

Mega Events as Urban Transformer

– The Experience of Seoul –

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도시변화기제로서의 대형 이벤트

– 서울 올림픽과 월드컵의 사례연구 –

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ABSTRACT : The 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics and 2002 FIFA WORLD CUP KOREA/JAPAN catalyzed Seoul's urban transformation. They produced the Jamsil 'Olympic Town' and Sangam New Millennium Town, and helped upgrade the city's infrastructure, backward areas, cityscapes, and image. Prepared under differing historical conditions, they produced urban projects that contrasted in planning goals and means. Executed at the height of the 'compressed growth era,' the Olympics occasioned large scale physical development projects, concentrated mainly in the new districts of Jamsil/Kangnam. Planned during the disintegration of the old regime, the World Cup was characterized by a shift of policy emphasis toward enhancement of the existing city. The football stadium was approached as an integral part of a larger scheme to rehabilitate a backward region to a model city of innovation where ecology, culture and IT were fused. However, the mega events amplified imbalances in Seoul's development due to their effectiveness as catalysts for change. The Olympics deepened the disparity between the two regions of Seoul and between Seoul and the rest of the country, and the World Cup amplified generational and ideological divide. The urban legacies left by the mega events remains as resources whose sustainability rests as much on the nature of the resources as how they are utilized in the future.

Key words : Seoul Olympics, FIFA World Cup, city planning history, Olympic Park, Sangam New Millennium City

요약 : 통산 20여 년의 준비기간이 소요된 1988 서울올림픽과 2002 월드컵의 양 대회는 도시변화의 촉진제였다. 한강변 동서에 위치한 잠실 올림픽 타운과 상암 새천년신도시의 건설을 필두로 도시 인프라의 현대화, 낙후지역의 재생, 도시 이미지의 개선 등 다양한 효과를 거두었다. 상이한 시대배경에서 추진된 두 대형행사는 상이한 성격의 도시계획을 낳았다. 압축성장시대의 산물인 올림픽대회의 경우, 이미 개발중인 잠실, 강남지구를 중심으로 신규개발사업에 공공투자를 집중했던 데 반해, 이 시대의 해체기에 추진된 월드컵 대회에서는 기성도시육성의 정책기조 위에서 경기장건설도

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낙후지역소생의 기폭제로 삼아 이를 계기로 환경재생과 첨단정보문화산업육성을 주제로 하는 도시 혁신모델을 제시하고자 했다. 두 대형행사는 변화를 촉진할 뿐 아니라 나아가 시대의 모순을 증폭 시키기도 했다. 거점개발에 치중했던 올림픽은 강남북격차와 수도권집중현상을 심화시켰으며, IT를 매개로 연대감을 고양시켰던 월드컵은 행사가 종료되자 누적된 사회갈등과 분열을 불러왔다. 도시변화의 촉진제로서 거대행사가 남긴 유산은 미래를 위한 자원일 뿐 미래를 결정하지는 못한다. 그 지속성은 전 시대가 남긴 자원을 어떻게 쓸 것인가에 대한 후속세대의 판단에 달렸다.

주제어 : 서울 올림픽, 월드컵, 서울도시계획사, 올림픽공원, 상암새천년신도시

I. Introduction

The history of urban planning abounds with cases where mega events -- sporting events such as Olympic Games and the World Cup, Universal Expositions, or any of such large-scale events that draw large spectators from all over the world and create world-wide media attention -- transforms host cities, in physical and non-physical ways. Hosting of such events provides the host cities opportunities to launch urban improvement programs requiring large capital investment and administrative attention over a long period of time, and the mobilization of resources infeasible under ordinary circumstances. Thus, hosting of mega events often leaves lasting marks on the urban landscape. When successfully staged, mega events can improve confidence, create 'brand image,' and stimulate economic growth over an extended period.

