2011

Scenes Dynamics in Global Cities : Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

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The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of researchers and may not be different from the policies of Seoul Metropolitan Government

Abstract

This report compares Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago concerning urban development, civic participation and democratic processes. We introduce the concept of 'scene' which is the specific lifestyle of a place affecting its economy, social and political activities. We measure scenes in each dong of Seoul and similar small areas in Tokyo and Chicago. We collected hundreds of amenity variables from several data sources in each country such as census and online Yellow Pages and contrast scene types in local areas with ARCGIS maps. We detail scene types like neighborly, utilitarian and Bohemian. The main theories from the West stressing participation as driving legitimacy and Bohemia as driving innovation need to be revised to explain Asian patterns. Our general solution is to construct a multi-level interpretative framework specifying how cultural, political and economic dynamics interpenetrate in distinct but varying combinations. To pursue the Korean context we ask in what way should the Western idea that the Bohemian is the source of innovation be transformed? By breaking up the Bohemian components, we offer an answer which helps interpret the Asian data more precisely and suggests a new perspective on the West. The concept of scene helps make more precise the contexts where patterns shift. Scenes are new building blocks that can help policies transform neighborhoods and cities.

Executive Summary

Chapter 1

○ The scene perspective can help us join Asia with the US and Europe so that we are part of a world system that can be more coherently interpreted by social scientists, policymakers and average citizens.

○ We define a scene in general as the specific lifestyle of a place. Thus, a scene is more than neighborhood or physical structures. It includes collections of persons labeled by race, class, gender, etc. It also includes specific combination of these groups and activities that join them together.

○ The "scene" rises in salience with the spread of individualism as it is an open physical space where individuals can freely enter or depart, driven more by individual preferences than by broader factors like class, state, church, or family obligations.

○ We first show various scene maps of three cities, Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago to review the space allocations in the three cities. This will help us understand the general 'scenescape' of the three cities.

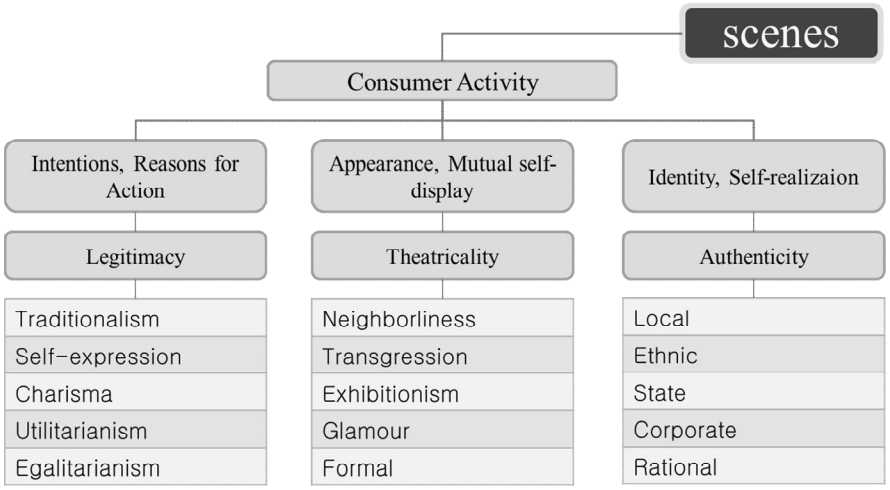
○ Then we move to the relationships between scenes and socio-economic variables such as youth, professionals and college graduates in the three cities. This will tell us the specific characteristics of how scenes affect the residents in the three cities differently.

○ Thirdly, we will discuss the topic of scenes and development, especially focusing on the different influence of Bohemia on urban development in the three cities.

○ Lastly, we will discuss the relationship between scenes and citizen participation. Here, due to the limitation of data available, we cannot fully explain the relationship between scenes and civic participation. We will, however, suggest general propositions about how the patterns of civic participation are different in the three cities and how newly rising Bohemians influence the patterns.

Chapter 2

○ We have articulated this internal environment of life in scenes in terms of three broad dimensions of pleasure that define the qualitative experience of a scene : theatricality, authenticity and legitimacy(Silver, Clark and Graziul, 2011). Based on the main dimension, we have further distinguished 15 types of scenes activities which link to the rising "issue specificity" of people's more complex and differentiated social lives and value configurations.

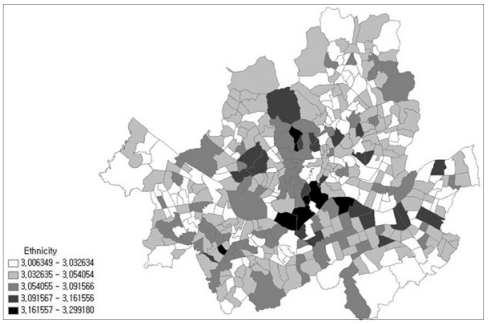


Source : Clark (2007 : 20).

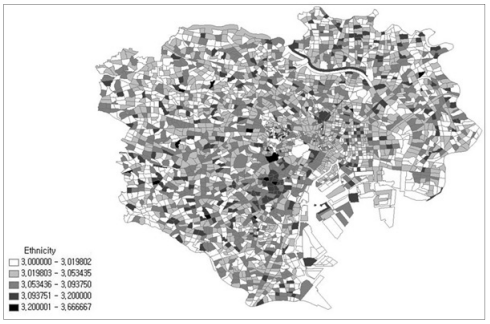
〈Figure 1〉 A Grammar of Scenes

Chapter 3

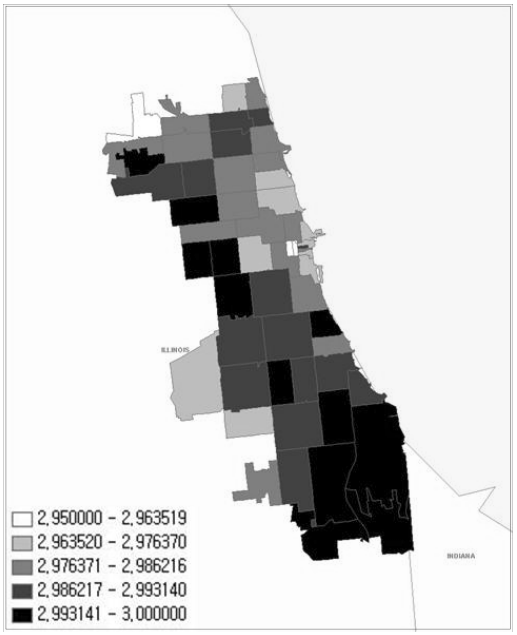
○ In this chapter, we present scene maps of 15 sub-dimensions in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago. This will help us understand general scenescape of the three cities. The maps of Seoul are drawn at the 425 dong levels, while the maps of Tokyo are drawn at 3,134 small district level. The maps of Chicago are drawn at 57 zipcode level. Darker colored areas represent stronger tendency of each sub-dimension.



〈Figure 2〉 Ethnic Scene map of Seoul



〈Figure 3〉 Ethnic Scene map of Tokyo



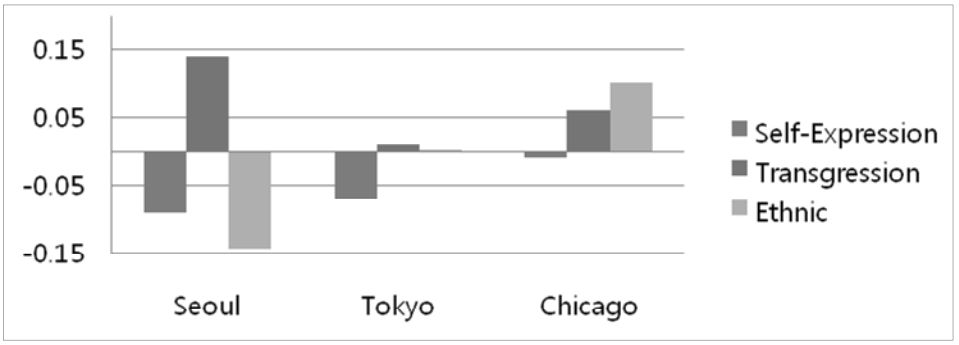
〈Figure 4〉 Ethnic Scene map of Chicago

Chapter 4

○ The relationships among the scene sub-dimensions in the three cities were compared. This illuminates different spatial configurations in the three cities. For example, Egalitarianism is highly related with charismatic places in Seoul and Chicago, while it is highly related

with state facilities and rational places such as universities in Tokyo. In Seoul and Chicago, charismatic places seem to be those areas with high democratization (egalitarianism) movements and institutions.

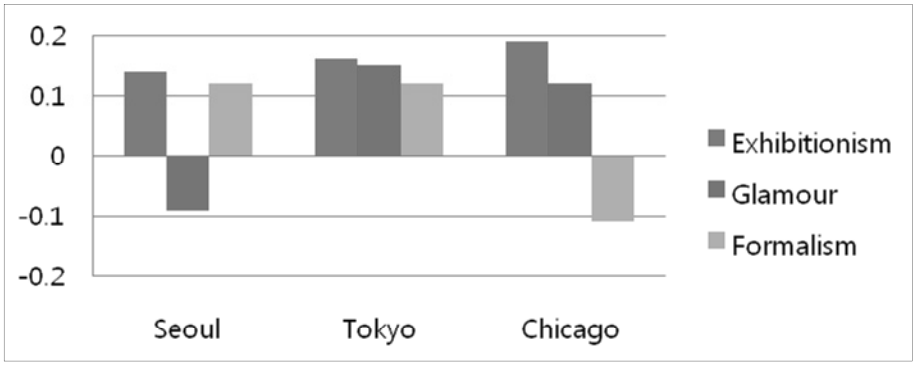
○ The scene sub-dimensions and their relationships are compared with other socio-economic variables such as youth, education and occupation. This comparison will lead to understanding the different cultural values and activities in the three cities. In so doing, scenes are used as exemplars : 1) communitarian scenes, meaning more traditional and neighborly scenes, 2) avant-garde/exotic scenes, meaning self-expressive, transgressive and ethnic scenes, 3) business-oriented scenes, meaning utilitarian and corporate scenes and 4) conspicuous consumption scenes, meaning exhibitionistic, glamorous and formal scenes. For example, we present the relationship between avant-garde/exotic scene and youth.



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 5〉 Avant-garde/Exotic Scenes and Youth(2,534)

○ The relationship between scenes and scene dimensions and median gross rent is now compared. This measure roughly indicates the popularity of a given area and is a proxy for the desirability of the area. Comparing the relationships between scenes and rent can explain the different values and activities of the residents in the three cities. The relationship between conspicuous consumption and rent is presented as an example.



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 6〉 Conspicuous Consumption Scenes and Rent

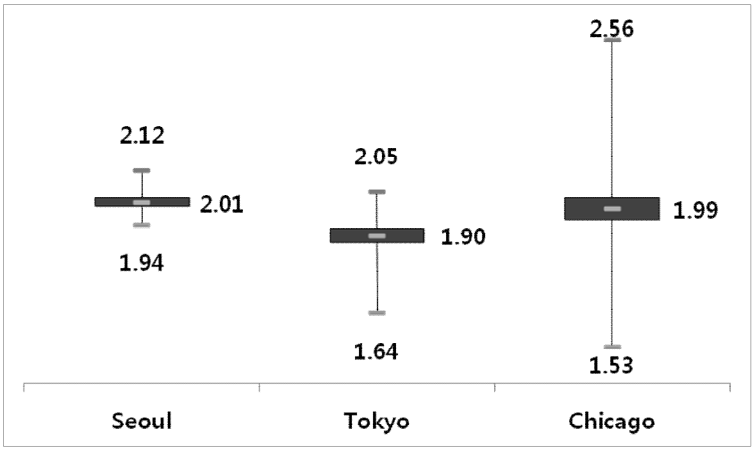
○ Compared to many other world cities for which we have scenes data, Seoul is distinctly glamorous in having boutiques, cosmetics and related amenities, localist in its locally-oriented neighborhood activities. It may come as a surprise, but measured this way, Seoul is more glamorous than Paris! One could review this sort of result for one neighborhood at a time (which might show that while Paris has some highly glamorous downtown boulevards, it also has many suburban areas that are less glamorous than Seoul's suburban areas).

Chapter 5

○ Bohemia is considered a core component driving innovation and urban development in the West. From Balzac through Richard Florida, Bohemians are creative. Artists are the quintessence in the sense that breaking the eggs of tradition is a prerequisite to cooking a new omelet. The core idea seems broadly accepted by many readers and commentators in the US and Western Europe. However, many Korean intellectuals react with puzzlement when asked what or where is the local Bohemia. Many imply that there is none in most Asian countries.

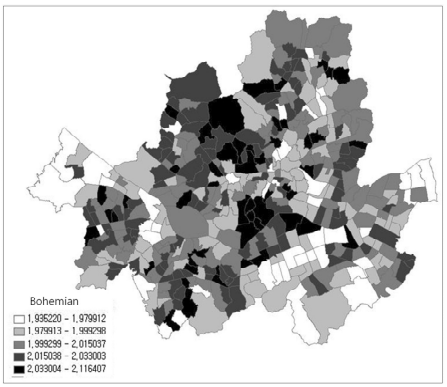
○ This chapter will examine whether or not Bohemia is absent using scene data. The results

will also be compared with those from Chicago to lead to incorporate Asian variations more specifically. In so doing we reassess whether the idea of Bohemia should be revised or whether a new concept should be considered as Asian variations are more specifically incorporated into international theory.

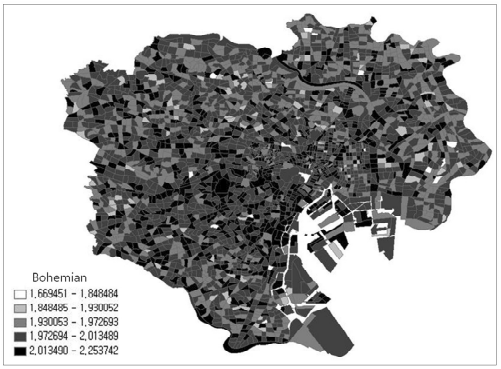


〈Figure 7〉 Boxplots of Bohemian scene scores of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

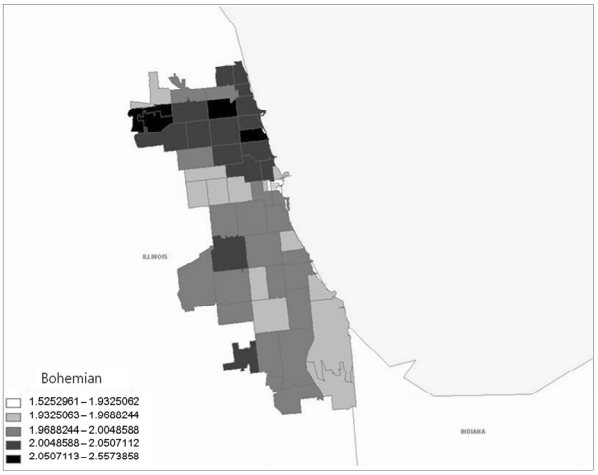
○ What is interesting from the boxplots is that the mean Bohemian scene scores of Seoul is higher than that of Tokyo and even Chicago. Does this mean that Seoul is more Bohemian than Chicago? We don't think. The reason why the mean Bohemian score in Chicago is lower than Seoul is the differences in residential areas. As discussed in Chapter 4, in Chicago, the Bohemian-like scenes of self-expression and transgression are (often strongly) negatively correlated with neighborliness, tradition and localism. People pursuing these distinctive activities are in different neighborhoods. By contrast, in Seoul all of these are more often together geographically, the scenes dimensions are positively or at least not negatively related. This comes from the lack of Western-style specialization stressed in much of the land use in Seoul and perhaps also in Tokyo.



〈Figure 8〉 Bohemian Scene map of Seoul



〈Figure 9〉 Bohemian Scene map of Tokyo

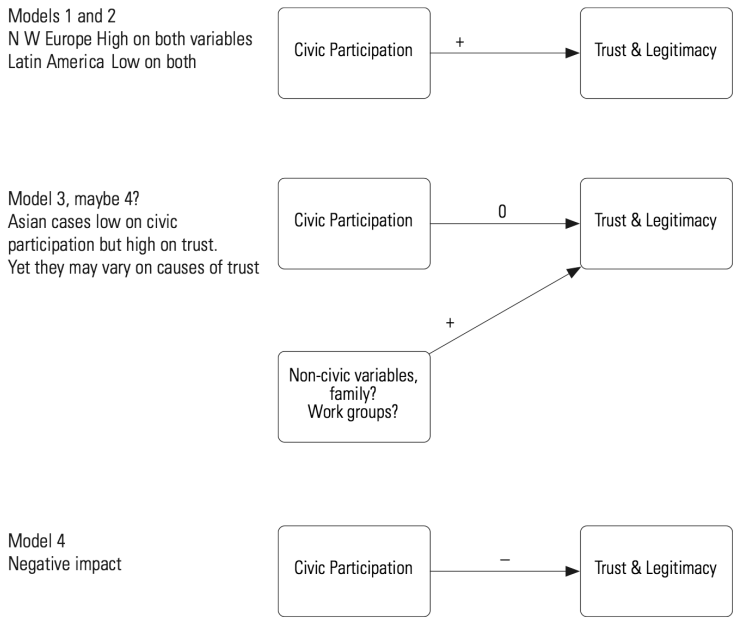


〈Figure 10〉 Bohemian Scene map of Chicago

○ Just because there is no distinctive dressing and less tolerance of homosexuals, it cannot be said that there is no Bohemia in Asia, especially in Korea. That is, it is more politically incorrect to dress differently, to think or act as an anarchist and to engage in any behavior that can be visibly seen by a grandmother at dinner looking across the table at her 23-year-old granddaughter. On the other hand, the 23-year-old granddaughter may be highly creative in finding ways where she can join a candlelight ceremony or a miniskirt brigade (which was one of the official organizations that participated in the Seoul beef protests in 2008).

Chapter 6

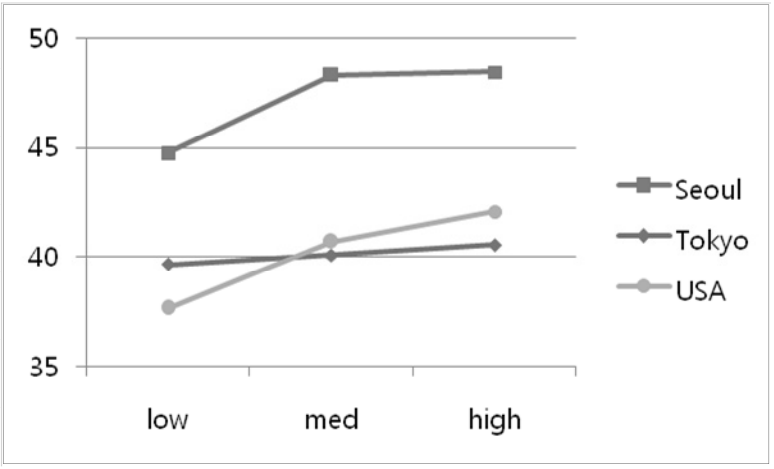
○ There are different paths for legitimacy and trust according to different political development and different cultural structure in the society. Northwest Europe and North America support Model 1 : more participation leads to more trust. Obversely, Latin Americans have such low participation and trust, that even if participation "works" for a few it misses the great majority. However, the Model grows more complex when we shift to Korea, Portugal and Eastern Europe, as the participation to trust path coefficient falls to zero : no impact. For some subgroups, the coefficient even becomes negative (Model 4).



○ Where families are stronger, family members are constrained more toward family-related, consensual organizational participation, some of which they can pursue as a family group, such as participation in neighborhood associations, festivals, folk music, attending religious services, participation that welcomes people of all ages and educational levels. Related are local amenities like restaurants and parks, where families can eat, exercise, walk and relax as a family unit. Active families fill this space that is filled by civic groups in a Tocquevillian civic model, or in a more individualized world by bowling or blogging alone.

○ Young people in Korea are much more active in individualized or invisible associations and many people have suggested that this sort of involvement is more common because young Koreans fear sanctions from their parents and grandparents for other kinds of political participation. That is, Koreans have more often been involved in blogs, Internet sites and other associations wherein the individual is anonymous. This has been interpreted by some to be related to a fear of reprisal, combined with an age conflict and a conflict over parental power and authority. This pattern has also been linked to the religious traditions of Buddhism and Confucianism, the latter which encourages deference to elders and both of which seek to avoid personal confrontation. This joint tradition contrasts with the western Protestant tradition, especially Calvinism, which encourages more confrontation.

○ In Asia, especially Korea, given the dynamics of the family, Confucianism, lack of neighborhood segregation of amenities, cohabitation of children with generations of parents and grandparents, we should find weaker correlations between the factors linking Bohemia and new social movements, but maybe not voting.



〈Figure 12〉 Liberal Voting by Bohemians in Seoul, Tokyo and the USA

○ Regarding the expansion of the third sector, ironically, the results suggest that in recent years while US nonprofits have moved toward the Asian model of state-support, the Asian states have variously moved toward the US model, granting more autonomy to various forms of civic and social groups.

Chapter 7

○ To focus on a set of controversial policies in Korea and the world today, we join several of the above ideas to ask, “How should the Western idea that the Bohemia is the source of innovation be transformed?” It may be that the seething anger, the revolutionary inside but deferential family member outside, is a Korean trope, but it is not unique to Korea. It suggests a new perspective on the West. It can generate a distinctive form of emotional intellectual freedom and innovation in ways that are simply not recorded and recognized by the Westerner who is looking for a beard or visible external lifestyle like drinking much alcohol, free love or other traditional aspects of “Bohemia.”

○ Is Bohemia the future? No. This illustrates what we precisely warned against at the outset : seeking a universal “law” that is only partial, even if it is sometimes true. However, where and why?

○ *Bohemian islands in communitarian seas lead to growth, but not elsewhere*. Since Bohemias are liminal spaces between the passing of an old world and the emergence of a new world, their impact on growth and innovation should be greater when embedded in more communitarian contexts.

○ In this report, we have mainly focused on drawing scene maps of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago and discussed their relationship with urban development focusing on Bohemian scene and civic participation. If we further articulate the concept of urban scene including more cities for comparison, this will enable us to develop urban policies relevant to the uniqueness of each city.

○ Finally, scenes enable us (1) to break up the simple growth concept, (2) to add specifics to fiscal, human and social capital to help focus and target, (3) to identify growth dynamics of distinct scenes (Bohemia vs. family scenes, etc.), (4) to identify the neighborhoods (via dongs, zipcodes etc.), (5) to ask which neighborhoods are too low or high on amenities for distinct scenes, (6) to invest in key amenities to make each scene more vital and (7) to think like a movie director, not a military leader.

○ Scenes are new building blocks that can help policies transform neighborhoods and cities.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1 Introduction

○ We are entering a more cosmopolitan age where Europe is increasingly the past, the US is the present and Asia leads toward the future. Sensitivity to these changes should focus our attention more explicitly on how well our theories generalize from Europe to the US and Asia. Many talk of globalization and yet it is these broad regional contexts filled with historical specificities, deep histories and rich details that are the building blocks of major global linkages and patterns. Here we sympathize with Janet Abu-Lughod's cultural and historical sensitivity more than with Saskia Sassen's abstraction.

○ With the decline in manufacturing and traditional patterns of industrial production, some economists have revisited their theories about what drives the economy. Efficiency and productivity are not enough. One version of the new formulation is innovation or creativity, seen as a critical factor driving economic growth. Some of the most influential theorists here have been Joseph Schumpeter, in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, which stressed the creative destruction of capitalism in breaking up old forms of production. The creative destruction of the old was an inherent element of competitive growth. Jane Jacobs stressed how much cities were classically the locus of such creative activity and innovation from the arts, banking, mercantile activities and trade of all sorts through the centuries, continuing in the largest cosmopolitan cities of the present. She further stressed individual neighborhoods such as Greenwich Village with a distinctly Bohemian style of challenging established ways of thinking and acting. The city was more powerful as a personally-connected set of streets and neighborhoods, where people could interact in cafés, outdoor book shops, neighborhood conversations that could spill into a neighborly sense of

distinctiveness and sometimes political action, from signing political petitions to marching in demonstrations. She personally helped mobilize opposition to stop construction of some large freeway projects of New York's master planner and builder Robert Moses because these did not sufficiently incorporate the small human scale. Jacobs transformed many established ideas in planning and later urban economics and parts of sociology and geography, especially through Richard Florida and Edward Glaeser, who elaborated her ideas and conducted careful research with their colleagues. Many others followed parallel and overlapping themes making these ideas a major force at the beginning of the 21st Century among researchers and policy makers, architects and urban planners.

○ But how does this model hold up if we shift to Asia? The simplest critical point, elaborated below, is that Bohemia is weak to absent in most of Asia, at least as measured using the normal Western indicators of Bohemian lifestyle, thinking and acting. Then, how can Japan and Taiwan and Korea be capturing so many patents, generating so many new forms of electronic hardware and software? How can many countries across Asia be so phenomenally successful in their economies when Europe is in economic turmoil and the US is sluggish? The simple answer is that the simple theory must be wrong. That is, the normal (Western) Bohemian cannot be the main source of innovation, or we must find better ways of thinking about Bohemia and innovation.

○ A second key idea in the West (esp. Northwest Europe) is that citizen participation generates civil society, fostering organized groups that encourage discussion among their members. This discussion enhances confidence among average persons : they learn to participate as local leaders, starting with small tasks but expanding to broader domains and concepts like how society and the economy should be reorganized, etc. This builds a sense of self-confidence in the individual and, collectively, trust among persons with whom one talks. Ideally this should generalize to at least the local area and potentially the national political system within which it is embedded. A considerable body of recent work has sought to demonstrate and measure the degree to which these ideas in fact do hold. The key theorist was classically Alexis de Tocqueville and more recently Robert Putnam with the same idea.

○ While Putnam has been an articulate and forceful advocate of these ideas, critics have been many, but often ad hoc, challenging Putnam on specific regions such as southern Italy

(Tarrow) or arguing that civic groups were developed top-down after wars more than bottom-up (Skocpol and others). Perhaps the most dramatic results emerged from Seokho Kim's recent PhD at Chicago where he tested this Tocquevillian idea first for thousands of Korean citizens (Kim, 2008). He found no participation effect. This implies, for some citizens at least, even the opposite. That is the more some Koreans participated, the less they trusted leaders and institutions. Was this unique to Korea? He dug further and found similar patterns in Portugal, Brazil and Eastern Europe.

○ This is a dramatic new finding, important to build on. Look at the Seoul beef protest in 2008, the noted recent example with many historical counterparts as Korean students protested against authoritarian politics. We also see analogous protests against authoritarian leaders for centuries around the world, esp. by young male students, talented, independent, thoughtful, critical. Bohemian? Not necessarily. The next logical question is whether this is specific to Asia? Do we not have student protests, union members, civil rights organizers and others who in the past and present actively organize against establishment policies and potentially encourage delegitimizing the establishment through participation in their organized activities? These are widespread, even though they may be a minoritarian variant rather than majoritarian in their impact on trust. This is a quite different conceptual framing, to ask where and why and how much this happens, rather than just link it to names of countries or regions. Can we instead introduce gender, age, living with your family, religiousness and other factors to help interpret the "Korean effect" of participation not building trust?

○ Lastly, we should consider 'context' as the synthesizer. For the importance of context, we can go up to Max Weber, who mapped broad but specific areas of the world and showed how a few were successful in developing rational markets, organized industry, distant trading partners and other components of modern industrial capitalism. Most others failed. Why? His core driver was Calvinist Protestantism which he elaborated in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Then, in subsequent books, he probed which critical elements were lacking in India, China, Catholic Southern Europe and in past Middle Eastern empires surrounding the ancient Jews and Greeks, that crushed their efforts to develop. Weber also added values carried by individuals in their heads and hearts that drove them

in a more powerful way than material self interest could. Money alone often led to disloyal followers, an unreliable military and corrupt government administrators. The concept of legitimacy, even striving toward God and salvation, as a value in the minds of average citizens/consumers/soldiers was a critical contribution of Weber's to move from an elitist model to a more citizen-driven conception of a modern complex economy and decentralized political system, for which citizens would voluntarily fight wars and sacrifice their lives.

○ As we move from Max Weber's past historical examples through the complexities and increasing flexibility of the early 21st century, specifics like his three components of legitimacy (traditional, charismatic and bureaucratic) appear insufficient. More generally, education, income, travel and information revolutions like the Internet have hugely increased the sophistication of average citizens. In a few years these make the simpler (often top down) theories that ignore these increasing dimensions and complexities of citizens' values that drive them outmoded. We have discussed these changes under the general heading of the New Political Culture in some eight books stressing such factors as how heightened citizen resources like education and income etc. create new specific contexts that transform simpler past relationships.

○ We here extend this general logic specifically by introducing the concept of 'scene' and the 15-dimensional classification as part of the theory of scenes. The scene perspective can help us join Asia with the US and Europe so that we are part of a world system that can be more coherently interpreted by social scientists, policymakers and average citizens. The concept of scene has been used loosely for many decades by social scientist such as Goffman(1959), but we are building it into a serious tool. We define a scene in general as the specific lifestyle of a place. Thus, a scene is more than neighborhood or physical structures. It includes collections of persons labeled by race, class, gender, etc. It also includes specific combination of these groups and activities that join them together. These components become attractive or repellent scene through the values and meanings they express. No one indicator or data source measures all aspects of a scene, but this overall conception guides our work.

○ The "scene" rises in salience with the spread of individualism as it is an open physical space where individuals can freely enter or depart, driven more by individual preferences than by

broader factors like class, state, church, or family obligations. Scenes have also increased in historical and theoretical salience as social groups rooted in shared individual tastes have joined and redefined those rooted in ethnicity, class, or religious affiliation (Irwin, 1977 ; Blum, 2003 ; Straw, 2002 ; Bennett and Peterson, 2004).

○ In this report, we first show various scene maps of three cities, Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago to review the space allocations in the three cities. This will help us understand the general 'scenescape' of the three cities.

○ Then we move to the relationships between scenes and socio-economic variables such as youth, professionals and college graduates in the three cities. This will tell us the specific characteristics of how scenes affect the residents in the three cities differently.

○ Thirdly, we will discuss the topic of scenes and development, especially focusing on the different influence of Bohemia on urban development in the three cities.

○ Lastly, we will discuss the relationship between scenes and citizen participation. Here, due to the limitation of data available, we cannot fully explain the relationship between scenes and civic participation. We will, however, suggest general propositions about how the patterns of civic participation are different in the three cities and how newly rising Bohemians influence the patterns.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Review of Scenes and Methodology

1. Theoretical Discussion of Urban Scenes
2. Data Collection and Processing

2 Theoretical Review of Scenes and Methodology

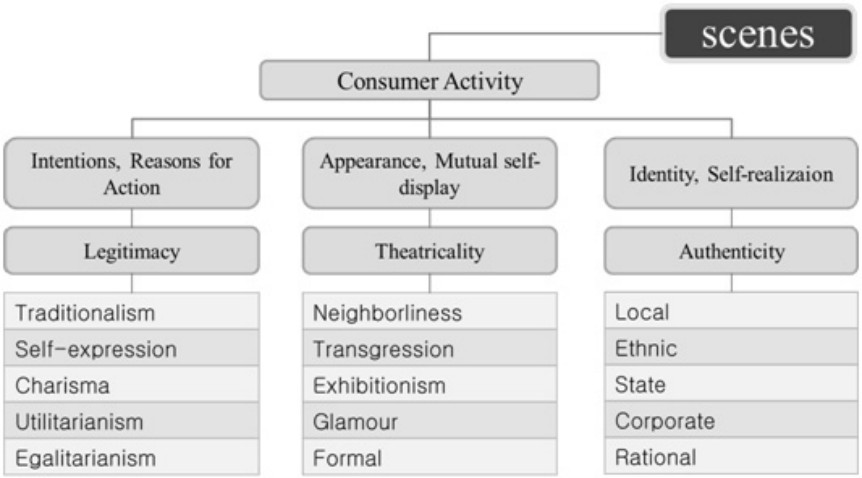
1. Theoretical Discussion of Urban Scenes

○ As mentioned in the introductory chapter, a scene can be defined as the specific lifestyle of a place. We characterize a scene as five components. They are : 1) neighborhood, 2) physical structures (like operas or fishing lodges), 3) collections of persons labeled by race, class, gender, education, 4) specific combinations of these and activities (like attending a concert) that join them together, 5) the values and meanings they express.

—There is no single formula for a successful scene, however key characteristics include :

- *An amenity-rich environment*. Cafes, restaurants, galleries, theaters, festivals, shops, music venues, bars, dance clubs and nightlife are the most obvious expressions of cultural vitality. But a healthy day life, such as grocery stores, fruit stands, convenience stores, hardware stores, hairstylists and clothing shops are a revealing part of a scene's infrastructure.
- *Committed supporters*. A scene is only as strong as the people who are a part of it. These may include artists, local businesses, audiences, community groups, residents' associations and politicians.
- *Distinctive experiences*. Vital scenes give a sense of drama, authenticity and ethical significance to a city's streets and strips. A neighborhood with a vibrant scene can be a theatrical place to see and be seen, an authentic place to explore and affirm local, ethnic and national identity, an ethical place to debate common values, traditions and ideals.

○ With these characteristics, scenes have their own internal logics and dramas that unfold, for instance, around how to express original feelings rather than pale imitations, stay true to rather than do violence to a tradition, shine glamorously rather than fade into anonymity, project warmth and intimacy rather than distance and aloofness, maintain an authentic and real life rather than a phony existence. We have articulated this internal environment of life in scenes in terms of three broad dimensions of pleasure that define the qualitative experience of a scene : theatricality, authenticity and legitimacy(Silver, Clark and Graziul 2011). Based on the main dimension, we have further distinguished 15 types of scenes activities which link to the rising "issue specificity" of people's more complex and differentiated social lives and value configurations.



Source : Clark(2007 : 20).

〈Figure 2-1〉 A Grammar of Scenes

○ As shown in <Figure 2-1>, each of the three main scene dimensions are divided into five sub-dimensions, for a total of 15 sub-dimensions.

○ First of all, the dimension of legitimacy is related to people's decisions about a worthwhile way of life. It can be defined by a judgment about what is right and wrong, how one ought to live, structuring the legitimacy of social consumption, shaping the beliefs and intentions of their members. The dimension of legitimacy can be divided into five sub-dimensions :

traditional legitimacy, utilitarian legitimacy, egalitarian legitimacy, self-expressive legitimacy and charismatic legitimacy. All the five sub-dimensions exhibit people's values regarding the right and wrong way to behave. In those scenes, people share the pleasure of a common sense of being in the right or rejecting those in the wrong. <Table 2-1> describes the sub-dimensions of legitimacy and gives examples.

〈Table 2-1〉 Sub-dimensions of Legitimacy and Examples

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Traditional	Sharing in the stability and assurance of hearing Mozart performed in the Vienna State Opera as you believe it was earlier	Genealogy Societies, Historical sites, Antique Dealers, Museums, Libraries & Archives
Utilitarian	Attending a benefit concert because it contributes to positive outcomes or savoring the value of efficient production at a museum of industry	Fast Food Restaurants, Warehouse Clubs & Super-stores, Business & Secretarial Schools, Convenience Store
Egalitarian	Enjoying the democratic implications of a crafts fair	Human Rights Organizations, Social Advocacy Organizations
Self-Expressive	Enjoying hearing a jazz musician play something that could only be improvised spontaneously at that particular moment	Dance Companies, Yoga Studios, Body piercing, Fashion Show/ Designers
Charismatic	Watching a Chicago Bulls game because of the charismatic aura of Michael Jordan rather than because one is a Chicagoan	Designer Clothes & Accessories, Musical Groups & Artists, Spectator Sports, Dance Companies

Adapted from Silver, Clark and Graziul(2011)

○ In addition to the dimension of legitimacy, there is theatricality, defined as generating an occasion for seeing and being seen (Blum, 2003 : 171). Theatricality scenes are the sites of mutual self-display, places to put an image of oneself forward and to have that image appreciated. People enjoy the social pleasure of beautifully performing a role or of watching others do so. The dimension of theatricality can be divided into five sub-dimensions : glamorous theatricality, formal theatricality, transgressive theatricality, neighborly theatricality and exhibitionist theatricality. All the five sub-dimensions are related with the pleasure of appearance, the way people display themselves to others and at the same time seeing others' images in turn. <Table 2-2> describes the five sub-dimensions of theatricality with examples.

〈Table 2-2〉 Sub-dimensions of Theatricality and Examples

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Glamour	Standing on the red carpet at Cannes gazing at the stars going by	Fashion Shows & Designers, Beauty Salons, Film Festivals, Casinos, Jewelry Stores, Night Clubs
Formality	Going to the opera in a gown or white tie and tails	Formal Wear & Costume Rental, Fine Dining, Opera Companies
Transgression	Watching a performance artist pierce his skin	Body Piercing Studios, Tattoo Parlors, Adult Entertainment, Night Clubs
Neighborliness	Attending a performance by the community orchestra	Bed & Breakfast Inns, Civic & Social Organizations, Elementary & Secondary Schools, Fruit & Vegetable Markets.
Exhibitionism	Watching weightlifters at Muscle Beach	Adult Entertainment, Night Clubs, Fashion Shows & Designers, Health Clubs.

