

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience: Korean Public Toilet Improvement Experience and its Implications

2014



MINISTRY OF
STRATEGY
AND FINANCE



KDI SCHOOL
KDI School of Public Policy and Management

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience:
**Korean Public Toilet Improvement Experience
and its Implications**

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience Korean Public Toilet Improvement Experience and its Implications

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Preface

The study of Korea's economic and social transformation offers a unique window of opportunity to better understand the factors that drive development. Within about one generation, Korea transformed itself from an aid-recipient basket-case to a donor country with fast-paced, sustained economic growth. What makes Korea's experience even more remarkable is that the fruits of Korea's rapid growth were relatively widely shared.

In 2004, the Korean Ministry of Strategy and Finance (MOSF) and the Korea Development Institute (KDI) launched the Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) to assist partner countries in the developing world by sharing Korea's development experience. To provide a rigorous foundation for the knowledge exchange engagements, the KDI School has accumulated case studies through the KSP Modularization Program since 2010. During the first four years, the Modularization Program has amassed 119 case studies, carefully documenting noteworthy innovations in policy and implementation in a wide range of areas including economic policy, administration-ICT, agricultural policy, health and medicine, industrial development, human resources, land development, and environment. Individually, the case studies convey practical knowhow and insights in an easily accessible format; collectively, they illustrate how Korea was able to kick-start and sustain economic growth for shared prosperity.

Building on the success during the past four years, we are pleased to present an additional installment of 19 new case studies completed through the 2014 Modularization Program. As an economy develops, new challenges arise. Technological innovations create a wealth of new opportunities and risks. Environmental degradation and climate change pose serious threats to the global economy, especially to the citizens of the countries most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. The new case studies continue the tradition in the Modularization Program by illustrating how different agents in the Korean society including the government, the corporations, and the civil society organizations, worked together to find creative solutions to challenges to shared prosperity. The efforts delineated include overcoming barriers between government agencies; taking advantage of new opportunities opened up through ICT; government investment in infrastructure; creative collaboration between the government and civil society; and painstaking efforts to optimize

management of public programs and their operation. A notable innovation this year is the development of two “teaching cases”, optimized for interactive classroom use: Localizing E-Government in Korea and Korea’s Volume-based Waste Fee System.

I would like to express my gratitude to all those involved in the project this year. First and foremost, I would like to thank the Ministry of Strategy and Finance for the continued support for the Modularization Program. Heartfelt appreciation is due to the contributing researchers and their institutions for their dedication in research, to the former public officials and senior practitioners for their keen insight and wisdom they so graciously shared as advisors and reviewers, and also to the KSP Executive Committee for their expert oversight over the program. Last but not least, I am thankful to each and every member of the Development Research Team for the sincere efforts to bring the research to successful fruition, and to Professor Taejong Kim for his stewardship.

As always, the views and opinions expressed by the authors in the body of work presented here do not necessarily represent those of the KDI School of Public Policy and Management.

December 2014

Joon-Kyung Kim

President

KDI School of Public Policy and Management



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Summary

For over more than 30 years, Korean public toilets have been rapidly improving in terms of availability, accessibility, affordability, accommodation, and acceptability. In addition, they have been proving to be environmentally-friendly. This is the result of joint efforts between the central government, local municipalities and civil society to change the perception and behavior of providers and users of public toilets.

The improvement process of the Korean public toilets can be largely divided into three periods based on the five aforementioned categories and the related specifications. The 1980's saw such drastic changes and great overall improvements in toilets, it was to be called the "Toilet Revolution". These changes, categorized namely under availability, accessibility, affordability and accommodation, were made with the objective of successfully hosting the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games under the government's lead. Next, from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, in preparation for the 2002 World Cup, "Beautiful Toilet" focused on positively changing public perception and attitude toward public toilets. The central government and local municipalities drastically increased the budget to completely overhaul toilet facilities, and executed the project with seamless cooperative efforts between the central and local governments. As a result, civil society campaigns to improve user attitude and to promote acceptability were significantly effective. Notably, in 2004, through the cooperation of the central government, local municipalities, and civil society, the 'Public Toilets, etc., Act' became legislation, the first of its kind; this act provided systemic and institutional management of public toilets. Finally, during the third period, from the late 2000s to the present day, environmentally-friendly changes initiated by local municipalities and private companies have been made; this is due to domestic and international interests in environment and energy conservation. Moreover, availability,

accessibility and affordability have been continuously improving throughout the support to public toilets. Accommodation has also been increasingly improving with changes within the facilities; the focus is being made on the public toilet experience for minorities, such as females, children and the disabled.

While the main change agents in the first period were the central government and Seoul City, those in the second period were civic groups. The “2002 World Cup Soccer Games Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council” was launched to prepare for the World Cup with the cooperation of the central government, public and private groups, and local municipalities directly involved in hosting the event, such as the Citizen’s Coalition for Restroom and so on. The specific aim of the council was to improve public toilets using the event as the platform for the change. Among the local municipalities, in particular Suwon City which was led by Mayor Sim Jaedeok, diverse policies unfolded that implemented the beginning of the Korean public toilet management and launched campaigns for changing user attitude. In the third period, the parties involved in the late 2000s to change public toilets had been led by the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, which has been in charge of public toilets since the year 2006; The Central Advisory Committee which was composed of civilians chosen by the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs was also involved along with local municipalities, the Korea Toilet Association, which can be said to be the representative organization of private companies related to public toilets, and finally, the Citizen’s Coalition for Restrooms.

The first success factor of the Korean public toilets improvements is the acknowledgement from the government and citizens that public toilet improvement was a necessary priority in order for large-scale mega events to be successful and the intensive budget and labor invested by the government to make it happen. The second success factor is the effective involvement of the central government for the development process. In the 1980s, the central government played an integral role making realistic short-, mid-and long-term plans, allocating a budget and executing actual policies; in the 1990s, it developed a platform on which each government department, local municipality and private group could jointly cooperate. Since the mid to late 2000s, it has been successfully supporting other related initiatives: sought to modify laws and institutions, ordered research services and injected the budget by promoting effective competition among local municipalities and private groups. The third success factor is the paradigm shift of the “Beautiful Toilet” which encouraged provider-focused competition. With preparations for the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup, the focus drastically shifted from toilet users to providers, and it made the civil society’s campaigns for changing user attitude become more effective. During this time, the provider-

competition system was introduced and incentives were made for reducing the budget to be used in the relevant areas. The final factor is the leadership of the key individuals who greatly contributed to Korean public toilet improvement. It was possible to improve public toilets only because major leaders in the central government, local municipalities and civic groups had proposed appropriate goals and set out to achieve them while inspiring others to join the effort during each period.

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

This study aims to summarize and evaluate the development process of Korean public toilets, analyze its success factors and deduce its implications. Over more than 30 years, Korea has been growing remarkably in the supply, management and culture of public toilets. Public toilets have rapidly improved from facilities so run down that 48% of the total respondents in a poll of foreigners living in Korea listed “unclean toilets” as the most inconvenient in 1983.¹

The improvement process of the Korean public toilets can be largely divided into three periods based on the five aforementioned categories and the related specifications. The 1980’s saw such drastic changes and great overall improvements in toilets, it was to be called the “Toilet Revolution”. These changes, categorized namely under availability, accessibility, affordability and accommodation, were made with the objective of successfully hosting the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games under the government’s lead. Next, from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, in preparation for the 2002 World Cup, “Beautiful Toilet” focused on positively changing public perception and attitude toward public toilets. The central government and local municipalities drastically increased the budget to completely overhaul toilet facilities, and executed the project with seamless cooperative efforts between the central and local governments. As a result, civil society campaigns to improve user attitude and to promote acceptability were significantly effective. Notably, in 2004, through the cooperation of the central government, local municipalities, and civil society, the ‘Public Toilets, etc., Act’ became legislation, the first of its kind; this act provided systemic

1. “A Survey by Korea Tourism Organization-Toilets, restaurants, transportation in top ranks”, Maeil Business Newspaper, October 20, 1983, p.11.

and institutional management of public toilets. In the third period, from the late 2000's to the present, public toilet facilities have been changed to be more environmentally-friendly.

The parties involved have been mostly local municipalities and related private companies, with an interest in domestic and international environment and energy conservation. Through this study, we will assess the public toilet improvement process in terms of the 5A's suggested by Penchansky and Thomas (1981): availability, accessibility, affordability, accommodation, acceptability, and additionally, environmental-friendliness. These will help sum up the project's driving strategy and systems, the details of policies and conditions by each major period. In particular, we will deduce implications by reviewing the organic cooperation between the central government, local municipalities and the civil society. The 5A's was the main driving force behind the ideas for Korean public toilet improvement.

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Chapter 2

Performance Measurement

1. Setting up Indicators; 5A+1
2. Measurement of 5A+1 Indicators of Korean Public Toilets

Performance Measurement

1. Setting up Indicators; 5A+1

Penchansky and Thomas (1981) had suggested five distinctive indicators to assess public services such as medical care or institutional care. Each indicator represents availability, accessibility, affordability, accommodation and acceptability; since the initials of all indicators are A, they became known as 5A. This study also seeks to assess the performance measurement of public toilets in terms of 5A. The following is a detailed explanation of each indicator.

Firstly, availability means that the pertinent public service must exist profusely. This can be assessed not only by the absolute number of the pertinent public service but also its relative number in proportion to its users. In either case, it is this indicator that measures the quantitative aspect of public service. For example, the number of hospitals (or the number of hospitals in proportion to the population) in service or the number of child day-care services fall under the availability category.

In the case of public toilets, the absolute quantity of public toilets or the relative size of public toilets in proportion to population could be an indicator. This can be assessed at the level of the local municipality such as a city, a province, a district or a county as well as the entire country. Public toilets can be secured by the private sector opening their toilets to the public (open toilet) rather than by the government's opening. Therefore, the increase in open toilets should essentially be assessed.

The second indicator is accessibility. Despite the existence of public services, their usefulness would be significantly reduced if they were not in the place of the users' demand or were difficult to locate.

Accessibility is the indicator to assess how the pertinent public service is geographically arranged, beyond the simple quantitative aspect. Particularly, when the users' needs tend to focus on a certain region, the meaning of this indicator expands. For example, a day-care center would have a higher accessibility only if it were located near the residence or the workplace of parents.

In the case of public toilets, accessibility can be assessed by how fast a user can approach a public toilet in the surrounding area from wherever he or she is. This can be divided into two cases. One is a region such as the city center which is crowded with people, the other is a quiet area such as the countryside. In the case of the city center, geographical accessibility can make a breakthrough if toilets in large-scale buildings are made available. Moreover, the accessibility of toilets in subway stations has developed with the expansion of subway lines; this could also be a major aspect.

The third is affordability. Although public services exist profusely and their accessibilities are secured, the existence of users' cost is a burden that may make the usage equally troublesome. Affordability should not be a problem. For example, if the medical expenses or hospital fees are costly, some cannot use the medical service even if its supply has been increased.

When it comes to public toilets, affordability can be assessed by the existence of any financial burden. Direct payment for toilet fees or the purchase of essential items for the usage of toilets (e.g. toilet paper) may provoke an obstacle to use the toilets according to affordability. Indirectly, if the toilet installation and management are subsidized by the government for the toilets to be used freely, it can also be an improvement in terms of affordability.

The fourth is accommodation. Although there are no problems in availability, accessibility and affordability, the actual meaning in using a service will be halved if the specifically needed service does not exist or if it must be delayed for a long time. For example, If a patient visits a hospital but the pertinent clinic is not there, or that he or she must wait too long for treatment or hospitalization.

In case of using public toilets, it can be assessed by whether an adequate number of urinals and stalls are secured. Considering males and females use toilets with a different time-span, its standard should be differentiated according to the sex. Furthermore, it should also take into consideration certain minority groups. We will review this in terms of accommodation, whether or not extra facilities for citizens with extra needs like the disabled actually exist, whether stalls or hand wash stands for children are installed, and whether diaper changers are installed.

The fifth is acceptability. This means the quality that is acceptable. While the previous four indicators assess quantitative aspects of a service in different areas respectively, the last indicator, acceptability includes the qualitative aspect of the service itself. For example, the acceptability of a hospital service is assessed by whether the quality of the medical team and medical facilities are sufficient.

The degree of qualitative toilet improvement may be the indicator or acceptability. Toilets in the past were well known to be unclean (bul-gyeol), poor (bul-nyang), inconvenient (bul-pyeon), uncomfortable (bu-ran) and unpleasant (bul-kwae, 5-bul). In contrast, acceptability can be measured by assessing whether public toilets are equipped with the basic convenient facilities and whether they are maintained to be clean and comfortable.

In the case of public toilets, we intend to add one more indicator to the existing five indicators of Penchansky and Thomas; this new indicator is environmental-friendliness. Toilets must be supplied with electricity and water from their management, and it is necessary to process wastewater. Environmental-friendliness can be enhanced by reducing the use of water and electricity, by minimizing or processing wastewater in an environmentally-friendly manner. Environmental-friendliness may have a special meaning not only to the developed countries but also to the developing countries that are lacking infrastructure. For instance, there can be alternatives to minimize water usage by water-recycling or water-saving systems in regions with inadequate water supply and drainage facilities, or to introduce excrement disposal facilities that do not use water.

We will measure environmental-friendliness by reviewing how much electricity and water is consumed for the installation and management of a toilet, and how the wastewater drained from the toilet is processed. For example, if a toilet has photovoltaic power generation facilities within itself, it may achieve environmental-friendliness in terms of electric energy. Installing water-saving stalls or being equipped with facilities using rainwater/recycled water is another example of being environmentally-friendly.

Table 2-1 | Indicators for the Performance Measurement of the Public Toilet Service; 5A+1

Area	Indicators	Detailed Indicators
Availability	Supply of public toilets	The number of public toilets, the proportion of public toilets to population, the number of open toilets
Accessibility	Time needed to reach the nearest public toilet	
Affordability	Direct cost of using public toilets	The number of pay toilets, free supply of toilet tissues, etc.
Accommodation	Convenience for females, seniors, infants or children, and the disabled to use toilets	The number of stalls for each sex and for the disabled, the installation of children's urinals and stalls, diaper changers
Acceptability	Qualitative assessment for the service itself	The degree of cleanliness, lack of foul odor, the preparation for essential consumables like soap and toilet tissue
Environmental Friendliness	Environmental-friendliness	The existence of a recycling-water-processing system, electricity-saving and waster water minimizing facilities

2. Measurement of 5A+1 Indicators of Korean Public Toilets

<Table 2-2> shows the changes in public toilets through specific years. In 1971, the number of public toilets was 3,185; they had significantly decreased to 2,191 in 1975, but have since continuously increased. In 1990, the number of public toilets more than doubled to 6,543 from twenty years before, and the increasing rate continued to accelerate. In particular, the number soared to 64,036 in 2008; however, this figure has slightly reduced since then. As of 2014, 58,248 public toilets exist. In terms of the proportion to population, the percentage was approximately 0.1% in the 1970's through the 1980's, but it has clearly increased to 0.12% as of 2014. It can be said that public toilets have made significant improvement in terms of availability.