Seoul is an archetypical example of a city transformed by mega-events, as the history

of modern Seoul cannot be written without referring to the works performed in connection with the two games: the Summer Olympics of 1988 and the FIFA World Cup, Japan and Korea of 2002. Each alone is an extraordinary occasion in the history of any city, and two events in the span of 14 years mark a rare case, indeed. They have left large marks in the space of Seoul. The Olympic Park at the eastern fringe of the metropolis, and the World Cup Park to the east are the most significant products of the events. The time devoted to the preparation for and staging of the two world events span over 20 years, a significant portion of the modern history of Seoul.

This study is an attempt to examine the role these two global mega events have played in making the contemporary Seoul. It reviews the historic conditions in which the two games emerged on the national agenda, and examines key urban projects pursued by the city of Seoul. By comparing the two cases in terms of stated goals and modes of

planning, this study hopes to highlight their contrastive approaches to planning, interpreting them in the light of the historical contexts in which they were formed.

II. 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games

1. The Times

When President Park announced that Korea would join the bid for the Summer Olympics 1988 barely a year before his assassination in 1979, Korea was deep in political trouble. The national drive for economic development led by the former general had brought about unprecedented rapid industrialization and economic progress, but his authoritarian rule had alienated the general populace to a point that foretold popular uprising. Moreover, the growing aggressiveness of North Korea, coupled with a cooling relationship with the traditional ally US pressed the strategists near the president to look for ways to improve terms with the socialist bloc. The Olympics offered a possible way out, a means to appease the political opponents, a goal to mobilize society, and a pretext to approach new diplomatic partners. Furthermore, hosting this prestigious event would heal the wounded pride inflicted when the country forfeited the Asian Games in 1970 because of financial difficulties.

With the sudden death of the President by assassination in 1979, the idea was left adrift. Some, including Seoul city government, doubted if the country was ready to undertake such an expensive enterprise. Others worried it would widen the disparity between the capital region and the rest of the country. Unperturbed, the new government of Chundoowhan decided to follow the deceased predecessor's policy and belatedly join the competition. The new regime took power through violence and lacked popular support-it needed a national agenda which would enhance its legitimacy. The IOC accepted Korea's bid in 1981, whereupon the Ministry of Athletics and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC) were formed to oversee the preparation. Seoul was given the mission to construct required venues and to equip the city to receive athletes, media, and general visitors in 1988. Thus began the long eight year march of the city government towards the games.

When Seoul began its preparation, it had grown to sprawling metropolis of 8.5 million people, up from 2.5 million only twenty years ago. It was the nerve center and engine for the state-led economic development drive, and its population pull was so strong that it consistently overshadowed all efforts to curb its growth since the early '70s. During the 1960s the old historic city ran out of land to

develop, so the city government began to reclaim and develop the riverside land and Yeouido, an island in the Han River. The axis of development was shifted southward, however, following the start of Seoul-Pusan Highway. The city government was intent on developing Kangnam, the region south of the Han River, and it imposed severe planning controls on the historic city, forced relocation of schools, and encouraged the southward migration of Seoulites.

2. Urban Planning Actions

Not surprisingly, the government chose to create the Olympic Town in Jamsil, a new priority development district east of Kangnam. Massive reclamation, begun in 1971, was transforming the former peanut growing island into a part of urban region, and in contrast to Kangnam which was allowed to grow in a haphazard fashion, a comprehensive development plan was drafted to ensure coordinated development (서울특별시, 1974). The development plan reserved two tracts of open land at east and west end of Jamsil for unforeseen future use. These sites were chosen for the national sports complex and the Olympic Park.

Construction of the main stadium began three years before the first announcement that Korea would enter the bid for the

Olympics, again by the order of the late president Park. Designed by the late Kim Soo Keun, the monumental concrete structure's profile was meant to recall the delicate line of Yi Dynasty pottery vase, and it has become a landmark marking the start of the Olympic boulevard as well as the bend of the Han River which it overlooks. To complete the National Sports Complex, a swimming pool, a basketball stadium and an athletic high school were added along a central axis leading to the subway station. . The national government invested \$100 million for construction, yet the city now owns and maintains the sports complex.