Adapted from Silver, Clark and Graziul(2011)

○ Finally, scenes are defined by the extent to which they affirm a sense of rootedness and primordial identity. These scenes, called authenticity scenes, refer to people's sense of their being, of who they are. In addition to affirming identity, authenticity suggests something like genuine or real experience rather than something fake and phony. The dimension of authenticity is based on five sub-dimensions : locality, ethnicity, corporate, state and rational. All the five sub-dimensions are related to the pleasure of affirmation of who one is at the bottom and what it means to be genuine and real. <Table 2-3> describes the five sub-dimensions of authenticity with examples.

〈Table 2-3〉 Sub-dimensions of Authenticity Scene and Examples

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Local	Listening to the blues in the Checkerboard Lounge, landmark of the Chicago blues	Historical Sites, Fishing Lakes & Ponds, Antique Dealers, Scenic & Sightseeing Services, Sports Teams and Clubs
Ethnic	Recognizing the twang of Appalachia in the Stanley Brothers' Voices	Ethnic Restaurants, Ethnic Music, Folk Arts, Language Schools
Corporate	Reviling a Britney Spears show because she is a corporate creation	Marketing Research, Management consulting Service, Fast Food Restaurants, Department Stores
State	Visiting the Gettysburg Battlefield	Political Organizations, Embassies and Delegations, Historical Sites
Rational	Reveling in the cosmic scope of human reason at a planetarium	Scientific R&D Services, Universities, Aquariums, Human Rights Organizations, Libraries & Archives

Adapted from Silver, Clark and Graziul(2011)

○ In conclusion, the scene is a new analytical framework for the study of culture and place

in urban sociology. It also encompasses basic philosophical questions about ethics, epistemology and ontology in terms of urban places and the people participating in them.

2. Data Collection and Processing

1) Seoul data

○ To draw a map of urban scenes of Seoul, this research collected amenity data for the 425 dong's (the lowest administrative level) of Seoul. The study first used E-Yellow Pages data and selected 813 amenity variables, such as restaurants and museums, listed by dong. One of the problems with the E-Yellow Page data is that only half of all the amenity-related facilities are listed in the data set. To make up the missing amenity data, the study also collected amenity data from the Business Registration Data collected by the Korean Statistics Bureau. Since the Business Registration Data contains data for all industries, the study excluded manufacturing and wholesale from the amenity variables. The two data sets were then merged and finally selected 521 amenity variables for the 425 dong's of Seoul.

○ In the next step, the study calculated scene performance scores for each amenity variable. Each amenity variable was scored from 1~5 on each sub-dimension. Thurston's scaling method was used to decide scene performance scores. The rating was conducted by five experts, three professors and two graduate students.

2) Tokyo data

○ Tokyo data were mainly collected from the 2005 Census by the Japanese Statistics Bureau and online Yellow Page data. Out of the whole Tokyo metropolitan area, the data for 23 city districts were used. Here manufacturing and wholesale variables were also excluded. The data were collected at street level(Chome) and the total number of casesis 3,135.

3) Chicago data

○ There are two sources for Chicago data, County Business Pattern (CBP) data and online

Yellow Page (YP) data. While CBP data are based on public classifications for amenities, YP data include more specific types of amenities (i.e. "Chinese restaurants" which would be counted as "family restaurants" in the CBP). The data were collected at the zip code level and the total number of cases is 57 for Chicago and 211 for Cook County.

4) Calculating Performance Scores[1)]

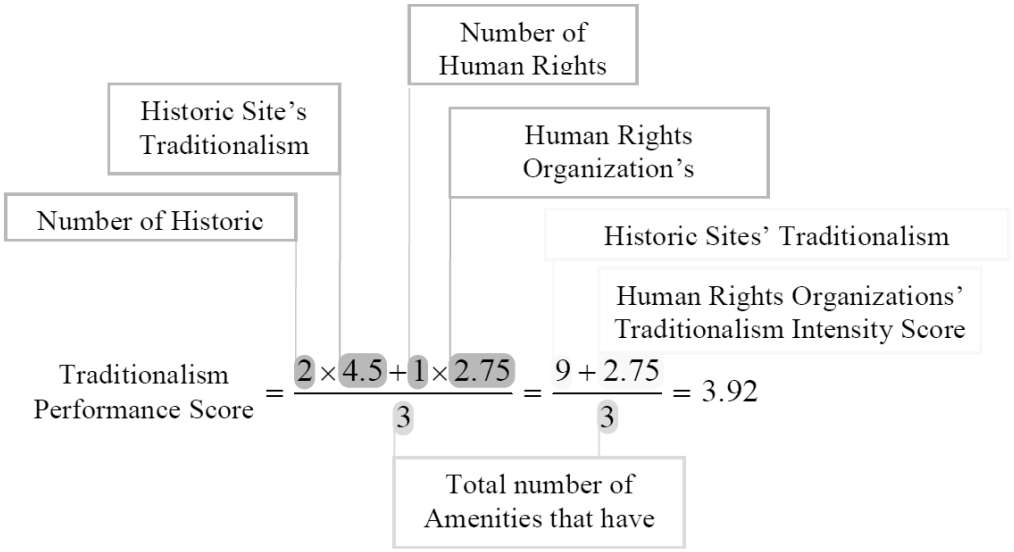
○ Performance scores represent a standardized measure of a location's scene profile. In other words, it is a kind of average experience presented to an individual. Its value is obtained through a three-step process. First, the total number of each coded amenity within the geographic area of interest, typically between one and a few dozen, is determined. Second, this number is multiplied by the amenity's sub-dimension scores (scene profile) to produce an intensity score for each sub-dimension.[2)] Next, these intensity scores are summed for all the amenities within this location-ranging from a single type of amenity up to, for example, the 143 kinds of amenities for which there are coded scene profiles. Finally, the performance score along a particular sub-dimension is this summed value divided by the total number of amenities within the area of interest for which we have coded a scene profile. Essentially, sub-dimensional scores are summed for the same kind of amenity, then for all kinds of amenities and the result is divided by the total number of coded amenities. In an effort to demystify this process, consider the following simplified example :

Consider a hypothetical town in New York, called Normal. Normal, NY has two historic sites, three gas stations and the area's local chapter of Amnesty International. Now, there is no scene profile for gas stations and so they must be discounted entirely, keeping in mind that they can be revisited if it is believed to impact the research question at hand. Next, let us attempt to determine the traditionalism performance score for Normal, NY. From the table of scene profiles, historic sites score 4.5 on traditionalism while human rights

1) This section is based on Appendix of Silver, Clark and Graziul(2011).

2) The Intensity Score is the unweighted effect the presence of a particular kind of amenity has on a location. While we do not make analytic use of Intensity Scores here, we consider them more than just an intermediate step on the way to computing performance scores. In particular, they allow for the possibility of discerning which amenities are the major drivers of particular sub-dimensions(i.e. we can tell the difference between an overwhelming number of slightly traditional amenities versus a small number of extremely traditional amenities).

organizations score 2.75 on traditionalism. Noting that, with the exclusion of gas stations, there is a total of three amenities, the performance score is computed as such:



〈Figure 2-2〉 Calculating Performance Score(ex: Traditionalism)

Chapter 3 Scene Maps of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

1. The Scene Maps of Seoul
2. The Scene Maps of Tokyo
3. The Scene Maps of Chicago

3 Scene Maps of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

In this chapter, we will presend scene maps of 15 sub-dimensions in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago. This will help us understand general scenescape of the three cities. The maps of Seoul are drawn at the 425 dong levels, while the maps of Tokyo are drawn at 3,134 small destrict level. The maps of Chicago are drawn at 57 zipcode level. Darker colored areas represent stronger tendency of each sub-dimension.

1. The Scene Maps of Seoul

1) Traditional Scene Map

〈Figure 3-1〉 Traditional Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest traditionalism scene areas are Ui-dong, Samcheong-dong, Dapsimni 1-dong, Seongsu 2-ga 3-dong, Gahoe-dong, Sindang 5-dong, Haengdang 1-dong, Geumho-dong 2-ga, Geumho-dong 3-ga, Sangbong 2-dong, Seorim-dong, Jeongneung 3-dong, Sungin 2-dong, Mangu 3-dong, Sanggye 3·4-dong and Seongsu 1-ga 2-dong.

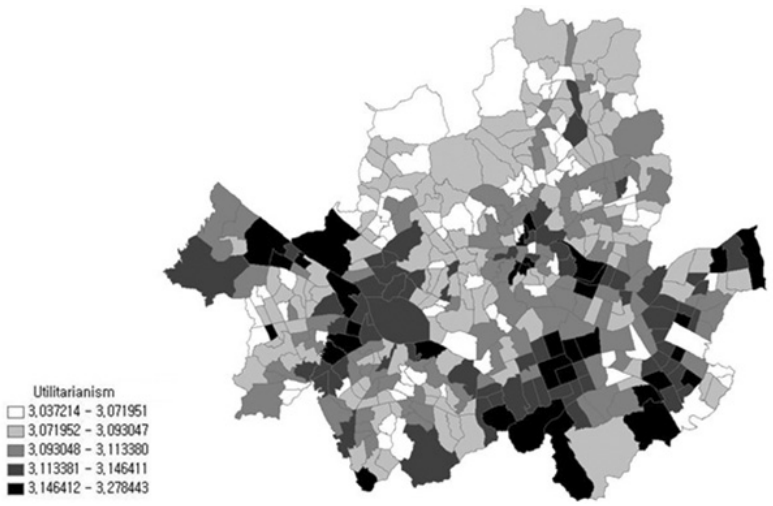
○ Ui-dong has many Korean restaurants, temples and cultural properties. It is the reason why Ui-dong got the highest score on Traditionalism scene.

○ Samcheong-dong is dense with Korean restaurants, Korean traditional tea shop.

○ Bukchon Hanok village, which is Korean traditional village, is located in Gahoe-dong.

○ Dapsimni 1-dong is also one of the highest traditionalism scene areas. It is because Dapsimni 1-dong has antiques and collectibles, fortune telling services and traditional market, called Dongbu market.

2) Utilitarian Scene Map



〈Figure 3-2〉 Utilitarian Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Utilitarianism scene areas are Segok-dong, Yongdap-dong, Yeoksam 2-dong, Siheung 3-dong, Dangsan 1-dong, Sungin 1-dong, Sangam-dong, Gayang 1-dong, Sindang 6-dong, Songjeong-dong, Sindorim-dong, Yeoksam 1-dong, Bangi 1-dong, Garak 1-dong and Yangpyeong 2-dong.

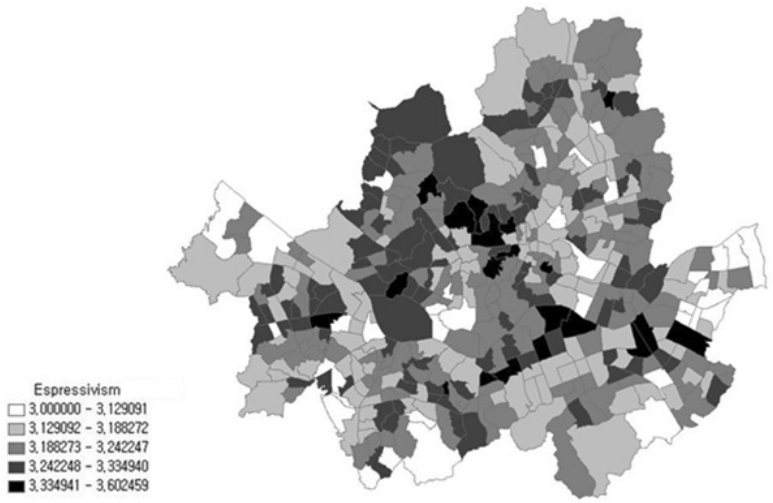
○ World cup stadium is located in Sangam-dong. The stadium has a multiplex cinema and

shopping area with super supermarket.

○ Guro machine tools market is in Sindorim-dong.

○ Garak 1-dong has a famous agricultural and fish market, called Garak market.

3) Self-Expressive Scene Map



〈Figure 3-3〉 Self-Expressive Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Expressivism scene areas are Samcheong-dong, Jamsil 3-dong, Cheongdam-dong, Sinsa-dong, Apgujeong-dong, Haengdang 2-dong, Bangbaebon-dong, Oryun-dong, Pil-dong, Seogang-dong, Junggye 1-dong, Banpo 4-dong, Jongno 1·2·3·4-ga-dong, Hongeun 1-dong and Cheongunhyoja-dong.

○ Advertise agencies are located in Pil-dong so that there are many advertising making companies, advertising designs, photography studios and portraits in Pil-dong.

○ Apgujeong-dong and Cheongdam-dong have a fashion and shopping district. There are full of brand boutiques and fashion houses in this area.

○ Samcheong-dong is characterized by lots of art galleries, restaurants and cafes.

○ Sinsa-dong is characterized by a Garosugil. Numerous specialized cultural facilities are located in Garosugil.

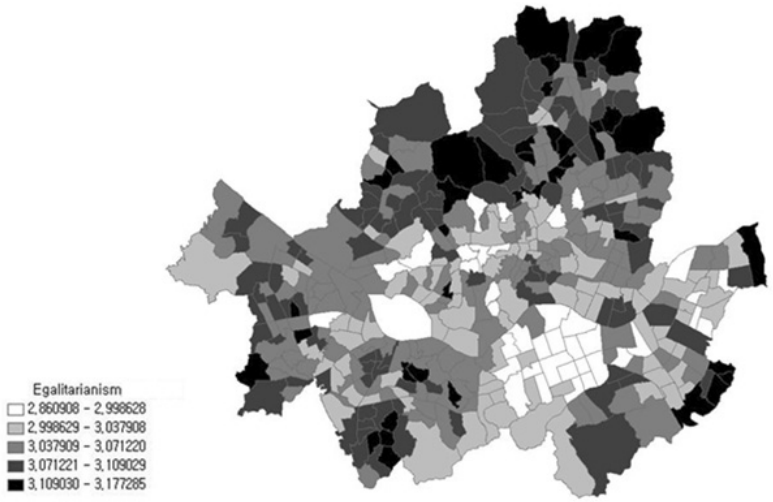
○ Hongik University area is famous for young art district as well as cozy cafés, restaurants

and stores. This area is located in Seogang-dong. There are a lots of entertainments, cafes, pubs, dance clubs and performance halls, along Hongik University area.

○ Jongno 1·2·3·4-ga-dong have many language institutions, fitness & recreational sports centers, pubs, restaurants, karaoke clubs and bookstores.

○ Bangbaebon-dong has an Entertainment Industry cluster. Also, It is well known a café street, which is one of tourist spots as well as gourmet spots in Seoul.

4) Egalitarian Scene Map



〈Figure 3-4〉 Egalitarian Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Egalitarianism scene areas are Buam-dong, Daejo-dong, Siheung 2-dong, Dobong 1-dong, Jeongneung 3-dong, Macheon 2-dong, Nangok-dong, Donam 2-dong, Yeokchon-dong, Gongneung 2-dong, Sanggye 3·4-dong, Wolgye 3-dong, Donam 1-dong, Gangil-dong and Hyochang-dong.

○ Buam-dong has been formed a new art district, that is home to art galleries, ateliers and contemporary theaters. Whanki museum runs an Art project, which is to offer exhibition space for artists who live in Buam-dong and to communicate with artists, spectator and residents through their own arts culture education program.

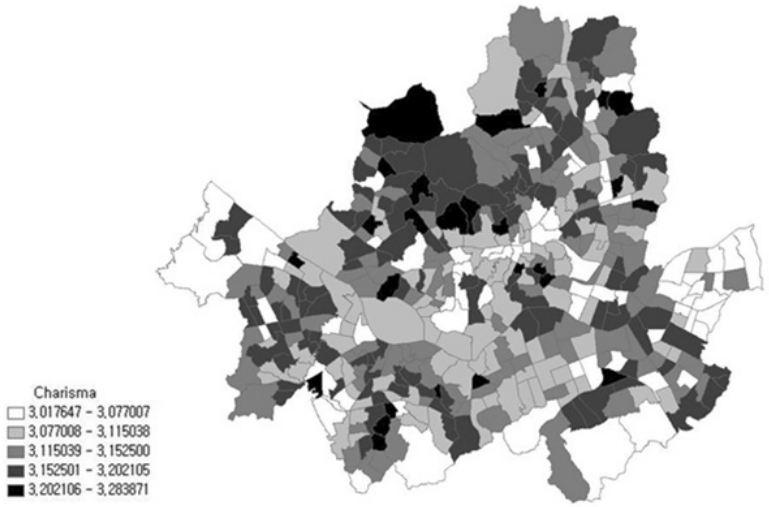
○ Various civic & social organizations are located in Pyeongchang-dong; Nazareth Sacred

Home, Jongno-gu center for dementia, World Arts Cure Center for the handicapped people.

○ In Hyochang-dong, there are Hyochang Stadium, The Elderly Association, Green Consumers Association.

○ In Macheon 2-dong, there are many civic association for the handicapped people such as Universal Design Association for the Handicapped, Korean Consumers Network for the Handicapped.

5) Charisma Scene Map



〈Figure 3-5〉 Charisma Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Charisma scene areas are Irwon 2-dong, Haengdang 2-dong, Cheongnim-dong, Junggyebon-dong, Daejo-dong, Hongeun 1-dong, Junggye 1-dong, Samcheong-dong, Eungbong-dong, Seogang-dong, Ssangmun 4-dong, Cheongunhyoja-dong, Insu-dong, Sindang 4-dong and Jingwan-dong.

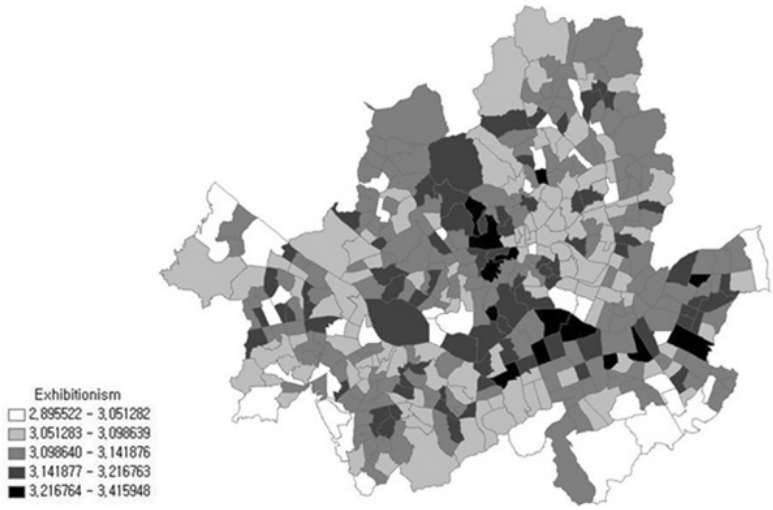
○ Although the southern part of Han River (so-called ‘Kangnam’) has more Charisma scene elements than the northern part of the Han River (so-called ‘Kangbuk’), the map shows Kangbuk has higher score than Kangnam. It is not because the amount of Charisma scene elements, because of the rate. It makes Kangbuk’s score higher than Kangnam.

○ The Hongik university area, in Seogang-dong, is famous fashion mecca. Lots beauty salons

are also located in this district.

○ Cheongunhyoja-dong is close to The Blue House. Woodang memorial is located in Cheongunhyoja-dong. It has established for celebrating the life and work of Lee Hoeyeong, a famous independence activist.

6) Exhibitionism Scene Map



〈Figure 3-6〉 Exhibitionism Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Exhibitionism scene areas are Jamsil 3-dong, Samcheong-dong, Apgujeong-dong, Oryun-dong, Cheongdam-dong, Pil-dong, Sinsa 1-dong, Itaewon 1-dong, Jongno 1·2·3·4-ga-dong, Banpo 4-dong, Amsa 1-dong, Jamsil 7-dong, Gwanghui-dong and Gireum 2-dong.

○ Jongno 1·2·3·4-ga-dong is famous for jewelry shop street. Itaewon 1-dong is known as an international district.

○ Apgujeong-dong and Cheongdam-dong have a fashion and shopping district. There are full of brand boutiques and fashion house in this area.

○ Samcheong-dong is characterized by high-class restaurants, museums and art galleries.

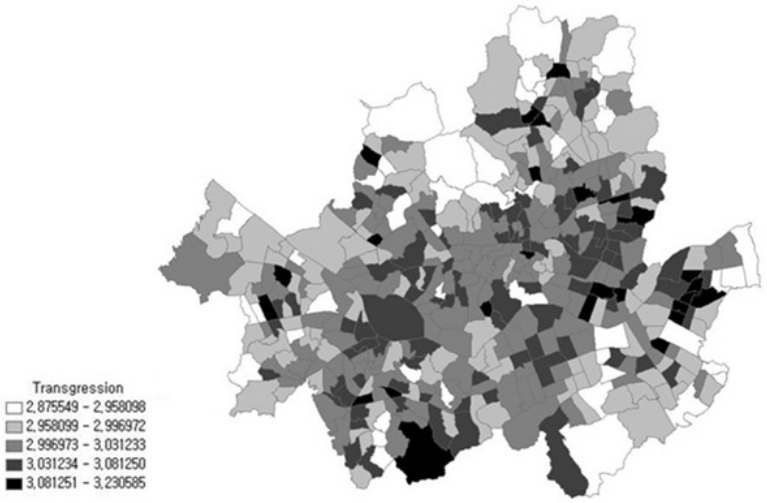
○ Apgujeong-dong, Sinsa-dong and Cheongdam-dong are famous for a fashion and shopping district. Brand boutiques and fashion houses are located in this district.

○ Cheongdam-dong and Banpo 4-dong are well known as a gentrification area.

○ Pil-dong has several duty free shops and jewelry shops.

○ Jamsil 3-dong has Lotte world, Lotte department store and duty free shop and Lotte hotel.

7) Transgression Scene Map



〈Figure 3-7〉 Transgression Scene Map of Seoul

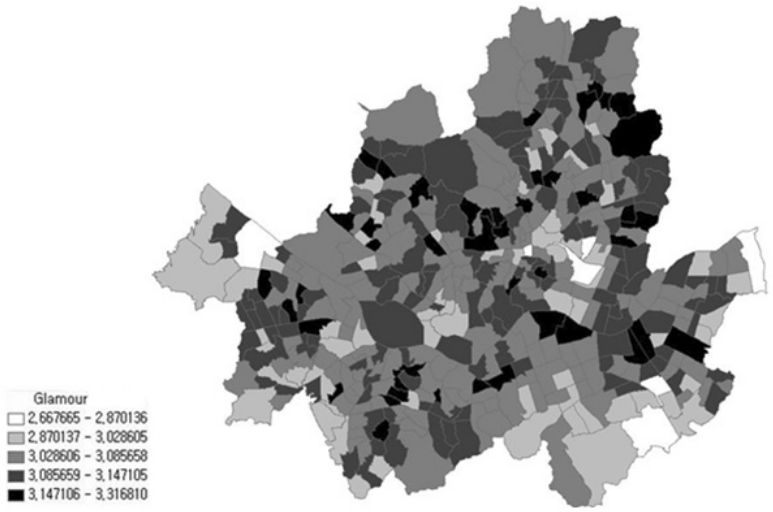
○ The highest Transgression scene areas are Namgajwa 1-dong, Suyu 3-dong, Sillim-dong, Itaewon 1-dong, Cheonho 3-dong, Sindang 5-dong, Hwayang-dong, Galhyeon 2-dong, Gil-dong, Seongnae 2-dong, Sangbong 2-dong, Amsa 1-dong, Daehak-dong, Myeonmok 3·8-dong and Gireum 2-dong.

○ Namgajwa 1-dong has many fortune telling services.

○ Itaewon 1-dong has numerous famous clubs and pubs among foreign tourist and residents.

○ Several night clubs and pubs are located in Sillim-dong.

8) Glamour Scene Map



〈Figure 3-8〉 Glamour Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Glamour scene areas are Jamsil 3-dong, Haengdang 2-dong, Oryun-dong, Jongno 1·2·3·4-ga-dong, Apgujeong-dong, Imun 1-dong, Samcheong-dong, Sillim-dong, Ihwa-dong, Namgajwa 1-dong, Suyu 3-dong, Jamsil 6-dong, Gireum 2-dong, Cheongdam-dong and Hyehwa-dong.

○ Jamsil 3-dong has lots of jewelry shops and a theme park, called Lotte Word. Olympic Park is located in Oryun-dong.

○ Apgujeong-dong and Cheongdam-dong have a fashion and shopping district. Rodeo Street is the most famous fashion and shopping district in this area. Also, many brand boutiques and fashion house are located in Cheongdam-dong.

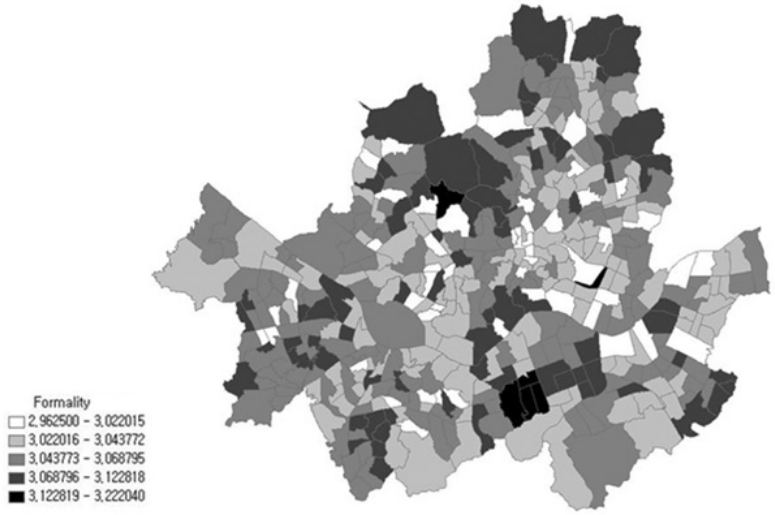
○ Wangsimni station has been rebuilt as Wangsimni station complex. The new station has shopping mall and entertainment facilities.

○ Jongno 1·2·3·4-ga-dong has a jewelry shop street. Also, many pubs and restaurants are located in this area.

○ Samcheong-dong is famous for high-class restaurants, Korean traditional tea shop and art galleries.

○ There are lots of night clubs, motels and hairshops in Sillim-dong.

9) Formality Scene Map



〈Figure 3-9〉 Formality Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Formality scene areas are Seocho 4-dong, Seocho 1-dong, Seocho 3-dong, Seocho 2-dong, Songjeong-dong, Buam-dong, Sogong-dong, Sinjeong 7-dong, Pyeongchang-dong, Pungnap 2-dong, Samcheong-dong, Yeoksam 2-dong, Seobinggo-dong, Gongneung 1·3-dong and Yeoksam 1-dong.

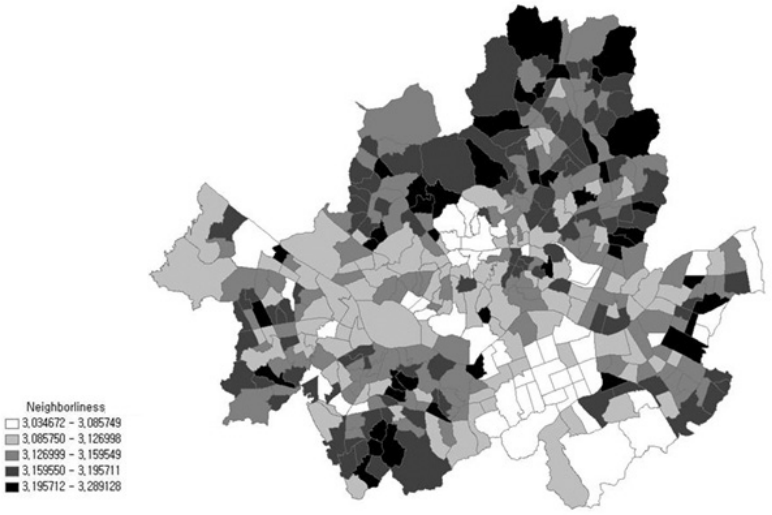
○ Secho 1·2·3·4-dong have a big legal profession service industry. Also, Seoul art center is located in Secho-dong.

○ Cultural heritages and City hall are located in Sogong-dong.

○ Samcheong-dong is specialized in lots of art galleries, museums.

○ Buam-dong has a cultural heritage, called Changuimun. Also Whanki museum, some cafés and galleries are located in Buam-dong.

10) Neighborliness Scene Map



〈Figure 3-10〉 Neighborliness Scene Map of Seoul

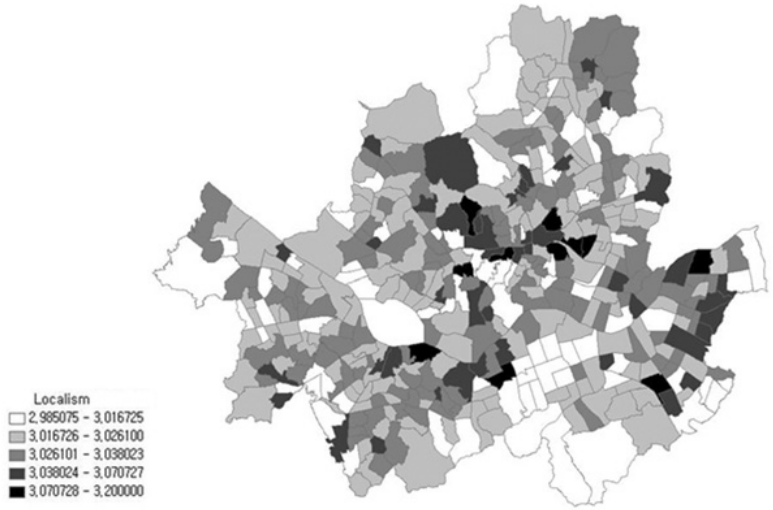
○ The highest Neighborliness scene areas are : Namgajwa 1-dong, Nangok-dong, Banpobon-dong, Dobong 1-dong, Nanhyang-dong, Gayang 2-dong, Mangu 3-dong, Wolgok 1-dong, Gongneung 2-dong, Amsa 1-dong, Myeonmok 4-dong, Haengdang 1-dong, Gil-dong, Gireum 2-dong and Jeongneung 3-dong.

○ The map shows Kangbuk has higher score. Most of the highest Neighborliness scene areas have more than 20 Religious organizations.

○ Banpobon-dong has many low-storied apartments which were built in 1970's. Therefore it has many small shops along the streets in the apartment area.

○ Myeonmok 4-dong is good for proximity to elementary and middle schools. Also, it is close to social welfare centers and parks.

11) Localism Scene Map



〈Figure 3-11〉 Localism Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Localism scene areas are Garak 1-dong, Samcheong-dong, Jegi-dong, Banpo 4-dong, Amsa 3-dong, Dapsimni 1-dong, Majang-dong, Dapsimni 2-dong, Noryangjin 1-dong, Gwanghui-dong, Hoehyeon-dong, Cheongunhyoja-dong, Itaewon 1-dong, Dunchon 1-dong and Sadang 2-dong.

○ Residential areas got higher Localism score than city center. And, some of areas have specialized markets.

○ Jegi-dong is famous for Korean traditional medicine market.

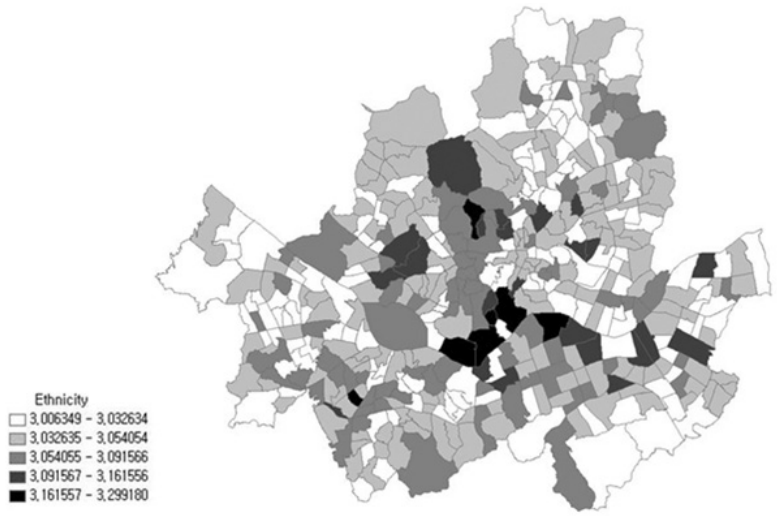
○ A Majang livestock wholesale market is placed in Majang-dong.

○ Antiques and collectibles market is located in Dapsimni 1-dong.

○ Bogwang-dong is well known as Antiques Street.

○ Several large private academies for various examinations are located in Noryangjin 1-dong. For this reason, there are many services, for example, accommodation facilities(Gosiwon) and restaurant, for students in this area.

12) Ethnicity Scene Map



〈Figure 3-12〉 Ethnicity Scene Map of Seoul

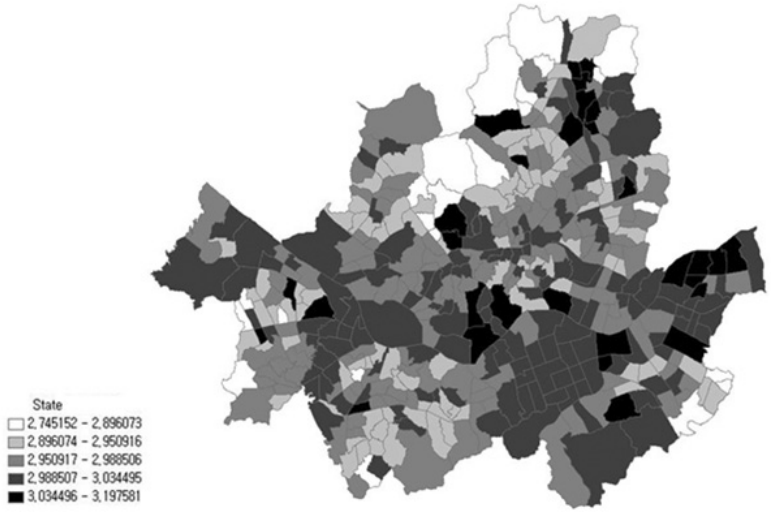
○ The highest Ethnicity scene areas are Samcheong-dong, Daerim 2-dong, Seobinggo-dong, Itaewon 1-dong, Ichon 1-dong, Hannam-dong, Apgujeong-dong, Sinchon-dong, Hoegi-dong, Itaewon 2-dong, Garibong-dong, Banpo 4-dong, Banpobon-dong, Jamsil 3-dong, Yeonhui-dong.

○ Some of those highest areas have higher foreigner residential rates than other area, for example, Ichon 1-dong, Itaewon 1·2-dong, Sinchon-dong, Hoegi-dong, Banpo 4-dong, Banpobon-dong, Garibong-dong and Yeonhui-dong. Ichon-dong. Moreover, certain nationalities shows high foreigner residential rates by the regions.

○ Many Japanese expatriates are staying in Ichon 1-dong and Muslim and African expatriates are staying in Itaewon 1·2-dong. Chinese's ethnic enclaves are Garibong-dong and Yeonhui-dong. Many foreign students reside in Hoegi-dong and Sinchon-dong, especially Japanese and Chinese students. In addition, small French enclave, called Seorae-maul, is located in Banpobon-dong and Banpo 4-dong.

○ Various embassies are located throughout Hannam-dong; Belgium, Spain, Italy, Egypt, Mongol, Cambodia, United Arab Emirates, Thailand, Kazakhstan and so on.

13) State Scene Map



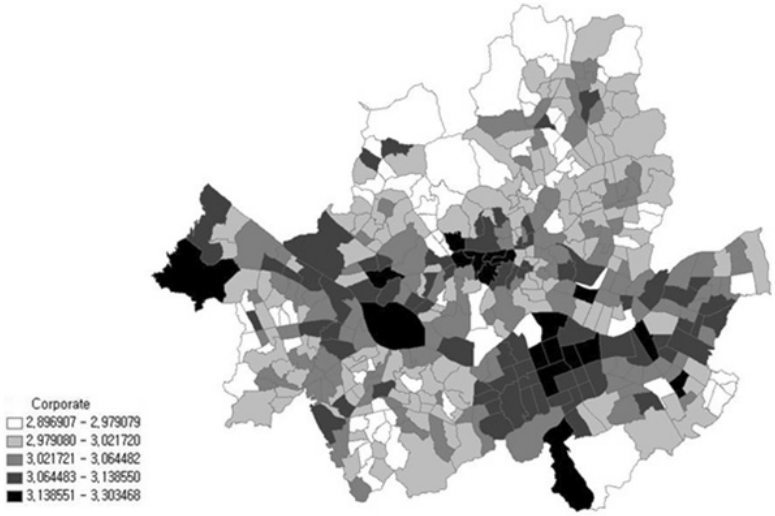
〈Figure 3-13〉 State Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest State scene areas are Seobinggo-dong, Jamsil 2-dong, Wolgye 2-dong, Junggye 2·3-dong, Jowon-dong, Yongsan 2-ga-dong, Godeok 2-dong, Sanggye 8-dong, Godeok 1-dong, Sanggye 10-dong, Hagye 2-dong, Amsa 3-dong, Sanggye 9-dong, Cheongunhyoja-dong and Sinwol 4-dong.