The lower column of <Table 2-2> states the number of pay and free toilets, which are divided accordingly. In 1971, 25% of the total number of public toilets were pay toilets. We can conclude that there was a significant number of pay toilets at that time. However,

pay toilets have decreased sharply from 1980 onward. Pay toilets were a mere 3% of the total toilets in 1980, and had reduced to less than 2% in 1985 and 1990. Toilet division by payment has not been investigated after 1990; we consider that the weight of pay toilets in public toilets was very slight. Through this finding, we can conclude that the problem of affordability, at least in the aspect of an entrance fee, had only been proposed until the 1970s, so it has not been a matter of consideration after the 1980s.

Table 2-2 | Annual Trend in the Number of Public Toilets

(Unit: number, %)

Year	1971	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008	2014
Total Number	3,185	2,191	2,069	3,744	6,543	10,835	15,418	29,249	64,036	58,248
Proportion to Population (%)	0.01	0.006	0.006	0.009	0.015	0.024	0.034	0.062	0.136	0.121
Pay Toilets	810	414	63	70	120	-	-	-	-	-
Free Toilets	2,375	1,777	2,006	3,674	6,423	-	-	-	-	-

Sources: Actual Conditions of Toilets(1971~1987), KOSIS (Ministry of Security and Public Administration, Statistics on Korean Cities).

Actual Conditions of Toilets (1988~1991), KOSIS (Ministry of Security and Public Administration, Statistics on Korean Cities).

Present Conditions of Excrement Collection and Restroom (1992~2000), KOSIS (Ministry of Security and Public Administration, Statistics on Korean Cities).

Plans to Develop and Distribute Public Toilet Technology and Assessment of Actual Public Toilet Management. Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (Article in 2005).

Open Toilet Culture That We Will Make Together. Ministry of Public Administration and Security. Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council (Article in 2008).

<Table 2-2> shows public toilet distribution by cities and provinces and by locational conditions as of 2014. The location that has the most public toilets is public institutions. Among 58,248 public toilets in total, about 70% of them, 40,748 total are located in public institutions. The second most common location is parks: 5,252 public toilets, 9% of the total. By cities and provinces, Gyeonggi-do has by far the most with 12,027 public toilets, the second is Jeollanam-do that has 5,869. Seoul is the third with 5,526. The municipality that has the least number of public toilets is the recently-established Sejong City. Through this, we can conclude that the number of public toilets is influenced by variables like regional size rather than population.

<Table 2-4> shows the past conditions of open toilets from 2006 to 2008. Open toilet means private toilets opened to the public by the head of local municipality's designation in the region with a large floating population such as city centers and main streets, or with insufficient public toilets like parks or riverbanks.

Table 2-3 | Present Conditions of Public Toilets Nationwide (As of January 1, 2014)

(Unit: number)

Division	Total	Public Institutions	Parks	Tourist Attractions	Terminals	Markets and Shopping District	Rest Areas	Stations, Subways	Sports Facilities	Streets
Total	58,248	40,748	5,252	3,618	491	2,716	440	1,343	1,776	1,864
Seoul	5,526	3,835	809	6	5	192	1	344	79	255
Busan	3,449	2,400	233	183	-	93	1	486	48	5
Daegu	2,393	1,800	191	33	9	140	2	58	43	117
Incheon	2,778	2,149	256	181	7	92	-	50	43	-
Gwangju	1,431	1,041	172	14	1	159	-	23	10	11
Daejeon	2,119	1,519	256	3	3	89	3	25	22	199
Ulsan	1,235	932	66	64	5	59	5	4	54	46
Sejong	131	17	1	4	7	2	2	3	4	91
Gyeonggi	12,027	8,407	1,101	355	42	830	63	163	457	609
Gangwon	3,296	2,392	139	297	44	106	87	38	114	79
Chungbuk	1,923	1,458	145	109	28	44	33	18	59	29
Chungnam	3,240	2,237	204	359	54	178	52	18	74	64
Jeonbuk	2,297	1,457	276	178	54	91	24	14	119	84
Jeonnam	5,869	4,373	378	589	66	242	45	26	123	27
Gyeongbuk	4,793	2,846	541	590	104	200	83	42	159	228
Gyeongnam	4,242	2,800	431	460	59	150	39	31	252	20
Jeju	1,499	1,085	53	193	3	49	-	-	116	-

※ Public institutions include crowded public facilities such as ports, ferries, airports, concert halls, filling stations, etc.

Source: Material for public interest by the Ministry of Security and Public Administration (Requested as of September 1, 2014).

Table 2-4 | Present Conditions of Open Toilets, 2006~2008

(Unit: number)

Division	December 2006	December 2007	July 2008
Total	8,211	7,100	6,097
Seoul	1,683	1,523	1,138
Busan	1,344	1,223	901
Daegu	307	227	209
Incheon	123	103	89
Gwangju	468	388	384
Daejeon	283	273	218
Ulsan	85	85	33
Gyeonggi	676	576	440
Gangwon	1,274	1,174	1,647
Chungbuk	81	71	51
Chungnam	436	236	113
Jeonbuk	279	179	115
Jeonnam	137	127	94
Gyeongbuk	86	76	-
Gyeongnam	853	753	609
Jeju	96	86	56

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security, Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council. 2008.

As of 2008, open toilets nationwide number 6,097 in total; from 2006 onwards, the number has been diminished by 1,000 or more every year. Open toilets had greatly increased around the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup, meanwhile they seem to have decreased to small numbers afterward. Open toilets are designated mostly in the metropolitan areas, like Seoul and Busan in particular. One specialty is Gangwon-do. Gangwon-do has created an exceptional number of open toilets; this may be because it has executed the drive to open toilets in rest areas around national highways.

<Table 2-5> is the list of open toilets in Gwanak-gu designated by its mayor. Most are designated in crowded regions such as large-scale buildings, markets, shopping districts or filling stations. Open hours may vary from 24 hours a day to the exception of midnight hours.

Table 2-5 | Present Conditions of Open Toilets in Gwanak-gu, as of July 1, 2013

Number	Division	Name of the Building	Opening Hours
1	Business Facilities	Namgyeongdo Building	05:00~24:00
2	Business Facilities	Cheongdong Building	07:00~21:00
3	Business Facilities	Korea Electric Engineers Association	08:00~18:00
4	Business Facilities	Taerim Building	08:00~22:00
5	Business Facilities	Pharmacist Credit Union	08:00~22:00
6	Business Facilities	Baekkwang Building	06:00~23:00
7	Business Facilities	Cheongun Building	24 Hours
8	Business Facilities	Deoksu Building	07:00~22:00
9	Business Facilities	Korea Association of Realtors	09:00~22:00
10	Business Facilities	S&G Building	24 Hours
11	Business Facilities	Seowon Building	06:00~24:00
12	Business Facilities	Gwanak Campus Tower	24 Hours
13	Filling Station	Haengun Filling Station	24 Hours
14	Filling Station	Enclean Filling Station	24 Hours
15	Business Facilities	Taeyeong Building	09:00~04:00 next morning
16	Business Facilities	Dongbang Building	06:00~23:00
17	Filling Station	Seoul Filling Station	24 Hours
18	Market	Wondang Market	24 Hours
19	Market	New Sinnim Market	09:00~22:00
20	Market	Sinnim General Market	07:00~23:00
21	Market	Bongcheon Hyeondae Market	24 Hours
22	Market	Urim Market	08:00~22:00
23	Market	Bongcheon Central Market	07:00~23:00
24	Shopping District	Sinnim Hyeondae Shopping District	08:00~22:00
25	Shopping District	Gwanak Hyeondae General Shopping District	09:00~22:00

Source: Gwanak-gu Office Homepage <<http://www.gwanak.go.kr>>.

Table 2-6 | Survey of Present Conditions of Public Toilet Facilities, 2013

Areas	Variables	Distribution
Accommodation	Number of Stalls for each Sex	For female 45%/For male 55% (Closets 23%, Urinals 32%)
	Type of Stalls	Western 79%/Eastern 21%
	Hand Wash Stands for Kids	Installed 19%/Not installed 81%
	Diaper Changers	Installed 46%/Not installed 54%
	Restroom for the Disabled	Installed 93%/Not installed 7%
Acceptability	Emergency Bell for the Disabled	Installed 17%/Not installed 83%
	Checklist Attachment	Attached 75%/Not attached 25%
	Actual Name of the Manager Posted	Posted 65%/Not posted 35%
	Indicators of "Stall-in-use"	Installed 82%/Not Installed 18%
	Paper Holder Installation	Installed 83%/Not installed 17%
	Trash Can Lids	Existed 12%/Non-existed 88%
	Urinals Screen	Installed 48%/Not installed 52%
	Soap	Furnished 82%/Unfurnished 18%
	Hand-dryers	Installed 77%/Not installed 23%
Ventilation Facilities	Installed 82%/Not installed 18%	
Environment Friendliness	Solar Energy	Used 2%/Not used 98%
	Water-saving Closets	Installed 7%/Not installed 93%
	Electricity-saving System	Installed 43%/Not installed 57%
	Recycled-water System	Installed 1%/Not installed 99%

Source: Korea Toilet Association. 2013.

<Table 2-6> is the result of the 2013 survey of the actual conditions of public toilets nationwide by the Korea Toilet Association. After selecting 120 independent water-closet type public toilets among those nationwide, researchers surveyed the sites by visiting them in person.

Firstly, we review the closet type for each sex; closets for females account for 45% of the total stalls and those for males are 55%, so number of stalls for males have surpassed those for females. According to the seventh article in ‘Public Toilets, etc., Act,’ the number of closets for females should be 1.5 times more than the number of stalls and urinals for male. The purpose for more closet installation for females is to secure equal opportunity for using

the toilets in consideration of the actual time of use. The relative insufficiency of stalls for females in proportion to the legally-prescribed weight, illustrates remaining unsatisfactory accommodation in terms of sex. The types of closets are mostly western, 79% in total. Restrooms for the disabled are installed in 93% of public toilets. On the other hand, diaper changers for infants are installed in 46%, slightly less than half of the public toilets; hand wash stands for kids are not installed in 81% of public toilets. Although accommodation for the disabled is fully equipped in most of the public toilets, facilities for infants, especially for kids, have a long way to go for development.

The furnishing of various consumables or manager assessment can be viewed in terms of acceptability. Restrooms for the disabled are established in most public toilets, however, a greater number of them are not equipped with emergency bells (a total of 83%). So we discovered that the qualitative aspect is still insufficient, even though quantitative supply has been made according to accommodation.

Attaching the manager's checklist or posting a manager's actual name is made more often than not. Also, basic facilities such as indicators of "closet-in-use" or paper holders are supplied in most public toilets. However, the proportion of those that have trash can lids is a mere 12%. Many Koreans still throw away tissue paper into trash cans, so the low proportion of having trash can lids should have improved since it leads to a bad odor. Ventilation facilities are installed in significant numbers, 82%; however, the installation rates should be increased considering their importance in relation to toilets smelling bad. Sanitation supplies like soaps and hand-dryers are installed in around 80%. Finally, in terms of environment-friendliness, there are few that are equipped with related facilities. Solar energy, water-saving stalls, recycled-water systems are equipped in no more than 1~7% of public toilets. However, electricity-saving facilities are installed in 43% of toilets, so electricity saving is successful in around half of the total public toilets. We can consider that environmental-friendliness has been proposed recently and is still at the initial stage.

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience
Korean Public Toilet Improvement Experience
and its Implications

Chapter 3

Public Toilet Improvement in the 1980s

1. Background
2. Driving Strategy and Systems
3. Details and the Situations of the Drive

Public Toilet Improvement in the 1980s

1. Background

Since 1857 when the first modern public toilet was installed in Seoul,² Korean public toilets have advanced with culture, international standards and changes in social agendas as well as an increase in population, urbanization and technical progress.

The growing need for public toilet service due to rapid urbanization since the 8.15 liberation was the first opportunity for changes. Traditionally, Korea had used human excrement as fertilizer (Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs 2006: 12), so excrement disposal in rural areas was not a big problem. However, as urbanization proceeded, the demand of excrement decreased and population density in urban areas had heightened, so public toilets in city centers could not cover the influx in population. Furthermore, without a sufficient relative budget, the interior of public toilets was dirty; there was foul odor as excrement was not properly emptied and processed. In 1956, public pay toilets were introduced and users were required to pay for each use.³ As some public toilets demanded payment, negative side-effects emerged in free public toilets, as they got even more filthy with more people crowding inside.⁴

2. Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs and Korea Toilet Association, *Toilet Culture of The World*, 2006, p.13.

In the meanwhile, the oldest historic site of public toilet in Korea is the three large toilets at Wanggung-ri Site (Historic Site No.408) in Iksan (Jeon Yongho 2010). Wanggung-ri site was constructed in the reign of King Mu of Baekje (A.D. 600~641); these public toilets are presumed to have been used during the seventh century.

3. The Chosun Ilbo dated August 1st, 1956, requoted from Kang Junman [2006], p.97.

4. "Chaotic Enjoyment in 1 Million Crowd", *The Kyunghyang Shinmun*, April 27, 1970.

Figure 3-1 | Korean Traditional Toilets



The Inside
of a Common Toilet



'Tongsi,' Toilets in Jeju where
Pigs are Raised

Source: The Internet.

Figure 3-2 | Public Toilet Newly Constructed in the 1950s



Source: Haeujae.

In the meantime, the government legislated the Filth Cleaning Act⁵ in December 1961: excrement was defined as filth (Article 2) and its use as a fertilizer was limited (Article 11). Moreover, buildings and facilities appointed by the order of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs should mandatorily install excrement disposal tanks and excrement digestion tanks (Article 12), and excrement collection/processing began to be regulated (Article 14, Article 15). Enforcement Rules of Filth Cleaning Act, enforced in May 1962, established the installation standard and maintenance standard of the excrement disposal tank and excrement digestion tank.

In the early 1970s, toilets for males and females were separated for the first time. Water-closet type public toilets appeared as water supply and drainage systems were introduced into urban areas. Seoul City has mandated that newly constructed buildings with over 66m² in areas equipped with water supply and a drainage system should install water-closet type toilets since 1973,⁶ and in 1977, it included the water-closet type toilet installation in the conditions of permission for restaurants and adult entertainment spots.⁷

Even though public toilet facilities had continuously improved since the 1950s, the number of public toilets in Seoul was only 206 in 1981, when the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games were fixed to be held in Seoul; the facilities were in terrible condition as 123 public toilets, more than half of the whole were the excrement-collection type (Ministry of Government Legislation 1988⁸). In the 1983's poll of 3,000 foreigners living in Korea (646 respondents) by Korea Tourism Organization, 48% of the entire respondents listed "unclean toilets" as the most inconvenient experience while traveling.⁹

This period was the perfect opportunity to improve Korean public toilet facilities. The government recognized public toilet improvement as one of main tasks for successfully hosting large-scale international sporting events. Furthermore, Korea had not shifted to political democracy at that time and its decision-making structure was based around the central government, so the budget and workforce input to a certain purpose was relatively

5. Filth Cleaning Act was legislated and proclaimed as Act 914 on December 30, 1961, and abolished on December 31, 1986 as Wastes Control Act was legislated [National Archives of Korea <http://www.archives.go.kr/next/search/listSubjectDescription.do?id=003921>].