Two other products of this period sit to the south of the complex: the Asian Street Park and the Asian Athletic Compound. They were created for the Asian Games of 1986, a serious undertaking on its own right yet more valuable to the SLOOC as a chance to stage dressed rehearsal for the grander event two years later. The park embellishes the boulevard, complementing the monumentality of the Sports Complex, while the Compound, now turned to privately owned condominiums, remains as a reminder of the architectural experiment of the times searching for ways to break away from the prevalent "matchbox" design.

On the eastern edge of Jamsil lay another large tract of undeveloped land. Here, the

SLOOC created the Olympic Park and five additional venues requested by the IOC: fencing, swimming, weightlifting, cycling and calisthenics. There were opinions that dispersing the venues to university campuses and to outlying cities would reduce future maintenance costs, but the SLOOC chose to cluster the venues together with Athletics College in one area, out of concern for the ease of transportation management and clarity of maintenance responsibilities.

A design competition was held, but it did not yield a winning scheme. Thereupon, the city authority commissioned the SNU team which had created the urban design guidelines for Jamsil to produce master plan for the Olympic Park. Master planners wished to endow the Olympic park with qualities of place that contrasted and complemented the Sports complex: green, open, friendly, and unassuming. They retained and refurbished a humble hill lying at the center of the site, a third century earthen fortress that provided unique historic and landscape values to the site. They then arranged the five venues in a half circle facing the southern tip of the hill, with a slightly concave hollow 'peace garden' as a transitional space lying in between. More urban functions such as plazas and an athletic college were placed at four corners of the park, creating an intimate interface

between the Park and the surrounding city. A moat was also recreated, which would double as a rainwater reservoir for the nearby pumping station.

To the south across the main road lay the Olympic Athletic Village, another of the city's principal projects undertaken for the Olympics. Built initially for the athletes and the attendants, they too were later converted to private condominiums like the Asian Athletic Compound. Designed by the Korean American architect Kyu Sung Woo, the Olympic Village was celebrated as a break from the conventional monotonous design that covered Kangnam. Woo's radial site plan with stepped-down flats skillfully balanced popular preference for southerly orientation with qualities such as a sense of order and organized variety, urbanity and openness. He also preserved the Y-shaped stream, thus creating a green axis that opened up the Village to the abutting greenbelt. Even the unit plan retained traditional court-like space within the modern apartments.

In addition to the above "compulsory projects" essential to properly stage the games, "occasional projects" were also undertaken to make the city accessible, functional and attractive. They included extension of subway lines, improvement of road networks, and creation of theme parks. The most important of these projects,

however, was the Han River Comprehensive Development Project launched in 1981 and completed five years later. Before this massive project, the river was polluted, inaccessible, and flooded often, turning the riverside into a no man's land. In the process the entire 36km riverbed was dug up, underwater dams built, embankments constructed, and sewer main and treatment plants put in place. When all these were completed, Seoul had a new pair of expressways that connected the Olympic Town to the airport, and a pair of riverside parks graced by bike lanes, football fields, swimming pools and marshlands. With the Han River Comprehensive Project, the was transformed from a barrier between the two parts of Seoul into a seam that joined them together.