○ Various embassies (Sudan, Tunisia, Nigeria, Ukraine, Kuwait, Qatar) are located in Seobinggo-dong.

○ Defense Agency for Public Information Services and Defense Acquisition Program Administration are placed in Yongsan 2-ga-dong.

14) Corporate Scene Map



〈Figure 3-14〉 Corporate Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest corporate scene areas are Jamsil 6-dong, Pil-dong, Sogong-dong, Euljiro-dong, Samseong 1-dong, Myeong-dong, Yeouido-dong, Gonghang-dong, Gwanghui-dong, Nonhyeon 1-dong, Yangjae 2-dong, Nonhyeon 2-dong, Apgujeong-dong, Seogyo-dong and Seongsu 2-ga 3-dong.

○ Yeouido and Kangnam areas are famous for business area in Seoul. Major broadcast companies and corporate headquarters are placed in Yeoido-dong.

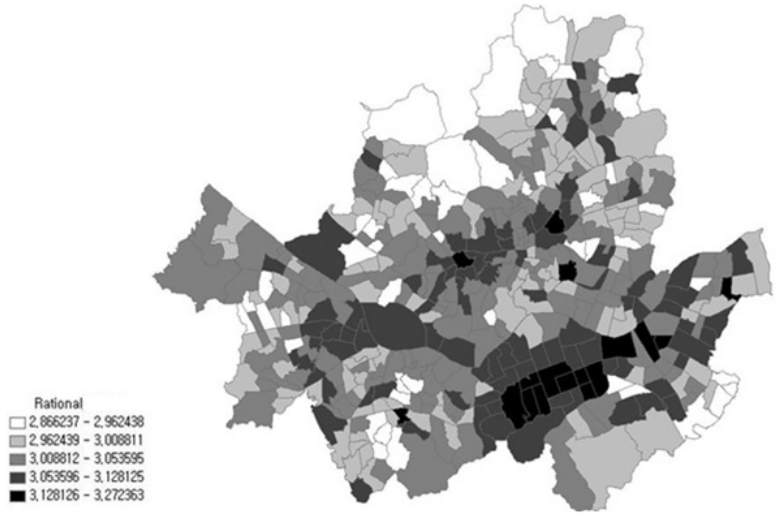
○ Teheran-no is a venture valley and Known as the Silicon Valley of Korea. This street covers from Kangnam station to Samsung station; Yeoksam-dong, Daechi-dong and Samsung-dong. There are lots of foreign corporations and ventures.

○ Kimpo international airport is placed in Gonghang-dong.

○ Design and publishing industries have developed in Seogyo-dong.

○ Several companies and hotels are located in Myeong-dong and Sogong-dong.

15) Rational Scene Map



〈Figure 3-15〉 Rational Scene Map of Seoul

○ The highest Rational scene areas are Seocho 4-dong, Seocho 1-dong, Seocho 2-dong, Seocho 3-dong, Myeongil 2-dong, Jamsil 2-dong, Sinsa-dong, Daechi 4-dong, Yeoksam 2-dong, Sogong-dong, Jegi-dong, Daechi 2-dong, Daechi 1-dong, Yeoksam 1-dong and Jamsil 4-dong.

○ The north outskirt part of Seoul has lower rational scene score; however, Kangnam got higher rational scene score. The district of Yongsan-Gu shows the highest ethnic culture.

○ The reason why Seocho 1·2·3·4-dong is the center of the Legal Profession in Korea; Several the machinery of law are located in this area; Supreme Court, Supreme Public Prosecutors Office, Seoul High Court, Seoul High Public Prosecutor's Office, Seoul Central District Court, Seoul Family Court and Lawyer's offices. Also, Seoul National University of Education is in Secho 1·2·3·4-dong.

○ Daechi 1·2·4-dong are well known as 'Mecca of private education'. It is because lots of private academies to enter the upper level universities are located in Daechi-dong area.

2. The Scene Maps of Tokyo

1) Traditional Scene Map

〈Figure 3-16〉 Traditional Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Traditionalism scene areas are Minato-ku, Chuo-ku and Taito-ku. Ota-ku is also a higher Traditionalism area.

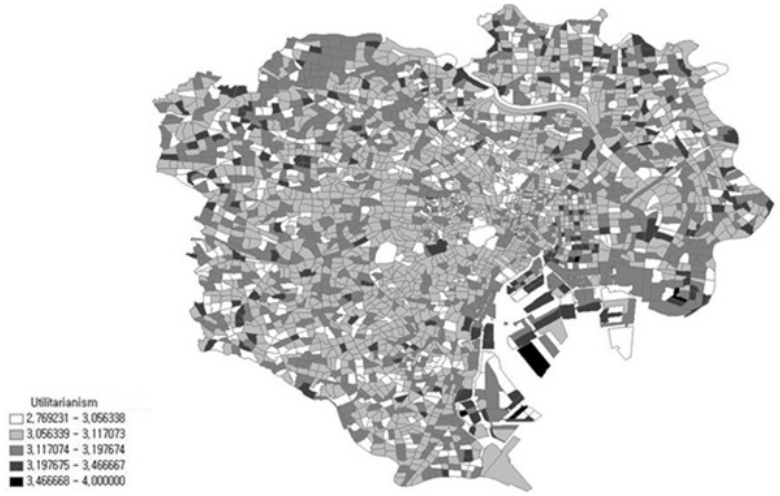
○ The Imperial Place, which is called Akasakagoyouchi, is located in Minato-ku. The guest house for VIPs from abroad and the Crown Prince's Palace are also in this area.

○ Tsukiji Market is a famous agricultural and fish market in Chuo-ku.

○ Nippori station, Ameyoko market and Asakusa are located in Taito-ku. There are several frame houses, temples and graves. Ameyoko market is a tourist spot in Tokyo because it is well known as a huge traditional flea market.

○ Ota Market is a flower market in Ota-ku. The score is not as high as other places like Minato-ku, Chuo-ku and Taito-ku. However, the area surrounding this market has a higher score than the market itself.

2) Utilitarian Scene Map



〈Figure 3-17〉 Utilitarian Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Utilitarianism scene areas are Koto-ku and Edogawa-ku.

○ The reason why Koto-ku has the highest score is because Odaiba District is located in Koto-ku. Odaiba District contains big shopping malls, entertainment and utilitarian facilities such as Ooedo-Onsen, the Tokyo International Exchange Center, the Telecom Center, Palette Town (a shopping mall), the MEGA WEB (Toyota exhibition mall), Venus Fort (shopping mall), ZEPPTOKYO (live hall), Tokyo Leisure Land (entertainment).

○ Metropolitan Central Wholesale Market Kasai is located in Edogawa-ku.

3) Self-Expressive Scene Map

〈Figure 3-18〉 Self-Expressive Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Expressivism scene areas are Shibuya-ku, Chiyoda-ku, Minato-ku and Chuo-ku.

○ Shibuya-ku is one of the highest Expressivism areas. The Shibuya-Yoyogi-Harajyuku area, in particular, got the highest score. The Shibuya and Harajuku area is a huge shopping district in Tokyo. Yoyogi is not a big shopping street but National Yoyogi Stadium is located in Yoyogi. Daikanyama and Ebisu also have the highest scores.

○ Japan's Budokan and National Theater are located in Chiyoda-ku.

○ Many bars, clubs, hair salons and boutiques are located in Minato-ku. Omotesando and Aoyama are characterized by brand boutiques, high-class restaurants and cafes. Roppongi and the Imperial Place also have the highest score.

○ Many theaters are located in Chuo-ku : Shinbashi Theater, Hamarikyu Asahi Hall, the Shiki Theater Company, Kabuku-za, Theater Hakuhinkan. Shinbashi Theater is a huge and famous performance hall. It offers lots of Kabuki, dramas and performances. Hamarikyu Asahi Hall is a music concert hall. The Shiki Theater Company is famous for musical performances. Kabuki-za is a Kabuki performance hall. The Ginza area is also full of office buildings, department stores, brand boutiques, restaurants and clubs. The famous agricultural and fish market, Tsukiji Market, is also located in Chuo-ku.

4) Egalitarian Scene Map

〈Figure 3-19〉 Egalitarian Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Egalitarian scene areas are Edogawa-ku, Shinagawa-ku and Kitagawa-ku.

○ Several nursing service facilities are located in Edogawa-ku, as well as Tokyo Rinkai Hospital, nursing home, wastewater treatment plant. Also, the areas near Tokyo Regional Taxation Bureau's Domitory, Nippon Yusen Tokyo Container Terminal and Ooi Wharfshow are the highest egalitarianism scene.

○ Many special support education schools and facilities are located in Kita-ku. Tokyo Seitoku College is also located in Kita-ku.

5) Charisma Scene Map

〈Figure 3-20〉 Charisma Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Charisma scene areas are Shibuya-ku and Shinjuku-ku.

○ Yoyogi Park and Meiji Shrine got the highest Charisma score.

○ Meiji Park and the outer gardens of the Meiji Shrine, the Meiji Memorial Picture Gallery and the National Stadium are located in Shinjuku-ku.

6) Exhibitionism Scene Map

〈Figure 3-21〉 Exhibitionism Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Exhibitionism scene areas are Shinjuku-ku, Minato-ku and Shibuya-ku.

○ Many department stores and brand boutiques are concentrated in Shinjuku-san-chome and Kabukicho, which are located in Shinjuku-ku.

○ Minato-ku shows the highest Exhibitionism score. Roppongi, Azabujuban and Akasaka are famous as business areas in Tokyo. Major broadcast companies are located in these areas. There are also many art/cultural facilities, high-class restaurants and brand boutiques. Omotesando and Aoyama are characterized by brand boutiques, high-class restaurants and cafes. Akasaka is noted for high-class hotels and restaurants. Akasaka Sacas is a culture complex facility (TBS Broadcasting Center, Akasaka Biz Tower, Akasaka Blitz). The Tokyo Tower District also has the highest score.

○ The Shibuya Station and Harajuku Station is an area in Shibuya-ku known for its entertainment and clubs. The area is famous as the center of teenage culture and fashion Mecca among the young generation but also offers shopping for adults and some historic sights. All the entertainment facilities cater mainly to a young crowd so there are lots of restaurants, cafes and Izakayas in this street. Omotesando Hills, Daikanyama and Ebisu also have the highest scores in Shibuya-ku. Brand boutiques and expensive salons are located

in Omotesando Hills. Daikanyama is also a shopping district with design shops, salons and cozy cafes. Yebisu Garden Place is a complex for residential and commercial purposes in Shibuya-ku.

7) Transgression Scene Map

〈Figure 3-22〉 Transgression Scene Map of Tokyo

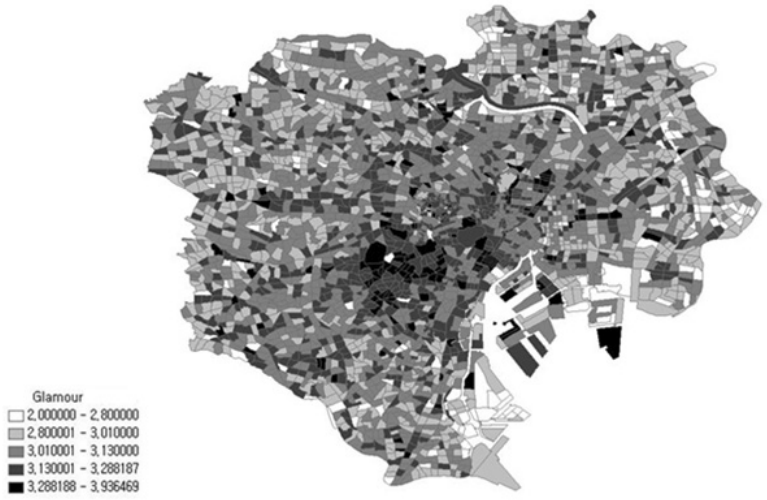
○ The highest Transgression scene areas are Minato-ku and Shinjuku-ku.

○ Several expensive bars are located along the Akasaka-mitsuke in Minato-ku. Those bars are popular among political and business leaders. Akasaka is very close to Nagatacho, which is the center of politics.

○ Roppongi Hills and Midtown, in Minato-ku, are full of fancy clubs and bars.

○ Kabukicho is well-known as a huge red-light district in Shinjuku-ku. There are many pubs, bars, host bars, hostess bars and love hotels.

8) Glamour Scene Map



〈Figure 3-23〉 Glamour Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Glamour scene areas are Minatoku and Shibuya-ku.

○ The result shows that the Glamour scene map is similar to the Exhibitionism scene map.

○ Roppongi, Azabujuban and Akasaka are located in Minato-ku and have many art/cultural facilities, high-class restaurants and brand boutiques. Art/cultural facilities, including the Tokyo Midtown-Suntory Museum of Art, the National Art Center Tokyo and Roppongi Hills-Mori Art Museum, are famous tourist attractions in this area. Fuji Television Network, huge shopping malls and exhibition centers are located in Odaiba, Koto-ku. The guest house for VIPs from abroad is also located in Minato-ku.

○ The Yoyogi Park and Meji Shrine area is one of the highest Glamour areas in Shibuya-ku. The area features National Yoyogi Stadium, Tokyu Department Store, Seibu Department Store, National Noh Theater and others. Daikanyama Place and Omotesando Hills are huge shopping complexes in Shibuya-ku. Many shops are also located near the areas.

9) Formality Scene Map

〈Figure 3-24〉 Formality Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Formality scene areas are Minato-ku and Chiyoda-ku.

○ The guest house for VIPs from abroad is located in Akasakagoyouchi, Minato-ku.

○ The reason why Chiyoda-ku has a high Formality score is that many government organizations are located in Chiyoda-ku. The area features the National Diet, the National Diet Library, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, the Financial Services Agency and the Japanese Patent Office. The area near Sophia University also shows a high Formality score.

10) Neighborliness Scene Map

〈Figure 3-25〉 Neighborliness Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Neighborliness scene areas are Shinagawa-ku, Chuo-ku, Koto-ku, Setagaya-ku, Ota-ku and Sumida-ku.

○ The Shinagawa Container Terminal and Oifutou Chuo Park are located in Shinagawa-ku.

○ Aomi Minami Futou Park and Hamarikyu Gardens arel located in Chuo-ku. The area near Chuo Seiso Factory in Chuo-ku is covered with exclusive residences. The area has a high score because the location is near parks and the sea.

○ Aomi is a region in Koto-ku that has a high Neighborliness score. Ooedo-Onsen-Monogatari, the Tokyo International Exchange Center and the Telecom Center are located in this area.

○ Setagaya-ku has an area with a concentration of welfare centers. This area shows the highest score. Setagaya Park also has a high score because there are secondary schools and high schools located in this area.

○ Ota-ku has the highest score and is located along the Tama River. In particular, the parks, rivers and residential areas have a high score in this area.

○ There are kindergartens, elementary schools, secondary schools and high schools in Suida-ku. The area near a special education support school in particular has a high score.

11) Localism Scene Map

〈Figure 3-26〉 Localism Scene Map of Tokyo

○ Chiyoda-ku has a high Localism score because the Outer Garden of the Imperial Palace and the Imperial Palace are located in this district.

○ Akasakagoyouchi is located in Minato-ku and shows a high score. It is because of the historical meaning of the area.

○ Tsukiji Market is a famous agricultural and fish market in Chuo-ku.

12) Ethnicity Scene Map

〈Figure 3-27〉 Ethnicity Scene Map of Tokyo

○ Many embassies are located in Minato-ku. Those areas are full of embassies and show a high Ethnicity score as a result. Akasakagoyouchi also has a high score.

○ Many Korean and Chinese expatriates stay in Shin-ookubo. This area is also well known as Korea Town in Tokyo. A lot of Korean restaurants are located in this area.

13) State Scene Map

〈Figure 3-28〉 Ethnicity Scene Map of Tokyo

○ Government organizations are located in these areas, such as Chiyoda-ku, that have a high State score. The area features the National Diet, the National Diet Library, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, the Financial Services Agency and the Japanese Patent Office.

○ The areas near the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, the Japan Coast Guard, the Fire and Disaster Management Agency, the Marine Accident Inquiry Agency, the Metropolitan Police Department and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan show the highest State score.

14) Corporate Scene Map

〈Figure 3-29〉 Ethnicity Scene Map of Tokyo

○ The highest Corporate scene areas are Shibuya-ku, Minato-ku and Koto-ku.

○ The central area of Tokyo has a higher Corporate score. It is because many large and mid-size companies are concentrated in this area.

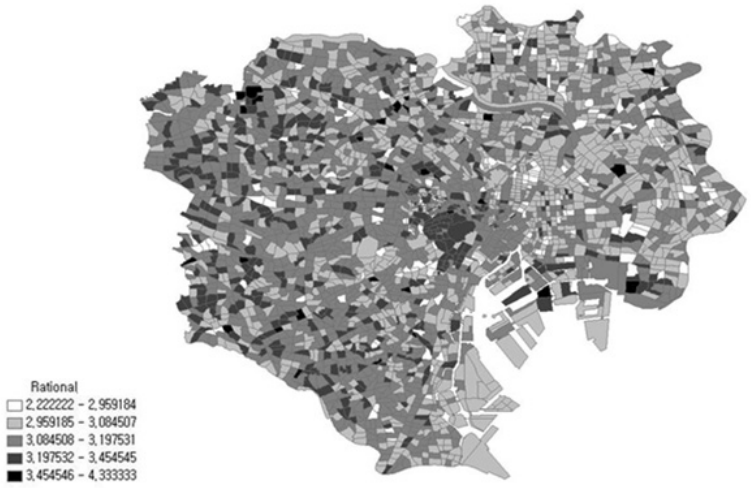
○ Setagaya, Shibuya and Ebisu area show high Corporate scores.

○ Roppongi Hills and Toranomon are well known as office areas in Minato-ku. Several companies and foreign corporations are located in this area, Aasaka and Aoyoma in Minato-ku also have a high Corporate score.

○ A lot of shopping malls are located in the Odaiba area. It gives this area a high Corporate score.

○ Haneda International Airport also has a high Corporate score.

15) Rational Scene Map



〈Figure 3-30〉 Rational Scene Map of Tokyo

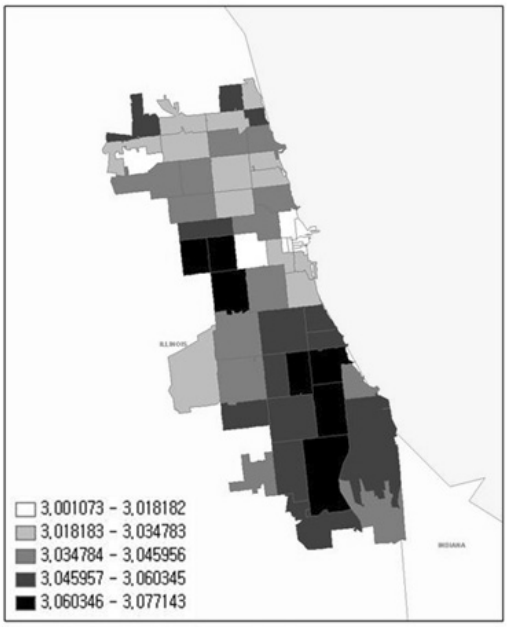
○ The highest Rational scene areas are Chiyoda-ku, Nerima-ku and Setagaya-ku.

○ Chiyoda-ku has a significant legal profession service industry as well as government organizations. The Akasakagoyouchi area and the Yasukuni Shrine area also have high scores.

○ Many parks and medical and health centers are located in Nerima-ku.

3. The Scene Maps of Chicago

1) Traditional Scene Map

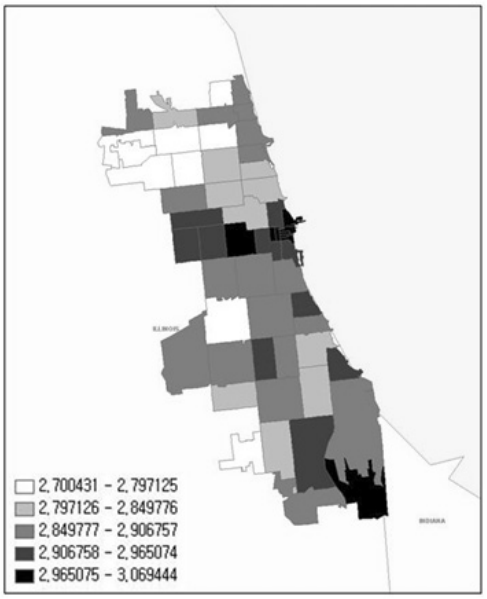


〈Figure 3-31〉 Traditional Scene Map of Chicago

○ Washington Park and Hyde Park show the highest Traditionalism scores. The area near Jackson Park also shows a high score.

○ The University of Chicago is located between Washington Park and Jackson Park. The university was founded in 1890 by the American Baptist Education Society. This area has a high Traditionalism score since the university has a long history.

2) Utilitarian Scene Map



〈Figure 3-32〉 Utilitarian Scene Map of Chicago

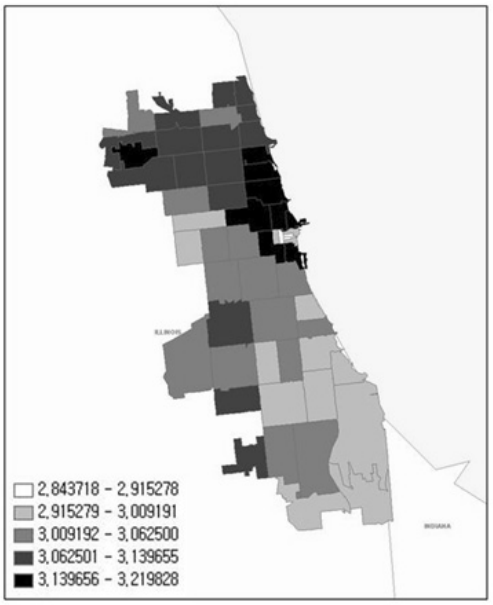
○ Merchandise Mart is a big medicine market. It has more than 900 showrooms for domestic and international brands.

○ The offices of Cook County, the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court and other government organizations are located in Daley Center.

○ Chicago Board of Trade area also shows a high Utilitarianism score. Established in 1848, it is the world's oldest futures and options exchange.

○ A public theater is located in Jay Pritzker Pavilion in Millenium Park. It is supported by the city government and holds free outdoor music concerts from June to August.

3) Self-Expressive Scene Map



〈Figure 3-33〉 Self-Expressive Scene Map of Chicago

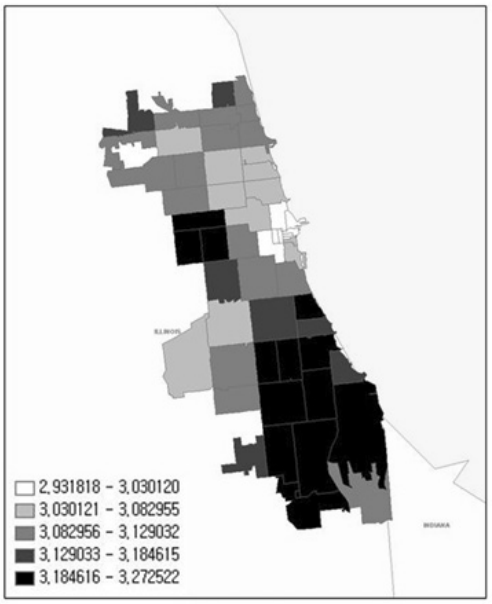
○ St. Xavier University and Country Club are located in Mt. Greenwood.

○ Navy Pier has several cultural facilities, including the **Chicago Children's Museum, an IMAX Theatre** and Pepsi Skyline Stage.

○ Some parks have high Expressivism scores. A free outdoor theater is located in Jay Pritzker Pavilion in Millenium Park. Taste of Chicago, a famous food festival, is held in Grant Park. Moreover, various music festivals are held in Millenium Park and Grant Park. Wicker Park and Humboldt Park are famous for various facilities for leisure sports.

○ The Art Institute of Chicago and Chicago Cultural Center are also in this main downtown area and Near North Side, as are thousands of small firms, art galleries, bookstores and other self-expressive activities.

4) Egalitarian Scene Map



〈Figure 3-34〉 Egalitarian Scene Map of Chicago

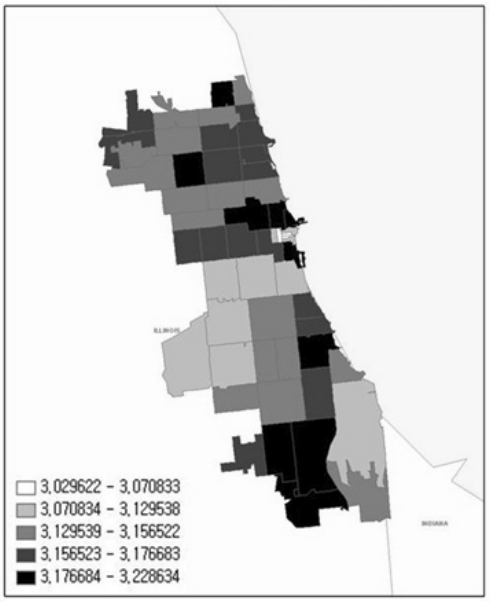
○ High Egalitarian areas usually feature libraries, learning academies, preparatory schools, elementary, middle and high schools.

○ Eaton Park shows a high Egalitarianism score because several educational institutes, a YMCA and a public library are located in this area.

○ The Civic Center shows a high Egalitarian score, with human rights organizations and community centers also in this area.

○ The City of Chicago runs 79 libraries, including Harold Washington Library Center. Those libraries have numerous books and multimedia facilities but are also places where conferences and events are held. Moreover, they have fully-accessible facilities in line with the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

5) Charisma Scene Map



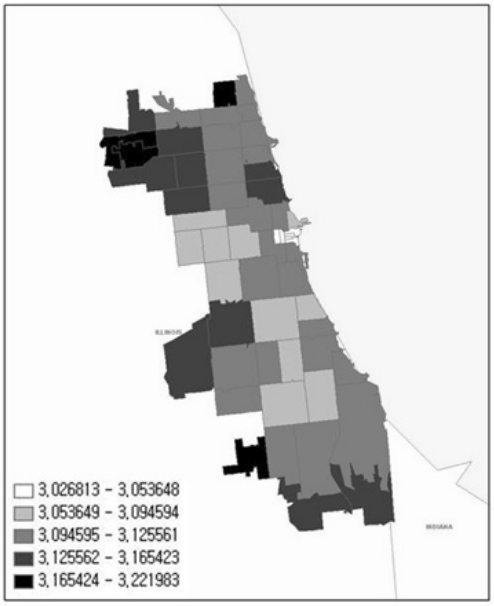
〈Figure 3-35〉 Charisma Scene Map of Chicago

○ Washington Park, Hyde Park and the University of Chicago have high Charisma scores because these areas have historical meaning with long histories.

○ The Pullman State Historic Site is located in Pullman. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1969. Afterwards, it was designated as a Chicago landmark in 1972.

○ United Center, which is the Chicago Bulls' home court, also has a high Charisma score.

6) Exhibitionism Scene Map

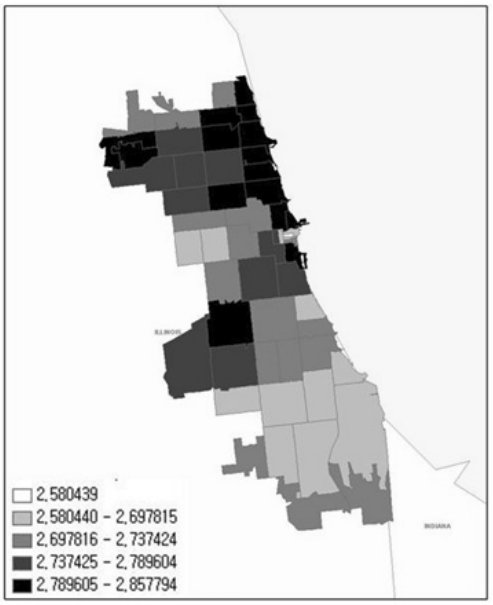


〈Figure 3-36〉 Exhibitionism Scene Map of Chicago

○ Lake View is well known as a popular condominium-style housing area. It is a popular residential area in Chicago since there are many bars, restaurants and entertainment facilities in the area,. Wrigley Field, the home of the Chicago Cubs, is also located in Lake View.

○ Lincoln Park also has a high Exhibitionism score. The park is the largest park in Chicago as well as a popular resting place. This area is also well known as the most popular residential area in Chicago and the rent is very expensive.

7) Transgression Scene Map

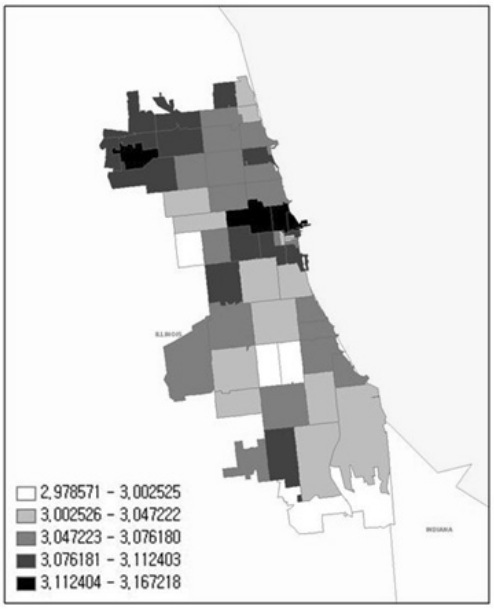


〈Figure 3-37〉 Transgression Scene Map of Chicago

○ The high Transgression areas are close to sport stadiums, golf clubs, night clubs and bars. For example, Wrigley Field and United Center and US Cellular Field have high Transgression scores because sport stadiums are located in the areas.

○ Boystown is a gay community in Chicago. This area features famous restaurants, bars and clubs. Halsted Street in Lake View also has a huge complex that caters to homosexuals.

8) Glamour Scene Map



〈Figure 3-38〉 Glamour Scene Map of Chicago

○ John Hancock Center, Navy Pier, the Chicago Shakespeare Theater and **Lake Point Tower have high Glamour scores**.

○ Tribune Tower is a tourist spot in Chicago as well as the corporate headquarters of the Tribune Media Co., which publishes the nation's tenth largest newspaper, The Chicago Tribune.

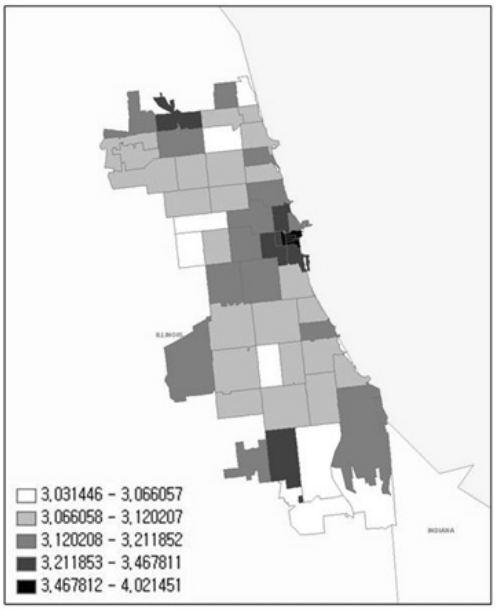
○ The Wrigley Building is the home of the Wrigley Company. The building is located in Magnificent Mile and designed after the cathedral in Seville with details adapted from the French Renaissance in an American style.

○ **Marina City features numerous cultural and entertainment facilities such as a marina, a theater, a bowling alley, restaurants, night clubs and apartments.**

○ Wicker Park and Humboldt Park are famous for events and facilities for leisure sports.

○ Buckstown is known for its cafes and restaurants.

9) Formality Scene Map



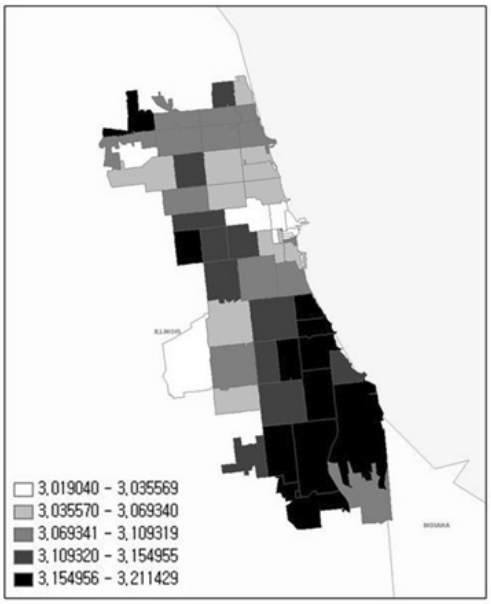
〈Figure 3-39〉 Formality Scene Map of Chicago

○ High Formality areas include Millennium Park, the Chicago Opera Theater and **the Art Institute of Chicago.**

○ The Civic Opera House and the Lyric Opera of Chicago are located near the Chicago Theatre.

○ The area around Willis Tower also has a high Formality score. It is one of the largest office buildings. This tower has designed to link with local the residential area.

10) Neighborliness Scene Map

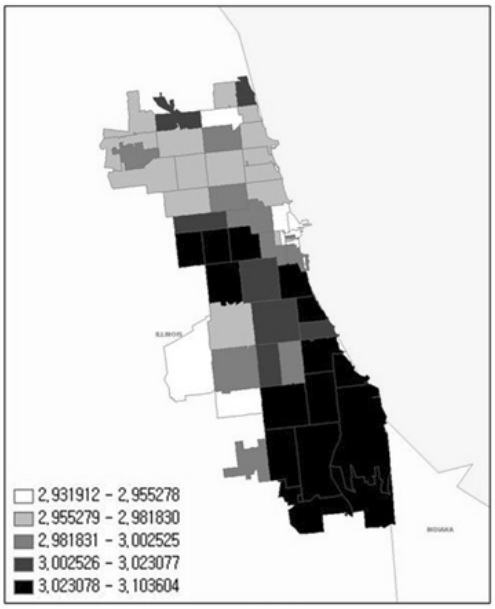


〈Figure 3-40〉 Neighborliness Scene Map of Chicago

○ Lake Calumet, Harborside International Golf Center and parks show high Neighborliness scores.

○ Areas with schools also have high Neighborliness scores.

11) Localism Scene Map



〈Figure 3-41〉 Localism Scene Map of Chicago

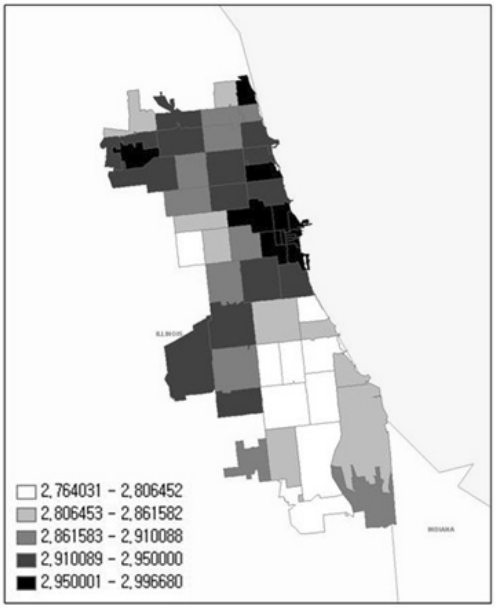
○ Harborside International Golf Center and Gun Club Ponds are located in the Lake Calumet area.

○ Places with a long history display a high Localism score.

○ Local parks show high Localism scores. Parks with a long history also have a higher Localism score.

○ The University of Chicago, Chicago State University, the University of Illinois at Chicago and the Illinois Institute of Technology also have high Localism scores.

12) State Scene Map



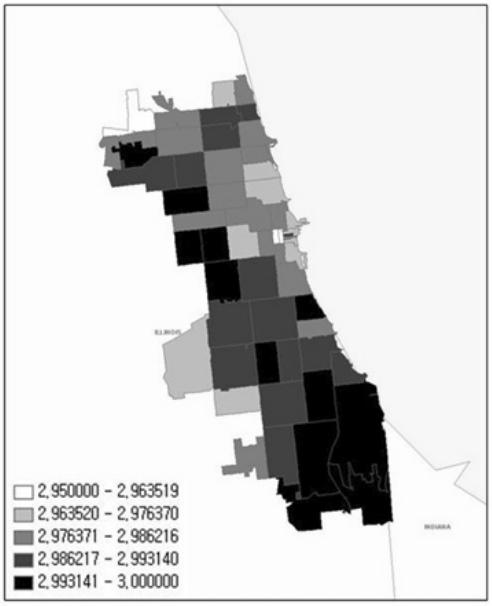
〈Figure 3-42〉 State Scene Map of Chicago

○ The offices of Cook County, the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court and other government organizations are located in Daley Center.

○ The highest State scene area is the area around Chicago Midway International Airport.

○ The Loop also has a high State score because various consulates are located there.