6. The Chosun Ilbo dated January 13, 1973, quoted from Kang Junman (2006), p.111.

7. Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs and Korea Toilet Association, p.14.

8. According to <150 More Public Toilets Will Be Installed> on page 6 of The Kyunghyang Shinmun dated January 23, 1982, public toilets in Seoul was more than 1,750 in total; according to Statistics Korea, the number was 230. This discrepancy can be understood by the difference in the range to define a public toilet.

9. Maeil Business Newspaper, October 20, 1983.

easy.¹⁰ Since the hosting of large-scale international sporting events meant the influx of external capital to expand event facilities, the government would logically be expected to concentrate its budget on public toilets.

It cannot be overlooked that pan-national awareness of the public toilet was heightened as commitments to hosting large-scale international events was fixed. Koreans were very aware of the absolutely deficient number public toilets in proportion to the expected level of visitors.¹¹ To the Koreans who make much of saving face,¹² public toilet improvement was one of the requisites for the Olympic Games “to be estimated as a wonderful festival.¹³ In the Olympic Games, public toilets were considered the symbol of modernization and “the advertising board of Korea on the World stage.”¹⁴

As water-closets were increasingly introduced to private residences with water supply and drainage system expansion, people also preferred the water-closet more and more.¹⁵

Koreans were eager to follow the government budget injection to change traditional toilets into water-closet ones.

Meanwhile, it was an obstacle to improving public toilets, users hardly felt the need for cleanliness because the public toilets were so badly managed, and had low civic consciousness to use public property like public toilets in a clean manner at that time. Graffiti and damaged articles were often discovered in public toilets. Insufficient infrastructure including water supply and drainage systems also impeded the change of toilet facilities into water-closet style.

10. The Korean Association for Public Administration, 2008, p.34.

11. The Kyunghyang Shinmun, January 23, 1982.

12. Choi Sangjin and Yu Seungyeop, 1992, p.139.

13. “Olympic Toilet”, The Chosun Ilbo, January 21, 1988, Column Section.

14. The Hankyoreh, February 27, 2013.

15. Maeil Business Newspaper, May 31, 1976.

Table 3-1 | SWOT Analysis of Public Toilet Improvement in the 1980s

S (Strength)	W (Weakness)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decision-making structure centered on the central government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low civic consciousness on public property Public toilets were managed so badly that users hardly felt the responsibility to use them in a clean manner
O (Opportunity)	T (Threat)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capital influx due to the hosting large-scale international sports events The government's will for public toilet improvement before large-scale international sporting events Pan-national awareness of public toilets Gradually increasing preference to water-closet toilets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insufficient infrastructure including water supply and drainage system

2. Driving Strategy and Systems

Public toilet improvement excelled in the 1980s, with such drastic changes in toilets it became known as the “Toilet Revolution,” which was led by the government with a sense of purpose and urgency to successfully host the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games. The central government and Seoul City had grasped what was needed to be improved through surveys and questionnaires of the actual conditions of public toilets, so they set objectives matching the event period, and made detailed plans.

At that time, the Korean central government's actions on public toilets mainly focused on the improvement and expansion of the public toilet facilities. The central government made short-term/mid-term plans as a priority to improve public toilets in preparation for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games, then arranged legal and institutional grounds to achieve them. A representative plan was the five-year plan from 1982 which was promoted by the cooperation of related government departments and local regions.¹⁶ Examples of the government's plans were the public toilet maintenance guidelines for clean public toilets in 1983 (1983. 5. 10), and also the ‘Public toilet maintenance plan in preparation for the Seoul

16. Organizing Committee for the Seoul Olympic Games, Chapter 4 in the Appendix of Official Reports of Seoul Olympic Games, Health and Sanitation Standards Enhancement, 1989, p.85 [Note: <http://library.kspo.or.kr:9090/search/DetailView.ax?sid=&cid=1134>].

Olympic Games' supplementing problems that had emerged since the 1986 Asian Games. The seven-year general plan for Olympic Saemaeul Drive was prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (1981.12.16.) and the plan for Olympic Saemaeul Drive dated April 1st, 1987 had also included plans to newly construct and convert public toilets to water-closets within tourist attractions, parks and urban areas, and to improve bad toilets in sanitary entertainment businesses.^{17 18 19}

Since both the Asian Games and the Olympic Games were to be held in Seoul City, it was Seoul City that made the most robust efforts to improve public toilets among the local regions. Seoul City conducted surveys of the actual conditions of 1,750 public toilets in November and December 1981. After the hosting of the Seoul Olympic Games was confirmed (The Kyunghyang Shinmun dated January 23rd, 1982); based on those surveys it gave Seoul City's a four-year plan to improve public toilet maintenance annually in January 1982.

In particular, Seoul City provided legal and institutional bases for successful enforcement after making plans. Seoul City and the central government closely cooperated to provide institutions: The contents of the public toilet maintenance improvement plan was based on surveys of actual conditions and an existing act (Filth Cleaning Act [Act No.914, legislated on December 30th, 1961]) made by Seoul City; this then led to legislation and an amendment of acts by the central government.

With the events drawing closer, Seoul City and the Environment Administration called for an improvement of badly-operated toilets through an actual condition inspection and assessment of public toilets and reflected it to short-term plans. From making mid to long-term plans to inspection and assessment, publicity from the media to citizens had also been continuously made.

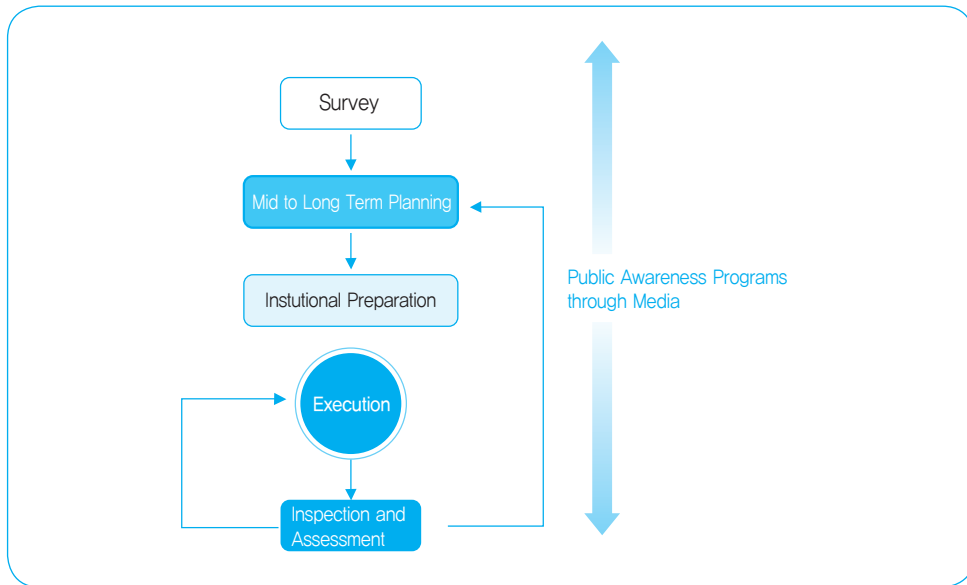
Meanwhile, even though user education for the general public to use public toilets clean was partly made at that time, the main government policies were building infrastructure focusing relatively on the expansion and maintenance of toilet facilities.

17. "Target First-class Olympic Citizens", The Dong-A Ilbo, December 16, 1981, p.2.

18. "Ministry of Internal Affairs Targets First-class Olympic Citizens", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, December 16, 1981, p.7.

19. "Olympic Saemaeul Drive Being Unfolded", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, March 31, 1987, p.1.

Figure 3-3 | Driving Strategy of Public Toilet Advancement in the 1980s



3. Details and the Situations of the Drive

3.1. The Central Government

The central government’s toilet advancement plans in the 1980s were primarily divided into two aspects: expansion of insufficient facilities and maintenance improvement of basic facilities.²⁰

The five-year plan which was promoted from 1983 to 1988 had aimed to increase public toilets, change existing toilets into the water-closet type design, assign managers, regularly clean and fumigate public toilets, expand convenience facilities, and install markers, notices and suggestion boxes in public toilets in order to enhance accessibility, availability, acceptability and accommodation of public toilets.²¹ Furthermore, over 24,500 toilets located at public buildings in the city centers were autonomously made open to lower the cost of public toilets.²²

20. Organizing Committee for the Seoul Olympic Games 1989, p.85.

21. Organizing Committee for the Seoul Olympic Games 1989, p.85.

22. In June 1982, the action to open toilets on the first floor of large buildings to the public was enforced (Kang Junman 2006).

For those plans to be smoothly enforced, the central government provided legal and institutional basis by legislating and amending articles related to the public toilets that had been scattered in diverse acts. Major acts that was legislated and amended were Filth Cleaning Act, Building Act and Petroleum Business Act: The Filth Cleaning Act included regulations on excrement disposal, public toilet installation and its internal structure; Building Act included public toilet installation in buildings and a more detailed internal structure; Petroleum Business Act had toilet openings by filling stations.

Meanwhile, the civic consciousness enhancement project unfolded by the central government at that time targeted both users and managers. On the user side, the Environment Administration developed a national drive to enhance the sense of public morality with civic groups like the YMCA, and emphasized clean toilet use with neighborhood meeting bulletins or clean toilet use stickers.²³

On the manager side, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs provided education for restaurants to manage toilets clean.²⁴

Let us review the past legislated and amended acts by subject. First, we review acts for the excrement disposal facilities in public toilets and internal facilities that enhanced acceptability and environment-friendliness. In the Filth Cleaning Act (Act No. 3554, completely amended on April 2nd, 1982), mayors and county governors shall install public toilets in the special cleaning area according to the order of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, also to maintain and manage them sanitarily (Article 10). Excrement disposal facilities installation shall be permitted by the Environment Administer (Article 14); in case a building over a certain size is built, sewage purifying facilities (Article 15) and an excrement disposal tank (Article 16) shall be mandatorily installed. The installation management standard was also prescribed by the order of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (Article 17); when the installation construction is completed, it shall pass completion inspection by the mayor or county governor (Article 18); fines less than KRW 500,000 shall be imposed against any violation (Article 38). By the amendment of Article 20 in Building Act, in case filth emerged from toilets and is not discharged into drainage within the processing area in a terminal disposal plant, sewage purifying facilities or excrement disposal tank shall be mandatorily installed for sanitation (Act No. 3558 dated April 3, 1983). Article 56 in Enforcement Decree Of Building Act (Enforced on August 7, 1982. Presidential Order No. 10882) prescribed that the structure of the above sewage

23. Organizing Committee for the Seoul Olympic Games 1989, p.85.

24. Organizing Committee for the Seoul Olympic Games 1989, p.242.

purifying facilities or excrement disposal tank shall abide by the Filth Cleaning Act. In particular, Enforcement Rules of Building Act was legislated (October 30th, 1982) in order to enhance public toilet acceptability that mandated windows in toilets for natural lighting and ventilation. Collection-type toilets began to be regulated in detail from installation locations to inside closets, material and insect-proof net installation (Article 27).²⁵

Accommodation enhancement was one of the subjects of the major legislations and amendments. In Article 55 in Enforcement Decree of Building Act (Enforced on August 7th, 1982. Presidential Order No. 10882), the separation of toilets for males and females was prescribed on floors having a total floor width for the pertinent use wider than 200m² in buildings of facilities for seniors and children, medical facilities, education and research facilities, sports facilities, business facilities, accommodation facilities, sales facilities, entertainment facilities, observation and meeting facilities, exhibition facilities, transportation facilities, tourism and leisure facilities and facilities of similar use (as for accommodation facilities, the width of rooms with exclusive toilets are excluded).

Article 12 in the Enforcement Rules of Filth Cleaning Act prescribed the installation standard for public toilets installed by mayors or county governors to enhance accessibility, availability, accommodation and acceptability. According to this article, public toilets 1. shall be installed at the location where the public use them conveniently and have markers easily distinguished 2. Entrances shall be separately installed for male and females 3. Toilet width shall be wider than 33m², and more than eight closets (3 for male and 5 for female) and more than five urinals shall be installed 4. The toilet structure shall fit into the toilet structure standard prescribed in the Enforcement Rules of Building Act 5. Movable toilets shall be a water-closet type and shall also have wash hand stands.

The government amended Enforcement Decree of Petroleum Business Act (August 19, 1983): Permission criteria for the petroleum business mandated the installation of more than one toilet open to the public so as to enhance public toilet availability and accessibility.

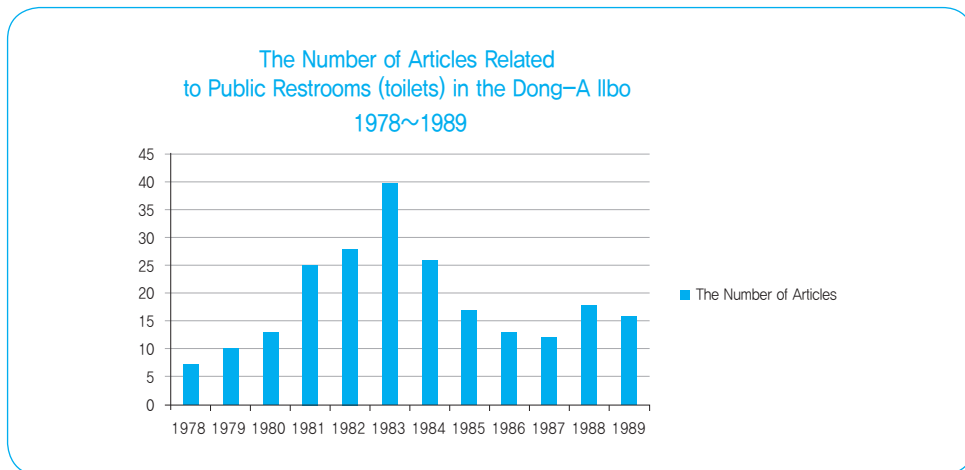
Based on such acts, the Environment Administration planned to change 1,137 public toilets out of 3,598 nationwide into water-closet types where water supply and drainage systems had been equipped and to newly construct 660 public toilets with a budget of KRW 1,400 million until 1985.²⁶

25. Enforcement Rules of Building Act, [Searched on September 25, 2014]; http://taxinfo.nts.go.kr/docs/customer/law/jomun_popup_history.jsp?law_id=006191&jomun_key=0027005&public_ilja=20120413&public_no=456.

26. "Environment Administration will impose fine against pollutive discharges by the excess from standard...starting next year", *The Dong-A Ilbo*, February 12, 1982, p.11.

The media distributed articles related to public toilets around 1983 when great amendments of acts were executed, which had an effect to publicize the amended acts.

Figure 3-4 | The Number of Articles Related to Public Restrooms (toilets) in the Dong-A Ilbo



Source: Naver News Search, compiled by the authors.

