significance of red brick structures and the resulting landscape discussed by the guideline refers to the red brick factory-turned-café streets near Seongsu Station, where designers, social entrepreneurs, and architects settled in the old warehouses and began creating Instagrammable cultural facilities and commercial boutiques. In summary, the guideline sought to emphasize the indexical relationship between the red brick structures and the site's industrial history while boasting the local commercial potential; however, the relationship between the red brick structures and the SFPA site is, at best, iconic.

For example, Daelim Warehouse, one of the main attractions along the Seongsu-2-ro Café Street, has a complex spatial character that combines historical significance with a diverse array of contemporary programs (S. Park & Lee, 2018; M. Shin & Pae, 2022) (Figures 27 and 28). The Seongsu-2-ro Café Street, despite the increased number of cafés and other urban tourist attractions, continues to boast the material presence of light industrial factories, which is another draw for visitors seeking post-industrial aesthetics.

Figure 27. Daelim Warehouse on Seongsu-2-ro Café Street

ⓒ Author, 2021

Figure 28. Building Construction Dates in SFPA and the Surrounding Area
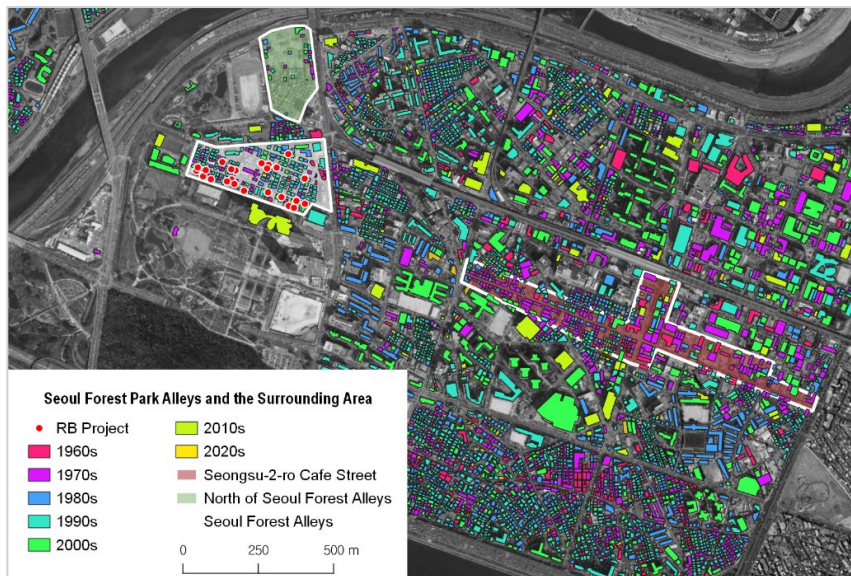
Source: Shin and Pae, 2022. Reproduced with permission.

One can speculate that the SFPA site was chosen over Seongsu-2-ro Café Street because it had a greater concentration of red brick buildings with

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pedestrian-friendly streets, despite the obvious lack of historical and cultural significance. Although it is difficult to determine the exact logic behind such a decision, the result was a misrepresentation of landscape authenticity.

B. *Red Brick Landscape, Universality, and Specificity*

The second criticism on the RB Project involves the selection of the red bricks as a representation of any specific landscape. Throughout the years, brick has become such a ubiquitous image of urban revitalization projects world-wide that it cannot represent any specific site.

Although the RB project guideline discusses the significance of red brick buildings as a unique site-specific feature in South Korea, an analysis reveals otherwise. With the Seoul Forest Park acting as the tourist magnet and the increasing number of IT companies fashioning the area, the influx of entrepreneurs and designers successfully turned the SFPA into a popular destination for consumers as well as developers (Y.-E. Kwon, 2020). As the local and cultural entrepreneurs rebranded the SFPA into a young and flourishing downtown, the municipal government focused on the symbolism of red bricks as signs of a 'hip landscape' resembling that of Brooklyn, London, and Berlin (M. Shin & Pae, 2019).

Left out of this process was the indexically constructive authenticity of red brick buildings – the history of mass residential buildings built using red bricks to accommodate the rapidly expanding economy as well as

countless people from rural areas settling in the city.[35] After the Korean War, the red bricks were adapted in the building of mass-residential blocks. The red bricks were used for multi-housing residential blocks during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s (H.-S. Cho, 2006), as in the case of the SFPA and numerous residential neighborhoods in Seoul and/or other urbanized areas in South Korea.

Furthermore, the ubiquity of red brick property in urban revitalization projects goes well beyond the national borders. One of the cities referred to the most during the implementation process of the RB Project is Brooklyn, NY. It seems fair to say that the post-industrial aesthetic based on constructive authenticity in Brooklyn was benchmarked but misappropriated during the implementation of the RB Project in the SFPA.

However, during the shift to urban revitalization in South Korea, the red brick buildings were quickly adopted to signify post-industrial qualities such as manufacturing plants that invoke post-industrial landscapes in other cities over residential history. This criticism is echoed by other scholars who criticize the practice of post-industrial urban site reuse in Korea, particularly

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[35] The first recorded history of modern red brick as construction material in Seoul began in the 19th century when Koreans began producing red bricks to build the landmark Myeongdong Catholic Church (H.-S. Cho & Kim, 2010). Craftsmen and consultants were hired from abroad by designer Eugène Jean Georges Coste. Shortly thereafter, the use of red bricks as construction material increased with the influx of Japanese immigrants during the colonial period. When the Japanese left, the appetite for red brick construction continued into the post-Korean war period.

for the urban open spaces they create, as they "need to more fully consider the specific conditions of Korea" (M. Lee, 2019, p. 12).

Today, at the SFPA, the remaining red brick residential buildings are constantly renovated and appropriated to convey an international post-industrial atmosphere, reminding the audience of the urban café streets in Western cities such as Berlin and Brooklyn.[36] In these renovated red brick buildings, one finds less an association with the residential history and more clues and signs relating to red brick landscapes from elsewhere.

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[36] This phenomenon has been discussed from the perspective of post-colonialism and Occidentalism, as opposed to (or as reaction to) colonialism and Orientalism. The discussion deserved an extensive analysis in the context of South Korea, as previous literature has focused largely on cities in Africa and Southeast Asia. However, this goes well beyond the scope of this thesis and will be postponed for future exploration.

4.2.2.　Huinnyeoul Culture Village (HCV)

1) Site Background

Yeongdo-gu, an island off the coast of Nampo-dong in Busan Metropolitan City, is a district in Busan that is home to a number of urban regeneration projects (Figures 15 and 26). While the island has become well-known after it was featured in contemporary literature and media (M. J. Lee, 2018), it also suffers from sharp population decline. Historically, it is also known for being the first shipyard in Korea, beginning in the Japanese colonial era. During 1950s, like the rest of Busan Metropolitan City, Yeongdo became home to refuges during the Korean War. Since then, the island has urbanized through its connection to the mainland via four bridges. Several studies have focused on the quality of the island as cultural landscape, where several remnants of modern and contemporary history can be seen simultaneously (Bae, 2015; Bae & Kang, 2013, 2013, 2017; Chung, 2020).

HCV, a neighborhood located along the Southwestern edge of Yeongdo island, was formed during the Korean War as a refuge village. It enjoyed an increase in population for several decades as canned food factories and frozen seafood warehouses were built near the neighborhood during 1970s and 80s (D. Kang, 2015; D.-J. Kim & Jun, 2021). However, the population then decreased – or rather, the proportion of elderly increased drastically, with almost 80% of the residents 40 years old or more, in

comparison to the stagnant and decreasing number of younger generations. Of the total population registered,[37] 45% were found to be 60 or over (M. Kim, 2020) (Table 14).[38]

Table 14. Resident Population in the HCV (2020.06.30.)

Age Group	19 or below	20 ~ 39	40~59	60 or more	Total
Population	26	60	146	192	424

Source: Kim, "Huinnyeoul Culture Village Vitalization Plan", 2020.

Today, Yeongdo, also a municipal district called Yeongdo-gu, is among the well-known landscape revitalization cases in South Korea, boasting a 30-fold increase in the number of specialty cafés since 2012 (J.-Y. Park, 2022). This is reflected in urban regeneration sites such as HCV, which also experienced an increased number of cafés. In addition, according to the '2020 Report on the Busan Tourism Industry,' the number of tourists visiting HCV has continued to increase, with a plateau in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, even with the global crisis in place, the decrease in tourists (down 25.1% from 2019) is less than the average decrease in Korean tourists visiting Busan (29%) (Busan Metropolitan City, 2020) (Table 15).

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[37] The figures represent the resident population registered to Yeongsun 2-dong 15-tong and 16-tong, which corresponds to the HCV.

[38] Although some official records have different numbers, it is generally agreed upon that the number is dwindling.

Table 15. Annual Visitor Stats for the HCV

Year	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Number of Visitors (thousands)	275	308	675	828	620
Change (%)	-	▲12	▲119.1	▲22.7	▽25.1

Source: Busan Metropolitan City, "2020 Report on the Busan Tourism Industry," 2020.

The number of annual visitors to HCV exceeds the number of residents by thousands. One can determine that tourism is an important feature at HCV economically, socially, and visually; it can be speculated that when a tourist visits HCV, they will encounter large number of tourists rather than residents, even when considering the number of people coming to HCV for work.

Various types of urban regeneration projects have taken place in this historically rich island district, creating a foundation for retail gentrification that seems to pervade the urban regeneration narrative in South Korea (W. Choi, 2014; Ji, 2021a; J.-Y. Park, 2022) (Figure 29). HCV is one of the earlier recipients of urban revitalization schemes, which began in 2015. However, there are other projects that catalyzed the scheme, such as the 'Repair Project for Abandoned and Ruined Houses' in 2011 by the local government and the city-wide 'Mountain Road Renaissance' in 2014.

Figure 29. Urban Regeneration Projects in Yeongdo-gu (2021.08.)

Source: Yeongdo Cultural Center, 2021. Recreated by author, 2022.

2) Landscape Consumer Experience

A significantly lower number of interviewees had visited HCV but recognized the site through media. When asked about the most significant landscape feature, the interviewees unanimously mentioned the visual impact of the ocean view. Because of the ocean view, most of the interviewees had a positive image of the site regardless of their knowledge of the site context.

> *"In the case of the Huinnyeoul Culture Village, the visibility is most obvious… I saw [the village] while driving, adjacent to the ocean. Since the water and the sky seems to engulf the visible scenery, my eyes felt open and comfortable." (22A03)*

> *"The visibility of the ocean is the most significant factor for the Huinnyeoul Culture Village. The whole thing, from the interior to resembling Santorini. Whether you are looking at a carefully designed landscape or experiencing the space as a tourist destination, both are founded on its ocean visibility. That's what gave birth to commercial qualities." (22A06)*

At HCV, the long horizontal alleys and vertical alleys with sharp grading leads to a constant view of the ocean. As a participant (22A06) notes, the ocean view forms the foundation for many of the auxiliary landscape features that followed, particularly the association of HCV with Santorini and the commercial developments.

When asked to elaborate on the HCV landscape other than the ocean view, several mentioned the visual impact of the beautified, painted walls resembling Santorini. However, many expressed dismay at the fact that the

current landscape planning and design does not reflect the actual socioeconomic history of the site. Instead, as 22B01 notes, commerce can be described as the major visual factor in recognizing the site.

> *"Since the Huinnyeoul Culture Village ended up as a place with certain characteristics, it is really founded on the idea of commerce. In both cases, history and visibility can be ignored for the most part, but I don't think anyone can dismiss commerce." (22B01)*

> *"My memory of the HCV is mixed with the memory of Dongpirang Culture Village. The whole idea of using external help to create a pretty village seemed nice at first, but we all know the social and environment issues that followed… now it feels like I am looking at an example of poverty pornography. Perhaps we have commercially appropriated the hardships of the community members as something fun and interesting. I have dual feelings about it." (22A08)*

Furthermore, those who have visited a number of urban regeneration sites in different cities showed difficulty recognizing the site, despite the fact that they have visited HCV several times. Implying that culture villages have similar programs – mural art projects, community branding, and cultural tours – homogeneity in landscape planning was considered the reason for not being able to recognize the site immediately.