Another of the 'occasional projects' was renewal of the downtown area where corporate headquarters still remained despite the city's professed policy of suppressing Kangbuk, the historic part, while promoting Kangnam, the new region south of the river. In the zeal to accelerate move of people and business firms to Kangnam, the city authority imposed severe height and use limits on downtown and thereby froze virtually all building activities, even within the city designated renewal areas. The city government retreated from its former position

and relaxed much of the confining regulations in order to incite corporate firms, banks, and insurance companies to take part in the real estate development downtown. The booming economy helped the city's new policy. During the '80s the national economy tripled in size thanks to the "three lows": low oil prices, low international interest rates, and the low value of the Korean Won. A total of 95 renewal projects were undertaken in this period. As a result, downtown Seoul became a white-collar business district-clean, efficient, and modern looking, yet physically separated from Kangnam where a majority of white color employees came to reside. Similar wholesale redevelopment took place on squatter areas in the historic city, mostly concentrated on hilltops. Modernized apartment buildings for middle income group replaced shacks and barracks for the poor. Unfortunately, few of displaced poor enjoyed the benefits of this new housing.

3. Staging the Games and Aftermath

After eight years of diligent preparations, the Olympic Games were finally staged in the summer of 1988 under the motto of "Seoul to the World, the World to Seoul." During the 16 days of festivity, some 40,000 visitors came from 160 countries; press corps alone counted for 15,700. Political dissidents

postponed mass rallies, even the crime rate went down markedly. The general consensus was that the Seoul Olympic Games were a great success.

On the national level, the Olympics elevated the country's standing in the world, helped broaden ties with the third world countries, and helped initiate "Nordpolitik" with Russia and China. In economic terms, it boosted the electronics industry and motor manufacturing by stimulating demand and improving brand image abroad. On a social level, it helped build self confidence and generated a sense of identity as a nation and as a people. Seoul's Olympic Games were indeed a celebration of Korea's coming of age.

On the metropolitan level, the Olympics helped transform Seoul into a world city. The site of the global festivities and the target of global media attention, Seoul was the principal beneficiary of the Olympics. The Olympics stimulated improvement of the city's physical and social infrastructure. By the time the Olympics was over, Seoul could boast of modern subway system, greatly improved utilities, expanded cultural infrastructure, a renewed downtown, greatly improved park systems, and flourishing new residential communities. However, the concentrated investment had negative impacts as well. The concentrated investment in Seoul exacerbated the gap between the

capital and the rest of the region, and the concentration of investment in Gangnam came at the expense of the less fortunate communities in the northern part of the city. An inflated prestige of Kangnam as a place to live, coupled with the unsatisfied demand for middle income housing accumulated during the time of world cup preparation, was to gravely distort the housing market, so much so that only the drastic measure of creating five new towns simultaneously - providing two million dwelling units - would counter the housing crisis. Yet again, concentration to the capital region was further induced.

III. 2002 FIFA World CUP KOREA/JAPAN and Seoul

1. The Times

The success of the 1988 summer Olympics prompted the athletic community to resolve hosting the 2002 FIFA World Cup as the next national target to pursue. The success, however, did not diminish the widespread feeling of disenchantment with the military successors. So no concrete action followed in the ensuing political turmoil. It was in 1993 when the civilian government of Kim Yong Sam was installed that country formally

joined the bid. Yet even after the FIFA decided Korea and Japan to be the co-hosts of the next Cup, much confusion remained with the lame duck government of Kim as to the number and identities of host cities, and the site of the opening match. The final decision was left to the new government of Kim Dae Jung who was elected president in the midst of financial crisis. Finally, the decision was made that ten cities, including Seoul, would host tournaments and that Seoul would be the site to kick off the World Cup. Seoul was to build a new football stadium in the under-development area of Sangam, with the central government and other organizations covering two-thirds of the construction costs.

With just four years left to prepare, work for the World Cup began in times of unprecedented hardship. It seemed that all the glories of Korea's compressed development - which the Olympic Games had celebrated - were now crumbling under the pressure of the changing times and inherent contradiction. Signs indicated the collapse was many-sided and total. The disgraceful fate of the two former presidents and the mayor, all principal figures at the time of the Olympics, signaled the demise of the old politics. The tragic fall of a major Han River bridge and a department store in the middle of the decade showed vividly how dangerous

such rapid growth could be. The financial crisis at the end of the decade - from which hundreds of factories and firms closed resulting unforeseen number of unemployed and homelessness - made it plain that the old regime was no longer viable in the face of changing needs.