With the opening date of the Olympic Games approaching, the government conducted inspections on the execution of public toilet improvement plans. The Environment Administration had made cards for 6,301 public toilets nationwide from July 1987 to October 1988 and carried out general inspections by dispatching six traveling inspection teams, that is, one team per each branch of the Environment Administration.²⁷ Since 30% of all the public toilets were judged as still unclean,²⁸ toilets with insufficient management were inspected daily until improved.²⁹

Civic groups' activities at that time were not as prominent as those during the World Cup, but they did exist. The Environment Administration and women's organizations jointly launched campaigns to use public toilets with cleanliness and did a thorough cleaning of public toilets.³⁰

27. "August's Living Memo", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, July 30, 1988, p.12.

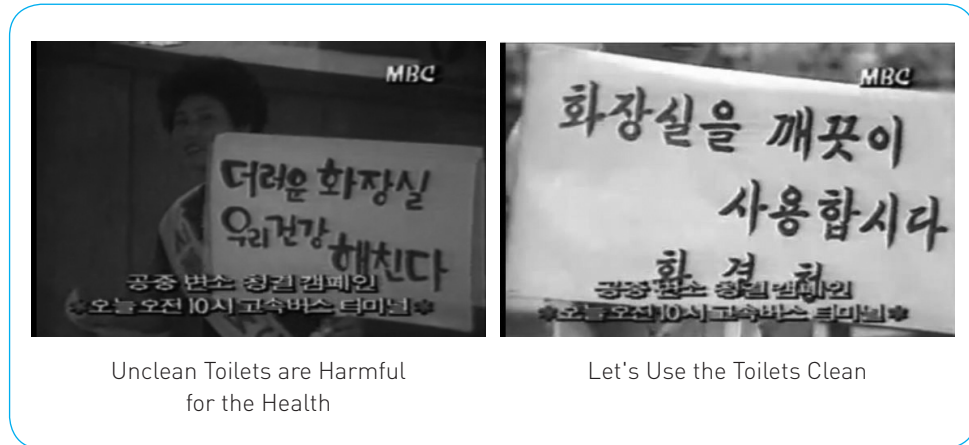
28. The Hankyoreh, July 27, 1988, p.8.

29. During the 1988 Olympic Games when tourist surged, 880 movable toilets were intensively arranged at major stadiums; volunteers like Saemaoul Women's Association and civil servants were fixed to inspect public toilet cleanliness [Organizing Committee for the Seoul Olympic Games 1989, p.85].

30. The Hankyoreh, July 27, 1988, p.8.

The Korean Anti-Communist League also cleaned public toilets, erased graffiti, distributed 100,000 related flyers on the main streets in Seoul, encouraging the public to clean the facilities and change their attitudes.³¹

Figure 3-5 | Korea Women’s Association’s Campaign to Use Toilets Clean before the Olympic Games



Source: MBC News.³²

3.2. Seoul City

Seoul City made a four-year plan to improve its public toilet management annually in January 1982, based on surveys of actual conditions of public toilets conducted in November and December in 1981.³³

The main contents of the plan, to install 150 more public toilets in crowded markets and poor districts, to maintain and improve traditional collection-type toilets, to install toilet bowls in facilities where many foreigners used, to open toilets in high-rise and large scale buildings to the public as pay toilets, to give administrative guidance to freely open toilets in filling stations to the public, with KRW 910 million of city expenses. Furthermore, the

31. "The Campaign for Successful Hosting of the Olympic Games", Mael Business Newspaper, August 24, 1988, p.14.

32. MBCNews, "Korea Women's Association's Food Safety Campaign in front of Hyundai Department Store [Yang Cheolhun]", [Newsdesk] (July 15, 1988 [Searched on September 10, 2014]); http://imnews.imbc.com/20dbnews/history/1988/1811742_13401.html.

33. "150 more public toilets will be installed", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, January 23, 1982.

city utilized the media to promote the necessity of appointing an exclusive manager to be in charge of maintaining toilets cleanliness, and that they should attend training twice a year, and insist on cleaning excrement disposal tanks more than once a year.³⁴

The city was to conduct two regular inspections a year for smooth execution.

Figure 3-6 | Seoul City's Plan to Improve Public Toilet Management Annually

연도별 공중변소관리 개선계획 (단위 : 개소)

개선 내용	82년				83년				84년				85년			
	市 場	公 園	公 衆	其 他	市 場	公 園	公 衆	其 他	市 場	公 園	公 衆	其 他	市 場	公 園	公 衆	其 他
(市立) 公衆便所 增設			50				35				35				30	
便所 水槽 式改 良	5				4	16	1	28	1	15	1	22	10	2	15	
改 良 K I S T	5				2	45	55	3	5	43	53	2		31	43	3
洋 便 器 設	47				52	9	10	1	10	149	7	9	7	135	4	7
周 邊 空 地 化	10	25	9	3	6	25	3	2	5	22	3		5	22	3	
老 朽 不 潔 便 所 補 修	2	6	1	24	99	62	62	3	51	58	54	24	41	45	18	

Source: "150 more public toilets will be installed", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, January 23, 1982.

34. "Public toilets in Seoul will be largely increased", Mael Business Newspaper, December 4th, 1981, p.11.

Table 3-2 | Seoul City's Experiment in Public Toilet Cost

It is thought that Seoul City had continuously experimented with the cost to use public toilets.

Seoul City was not reluctant to introduce public pay toilets in order to encourage clean use. In December 1981, it had planned to install pay toilets on main roads and in the city centers where management was to be entrusted to the general population. It also highly recommended pay toilets operated by general citizens to be installed.

On November 12th, 1982, Seoul City announced that 44 public toilets in nine city parks, which used to be free toilets, shall impose a fee of KRW 20 starting January 1st, 1983.³⁶

On the other hand, the city settled the free opening of 2,520 downtown toilets including parks, subways, sanitary facilities and filling stations in August 1983;³⁷

In the end, it focused more on enhancing accessibility and availability. It set diverse incentive systems such as setting the water rate of public toilets at KRW 170 per ton without a base rate and a graduated rate in 1984; this was to encourage filling stations and building owners to open toilets to public freely.³⁸

In 1983, the city decided to draft and provide a toilet location map for the tourism industry along with toilet opening, to enhance user availability.³⁹

In addition, there was a mandate to install public toilets in large-scale buildings (shopping centers, in apartment building areas, department stores, markets, bus terminals, etc., over 10-story and 10,000m² gross area), construction was to start in September 1983, with more than one toilet bowl for male and female, respectively.⁴⁰

In March 1986, Seoul City confirmed the public toilet construction plan and set plans to construct water-closet toilets and maintain existing toilets, particularly, newly constructed toilets that were to be equipped with one closet for male and female handicapped persons, and with one toilet bowl.⁴¹

35. "Public pay toilets will be installed more on main roads in city centers", Maeil Business Newspaper, December 5th, 1981, p.10.

36. "Public toilets in city parks will impose a fee starting next year", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, November 1st, 1982, p.10.

37. "2,000 or more toilets will be freely opened to public within September 20th", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, August 11th, 1983, p.6.

38. "Water rated of public toilets will be adjusted to KRW 170 per ton", The Chosun Ilbo, June 1st, 1984, p.10.

39. "2,000 or more toilets will be freely opened to public within September 20th", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, August 11th, 1983, p.6.

40. "Public toilet installation will be mandated to over 10-story buildings including department stores", The Dong-A Ilbo, August 24th, 1983, p.6.

41. "110 more public toilets will be installed", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, March 17th, 1986, p.10.

Figure 3-7 | Seoul City's Plan to Newly Construct Public Toilets in 1986

신설될 공중화장실

관할구	지	번	위	치
종로구	1	157의4	가	수립지
중구	1	676의5	계	수립지
영등포구	1	71의1	선	수립지
강서구	1	317의5	선	수립지
강동구	1	397	선	수립지
성동구	1	263	선	수립지
동대문구	1	540	선	수립지
도봉구	1	901	선	수립지
노원구	1	14	선	수립지
강북구	1	340의8	선	수립지
강남구	1	349	선	수립지
서초구	1	186의3	신	수립지
강남구	1	464의5	도	수립지
강남구	1	94의32	가	수립지
강남구	1	407의6	구	수립지
강남구	1	153의1	시	수립지
강남구	1	517의5	사	수립지
강남구	1	52	신	수립지
강남구	1	49	대	수립지
강남구	1	50의3	관	수립지

Source: "110 more public toilets will be installed", The Kyunghyang Shinmun, March 17th, 1986, p.10.

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience
Korean Public Toilet Improvement Experience
and its Implications

Chapter 4

Public Toilet Improvement from the late 1990s to the early 2000s

1. Background
2. Driving Strategy and Systems
3. Details and the Situations of the Drive

Public Toilet Improvement from the late 1990s to the early 2000s

1. Background

After the significant public toilet improvement from the opportunity provided by the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games, legal and institutional modifications were made throughout the early 1990s related to the standards of internal public toilet facilities and excrement disposal. In 1991, the government legislated The Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater by separating and complementing pertinent articles from existing acts, including Wastes Control Act, considering that sewage, excrement and livestock wastewater, unlike other ordinary wastes, directly influence water pollution and their emission sources are evenly scattered nationwide.^{42 43}

Also, through Enforcement Rules of The Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater [Enforced January 8th, 1996] [The order of the Ministry of Environment No.17, partly amended on January 8th, 1996], the government specified the

42. Korea Law Information Center, The Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater Reason for legislation and amendment, (Searched on August 18th, 2014); "<http://www.law.go.kr/lsRvsRsnListP.do?lsiSeqs=75623%2c70349%2c67677%2c67676%2c52042%2c453%2c62448%2c55812%2c56299%2c56300%2c62570%2c52038%2c56301&chrClsCd=010102>".

43. This act mandated the installation and operation of excrement disposal facilities in jurisdiction of each city and county, and expanded areas of sewage purifying facilities installation and excrement collection to the entire country. Moreover, through Enforcement Rules of The Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater legislated in September 1991, the government set the standard of water quality discharged from excrement disposal tanks and excrement disposal facilities and that of facility management, and set the standard of excrement collection, transportation and disposal [Korea Law Information Center].

standard of installation and management of internal public toilet facilities for the first time to promote availability and accommodation.⁴⁴

Rules for the standard of convenience facilities for the disabled were legislated and enforced: public toilets with more than five closets shall lower the threshold and install a ramp and an entrance for the disabled.⁴⁵

However, in June 1996, when confirmation of hosting the 2002 World Cup was fixed, public toilet expansion and cleanliness was still a major task of the Korean society. According to the sample survey from the Seoul Metropolitan Government administered in November 1995, 39.2% of the total 250 public toilets in Seoul were inadequately managed; it was difficult to find a toilet location (39 cases); sanitary conditions were bad (37 cases); stalls and urinals were damaged or had broken down (20 cases).⁴⁶

According to a poll by the Korean Consumer Protection Board (now Korea Consumer Agency) of 71 foreigners and 438 Koreans in 1999, 71.0% of foreign respondents said, “public toilets are not located in appropriate places where they can easily be used if needed”, 82% of them assessed that public toilets were dirty and felt that facilities for children, seniors and the disabled were lacking.⁴⁷

Some opinions such as, “The atmosphere of toilets is dark” and “Toilet bowls for westerners are insufficient” exceeded 50%. Up to 69.3% of the total respondents had experienced difficulty owing to the absence of toilet paper in public toilets; it was common that none of the public toilets in traditional markets were furnished with toilet paper. According to the Korea Consumer Protection Board’s survey of the actual conditions of 78 public toilets in five of the largest Korean cities at that time, 84.3% were assessed to have had unclean conditions, 53.2% were badly ventilated and needed to be deodorized, and

44. These enforcement rules fixed gross area, area for each closet partition, the number of stalls and urinals; mandated installation of water-closet style toilets; prescribed separate installation of entrances for male and female. It was also prescribed that a toilet manager shall be appointed and the inside and outside of toilets shall be sterilized more than three times per week from April to September and more than once from October to March next year, in order to deodorize and prevent mice and harmful insects like flies and mosquitos from generating and breeding [Korea Law Information Center, Enforcement Rules of The Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater [Enforced on January 8th, 1996] [The order of Ministry of Environment No. 17, January 8th, 1996, partly amended]. <http://www.law.go.kr/LSW/LsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=71577#AJAX>.

45. “Convenience facilities for the disabled will be mandated to public facilities including subways, general hospitals and hotels”, Maeil Business Newspaper, January 4th, 1995, p.39.

46. “40% of Seoul public toilets are in bad condition”, The Hankyoreh, November 3rd, 1995, p.21.

47. Korea Consumer Protection Board, “Foreigners experience inconvenience due to unclean public toilets”, Yonhap News Agency, May 18th, 1999. <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=101&oid=001&aid=0004515638>.

further, 45.3% had excrement left in the closets. The Korea Tourism Organization's survey of the actual conditions from citizens' travels was hardly any different.

Such survey results of the actual conditions could surely raise awareness from the government and citizens. In particular, during the time Korea and Japan co-hosted the World Cup, public opinions calling for public toilet improvement in Korea heightened due to the competition between the two countries.⁴⁸

Moreover, a social agreement was gradually achieved that Koreans should upgrade their national consciousness to become a developed country, now that appropriate economic progress had been made (The Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 43).

It was also an opportunity to improve public toilets in answer to the increased demand from citizens for public toilet facilities improvement, and also for the attitude of public toilet users to gradually change with the 1989 liberation of overseas travel, which exposed Koreans to the advanced foreign toilet culture. It cannot be ignored that the central government and local municipal government could allocate an aggrandized budget to the public toilet sector with the great influx of external capital expected from the large-scale international World Cup event, much like the 1988 Olympic Games. Robust local self-governing also provided the foundation for public toilet improvement. Local self-governing in Korea had grown since the local assembly system was revived in 1991 and local mayors were directly elected from 1995 on.⁴⁹

The role of local municipalities were vital since so many cities were holding matches during the World Cup; this was also critical for public toilet expansion and management. As the standard of public toilets were different in each city, the advantage was that local municipalities could take customized approaches from toilet management to user campaigns.

Private sectors like the civic society played an important role in the toilet improvement drive at that time. Korean civic society had been building since the 1987 democratization, when freedom of speech, assembly and association were gradually increasing; the growth matured under active support from the Kim Youngsam administration and the Kim Daejung administration in the 1990s. From the late 1990s to the early 2000s, the civic society was broadening its activity in respective regions to public service production and international

48. "What time is it now in Korea", *The Dong-A Ilbo*, December 16th, 1999, p.6.

49. Korean Association for Public Administration, 2008, p.37

cooperation from political and economic systems where it had exerted significant influences.⁵⁰

Therefore, it was a natural process, with the appearance of civic groups, where the main agenda was public toilet advancement with cooperation with the government.

On the other hand, the lack of community spirit and basic order was still a major problem in Korean society (The Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 41). According to the Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council's survey of consciousness in August 2000, 39.9% of those surveyed had pointed out the lack of a sense of public morality on the part of users (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 466).