Finally, there were some who recognized the site through its association with literature and/or media appearance. HCV was one of the major film locations for *Crazy First Love* (2003), *The Attorney* (2013), and *Nameless Gangster: Rules of the Time* (2012), which were all successful at

the box office. More recently, HCV appeared in the internationally acclaimed novel *Pachinko* (2017), which has been released as a TV series in 2022 (M. J. Lee, 2018).

> *"In the novel 'Pachinko', the first place that appears is Yeongdo.*
> *I heard that many who moved from Jeju Island to Yeongdo back*
> *in the day. Those who move to Busan from Jeju, in many cases,*
> *ended up settling in Yeongdo." (22B06)*

One of the landscape consumer interviewees (22B06) had a personal relationship with HCV in that his parents are from Yeongdo, but he engaged more with the description of the site according to Min Jin Lee's novel. In particular, in all of the above-mentioned media, HCV is shown as a derelict residential area occupied by low-income households. Although the interviewee was aware of the tourist-laden situation of HCV, their image of the site was firmly grounded in the past, despite that the interviewee had no personal experience with that era. This shows that public media and the arts have a significant influence on the landscape consumer's recognition of a site and actively contribute to the site's context.

3) Layers of Authenticity at HCV

Because the urban revitalization efforts at HCV began prior to the Urban Regeneration Act, many of the urban revitalization projects that took place at HCV were funded by different entities. Hence, Table 16 shows not only a list of projects but also their purpose in terms of infrastructure, community, and/or reclamation. Based on the data and documents collected, the layers of authenticity featured at HCV were determined as follows (Table 16).

Table 16. Example of Layers of Authenticity at HCV

Authenticity Layer	Description	Related Years
Projective	Santorini / Busan-torini	Since 2015
	Rooftop Cafés*	Since 2014
Constructive	Urban tourists	2010s
	Films & Media Appearances	2010s
	Instagrammable cafés	2010s
	Local shops and novelty stores	2010s
	Mural Artworks	2015 – 2020
	Neighborhood-wide Color scheme	2015 – 2017
	Ocean-side Pathway	1999-2001
	Mountain Road Renaissance	2014
	Urban Regeneration Projects (Community)	Since 2011
	Low-rise undocumented buildings	Since 1960s
	Korean War refuge settlement	1960s, 1970s
Site-specific	Proximity to Bongrae-san Mountain	Default
	Ocean View	Default
	Location in Yeongdo-gu (island)	Default

Several landscape authenticity features have given rise to the

projective authenticity feature 'Busan-torini,' a pseudonym given to the site in recognition of its resemblance to Santorini. Since the construction of the Ocean-side Pathway during the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the late 90s, the site has seen an increase in tourism; however, it was the series of color-based landscape schemes following the Mountain Road Renaissance project in 2014 that gave way to the name 'Busan-torini.' The rapid increase in rooftop cafes is a reflection of both the Busan-torini title and the irregularly shaped buildings on site.[39]

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[39] The rooftop café has been a trend in South Korea for several years now, particularly in neighborhoods with irregular building heights as well as sharp grading on the ground. The increase in the number of rooftop cafés in HCV has become a problem for the local government as many of them have been set up in undocumented buildings that do not meet safety codes (S.-J. Park, 2021).

Figure 30. Network of Landscape Authenticity Features at HCV
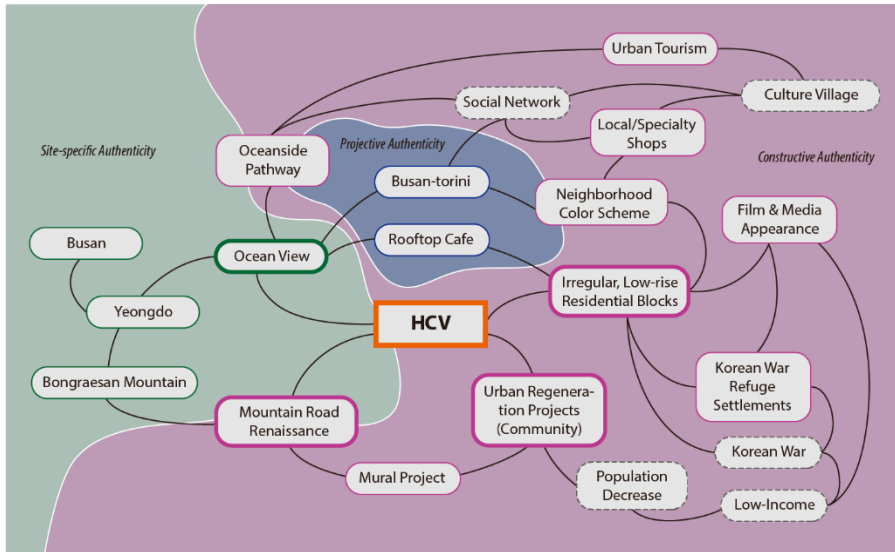
© Author, 2022.

Figure 30 demonstrates how the landscape authenticity features discussed in the above subsections are interconnected. Based on the interviews, four major elements are directly connected to the site. These are then connected to other features and to each other based on the literature review and site visits. For example, the mural project came to an end in 2020. Its role is to directly influence the urban pedestrian landscape; however, its focus is not on the oceanside alleys but the automobile fare, named Jeolyeong-ro Road.

Unlike the SFPA, the projective authenticity features are directly related to the site-specific authenticity feature, namely the proximity to the ocean. While urban nature at the SFPA, the Seoul Forest Park, plays an important part in the landscape consumers' authentication process, its site-

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specific authenticity remains an indirect background to the SFPA in terms of visual recognition.

4) Making Huinnyeoul Culture Village (HCV)

Based on the literature review, interviews, and direct observations on site, this thesis finds that HCV is a construct that has been created out of the Busan-torini imagery, despite the lack of a single, continuous landscape planning scheme that has directly enforced this outcome. Instead, this subsection discusses the series of projects that took place on site.

Figure 31. Map of the Huinnyeoul Culture Village and its Surrounding Area
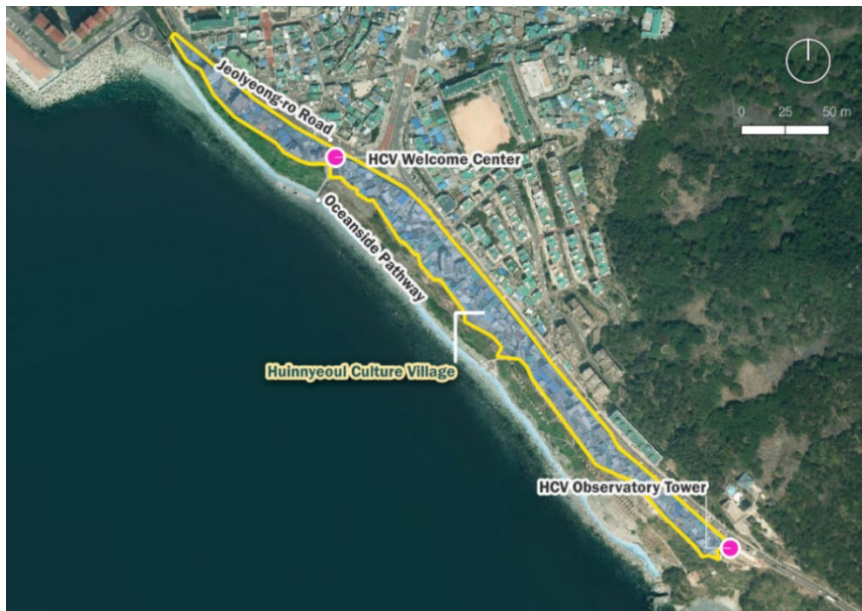
© Author, 2022. Created using QGIS ver. 3.26

HCV began as a community project in 2011, when the village, like the rest of the island, was suffering from a severe population decrease. The Yeongdo-gu Office renovated several empty houses as artist residences for the 'Urban Vitalization Enhancement Regional Development' and the 'Hopeful Village Making Project' ("Refuge City Busan Ep. 22," 2020) in an

attempt to bring in outsiders. It was around this time that the name 'Huinnyeoul Culture Village' became attached to the site.[40] Previously, the site had been called 'Eesongdo,' or '2-Songdo,' referring to the sandy beach below the cliff that resembled the famous Songdo Beach across the sea.

Figure 32. View of the Huinnyeoul Culture Village

Source: Yeongdo Cultural Center, 2018. http://www.ydculture.com/huinnyeoulculturetown/.

Following the city-wide implementation of the Mountain Road Renaissance Project in 2014, HCV underwent major infrastructural development. In particular, Jeolyeong-ro Road was widened to allow more traffic and ease of access for pedestrians (Figure 32). Shortly thereafter, the HCV community group received financial support from the 'Everyday

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[40] The project or scheme that came up with this title remains unspecified. Interviews with the residents reveal that it must have arisen during the Artist Residency Program (Jin & Pae, 2018)

Cultural Community Project' and began participating in local

entrepreneurship programs.

Table 17. List of Urban Regeneration Projects related to HCV

Purpose	Year	Policy Title	Project Title	Note
Reclamation	2011	Village-Making	Repair Project for Abandoned and Ruined Houses	Used as artist residency
Infrastructure	2014	Regional Infrastructure	Mountain Road Renaissance	City-wide project
Community	2014-2016	Everyday Cultural Community Project	Village School	
Community			Village Festival	"Gook-bap Day"
Community			Village Docent Education	
Community, Infrastructure			Guesthouse and Village Store Management	
Infrastructure	2015-2017	Urban Vitality Enhancement*	Eco-Friendly Alleyway Construction	Current Color Scheme Established
Infrastructure	2016		Grading and Staircase Repairs	
Infrastructure	2016-2017		Thematic Stone (Fence) Walls	1st Session
Infrastructure	2017	Urban Regeneration*	Public Bathroom Enhancement	
Infrastructure	2017-2018		Thematic Stone (Fence) Walls	2nd Session
Infrastructure	2020	Public Art Project	Huinnyeoul ART Road	

*Note: It should be noted that community development programs continued and expanded throughout the urban vitality enhancement and urban regeneration phases. However, because the transformations to the infrastructure and landscape overshadowed the community development efforts. This is evidenced by a number of criticisms from the village members as well as academic scholars who have pointed out the decline in community projects and the severe disinterest in them.

Recent publications on the Mountain Road Renaissance project in Yeongdo evaluate the project as 'indirectly beneficial' to the village (Gim et al., 2019). During the implementation, residents spoke out about regulations on building heights, development, and renovations; in other words, economic benefits of the project were not directly observed by the residents. However, Gim et al. (2019) notes that with cultural entrepreneurs in HCV and nearby areas bringing in tourism, the project seems to have achieved a certain degree of success, yet with the number of residents in constant decline and tourism on the rise, some have continued to show dismay at the lack of community engagement in the HCV. Although community involvement in various forms has been on the agenda, it is far from satisfactory (M. Kim, 2020; Yeongdo-gu, 2018). If the cause of residents' dismay was financially driven, tourism due to an increase in culture entrepreneurship is not a satisfactory resolution for these residents.

Most of the urban regeneration projects that took place on and after 2015 focused on making physical changes to HCV's urban landscape (Table 17). While the residents seem largely satisfied with the village beautification projects, at least initially, they became invisible under the surface, at least in terms of landscape authentication.

Once the individual urban regeneration project aims shifted from community to urban development, the commodification of HCV landscape became the norm. As mentioned, the first sign was visible with the termination of the artist residency (S. Shin, 2018). Similar to nearby

Gamcheon Culture Village, HCV was an urban revitalization project that began as a community development but became a tourist destination over time (Woo & Kim, 2018). However, the infrastructural redevelopments and beautification projects carried out since 2015 ignited the rapid influx of café and designer stationary shops to the otherwise residential neighborhood (W. Choi, 2014; Gim et al., 2019).