Beginning the term at the height of the financial crisis, and conscious of the double missions charged with the Goh administration, namely reform of the city on the one hand and successful staging of the World Cup, the policy planners at the city endeavored to integrate the two missions into a single working whole. For them, conditions for a successful World Cup overlapped with the qualities required to make Seoul a better place to live and do business in, not only for locals but also for foreigners. The best route to prepare for the World Cup would be, therefore, to be true to the call of the times and conscientiously pursue reform that was called for with or without the Cup. So the Goh administration proceeded to restructure the overblown, inefficient bureaucracy and replaced the inherited growth-oriented policies to ones that valued sustainability, diversity and 'software' qualities.

2. Urban Planning Actions

The Goh administration down zoned the

central part of the city in order to discourage excessive speculative development. On the other hand, it worked hard to enlarge subway lines, completed an inner ring road, and introduced a regulated citywide parking system. Rather than adding new districts or hastening urban renewal, it sought to strengthen the viability of existing neighborhoods and districts and to enhance the quality of the everyday environment. Three 'programs' illustrate the approach the Goh administration took to upgrade the living quality of the city as well as economic competitiveness.

Under the motto of "Green City Seoul", the city planted ten million trees, created parks, improved air quality by replacing diesel engines of buses with natural gas burning engines, and started a long range program of 'de-engineering' the harsh concrete structure of the river edge into more environmentally enriched habitat. Under the "Cultural City Seoul" category, it created a new history museum, a museum of fine arts, and the Samchonggak traditional performance center. It also preserved historic streets like Insa-Dong and districts such as Gahoe-Dong. "Global City Seoul" refers to the efforts pursued to make Seoul a hospitable world city. The efforts include upgrading of public toilets, traffic signs, and maps; creation of marketing department;

formation of organizations and networks to engage international business community in the city's effort to broaden and globalize its economic base.

But it is the flagship project of the Goh administration, Sangam Millennium Town, which best illustrates the approach of integrating the opportunities created by the World Cup with a long-term urban vision. Sangam is on the western edge of Seoul between the Han River and the Kyongui railway that links Seoul to cities in North Korea. Nanjido, the southern half, had been an idyllic island until it became Seoul's principal trash landfill in 1978. Twin hills 100 meters high and two kilometers long, arose through 13 years of continuous dumping. The unsanitary state of the landfill coupled with the peripheral location had dispelled speculative development for years. The situation changed, however, with the creation of Incheon International Airport. New transportation lines were planned which would drastically improve accessibility to Sangam, and developers began to turn their attention to this promising new opportunity. The city imposed a development moratorium on this strategic site to prevent conventional development from using up the land. The moratorium was lifted, however, by the succeeding administration, which started the process to build public housing in Sangam.

Sangam New Millennium Town (SNMT) was an ambitious plan to regenerate the backward region while providing an appropriate backdrop to the World Cup Stadium complex. The planners of SNMT envisioned a new method of city planning which seamlessly integrated economic concerns with environmental values, cultural amenities with tangible urban spaces. As a result, SNMT consists of four components: the world cup stadium, the World Cup Park, the Eco village, and the Digital Media City (DMC).

The World Cup Stadium sits at the entrance to the Sangam Millennium Town. A subway station is integrated with the Stadium, allowing convenient access and quick dispersal. The stadium is graced with a fabric roof that recalls the mast and sails of river going boats, and is equipped with a movable stage and advanced light and sound systems, which allows the structure to be used for cultural purposes other than foot ball matches. The stadium was built as an environmentally friendly structure. It recycles rainwater, uses refuse generated gas as the source of heating and cooling and employs environment-friendly materials. In order to be financially self-sustaining, the stadium was designed to include 1.5 hectare of rentable space. The space is presently leased to shopping malls, multi cinemas, health center,

restaurants, and wedding hall, generating revenues that far exceed maintenance costs. Thanks to the design employing prefabricated building components, and track method of construction, the edifice was completed in 37 months, a record performance, and instantly became a tourist attraction as one of the world's great football arenas.