13) Ethnicity Scene Map

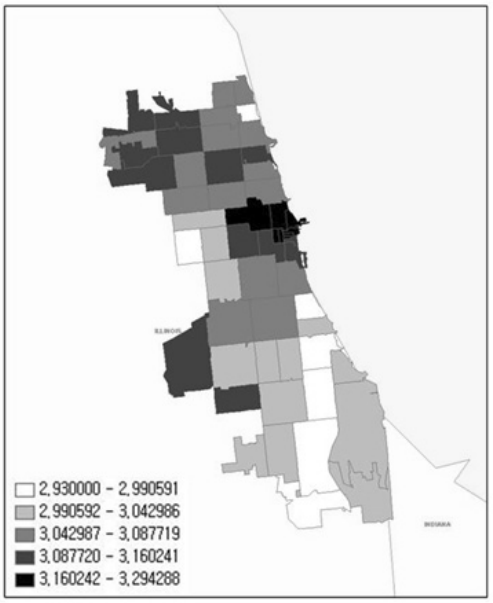


〈Figure 3-43〉 Ethnicity Scene Map of Chicago

○ International conferences and exhibitions are often held in Chicago.

○ It is easy to find ethnic restaurants downtown and in various ethnic neighborhoods. Chinatown is located in the southern part of the Loop.

14) Corporate Scene Map

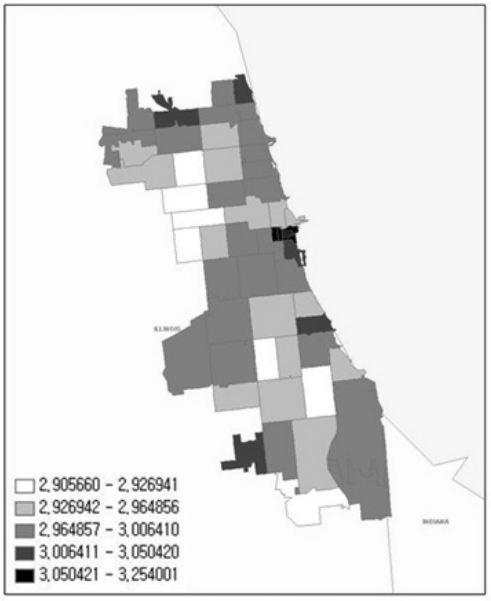


〈Figure 3-44〉 Corporate Scene Map of Chicago

○ The John Hancock Center has a high Corporate score because the area is well known as the Chicago business district. Many residential and commercial complexes are located in this area. The Tarry Research and Education Building, the Morton Medical Research Building, the Searle Medical Research Building, the Robert H. Lurie Medical Research Center and Rehabilitation Institute are in John Hancock Center.

○ Navy Pier is a very famous and popular tourist spot in Chicago. It has more than 860,000 visitors every year. The area features amenities, such as parks, gardens, stores and theaters.

15) Rational Scene Map



〈Figure 3-45〉 Rational Scene Map of Chicago

○ Museum Campus includes the Field Museum of Natural History, Shedd Aquarium and Adler Planetarium. This area has a high Rational score.

○ The Chicago Cultural Center is located next to Millenium Park. It had been a public library but was redeveloped as a culture center. It offers performances, art exhibits and regular events. The center features an auditorium, tourist information, dance studio, exhibition halls and Renaissance Court.

○ The Chicago Public Library (Harold Washington Library Center) has a multimedia library as well as a cultural complex.

Chapter 4 Comparison of Scene Sub-dimension in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

1. Correlations among the Scene Sub-dimensions in the Three Cities
2. Correlations of Sub-dimensions with Socio-Economic Variables
3. Correlations between Scenes and Rent(Housing Price)
4. International Comparison of Sub-dimensions

4 Comparison of Scene Sub-dimension in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

○ The scene sub-dimensions represent 15 specific characteristics of spatial locations and cultural activities. Thus, by comparing 15 sub-dimensions in the three cities, we can infer different social lives and value configuration of the residents.

1. Correlations among the Scene Sub-dimensions in the Three Cities

○ The relationships among the scene sub-dimensions in the three cities were compared. This illuminates different spatial configurations in the three cities. Figures for entire correlations among sub-dimensions are shown in Appendix <A-1> through <A-15>.

1) Correlations of traditional scene with 14 other sub-dimensions : The relationship with formality goes in different directions in Seoul and Tokyo/Chicago. Japan and the US may have developed traditional culture more than in Korea. Traditional places in Seoul and Tokyo are more likely to be located in glamorous, exhibitionistic and transgressive areas while traditional places in Chicago are not. This is because palaces and other traditional facilities are located near the city center in Seoul and Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-1>.

2) Correlations of utilitarian scene with other sub-dimensions : The trends are similar in the three cities. Utilitarian places are located along with state and rational areas in Seoul and Chicago, but not in Tokyo. Utilitarian places are more likely to be located with state facilities and rational areas such as universities and research centers in Seoul and Chicago

than in Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-2>.

3) Correlations of self-expressive scene with other sub-dimensions : Self-expressive places in Tokyo and Chicago are positively related with transgressive areas, but not in Seoul. Self-expressive places in Chicago are located along with state facilities and rational areas, while they tend to be separately located in Seoul and Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-3>.

4) Correlations of egalitarian scene with other sub-dimensions : Egalitarianism is highly related with charismatic places in Seoul and Chicago, while it is highly related with state facilities and rational places such as universities in Tokyo. In Seoul and Chicago, charismatic places seem to be those areas with high democratization (egalitarianism) movements and institutions. Those associations supporting egalitarian movements are mainly located around government institutions in Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-4>.

5) Correlations of charismatic scene with other sub-dimensions : Charismatic places are much less related with formality in both Seoul and Tokyo than in Chicago. They tend to be located together with neighborly places in Seoul and Chicago, but not in Tokyo. Chicago and Seoul seem to share a more formal egalitarian style, compared to the traditions around the Emperor in Tokyo, for instance. For more details, see Appendix <A-5>.

6) Correlations of exhibitionistic scene with other sub-dimensions : Exhibitionistic places in Chicago are negatively related with traditional places and neighborly areas, while they are not in Seoul or Tokyo. We discuss this elsewhere as reflecting the greater use of land use zoning in the US and the greater US spatial segregation of residence from business and entertainment activities. In addition, exhibitionistic places are negatively related with state facilities in Tokyo, meaning that there are fewer exhibitionistic places near government buildings there. For more details, see Appendix <A-6>.

7) Correlations of transgression scene with other sub-dimensions : The negative relationship with rational in Tokyo is distinct. Transgressive facilities may not be permitted in those areas around universities and research centers in Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-7>.

8) Correlations of glamorous scene with other sub-dimensions : Glamour is positively related with neighborliness in Seoul and Tokyo, while the relationship is very negative in Chicago. This is because many hotels and department stores are located in residential areas, especially in Seoul and Tokyo. On the other hand, glamorous areas in Chicago tend to be located along with government facilities and universities. For more details, see Appendix <A-8>.

9) Correlations of formal scene with other sub-dimensions : Formal places in Tokyo and Chicago are related with traditional areas but not in Seoul. Formal places tend to be located in neighborly areas in Chicago, while not in Tokyo or Seoul. This may reflect the more heterogeneous, mixed land use in Seoul and the absence of planning/zoning. For more details, see Appendix <A-9>.

10) Correlations of neighborly scene with other sub-dimensions : The positive relationship with charisma in Seoul and Chicago is distinct. Neighborly places in Chicago are related much less with transgression and glamour than in Seoul and Tokyo. Neighborly places are also very formal in Chicago while they are not in Seoul or Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-10>.

11) Correlations of local scene with other sub-dimensions : Localism is highly related with neighborliness in Tokyo, whereas the relationship is negative in Chicago. Self-Expression has a positive relationship in Seoul and Chicago, but little relationship in Tokyo. This has potentially broader implications about local tradition and problems of innovation as we discuss concerning Bohemia. Rational is not local in Tokyo, with a negative relationship, though it is in Seoul and Chicago. For more details, see Appendix <A-11>.

12) Correlations of ethnic scene with other sub-dimensions : The relationships with state and rational scene are negative in Tokyo while they are positive in Seoul and Chicago. Ethnic places in Seoul and Tokyo tend to be more self-expressive, exhibitionistic and glamorous than in Chicago. Ethnic places in Tokyo are not state or rational facilities, while they are in Seoul and Chicago. These ethnic institutions are often foreign (non-national) restaurants. We could compare means levels of these and see if there are fewer in Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-12>.

13) Correlations of state scene with other sub-dimensions : The big difference in the

relationships with corporate and utilitarianism means that businesses and state facilities in Seoul and Chicago are located together, while they are separate in Tokyo. This may symbolically reflect broader cultural/political patterns, such as the effort to keep government staff more segregated from business in Japan, like MITI. For more details, see Appendix <A-13>.

14) Correlations of corporate scene with other sub-dimensions : State and rational scene have relationships going in the opposite directions in Tokyo and Seoul/Chicago. Corporate businesses, government institutions and research facilities tend to be located together in Chicago and Seoul, while they are separate in Tokyo. For more details, see Appendix <A-14>.

15) Correlations of rational scene with other sub-dimensions : Rational institutions and corporate businesses tend to be located closely together in Seoul and Chicago. Research and university areas are much less transgressive in Tokyo than in Chicago. Such areas are not located in close proximity to egalitarian places in Seoul. This fits with our discussion of the lack of Bohemia in Asia more generally, especially around universities, where Bohemian/transgression/self-expression are more common in the West. For more details, see Appendix <A-15>.

2. Correlations of Sub-dimensions with Socio-Economic Variables

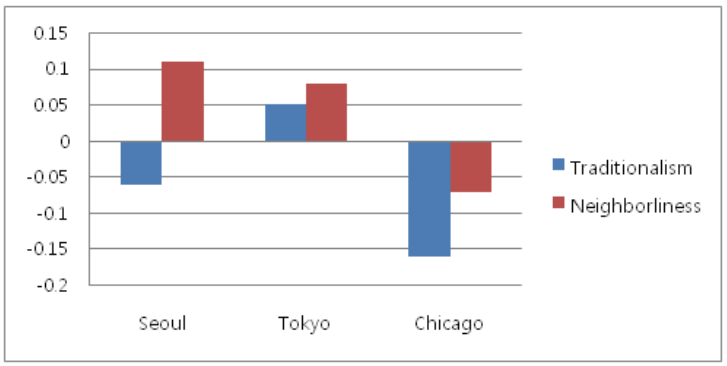
○ In this section, the scene sub-dimensions and their relationships are compared with other socio-economic variables such as youth, education and occupation. This comparison will lead to understanding the different cultural values and activities in the three cities.

○ In so doing, scenes are used as exemplars : 1) communitarian scenes, meaning more traditional and neighborly scenes, 2) avant-garde/exotic scenes, meaning self-expressive, transgressive and ethnic scenes, 3) business-oriented scenes, meaning utilitarian and corporate scenes and 4) conspicuous consumption scenes, meaning exhibitionistic, glamorous and formal scenes(For the correlations of other scenes with socio-economic variables, see Appendix <B-1> through <B-9>).

○ Regarding the socio-economic variables, we will include the variables often discussed as influencing a city's creativeness, such as youth, highly educated people, professionals and high income groups.

○ Unfortunately, except for the variable of youth, we don't have all the data for the three cities. Thus, we will compare the relationships between sub-dimensional scenes and proportions of youth in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago, while regarding other relationships we compare only Seoul and Chicago.

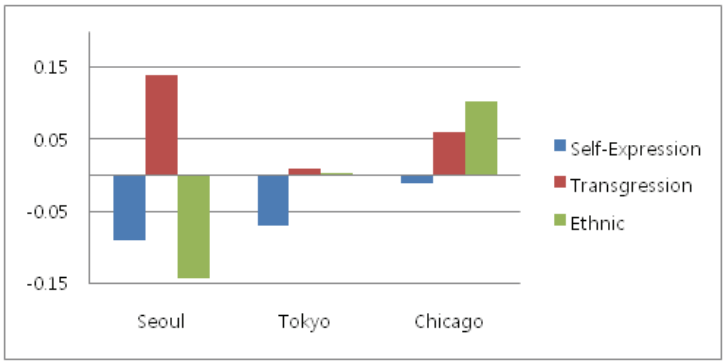
1) Correlations between Scenes and Youth



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)
Note : the vertical y axis shows the Pearson correlation coefficient (r) between Percent 25 to 34 year olds as a proportion of the population and the score for each dong on Traditional or Neighborly.

〈Figure 4-1〉 Communitarian Scenes and Youth(2,534)

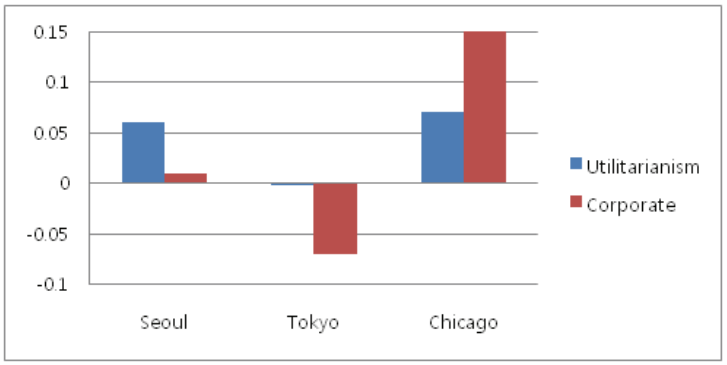
○ The relationships between communitarian scenes and youth are dramatically different in the three cities. There is a positive relationship in Tokyo between both communitarian dimensions and youth, which means that young people are more likely to live in communitarian areas. On the contrary, those relationships are both negative in Chicago, meaning that young people are less likely to live in communitarian areas. This fits our discussion of young persons living with their families longer in Asia, while young people (25~34) live more alone in the US. It is complex in Seoul, in the sense that young people are more likely to live in neighborly places but less in traditional places.



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-2〉 Avant-garde/Exotic Scenes and Youth(2,534)

○ The main highlight of this figure is the difference in the relationship between ethnic and youth in Seoul and Chicago. Young people in Seoul are much less likely to live in ethnic places while in Chicago young people are more likely to live in ethnic places (marked by foreign restaurants, for instance). Regarding the relationship with transgression, young people in all the cities are more likely to live in transgressive areas. On the contrary, young people are less likely to live in self-expressive areas, especially in Tokyo and Seoul.

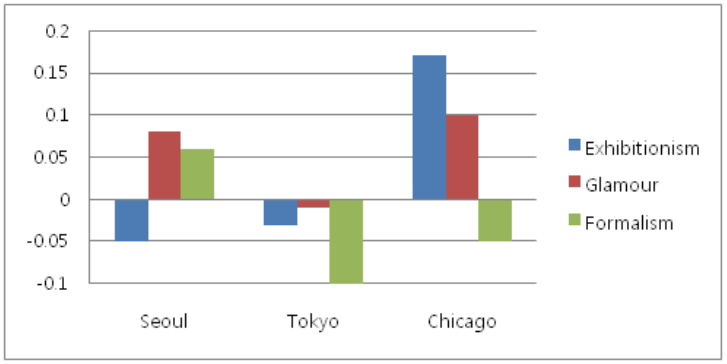


N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-3〉 Business-Oriented Scenes and Youth(2,534)

○ Seoul and Chicago show a similar trend in the figure above in the relationship between business scenes and youth in the sense that young people are more likely to live in business-oriented areas. The results in Tokyo are opposite from those in Seoul and Chicago.

This is because the most expensive apartments are around those business areas in Tokyo, while such areas provide small and less-expensive housing in Seoul and Chicago.

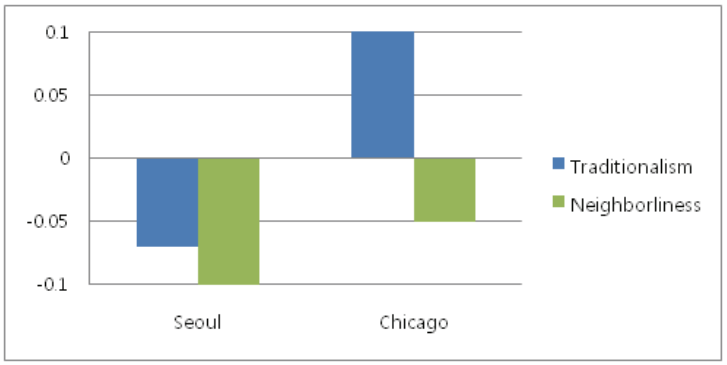


N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-4〉 Conspicuous Consumption Scenes and Youth

○ Young people in Tokyo are not likely to live in conspicuous consumption areas. However, young people live in more exhibitionistic and glamorous places in Chicago. Young people in Seoul are more likely to live in glamorous places because there are so many glamorous places around universities in Seoul.

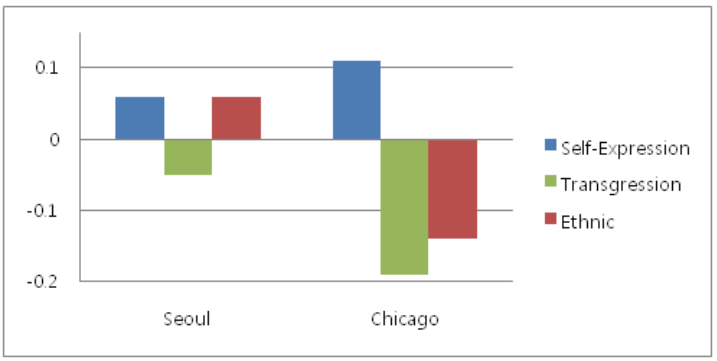
2) Correlations between Scenes and Education



N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-5〉 Communitarian Scenes and College Graduates

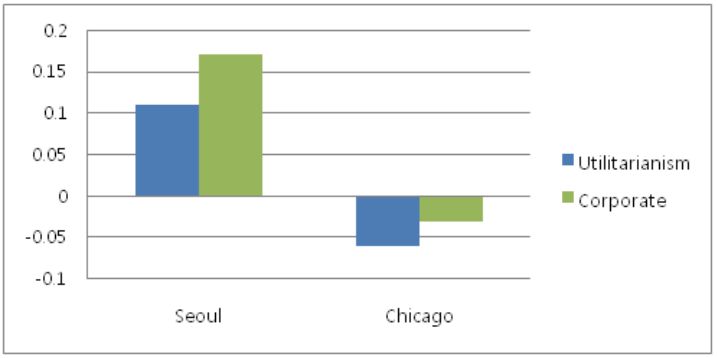
○ Highly-educated people living in Seoul do not seem to want to live in communitarian areas. Similarly, this trend generally appears true in Chicago in terms of neighborliness but Chicago's highly-educated people seem to like to live in traditional places. The reason for this trend is that the traditional places in the city center are preferred over the suburbs as the suburban locations seem to be detrimental to work.



N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-6〉 Avant-garde/Exotic Scenes and College Graduates

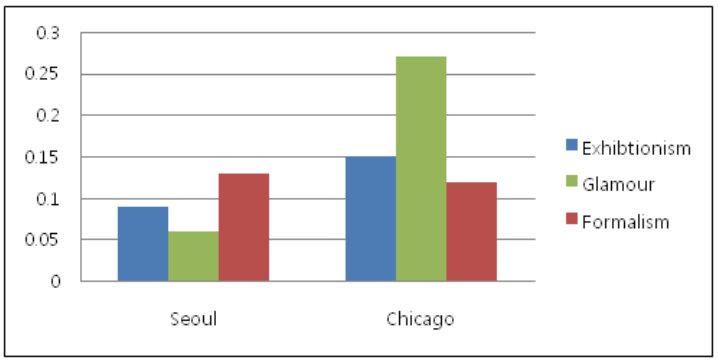
○ In both cities, all variables but one followed the same trend. Ethnic places in Seoul attract the highly-educated but, on the other hand, the opposite trend appears in Chicago. Transgression was not attractive in either city. Finally, self-expressive places were attractive places to live for highly-educated people in both Seoul and Chicago. Perhaps the higher level of academic assertiveness reveals itself in this way.



N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-7〉 Business-Oriented Scenes and College Graduates

○ Seoul and Chicago had opposite results in the above figure. Highly-educated people in Seoul, headed for business-oriented scenes. On the other hand, the opposite tendency was on display in Chicago. Not only are the directions different, but the magnitude degree of its orientation is two times greater in Seoul so the business-oriented scene attracts educated Seoulites twice as much as it repels educated Chicagoans.

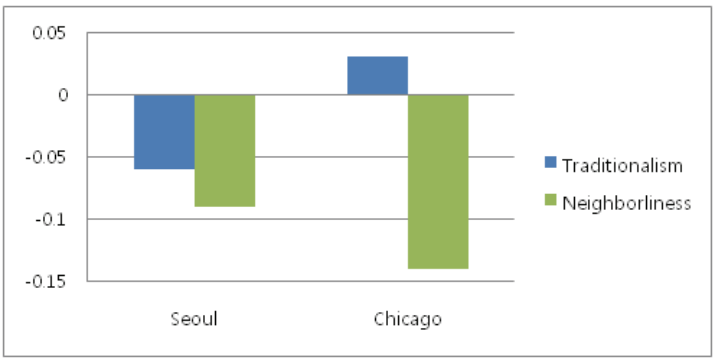


N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-8〉 Conspicuous Consumption Scenes and College Graduates

○ Conspicuous consumption scenes showed a positive response in both cities. Overall results were similar, except for glamour. There was a particularly strong relationship with glamour in Chicago whereas the glamour relationship was contrastingly weak in Seoul, with glamour having the weakest relationship.

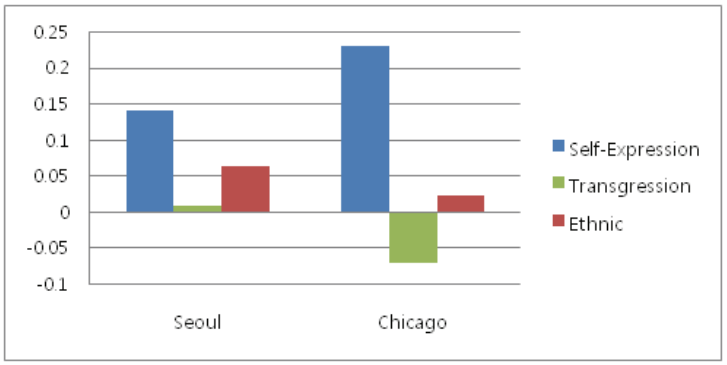
3) Correlations between Scenes and Income



N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-9〉 Communitarian Scenes and Income

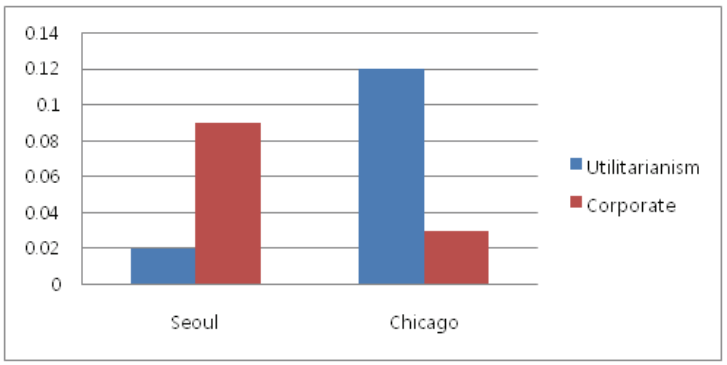
○ Neighborliness shows a negative correlation with income in both cities. The correlation is nearly twice as great in Chicago as in Seoul. Conversely, traditionalism shows a positive correlation with income, whereas traditional areas in Seoul were far from Gangnam, the high-income district in Seoul with a large concentration of core businesses.



N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-10〉 Avant-garde/Exotic Scenes and Income

○ Transgression has a negative correlation with income in Chicago, but a very weak positive correlation in Seoul. Self-expression has a strong correlation with income in both cities. The correlation between income and ethnic was higher in Seoul than in Chicago.

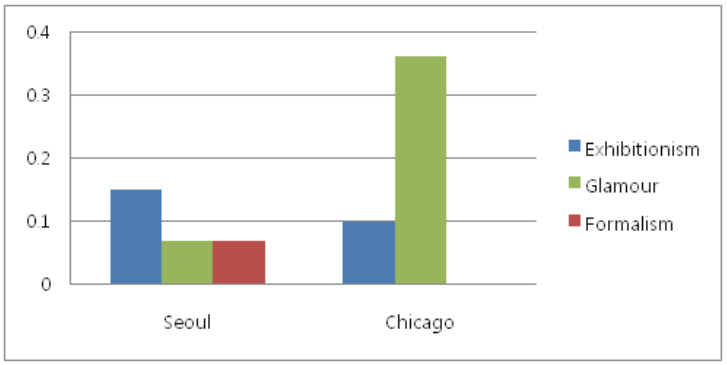


N=Seoul(424), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-11〉 Business-Oriented Scenes and Income

○ Business-oriented scenes also showed a positive correlation with income in both cities.

However, the similar composite relationship in both cities displayed opposite detailed compositions. The corporate dimension was strong and the utilitarian one was weak in Seoul. But the opposite was true in Chicago with a strong utilitarian dimension and a weak corporate one.



N= Seoul (424), Chicago (112)

〈Figure 4-12〉 Conspicuous Consumption Scenes and Income

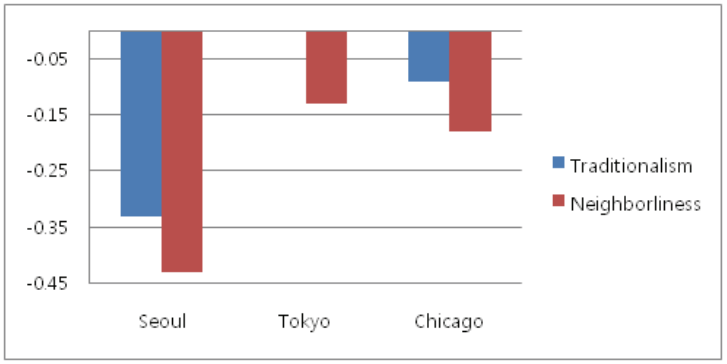
○ Seoul and Chicago show a similar overall positive trend in the figure above in the relationship between conspicuous consumption scenes and income. The strongest relationship in Chicago was with higher glamour. Seoul has a somewhat stronger exhibitionist relationship, with exhibitionism as the strongest relationship. Formality was stronger in Seoul than in Chicago, where there appeared to be little or no relationship but even in Seoul the relationship was not significant.

3. Correlations between Scenes and Rent(Housing Price)

○ The relationship between scenes and scene dimensions and median gross rent[3] is now compared. This measure roughly indicates the popularity of a given area and is a proxy for

3) For Seoul, the apartment prices are per square meter, because there are significant gaps between rent cost and apartment price, especially among old apartments in the Gangnam area. Apartment price is considered to exhibit the desirability of a given area in Seoul better.

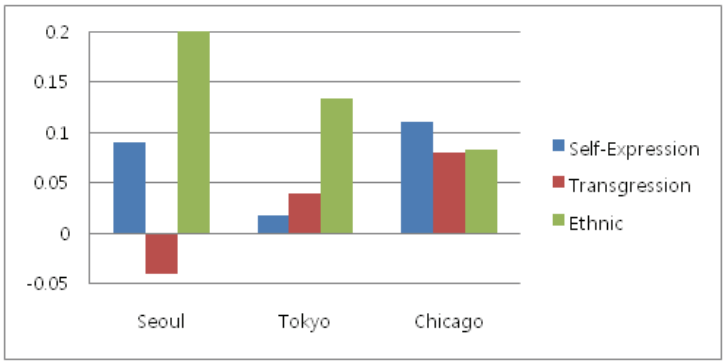
the desirability of the area. Comparing the relationships between scenes and rent can explain the different values and activities of the residents in the three cities.



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-13〉 Communitarian Scenes and Rent

○ As shown in the figure above, the relationship between communitarian scenes and rent is fairly constant among all three cities. There is a negative relationship in all three cities between both performance scores and rent (apartment price), suggesting that these types of scenes are associated with lower rent or apartment prices than other areas.

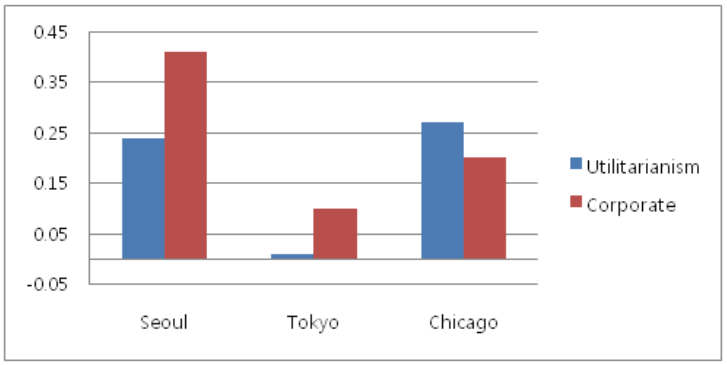


N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-14〉 Avant-garde/Exotic Scenes and Rent

○ The relationship between avant-garde/exotic scenes and rent (apartment price) is also consistent for all three cities except for the negative relationship between transgression and

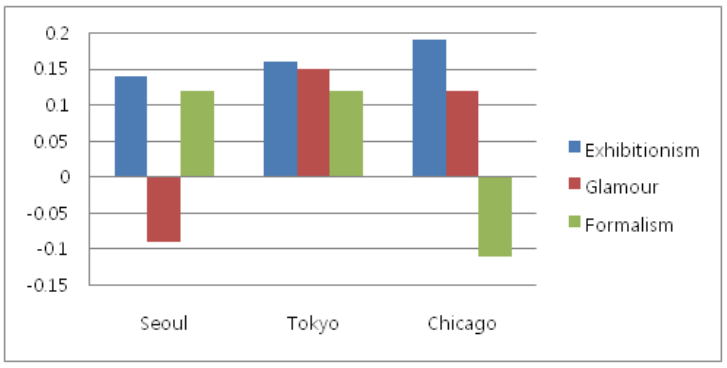
rent in Seoul. These scenes are basically more associated with higher rent (apartment price) than other areas. However, transgression is associated with lower rent (apartment price) in Seoul. Ethnic areas have a stronger association with rent (apartment price) in Seoul and Tokyo than in Chicago.



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-15〉 Business-Oriented Scenes and Rent

○ As shown in the above figure, the relationship between business-oriented scenes and rent is also very consistent. This type of scene is positively associated with higher rent (apartment price) in all three cities. Corporate, in particular, is much more associated with higher rent (apartment price) in Seoul than in the other cities.



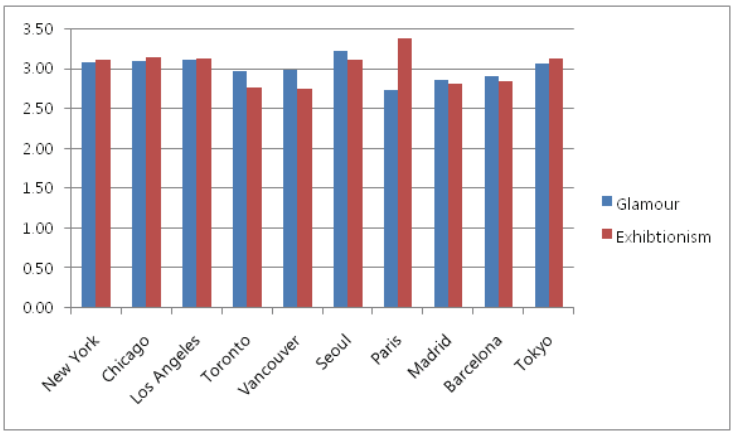
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

〈Figure 4-16〉 Conspicuous Consumption Scenes and Rent

○ Unlike the results above, the relationship between conspicuous consumption scenes and rent shows unique differences in each city. First, formality is negatively related with higher rent in Chicago, while the relationship is the opposite in Seoul and Tokyo. This is because formal theaters and restaurants have a long history in Chicago and are thus closer to older areas of the city with a lower cost of rent. A second difference is the negative relationship between glamour and rent in Seoul. As mentioned above, there are more small apartments for students around universities in Seoul where there are many glamorous places.

4. International Comparison of Sub-dimensions

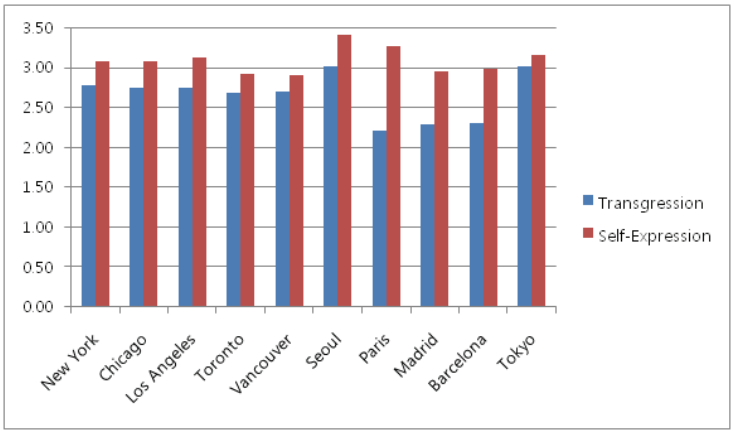
○ In this section, we briefly compare some sub-dimensions of 10 international cities. The data of other cities were collected by the local participants of our "International Scene Project." This will illuminate how spatial locations and social lives are different across cities.



〈Figure 4-17〉 International Comparison of Scene Sub-Dimensions : Glamour and Exhibitioinsm

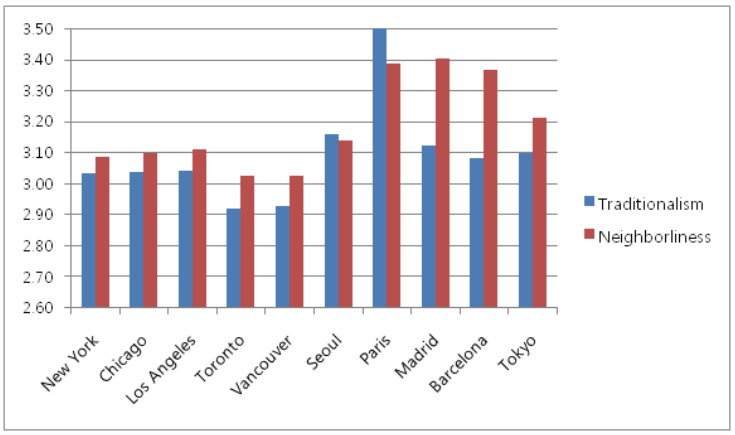
○ Compared to many other world cities for which we have scenes data, Seoul is distinctly glamorous in having boutiques, cosmetics and related amenities, localist in its locally-oriented neighborhood activities. It may come as a surprise, but measured this way, Seoul is more glamorous than Paris! One could review this sort of result for one neighborhood at a time (which might show that while Paris has some highly glamorous downtown

boulevards, it also has many suburban areas that are less glamorous than Seoul's suburban areas). And one could see which specific types of amenities generate the result-maybe Seoul has more shoe stores but fewer designer boutiques?



〈Figure 4-18〉 International Comparison of Scene Sub-Dimensions : Transgression and Self-Expression

○ We include here two more examples for the reader to peruse. As shown in the <Figure 4-18> and <4-19>, Seoul shows more transgression and less neighborliness than especially the Southern European cities. For more comparisons of the other scene sub- dimensions, see Appendix <C-1> and <C-2>.



〈Figure 4-19〉 International Comparison of Scene Sub-Dimensions : Traditionalism and Neighborliness

○ We have these details in our files for more micro analyses of individual neighborhoods. Examples of such analyses are in our report on the Cartography of Paris (http://dl.dropbox.com/u/5559963/Paris.May%2019.2011.Rapport%20Final%20CARTOGRAPHIE%20CULTURELLE%20FINALE%202011.pdf.zip), in a video of the Paris Underground (http://joelukawski.wordpress.com/2010/12/17/paris-underground-exploring-urban-scenes/) and in small studies of many Chicago neighborhoods (e.g. http://dl.dropbox.com/u/5559963/UAA%20Chicago%20March%202009.scenes-NPOs-1.ppt.pps).

Chapter 5 Bohemian Scenes of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

1. What is Bohemia?
2. Bohemian Scenes in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago
3. No Bohemians in Asia?

5 Bohemian Scenes of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

○ As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Bohemia is considered a core component driving innovation and urban development in the West. From Balzac through Richard Florida, Bohemians are creative. Artists are the quintessence in the sense that breaking the eggs of tradition is a prerequisite to cooking a new omelet. The core idea seems broadly accepted by many readers and commentators in the US and Western Europe. However, many Korean intellectuals react with puzzlement when asked what or where is the local Bohemia. Many imply that there is none in most Asian countries. There is evidence for this argument. Korean university students seem to dress more elegantly than Westerners. Many female students often wear skirts or dresses and high-heeled shoes and make up to class. Regarding tolerance of homosexuals, there is a famous story about a television star who "came out" with his gay identity and was fired from his job. Dressing inelegantly and tolerating gays are two possible indicators of Bohemia that Richard Florida has stressed, but a critical point to reassess is whether the idea of Bohemia should be revised or whether a new concept should be considered as Asian variations are more specifically incorporated into international theory.