The series of urban regeneration projects that changed the urban landscape in HCV began in 2015 as the 'Urban Vitality Enhancement District Scheme' under MOLIT, the purpose of which was to guarantee a basic level of living for those living in one of the 143 neighborhoods selected as the urban vitality enhancement district. It was symbolic of the local self-governance model that was implemented by the Korean government in 2013 to "expedite the decentralization, to devise the development of provinces and elevation of national competitiveness, and to raise the quality of life of the people in the long-term through the comprehensive, systematic and planned promotion of tasks for the advancement of decentralization" (Special Act On Local Autonomy And Decentralization, And Restructuring Of Local Administrative Systems, 2020).[41] This project required a joint effort between the municipal

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[41] The Urban Vitalization Enhancement District Development Scheme began in 2009 as part of the national government effort to relegate some of the budget responsibilities to the local government. Its purpose was to select a site that is equipped with some level of infrastructure but suffers from depopulation and aging residential buildings to improve the community through residential maintenance and the provision of social service stations. The project was

government and the national government, as each governing body was responsible for 50% of the project budget.

Urban Vitality Enhancement District Scheme allowed for more hardware-focused projects to take place – those that will change the urban landscape of the HCV dramatically (Figures 33 and 34). The series of projects included, but were not limited to, mural walks, road paving, and eco-friendly alleyway construction projects (M. Kim, 2020; Yeongdo-gu, 2018). The staircase and grading repairs that took place between 2016 and 2018 changed the landscape consumer experience of the site by creating easier access to the lower Oceanside Pathway (Jeolyeong-Haeanro) from the Jeolyeongro Road. This made the village safer and easier to visit, but it departed from the sociohistorical context of old staircases.

Another key change to the landscape was the painting of the walls and pathway in white, grey, and blue colors. This color scheme was devised to create a coherent visual identity for the HCV, reminiscent of other oceanside cities such as Santorini in Greece (Yeongdo-gu, 2018). The HCV was later referred to as Busantorini, after 'Busan's Santorini,' by media and the municipal officials eager to take advantage of the place marketing opportunity. Hence, the projective authenticity feature based on the idea of seaside cliff city became a recognizable, if not defining, visual element of the site.

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renamed 'Neighborhood Revival' and became part of the urban regeneration scheme in 2018.

Figure 33. View of the HCV, Before and After

Source: Yeongdo-gu, "Huinnyeoul Culture Village Landscape Enhancement Basic Scheme", 2018. P.122.

Figure 34. Detailed View of the HCV, Before and After

Source: Yeongdo-gu, "Huinnyeoul Culture Village Landscape Enhancement Basic Scheme", 2018. p. 120

5) Discussion: Projective Authenticity and Village

The HCV is similar to the SFPA in the sense that a residential block that flourished during the mid-20th century was turned into urban tourist site after a series of urban regeneration projects and that the process was accompanied by cultural entrepreneurs who appropriate the site-specific and constructive authenticity features and later formulate projective authenticity. However, at the SFPA, the municipal government was the acting agency that mobilized the RB Project. At HCV, the beautified urban aesthetics against the aquatic backdrop that was prepared by the government was rapidly embraced by the cultural entrepreneurs – the designer craft stores, cafés and novel restaurants – as a marketable asset.

Based on the site analysis above, two issues arise. The first is the issue of so-called 'Mural Village Projects' that are now founded on projective authenticity rather than other layers. The second is the issue of neighborhood branding in urban revitalization that used landscape beautification as its main communication tool. As discussed below, the problem with branding in an urban environment is that by commodifying the urban landscape, it becomes difficult to control the layers of authenticity that will be underappreciated, if not lost, during the process.

A. Projective Authenticity in 'Village' Projects

The criticism surrounding the unified color scheme or mural projects as part of the urban regeneration scheme in South Korea is an often-explored subject (Y. Jeong, 2020; Y. Jeong & Kim, 2016; B. Kim et al., 2019; Y. Kim & Son, 2017; Min, 2013; C.-H. Park et al., 2020). Around the time when the first discussions regarding urban regeneration and neighborhood revitalization were taking place in South Korea, a number of village-based public art projects were carried out. During this time period, mural projects were considered an effective way to revitalize the community by involving the existing community, artists, and university students living or attending schools nearby and to reclaim the urban landscape that was in becoming a slum (Y. Jeong, 2020). However, after only a few years following their conception, the village-based mural projects became synonymous with overtourism and retail gentrification.

For example, at the Ewha Mural Village in Jongno-gu, Seoul, one of the early examples of successful mural villages made the news because of vandalism of the murals by those who were dissatisfied with the overtourism (B. Kim et al., 2019; Y. Kim & Son, 2017). Moreover, in 2016, a decade after the mural project was initiated here, several local residents vandalized the mural by illegally covering some of the artworks in grey and white paint (N. Kim, 2016). The problems that arose from these village-turned-public artwork projects resulted in a number of studies that analyze the art-led urban gentrification cases in South Korea and criticize their lack

of sustainable planning. For example, based on a 2017 study, Yelim Kim and Yong-Hoon Son found that the Ewha Village murals affected the perception of the place identity for both new residents and tourist but not existing residents (Y. Kim & Son, 2017). They concluded that the conflict in Ewha Village results from the lack of adequate community participation and that the different perception of the place identity must be considered for more sustainable art-based urban regeneration.

Jeong (2020) also claims that due to the fact that many of these villages suffer from the government's preference for "short-term visual tourism rather than long-term improvement of the residential environment," "the village murals 'objectify' the residents and 'romanticize' the place, resulting in a [homogeneous] visual representation" (Y. Jeong, 2020, p. 108).[42] However, these analyses are focused on the evaluation of the outcome rather than the cause of the issue. When the mural and beautification were adapted, the primary goal was urban revitalization. However, as the project focus shifted from constructive (community work) to projective authenticity (village mural and beautification), the mural and beautification projects lost their purpose.

The strategy employed at the HCV is one of beautification and adapts a unified color scheme, creating a landscape with a striking visual

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[42] The original quote used the word 'unified' in place of 'homogeneous.' However, based on the author's article, originally written in Korean, the correct translation would be 'homogeneous visual representation.'

effect. Based on the color scheme reflective of Santorini's famed landscape, white, grey, and blue paint cover the surface of walls, buildings, and walkways. Some café and stores deliberately deviate from this uniformity, using colors such as yellow and red. Nonetheless, the walkways and concrete fence painted in white against the ocean seem to constitute the overarching landscape feature on the site. Because the color scheme at HCV is openly referencing Santorini in Greece, a site that is hundreds of kilometers away, with only minimal topographical similarities, projective authenticity dominates the experience of landscape consumers.

Finding references to Santorini in the official documents such as the Basic Scheme requires little effort. One can induce from the conspicuousness of the association that the place marketing strategy for HCV was based on its visual similarity to the city of Santorini:

> *"Huinnyeoul Culture Village has a beautiful night view like Santorini" (Yeongdo-gu, 2018, p. 29)*
> *"(HCV has) the local characteristic of being known as Korea's Santorini" (Yeongdo-gu, 2018, p. 73)*

The above-mentioned scholars have claimed that the problem of mural villages arises from miscommunication, or a lack of communication entirely, with the residents in executing urban regeneration projects. However, based on the study of the urban regeneration projects that have taken place at HCV, it seems that the issue arises not at the community development level but from the misinterpretation of the site's landscape

authenticity.

Based on the list of urban regeneration projects that took place in HCV between 2011 and 2020, most of the community development work has little visibility today. The guesthouse and village store were significant parts of the HCV urban regeneration scheme, in which the community members became part of the management group. Their purpose was two-fold – functionality as well as visibility. However, with the plethora of cafés and stores that line the HCV alleys today, their visual significance has decreased significantly.[43]

Most, if not all, of the infrastructural work as part of the urban regeneration scheme prioritizes projective authenticity, as in the site's beautification project. This is a reflection the expectations of the landscape consumers in general rather than the residents. For example, while repairs to the staircase were a much-needed reclamation project that the residents had been waiting for, the project's main purpose was to connect the HCV alleys to the Oceanside Pathway, thereby enhancing the accessibility of the ocean view landscape. The community well, repaired and thematically landscaped in relation to the Guesthouse and Village Store, is currently closed down due to the large number of landscape consumers vandalizing the area (Figure 35). Hence, visible signs referring to projective authenticity dominate the

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[43] By July 2020, there were approximately 30 cafés in HCV out of the 256 buildings (M. Kim, 2020).

landscape at HCV.

Figure 35. View of the Community Well that has been Closed Down

ⓒ Author, 2022.

B. *Selective Nature of Neighborhood Branding*

Returning to the issue of the color scheme, the selected colors, white, grey, and blue, are described by the official documents as colors that evoke the blue ocean and white tides breaking against the cliff (Yeongdo-gu, 2018). Specifically, the guideline for the color scheme notes the following:

> *"...because the Huinnyeoul Village is adjacent to the ocean, the color of blue which reflects the ocean is of utmost importance front view of the village, while the graded area create a boundary [between the Huinnyeoul Culture Village and the ocean] with green background"* (Yeongdo-gu, 2018, p. 120).

In HCV in particular, the color scheme is mostly fabricated, falling into the projective authenticity category. While the color scheme itself cannot harm the landscape or the community, it does hinder diversity. The collective efforts by those who are directly involved with the planning and design of landscape have resulted in the Busan-torini phenomenon, which is better understood as a form of neighborhood branding strategy. Referring to the discussion by Zukin (2011), the performance of cultural entrepreneurs and the conformity of the municipal officers at HCV contribute to the Busan-torini phenomenon.

City branding is hardly a new phenomenon, particularly concerning urban revitalization in South Korea. Several urban revitalization experts have come forth during the last decade who specialize in the branding of urban regeneration sites in South Korea. While HCV did not undergo a

coherent branding process, considering the phenomenon from this perspective allows one to understand why and how the site's urban landscape authenticity is becoming a difficult matter.

Like the beautification project, the name of the village is also a fabricated feature of the village. The word Huinnyeoul means white snow; it was named as such because the freshwater stream running down Bongraesan Mountain looked like white snow. However, in his interview with the BBS radio station, Han-geun Kim from the Bukyeong Modern Archive Institute noted that there have been concerns over the village's name ("Refuge City Busan Ep. 22," 2020). Kim claims that the site used the name Eesongdo until 2011, when the urban regeneration director and the community group members applied for a government grant under that name.[44] After this, the name Huinnyeoul was adapted as the official street name for the alleyway. Throughout the several years of community development, the urban vitality enhancement scheme, and the urban regeneration scheme, the new name replaced the previous name, Eesongdo.

Considering that even the fabricated stories and hypothetical narratives can become authentic over time, as discussed by Cohen in his discussion of emergent authenticity, the adaptation of the term should not be a problem. However, the problem arises not from adapting projective

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[44] The name was officially adopted when the Ministry of Administration underwent a major project to change the address format from area names to street names.

authenticity but, rather, from the fact that the constructive authenticity of the site is overlooked or even dismissed in the process as a side effect.

This unfortunate byproduct is due to the selective nature of the city marketing (Boisen et al., 2011). This means that when the concept of marketing is involved, not every aspect of a site can be part of the newly formed narrative that will be widely promoted to the public (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2015). When sites such as HCV, an old residential village, undergo urban regeneration, they effectively enter or invite a new industry to revitalize the area; in the case of HCV, it was the tourism industry.[45] When the community members and urban regeneration officials – either those working at the municipal office or the cultural entrepreneurs – initiate an urban regeneration project or apply for grant to do so, they make a decision in terms of what features of a city will become the focal point of branding. In the case of HCV, it was the site-specific authenticity of its ocean view and the projective authenticity the purpose of which is to support this site-specific authenticity. Although it may have not been a concerted effort, the involved parties reached a consensus in terms of their purpose: boosting and benefitting from the rising tourism industry at the site.