In addition, toilets were still considered part of the dark side of Korean society, so policy-makers were hostile to officially discuss toilet problems (Interview with Park Yeonsu, Former Administrator of the National Emergency Management Agency, October 16th, 2014). The prevalent view was that the trial of the “Beautiful Toilet”, where aggressive efforts to change the perception of public facilities in a positive manner, was perceived to be a waste of budget. As toilet construction costs soared to KRW 10 million from KRW 800,000 per 3.3m², those who had to newly construct toilets bore more burden, which was subjected to criticism.⁵¹

50. Park Sangpil, 2012, p.165.

51. Interview with Park Yeonsu, Former Administrator of National Emergency Management Agency (October 16th, 2014).

Table 4-1 | SWOT Analysis of Public Toilet Improvement from the late 1990s to the early 2000s

S (Strength)	W (Weakness)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activated Local self-governing • Active participation of the civic society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lacking civic spirit of community spirit and basic order • Hostility to officially discuss toilet problems
O (Opportunity)	T (Threat)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capital influx due to the hosting a large-scale international event • Pan-national awareness of public toilets raised with Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in 2000, 2001 Visit Korea Year, and the 2002 World Cup (In Particular, the competition against Japan, the co-hosting country of the 2002 World Cup) • The need to improve civic consciousness in order to become a developed country • The increasing demand of toilet improvement from the awareness of advanced toilet facilities in developed countries since the liberation of overseas travels • Pan-national awareness of public toilets raised • Gradually increasing preference for water-closet type toilets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical viewpoint of “Beautiful Toilets”

2. Driving Strategy and Systems

After 31st May 1996, the joint hosting of the World Cup by Korea and Japan was fixed. Public toilet improvement had emerged again as a priority in Korean society. The prominent features that were different from the preparation period for the 1988 Olympic Games were: firstly, authority of local municipalities and the civic society that played decisive roles became almost equal to that of the central government; secondly, the policies focused on changing users’ attitude as well as toilet facilities, emphasizing the toilet “culture” such as in the “Beautiful Toilet” campaign.

The first thing on the agenda was surveys of the actual conditions of public toilets that were conducted by the central government, local municipalities and private organizations; then they made plans and allocated a budget based on the surveys.

As awareness began to build there was a sense of pride within the civic spirit of the community and basic organization to successfully host the 2002 World cup had increased, the promotion of a pan-national drive to reform national consciousness was proposed in the Cabinet Council for the first time on June 4th, 1996 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011:41). Subsequently, the basic plan to establish the Cultural Citizen Drive Promoting Council was confirmed resulting from inter-departmental consultations on March 27th, 1997; On June 21, 1997, “The 2002 World Cup Soccer Games Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council” was officially launched as a cooperation aggregate in jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Sports.

The Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council stressed kindness, order and cleanliness as the three main virtues, and selected toilet improvement as the main driving force in regard to the drive of cleanliness; each government department could cooperate to improve public toilets based on that drive. The 2002 World Cup Soccer Games Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council (hereinafter referred to as Cultural Citizen Council) was basically under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Culture and Sports, but the Ministry of Home Affairs (established as the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs since March 1998) played a leading role in organizing the Cultural Citizen Council, defining its basic ideology and the direction of its drive since Yang Jokseok, the then Vice Minister of Ministry of Home Affairs, was appointed as ex officio director, and Kim Deokyeong, ex-official of the Ministry of Home Affairs was dispatched as its first secretary-general (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011:46).

Local municipalities also competitively set objectives and plans in preparation for the World Cup and made great efforts to secure the budget. They closely cooperated with the local branches of the Cultural Citizen Council; thus, the Cultural Citizen Council provided the common platform on which the central government, local municipalities and private sectors could cooperate.

Although the central government and local municipalities could vastly improve accessibility, along with accommodation and affordability by increasing supply through public toilet construction, the limit was apparently revealed in terms of acceptability. This was because the sanitary management of clean public toilets required the balance of three elements: facilities, managers and users. For example: toilet deodorization needs facilities

to block the inflow of bad odor from drainpipes connecting stalls with an excrement disposal tank; then, regular management including cleaning and emptying trash cans should also be made available; and lastly, toilet cleanliness can be maintained through responsible use of users. If there is a disruption in any of these three elements, bad smell in toilets cannot be avoided. Meanwhile, conscientiousness reform drives focusing on general users did exist in the past, but the effects were insignificant. The rampant fixed idea was that dirty public toilets were unavoidable and that careless use was to be expected since they are dirty places. The Cultural Citizen Council changed the focus to providers from users to break out of the vicious circle. There were several advantages to focus primarily on providers and not on the users. Most of all, the subject of change shifted from an unspecified public to a specific group. Rather than targeting the whole of 40 million Korean citizens, only 680 people in charge of public toilets became the subjects. This also cleared the way to achieve the objective of supporting and managing public toilets. Secondly, it became possible to provide concrete educational programs for public toilet managers.

As the target for persuasion was made clear, education changed into being knowledge-based, as in how to clean toilets from a simple guidance of consciousness reform, and thus enabled toilet managers to make and execute plans more easily. Thirdly, the competition among managing subjects encouraged efficient use of the limited budget. Another major strategy of the Cultural Citizen Council was the trial for a radical departure from the previous dirty toilets. This means pursuing “beautiful” toilets, going beyond just “clean” toilets. It would be possible to create a whole new culture of using if users were introduced to toilets in a totally different way from previous ones. Jeong Seungryeol, CEO of the Korea Expressway Corporation, mentioned three changes that he had pursued to improve the culture of using toilets in the expressway rest areas. During an interview. He said, “Toilets are filled with fragrance, semi-classical music, poems and pictures.”⁵²

By giving a whole new experience to users’ senses, to their noses, ears and eyes the moment they enter, it was possible to evoke a different user attitude from the past. As we can see in the example above, the “beautiful toilet” drive was promoted to target providers as the subject of change and attempted a shocking departure from the past.

It was of course impossible to maintain toilet cleanliness without reforming the attitude of the users. In addition, the cooperation from privately owned toilets was desperately needed to expand the number of open toilets. In terms of such aspects, the participation and

52. Interview with Jeong Seungryeol, the present Honorary President of the Korea Toilet Association (August 14th, 2014).

cooperation of the civic society, such as the Citizen's Coalition for Restrooms, was essential to the progress of the toilet culture.

3. Details and the Situations of the Drive

3.1. The Central Government

3.1.1. Preparation period for the 2002 World Cup

The central government's activities in this period can be largely divided into three parts. The first was surveying the actual conditions of public toilets in preparation for the 2002 World Cup, making plans and securing a budget; the second was providing a legal institutional basis; the third was establishing the Cultural Citizen Council, the platform on which the central government, local municipalities and private sectors could cooperate.

Public toilet improvement activities from 1996 to 2002 were developed within the large time frame for the preparation of the 2002 World Cup. The government built systematic governmental support through administrative rules from the "Governmental support regulations for the 2002 FIFA World Cup and also the 14th Asian Games in Busan." Based on those administrative rules, a ministerial meeting was organized to deliberate and coordinate major policies supporting the two events (Article 2); the chairperson of that ministerial meeting shall be the Prime Minister and vice chairpersons shall be the Minister of Government Administration and Home Affairs and also the Minister of Culture and Tourism.⁵³ A Working-level meeting was organized to proceed what had been deliberated and resolved at a working-level consultation between the related departments and the ministerial meeting (Article 6) The chairperson of this meeting was to be the Vice Minister of Culture and Tourism. To coordinate different opinions between departments, inspection and assessment of the governmental support. A governmental support coordination team was organized in the Office for Government Policy Coordination (Article 7), a support

53. The members of the ministerial meeting shall include 1. Minister of Ministry of Strategy and Finance 2. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade 3. Minister of Justice 4. Minister of National Defense 5. Minister of Commerce, Industry and Energy 6. Minister of Information and Communication 7. Minister of Health and Welfare 8. Minister of Environment 9. Minister of Construction and Transportation 10. Director of National Intelligence Service 11. Minister of Planning and Budget 12. Minister of the Office for Government Policy Coordination 13. Director of Government Information Agency 14. Chief Secretary in charge of education and culture in the Presidential Secretariat 15. Chairperson of the Organizing Committee for the 2002 FIFA World Cup 16. Chairperson of the Organizing Committee for the 14th Busan Asian Games 17. Mayors and province governors of regions hosting the World Cup and the Asian Games 18. The head of other institutions recognized as necessary by the chairperson of the ministerial meeting.

promotion team in each government department (Article 9), and a promotion bureau in each host city.

Public toilet policies were made within the above frame in full. Particularly, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, Ministry of Environment and the local municipalities were directly related to public toilets, so they cooperated all the more closely to unfold public toilet improvement policies. Each of them surveyed the actual conditions of public toilets, made plans and secured a budget, respectively.

In August 1998, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was to improve public toilets in 64 major Korean tourist attractions with the budget of KRW 1 billion including municipal expenses until the year 2001, which was in order to attract foreign tourists.⁵⁴ The Ministry of the Government Administration and Home Affairs secured a budget through government subsidies and a special subsidy tax; then provided it to local branches of the Cultural Citizen Council via local municipalities with the guidance of an expected budget execution (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011:52, 113). The Ministry of Environment allocated a budget to 10 host cities of the World Cup after reviewing their proposal for environmental improvement projects; most of the proposals included public toilet improvement.

54. "Toilets in major tourist attractions will be improved", Mael Business Newspaper, August 4th, 1998, p.31.

Table 4-2 | Guidance of Promoting the World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Projects

Guidance of Promoting the World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Projects
(including public toilet improvement)

- Basic policies
 - To establish the project promotion system including public toilet improvement
 - To appoint the department and person in charge of promoting the projects
 - To establish a clear transfer system in subsidizing local branches of the World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Council
 - To make business plans consistent with the actual local conditions
 - To choose a toilet which creates a great ripple effect and promote it as a pilot project
 - To thoroughly execute and balance business expenses
 - To prohibit the use of business expenses for purposes other than those specified and to thoroughly calculate business expense
 - To actively encourage local municipalities to pay through their own municipal expense
 - Projects for allocating business expense by local subsidy tax(special)
 - Allocated amount : KRW 100 million (KRW 10 million per each host city)
 - Cities and provinces for allocation: Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Incheon, Gwangju, Daejeon, Ulsan, Suwon (Gyeonggi), Jeonju (Jeonbuk), Seogwipo (Jeju)
 - Project for execution: Public toilet level-up project including toilet improvement
 - Submitting reports on final accounts (completion), etc.
 - Major contents included
 - Project location
 - Project composition (grant, municipal expense, self-borne expense, etc.)
 - Project promotion schedule
 - Project Contents
 - Project effect
 - Deadline for submission: immediately after project completion
- ※ Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs is going to confirm and inspect the process and results of the project promotion.

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security, Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council. 2011.

The government provided a legal and institutional foundation by amending scattered acts related to public toilets and legislating necessary fresh acts. First, it fortified regulations on internal and external toilet facilities with gradual amendments of the Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater, Enforcement Decree and Enforcement Rules of The Act. In The Enforcement Rules of The Act on The Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater, the gross area shall be over 33m², and with more than 11 closets (three for male and eight for female) and five urinals shall be installed in public toilets, limited to newly constructed ones. Accommodation of the public toilets was enhanced by setting the standard of closet partitions and mandating water-closet type

closets and urinals [Enforcement Date September 18th, 1997] [The order of the Ministry of Environment No. 30, September 18th, 1997, entirely amended].

Furthermore, in the Enforcement Decree of The Act on Promoting and Securing Accommodation for Disabled Person, Elderly and Pregnant Woman [Enforcement Date April 11th, 1998] [Presidential order No. 15675, legislated on February 24th, 1998], the installation of toilets for the disabled shall be one of the conditions for permission to newly construct a public building over a certain standard, and actions taken to enhance accessibility of the toilet shall be followed such as lowering the entrance threshold.⁵⁵

Public Health Control Act was legislated to improve acceptability and the environment-friendliness of public toilets Date August 9th, 1999] [Act No. 5839, legislated on February 8th, 1999]. In particular, the indoor air of public facilities (including public toilets) should satisfy the health control standard, and any pollutant that may harm the health of facility users must not be generated (Article 5).

Along with providing such legal foundation, the central government also introduced various policies. On the 15th March, 1997, the Ministry of Internal Affairs announced the real-name public toilet system where senior officials would patrol and manage 23,000 public toilets nationwide for clean maintenance through the <Drive to Clean Our National Land> for cleaning wastes, maintaining facilities and establishing basic order. Apart from that, newly permitted filling stations shall open its toilets for 24 hours a day and this will be made compulsory.⁵⁶

3.1.2. After the 2002 World Cup

Powered by the active support for its legislation from the civic society and local municipality (Suwon City), Public Toilets, etc., Act was legislated in January 2004 [Enforcement Date July 30th, 2004] [Act No. 7129, legislated on January 29th, 2004]. This act is a comprehensive development of scattered articles in relation to public toilets, and represents the one and only act on public toilets in the world.

To drastically improve users' availability and accessibility, this act had enabled the head of central administrative agencies or local municipalities to install or place an order to install public toilets in parks, tourist attractions and passenger terminal facilities (Article

55. "Convenience of facilities for the disabled shall be mandated to public buildings", The Chosun Ilbo, October 27th, 1997, [Searched on September 13th, 2014]; http://news.chosun.com/svc/content_view/content_view.html?contid=1997102770247.

56. "A real-name system of officials in charge of public toilets will be executed", The Chosun Ilbo, March 15th, 1997.

6), and authorized that the head of public institutions shall offer toilets in the facilities for public use. It enabled the mayor, county governor or district governor to appoint toilets to be installed in corporations or privately-owned facilities over a certain size and to be used as open toilets through consultations with the facility owners⁵⁷ (Article 9). It enabled the government and local municipalities to subsidize part of the installation and management costs for those who had installed and managed public toilets within their budget (Article 16).

Article 7 in the above act had enhanced accommodation of the public toilets: the number of closets in female toilets shall exceed the total number of closets and urinals in male toilets in the case of recognizable demand, the mayor, county governor and district governor shall also install closets for the disabled, the elderly and pregnant woman, and shall authorize the installation of flower beds, rest facilities, sales facilities, etc. In addition, it will also include articles related to acceptability such as having an obligatorily appointed manager that will manage a public toilet (Article 8). The Mayor, county governor and district governor will conduct regular inspections once a year and non-periodic inspections to check whether public toilets are being maintained and managed in accordance with the standards in any case of violation, they shall take the necessary actions including the order to improve, close or remove the facilities completely (Article 12 and 13).

Furthermore, corporations or individuals intending to install and operate pay toilets would need to register through the mayor, county governor or district governor in order to lower the cost for public toilet users'. They would also need to attach a sign indicating pay toilets at the location where the public may know within 15 days (Article 11).

Since the legislation of this act, the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs had taken the responsibility of public toilets; it secured a budget to execute the act, and began to support new constructions and renovations of public toilets for local municipalities through the beautiful toilet creation business expense (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2012: 275).