The former dumpsite was reborn as the World Cup Park. It is twice the size of the Olympic Park, or as large as the Central Park, New York. Extensive environmental engineering was performed before refurbishing the dumpsite as an ecological park. A metal ring wall was driven to the bedrock around the hills to block polluted water from seeping into the river, and a network of pipes was installed to collect methane gas which is used in a nearby plant to generate electricity. The World Cup Park is composed of five different places: the peace park near the stadium with pond, lawns and plazas for cultural activities; the sky park on the twin peaks with wild flower and grass garden; the sunset park with public golf course; the Nanji Stream Park corridor; and lastly, Nanchi Riverfront park, which contains a ferry dock, a camping ground, a wet land, and a network of routes and fields for inline skate fans.

The Eco Village inherited the residential development scheme initiated earlier by the

previous administration, but considerably modified the original program to make it fit the elevated standards and requirements of the SNMT. Eventually some 30, 000 families of mixed income categories will be accommodated, which will include those who work at the Digital Media City, or DMC, the heart of the Sang Am Millennium Town. This Village is also developed as an environmentally friendly community as well as an intelligent village.

DMC is a 'new industrial district' for digital and entertainment activities. Building on the already strong IT capabilities of Seoul, and drawing creative energies from the media town of nearby Yeouido as well as from universities that abound in the vicinity, DMC will start as a planned digital cluster to complement the spontaneously grown 'digital alleys' in Kangnam. Eventually, it will grow, the planners of DMC envisioned, into new social capital, an amplifier of value creation and a cradle of innovation that will lead the city's digital future. It will house selected business firms working in the development, production, and distribution of digital media contents such as games, film, animation, music and online contents, as well as governmental organizations whose function is to assist incubation and development of such businesses. State-of-the-art broadband telecommunications infrastructure and

services will support resident firms at DMC. The main street of DMC is being developed as the Digital Media Street. Perhaps the world's first experiment of its kind, the Digital Media Street will be a prototype market showcasing technological innovations and products developed in DMC's research labs and tenant companies.

3. Staging the Event and Aftermath

After four years of preparation, the world's greatest festival kicked off at the new stadium at Sangam Millennium Town and went on through the entire month of June and the closing game at Yokohama, Japan on July 1. The excitement generated by the performance of the world's top teams captivated everyone, and the unexpected fine performance of the Korean team further increased the excitement. An estimated 400,000 foreign visitors came to Seoul during the month of June, a figure slightly lower than expected, and lower than that of the same month of average year. In contrast, the TV broadcast reached to 28.8 billion people in 213 countries (the total broadcasting time was 41,100 hours), placing Seoul at the center of the world's attention.

The Korea World Cup Organizing Committee (KOWOC) reported a surplus of 16.6 billion won. Whether the World Cup will

bring the added value of 5,300 billion won and 350,000 new jobs as KDI predicted, or whether the export will increase by 527 billion wons through the following five years as Samsung projected, remains to be seen. It will remain difficult to quantify the branding effect the World Cup exposure produced. The Korea Commerce Association reported, on the basis of a survey, that a majority of its members felt improvement in their international business dealings.

IV. Conclusion

1. Comparing the Two Mega Events

While the historical contexts in which the Olympics and the World Cup were staged differed markedly, common traits could be observed in the way the national government approached the challenges and how the metropolitan government of Seoul handled its tasks. In both cases, the state was the instigator and the City a faithful partner, albeit reluctant in the initial stage. What prompted the national leaders to pursue hosting of the world events was largely political: they saw in the global events unusual opportunities to bolster national solidarity, broaden political support, improve the image of the country, strengthen diplomatic leverage, and enlarge economic

partnership. In both cases, the national leadership saw these expected benefits serving their prime imperative - enhancing the legitimacy of their rule.