The byproduct of this process is the comparatively dismissal nature

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[45] This is why the urban regeneration sites in South Korea are not gentrified in a traditional sense; rather than the existing class being pushed out, the land use has changed completely in the process.

of the existing authenticity features. While the cultural entrepreneurs, with the help of the municipal government, have chosen to appropriate the signs of site-specific authenticity, the years of community development and community-based mural works and repairs that took place during the process, that is, the signs of constructive authenticity that are meaningful to the residents, are made inconspicuous, if not negated entirely. Hence, a typical landscape consumer visiting HCV is unaware of the history of the community development efforts and how it has impacted HCV.

4.3. Summary of Landscape Authenticity Issues

While the above sections explored the case studies in depth using the Three Layers Model, one finds that there are common issues that arose with regard to landscape authenticity. Although less than complete, it can nonetheless be assumed that these common issues are associated with landscape-related policies prioritizing projective authenticity. The post-industrial urban context that is widespread in South Korea – the industrial shift from manufacturing to the service sector, the increase in urban tourism, and the preference for urban revitalization using existing landscape features – functions as the backdrop to these issues. The following subsections discuss landscape authenticity-related issues in terms of policy, agency, and landscape planning and design, respectively.

4.3.1. On Policy: Between Preservation and Use

First, in terms of policy for urban revitalization in a post-industrial context, preservation[46] and use values of the landscape exist in a dialectic relationship. Prioritizing projective authenticity through policy destabilizes the dialectic relationship because preservation almost always decreases in comparison as the subject of preservation cannot be defined for projective authenticity features. As discussed in the SFPA study, red brick buildings on site are deemed inappropriate for preservation due to a lack of historical indexicality. Hence, a large number of structures were newly built under the project, with the claim that the goal is to preserve the landscape rather than

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[46] One of the issues of projective authenticity is that it can create confusion among conservation, preservation, and restoration values when it comes to urban reclamation practices. A simple distinction among the three concepts is offered by the following statement found on the U.S. National Park Services website (National Park Services, 2021):

"Conservation and preservation are closely linked and may indeed seem to mean the same thing. Both terms involve a degree of protection, but how that is protection is carried out is the key difference. Conservation is generally associated with the protection of natural resources, while preservation is associated with the protection of buildings, objects, and landscapes. Put simply conservation seeks the proper use of nature, while preservation seeks protection of nature from use."

However, considering that protection of artwork from damage is also called conservation, it seems that a different understanding is necessary. When speaking of buildings and landscapes, the term *preservation* refers to removing the object or site from human use to a certain degree, as landscape cannot be fully detached from human use and/or elements of nature (The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2022). Hence, referring to urban landscape preservation is really speaking of conservation rather than preservation, unless human contact can be removed entirely.

individual buildings. However, the only outcome of the project was the preservation of red brick usage and homogeneous landscape.

Some studies have shed light on the "natural emergence of cultural and commercial facilities in relation to the park and subsequent neighborhood revitalization and urban environment beautification," which refers to the work of cultural entrepreneurs and local urban regeneration specialists[47] who have "autogenously" begun to revitalize the site (W.-J. Kim & Son, 2015, p. 11). However, this ignores the fact that the cultural entrepreneurs and local urban regeneration specialists are working with the municipal government in the hope of bolstering a very specific feature of the site – commerce – for revitalization of the neighborhood, which, in turn, changes the urban landscape. Little by little, through naturally formulated means, the existing history of the site become overwhelmed by projective authenticity. An interesting comment from a landscape consumer interviewee was as follows:

> *"For cases like the Seoul Forest Park Alleys or the Huinnyeoul Culture Village, the visibility is secondary [to commerce] but functions to draw in more visitors. History is insignificant for both cases. But I wish history had more significance. I used to contemplate what we should be prioritizing in conservation projects – the transformation or preservation – and how we*

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[47] Because urban revitalization has become one of the major urban development languages in South Korea during the 2010s, a new group of urban and regional developers specializing in urban revitalization and regeneration projects have come forth. Some examples include Urban Play, Iksun Dada, Pado Salon, and RTBP.

should go forward. My conclusion was that only if and when an adequate degree of social agreement has been reached can changes can be accepted." (22B04)

The individual cultural entrepreneurs and local urban regeneration experts cannot be criticized for doing their work, yet this thesis finds that the policy implemented by the municipal government in terms of landscape planning design has provided a useful backdrop for cultural entrepreneurs and local urban regeneration experts to strengthen projective authenticity as proposed by the government.

Similar issues can be observed in Hanok Village policies such as Jeonju Hanok Village or Bukchon Hanok Village (Y.-S. Kwon & Cho, 2011). These architectural preservation policies are founded on the belief that certain construction media or architectural features signify historically and culturally meaningful moments. Over the years, experts have developed an elaborate framework for determining the preservation value of Hanok for both new and old structures.

Nonetheless, Hanok preservation policies work in every case. For example, Ikseondong was designated a Hanok Preservation Area in 2018 after being released from residential environmental refurbishing area designation, or urban renewal designation. The new designation called for the cultural adaptation of the architectural features on site to revitalize the city. On the other hand, several local cultural entrepreneurs have appropriated the site's cultural assets to convey signs of authenticity (M.

Shin & Pae, 2021). When policy prioritizes projective authenticity based on visual and material property on site, the cultural entrepreneurs fail to preserve the constructive authenticity that is less visible and marketable.

Of the many layers of constructive authenticity, the cultural entrepreneurs tend to select what could be deemed idiosyncratic and interesting by landscape consumers. In urban regeneration sites in South Korea, landscape is often appropriated for drawing in landscape consumers. As a result, despite the spirited work of cultural entrepreneurs at these landscape preservation sites, their landscape practice ultimately creates an image of culturally interesting landscape without necessarily contributing to the preservation measures (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Ko & Kim, 2018; Youn et al., 2021).

Table 19 contains a list of features that refer to the urban landscape authenticity layers at both the SFPA and HCV sites. The layers contain projects that were conducted as part of the urban regeneration project as well as the existing layers, such as the industrial history and urban nature. In HCV, the white, grey, and blue painting of the village to invoke the image of Santorini is reinforced by the newly opened cafés and local stores that appropriate beautification to contribute to tourism as well as to benefit from it. Moreover, the residential houses and traces of community development projects are hidden from view, not intentionally by the cultural entrepreneurs but as a result of projective authenticity performing as the dominating sign of authenticity at the site.

Table 18. Urban Landscape Authenticity Layers and their Signs

Case Study Sites	Urban Landscape Authenticity Layer Type	Signification	Visib--ility	Sign
Seoul Forest Park Alleys (SFPA)	Constructive Authenticity	Designer Stores and Cafés after the Park opened	○	Storefronts
	Projective Authenticity	Brooklyn-like red brick landscape (image)	○	Red Brick Buildings
	Projective Authenticity	Seongsu-2-ro Café street		Red Brick Buildings
	Constructive Authenticity	Red brick Multi-housing Residential Blocks from 1980s and 1990s		Red Brick Buildings
	Site-specific Authenticity	Seoul Forest Park	○	Park (Forest)
Huinnyeoul Culture Village (HCV)	Constructive Authenticity	Café and local stores that appropriate the HCV's projective authenticity	○	White/grey/blue signs and terraces (Santorini)
	Projective Authenticity	Color Scheme based on the image of Santorini	○	White/grey/blue wall and floor (Santorini)
	Projective Authenticity	Mural Artwork Projects since 2015		Some remaining works (i.e. Community Well)
	Constructive Authenticity	Community Development Projects 2011 ~ 2015		Guesthouse, Community Store
	Constructive Authenticity	Old village community and ways of living	○	Steep Staircases, Narrow alleys
	Site-specific Authenticity	Ocean & Oceanfront	○	Ocean

In both cases, the image invoked by the features effectively overwhelms the existing signs of constructive authenticity. When layers of authenticity are conflated as specific features, it forms a discrepancy

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between the purpose and the execution of a landscape policy. This thesis suggests that this calls for the proliferation of projective authenticity in South Korea, which is accompanied by the homogeneous landscape production in urban regeneration projects.

4.3.2. On Agency: Constituents of Landscape Consumers

"Because authenticity begins as an aesthetic category, it appeals to cultural consumers, especially young people, today. But it also has a lot to do with economics and power. To claim that a neighborhood is authentic suggests that the group that makes the claim knows what to do with, how best to represent, its 'authentic' character. Whether members of this group are rappers or gentrifiers, their ability to represent the streets gives them a right to claim power over them. This right, though, is often limited to preserving the look and the experience of authenticity rather than preserving the community that lives there." (Zukin, 2010b, p. 244)

In her book *Naked City* (2010), Sharon Zukin discussed the limitations to the use of authenticity in building urban societies when the social make-up of the city is undergoing constant renewal. When a new generation of residents moves in hoping for local and site-specific signs of authenticity, they effectively renew such signs by actively adapting them to their own lives. However, the act of renewing the existing signs detaches the signs from the signified authenticities, leaving the signs with only the images of authenticities that have already been filtered – that is, interpreted – by the new generation to become new meanings and significations.

The problem with the development of authenticity discourse until the 2000s has been criticized and discussed at length by Stroma Cole, who has studied contemporary cultural tourism and local context (Cole, 2007). As a scholar interested in the issue of inequality in the tourism industry, she finds the local government's ambivalent attitude toward the local traditional

culture – the recognition of its tourism value, which clashes with the government's development goals – and residents problematic. Claiming that authenticity "is a value placed on a setting by the observer," wherein the observer is a person who likely associates authenticity "with the past 'primitive Other' articulated in opposition to modernity" (Cole, 2007, pp. 944–945), Cole states that "rather than unpacking authenticity into hot, cold, objective, constructive, or existential, analysts need to be asking questions about how the notion is articulated and by whom" (Cole, 2007, p. 956). Cole's critique of the current authenticity discourse was later reestablished as a general shift in the study of landscape authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). In short, the issue of agency in landscape authenticity requires an inquiry into the moral aspects of urban revitalization in South Korea.

In the field of landscape and urban planning, Piazzoni and Banerjee have shared this criticism. The authors discuss the matter in terms of the endogenous and exogenous qualities of authenticity in urban landscape, where an endogenous approach to urban design refers to being inspired by the qualities that have been created and nurtured within the city (Piazzoni & Banerjee, 2018). Exogenous qualities, on the other hand, refer to the aspects of authenticity in urban landscape that have been transposed from the outside entities.

However, this seemingly simple framework does not work well in situations such as those of the SFPA and HCV, where landscape consumers are largely non-resident tourists who visit the site for a short duration.

Piazzoni and Banerjee refer to residents as needing a voice, as they are likely to use the site most often; this does not work for the sites introduced in this thesis, as their tourism population far exceeds that of existing neighborhood residents.

Furthermore, considering that tourism is the most important source of income for the site, it is unsuitable to consider only the opinion of the residents. In fact, the perpetrator of projective authenticity does not necessarily have to be an outside entity. Often, the residents value development over preservation, while the tourist thinks otherwise (D. Kang, 2015).

In the case of the SFPA, the government's decision to test the RB Project at the SFPA is understandable; with the heavy foot traffic and highly desirable commercial landscape already in place, the RB Project was pruned for success – commercial success. Such selection is representative of the landscape consumers' aesthetic preferences. With the municipal government and the cultural entrepreneurs who are tasked with bringing in these landscape consumers for the site to be considered *revitalized*, the agency of landscape planning and design at sites such as HCV and the SFPA indirectly reflects the landscape consumer's expectations and taste.

With so many different parties involved in the landscape planning and design process in urban revitalization projects, it is impossible to separate the residents from the tourists among landscape consumers. Although it seems possible at first, the tourists' perspectives already exist

within the opinions of residents, planners, designers, cultural entrepreneurs, and municipal government officers.