○ This section will examine whether or not Bohemia is absent using scene data. The results will also be compared with those from Chicago to lead to incorporate Asian variations more specifically.

1. What is Bohemia?

○ Bohemia is multidimensional and joins several interrelated concepts, some of which are present in Asia. It may be possible to specify a sharper way of analyzing Bohemia's sources and impacts if the separate dimensions are considered in more detail. Thus, the subcomponents of Bohemia are listed and the degree of Bohemia is compared between the West and Korea/Japan.

1) Dressing in a nonconformist manner such as long hair, choosing casual clothes like dungarees and T-shirts and wearing these in surroundings where others are more formally attired. This is widespread in the West, but minimal in Korea and Japan.
2) Reacting against people nearby-parents, friends, relatives-who may articulate a moral or broader sense of lifestyle. Or this may be simply, "Do it my way because I'm your father" and the son does the opposite just because "He's my father and he told me to do it his way so I rebel." In this second dimension the rebellion is narrowly interpersonal and limited. A decade or so back, Koreans scored very high on "deference to parents" as a desirable trait among children, in citizen responses to the World Values Survey. The gap with the West seems to have narrowed over time.
3) Reacting against the more general economic, social and political establishment that is often seen as oppressive, hierarchical and authoritarian. The establishment was relatively clear in cases like Czarist Russia in the 19th Century or military dictatorships in 20th Century Latin America or Korea.
4) Ideological opposition to a distinctive lifestyle. The normal target is considered bourgeoisie or middle-class. The opposition to the bourgeoisie or the middle-class is seen as more ideological in the sense that the principles of capitalism or accumulation or carrying tradition are seen as wrong or immoral. Here this takes on a moralistic perspective and critique. This moralistic perspective has grown more salient across the world with the spread of a Calvinist biblical style, albeit secular perspective, often and one that relates to the lifestyle of the average person in a more egalitarian manner. Broad categories of action and ideas have become classed as politically incorrect or worse. In the Marxist version, the rules of history are working for progressive forces

and following these principles of scientific socialism there is no choice but to step onto the train that is moving history forward. The bourgeoisie is condemned to death. Join the rising proletariat and be a political progressive even if it is a smallish minority in terms of voting or political activities.

5) Anarchy – revolt against all. From the 19th Century Russians and French and Italian anarchists to the intellectual postmodernists of the late 20th century, all rules are wrong. Break them all, ignore them, challenge them, declare a pox on all your houses, be angry. This may be openly political and potentially linked to a program, but the frequent pattern of the past is fairly loose and open in terms of any ideology. Its main program is anti-programmatic. The anarchists were initially a political movement.
6) Artistic anarchy. Many arts movements have sought to break all past rules or at least those presently dominant in any period. From Dada to surrealism, to abstract painting rather than portrait or realistic painting, to atonal music rather than tonal music to writers who ignore many grammatical traditions like capital letters. Artistic movements may become a movement in a middle or later phase, but often begin with what feels like total opposition to a tradition surrounding them.
7) Juvenile delinquency, gangs, warlords. From a neo-Hobbesian war of all against all may emerge a sense that we tried to form a gang or follow a warlord, but adhere to almost no laws or flaunt the established laws which may be there for others. This may be narrowly self-serving and materially focused such as for the thieves and bandits who were common in medieval Europe, or for people who lived in forests and robbed travelers, highway bandits, outside the law.
8) A lifestyle that challenges the establishment and is conducted in a geographic area like the Latin Quarter/Greenwich Village. This is the classic meaning of the term from Balzac and others who were able to explore the lifestyle independence that became possible after the decline of patronage to an individual and the rise of markets or abstract ways of raising funds to live, such as for a novelist to sell books to people he did not know.
9) The intellectual independence and freedom of the artist. The intellectual freethinker may be concentrated in the geographic neighborhood and may be shared by others who dress and act in similar manner. Or, it may be highly individualized : it may be a so-called

inner migration as the Germans discussed in the early 19th Century ; it may be a reaction against the surroundings on an individualized level as Thomas Mann wrote of his ability to dress like a proper bourgeois gave him greater intellectual freedom to think and write and act than if he dressed in a manner which made him noticeably different from the people surrounding him(He lived in a small German town, not Paris or Berlin).

10) The artist. Many artists support several above dimensions of Bohemia to the degree that some writers on these themes identify empirically artists as the most obvious carriers of the Bohemian ethos. Richard Florida's Bohemian Index is no more or less than a sum of census categories of artists, used in several of his books such as *The Rise of The Creative Class* and later. However if one looks a little bit it is clear that there are many corporate wives who paint flowers and quietly vote for conservatives. They are not earning money or reporting to the census that they are artists. But neither do most taxi drivers, waitresses and bartenders who become hopeful artists after 5 PM. Most national censuses thus omit many (less than full time working) artists (Germany is an exception).

○ Bohemia, in sum, can potentially include from #1 to #10 of these dimensions in various combinations and weights depending on who is thinking and talking. This is true of many concepts of the layman and scientific experts. One need not hope for or wait for a general consensus to reformulate a particular concept or label in ways that help advance science, which is a more general set of propositions about how in life processes work that can build on and extend the implicit or explicit meaning such as is deconstructed above.

○ In this section, we produce a quantitative concept of Bohemia using our scene sub-dimensions. Based on past and recent discussions of the nature of Bohemia, an ideal-typical Bohemian scene is developed as shown in <Table 5-1>.

〈Table 5-1〉 Ideal-Typical Bohemian Scene[4)]

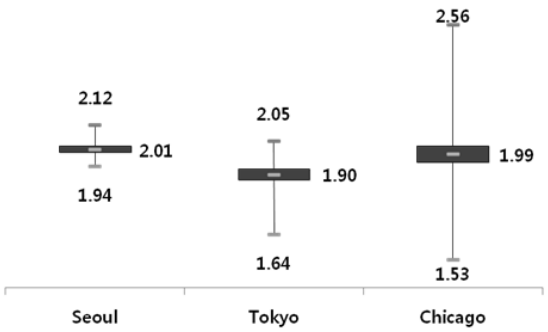
Sub-Dimension (Legitimacy)	Score	Sub-Dimension (Theatricality)	Score	Sub-Dimension (Authenticity)	Score
Traditionalistic	2	Neighborly	2	Local	4
Self-Expressive	5	Formal	3	Ethnic	4
Utilitarian	1	Glamorous	3	State	2
Charismatic	4	Exhibitionistic	4	Corporate	1
Egalitarian	2	Transgressive	5	Rational	2

4) 1 is negative, 3 is neutral and 5 is positive.

○ Defined thusly, a scene is more Bohemian if it exhibits resistance to traditional legitimacy, affirms individual self-expression, eschews utilitarianism, values charisma, promotes a form of elitism (Baudelaire's "aristocracy of dandies"), encourages members to keep their distance, promotes transforming oneself into an exhibition, values fighting the mainstream, affirms attending to the local (Balzac's intense interest in Parisian neighborhoods), promotes ethnicity as a source of authenticity (cf. Lloyd, 2006 : 76), attacks the distant, abstract state, discourages corporate culture and attacks the authenticity of reason (Rimbaud's "systematic derangement of all the senses"). Scenes whose amenities generate profiles that are closer to this ideal-type receive a higher score on our Bohemian Index (measured as the value distance from the "bliss point" defined by <Table 5-1>). This measurement from a bliss point is analogous to policy distance analyses in voting (e.g. Riker & Ordeshook, 1973 : Ch. 11). Operationally, we subtract the distance of each zip code on each of the 15 dimensions from the Bohemian "bliss point" defined in <Table 5-1>. We then aggregate these 15 distances and take the reciprocal score and multiply by 10.[5)]

2. Bohemian Scenes in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

○ Using the method in the above section, Bohemian scene scores were calculated for Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago. <Figure 5-1> shows boxplots of the Bohemian scores of the three cities.



Note : the three numbers for each city show : Chicago's extremes indicate greater geographic segregation of Bohemian activities than in Seoul and Tokyo.

〈Figure 5-1〉 Boxplots of Bohemian Scene Scores of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

5) This methodology is modified from Silver, Clark and Graziul(2011).

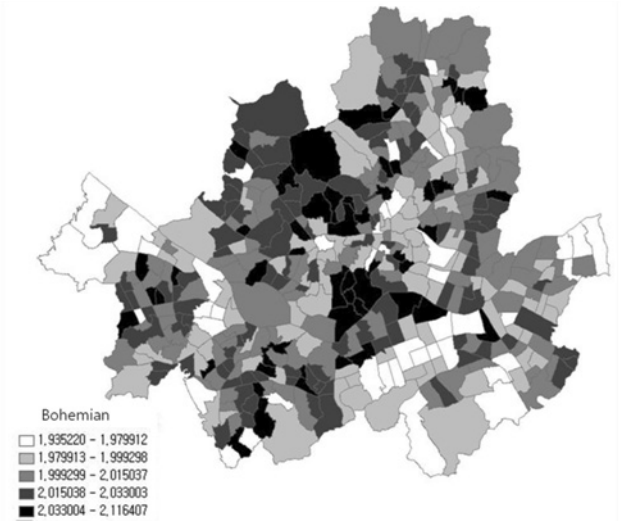
○ What is interesting from the boxplots is that the mean Bohemian scene scores of Seoul is higher than that of Tokyo and even Chicago. Does this mean that Seoul is more Bohemian than Chicago? We don't think. The reason why the mean Bohemian score in Chicago is lower than Seoul is the differences in residential areas. As discussed in Chapter 4, in Chicago, the Bohemian-like scenes of self-expression and transgression are (often strongly) negatively correlated with neighborliness, tradition and localism. People pursuing these distinctive activities are in different neighborhoods. By contrast, in Seoul all of these are more often together geographically, the scenes dimensions are positively or at least not negatively related. This comes from the lack of Western-style specialization stressed in much of the land use in Seoul and perhaps also in Tokyo. That is, on one street you can find a Christian church, traditional grocery store, high-rise apartment, Protestant church, tattoo parlor and bars. This is more culturally diverse than in a Western planned and zoned city where this would be illegal. In most US cities, residential neighborhoods are separate from commercial neighborhoods. Areas with churches and schools cannot have liquor stores or bars nearby.

○ This is why the variance in scene performance score is low (shown in the ranges of the boxplots) in Seoul and Tokyo. On the contrary, those areas in Chicago with highest Bohemian scene scores can be considered as geographically concentrated authentic/genuine Bohemian places. Wicker Park is one of the classic Chicago Bohemian neighborhoods, detailed in the book Richard Lloyd, NeoBohemia and illustrated in photos we have added to this report.

○ We found Bohemian culture in Seoul and Tokyo as well, but it is distributed around all areas of the city. Thus, to Westerners it is hard to pinpoint the Bohemian place and the phenomena of Bohemia. On the contrary, the Bohemian places in Chicago are very different from other areas and have deep impacts on people living and visiting the places.

○ In the next section, Bohemian scenes maps of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago are drawn and the places are identified with some pictures.

1) Bohemian Scenes in Seoul



〈Figure 5-2〉 Bohemian Scene Map of Seoul

○ Hongdae is an area in Seogang-dong near Hongik University, which is well known as good in architecture, design and the arts. Yeonsei University, Seogang University and Ehwa Woman's University are also located near Hongdae. The area is famous as a center of youth arts in Korea as well as the heart of Indie culture and for its clubs. It features ateliers, galleries, cafes, clubs and performance halls. This area is a popular area among young foreigners due to the numerous elegant dance clubs located there. Therefore, it could be said this area has a strong Bohemian character. Shinchon, near Hongdae, also shows a Bohemian character because of several small performance halls located in Seogang-dong and Shinchon-dong.

○ Jongno-gu also has some Bohemian areas, including Samcheong-dong, Jongno 1·2·3·4-dong, Ihwa-dong. Samcheong-dong is known for traditional Korean tea houses, high-class restaurants, cafés, art museums and private art galleries. Jongno 1·2·3·4-dong has a variety of cultural, educational and entertainment facilities. This area features a jewelry store street, bars, karaoke, night clubs, language institutes and sport centers. Ihwa-dong is known as Daehangno, which means "university street." A lot of dramatic and musical theaters are located in this area.

○ Itaewon also has a Bohemian character. This area is well known as an area for foreigners. It features famous clubs and bars. Citizens from many different nations gravitate to Itaewon.

○ Apkujeong-dong and Cheongdam-dong are famous as the fashion meccas of Seoul. Many brand boutiques and fashion shops are located here. The entertainment industry is also developed around this area. Bangbaebondong and Banpo 4-dong are known as a small French enclave. Famous cafés and restaurants are located in this area.

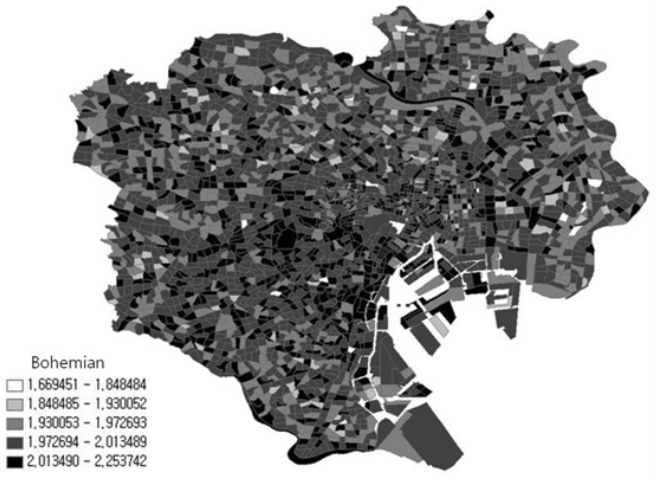
○ Those areas mentioned above have high Self-Expression, Exhibitionism and Glamour scores. In addition, Namkajwa 1-dong has a high Transgression score and a Bohemian character.

Source(left) : http://tong.visitkorea.or.kr/cms/resource/26/184426_image2_1.jpg
Source(right) : http://farm7.staticflickr.com/6013/5902774791_2e01948855_z.jpg

Source(left) : http://korean.visitkorea.or.kr/kor/ut/smart/smart_list.jsp?cid=1019321#photo
Source(right) : http://cfs8.tistory.com/image/33/tistory/2008/06/24/00/27/485fc0fbf380a

Source(left) : http://blog.naver.com/PostList.nhn?blogId=byun3909
Source(right) : http://minorepublic.com/tt/attach/0804/060804000924749425/439845.jpg

2) Bohemian Scenes in Tokyo



〈Figure 5-3〉 Bohemian Scene Map of Tokyo

○ Shibuya-ku and Minato-ku have a strong Bohemian character. There are galleries, museums, shopping malls along Yoyogi Park and the Meiji Shrine in Shibuya-ku. The area has high Self-Expression, Glamour, Exhibitionism and Charisma scores. Yoyogi Park is known as a good resting place as well as an area for live street performances. Many big and small performances play in and near the park. The Yoyogi flea market is a big flea market in Tokyo. Shibuya Station is famous for its shopping street. The area features department stores and shopping malls. Haraju-ku is a center of teenage fashion and culture. Minato-ku

also has high Bohemian scores with Self-Expression, Exhibitionism, Glamour and Ethnic scores. Minato-ku is famous for its night culture as many clubs, bars and izakayas are located in this area. The area is a tourist spot because of the night life.

○ Shinjuku-ku and Shinagawa-ku also have Bohemian characters as well. They have high Glamour and Transgression scores since they are entertainment areas. Kabukicho, in Shinjuku-ku, is full of department stores, shopping malls, restaurants and izakayas so that the area has a high Transgression score. Shinokubo also has a Bohemian character because the area has a high Ethnic score.

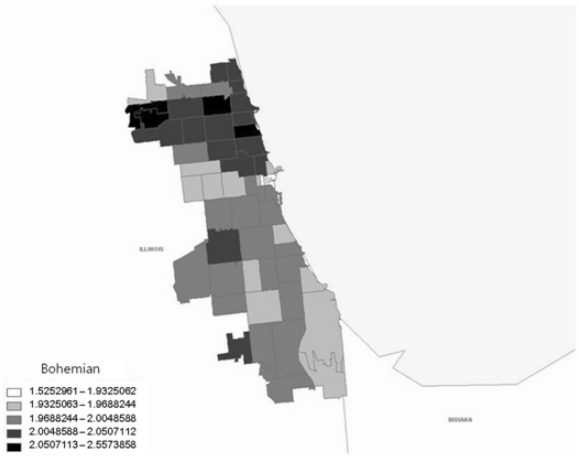
○ The areas have Bohemian characters with high Expressivism, Exhibitionism and Glamour scores, much like Seoul.

Source(left) : http://www.ttearth.com/world/asia/japan/tokyo/harajuku.htm
Source(right) : http://cfile24.uf.tistory.com/image/146B76324C87B26E1766E7

Source(left) : http://www.freewebs.com/raidingjapan/
Source(right) : http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_MYR8nZY_15o/TPlO_GJVZjI/AAAAAAAABAA/lUcCryCBko8/s1600/yoyogi%2Bflea%2Bmarket.jpg

Source(left) : http://pds15.egloos.com/pds/200905/15/76/d0050576_4a0cd43ee802d.jpg
Source(right) : http://cfs9.tistory.com/image/33/tistory/2008/07/13/10/54/48796071f2f82

3) Bohemian Scenes in Chicago



〈Figure 5-4〉 Bohemian Scene Map of Chicago

○ Lake View and Boystown have strong Bohemian character. These areas have high Transgression scores. They are close to the home of the Chicago Cubs and are famous for the local gay community.

○ Museum Campus and the Loop also have strong Bohemian characters. Museum Campus is at the center of Chicago.

○ Wicker Park and Humboldt Park are Bohemian in character. Wicker Park and Humboldt Park are famous for a variety of events and facilities for leisure sports. Bucktown has a café street and is similar to Garosugil or Hongdae.

○ The areas have high Expressivism, Exhibitionism and Glamour scores much like Tokyo and Seoul's Bohemian scenes.

Source(left) : http://chicago-pipeline.com/2011/08/17/short-take-tom-robinson-on-built-festival/
Source(right) : http://jameskennedy.com/2011/07/26/dome-of-doom-this-friday-in-wicker-park/

Source(left) : http://tugboatprintshop.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html
Source(right) : http://chicagouncommon.com/photography/wallfence_0303.jpg

Source(left) : http://www.chicagocondos-online.com/neighborhoods/wicker-park/
Source(right) : http://wpbcc.businesscatalyst.com/images/events/Wicker_Park_Fest_Photo.jpg

3. No Bohemians in Asia?

○ Asian societies include a Confucian and Buddhist background. This provides the theological justification for deference to authority, tradition and specifically to the family and older family members. It undermines revolts and challenges the tradition of potential insurgents or critics. On the other hand, it tends to be fairly delimited and family-specific rather than generalized in the form of political ideology. This provides a solution for Korean children who live with their parents, attend a good university, even if they also go to political meetings where they can become politically active, challenging, critical, even anarchist or more. They may deeply disagree with their parents intellectually and politically, but they (at least classically) still live with their parents or see their parents for weekend dinners, religious and cultural services and simple socializing. It is expected that they are close to them for life and that they will make space for their parents and grandparents to live in the same physical home – the classic tradition. Hence it is not thoughtful to be in open political debate and confrontation with one's nearby family. This sort of straddling encourages one might even say a two-faced theory of communication-the deferential traditional child when sitting at dinner with parents, but the challenging anti-establishment protester when away from the home and from parents, away from authority figures in the street or in a protest context. The challenge may be loud or silent. The silent version can be a candlelight ceremony where persons walk silently carrying candles in protest against a recent political action, to lament the tragic death, to blame, or to grieve. These are emotionally powerful and potentially seriously reconstruct a new political and moralistic base which challenges the surroundings.

○ Such challenge is not recognized perhaps by the Westerner as Bohemian because it is not associated with dressing differently from one's parents. Indeed, to the contrary, young Koreans in particular are noted for their glamour, for their style which could be termed pre-1968 to the Western eye. Young women wear dresses and heels to university lectures in Korea whereas in the West the more common attire is made up of dungarees and T-shirts and running shoes. However, there have been visible protests in Korea, in the past against military dictators in Korea, then more recently in the beef protests, suggest more continual

turmoil among Koreans. The stylish young Koreans have also participated in candlelight protests. That is, it is more politically incorrect to dress differently, to think or act as an anarchist and to engage in any behavior that can be visibly seen by a grandmother at dinner looking across the table at her 23-year-old granddaughter. On the other hand, the 23-year-old granddaughter may be highly creative in finding ways where she can join a candlelight ceremony or a miniskirt brigade (which was one of the official organizations that participated in the Seoul beef protests in 2008).

○ Therefore, just because there is no distinctive dressing and less tolerance of homosexuals, it cannot be said that there is no Bohemia in Asia, especially in Korea. Indeed the age divide between young and old Korean voters is visible and major, more so than in most Western countries, especially Northern Europe and the US. To understand the different grammar of Bohemia East and West, all of the multi-dimensional structures that Bohemia was deconstructed into above should be examined and an attempt should be made to classify where and how they would be present, at least in a very broad manner. The units of comparison could then be countries or other units like Korea or Paris or the Paris Latin Quarter or the zip code 60637. These columns are historical combinations of chance, great warriors, lost wars, heroic terrorists and quiet resolution of persons whose names never figure in history books. They have a distinct arbitrariness which troubles social scientists, which is why one can try to aim for the abstract categories (like the 10 sub-components above) and nevertheless note that they can be conceptually recombined in many different ways. This illustrates the principle of deconstruction and reconstruction as in the grammar of scenes.

○ To pursue a particular context like Korea might build on these above ideas to ask in what way should the Western idea that the Bohemian is the source of innovation be transformed? Searching for an answer might suggest a new perspective on the West. It becomes clear that these deconstructed elements are not by any means uniformly joined in the West if the above points are more closely examined. This suggests for instance that the post-1968 youthful “counterculture,” well known from American campuses to the crowds around the Paris Sorbonne, is only one of a family of combinations of elements that may lead toward individuality and creative independence. That they do not hold together as a “counterculture”

in some locations like Seoul does not mean that all deconstructed components are absent. This is not just true for the Seoulite. The Caltech engineer who emulates and elaborates aspects of themes from a Disney film aimed at 8-year-old girls (this is a noted story from the New York Times about Winter 2011) may be engaging in his own version of anti-establishment action, or at least intellectually challenging, thinking in ways analogous to the post-1968 counterculture. However, the Caltech engineer may dress or look like his parents or neighbors. Just like the Caltech engineer, Seoul Bohemians are driving innovation and changing political horizon in their own ways, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

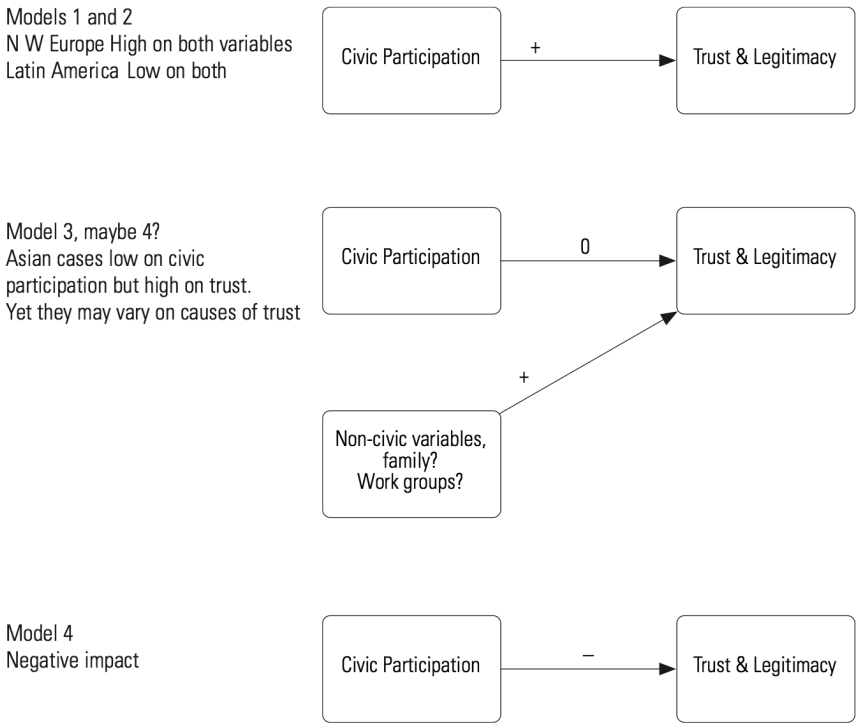
Chapter 6 Scenes and Citizen Participation

1. Communitarian Scenes and Civic Participation
2. Bohemian Scenes and Civic Participation
3. Asian Traditions and Sharp Contrasts

6 Scenes and Citizen Participation

○ In this section, we will review how scenes can be related to civic participation and how the relationship differs across the cities. The discussion begins with the major Western theory of Tocqueville/Putnam that participation drives legitimacy. However, it can be briefly relativized by introducing alternative paths. These ideas link to results from Kim (2008) that show different paths for legitimacy and trust according to different political development and different cultural structure in the society. As shown in <Figure 6-1>, most of Northwest Europe and North America support Model 1 : more participation leads to more trust. Obversely, Latin Americans have such low participation and trust, that even if participation "works" for a few it misses the great majority. However, the Model grows more complex when we shift to Korea, Portugal and Eastern Europe, as the participation to trust path coefficient falls to zero : no impact. For some subgroups, the coefficient even becomes negative (Model 4). How can we codify these results and link them to our cumulative theorizing? This question cannot be answered with a simplistic generalization. Instead, we need to introduce a different conceptual framing to ask where and why and how much this happens.

○ In this chapter, we try to suggest various propositions to understand differences in civic participation in the three cities by using various concepts related to scenes.



〈Figure 6-1〉 Different Paths from Civic Participation to Trust/Legitimacy

1. Communitarian Scenes and Civic Participation

○ Where families are stronger, family members are constrained more toward family-related, consensual organizational participation, some of which they can pursue as a family group, such as participation in neighborhood associations, festivals, folk music, attending religious services, participation that welcomes people of all ages and educational levels. Related are local amenities like restaurants and parks, where families can eat, exercise, walk and relax as a family unit. Active families fill this space that is filled by civic groups in a Tocquevillian civic model, or in a more individualized world by bowling or blogging alone.

○ By contrast, such familial participation leads to choosing activities that can be broadly shared by all family members. This discourages more specific, demanding, extreme, ideological activities which may appeal to only one family member. The sole family member may purse such individual preferences alone, but general family strength and time engagement should

suppress the volume of such activities.

- Thus Asians generally and Koreans in particular should be less active in New Social Movements (NSMs, women or gay and lesbian movements) than in other countries and the effects of socio-economic status on NSM activism and impact should be less, especially for children living with parents. Age effects should be greater than in more socially individualistic societies, especially for groups reacting against older/established persons. However, these relations may not appear in reported participatory activities as they may be held internally as privately anti-establishment or anti-authoritarian views that may only be partially expressed in organized activities. They may surface more in blogs.
- Environmental organizations that can engage entire families, like recycling or neighborhood clean ups, should be more supported in stronger family areas, but not the extreme political environmentalism more common in the 1970s and 1980s (sometimes "terrorist" like sinking whaling boats, putting nails in trees to destroy loggers chainsaws, etc.).
- The strong family proposition is testable globally as families vary in strength and breadth over generations, household sharing, mutual support and related dimensions. However, it combines in Asia with the religious base of Buddhism/Confucianism that adds more legitimacy than in world areas like Latin America, the Middle East and Africa where legitimacy is weaker.
- Widely publicized tragedies mobilized Asian youths from the 1990s onward into new civic-organized volunteer activities : floods, tsunami, hurricanes and the Japanese nuclear disaster. These substantially raised the levels of membership, funding and volunteering activities of social service and environmental support organizations in Taiwan, China, Korea and Japan (Kallman, Clark and Xia, 2012). These generally fit with a state-supported, consensual form of (more classically Asian) activism, rather than the Western establishment-challenging type of NSMs.
- There are often dramatic age differences here—younger people tend to be more open to change than their parents and grandparents. Indeed, the work of Ronald Inglehart (Inglehart, 1997) and others suggests that most citizens form their views about political participation, ideology, their identities and related general conceptions of civic and political and social engagement as young adults, somewhere between ages 18 and 25. After this, though they

may change the specifics, the fundamental political and social commitments are seldom deeply transformed. This implies that, for instance, societies that have been drastically changed by war or an economic shock may have serious value commitments that differ by age group. This seems to be partially the case in China and more explicitly the case in South Korea where the younger generation has grown up in a fairly open democratic political system and is deeply in conflict with older people in political speeches, Internet debates and elections.

○ Young people in Korea are much more active in individualized or invisible associations and many people have suggested that this sort of involvement is more common because young Koreans fear sanctions from their parents and grandparents for other kinds of political participation. That is, Koreans have more often been involved in blogs, Internet sites and other associations wherein the individual is anonymous. This has been interpreted by some to be related to a fear of reprisal, combined with an age conflict and a conflict over parental power and authority. This pattern has also been linked to the religious traditions of Buddhism and Confucianism, the latter which encourages deference to elders and both of which seek to avoid personal confrontation. This joint tradition contrasts with the western Protestant tradition, especially Calvinism, which encourages more confrontation.

○ An analogous case to the story of 'invisible' Korean social movements is the flash mob—a group that is organized for one particular purpose (i.e., it descends as a 'flash'), performs a brief action and disseminates rapidly afterward. These flash mobs are more often than not assembled via text message, instant message and other means of rapid communication and generally are the purview of the young; the phenomenon is closely linked to the availability of instant information transfer technologies.

○ Still, this internet-oriented, 'invisible' style of public engagement has spread worldwide since 2000 and can be a very powerful force. We could interpret this as illustrating a new form of New New Social Movement (NNSM) political engagement. The difference between NSMs and NNSMs is that the NNSMs do not have any formal organization—they lack a president, a board, a budget, formalized membership card, a fundraising program, or other similar activities. Rather, they permit individuals to be much more anonymously engaged and only to the degree that they choose. Larger activities and meetings have been described

in these terms as well, such as the protests against the World Trade Organization and international financial agencies that occurred in cities where these organizations meet. People travel, individually or through organizational coordination, to places like Seattle, making substantial commitments of time and money to fly, often halfway around the world, in order to participate in street-like activities.[6] Quite unlike earlier protests over race or the environment or human rights, many of these NNSMs have been highly disorganized, dispersed, uncoordinated and filled with dozens and dozens of individual small organizations and many individuals who do not identify with any organization.

○ Further, social movement activity has been seeking to incorporate actions and activities that engage the participants and audience in an explicitly emotional manner. For instance, they may use make-up, costuming, dancing, or other symbols designed to attract a television camera or photographer that can in turn show some drama to others who were not present at the event. The preparations for these demonstrations are a focal point for recruitment of new members, although in many cases there is no organization : it is more of a diffuse movement of people who come together as they feel justified and interested in participating. They increasingly involve music, art and dancing in part as these seem to engage more emotion among the participants—who may lack any official structure—and communicate powerfully to others via mass media. They help create what we have analyzed as "scenes," which energize associations.[7]

○ Just as the new social movements in the 1970s were seen as external, non-institutionally engaged, improper organizations by the established political parties as well as the social scientists and journalists writing about them, so these New New Social Movements have not even been recognized as political movements or social movements by many of the participants, organizers, or analysts. NNSMs are seen as too individualized or fragmented to really 'count', but more recent global analyses are beginning to show that they can be numerous and powerful indeed.

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6) Clark has explored these themes in(Terry N. Clark 2004a).

7) See more at the Scenes project website : http://www.scenes.uchicago.edu.

2. Bohemian Scenes and Civic Participation

○ As social scientists specialize ever more, their colleague-specialists in the next alcove or faculty office increasingly ignore each other. At the same time, the "general public" grows ever more distant from the mainstream journals like the *American Political Science Review or American Sociological Review*. Journalists and communication professionals of all sorts have moved in to help fill the void left by synthesizing social science—of the Max Weber, Talcott Parsons sort. Two of the most talented contemporary generalists are *New York Times* writers Thomas Friedman and David Brooks. We introduce them here as they illustrate how talent and social sensitivity led them to cover some of the same terrain as this paper and to come to essentially similar conclusions on major issues, albeit Brooks more than Friedman (below). This is a dramatically different form of evidence than statistically sophisticated modeling. It also parallels a revival in the interest in "ethnography," at least among sociologists and anthropologists and parallels the biographies and country-specific histories that political scientists and historians have written for decades, partially with the general public in mind.

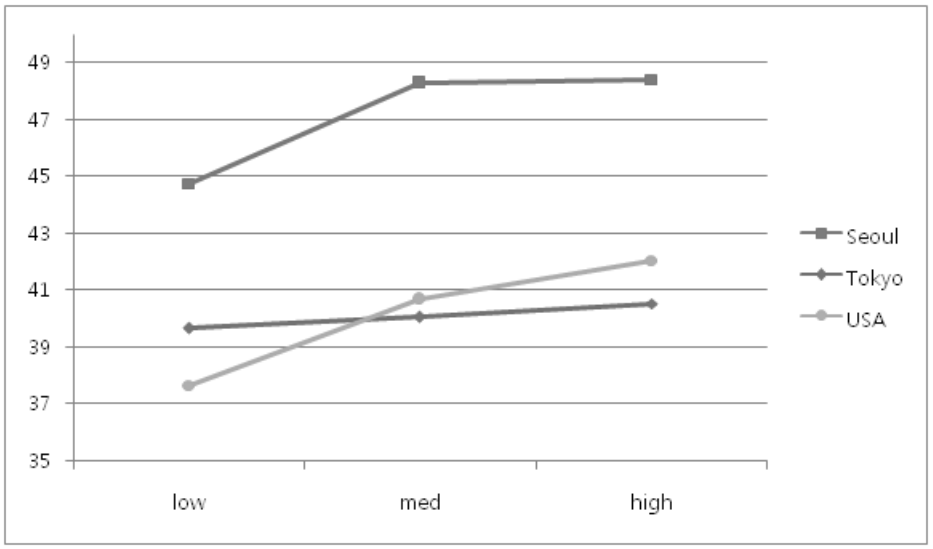
○ Brooks (2000) charts a broader version of the cultural themes that join in the New Political Culture in his book *Bobos* in Paradise. Bobos are an amalgam of the bourgeois wealth of the 1980s and the hip, counter-culture of the 1960s—illustrated for instance by Bill Clinton and many stereotypical Young Urban Professionals (Yuppies). Brooks shows sensitively how a new set of values and norms have emerged, especially in the US, but with many global counterparts, especially in Western Europe : in aesthetics (peasant simple replaces aristocratic elegance in dress, home furnishings and more), social movements (women's egalitarianism replaces the elite social club), career aspirations (top college, meritocratic promotion across multiple jobs replaces inheritance or long-term loyalty to one big firm). Meanwhile, in politics, traditional left and right are replaced by a new political culture that includes all seven of our definitional elements in the *New Political Culture* (Clark and Hoffman-Martinot 1998). Although there are no footnotes in the book, Brooks' next book, *On Paradise Drive* (2004) pushes this further and directly cites a wide range of studies of values and culture that he seeks to join in a manner that parallels our more scholarly efforts.

The *Drive* is an auto tour across the American social landscape that locates multiple subcultures (Bohemian, traditional small town conservative, Bobo and more). It characterizes the emergence of new subcultures in the metaphors of new suburbs, brand name stores (Ben and Jerries is an ice cream company with its own foreign policy, etc.) and types of SUVs driven by their proud owners. People increasingly change suburbs in order to find political, as well as social, counterparts that heighten socio-economic fragmentation. This parallels our new work on *The City as an Entertainment Machine* (Clark, 2004), which shows how NPC (*New Political Culture*) politics parallels issue-specific consumption patterns. For instance, individualistic lifestyle and egalitarianism in dress can lead to resistance to traditional Veblenesque conspicuous consumption in a manner that becomes an active political statement. How? To bring your own mug to McDonalds rather than despoiling the forests by using a paper cup is a daily green attack on the Establishment, more pervasive and appealing than voting for distant party candidates who are seen as unresponsive to core concerns of lifestyle-defined subcultures. The rise in importance of subcultures, for lifestyle and politics, is a direct extension of our general NPC point about issue-specific politics replacing traditional party politics and general social movements on broad issues. Issue-specificity is heightened by the internet, blogs, NGOs, chat groups and related developments. It also joins politics, production and consumption in what appears as "mere play" to some outsiders.

○ Another highly popular work is Richard Florida's Rise of the Creative Class and his follow up books like Cities and the Creative Class. They detail the new individualism of creative people, especially young, who move from job to job easily and are attracted to new cities by lifestyle and amenities, which interpenetrates their work. The young illustrate a "big morph" away from traditional left and right, Bohemian and bourgeois, building on Brooks and the new political culture. They are an explicit critique of Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone*, which Florida suggests is a carry-over of communalism from a past that is less dynamic than the individualistic creative class. Normatively, Florida suggests that Putnam's lauded communalism is stultifying creativity and leads to conformity and rebellion.