57. As public toilet facilities became highly qualified and urban real estate price had risen, construction costs per toilet unit also increased. So a movement emerged to open private toilets rather than increase the number of public toilets.

3.2. Suwon City

In June 1996 when the hosting of the Korea-Japan World Cup was fixed, Suwon City was not originally included in the World Cup as one of the host cities designated by the FIFA. Sim Jaedeok, the mayor of Suwon City at that time, had planned to improve public toilets in Suwon City as one of the ways to invite and successfully host the World Cup, and commenced a public toilet improvement drive and toilet culture projects (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 37). However, he had difficulties persuading the city councilors at first (The 2002 World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2000: 100).

Suwon City began to make a 788-toilet maintenance plan in March 1997 including public toilets and toilets in general businesses. The plan's directions to improve public toilets were in harmony with circumjacent natural landscapes, with sterilization effects using natural lighting, convenience for the disabled and elderly, multi-use convenience facilities with flowers, pictures and music, as well as cleanliness (Kim Gyowon 2004: 5). Suwon City in particular converted its toilets into a tour package by fostering each toilet's individuality: it held toilet-naming contests to attach unique titles on each toilet, and selected music for toilets with distinctive individualities and themes.⁵⁸

Since 1997, Suwon City has repaired 805 public toilets (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 47); it started to newly construct six public toilets with a budget of KRW 100 million at major historic sites in Hwaseong Fortress, that is, Janganmun, Jangan Park, Paldalmun, Yeonmudae and Gwanggyo Reservoir in 1997⁵⁹ Beginning with those six toilets, 38 public toilets were built until 2003 with a total investment of KRW 310 million.⁶⁰ In addition to this, citizens were invited to autonomously open their toilets by civil servants' visiting and encouraging citizens to enter crowded facilities like filling stations with the incentives of consumables supply.

Since 1997, one or two public laborers were regularly dispatched to each public toilet for cleaning and maintaining; cleaning and maintenance manuals and toilet checklists were provided every week and toilets were inspected by the appointed manager (Kim Gyowon

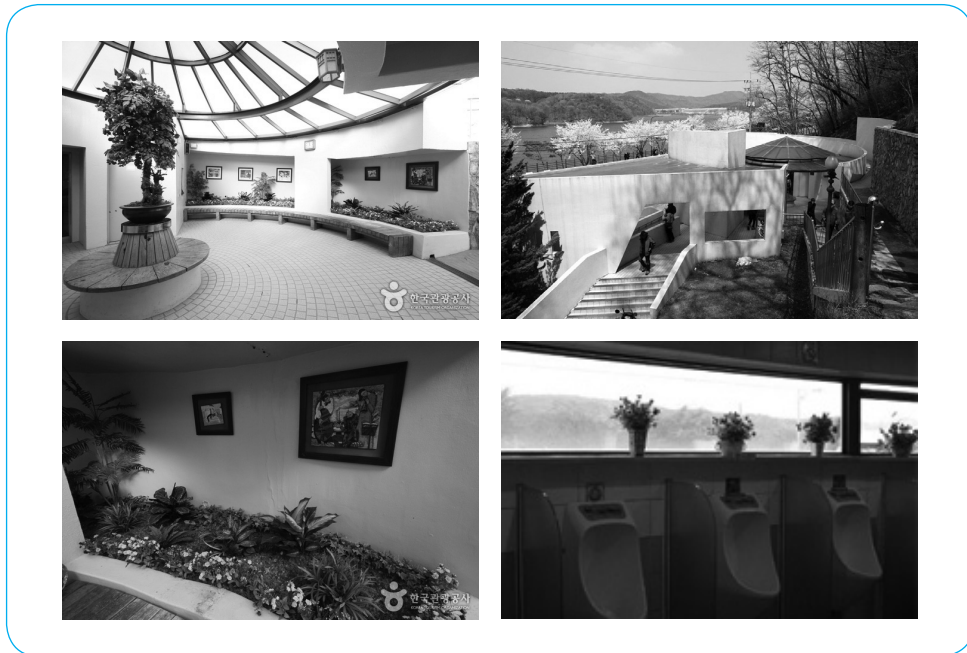
58. From November 1999 onwards, Suwon City operated a beautiful toilet tour along with sightseeing of Hwaseong Fortress [Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council, 2011, p.102].

59. "Suwon City makes its toilets clean and beautiful", The Hankyoreh, August 21st, 1999.

60. Presentation of illustrative examples of Suwon City's public toilet management, Kim Gyowon, 2004, p.5. <http://opengov.seoul.go.kr/sites/default/files/public/%EC%88%98%EC%9B%90%EC%8B%9C%ED%99%94%EC%9E%A5%EC%8B%A4%EC%9C%A0%EC%A7%80%EA%B4%80%EB%A6%AC%EC%A0%95%EC%B1%85%EC%82%AC%EB%A1%80.pdf>.

2004: 8). “One civil servant would be appointed to be in charge of one toilet,” and “senior officials shall patrol and supervise public toilets under his or her authority “(Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: a 193). In 1999, a questionnaire on customer satisfaction and a toilet census were made (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 104).

Figure 4-1 | The inside and outside of Banditburi Toilet in Gwanggyo Recreation Area

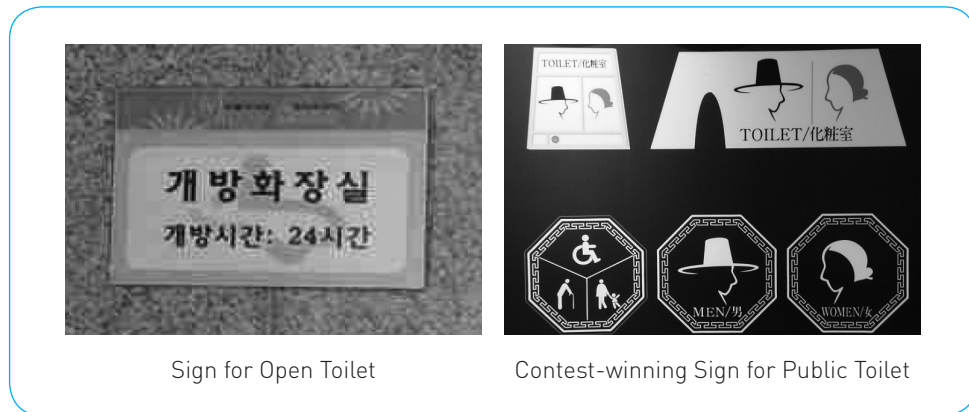


Source: Imagine Your Korea Homepage. Korea Tourism Organization <http://korean.visitkorea.or.kr/kor/inut/where/where_main_search.jsp?cid=264397&out_service=Y>.

In April 1997, Suwon City held the Best Toilet Contest, which was possibly the first contest for excellent Korean toilets; it conferred appreciation plaques on the winning toilets and provided them with consumables like liquid soap, air fresheners and toilet paper. For seven years from 1997 to 2004, 59 Best Toilet Contests were held and 103 toilets among 484 businesses were selected as the best toilet (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011:49). Moreover, it had proposed the direction of the toilet culture by holding the symposium of “Creating Beautiful Toilets” in July 1997 and February 1999, on the topic of establishing the desirable toilet culture and

finding alternatives, by inviting experts of diverse fields.⁶¹ Those were the first Korean symposia related to toilets. In 1998, it held a contest for public toilet signs and had awarded the winners.

Figure 4-2 | Types of Signs for Public Toilets



Source: Kim Gyowon, 2004, p.14.

In the year 2000, an art exhibition was held at “Banditburi Toilet” on the entrance of Mt. Gwanggyo, which was the grand prize winner of the first Beautiful Toilet Contest, and at the “Public Toilet in Jangan Park”. They displayed the works of 40 or more leading painters in Suwon. To promote changes in user consciousness, the first contest was meant to establish the advanced toilet culture. It was held for students of Suwon elementary, middle and high schools and had awarded excellent works of slogans, posters, scribbles, humorous stories and cartoons (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011:154).

In 1999, for the first time in Korea, Suwon City had created a new team in charge of improving the toilet culture within the Cleaning Administration Division. It was known as one of the city’s organizations that gathered toilet-related businesses scattered over various divisions into one team, and then started a systemic project to improve toilets.⁶² That team assisted in the operation of the Korea Toilet Association that was launched in August 1999

61. Imagine Your Korea, Banditburi Toilet, Suwon-si, Gyeonggi-do, [Searched on July 31st, 2014]; http://korean.visitkorea.or.kr/kor/inut/where/where_main_search.jsp?cid=264397&out_service=Y.

62. “Suwon City makes its toilets clean and beautiful”, The Hankyoreh, August 21st, 1999.

with the participation of the Korea Tourism Organization and the entire local municipalities in Korea; thus, Suwon City was reborn as the true center of toilet improvement in Korea.

During the initial period, Suwon City bore the cost for new toilet construction, but eventually more and more enterprises showed their intention of donation (The 2002 FIFA World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2000: 101).

Such robust toilet improvement activities had surely attracted the interest and support from the central government. As we reviewed the trend of the budget that the Cultural Citizen Council allocated to each local branch, 17.09% of the total budget was allocated to Suwon, which was higher than the 13.38% allocated to Seoul.

Table 4-3 | Present Conditions of Budget Support to Local Branches by the Cultural Citizen Council

(Unit: thousand Won)

Local Branches	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	Total	Weight (%)
Seoul	40,000	513,210	1,170,800	136,000	100,000	1,960,010	13.38
Busan	40,000	435,000	276,000	126,000	100,000	977,000	6.67
Daegu	40,000	458,000	359,000	136,000	100,000	1,093,000	7.46
Incheon	40,000	332,963	309,000	126,100	110,000	918,063	6.27
Gwangju	40,000	817,000	509,000	126,000	110,000	1,602,000	10.94
Daejeon	40,000	400,000	467,000	126,000	110,000	1,143,000	7.80
Ulsan	40,000	552,838	500,300	136,000	100,000	1,329,138	9.07
Suwon	40,000	650,000	1,576,800	136,000	100,000	2,502,800	17.09
Jeonju	40,000	550,000	540,564	126,000	110,000	1,366,564	9.33
Seogwipo	40,000	592,835	887,000	126,000	110,000	1,755,835	11.99
Total	400,000	5,301,846	6,595,475	1,300,100	1,050,000	14,647,421	100

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security, Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council. 2012. Material rearranged.

3.3. Private Sectors

3.3.1. The Process of the Establishment of Private Organizations for Public Toilet Culture Improvement

With the 2002 World Cup approaching, the recognition of the necessity to reform users' awareness and cooperation was made separately but simultaneously within the government and the civic society. Therefore, the 2002 FIFA World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council (hereinafter referred to as the Cultural Citizen Council) was jointly launched by the government and private sectors, Korea Toilet Association was launched as a private organization under the governmental support, and the Citizen's Coalition for Restroom (hereinafter referred to as the Coalition) began to be formed as a genuine private organization.

It started from the Cultural Citizen Council established in 1997. The Cultural Citizen Council highlighted kindness, order and cleanliness as three major priorities and had intended to develop a civic drive for the successful hosting of the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup. At the time of its launch, 55 organizations including The Korean National Mother's Association, The Christian Council of Korea, the Korea Foodservice Industry Association and 2,435 individual members had participated with local branches in 10 host cities of the World Cup. However, the government had actively intervened in its establishment, operating subjects and agenda. The proposal of its establishment was made in one of the 1996 Cabinet councils where the hosting of the Korea-Japan World Cup was prepared, as a part of the pan-national consciousness reform drive to enhance national consciousness and sense of public order. Government ministers participated in its organizing committee and vice ministers were appointed as ex officio directors. Lee Yeongdeok, a former prime minister was selected as the first chairperson of the organization, and many government officials were dispatched to occupy its major position including the secretary-general. As for the budget, it was supported by national subsidy and special grants, and its local branches were supported by local municipalities. Up until the 2002 World Cup, its member organizations had increased from up to 100 or more; many people of social reputation participated as board members, presidents and secretary-generals of local branches. To sum it up, the Cultural Citizen Council was actually a joint organization made up of public and private personnel which was led by the government, even though it was assumed the form of a private organization.

The Cultural Citizen Council had composed and operated the toilet culture forum to improve toilet culture. It invited experts of various fields, eminent people in the society

and the representatives of civic groups to its culture forum as consultants on finding toilet culture improvement measures. In particular, it sought the participation from experts of the building facility design culture to be the brains behind the proposal and execution of beautiful toilet drive.

Table 4-4 | The List of the Members of the Toilet Culture Forum

Name	Occupation
Kim Chungang	President of Korean National Mother's Association
Toda Ikuko	Writer (Japanese)
Park Seungjun	Head of the Global Etiquette Team, The Chosun Ilbo
Park Yeonsu	Director of Operation, The World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council
Lee Gwanghee	Head of Tourism Research Division, Korea Tourism Research Institute
Lee Seonyeong	Broadcaster
Lee Hanwoo	President, Seobu Industrial
Jang Limjong	Professor, Department of Architectural Engineering, Yonsei University
Jeon Yeongsang	Professor, Department of Metallurgy and Materials Engineering, Daerim University College
Ha Dongcheol	Professor, College of Fine Arts, Seoul National University

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security, Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council.

Private organizations for the toilet improvement drive had been continuously established. The Korea Tourism Organization and Suwon City, which had already been promoting the toilet culture drive for several years, launched an aggregate corporation in August 1999, which was named the Korea Toilet Culture Council (Renamed as Korea Toilet Association in 2003). The Korea Toilet Association started its activities directly after the establishment: it participated in the representative gathering of the World Toilet Association (October 1999, Singapore) in its first year. It also developed a pan-national drive to enhance the sustainability and efficiency of the toilet culture drive, and was actively involved in international activities throughout the World Toilet Association as well as in domestic activities. Sim Jaedeok, the former mayor of Suwon City, played a vital role in the establishment of the Korea Toilet Association and its initial activities. He consecutively held the positions of the first, second and third president. The office of the association was also located in Suwon City. He considered the toilet culture development as his lifelong task when he was elected as a member of the National Assembly further down the line.

In December 1999, the Citizen's Coalition for Restrooms, a genuinely private organization, was founded. At the board meeting of the Green Consumer Network in Korea, a civic group, a drive to establish toilet culture had been proposed as the agenda, which made way to prepare for the establishment of the Coalition. It had a significant meaning since it was a legitimate private organization founded by willing volunteers from its organizers to assistant administrators. Pyo Hyeryeong, the first secretary-general, who played a leading role in its foundation, had a career as a civic activist for many years in the YMCA, also the Green Consumer Network in Korea and so on. However, it underwent such financial difficulties in its initial period, as it rented parts of the Seoul branch office of the Cultural Citizen Council for its businesses. In July 1999, before its foundation, the Coalition conducted a survey of the actual conditions of toilets near bus stops, which was based on monitor education in cooperation with the Green Consumer Network in Korea, and held a related debate forum in August. It developed positive activities such as distributing the discontent over toilets to the press based on those results. Since then, the Coalition have expanded so fast that up to 600 members including the members of civic groups, housewives, professors, civil servants and corporate employees had joined, only three years after its foundation.