4.3.3. On Landscape: Against Homogeneity

The post-industrial urban aesthetic is part of urban revitalization. This urban aesthetic revolves around the ideas of locality, regionalism, and placeness that arose with advances in postmodern thought (Bowring & Swaffield, 2004; Lynch, 1960; Sepe, 2013) and was heralded as a way to depart from the homogenizing urban landscapes filled with concrete blocks, glass towers, and skyscrapers. However, only several decades after their introduction, these ideas seem to have become part of the homogenizing factor – for example, the discussion of local context in the post-industrial factory scene is far from unique, as discontinued railways in most developed cities are converted into linear parks (M. Lee, 2019; M. Shin & Pae, 2022).

Part of the reason for the proliferation of the post-industrial urban aesthetic is related to city branding, which has appropriated landscape design. With developed cities displaying the city's image through eye-catching landscape photographs, landscape design is a critical issue for city branding.

However, the selective nature of city branding and marketing is difficult to avoid, as the purpose of branding and marketing activities is to maximize the outcome with minimal input (Boisen et al., 2011). In other words, it becomes critical to select the type of landscape authenticity that can create the most impact, even if that means that many other layers of authenticity will be left untouched or even ignored.

Navigating the fine line between the success of branding, marked by a rapid increase in tourism, and the negation of other layers of landscape authenticity at a site requires a comprehensive and integrative strategy that goes well beyond the traditional role of a landscape planner and/or designer. When poorly done, the landscape often becomes a sample of homogeneous urban landscape. In such cases, "culture and people are nowhere to be found, while only the capitalist power in the guise of 'Café Street' remains" (J.-Y. Lee, 2020). However, faced with a municipal government that prioritizes industrial renewal through tourism, the planner and/or designer does not have many options. Based on the plans and designs created under these circumstances, the cultural entrepreneurs work hard to contribute to projective authenticity.

The increased popularity of post-industrial landscapes in South Korea is related to this international trend in urban development (Fassi, 2010; Füller & Michel, 2014; London, 2013). The red brick buildings are often made the focal point of urban reclamation for commercial activities. The origin of this association is nearly impossible to pinpoint, but Zukin has noted that Jane Jacobs's image of an authentic city contained a connection between red bricks and authenticity back in her 1961 publication (Zukin, 2010b). Red bricks were not unique to any city in particular but had a loose connection to the idea of industrialization for most developed cities (M. Cho & Shin, 2014; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018b; Whyte, 2015; Yin et al., 2015). When these urban centers shifted to service industries, from

financial to cultural, the post-industrial structures remained as ubiquitous signs of the 19th century industrial development (M. Shin & Pae, 2022).

Whether speaking of red bricks as a symbol of industrialization or white paint as a symbol of an oceanside city, these features can function as signs because they have gained ubiquitous recognition in the post-industrial age. At the same time, because these signs are abstracted from their origins, they are detached from the specific sites and contexts. When they are used to signify specific references at a site that does not necessarily have such history, there is a loss of character at a site. As Relph criticized, a site's loss of distinctive characteristics means that it cannot be recognized on its own (Relph, 1984).

Considering urban landscapes that are filled with meaning, the issue of homogeneity is particularly detrimental for landscapes. Because urban regeneration projects are doubtlessly a *standardized landscape making* practice, and the adaptation of projective authenticity and the neglect of constructive authenticity leads to a *gradual loss of an identity*, the result is ironic; urban regeneration projects that emphasize the community and the making of a place almost always lead to a loss of placeness.

The key idea in this criticism is the fact that the use of common references is a recurring practice that is detached from a specific time and place. As these signs have been detached from their signified meanings, they exist only as gestures or tokens for incorporating local context (M. Shin & Pae, 2022). With more sites adapting similar methods of urban regeneration

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to convey this token of local context and authenticity, as a result, the landscape-making practice will dilute the site's characteristics further, reproducing homogeneous landscapes. Because the construction materials and signs adapted in these sites are themselves part of the post-industrial imagery, already detached from specific contexts, they fail to embody the degree of specificness and diversity that could make the site unique and genuine.

V. IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN LANDSCAPE AUTHENTICITY DISCOURSE FOR THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

The previous chapter concluded by discussing the landscape authenticity issues that are often found in South Korea. However, this thesis finds that the issues discussed are shared concerns for many cities in the developing world that must compete with the popular landscape images from developed nations. As mentioned, the temptation to embrace projective authenticity is strong, as it provides easy imagery for the consumers while functioning as a tried-and-tested city branding technique for landscape developers, planners, and designers.[48] This chapter continues this narrative by providing examples of accommodating urban landscape authenticity in ways that prepare the site for a more diverse landscape authenticity discussion and by exploring the implications of urban landscape authenticity for the future.

For the purpose of this thesis, sustainable landscape practice, be it

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[48] Even while writing this thesis, a neighborhood that was previously known as Tojeong-ro Café Street, adjacent to a major arts district and an important pilgrimage site in Hapjeong-dong in Seoul, is undergoing an unwelcomed branding process. Hoping to incorporate the artistic and cultural feel to this revamped residential-turned-retail destination, the cultural entrepreneurs and urban regeneration specialists have begun adapting the term 'Hap-martre,' a neologism that combines Montmartre and Hapjeong (C. Lee, 2022).

planning or design, remains an a priori condition one should strive to achieve.[49] As discussed in Chapter 3, according to the theory of environmental aesthetics, the power of aesthetics shows that moral and aesthetic judgement are inseparable. Of course, there has been some opposition to this notion, particularly by Marc Treib in his 2018 article "Ethics ≠ Aesthetics" (Treib, 2018). However, both camps are leaning toward the same solution but using different approaches in describing them. For example, Treib writes the following:

> *"A key factor contributing to the appreciation of beauty in landscape architecture is that of perceived intention. The viewer must read and understand in some way that a landscape departing from an established norm must demonstrate the intention behind the new look, and that the perceived form has not resulted from unintentional neglect alone." (Treib, 2018, p. 34)*

Treib's concern with what exactly this sustainable landscape will look like deviates from that of Elizabeth Meyer, whom Treib directly

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[49] Some have noted that sustainability is no longer useful, as we must strive to *undo* the detrimental actions that have been done on earth. In such cases, concepts such as circularity have gained a significant following (Algayerova, 2021). Some have also claimed that the term has become nonsensical, as global businesses adapt it to remain in agreeable terms with socially conscious consumers while not making any significant changes to their business practices (Lubin & Esty, 2010). A similar argument has been made against the concept of carbon neutral. However, this thesis finds that social sustainability is a dimension that must be achieved regardless to pursue and claim any environmental and radical changes aimed at maintaining a sustainable environment.

criticized in this paper, as well as the proponents of environmental aesthetics. For those discussing the moral and aesthetic judgment and how it applies to the environment, surroundings, or landscape, the major point of discussion deals less with the object of their vision and more with the subject – the landscape consumer.

Because sustainability has long been part of the political agenda, it is often conflated with the moral good; hence, the confusion may arise that the moral-aesthetic judgment of a consumer in the landscape authentication process may sound as if the goal of the aesthetic judgment, or landscape authentication, is to achieve a sustainable landscape. However, at least within the confines of this research, this is not the case. The landscape authentication process takes place regardless of the consumer's attitude toward sustainability.[50] This thesis treats sustainability as something that is needed to avoid an exponential increase in homogenous landscapes. Although the production of homogeneous landscapes may be part of urban development, their creation and promotion as byproduct of city branding schemes can be harmful to the rich depth of landscape authenticity layers.

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[50] Furthermore, consumers will not observe inauthenticity as something with a negative context. Based on the numerous literature covered in this thesis, the consumer is more likely to consider authenticity good and inauthenticity bad. Nonetheless, it is important to note that such subjective and personal moral judgments influence the collective understanding of the morality in a concept. However, the morally good and bad as discussed in this thesis should not be equated to the absolute ethical values of good and bad. The moral judgment as discussed in this thesis is most accurately described as ambivalent.

Thus, sustainable landscape is adapted in this thesis as a general mode for discussing the ways of accommodating landscape authentication as well as implications of urban landscape authenticity for the future.

The two sections that follow discuss prospective examples of adapting urban landscape authenticity. The first section (5.1.) is relatively normative in that it discusses a possibility of a specific urban landscape development project adapting the concept of urban landscape, while the second section (5.2.) expands the scope of the discussion to cover the significance of the concept in terms of academic exploration and interdisciplinary studies. With both the micro- and macroscopic prospects laid out, the philosophical and theoretical considerations provided in this thesis may be helpful for the academic expansion of landscape studies.

5.1. Accommodating the Landscape Authentication Process

The three landscape authenticity issues summarized toward the end of Chapter 4 concluded that the misinterpretation and misapplication of landscape authenticity in urban landscape happens in three areas – policy, agency, and landscape design. However, these three are interconnected by the concept of landscape consumers and their authentication process. As one would accurately guess, this thesis finds that it is less the responsibility or within the power of an individual or agent to authenticate a landscape feature and more the performance of landscape consumers at large. However, because landscape design is often adapted as a city or neighborhood branding technique, projective authenticity often arises as the most visually impactful layer of landscape authenticity. In the meantime, the site-specific and constructive authenticity layers are often tossed aside or made inconspicuous as a side effect.

Based on the discussions thus far, this thesis finds that one critical way in which the concept of landscape authenticity can contribute to landscape development is through local archiving and programming. While the application may vary for each case, the underlying discipline, that is, the mode of conduct, should consider the distribution of information regarding landscape authenticity in ways that prepare the consumers for the authentication of different landscape features. The term distribution is used

deliberately, as it is not the collection of such information but the subsequent analysis and interpretation that prepares the information for authentication in the future.

Such a future may not arrive any time soon; however, it seems logical for the time being that there should be measures that can prevent projective authenticities from overwhelming other layers. As previously discussed, without a deliberate effort to keep other layers visible and recognizable, the expansion of homogeneous landscape seems to be unavoidable. To provide some examples of preventive measures for this conflation of landscape authenticities, this thesis finds that the concept of landscape authenticity and the Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity model should be applied to archiving and resident/non-resident programming.

It is useful here to refer to the process of landscape authentication. When discussing a site in terms of its urban landscape authenticity, the discussion should begin with the identification of the layers of authenticity on site, including projective layers. As the archive collects the pieces of authenticity layers that have been noted and mentioned by not only residents, cultural entrepreneurs, local urban regeneration experts, municipal government officers, etc., but also by landscape consumers in general, whose visit to the site may last less than a day, the Three Layers Model can be adapted as a categorical framework.

As discussed in this thesis, the depth of experience is not directly

related to one's ability to authenticate a landscape feature. On the contrary, as authentication process is an aesthetic mechanism; it may be the comparatively shallow experience of a non-residential landscape consumer that allows them to judge a site as authentic or inauthentic. This is not to say that one should perform a nation-wide survey for every landscape project. In fact, the archive's responsibly lies not with the authentication process but with the collection and subsequent analysis of how specific layers are related to each other. In other words, the identification of the layer(s) and the related network should be among the archive's functions.

The practice of archiving is a popular feature in many urban landscape developments today, particularly for urban revitalization sites. As certain aspects of a developed site will be replaced by new insertions, what is lost can remain in the public domain through archiving. As each site varies, creating an appropriate hierarchy of archival materials and a useful categorization may differ for each site. When new additions are made to the collection, the categorization requires certain changes to reflect these additions. However, while such an expansion method is useful for database purposes, other forms of categorization such as the Three Layers Model can serve to provide insight beyond the chronological-historical understanding of the site.

The Society of American Archives (SAA) describes core archival functions as acquisition, processing, controlling, and promoting the use of archives as well as service to the public. Of the core functions mentioned

here, it is worth noting that the purpose of an archive reaches far beyond preservation. From acquisition to service, placing an item in an archive's repository means "establishing intellectual control" and serving as "an educational laboratory" simultaneously (Society of American Archivists, 2022).

In practice, this proposal does not require a large-scale change to the archival methods; small gestures such as tagging and/or indexing certain features with the Three Layers Model may be sufficient, especially for sites of neighborhood scales, as discussed in this thesis. For example, an entry for a news article discussing the successful completion of the Art Road Project in HCV should include tags such as 'projective authenticity' and 'art-based regeneration' in addition to typical entry items such as location, year of completion, involved parties, and related government projects, including funding (Table 19). This thesis finds that by adapting the Three Layers Model as one of the categories for an archival repository, the items can be placed alongside each other in ways that are otherwise impossible for an uneducated eye to identify.