○ Hypotheses emerging from above comments : in Asia, especially Korea, given the dynamics of the family, Confucianism, lack of neighborhood segregation of amenities, cohabitation of

children with generations of parents and grandparents, we should find weaker correlations between the factors linking Bohemia and new social movements, but maybe not voting. This can be partially proven by the comparison of liberal voting by the Bohemian neighborhood. As shown in <figure 6-2>, those areas with higher Bohemian scene scores show higher proportion of voting for liberal parties.



Source : 2010 Local Election data (Seoul), 2010 National Diet Election data (Tokyo), 1996 Presidential Election data (USA)

Note : The data for Seoul and Tokyo were collected at the Gu (Ku) level. However, since we don't have data at the zipcode level for USA, we conduct analysis at the county/city level. We divide Gu (Ku)'s/Counties into three categories according to the mean Bohemian scores.

〈Figure 6-2〉 Liberal Voting by Bohemians in Seoul, Tokyo and the USA.

○ At the individual level, the expected boho/left voting pattern usually holds as well. However, how much this varies, especially in Asia and why, demands elaboration. Too many recent studies have only been of politics, narrowly and traditionally conceived. Or of lifestyle. Or of the economy. We need to join politics and lifestyle and the economy to understand how they are interrelated and deeply changing in some locations. This can help interpret the occasional success of extreme political candidates and internet use as these choices may be private and/or segmented across generations. They may also serve as a means to let some of the private seething dissent emerge into actions of distinctive sorts.

3. Asian Traditions and Sharp Contrasts

○ When Terry Clark presented some observations on associations and democracy to a meeting of the Japanese Political Science Association soon after 2000, several political scientists commented that "we have no democratic tradition in Japan". They recounted a story of Japanese peasants who circulated a petition requesting a small reform, which one person would then place in the carriage of the Emperor when he passed through the village. The petitioner was assassinated, following the tradition that a courier who challenges must be dispensed with. It was considered improper for a peasant to request change from higher authorities. In many instances the administrative staff implemented those very reforms regardless. However, it was considered the responsibility of the administrators to make this judgment, based on administrative review, not on the process of citizen consultation. Of course this is the opposite of the de Tocqueville/Calvinist story. Max Weber's books on ancient Judaism and China (Weber, Gerth and Martindale 1967 ; Weber 1968) as contrasted with Calvinism and the Protestant ethic are classic sources codifying these background contexts. They point to the core elements of culture and subcultures.

○ Still even if traditions of these sorts help explain the background against which third sector organizations have developed around the world, we should not assume them to be unchanging. The dramatic transformations in China in the last few decades are one of the most powerful testimonies as to how rapidly change can occur. From the strong political egalitarianism model to the spread of market principles and then the global integration with other economies, China has shown the world how forcefully a nation can craft such a change. With other transformations underway around the globe, increasingly since the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, the concepts of capitalism and socialism as competing worldviews are no longer such helpful guides to interpret many specific policies. More specific elements, like those debated around Tocqueville or Calvinism, grow more salient.

○ The third sector organizations that in many Asian contexts are linked with the national government often have service provision as a principal concern. That is, the service recipient is the main focus : the poor person, the elderly person, the child. Many organizations, such as small clinics, were thus seen as a useful alternative and a more efficient mode for

providing a service than the national government. These are smaller and more nimble (and often less expensive and more efficient) agencies. In some cases, citizens even "coproduce" the service (i.e., citizen volunteers tutor at-risk children after school). Having citizens more actively engaged clearly generates a higher-quality and lower-cost service. In some cases, private groups are more easily prepared to handle these delicate social projects than the bigger state agencies.

○ Over time some of these third sector organizations have developed linkages with other third sector organizations internationally, or have seen other new kinds of organizations develop alongside them. This development of the third sector generally has led to a questioning of what these organizations are, as a whole and what their impact might be, as a whole and how and when they can complement one another. Some of these questions are purely technical. Similarly, there are possibly economies of scale in some areas, but the "possibility," even in more technical service areas often falls short of the technical expectations. Many small organizations, NPOs with a technical focus, were created separate from the state that would provide and sell these services. This has been studied in detail in Eastern Europe and compared internationally, after 1989, when many governments were reviewing all services and considering privatization. The Hungarian-American George Soros funded a large number of studies of this process and Soros himself wrote books (Soros, 2004) on how important the third sector was for changing the economic and political systems in authoritarian areas like Eastern Europe and Russia. Yet the ambivalence of results reported about the implementation of such privatization was often due to the providers working in a bureaucratic/ political context where patronage or offering contracts to personal supporters undercut the idealized technical estimates (Hermann, 1999).

○ More generally, there has been a move away from an emphasis on the more technical or production of service for a single type of recipient. Rather, we have seen an increased emphasis on the participants themselves (the providers of services) working with and within organizations and associations. This question is one with which we are uniquely concerned —what is the impact of these associations on participating citizens? Do they trust one another more? Do they trust the state more? Does the quality of life improve when citizen participation improves? Does this vary across the United States, Europe and Asia? What are

the regional differences?

○ A central tenet of this New Political Culture is the role of associations and organizations. There are two main points of particular concern for us from the NPC. Firstly, in a new political culture analysis, we see citizen concerns becoming less about production and more about consumption. This transformation is heightened by higher income and more education, as citizens as well as consumers want and expect more subtlety in the ways they are addressed by employers and salespeople seeking to market to them. In China, the production of large quantities of standardized products at low cost was seen as increasing the economic well being of most citizens in a powerful way, for decades. As levels of income, education, media exposure, Internet penetration and the like are reached, citizens and consumers grow more sophisticated in their demands for products and services. Income alone no longer dictates specific consumer practices ipso facto. That is, the consumer has become more critical and distinct from the producer. Suddenly the citizen is more than his or her work : participation, lifestyle and consumption practices take on increasing importance and merge with identity. This in turn leads to the development of what we have termed "issue specificity" (Terry Nichols Clark and Hoffmann-Martinot, 1998). Organization is no longer based on one sole factor (i.e., a neighborhood), but rather on multiple ones.

○ In conjunction with the rise of thinking on social capital worldwide a veritable explosion of nonprofit organizations and activities began in the late 1980s and continued well into the 1990s. This was simultaneous with the spread of the new political culture (Terry Nichols Clark and Hoffmann-Martinot, 1998) and a populist, egalitarian, citizen-empowered kind of political development.

○ The rapid expansion of the third sector joined with a sense of moralism and concern for the disadvantaged to the prevalent political discourse. Additionally, governments across the world began to outsource services to the third sector. This was driven by concern for traditional economic issues (that had previously been the purview of technical administrators), as well as a sense that they sometimes were more agile than government agencies and nearly always cheaper. In many instances international NPOs filled the gaps in countries where central administrations were particularly bureaucratic or otherwise dysfunctional. These organizations, often British and American-led, number in the thousands,

particularly in ‘developing’ countries. Recently, there has been a heated discourse about the role of foreign third sector organizations working in those ‘developing’ countries and the social and cultural impacts of such work.

○ Beginning in the 1960s, government financing of nonprofits increased sharply, fueled by extensive federal spending on social and health programs; government support prior to this point had been largely restricted to child welfare or high-profile institutions. This rate of funding again increased in the 1980s and went on to address other urgent public needs through NPOs, such as low-income housing and immigrant assistance (Smith, 2006 : 221). The overall rise and diversification in government funding of the third sector spurred growth of nonprofit organizations during this time and since. The National Center for Charitable Statistics reports that the number of 501c3 organizations grew from 535,888 in 1996 to 822,817 in 2004. The number of social welfare agencies has more than tripled since 1980 (Smith, 2006 : 224). For policymakers, this was a positive phenomenon, because it brought services and decisions closer into the local communities that those organizations served (Frumkin, 2005 : 71). Interestingly, this shift represents a dramatic diversion from, for example, the Japanese model, wherein nonprofits *began* as state partners and gradually diversified their interests.

○ Within little more than a decade, nonprofits became the principle vehicle for government-financed human services in the United States and perhaps unsurprisingly, the government had also become the largest financer of human service nonprofit organizations (Frumkin, 2005 : 71).

○ Ironically, these results suggest that in recent years while US nonprofits have moved toward the Asian model of state-support, the Asian states have variously moved toward granting more autonomy to various forms of civic and social groups. Yet inside most every country we find substantial differences among subsectors, illustrating the issue-specificity which is a hallmark of the new political culture.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7 Conclusion

○ To focus on major policies in Korea and the world today, we join several of the above ideas to return to the questions from chapter 1. How can ideas about (1) urban development, innovation, design and high tech be joined with concerns about (2) Citizen participation, trust and democratic access? Our main answer has been to review closely some of the core links that are widely seen as joining these processes and to suggest that in Asia generally and in Seoul in particular, some of the general answers demand reformulation. The specifics about Bohemia and civic participation in particular differ from patterns elsewhere. Our general solution is to use the concept of scene to help make more precise the contexts where patterns shift.

○ Many ask : how should the Western idea that Bohemia is the source of innovation be transformed? It may be that the seething anger, the revolutionary inside but deferential family member outside, is a Korean trope. But it is not unique to Korea. It suggests a new perspective on the West. It can generate a distinctive form of emotional intellectual freedom and innovation in ways that are simply not recorded and recognized by the Westerner who is looking for a beard or visible external lifestyle like drinking much alcohol, free love or other traditional aspects of “Bohemia.” And if we look more closely it becomes clear that our ten deconstructed elements of Bohemia are not by any means uniformly joined in the West; even if they are still less in the East.

○ Is Bohemia the future? No. This illustrates what we precisely warned against at outset : seeking a universal "law" that is only partial, even if it is sometimes true. But where and why? While we sometimes have invoked Asia and Korea, as we proceeded we broke down (deconstructed) Bohemia into ten more precise dimensions and showed how they are variously present in different scenes and neighborhoods in Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago. But to address the bigger question, does Bohemian lead to innovation, urban growth and more, we need more precise modeling. We have completed analyses using all 42,000 US zipcodes, but do not (yet at least) have sufficient data to compare results for Korea, Japan and other locations. So here is a suggestion of what might hold more broadly, illustrating with concrete results how it holds in the US. The core idea is that Bohemia is important only in a transitional phase, when a person or neighborhood, is in revolt against others around him/her/it. Asian cities generally have more "communitarian" scenes than does the West, but if we look more closely we can isolate possible impacts of different scenes, as in Seoul neighborhoods. And results vary for different policy types. How?

○ *Bohemian islands in communitarian seas lead to growth, but not elsewhere*. Since Bohemias are liminal spaces between the passing of an old world and emergence of a new world, their impact on growth and innovation should be greater when embedded in more communitarian contexts. We tested this idea by creating a county mean of our factor score measure of urbanity vs. communitarianism (low is more communitarian) ; the communitarian side of the factor combines tradition, neighborliness and charisma especially. We split our US national file into quintiles on this measure. The analysis then reveals how Bohemian zip codes vary across counties that are more communitarian or urbane. This hypothesis about the cultural intensification of "Bohemian islands" found strong support.

○ Bohemias are unrelated to entertainment patent filing nationally, that is, on average across all zip codes. However, differences by quintile are strong. Bohemias have more patents in *less* urbane locales and *fewer* entertainment patents (and high-tech patents) in only the most urbane areas. Moreover, although nationally Bohemias predict increases in total employment, this is almost entirely contained within the middle and second-most communitarian group of counties. And though nationally Bohemias experience population growth, this growth is mostly within the most communitarian quintiles and is absent in the most urbane segments

of the country. A similar pattern emerges for the relationship between Bohemias and income growth : while Bohemias do not have rising incomes nationally, they do in the lower quintiles and their impact declines in linear fashion until, in the most urbane parts of the country, they have declining incomes. The relationship between Bohemias and rents shows a similar, if less linear, pattern.

○ These results offer strong empirical support for the notion that, for example, Lloyd's observations of Wicker Park's rise in the 1990s are not unique to Chicago but may instantiate a general phenomenon. Bohemias play a pivotal role in the early phases of a city's "expressive revolution" (Parsons, 1978), where formerly blue-collar and bourgeois cities or neighborhoods experience their first, transitional reverberations of the tradition of the new. But as that revolution becomes institutionalized and thereby moderated, the contrast between "establishment" and "radical" is reduced and specifically Bohemian neighborhoods stand out less both as innovation centers and talent attractors. One potential indication of this developmental sequence is given by the fact that post-graduate degree holders – harbingers of the establishment – actually increase in Bohemias located within the more urbane parts of the US. When Bohemia is not any more an island in a communitarian sea, but just one style in a more diverse (urbane) context, the intensity of its counter-cultural resistance is weaker and its effects are less visible.

○ In this report, we have mainly focused on drawing scene maps of Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago and discussed their relationship with urban development focusing on Bohemian scene and civic participation. If we further articulate the concept of urban scene including more cities for comparison, this will enable us to develop urban policies relevant to the uniqueness of each city.

○ Finally, scenes enable us (1) to break up the simple growth concept, (2) to add specifics to fiscal, human and social capital to help focus and target, (3) to identify growth dynamics of distinct scenes (Bohemia vs. family scenes, etc.), (4) to identify the neighborhoods (via dongs, zipcodes etc.), (5) to ask which neighborhoods are too low or high on amenities for distinct scenes, (6) to invest in key amenities to make each scene more vital and (7) to think like a movie director, not a military leader.

Scenes are new building blocks that can help policies transform neighborhoods and cities.

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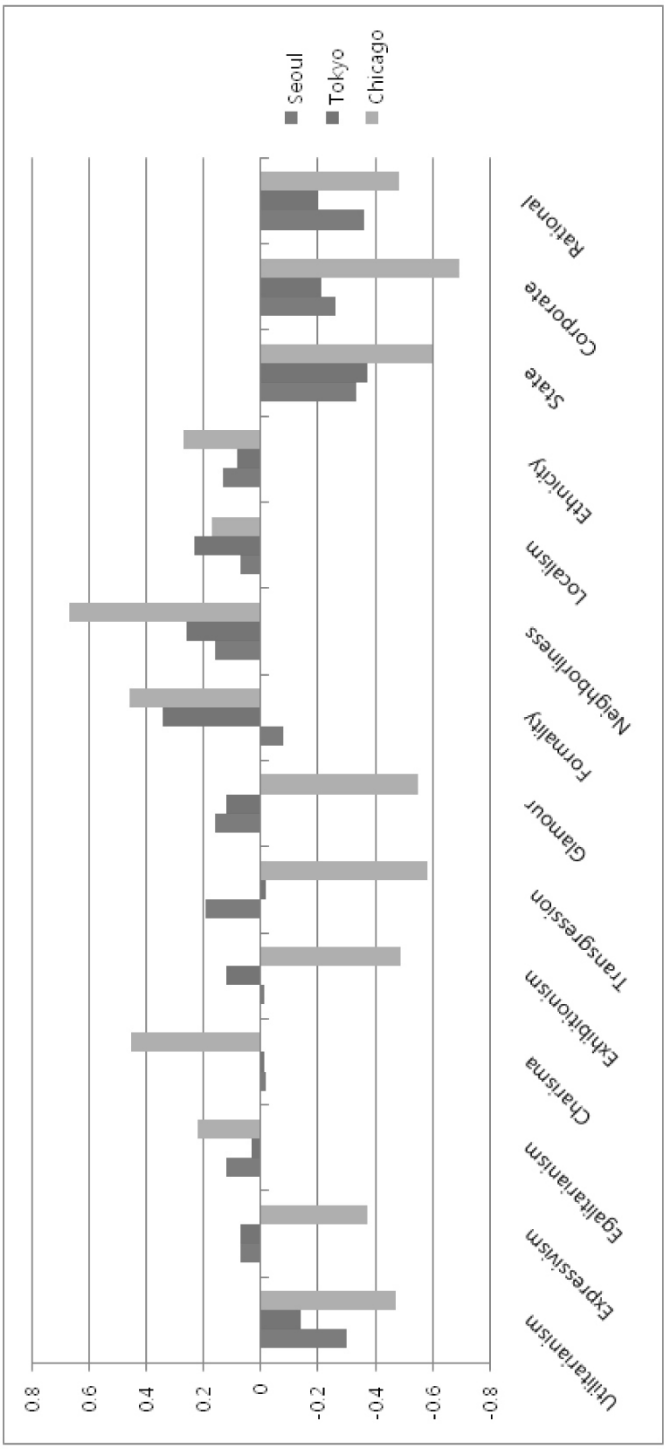
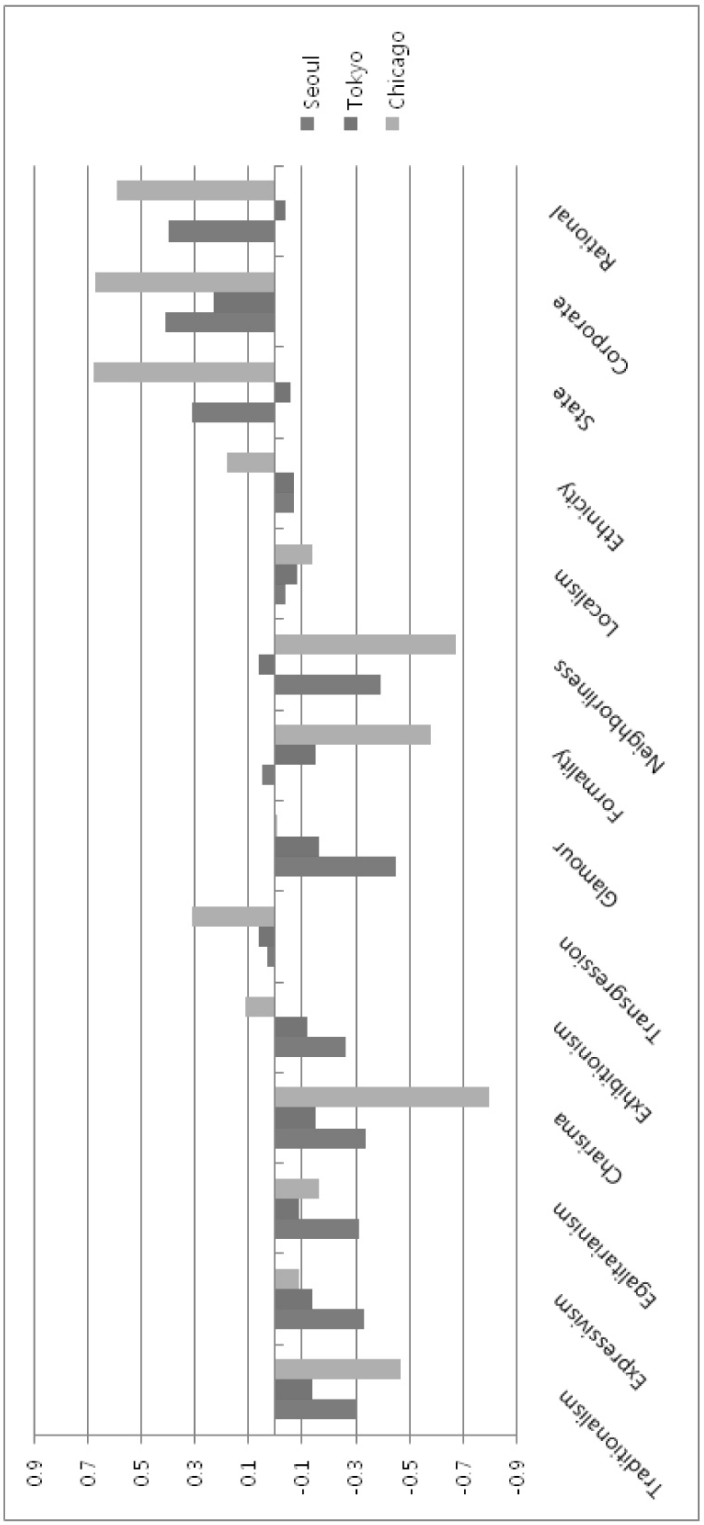
Appendix

Appendix A



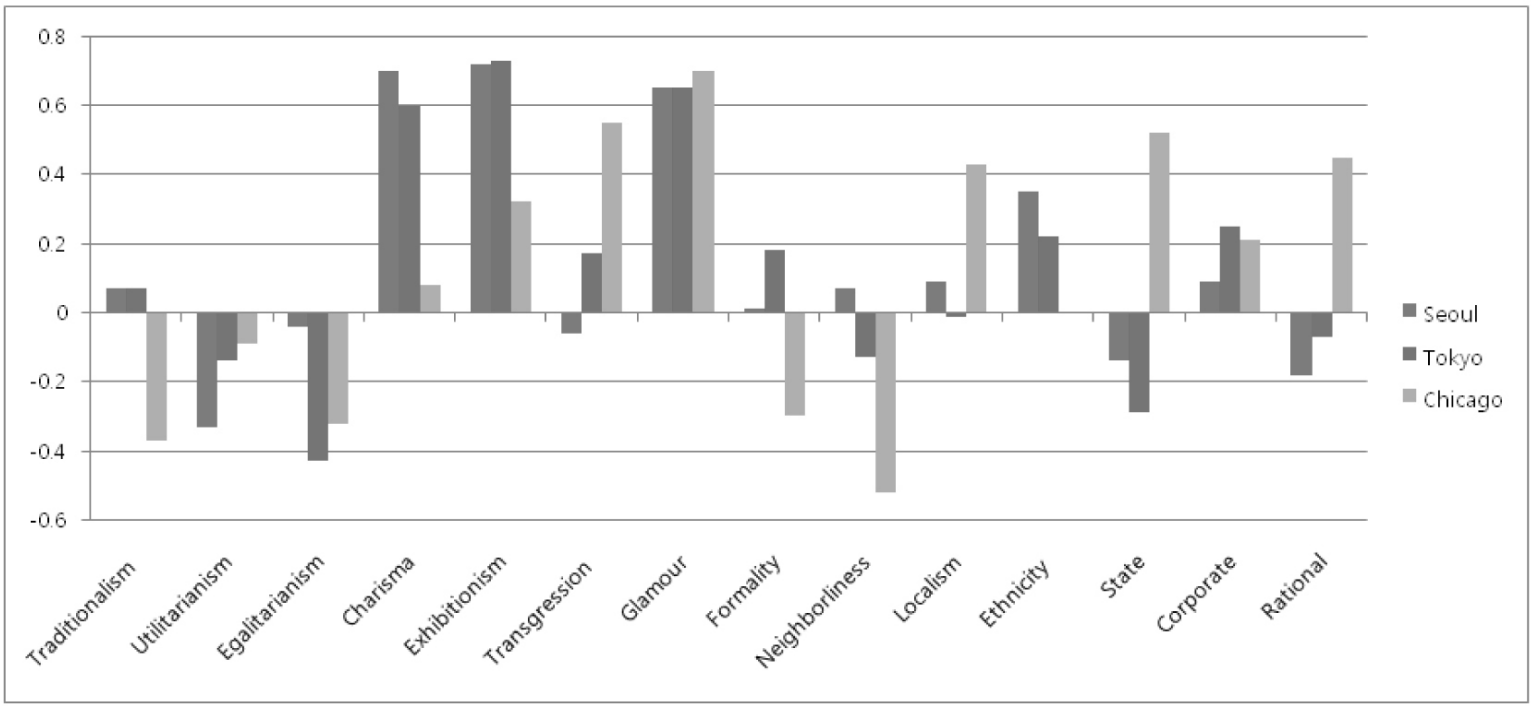
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-1〉 Traditionalism with other Scenes



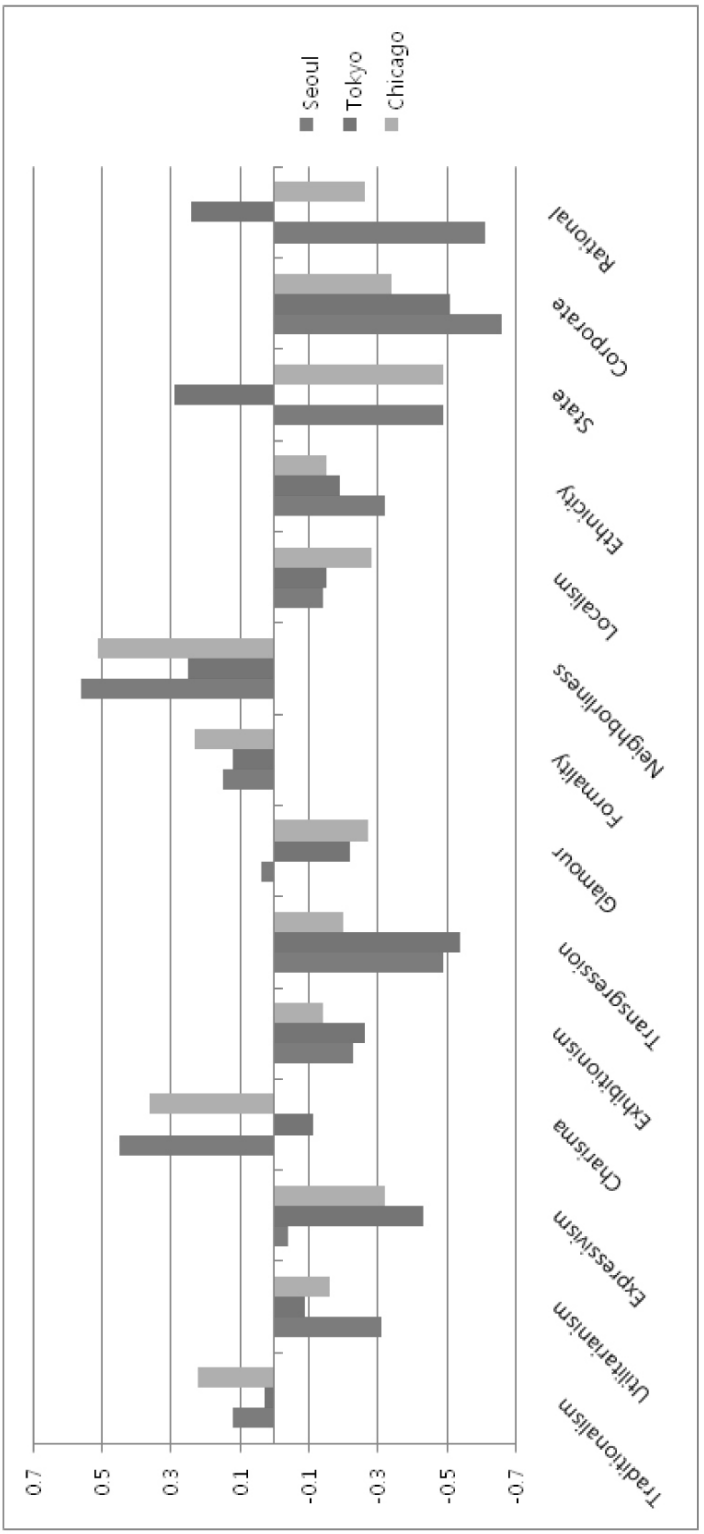
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-2〉 Utilitarian with other Scenes



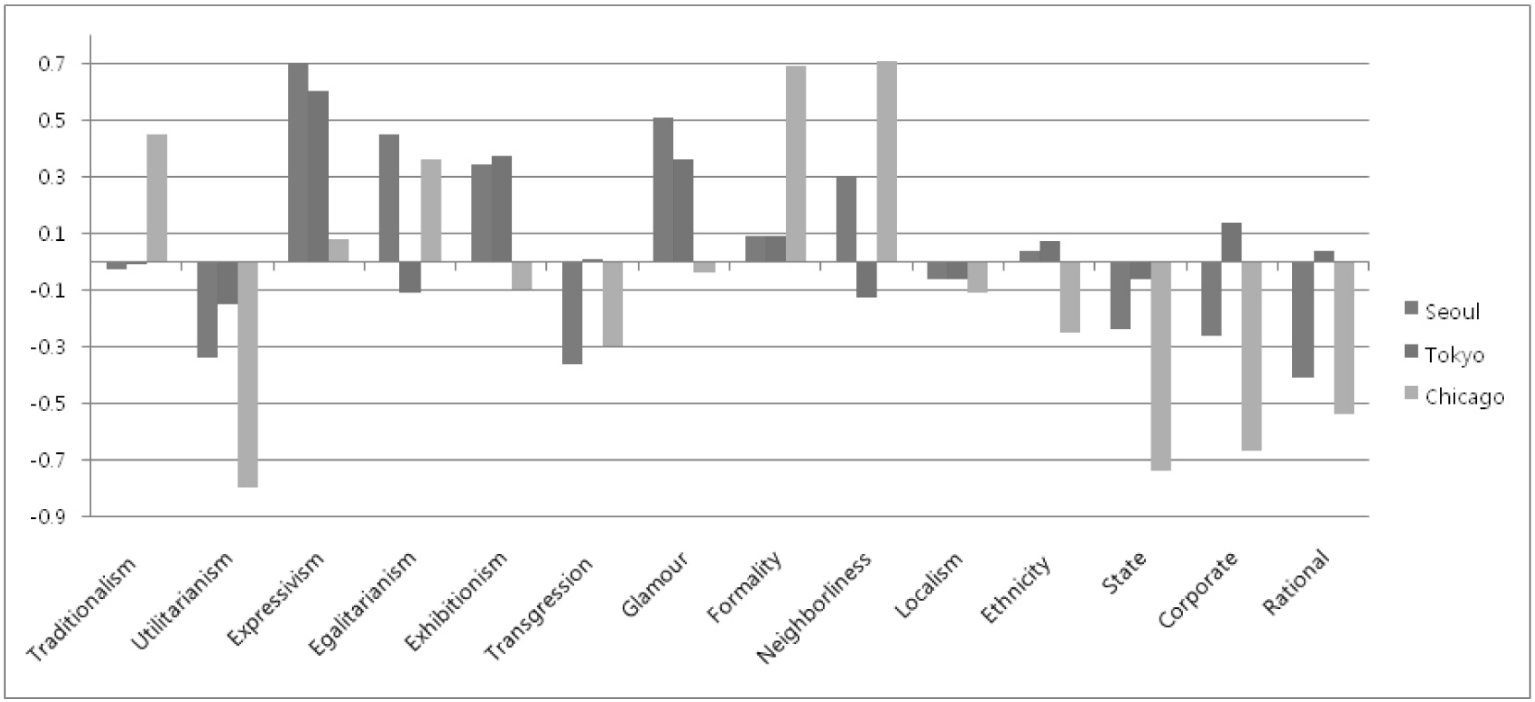
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-3〉 Self-Expressive with other Scenes



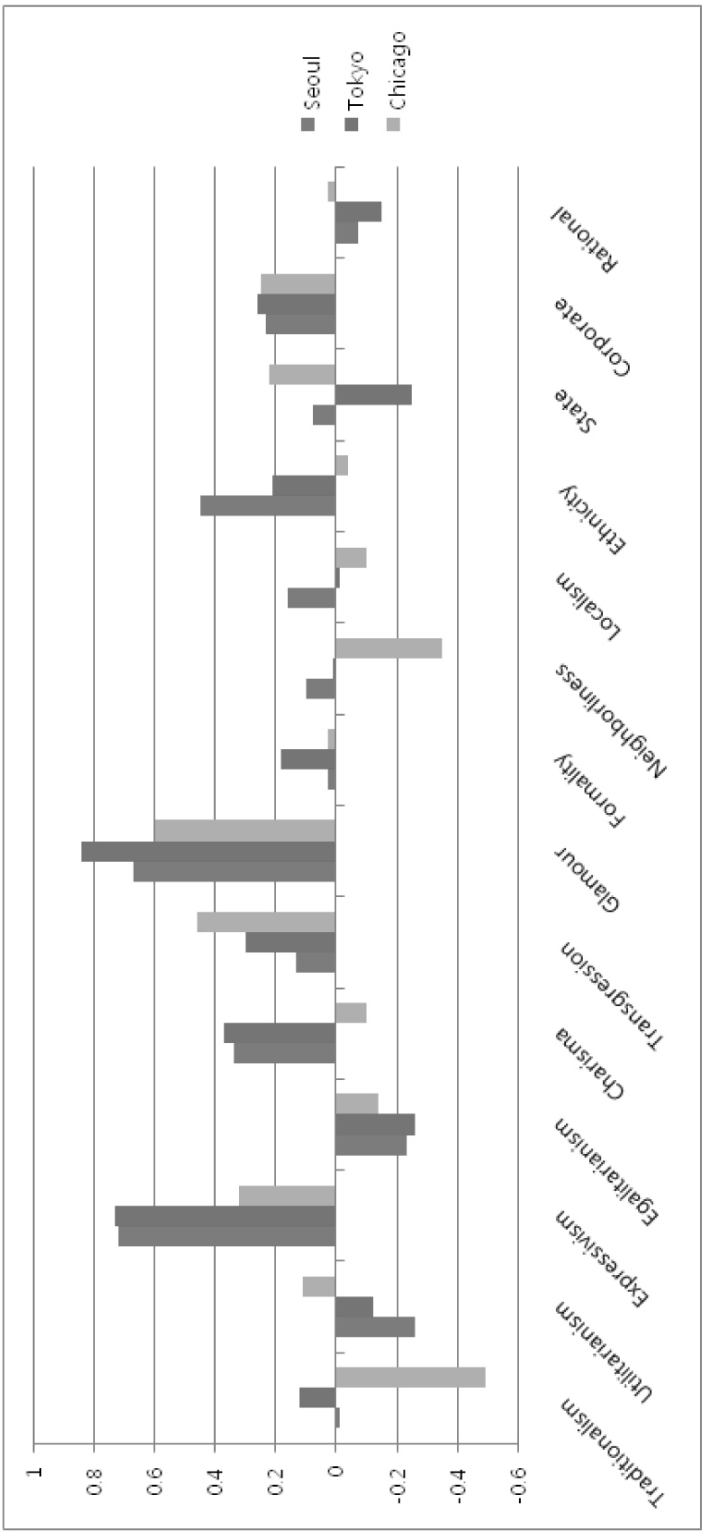
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-4〉 Egalitarianism with other Scenes



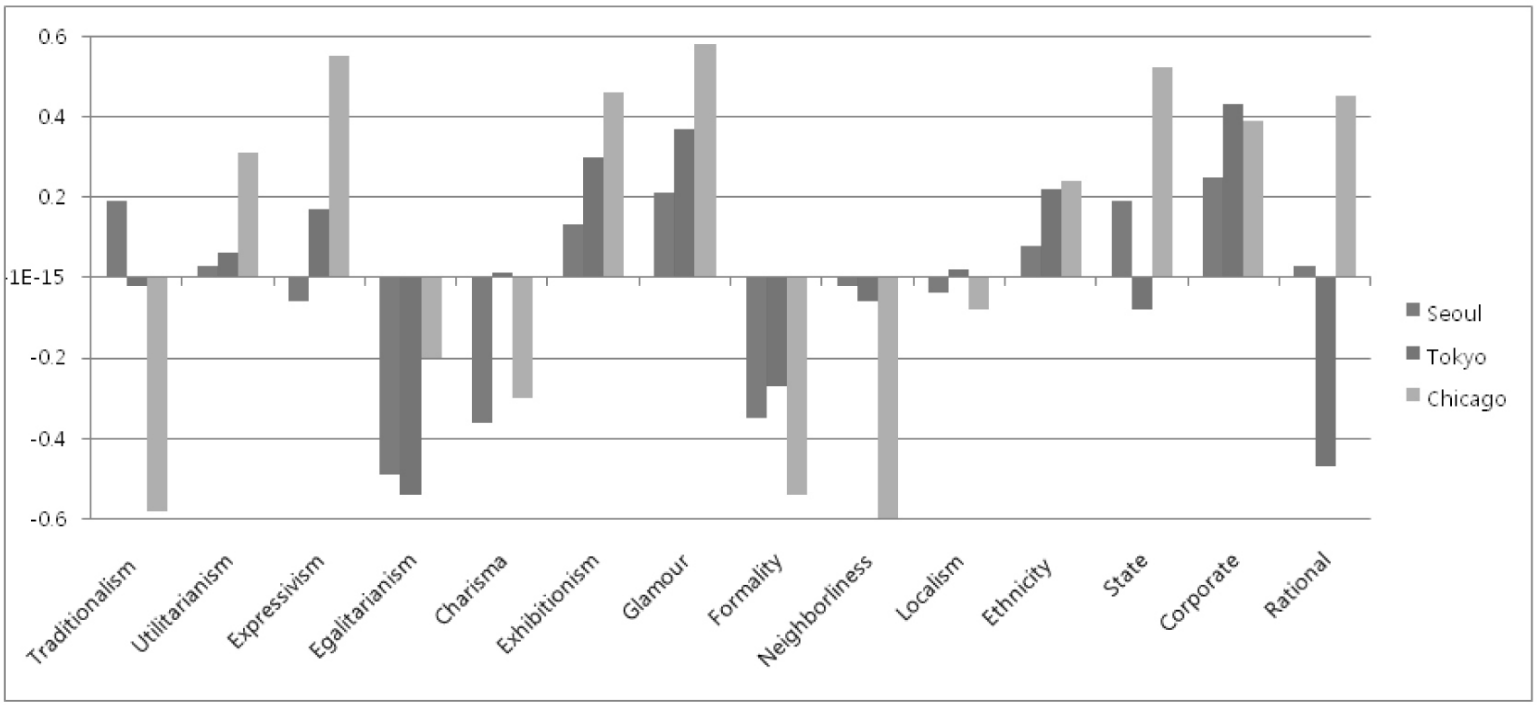
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-5〉 Charisma with other Scenes