3.3.2. Pursuit of Provider-side Changes and Beautiful Toilet

The Cultural Citizen Council promoted a cleanliness drive during its initial period in the pursuit of creating a clean urban environment, and 'to use toilets clean' was one of the drives for cleanliness. Categorically, 1) it composed a committee with major participation from private organizations for consistent promotion, 2) made promotions primarily on public toilets in stations, terminals, parks, etc., 3) repaired and maintained cleanliness of the facilities, and intensified publicity and guidance for users. However, drives to enlighten the users as a whole had only a slight impact although they had been consistently promoted in the past.

The direction of the drives began to change as Park Yeonsu was appointed as the second director of the operation in 1999. He said, "What we have done to change toilet culture is the drive to use toilets clean, an effort thought to change the users. However, it meant the success in changing the consciousness and attitude of more than 40 million users. That was an impossible objective." He suggested a paradigm shift focusing on providers prior to the users.

The focus that shifted on providers had a primary advantage that clarified the subjects of the drive. At that time, there were 23,458 public toilets nationwide. Those related to the management of them were those who were in charge of toilets in 250 local municipalities, those in related institutions like the Korea Expressway Corporation and the Korean National

Park Service, and pertinent experts; the number was 680 people in total. “It is possible to persuade and educate 680 people, not 40 million,” asserted Park Yeonsu, director of the operation.

As the subjects were clarified, educational programs were also developed for them. The Cultural Citizen Council conducted the education of those who were in charge of public toilet management within the nation. During the first education, a one night and two days itinerary in August 2000, 200 or more people in charge of toilet management were given a lecture by an expert in toilet layout, design and material, and had toured four excellent toilets that had been awarded the “Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize.”

The real-name system of public toilet managers was also promoted. The Cultural Citizen Council designated public toilets where the real-name system had been applied by consulting local municipalities with its local branches, and having clarification of the person in charge in the pertinent toilets to facilitate responsibility and better management.

Education was also developed for toilet managers (cleaners) who directly managed toilets. The Coalition had made substantial efforts to standardize toilet management since the year 2000, by educating toilet managers in local municipalities, educational institutions and other public institutions. According to the educational manual for public toilet managers, the clean maintenance and management of public toilets needs “daily cleaning” as they get dirty by everyday use, “regular cleaning” of areas that become unclean through time, and “special management” of parts that cannot be cleaned by daily or regular cleaning, which is aided by external experts. The Coalition made cleaning manuals for each process, introducing the toilet maintenance real-name system to inspect the process, made toilet checklists and facility management lists, then placed them in public toilets. Such education for toilet managers was conducted as much as 14 times in the year of 2002 alone.

Furthermore, the shift to providers had brought about a friendly competition among the providing subjects. The competition was promoted through prizes like the “Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize,” which was jointly sponsored by the Chosun Ilbo, a leading press company and the Cultural Citizen Council. The Toilet Culture Forum had judged at the prize giving. The grand prize winning institution could publicize itself through the press, broadcasting and media, including the Chosun Ilbo, as well as receiving the governmental prize and prize money. In case the winner was a local municipality, it could also receive additional budget support from the central government such as special grants. That invoked competition among the heads of the institutions to create and manage a more excellent standard of toilets, which was the catalyst for the fast spread of the beautiful toilet drive.

There was a prize structure for toilet managers (cleaners), too. Beautifully constructed toilets essentially needed consistent maintenance, and toilet managers played a vital role in maintenance. The Coalition cited excellent Korean toilet managers. In December 2002, the first anniversary of the Coalition’s foundation occurred, and 220 excellent toilet managers were selected for the first time, cited and awarded additional prizes. Until 2010, 2,794 in total were cited as excellent toilet managers. Mr. Choi Samseop, cited by the Minister of Public Administration and Security as the Ultimate Toilet Manager, had said, “Never did I dream that I would win such a great prize for cleaning toilets. Toilets will get dirty no matter how clean one prepares it. But I have done my best thinking that users could enjoy a more pleasant experience in toilets if I did that little bit more.”⁶³ To all toilet managers who had been cleaning toilets, whose difficult, hard work usually went unrecognized, the citation was a great motivation.

The focus on providers built the requisite to enhance the acceptability of toilets. However, it was insufficient to invoke the users’ consciousness reform. It possibly needed a shocking severance from the past to reform user’s consciousness. So the concept of “beautiful toilet” appeared. Park Yeonsu, director of operation in the Cultural Citizen Council, said, “It has no persuasion power to use dirty and inconvenient toilets cleanly,” and asserted that the changes in users’ consciousness and attitude could be possible only if “The toilet should be so beautiful that one cannot even spit on the floor. A clean toilet is not enough.”⁶⁴ According to him, a beautiful toilet should have the natural sunlight, plants growing there and the inside and outside of the toilet should be changed so that one can see the outside landscape from there. Toilets that used to be on the corner of the building should be disposed on the center; they were changed into a cultural space from a lavatory. First, the toilets in large crowded facilities like department stores were changed into beautiful toilets, then those in general businesses. And, like his assertion, the consciousness and attitude of users also began to change who met “beautiful toilets.”

3.3.3. Beautiful Users

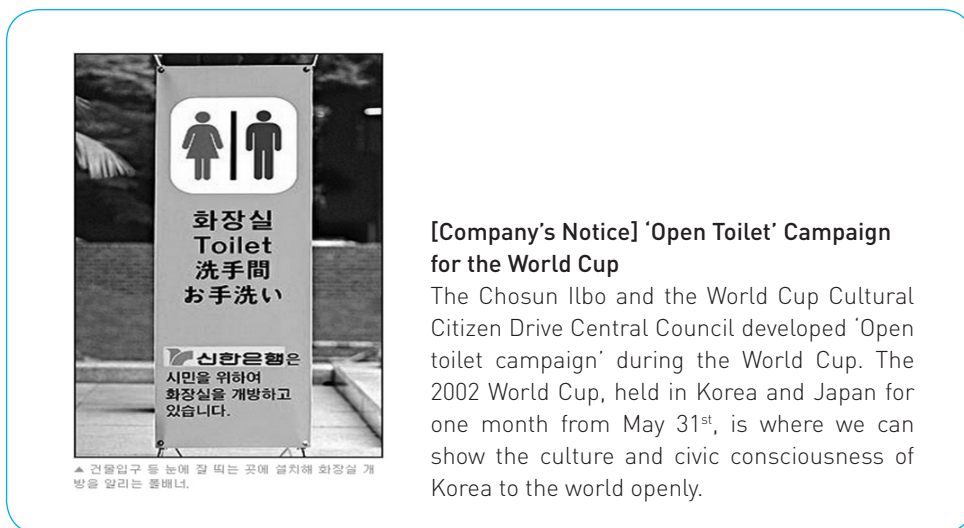
Campaigns to general users were also promoted. Despite the providers’ efforts, toilet acceptability cannot be enhanced if it is not accompanied by the change in users’ consciousness. Local branches of the Cultural Citizen Council regularly conducted campaigns to “Use toilets clean,” and made “Beautiful Toilet” publicity stickers and attached them to public toilets nationwide.

63. The Report of the 13th Excellent Toilet Manager Citation, p.10.

64. Beautiful Toilet, From Conception to Completion, p.10.

The most well-known publicity sticker was the slogan from the Coalition. The Coalition's first phrase for the sticker was "Please use the toilet cleanly." It changed from that to "Don't make the cleaning lady cry." The first request or order changed to a petition. However, what had appealed to the heart of the users was the third slogan, "Beautiful people leave beautiful traces." It suggested that rather than being forced from the outside or behaving with the awareness of the presence of others, one should respect themselves and behave with that kind of respect. This slogan has been the representative phrase of the Korean toilet culture drive.

Figure 4-3 | 'Open Toilet' Campaign for the World Cup in the late 1990s to the early 2000s



Source : The Chosun Ilbo. May 7th, 2002.

3.3.4. Open Toilet Drive

Open toilet drive is a drive that called for private toilets to be opened to the public, for those in the crowded areas lacking public toilets such as the neighboring areas of the World Cup stadiums or city centers. This drive essentially needed the cooperation from the private toilet owners. The Cultural Citizen Council strived to get the approval from the owners of the pertinent buildings, cooperating with its local branches and civic groups. The targets for open toilets were toilets in public facilities like the local municipality offices, police stations, fire stations, subways and stations; those in busy crowded facilities like filling stations,

department stores, hospitals and markets; those in business or commercial buildings, fast-food restaurants and other restaurants, beauty salons and barbershops. Open toilets that were selected had signs on the streets, building entrances and on toilets themselves for easy recognition. To reduce the burden of the owners opening their toilets, local municipalities had furnished consumables like toilet paper, soap and toilet bowl cleaners. Civic groups including the Coalition and the Saemaeul Council had composed volunteered cleaning groups to be responsible for the clean management of open toilets. The volunteer cleaning groups had 16,542 members in 182 groups as of 2001; 97,255 people were mobilized for 478 times in total.⁶⁵

3.3.5. Surveys on Actual Conditions of Toilets and Monitoring

Private organizations tried to find the problems of public toilets by constantly surveying the actual conditions of toilets. In 2000, the Korea Toilet Association conducted a survey of the actual conditions of 1,000 toilets in the 10 World Cup host cities executed by a polling-specialist agency; it surveyed user-satisfaction as well as objective indices like mean area of and the number of closets in public toilets; it also intended to find which factor made a difference. The Coalition made surveys of the actual conditions of toilets in traditional markets, elementary schools, subway stations, district offices and public cultural facilities in Seoul. The surveys reviewed the number of stalls for male and female, the existence of toilets for the disabled, the furnishing of consumables like soaps, the generation of bad smell, the qualitative assessment of facilities and management.

Particularly, the Coalition educated monitors and dispatched them to each Seoul district for the continuous inspection of public toilets; since January 2000, it opened a hotline to receive beautiful toilet recommendations and ugly toilet reports. In the case of an ugly toilet report, it delivered the problems to the related local municipality to check the spot and make a corrective order. The Coalition received photos before and after improvement and the result of the handling within one month. In the case corrections had not been made, the Coalition notified the press of that particular issue to be publicized.

⁶⁵. Toilet Revolution of Korea Was Made Like This, p.176.

2014 Modularization of Korea's Development Experience
Korean Public Toilet Improvement Experience
and its Implications

Chapter 5

Public Toilet Improvement from the late 2000s to the Present

1. Background
2. Driving Strategy and Systems
3. Details and the Situations of the Drive

Public Toilet Improvement from the late 2000s to the Present

1. Background

Public Toilets, etc., Act and its Enforcement Decree and Enforcement Rules legislated in 2004 provided the institutional foundation for public toilet advancement. That period in particular saw the extension of public toilets and active drives led by civic groups focusing on public toilet maintenance. Private toilets were made open with the support of local municipalities; accommodation and availability were increasingly enhanced as facilities had expanded for the more vulnerable society including females, patients, the disabled, pregnant women, seniors and infants.⁶⁶

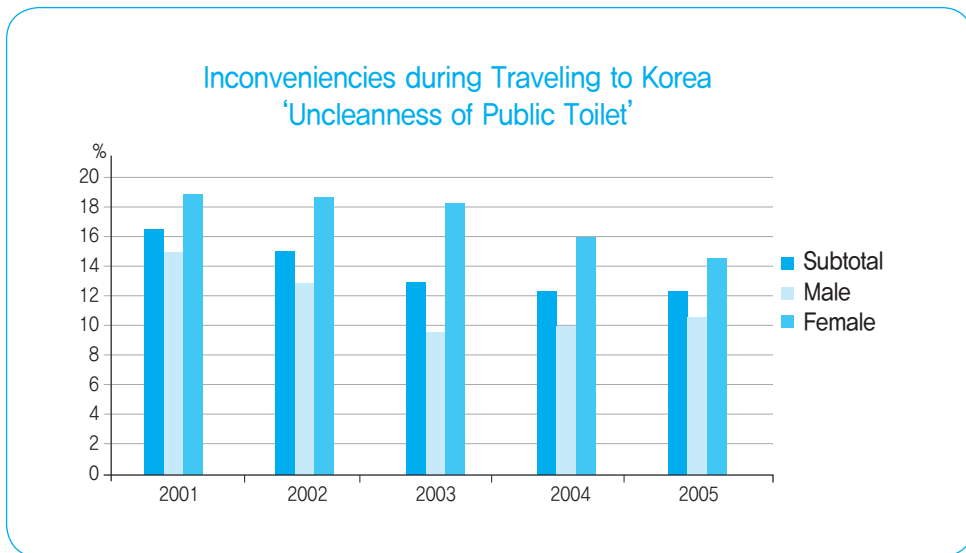
Meanwhile, there was also a growing concern that toilet culture drives had been staggering and public toilets had gotten more run down since the 2002 World Cup. It was pointed out that the workforce to manage public toilets had run short, as toilet improvement departments were reorganized after the World Cup. Civic consciousness, low as ever, was also indicated despite the facility improvement during the World Cup. According to the Korea Toilet Institute's in the 2007 and 2008 questionnaires of those who were in charge of toilets, more than 50% of the respondents had listed the lacking civic consciousness of the users as the biggest problem.⁶⁷

66. The present Public Toilets, etc., Act amended in 2006 (2006 amendment) [Enforcement Date October 29th, 2006] [Act No. 7934, April 28th, 2006] specifies that the closets at female toilets in places or facilities defined by the presidential order shall be more than 1.5 times of the number of closets and urinals in male toilets, and mandates that closets for disabled people, the elderly and pregnant woman shall be installed in public toilets in accordance with the standards defined by the presidential order [Korea Law Information Center].

67. Toilet Revolution in Korea Was Made Like This, p.466.

The scale of improvement for toilets in shopping districts, traditional markets and private filling stations were still unsatisfactory. According to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism’s surveys of actual conditions from a foreign tourists perspective mentioned that unclean toilets was an inconvenience while traveling in Korea. This was stated by foreign tourists from 2002 to 2005; female foreign tourists in particular had a lot of complaints.

Figure 5-1 | Survey of Actual Conditions of Foreign Tourists



Source: Statistics Korea. Inconveniencies during traveling to Korea. The table has been edited <http://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=113&tblId=DT_113_STBL_1020118&conn_path=I3>.

In addition, the visible objectives to improve public toilets were scarce since there was no large-scale international events unlike the last two periods; therefore, it was not so easy to secure enough budget. The construction cost of a toilet had soared to KRW 10 million from KRW 800,000 per 3.3m² as urban real estate prices had risen and the quality of toilet facilities improved; the cost increased so much that the constructors could hardly make as much change as they would have wanted with a limited budget.

Meanwhile, the late 2000s has provided the opportunity for environmental-friendliness to graft onto the public toilet improvement. Since the Kyoto Protocol came into effect in 2005, the international interest had concentrated on climate change and global warming. Because of oil prices that had been soaring until 2008, the concern about energy conservation had also risen. In August 2008, the Lee Myungbak Administration proposed

low-carbon green growth as a new growth paradigm, which influenced the direction of public toilet improvement. In 2011, Korea was classified as a water-stressed country, which invoked an interest in water saving. It also had a positive effect to make public toilets more environmentally-friendly.