The adaptation of the Three Layers Model for an urban landscape authenticity archive serves at least two purposes. First, it becomes a repository of layers of landscape authenticities so that the archive collects not only the facts and evidence but also their significance. The purpose of this mode of collection is to help landscape consumers understand their agency within the overall landscape development process, from

authentication to the effect on the landscape planning and design.

Table 19. Example of an Archival Record including the Three Layers Model

Entry Title	Entry Example
Record Number	20XX-0XX-0XX
Name	Seongsu-dong Red Brick Building Preservation and Management Plan (Seoul Metropolitan City)
Place/ Year of Production	Seoul Metropolitan City 2018.03.
Related Projects	Ttukseom Vicinity District Plan, Ttukseom District Plan, Urban Revitalization Designation, RB Project
Description	A government report for RB Project in Seongsu-dong area, including survey of the site as well as red brick buildings, basic legal framework, revitalization plan, and programming ideas including neighborhood involvement.

Authenticity Layer	Projective (Red brick building as post-industrial)
	 - based on Constructive (Mass development of red brick buildings)
	 - based on Constructive (Industrial buildings in Brooklyn and London)
	 - based on Constructive (Seongsu-2-ga Café Street)
	  - based on Constructive (Handmade Shoes district)
	 - related to Site-specific (Seoul Forest Park Alleys)
	  - related to Site-specific (Seoul Forest Park)
	 - related to Constructive (Urban Regeneration Project)

Year of Acquisition	20XX
Provenance	Seoul Metropolitan City

Source: (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2018b)

This can be particularly significant for engagement with a site that is undergoing retail gentrification, as in the cases of the SFPA and HCV, as well as numerous others in South Korea. Landscape consumers are not an inert group of people; their desire for authenticity, while constantly in place, can shift in terms of its direction. However, the carefully curated report of specific urban landscapes based on the chronological significance of the site

may be interesting but not enough so to inspire landscape consumers to become engaged with the site. Hence, with the target audience of such archives including landscape consumers at all levels, from those invested in the site to those merely passing by, the archive can act as the indirect reminder to the landscape consumers of their influence on the site.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, the Three Layers Model allows for a more integrative understanding of landscape authenticity. The aim is to overcome the dichotomy of a landscape feature being labeled as authentic or inauthentic; a more holistic or integrative understanding is significant, as it allows for the landscape consumers to engage with the site in ways that embrace the *reconstructive potential of the pseudo-modernist society.*[51]

While involving the public has been a long-discussed topic in the landscape planning and design fields, the methods have shifted in accordance with the situation at hand. For example, recent studies have found that certain urban problems today (for example, climate change) require public participation on a global scale (Collins & Ison, 2009), which does not allow for in-depth engagement; this notion opposes the public participation doctrine proposed by urban planner and policymaker Sharon

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[51] The idea of pseudo-modernism and the reconstructive nature of this relatively new idea are discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis.

Arnstein in 1969 (Arnstein, 2019).

Landscape planning and design projects that are implemented as part of an urban revitalization program often resort to changing the environment of the residing community to serve the visitors; in other words, there is a transfer of power from residents to non-residents in terms of landscape consumer agency. Most visitors are aware of the artificiality innate in the act of urban landscape development, particularly when it comes to landscape. Even if the audience understands that specific landscape features are projective at best in terms of authenticity, it is still enjoyable. When a landscape consumer considers a feature to be projective and relates it to negative connotations, the feature can still act as a topic of discussion among landscape consumers, prompting the occurrence of other authentication processes.

While landscape functions as a recognizable marker, that is, a branding tool, the combination of landscape authenticities sustains the diversity of site narratives. While far-off landscape remains site-specific authenticity, the small details function as signs of constructive authenticity. In the case of HCV, the unchanged urban form and small alleys carry on the site history, while local shops that are unique to the site act as identifiers in the case of the SFPA. This suggests that if one devises a landscape planning and design strategy in which the projective authenticity feature functions as the initial point of entry but constructive the authenticity feature(s) functions as the way to diversify the landscape consumer's experience of the site, the

authentication process will allow space for diversity in the landscape development.

Another way to explain this possibility is by addressing the inter-consumer discussions regarding the landscape authenticity of a site. As previously mentioned, the purpose of maintaining an archive on site is to have a credible source of reference and to ensure that the layers are acquired in relation to another, continuing a network of urban landscape authenticity layers. Such an archive is useful for not only policymakers and developers but also consumers. The projective authenticity layer may be the point of entry for many consumers who visit the site; however, the many layers that are carefully acquired and studied in these archives may support the inter-consumer discussion regarding the site narrative and authentication process.

Examples can be found in the field of art and cultural industries. In their discussion of consumer authenticity, Canavan and Brendan (2021) discuss how fans of the RuPaul's Drag Race, the main consumers of the reality TV show, act as producers by interpreting the stories provided and by influencing how the TV producers design the following episodes (Canavan, 2021). What is important is that the authenticity of the reality TV show does not lie solely in the produced storyline, as the fans are aware of its artificiality; rather, the show gains authenticity through the fans' recognition of the signs included in the show that convey authenticity and through the fan-to-fan interactions that result in the public's view of the show. It is this *reconstructive aspect* that imbues the show with significance.

In short, this thesis proposes that local archives adapt the concept of urban landscape authenticity and the Three Layers Model as part of the categorization and analysis framework as a way to prepare the archive collection for the reconstructive performance of landscape consumer agency. Furthermore, with the inter-consumer and business-consumer relationship becoming more intimate and relevant to the market, it will be critical for the landscape development fields to take note of the authentications taking place. Hence, the archive becomes an indirect communication channel through which the developers and consumers come together. Hence, if the concept of landscape authenticity is adapted, the archive's function reaches beyond the acquisition and analysis service that is expected today. The landscape developers, the market, the consumers, and the academics may come to unexpected indirect confrontations in such an archive.

The side effects of urban revitalization are often described in terms of gentrification and tourification (D. Kang, 2015; C.-H. Park et al., 2020; S. Shin, 2018; Woo & Kim, 2018). However, while there are policy measures that aim to minimize franchises homogenizing a development site with access capital, the problem continues, nonetheless. Instead, this thesis has attempted to focus less on the developer and more on the consumer's role regarding this matter. In other words, landscape developers should investigate ways to influencing not only the production but also the consumption side of the equation. This section has thus far demonstrated an

example of how this can be done by adapting the concept of urban landscape authenticity and without creating a drastic transformation in the development process. By making deliberate moves to maintain the relationship between different landscape authenticity layers even when they are no longer conspicuous, the consumers may be able to reignite them through an authentication process in the future.

5.2. Implications of Urban Landscape Authenticity for the Landscape and Related Fields

As discussed in the previous chapters, if properly adapted, urban landscape authenticity can benefit urban landscape development by harnessing diversity and preventing the production of homogeneous landscapes. However, such utilization of the concept is only one of the potential values. This final section broadens the scope of the study once again and comments on several implications of urban landscape authenticity for contemporary urban development in the near and distant future. By presenting and illuminating the aim and prospects of the concept, urban landscape authenticity as discussed in this thesis can be viewed as a significant medium that can expand the academic discussion of landscape architecture with and across different fields.

First, the concept of urban landscape authenticity allows for integration of the market and the consumer-based understanding of urban development into the determination and promotion of urban landscape authenticity today. Because landscape is strongly associated with public work, it has deemed difficult to harness the market and the consumer phenomenon in the discussion over landscape development in a constructive manner. The market and the consumption aspects of landscape development are often positioned as opposing sides that must be either embraced or negated; in both cases, the consumers are considered a separate group of

publics from those directly involved in landscape development and/or related public engagement schemes.

However, this idealistic outlook on landscape development differs greatly from the reality; most urban landscapes are the product of private entrepreneurs and corporations who are adapting specific features of the landscape authenticity layers of the site that align with the business. For example, the increase in projective authenticity for urban (re)development projects, or the derivative adaptation of landscape authenticity, has gained momentum in contemporary urban development practice. Furthermore, the attractiveness of benchmarking in policymaking and urban development practice is part of public administration practice as well. This means that there needs to be a way to involve the private sector's contribution to the urban landscape when speaking of landscape authenticity. This thesis has considered the aesthetic (sensible) aspects and the related processes that relate the aesthetic concerns of private entrepreneurs and consumers to urban landscape as a result.

There is another purpose to the addressing of the consumers; based on a crude concept of supply and demand, it seems fair to claim that one should consider studying the demand side (consumers) should the supply side (developers) fail to provide sufficient context. Should one aim for a decrease or slowdown in the derivative adaptation of landscape authenticity in the future based on a crude diagram of supply and demand, it is only fair that the demand side be analyzed and involved. By incorporating consumers

through the process of landscape authentication, a more integrative view of landscape development is made possible. This expanded vision, in turn, may be helpful in understanding and appropriating a diverse array of authenticity layer features in the future.

Second, the concept of the Three Layers of Landscape Authenticity as presented in this thesis allows for features relating to landscape authenticity to evolve through time and account for the different meanings specific features may gain as it shifts from one site to another. This deliberate attempt to remove the concept of landscape authenticity from one of immobility and permanence allows a more creative and liberal adaptation of the landscape authenticity layers to the planning and design.

However, the recognition of contextual shifts does not distinguish this thesis from the Nara Documents from 1994; in fact, the key difference lies in the mode of awareness for the projective authenticity layer. Whereas the site-specific and constructive authenticity layers are *recognized* by the consumer, projective authenticity reflects the consumers' desire and imaginations – in other words, it is interactive and iterative (Table 20).

Table 20. Summary of the Three Layers of Urban Landscape Authenticity

Urban Landscape Authenticity Layers	Key Concepts	Mode of Awareness
Site-specific	Temporality, Acclimatization	Recognition
Constructive	Agency	Recognition
Projective	Consumer Imagination	Reflection, Imagination

Another way of describing this reflective nature of projective authenticity involves the Lacanian view of authenticity as fantasy. Here, the urban landscape-making process can be understood as a mode of *indeterminate becoming*.[52] In other words, projective authenticity layer can be understood as an implication of one of the many alternative futures of the landscape.

As previously discussed, even the most artificial and insignificant features can gain meaning through time. There is a clear gap between the reality of urban landscape authenticity – mobile, indefinitely flexible, ever-changing, and affected by anonymous landscape producer-consumers – and the image of urban landscape authenticity the municipal governments and urban regeneration agents have when tasked with creating landscape-making schemes based on the immobile, definite, and eternal. Despite the side effects, most visible in the production of homogeneous landscapes, the projective authenticity layer is significant for the urban landscape authenticity discourse as it brings the undetermined and dynamic characteristic of urban landscape to the discussion floor. It is a constant reminder that landscapes are changing every moment and that human agency is always reflected in the urban landscape.

Third, urban landscape authenticity, or any discussion regarding

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[52] This also explains why homogeneous landscapes cannot be sustainable; once they have been experienced, the landscape consumers will move on to look for new signs of landscape authenticity to fulfill their fantasy.

authenticity in landscape and how authenticity is recognized by the consumers, has been a topic for those aiming to create artificial realities through imitation of the real landscape. While computer games have long been interested in this topic, the widened use of virtual and augmented reality concepts is also visible in our everyday. However, despite the technological innovations that make the artificial reality landscapes naturalistic, impressive visual graphics are insufficient to persuade the regular customer that the artificially created landscape is real, that is, *authentic*.

Landscape authenticity can lend an interesting perspective regarding these concerns. As it is usually the visible surroundings – landscape – that allows a person to locate themselves within a universe, unless one is creating an entire universe with all of its details, the artificial reality will always fall short. Furthermore, because visible landscape is an accumulation of the past and present of the site, creating an entire universe requires not only visual imitation of the world but also the creation and recreation of the histories and narratives.