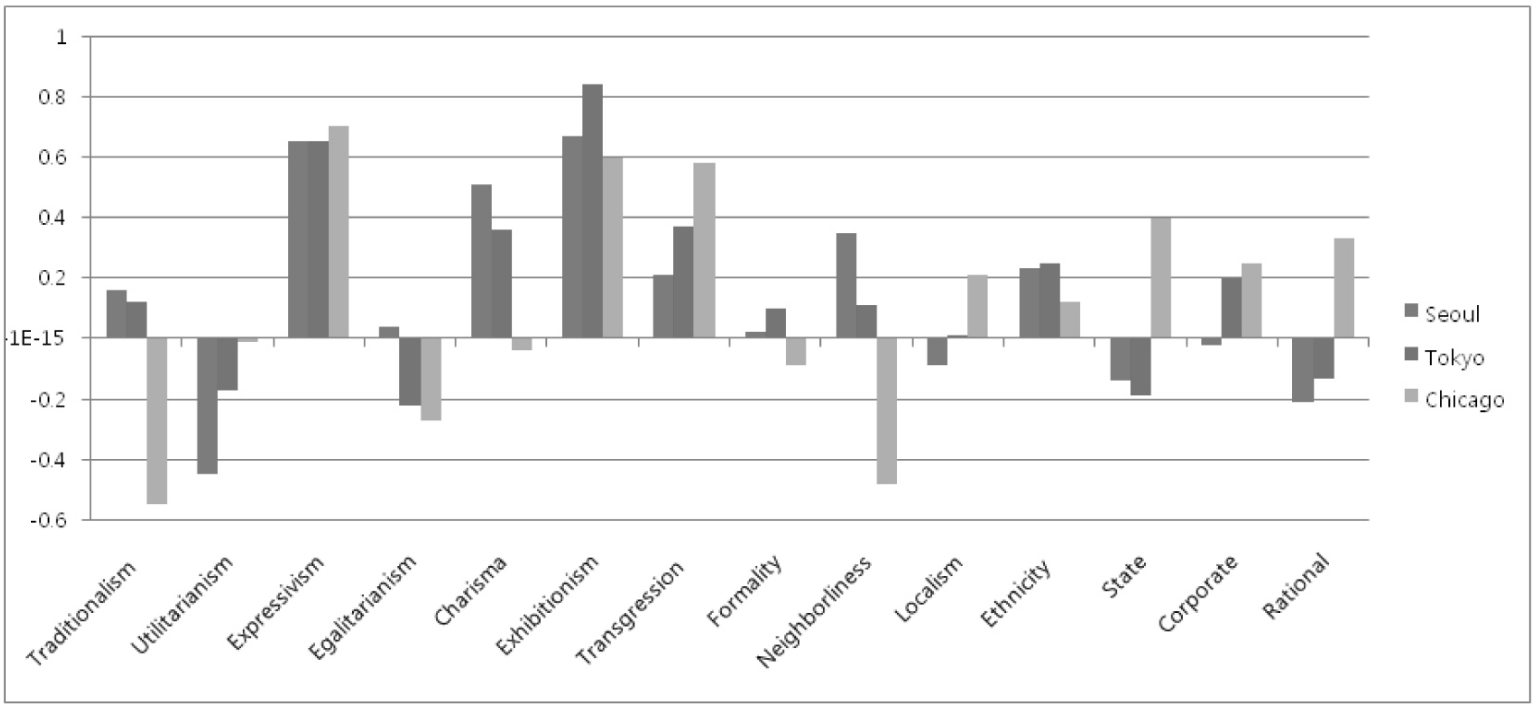
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-6〉 Exhibitionism with other Scenes



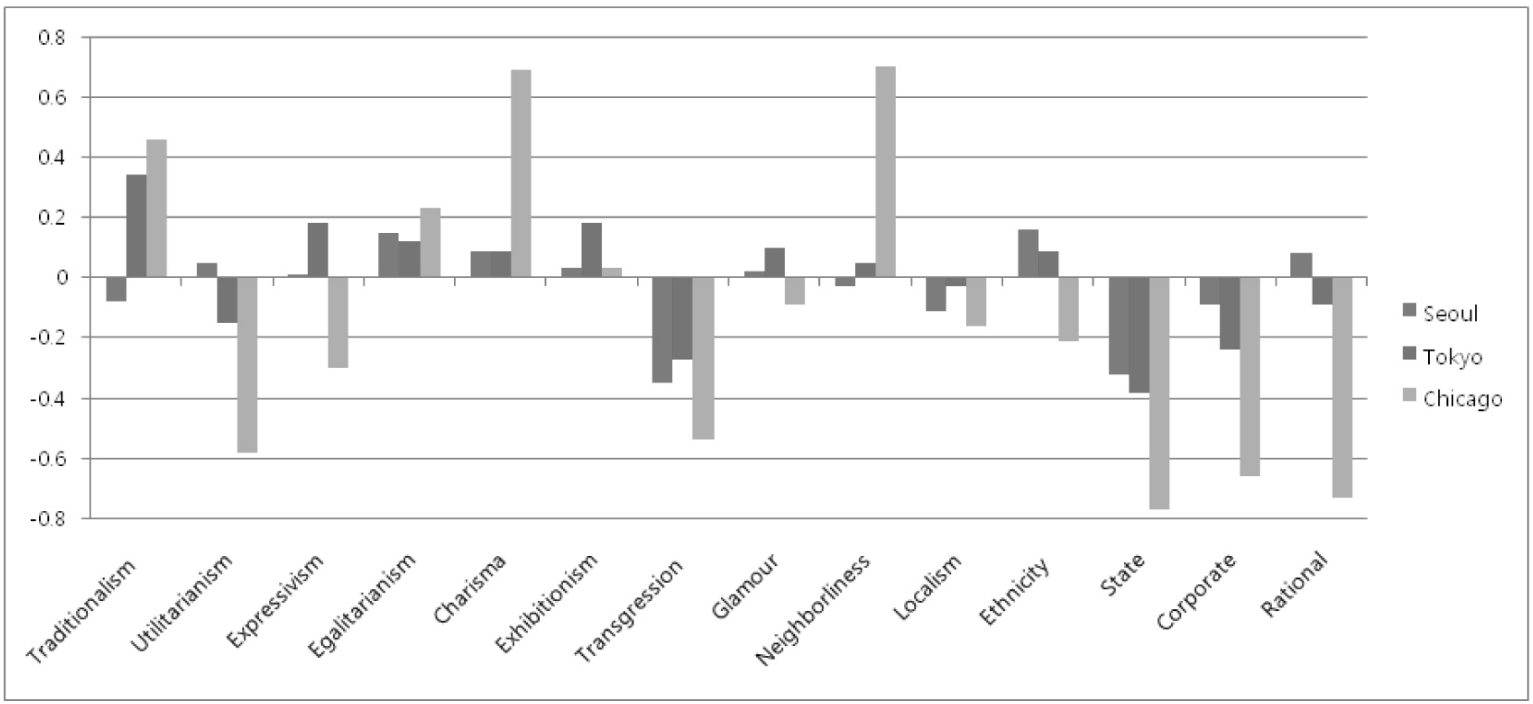
N=Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-7〉 Transgression with other Scenes



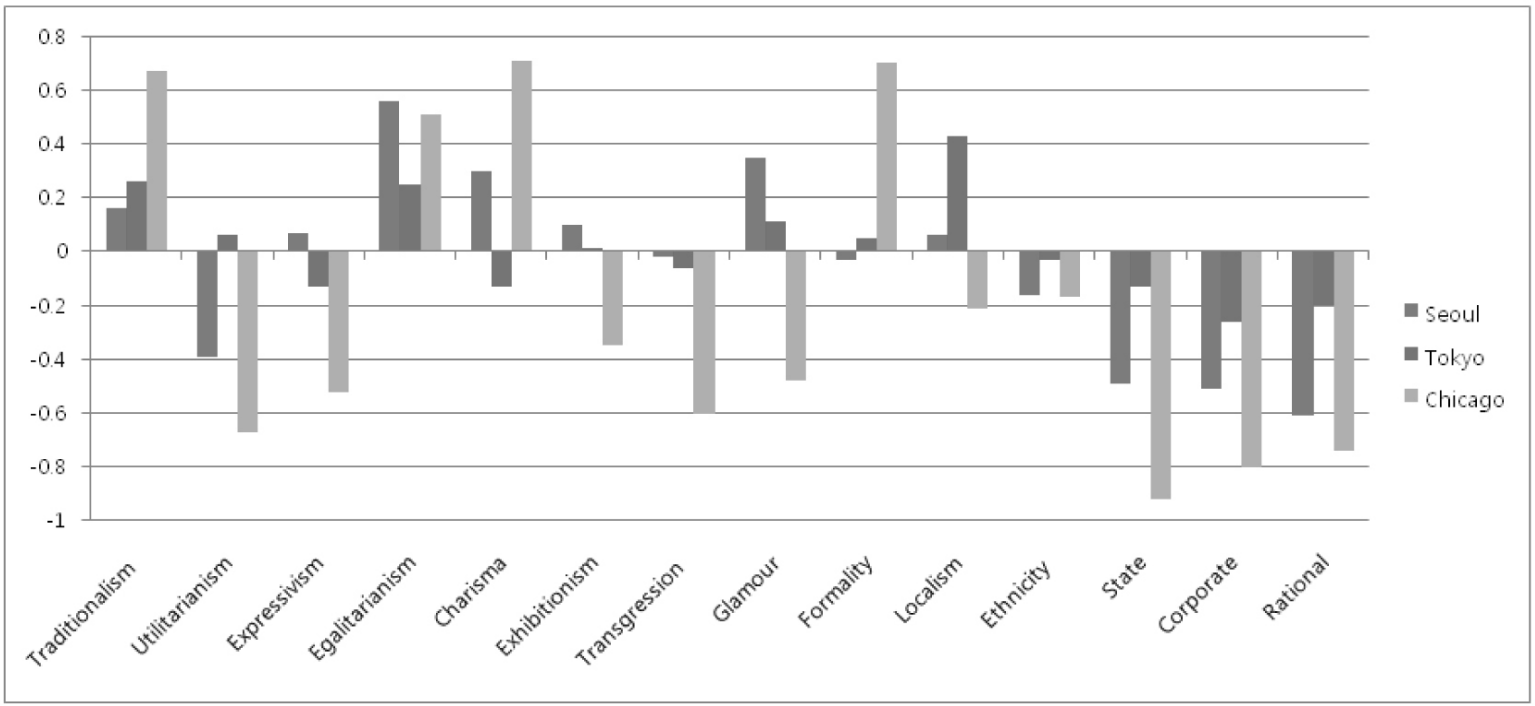
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-8〉 Glamour with other Scenes



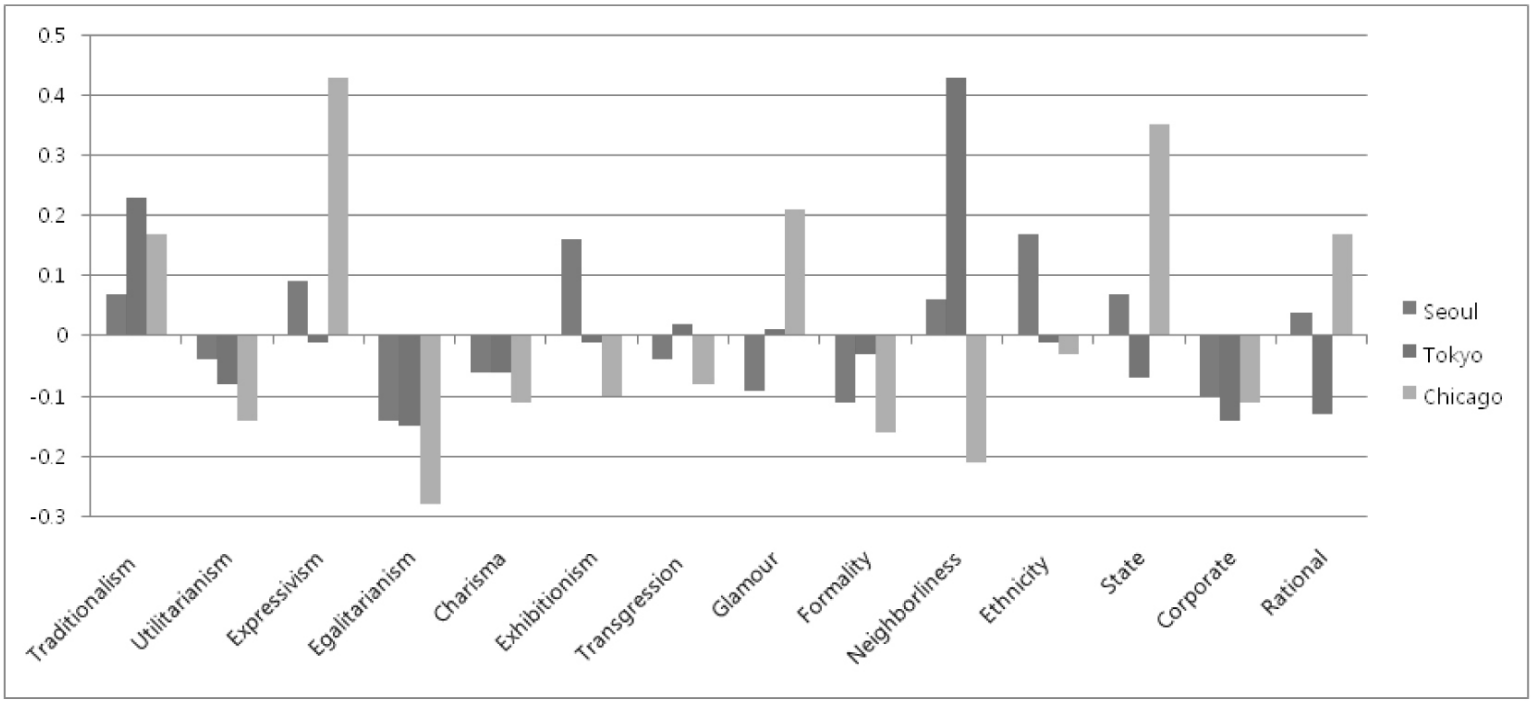
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-9〉 Formality with other Scenes



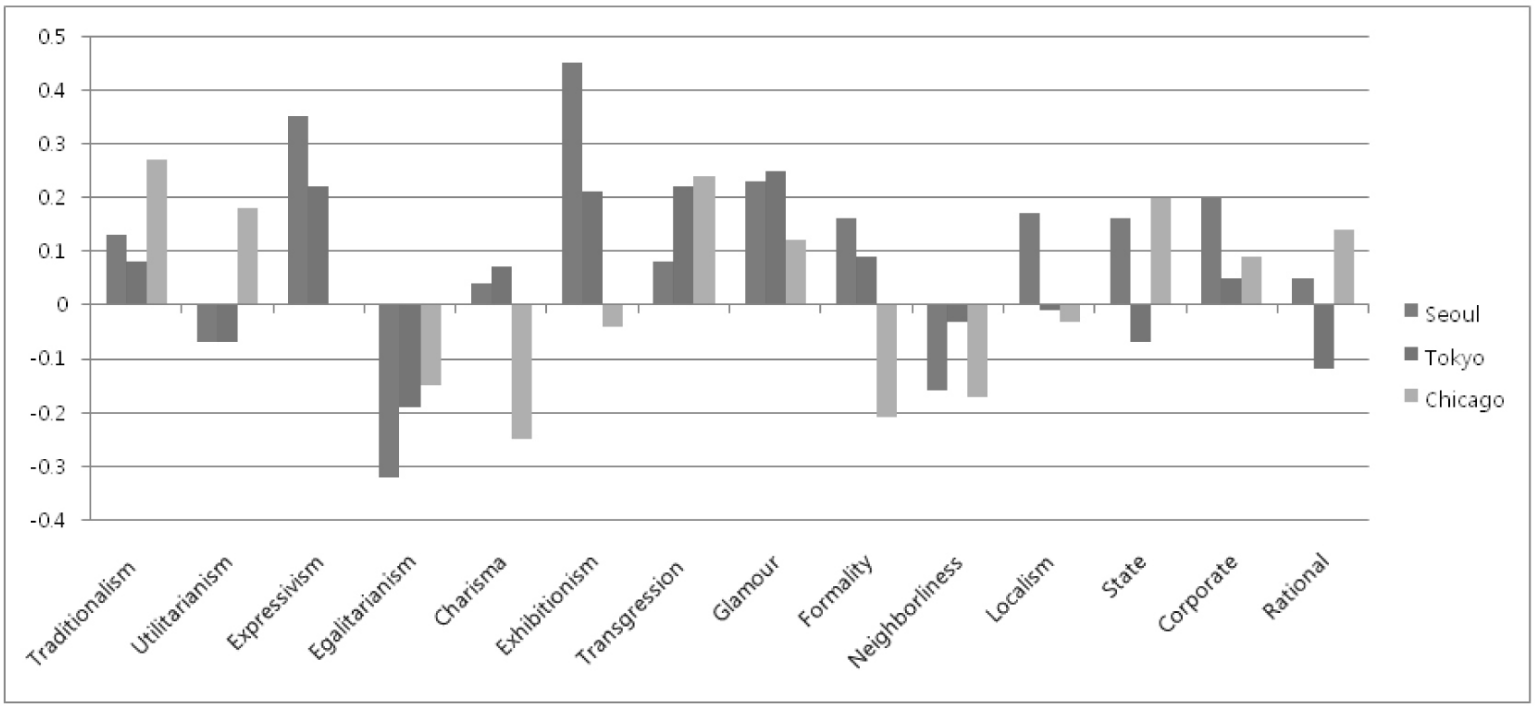
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-10〉 Neighborliness with other Scenes



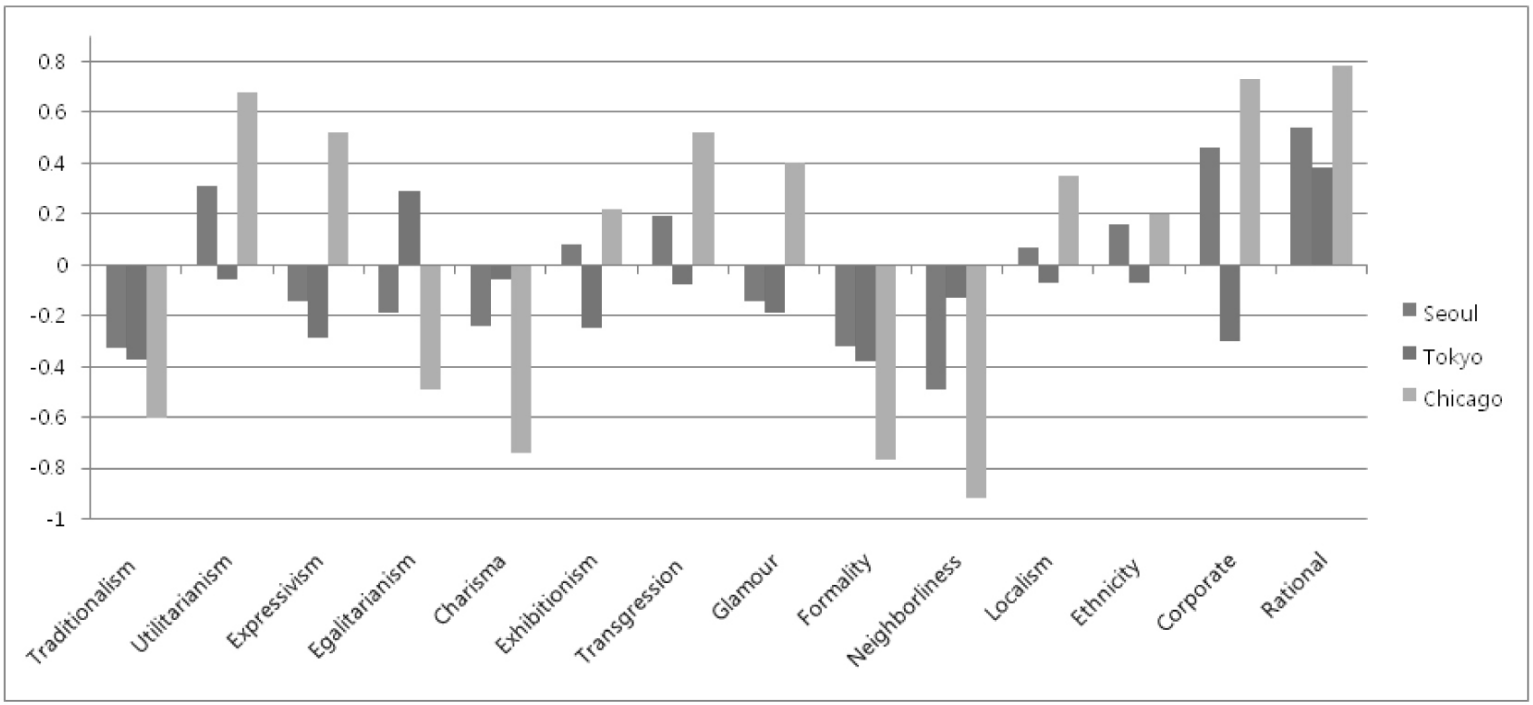
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-11〉 Localism with other Scenes



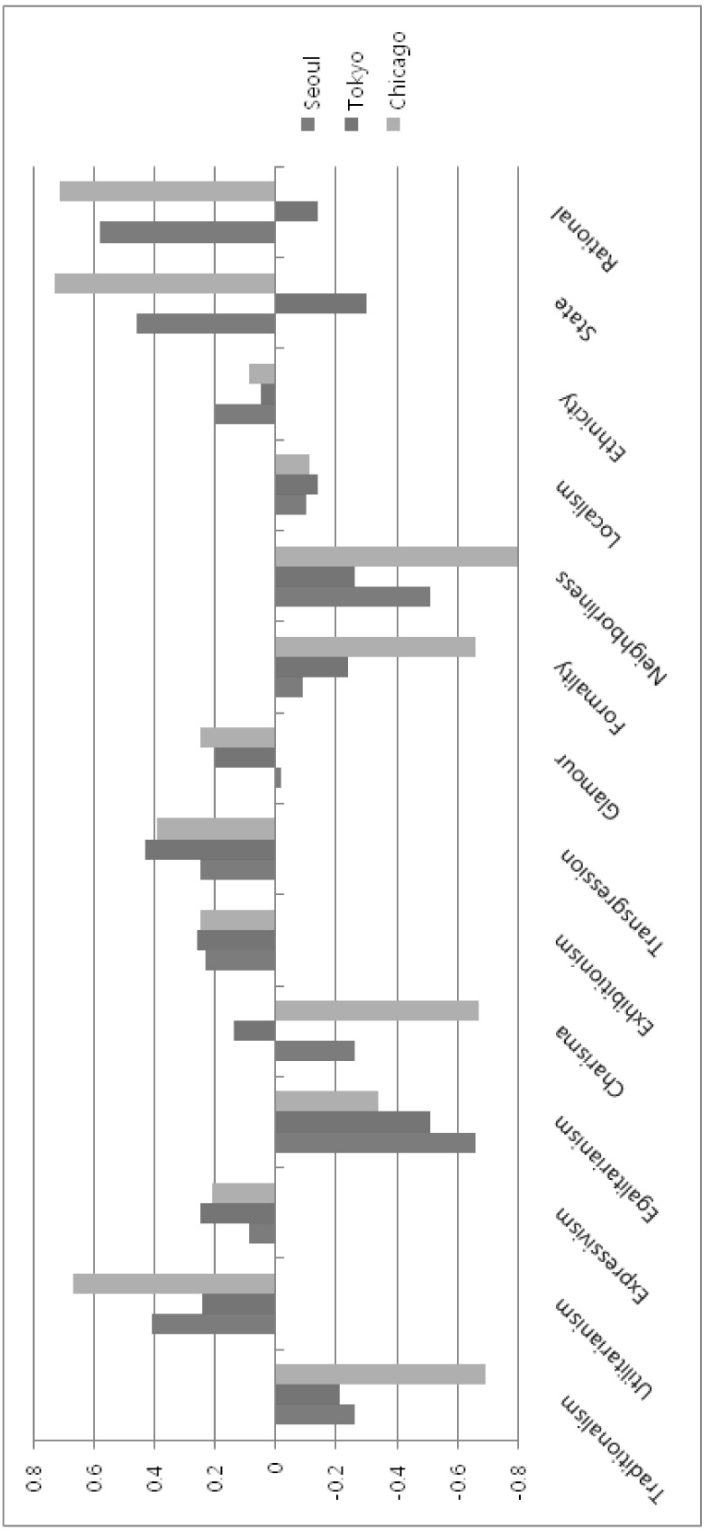
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-12〉 Ethnicity with other Scenes



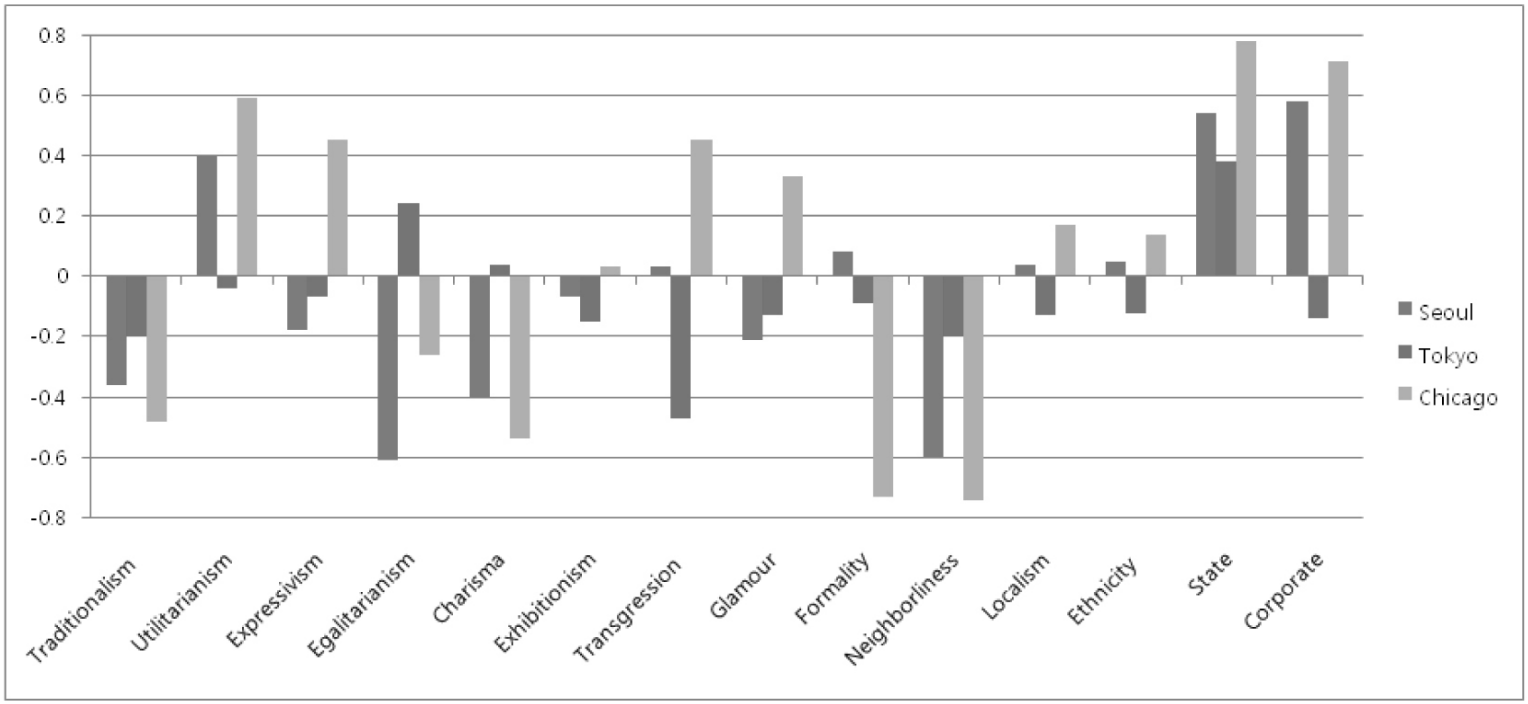
N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

Appendix 〈A-13〉 State with other Scenes



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

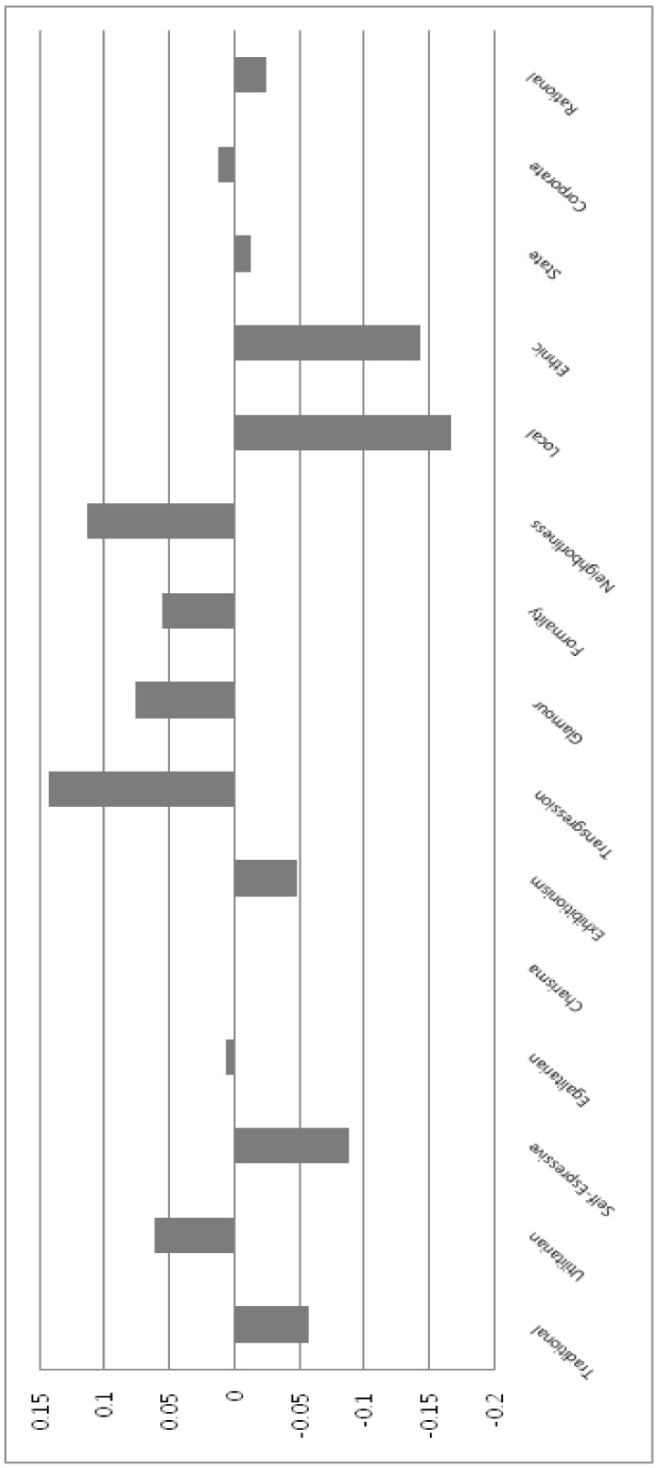
Appendix 〈A-14〉 Corporate with other Scenes



N=Seoul(424), Tokyo(3,118), Chicago(112)

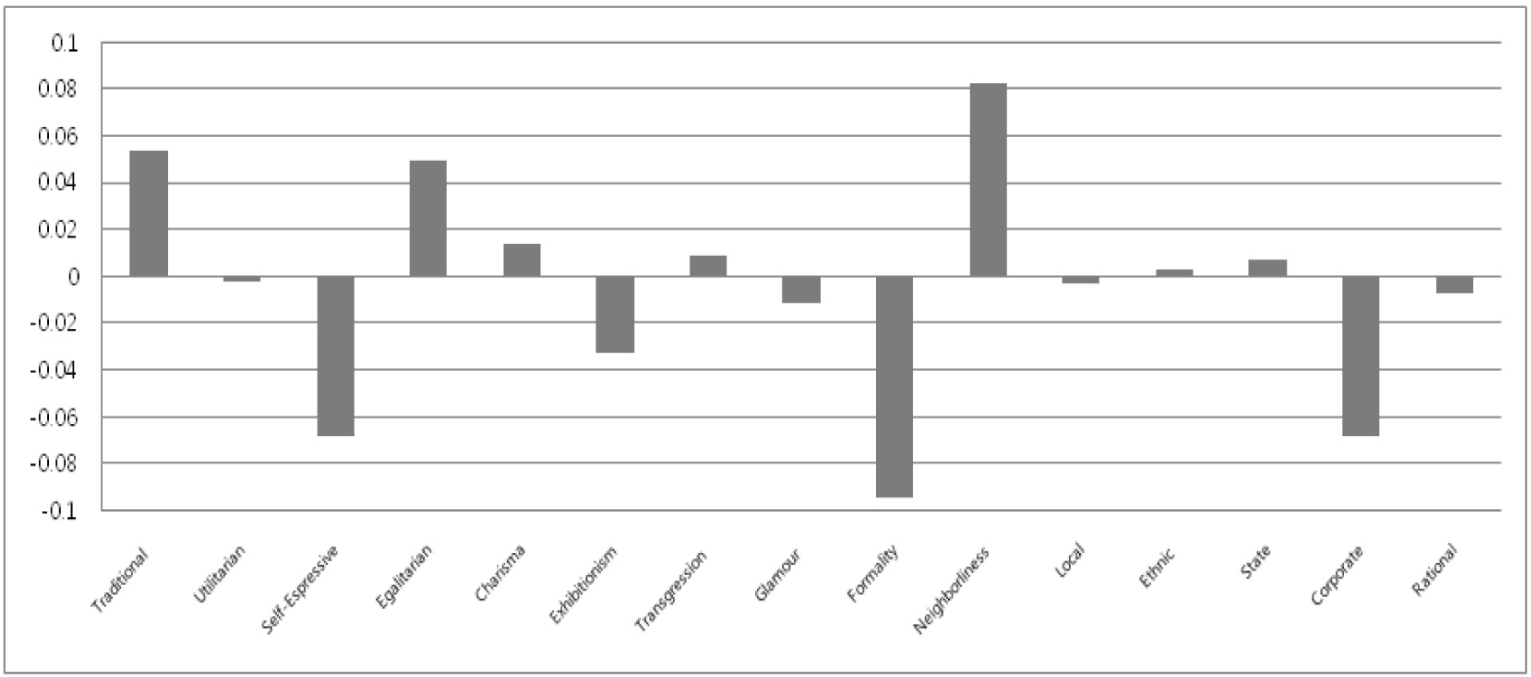
Appendix 〈A-15〉 Rationalism with other Scene

Appendix B



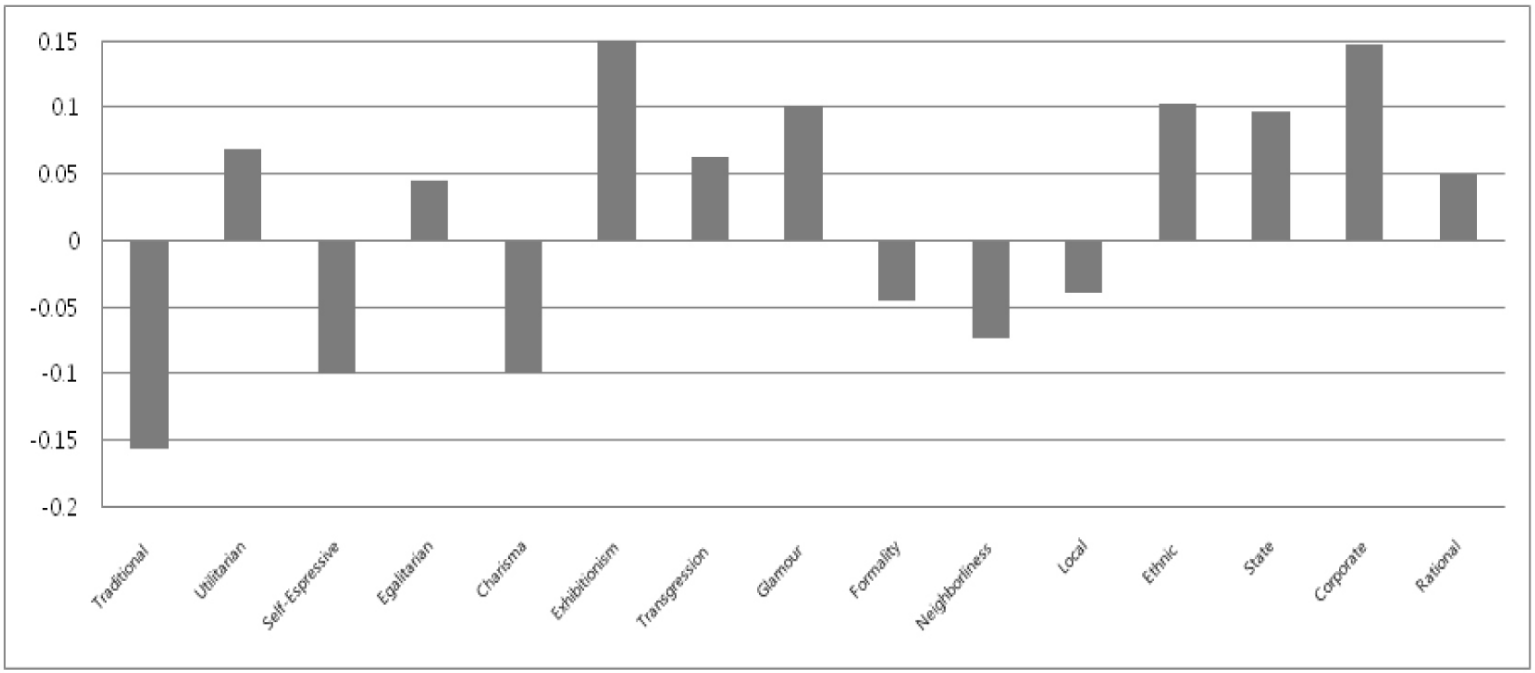
Appendix 〈B-1〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and youth(Seoul)