The city, on the other hand, took the events as an opportunity to facilitate urban development. Hosting such a global event gave the city common tangible goals and conditions to elicit broad support, which in turn enabled the city government to mobilize financial and human resources and to focus investment on areas it deemed urgent, appropriate, or desirable. In this way, the city government considerably strengthened its ability to plan and 'get things done.' For the city's leaders, the Olympics and the World Cup were catalysts for urban transformation, and facilitators for urban development.

In both instances, both the investment and benefits reaped were spatially unequal. Nationally, Seoul was the sole or principal beneficiary. Seoul received the largest financial support from the national government, attracted the greatest media attention, and received the highest number of foreign visitors. Accordingly, Seoul could rapidly improve its physical and cultural infrastructure, regenerate its problematic districts, refurbish its streets, and upgrade its images, while the rest of the country participated in the enjoyment of the spectacle but not in the harvest.

Between the two cases, however, there are differences and contrasts that stem from the differing vicissitudes of the times in which the two world events were prepared respectively. The Olympic Games occurred at the culmination of the era of compressed development, and the World Cup when the old regime was disintegrating with no new order yet in sight. The Olympic was prepared in the midst of widening political dissent, the World Cup in the context of economic collapse. A planned economy and heavy-handed state rule were the norm at the time of the Olympic, while privatization, deregulation, and an awakened desire for distributional justice and demand for governance characterize the ethos of the World Cup times. The Olympic Games were a carefully staged national drama where nationalism was the ruling emotion; the World Cup was, at least outwardly, a more a cosmopolitan event which accompanied an exuberant outpouring of youth culture and volunteerism. The Olympics promoted the development and taming of Nature, the World Cup encouraged conservation and rebirth of Nature. The Olympic produced urban renewal, the World Cup fostered rehabilitation of the existing urban environment. The Olympic plans favored strict spatial separation of functions, while the World Cup plans valued mixed use.

2. Legacies and Their Sustainability

Seoul's World Cup and Olympic experiences are related in two different ways. On the one hand, the World Cup rests on the shoulder of the Olympics, in the sense that many of the necessary conditions to stage the event were a legacy of the 1988 games.

On the other hand, the World Cup symbolized an effort to overcome legacies of the era that produced the Olympics. In this sense, the World Cup could be seen as the antithesis of the Olympics and what it stood for. The Olympic and the World Cup, each in its own way, have left their imprints in Seoul's urban space, people, and organizations. Some impacts will endure and others dissipate or overcome in time. But what will determine the sustainability of their legacies? Both Mega events were extraordinary occasions, indeed, but the extraordinary by definition is temporary. The ordinary is bound to return and it is the ordinary that matters in the end - the ordinary life and the ordinary environment.

Mega events accelerate historical processes by virtue of their unique ability to engage the host society to focus its energies over a prolonged duration. This allows unusual and remarkable achievements, but at the same time creates and widens disparity between the focused target and the background. In

other words, such prolonged concentration on a single event tends to deepen conflicts and contradictions as well as the precepts under which the action is designed and taken. As these latent conflicts and contradictions are rendered vivid, they become effective and surface in the field of public consciousness. Mega events thus pose new challenges to the host society and also suggest ways to meet them. The success of the Olympic Games in Seoul contributed to the demise of the historical conditions which gave birth to it. Similarly, the success of the World Cup helped solidify the digital, generational and ideological divides that had appeared in Seoul's fast-changing society. In sum, the two mega events produced resources for future actors to tap. How future planners should tap these resources to shape the future is as much dependent on the nature of resources left by the two mega events, as on the attitude and value orientation of those who succeed the present actors. In the end, the sustainability of the legacies of the two events rests on what later actors do with them.

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