This also means that the authenticity of the artificial landscape will be subject to consumers' authentication process; if an institution is interested in creating a virtual environment that is as similar to the reality as possible, the mechanism behind the landscape authentication process and the different layers of landscape authenticity is applicable. In other words, landscape authenticity as discussed in this thesis may be the key ingredient for creating

a more holistic artificial reality. It may even be more important; there are no site-specific or constructive layers, only projective. Therefore, the landscape designers will be responsible for virtual environment creation to diversify the authenticity layers to form a complex landscape system akin to the reality.

There are other fields that may also benefit from the discussion of urban landscape authenticity as presented in this paper. Several fields discussed in Chapter 2, such as heritage and tourism studies, entrepreneurship and consumer studies, and urban design fields can benefit from the discussion of urban landscape authenticity from the landscape architecture planning and design perspective, as the topics discussed in this thesis form a common platform on which the discourse can take place in a multidisciplinary mode. Related fields that often collaborate regarding a specific urban development site can also devise design tactics based on the Three Layers Model and collaborate on creating a functional archive and programs. In summary, the concept of urban landscape authenticity is presented in this thesis not as a terminal construct but as an explorative framework that is accommodating to interdisciplinary considerations regarding urban landscapes.

For as long as human civilization has recorded, mankind has been obsessed with understanding reality and recreating it in forms that can be distributed and consumed. Royal gardens of the ancient and premodern

times were particularly observant of this desire. Hence, authenticity in relation to concepts such as mimesis and poiesis became significant elements for the developers as well. Similarly, the more our technological advances deviate from reality to continue accumulating capital gains, which is necessary for maintaining the current global system, the more its consumers will be searching for authenticity in their real surroundings. The implications proposed in this thesis are underscored by this human desire for authenticity in our surrounding environment; by navigating through the murky and inconspicuous realm of the aesthetics and consumption culture in the age of pseudo-modernity, and by exploring the complex process behind landscape authentication and its indirect impact on development processes, landscape studies can invite complex discussions over its significance in the contemporary world.

VI. CONCLUSION

This thesis is an accumulation of attempts to answer the question "*How does one prefer and express one's preference for a certain landscape?*" followed by "*How can preference can be analyzed in meaningful ways regarding contemporary landscape development?*" The questions begin with an interrogative adverb '*how*' because of their concerns with the mechanism through which a specific landscape can become preferred and enjoyed as well as how this, in turn, affects the development of landscape.

For a long time, landscape architects have been asking the question "*What makes a good landscape?*" – whether the clientele involved the royals, the aristocrats, the bureaucracy, or even the general public. As the purpose of landscape architecture – or any design field, for that matter – is to make the world a better place – whatever that term better signifies – this desire to appease the consumption end has been the purpose of the practice for decades, if not centuries. Accordingly, academia has kept itself busy with a corresponding question "*What is a good landscape that should be preferred and for what purpose?*" in other words, some type of reasoning that qualifies landscape as unequivocally good. The issue of why and how certain groups of people prefer or even like specific landscapes remained a subject of other fields – aesthetics, psychology, geography, etc.

In the meantime, the world has changed dramatically, the main culprit behind such change being the advances in information technology. The wildfire-like spread of Internet access reset the information distribution gap from geographical differences. The communication among members of society has expanded exponentially, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This comprehensive and integrative transformation of society had several implications for those interested in the preference and development of landscapes.

First, the communication takes place in an infinite number of ways, involving planners, designers, bureaucracy, entrepreneurs, community, etc. The roles among these members never remain inert; the dichotomy between the producers and the consumers is no longer discernible to any degree.

Second, Baudrillard was correct; there are hardly any distinct and unique landscapes left that have not been reduced to an image. Heightened visual communication via the Internet – and perhaps even more so with social networks – means that landscape experience is often reduced to exposure to an image the purpose of which is to produce a specific reaction. What is entailed in this phenomenon is that more often than not, consumption of an image can be more influential than consumption of actual landscape. In contemporary society, the image – which has always been assumed to be an effect of some type – performs sufficient agency by itself such that it is an effect.

Third, and perhaps most significantly for the purpose of this thesis,

the capitalism has become deeply embedded in society, so much so that any city, town, or even neighborhood must concern itself with its marketing to survive as the preferred site. In other words, entrepreneurial perspective is a requisite for many civic developments. Hence, any landscape development will face a conundrum – *how can one create a unique and distinguishable landscape while satisfying the consumers who are looking for specific images in their minds?*

A thoughtless answer is to mention an age-old adage: *the design's purpose is to make the consumer desire something that they did not even know they wanted.* This thesis holds that such a shallow answer may be the appropriate answer for contemporary urban society. The consumer can no longer be specified as being part of any group that can be contained within a set of boundaries. Nothing remains inert. The more popular a site, the more its consumer base expands. It is the responsibility of the developers, planners, designers, and cultural entrepreneurs to foresee this desire and act upon it before the consumers even realize such a desire while understanding that the term 'consumer' is a dynamic abstraction.

How can one understand this desire? While there can be many interpretations as to how such a desire is formulated, this thesis finds that one of the fundamental – and unsatiable and, therefore, permanent – properties of such a desire is the desire for authenticity. Unlike previous studies that dealt with authentic tourist experiences, in which the desire for

authenticity is the response to the social alienation of a person in a capitalist society, the changed conditions of the contemporary society call for a more fundamental concept of authenticity. With spaces of communication liberated from physical limitations and the distance between consumers small, this thesis finds that it is only logical to assume that the urge for authenticity, particularly when it comes to environmental surroundings such as landscape, should be explained in terms of human nature.

Fortunately, such an explanation has already been partially provided by Lacan and his followers through a psychoanalytical approach. In this explanation, authenticity is a type of fantasy, an imagined substance that lies outside the person's natural capacity. However, it is *only* a fantasy, in that it is an imagined destination toward which a person is drawn as they strive to somehow replace the alienation of life.

This is not to say that authenticity and/or its fantastical property has a negative impact on mankind; on the contrary, it alleviates the stress of alienation and allows for a person to continue their pursuit of life. Because authenticity is closely linked to imagination, the consumer – the general public in contemporary society – is the agent who imagines and finds certain features authentic. Similarly, regarding landscape authenticity, the consumer has the agency to authenticate certain features, albeit fundamentally subjective in nature.

To explain this rather subjective process of authentication, this thesis drew from studies in the field of environmental aesthetics. The adaptation of

environmental aesthetics in the discussion of landscape authenticity allowed for an exploration of how and why the concept of landscape consumers is related to the idea of landscape authenticity, even when they are not immediate neighbors. It is through the collective agency of landscape consumers that landscape authenticity is aesthetically evaluated, or, in other words, *authenticated*. Hence, it is within this process of landscape authentication that landscape consumers have the most responsibility – even if the individual consumers are unaware of this cyclical system.

However, to communicate how specific landscapes can be discerned as authentic in different ways by different consumers, this thesis provided a viable framework through which a fundamentally subjective and aesthetic property of landscape such as authenticity may be considered

The *Three Layers of Landscape Authenticity*, or the Three Layers Model for short, is based on three types of layers – site-specific authenticity, constructive authenticity, and projective authenticity – that are interchangeable in terms of layer order. Site-specific authenticity prioritizes temporality, that is, the passing of time, while constructive authenticity prioritizes agency and context. While the site-specific and constructive authenticity layers are recognized, projective authenticity is imagined and projected – in other words, desired. Furthermore, while site-specific authenticity features often give way to the other two types, it can be imagined that at some point, projective authenticity may become recognized as constructive authenticity.

The properties of landscape authenticity layers are, and should remain, dynamic as a reflection of contemporary society. This thesis found that in the case of urban landscape development policies that make use of post-industrial contexts in South Korea, there were many cases – even if not mentioned within the confines of this text – the problem of which arose from a misunderstanding and/or misinterpretation of the site's authenticity. As noted in Chapters 4 and 5, authenticity issues in landscape policies are multidimensional and require in-depth and long-term revisions to the landscape development practice as well as the overall perspective our society has of the urban landscape. It was one of the aims of this thesis to propose that landscape authenticity can perform precisely this function: *to offer an alternative way of understanding and imagining urban landscapes in contemporary developed society.*

Some may say that the problems discussed in this thesis exemplify only part of overall urban development – that assessment of such policies should refrain from moral evaluation. However, at the same time, the efforts to adapt specific landscape authenticity features as neighborhood branding tools will only increase, both in quantity and in degree. The modern and contemporary history of urban revitalization programs in South Korea has shown that the systematic issues in relation to landscape authenticity prefer to adapt projective authenticity, a derivative, rather than to imagine and implement something novel. They cannot be blamed for this risk-free tendency, as urban revitalization programs in South Korea have often relied

on national and local government budgets.

If the goal of landscape architecture remains to contribute to urban landscape, the task is to understand the desire for landscape authenticity before consumers even experience it. Hence, authenticity should be the starting point through which landscape development takes place. In other words, authenticity as the object of desire should be discussed by the landscape developers, such as planners and designers, in ways that go beyond the previous authenticity discourse in landscape architecture.

The implications of landscape authenticity as presented in this thesis show that as it is part of human nature, its potential remains infinite – it seems only fair that, in terms of both academia and practice, the field of landscape architecture do its best to understand the expansive scale of its possibilities and risks.

This thesis has several limitations. First, because the thesis topic, urban landscape authenticity, relies on a diverse array of literature from numerous fields, for this thesis, the decision was made to choose select fields as key fields of study; however, it will be useful for future studies to discuss the theory of Lacanian psychoanalysis in depth to discover in greater detail how human nature interacts with authenticity as part of the collective rather than as individuals. As of the present, the individual search for authenticity is conflated with the collective search. A more in-depth analysis may be able to clarify the two ideas.

Second, the concept of authenticity, particularly in the sense

discussed in this thesis, will remain subjective matter that is difficult to measure objectively. In fact, the Three Layers Model relies on the fact that distinguishing the layers through authentication should remain a subjective performance on behalf of landscape consumers, as it is only through such subjective encounters that aesthetic judgment – authentication – begets power.

Third, the adaptation measures and implications as proposed in Chapter 5 are speculative at best, as the concept of urban landscape authenticity as proposed in this thesis has not been tested in the field or applied to policy. However, based on the literature review of various fields involving the concept of authenticity in relation to mankind, spatiality, and landscape, it seems likely that these small-scale measures should serve as initial steps in creating a condition through which urban landscape authenticity can be implemented in landscape policies in the future.

The single contribution this thesis has made to the overall landscape authenticity discussion may be that landscape authenticity should be part of the larger discourse involving contemporary landscape planning and design rather than remaining in the realm of conservation, preservation, and village-making projects. By re-introducing the concept of landscape authenticity as a contemporary dynamic with powerful consequences, landscape development can be considered in relation to fields such as tourism studies, psychoanalysis, consumer studies, entrepreneurship, and

aesthetics. This is a call for the expansion of the field as well as a deliberate blurring of boundaries among these academic fields. If there is one thing that is definite in this topic filled with uncertainties, instabilities, fluctuation, and subjectivities, it is that exploration of landscape authenticity requires a multidisciplinary approach.

On the other hand, there are parts of the overall authenticity discourse that can greatly benefit from the landscape perspective. One field that will most definitely benefit from the landscape perspective according to the work in this thesis is the future of visible reality. Mankind has been fascinated by visible reality for as long as it has roamed the earth, leading to the development of artificial realities, which form a significant branch in technological innovations today.

This thesis believes that even when the recognized spatial dimension – as well as its landscape – expands exponentially with the introduction of artificial realities, the authenticity will remain an issue. It may even be more important – there are no site-specific or constructive layers; with only a projective authenticity layer in the artificially created landscapes in these artificial universes, the rather abstract discussion of landscape authenticity as presented in this thesis may have a solid foundation. As long as mankind is concerned with understanding and creating universes, it will be concerned with creating a universe that can be accepted as real by its consumers. By creating a universe that seems real, the consumers will desire it out of their desire for authenticity.