N=424



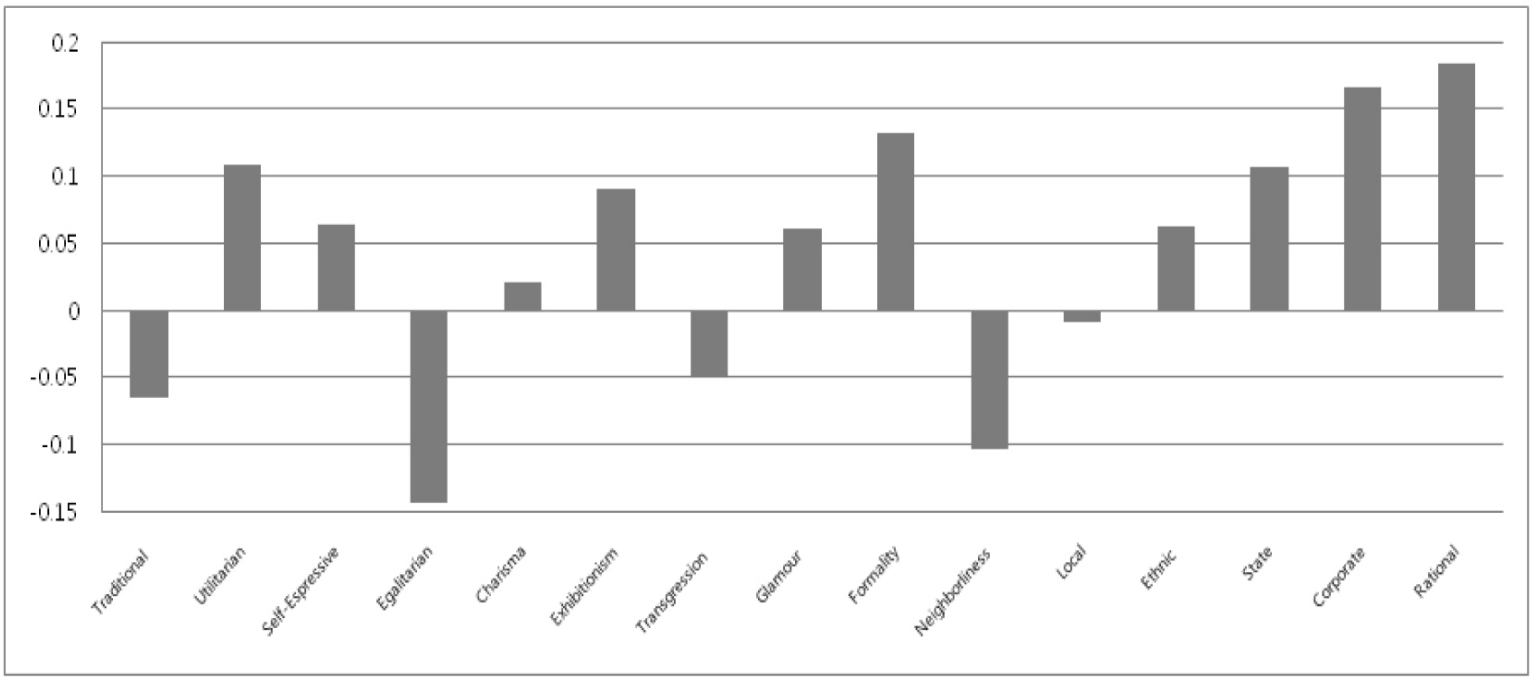
N=3,118

Appendix 〈B-2〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and youth(Tokyo)



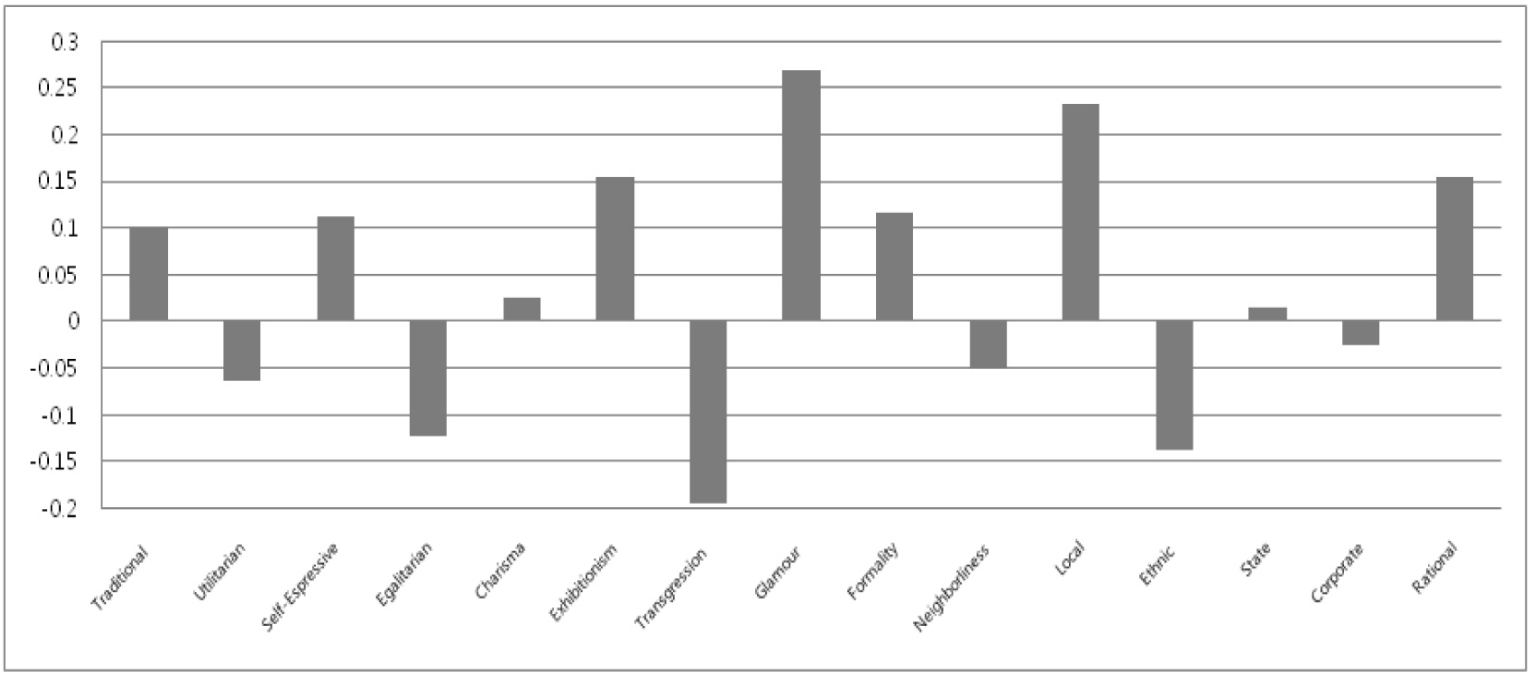
N=112

Appendix 〈B-3〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and youth(Chicago)



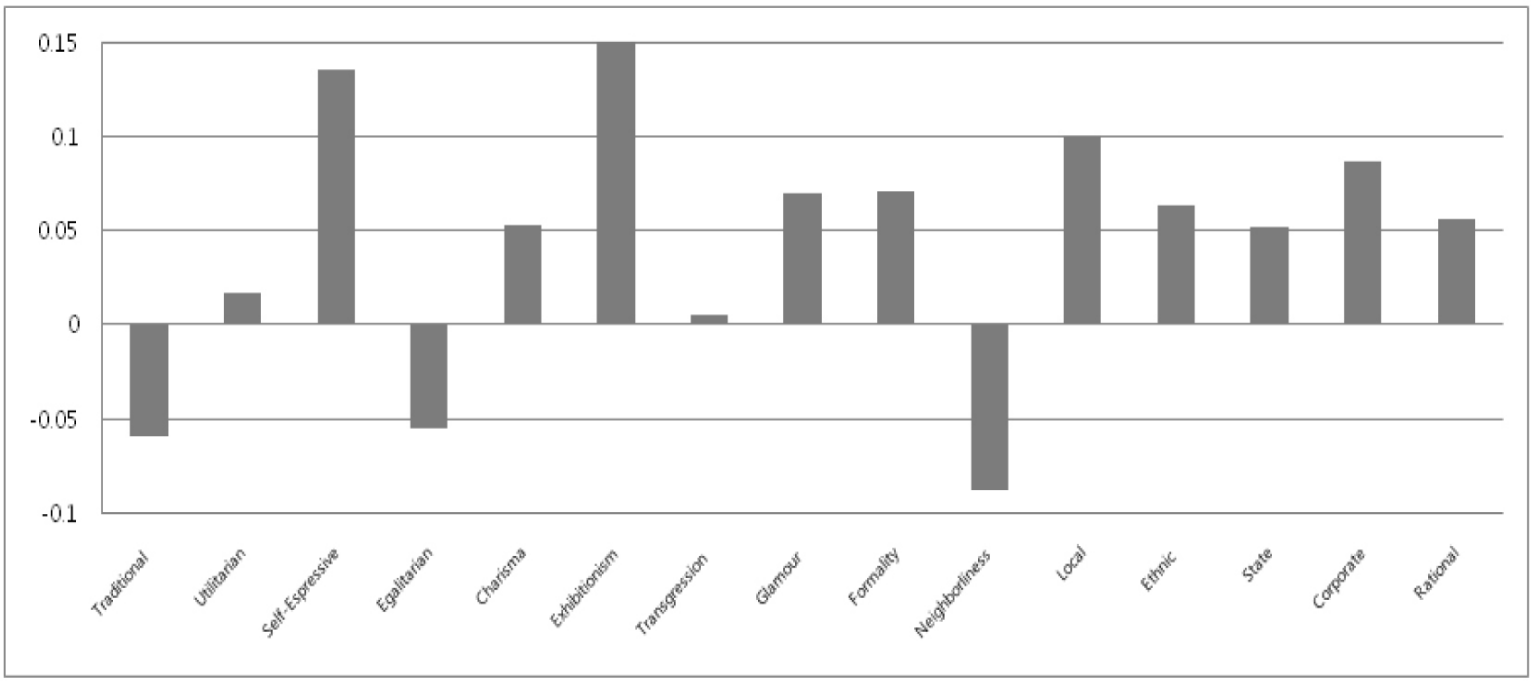
N=424

Appendix 〈B-4〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of Scenes and 4yr College Population(Seoul)



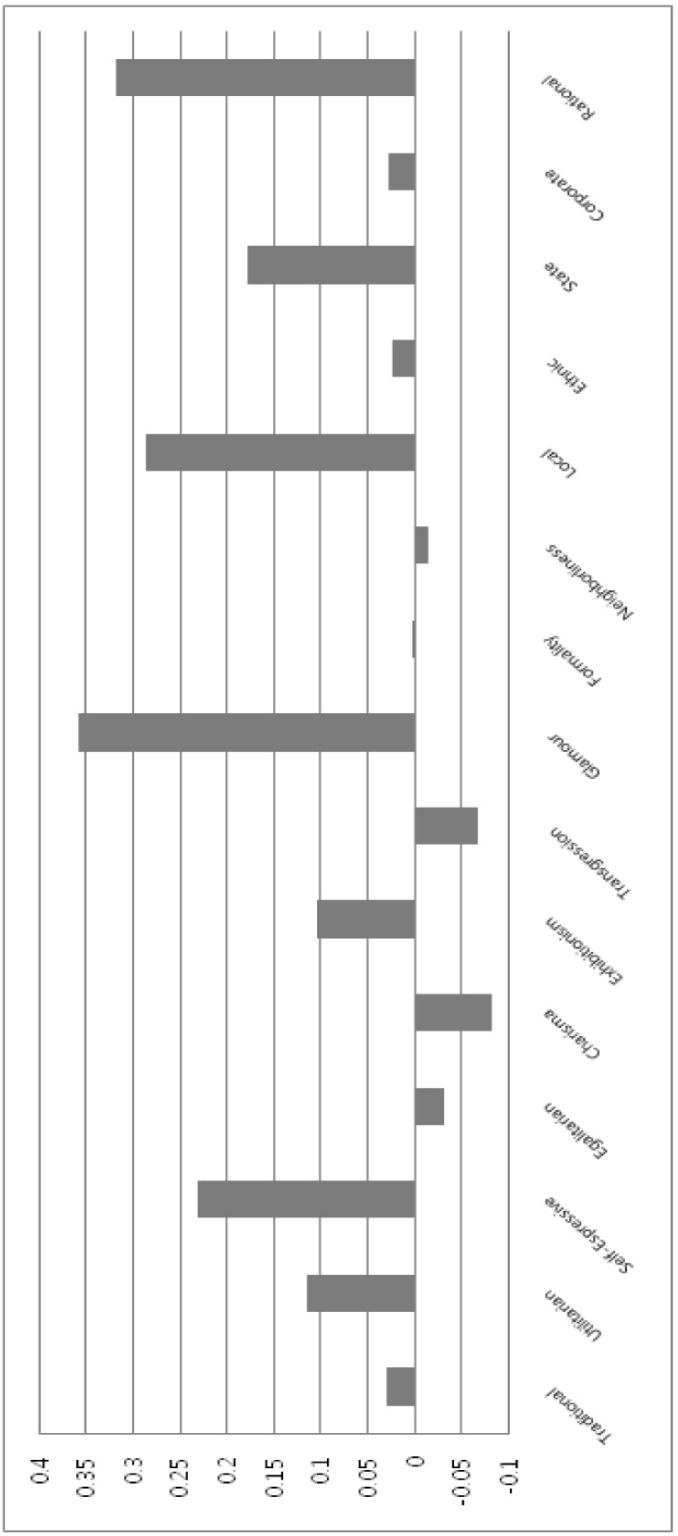
N=112

Appendix 〈B-5〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and 4yr College Population(Chicago)



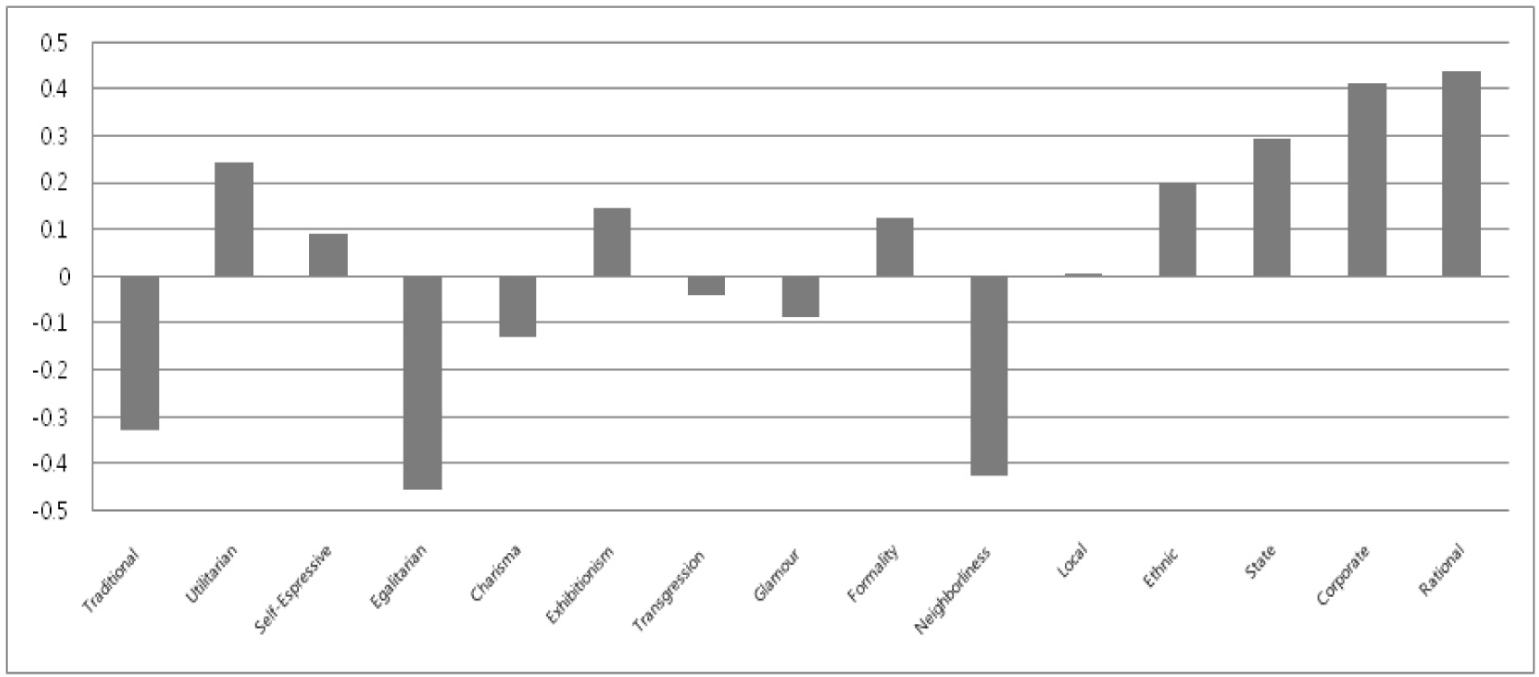
N=424

Appendix 〈B-6〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of Scene and Income(Seoul)



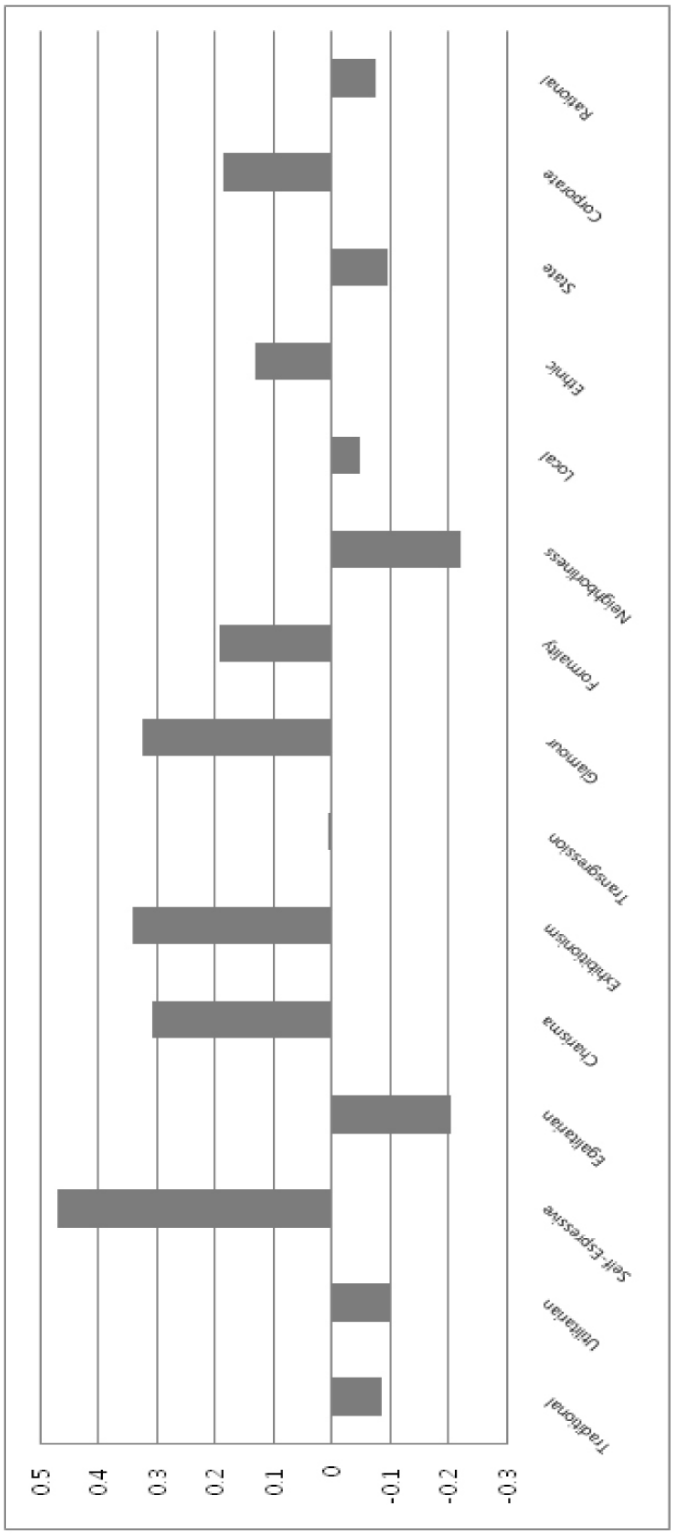
N=112

Appendix 〈B-7〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and Income(Chicago)



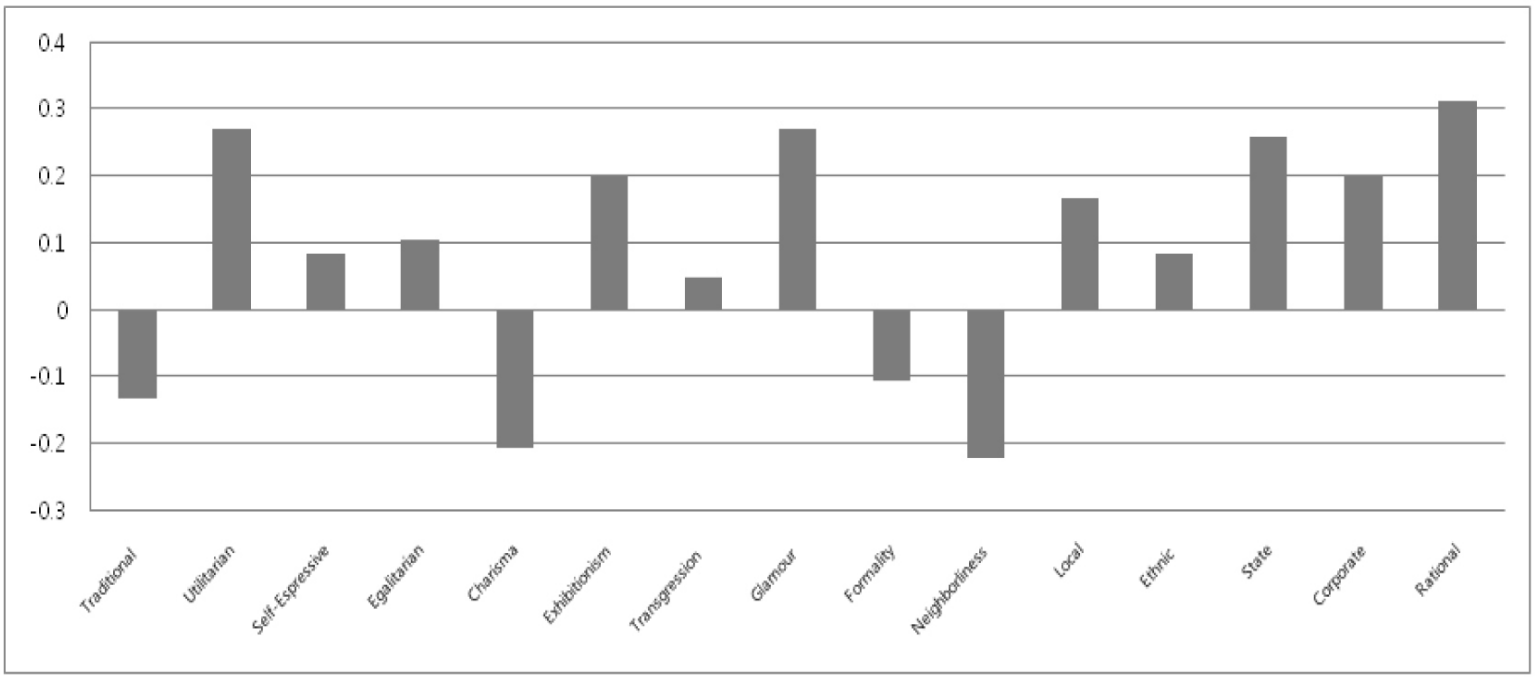
N=424

Appendix 〈B-8〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of Scene and Rent(Seoul)



N=3,118

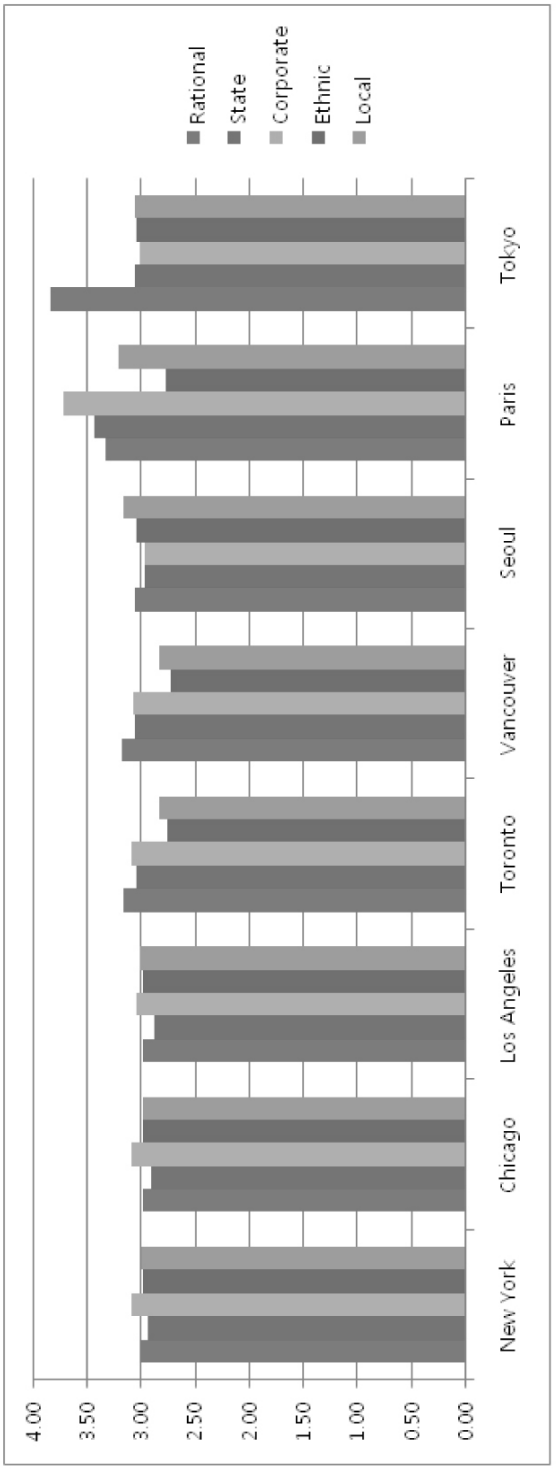
Appendix 〈B-9〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and Rent(Tokyo)



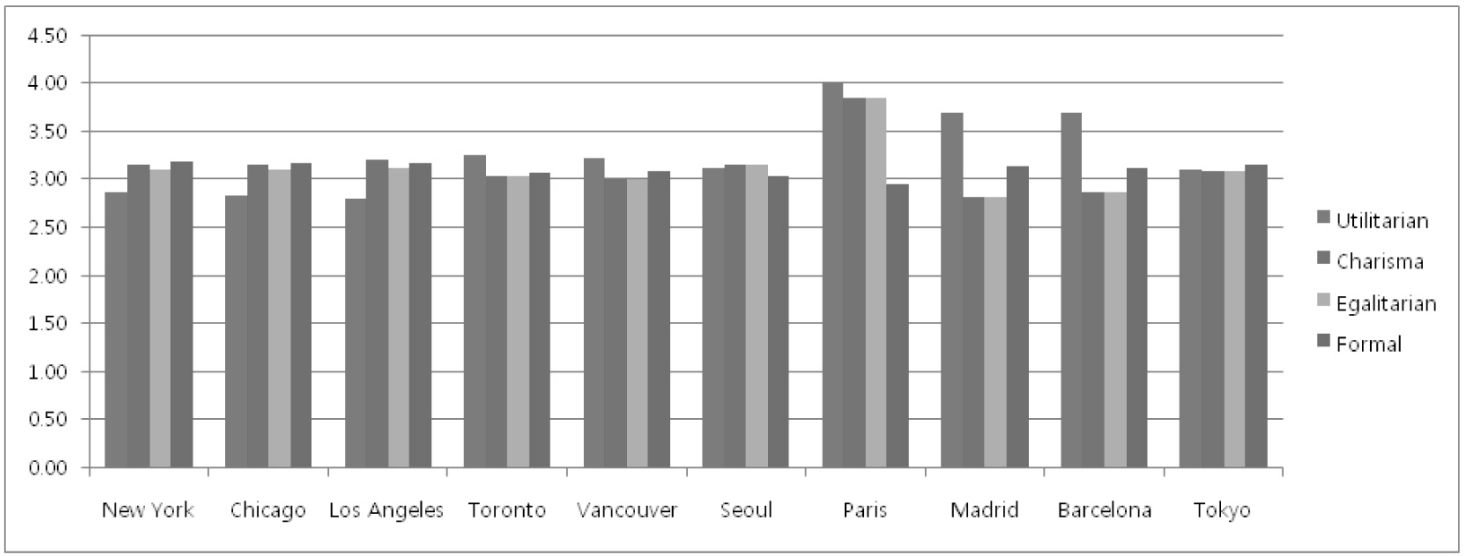
N=112

Appendix 〈B-10〉 Relationship between sub-dimension of scene and Rent(Chicago)

Appendix C



Appendix 〈C-1〉 International Comparison of Scene Sub-dimensions : Rational, State, Corporate, Ethnic and Local



Appendix 〈C-2〉 International Comparison of Scene Sub-dimensions : Utilitarian, Charisma, Egalitarian and Formal

Korean Abstract

글로벌 도시들의 공간정체성 비교 연구 : 서울, 도쿄, 시카고

장원호·테리 클락·변미리

이 연구는 서울, 도쿄, 시카고 등 3대 글로벌 도시 씬(Urban Scene)을 비교 연구한 것이다. 이 과정에서 도시 발달과 혁신에 영향을 미치는 요인들을 시민참여와 민주주의의 전개과정과 연결시켜 분석하였다.

이 연구에서 제시하고 있는 도시 씬은 '도시의 특정 장소에서 나타나는 고유한 문화적 특성이면서 주민들의 사회적, 경제적, 정치적 활동에 영향을 미치고 있는 생활양식'을 의미한다. 도시 씬의 구체적이고 실증적인 모습을 측정하기 위해 서울, 도쿄, 시카고의 인구센서스 자료, 전화번호부(yellow book) 등을 이용하여 세 도시의 어메니티와 관련된 수백 가지의 자료를 수집하였다. 이렇게 수집된 자료를 바탕으로 ARCGIS 프로그램을 이용하여 세 도시의 도시 씬 지도를 작성하고 이를 비교 분석하였다. 도시 씬 지도 작성을 위하여 먼저 도시 씬을 정당성, 연극성, 진실성 등 세 가지 차원으로 나누고, 각각 5개의 하위차원을 구분하였다. 정당성의 하위차원은 전통성, 공리성, 평등성, 자기표현, 카리스마 씬으로 나누었으며, 연극성의 하위차원은 근린성, 격식성, 과시성, 화려함, 일탈성 씬, 진실성의 하위차원은 지역성, 에스닉, 국가성, 기업성, 합리성 씬으로 구분하였다. 이러한 총 15개 하위차원으로 세 도시의 도시 씬 지도를 작성하였다.

다음 단계로 이 연구는 세 도시에서 각각의 도시 씬들이 서로 어떤 형태로 결합되어 있는지를 비교하였다. 이는 세 도시의 공간 구성 특성과 관련된 중요한 정보를 제공하고 있다. 예를 들어 서울과 시카고에서는 평등성 씬이 카리스마 씬과 밀접한 관련이 있지만, 도쿄에서는 평등성 씬이 대학, 연구기관과 같은 합리성 씬과 더 큰 공간적 접근성을 가지고 있다. 더 나아가 이 연구는 각 도시 씬들 간의 공간적 근접성과 함께, 도시 씬과 사회인구학적 특성들이 어떻게 연결되어 있는지를 분석하였다. 이를 통해 세 도시의 주민들의 서로 다른 문화적 가치와 활동들을 살펴보았다.

보헤미아의 창조성은 서구에서 흔히 도시혁신을 주도하는 주요 요소로 간주되었다. 이 연구

는 세 도시의 보헤미아 씬 점수를 비교함으로써 동서양 보헤미아의 차이점을 보여주고 있다. 흔히 동양에서는 보헤미아 씬이 발견되지 않는다고 알려져 있지만, 세 도시의 평균 보헤미아 점수는 별 차이가 없다. 오히려 서울의 평균 보헤미아 씬 점수가 시카고보다 높게 나타났다. 중요한 점은 서울과 도쿄가 보헤미아 씬 점수의 편차가 크지 않은 반면, 시카고는 보헤미안 씬 점수가 매우 큰 편차를 보이고 있다는 것이다. 이 결과는 서울과 도쿄에서는 거의 모든 지역이 어느 정도 보헤미아적 요소를 가지고 있지만 아주 극단적인 보헤미아가 없는 반면, 시카고에서는 디즈니 씬과 같은 매우 가족적이고 전통적인 근린지역에서부터 아주 극단적인 보헤미아 지역이 공존한다는 것을 의미한다.

도시 씬과 시민참여는 이 연구의 또 다른 주제이다. 이 연구는 세 도시에서 각각의 씬과 정치참여의 관계를 비교, 분석하였다. 일반적으로 근린성 씬이 강한 지역에서는 가족 및 일상생활과 관련된 이슈들에 대한 사회참여가 활발하게 이루어지고 있는 반면, 보헤미아 씬이 강한 지역에서는 진보적인 이슈를 지향하는 직접적인 정치참여의 경향이 높다. 그러나 보헤미아 씬과 정치참여 역시 도시별로 다른 특성을 보이고 있다. 시카고에서는 보헤미아 씬이 진보적 정치참여, 특히 신사회운동과 밀접한 관련이 있지만, 서울에서는 보헤미아 씬과 진보적 정치참여의 관계가 적다. 이는 서울이 여전히 유교적 가족문화가 많이 남아 있기 때문이기도 하지만, 보헤미아의 전위라 할 수 있는 대학생들이 대부분 부모들과 같이 살고 있기 때문에 자신의 진보적 성향을 표현하는데 제한을 받고 있는 것으로 해석할 수 있다. 하지만 투표행위에서는 3개 도시 모두 보헤미아 씬이 발달한 지역에서 진보정당 지지율이 높은 것으로 나타났다.

이 연구는 도시 씬 연구를 통해 도시발전에 대한 새로운 시각을 제시하고자 한다. 도시 씬 접근법은 먼저 기존 도시연구의 단순 성장 및 개발 개념에서 벗어나 도시의 공간을 씬이라는 개념으로 재구성하고 각각의 특징적인 도시 씬에 맞는 구체적인 지역성장의 동력을 제공한다. 이 과정에서 도시 씬 접근법은 물리적, 인적, 사회적 자본의 개념을 효과적으로 활용할 수 있는 구체적인 초점과 타깃을 제시한다. 구체적으로 도시 씬 접근법은 특정 도시 씬에 관한 심층적 분석을 통해 각 씬에서 부족하거나 넘치는 어메니티를 찾아내고 각 씬이 더 활기있는 씬으로 발전하기 위한 중점 어메니티에 대한 투자와 배분 방식을 제공한다. 한마디로 도시 씬 접근법은 군사령관이 아니라 영화감독의 관점에서 도시를 바라보는 시각이라 할 수 있다.

SDI 2011-PR-60

Scenes Dynamics in Global Cities
: Seoul, Tokyo and Chicago

the publisher Chang-Hyun Lee(the president of SDI)

publication day 2012/02/21

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Seoul 137-071 Korea

Tel 82-2-2149-1234

Fax 82-2-2149-1025

₩8,000 ISBN 978-89-8052-867-7 93530

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