Finally, based on the discussion of landscape authenticity thus far, this thesis finds it necessary to ask another enigmatic question: *What is reality, and how is it represented in our urban landscape?* We have been content with the idea that the landscape reflects the society, but does this remain true in today's world, in which industrial shifts and urban transformations take place hand-in-hand, with invisible networks of influencing factors that involve the entire world? The landscape is no longer a field left to landscape architects but, rather, everything that constitutes contemporary society. It may be time for an evolution of the idea of landscape altogether, starting with its authenticity.

Appendix

A1. List of Tables

A2. List of Figures

A3. Focus Group Interview (FGI)

The interviews with landscape consumers were done as focus group interviews. The concept of urban landscape authenticity in a post-industrial city that is transitioning from light and heavy industry into service (tourism) industry requires a careful exploration of how regular landscape consumers are responding to these projects. This is shared by other studies that has analyzed different types of materials, such as the publicly available documents, in-depth interviews, surveys, and data from social networking sites, in order to grasp a better picture of the phenomenon. For example, Kim and Son conducted an in-depth interview of the site visitors as well as metadata from Instagram to find the consumer preference and understand it origins (Y. Kim & Son, 2017). Duck-kyu Yoon and Gun-Woo Kim used literature review to prepare a constructed interview for two separate sessions of focus group interviews with different questions, followed by a survey, in order to understand the preference factors for urban floral landscape and its construction process (D.-K. Yoon & Kim, 2020). Using several different methods is important when analyzing a social phenomenon, particularly the public preference, as the interviewees may have crucial information that is unlikely to be included in public records.

While surveys are useful tools for receiving quick answers for personal preferences, the topic discussed in this thesis, the urban landscape authenticity, is dependent less on the object at hand and more on the subject

who is perceiving the object as established in previous chapters. Also, each person is prone to have different idea when it comes to defining and prioritizing various elements of urban landscape authenticity, which makes it difficult to receive useful answers through common questions only. For this reason, a structured focus group interview (FGI) of landscape consumers was conducted and analyzed for the two cases in chapter four.

1) Methodology

Interviews were conducted on total of 15 participants who were university students aged between 19 and 39. While the number of participants varied per session, it was maintained at two or more people per session so that the interview participants not only answer the common questions but also feed off of each other's responses, and possibly have a discussion among themselves.[53] The interviews were conducted between May 31st, 2022 and June 23rd, 2022 in total of 6 separate sessions. The interview process was entirely conducted by the author after being approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB).[54]

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[53] The total number of participants per session was set at maximum 5 people, 1) to allow adequate amount of time for each participant, and 2) to abide by the social distancing rule due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

[54] The FGI portion of this thesis was approved by the IRB on May 17, 2022 (IRB No. 2205/004-005).

Table 21. FGI Common Questions and Examples of Follow-up Questions

Question No.	Common Question	Examples of Follow-up Questions
1	Have you been to one or more of the following sites? - Seoul Forest Park Alleys - Huinnyeoul Culture Park	- When and how did you hear about the site? - What was the purpose of you first and most recent visit to each site?
2	What image do you have of the sites mentioned?	- What striking memory do you associate with the site? - Is there a similar city or a town that you are reminded of when speaking of the site(s)?
3	Out of three landscape elements – history, commerce, and visibility (aesthetic), what element is most applicable to each site?	- Why do you believe that such element is most applicable to the site? - If any, what was considered problematic for each site? - What is your perspective on the gentrification and tourification issue in each site?

Based on the literature review, a structured interview format was created, where a common question was asked, followed by open-ended follow-up questions and discussions based on the participants' answers to the common questions (Table 20).

2) Interview Questions and Results

Table 21 presents a comprehensive result for the common questions. For Question 1, total of 13 participants have visited the SFPA, while only 7 have visited the HCV in person (Table 21). Question 2 was an opportunity for the participants to discuss their visit and/or their opinion on the site using their own words. 14 answered Question 2 for the SFPA, while only 9 provided any answers or comments for the HCV. Despite not having visited the site, or having a personal memory or image associated with the site, most of the participants were still able to provide their opinion on the landscape elements that seems to represent the site. Those who have not visited the site(s) personally but still answered the questions received information about the site through social networking sites and similar media outlets.

Table 22. FGI Participants' Answers to Questions 1 and 3

Participant (Codes)	Participant Age	Answer to Question 1	Answer to Question 3
22A01	28	HCV, SFPA	SFPA: Commerce (Café), Visibility (Nature) HCV: Visibility (Nature)
22A02	33	SFPA	SFPA: Visibility (Nature)
22B02	27	SFPA	SFPA: Commerce HCV: History, Visibility (Nature)
22B03	32	SFPA	SFPA: History (Abandoned factories) HCV: Visibility (Nature)
22B06	21	HCV, SFPA	SFPA: Visibility (Nature), Commerce HCV: History, Visibility (White

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			Paint)
22B04	19	HCV, SFPA	SFPA: Commerce HCV: Visibility (Nature), Commerce
22A04	24	HCV, SFPA	SFPA: Visibility (Red brick) HCV: History (Refuge Camp), Visibility (Nature)
22B05	37	SFPA	SFPA: History (Racing Track) HCV: N/A
22A07	36	SFPA	SFPA: Commerce, Visibility (Crowd) HCV: N/A
22A03	34	HCV	SFPA: Commerce HCV: Visibility (Nature)
22A08	38	HCV, SFPA	SFPA: Commerce HCV: History (Community), Visibility (Community)
22A06	21	HCV, SFPA	SFPA: Commerce HCV: Visibility (White Paint)
22B01	23	SFPA	SFPA: Commerce HCV: Commerce
22A05	20	None	SFPA: History (Urban Form), Commerce HCV: History (Old Buildings), Visibility (Nature)
22B07	36	SFPA	SFPA: Commerce, Visibility (Storefront) HCV: History (Community), Visibility (White Paint)

*Note: Although the results were adapted in this thesis as qualitative evidence of the landscape consumer experience in two cases, SFPA and HCV, the focus group interview texts were also analyzed through a text analysis program. The results of quantitative analysis of the focus group interview will be elaborated and adapted in subsequent studies.

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국문초록

탈산업 도시의 경관 진정성

공학박사 학위논문

신명진

지도교수: 배정한

2023년 2월

서울대학교 대학원
협동과정 조경학 전공

전 세계를 주도하는 산업 패러다임이 바뀐 이후 도시의 재생과 재활성화는 선택이 아닌 필수가 되었다. 그 과정에서 도시화 및 산업화를 통해 상실한 도시의 크고 작은 문화사회적 자본을 보존하고자 하는 노력이 진정성에 대한 논의로 이어지고 있다. 하지만 도시에서 진정성이란 새로운 것, 완전히 전례가 없는 것으로도 나타난다. 다양한 형태의 진정성이 탈산업 도시의 경관 곳곳에 존재하고 있으며, 다양한 학문 및 실천 분야가 진정성의 요소를 구체적인 상으로 발전시켜 도시 개발, 보존 사업, 상업 프로젝트 등으로 전환하고 있다.

본 연구는 오늘날 도시를 둘러싼 많은 문제의 뿌리에 도시를 향유하고 작동하는 다양한 욕망이 존재한다고 파악하고 있으며, 그 작동 기제 중 하나로 경관의 진정성에 주목했다. 경관 진정성을 도시가 지닌 작동 기제의 가시적 형태라고 본다면, 오늘날 도시의 문제점으로 종종 언급되는 동질화, 젠트리피케이션, 오버투어리즘 등 역시 문화 창업가, 도시재생 전문가, 지자

체의 행정, 주민과 비주민 모두에 의해 경관 진정성이 형성되고 인지되고 활용되는 과정의 부작용이라고 볼 수 있다.

그러나 경관 진정성은 여전히 난해한 개념으로 남아 있다. 특히 오늘날 경관 진정성을 연구하거나 실천으로 옮기는 데 있어 문제가 되는 것 중 하나는 현재 도시 연구 분야에 적용되고 있는 경관 진정성 개념이 탈산업도시의 맥락과 현상을 충분히 포괄하지 못한다는 점이 있다. 따라서 탈산업도시의 경관 진정성에 대한 탐구를 위해 본 연구는 도시 경관의 진정성을 다루는 다양한 분야의 연구를 정리하고, 현대 도시 경관의 진정성을 분석하기 위한 연구 틀을 구축하고, 적확한 경관 진정성 적용의 중요성을 드러내는 사례를 분석하며, 다양한 경관 진정성 개념을 탑재해 경관 실천으로 연계하기 위한 방안을 제시하고자 한다.

먼저 탈산업 도시의 맥락에서 경관 진정성 개념을 재설정하여 범주와 적용 대상을 확장할 필요가 있다. 본 연구의 논의를 위해 경관 진정성(landscape authenticity)이란 특정 경관에서 부지의 진정한 특질(authentic qualities)을 나타내는 가시적 재현이라고 파악한다. 여기서 진정성은 경관의 소비자에 의해 인증(authenticate)된다. 인증 과정으로 인해 경관 진정성은 계속해서 변화를 겪게 되는데, 인증의 주체인 소비자가 계속해서 변화하기 때문이다. 이러한 특성으로 인해 경관 진정성은 기표이자 기호로 작동하며 경관을 둘러싼 다양한 내러티브를 축적하게 된다.

탈산업 도시는 산업화가 낳은 다양성의 상실이라는 공통 증상을 겪고 있으며, 이에 따라 소비자로 인해 인증된 경관 진정성은 이동하고 투영될 수 있다고 보았다. 즉, 경관 진정성의 다양한 재현은 층위적 구조를 갖고 있되, 구조 및 각 켜의 위치가 고정되어 있지 않다. 본 연구는 이를 반영하기 위해 '경관 진정성 켜'를 세 가지 유형으로 구분했다.

다음으로, 장소특정적(site-specific), 구성적(constructive), 투영적(projective) 진정성으로 구성한 본 연구의 경관 진정성 분석모델을 통해 서울숲길 일대와 부산 흰여울문화마을 일대의 경관을 분석했다. 두 사례지를

분석한 결과, 경관 관련 정책, 행위성, 경관 이해 등에서 문제점을 발견했다. 경관 진정성의 다양한 켜가 아닌 이미지를 위시한 투영 진정성 중심의 정책 실천으로 인해 경관 진정성의 다른 켜에 부정적 영향을 미치거나 상실로 이어질 수 있다는 문제도 도출했다. 이에 대응하기 위해서 본 연구가 제시한 경관 진정성 분석모델을 통해 다양한 켜를 축적하는 효용성 있는 아카이브를 구축하는 것이 중요할 것이다.

마지막으로, 본 연구는 유연함과 변화무쌍함이 경관 진정성을 유의미하게 만들며 경관 실천에 영향을 미칠 수 있을 것이라 해석했다. 실제로 전통적으로 경관을 연구해온 지리학과 조경학이 아닌 관광학과 경영학을 중심으로 최근 경관 진정성 연구가 발전했다는 점에 주목할 필요가 있다. 경관 진정성 개념을 중심으로 한 다학제적 연구를 통해 경관 연구의 확장이 가능할 것이다.

제조업에서 서비스업으로, 서비스업에서 지식산업으로 계속해서 산업이 바뀌는 과정에서 도시의 구조와 경관 역시 변화를 피할 수 없다. 본 연구는 현대 사회에서 경관 진정성이 어떻게 작동하고 있으며 경관을 바꿀 힘을 가진 정책이 경관 진정성과 어떻게 결합되고 어떤 결과를 낳고 있는지 비판적 시선으로 고찰했으며, 이를 바탕으로 대안적 연구 틀과 제언을 제시함으로써 이론적·실천적 함의를 도출했다. 나아가 본 연구를 구성하는 다양한 문헌 분석은 추후 탈산업 도시의 경관과 진정성 연구의 다변화와 다학제적 연구의 확장을 위한 바탕이 될 것으로 기대한다.

주요어: 경관 이론, 진정성, 미학, 탈산업 도시, 소비자 행동, 서울숲길,
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