With the 2002 World Cup as its starting point, private sectors, particularly the civic society and businesses related to public toilets have made notable progress, which was also one of the positive conditions to improve the quality of public toilets at that time. It is understood that toilet-related industries have grown more than 20% annually since the World Cup (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011:474).

Table 5-1 | SWOT Analysis of Public Toilet Improvement from the late 2000s to the Present

S (Strength)	W (Weakness)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accumulated experiences and know-how of local municipalities and the civic society • Growth of related companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tardy changes in users' consciousness • The government's securing of the budget was more difficult than in the past • A surge in toilet construction costs
O (Opportunity)	T (Threat)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-carbon green growth selected as a political agenda by the Lee Myungbak Administration in 2008 • Worldwide interests in climate change and energy conservation in the late 2000s • Korea was classified as water-stressed country in 2011 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of a concrete objective

2. Driving Strategy and Systems

The direction of the Korean public toilet improvement in the late 2000s was largely divided in two: “Beautiful Toilet” and “Green Toilet.” The “Beautiful Toilet” initiatives, beginning with the preparation for the World Cup, were more systemized through the legislation of Public Toilets, etc., Act in 2004 as a starting point; related institutions strived to improve toilet facilities and change the toilet using culture within a small budget based on the experiences of successfully hosting the 2002 World Cup.

After the legislation of “Public Toilets, etc., Act” in 2004, the entire businesses of public toilet management were transferred to the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, so the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs became the competent Ministry of public toilets. The Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs secured the budget for the enforcement of the act, and led the new construction and renovation of public toilets by supporting the beautiful toilet creation business expenses for each local municipality (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 275). It specifically composed a central council of civilians to assess the policies of each local municipality’s public toilet creational business, and supported business expenses as an incentive only for exceptional local municipalities (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 294, 295).

In particular, the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs developed the education, campaigns and contests related to public toilets as national drives, cooperating with the Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council, Korea Toilet Association and the Coalition; it ordered research services on the analysis of the actual conditions of public toilet use and its improvement measures assessment, and thereby adjusted the direction of public toilet improvement continuously (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 295).

Since the government’s declaration of the environment-friendly green growth as its keynote in 2008, it has accelerated to make the public toilet facilities more environment-friendly. Green toilet, which was established under the bigger frame of beautiful toilet, was defined as an environmentally-friendly toilet that saved energy and was convenient for use; the representative example of the green toilet business was the demonstration project using recycled water for toilets. It was especially encouraged to convert movable toilets or portable toilets into green toilets, since the former toilets was often installed where sewage purification facilities or electricity supply was not efficiently provided.

Each local municipality carried out various policies to enhance accommodation and availability for the vulnerable and to make private toilets open. The representative policy was known as Seoul City's "Females' Happiness Toilet" drive; it intended to correct the remaining inconvenience for females using public toilets, even though there were increasing considerations for females such as the Public Toilets, etc., Act mandated that the number of stalls in female toilets should be 1.5 times more than that in male toilets. There were also consistent drives to equip facilities for females accompanying infants or children, the elderly or the disabled.

The introduction of the certification system for toilet-related companies (TCQ, Toilet Culture Quality) and movable toilet standardization system were also a great change. By introducing the TCQ, toilet-related companies were reorganized into one industry and the standardized construction management system was introduced for toilet standards and management. Unlike other quality certification systems such as the Q mark or the ISO (International Standardization Organization), the TCQ was assessed focusing on the contribution to the toilet culture improvement, user satisfaction of the product in terms of the environment, resource, welfare, sanitation, resource saving, product design and convenience. Furthermore, the collective standard certification was introduced for movable toilets, so that the product would be more qualified, production efficiency raised, and the selection of movable toilets rationalized. For those businesses, the Korea Toilet Association whose members were toilet-related companies became the implementation body of the certification system and standardization in accordance with Public Toilets, etc., Act.

3. Details and the Situations of the Drive

3.1. The Central Government

3.1.1. Providing the Legal and Institutional Foundation

Since the legislation of Public Toilets, etc., Act in 2004, the notable direction in legal amendment has been to enhance accommodation and availability for the vulnerable including females, the disabled and infants. In 2006, the number of closets at female toilets in places or facilities was mandated to be 1.5 times or more than the number of closets and urinals in male toilets closets for the disabled, elderly or pregnant woman were mandated to be installed in public toilets all in accordance with the installation standard defined by the presidential order (Article 7). Closets and urinals, and wash hand stands for the children

were also mandated to be installed in accordance with the installation standard defined by the presidential order (Article 7.2).

Going one step further, the act amended in 2010 [Enforcement Date May 5th, 2010] [Act No. 10004, partly Amendment Date February 4th, 2010] mandated the installation of diaper changers for infants and children in the male and female toilets in accordance with what was defined by the presidential order (Clause 2 of Article 7.2 was inserted); the basis of facility inspection and improvement order was provided in case the installation of closets, urinals and washstand had been violated (Article 12 and 13), for more prompt installations.

In the 2010 amendment, the water used at the washstand in public toilets over a certain size defined by the presidential order shall be reusable after the water-recycling process (Article 7.3 was inserted). The purpose was to prepare for an emergency like a water outage and to save water. The water that is reused shall fit the recycled-water quality standard in accordance with what is outlined in the Water Supply and Waterworks Installation Act and The Sewerage Act.

3.1.2. The role of the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs

As the Ministry of the Government Administration and Home Affairs assessed the public toilet businesses from local municipalities and as incentives allocated its budget, it composed and operated a central consulting council for efficiency, objectivity and fairness. The central consulting council was composed of members recommended by three organizations, the Cultural Citizen Council, Korea Toilet Association and the Coalition, and also 13 experts in the fields of law, architectural design, facility management, sanitation and so on (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 295). The council performed 1) Finding legislations and institutions to be improved and consulting policies, 2) Discussing and estimating the enforced items in beautiful toilet creation business, 3) Monitoring the promotion of the selected business (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 296).

The Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs conducted the central assessment of public toilet creation annually since the year 2006, on the institutions recommended by local municipalities nationwide. It selected institutions for support after an evaluation meeting, and supported different business expenses in accordance with the evaluation result (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 317). The supported business expense was mainly used for new

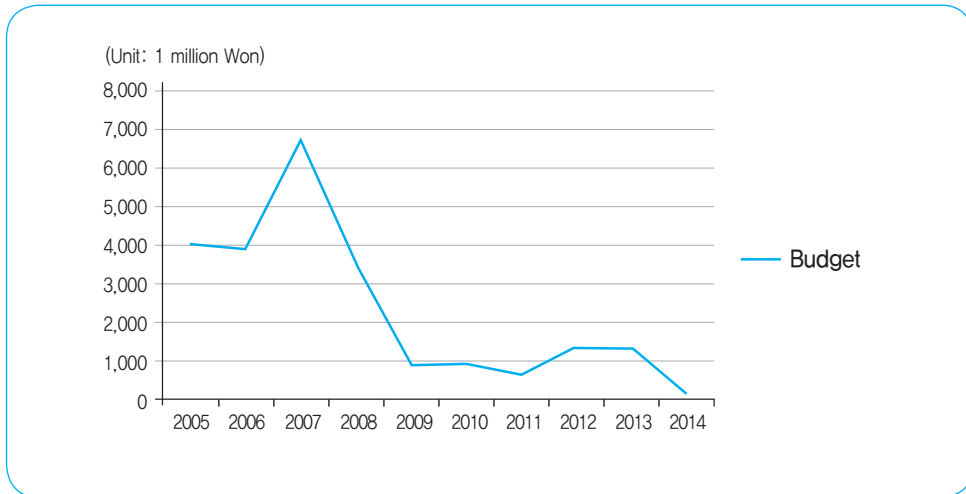
construction and the renovation of public toilets; the business expense that was supported by the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs reached up to KRW 2.67 billion in 2006, and KRW 1 billion in 2008.

In March 2007, the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs inspected the actual management conditions of public toilets on four fields, public institutions, parks, terminals and schools in six regions, Seoul, capital region, Gangwon, central area, Yeongnam and Honam, along with the Cultural Citizen Council, Korea Toilet Association and the Coalition. The inspection results were used as policy data, notified to the pertinent municipality to be used in their businesses, and released to the press. The actual management conditions of public toilets were also inspected in December 2008; dividing Korea into three regions, it checked the observance of Public Toilets, etc., Act with the support of the Korea Toilet Association and the Cultural Citizen Council.

In 2010, the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs assessed the local municipalities' public toilet management. They focused on user accommodation such as public toilet signs and on facility maintenance. The focus was sanitation, that was a subject to be neglected in the summertime. They reflected these results to the year-end institution evaluation (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 397). It also developed campaigns for a toilet using culture with the three private organizations.

The annual budget of the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs for beautiful toilet creation business from 2005 to 2014 can be found in the graph below. In 2011, 2012 and 2013, a demonstration project for using recycled-water in toilets was allocated a budget.

Table 5-2 | Graph and Table of the Annual Budget of the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs for Beautiful Toilet Creation Business



Year	Budget	Note
2005	4,011	
2006	3,956	
2007	6,715	
2008	3,545	
2009	961	
2010	938	
2011	679	320 included for demonstration project using recycled-water in toilets ⁶⁸
2012	1,323	1,000 included for demonstration project using recycled-water in toilets
2013	1,373	1,050 included for demonstration project using recycled-water in toilets
2014	255	

Source: Material for public interest by the Ministry of Public Administration and Security (October 2014), Toilet Revolution in Korea Was Made Like This, 2011, p.398.

68. "Annual budget for beautiful toilet creation business", material for public interest by the Ministry of Security and Public Administration (Requested on September 1st, 2014).

As we can see from the records of annual budget execution from 2005 to 2010, the budget had been focused on the new construction of public toilets in 2005 and 2006, but thereafter, it was mainly executed for the beautiful toilet creation, public toilet policy assessment, the foundation and the operation of the World Toilet Association.

Table 5-3 | Annual Budget Execution Records

(Unit: KRW 1 million)

Section	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
New Construction of Public Toilets	4,011	3,956					7,967
Beautiful Toilet Culture Creation			515	545	461	438	1,959
Public Toilet Policy Assessment			2,700	1,000			3,700
Private Sector Support for the World Toilet Association			3,500	2,000	500	500	6,500
Total	4,011	3,956	6,715	3,545	961	938	20,128

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security, Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council. 2011.

3.2. Seoul Metropolitan Government

The activities of local municipalities during that period were not much different from the past activities of Suwon City in around the time of the World Cup. Here we will review the public toilet improvement project and toilet opening project within the “Females’ Happiness Project” of the Seoul Metropolitan Government.

The “Females’ Happiness Project” of the Seoul Metropolitan government began in March 2007. It was designed to solve the inconveniences females were experiencing in urban life. This had been going on for about four years until the end of 2010. According to the 2007 poll in the lives of 2,444 Seoul citizens, the places where females felt less convenient in comparison to males were △ public toilets (67.4%) △ public transportation (36.6%) △ driving and parking (35.8%) △ nursery facilities (29.4%) △ walking along the sidewalk (18.3%) in descending order. The Seoul Metropolitan Government planned to add 468 stalls in female toilets mainly in subway stations with the cash injection of KRW 37.2 billion by 2010, and also to install powder rooms, etiquette bells, disposable sheet covers, extra chairs for children, diaper changers, shelves for temporary storage of personal items, low closets and washstands for children in the toilets.⁶⁹ In particular, it set definite standards

69. “City of females’ happiness project’ will be promoted”, The Sijung Ilbo, June 7th, 2007. <http://www.sijung.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=26057>.

for each section and awarded the “Females’ Happiness Certification Plaque” in the case that were all standards were met.

Figure 5-2 | “Females’ Happiness Certification Plaque”
by Seoul Metropolitan Government



Source: “The entire city of Seoul is full of ‘females’ happiness [女幸]’~!”, Newswire, April 29th, 2009;<<http://www.newswire.co.kr/newsRead.php?no=402261>>.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government had once executed <Seoul Metropolitan Government’s Ordinance for Subsidizing Open Toilets> in order to alleviate crowded toilets (toilets attached to crowded buildings like filling stations, restaurants, large-scale buildings, terminals, theaters, wedding halls, markets and shopping districts) in preparation for the 2002 World Cup. Subsidies including consumables cost, electricity charges, water charges and repairing costs of any damage were paid monthly for opening and managing clean toilets. Meanwhile, that was a tentative action in preparation for the World Cup; the real inducement of the Seoul Metropolitan Government to open toilets did not begin until the 5th January, 2012, when the Seoul Metropolitan Government’s Ordinance for the Operation and Support of Open Toilets was enforced.

The 2012 Ordinance purposes to promote sanitation and welfare of the Seoul citizens through the support for the management and operation of open toilets designated by the Seoul district governors according to Article 9.2 in Public Toilets, etc., Act (Article 1), which enables each district to grant sanitary consumables, electricity charges, water charges, excrement disposal tank cleaning charges and other operating expenses of open toilets to the designated open toilets (Article 4). Furthermore, the person granted those operating expenses shall be obligated to maintain the toilets having them clean and comfortable with furnished consumables (Article 6); both the Seoul Metropolitan Government and each district shall supervise the management of open toilets (Article 5).

The following is a chart of open toilets operating expenses. The principle was to pay different grants according to the A, B, and C grades evaluated by adding up the scores for opening hours, the number of closets and urinals, conditions of the facilities and cleaning.

Table 5-4 | Scores by Opening Hours, the Number of Closets and Urinals, Conditions of Facilities and Cleaning

Section	Opening Hour		The Number of Closets and Urinals			Conditions of Facilities and Cleaning		
	Always Open	Open for Fixed Hours	More than Six	Four to Five	Less than Three	Excellent	Good	Ordinary
Score	5	3	5	3	1	5	3	1

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government’s Ordinance for the Operation and Support of Open Toilets [Appendix1].

Table 5-5 | The amount of Subsidy

Grade	A	B	C
Score	Over 12	7 to 11	Under 6
Amount (monthly)	KRW 100,000	KRW 80,000	KRW 60,000

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government’s Ordinance for the Operation and Support of Open Toilets [Appendix1].

The process for support is as follows. First, each district inspects the actual conditions of management and operation of private open toilets, defines their grades according to the ‘Seoul Metropolitan Government’s Ordinance for the Operation and Support of Open Toilets’, and applies for support from the Seoul Metropolitan Government. The Seoul Metropolitan Government sorts out those that shall be excluded among the applications for each district, they then set the amount of subsidy and grant them. Each district supports operating expenses for the building owner or the building manager in accordance with its ordinance.⁷⁰

70. Plan to support subsidy for public toilets in 2014 (Seoul Metropolitan Government, March 2014).

Table 5-6 | The Number of Open Toilets in each Seoul District in 2013 and the Support Details

District	Number	Expenses Supported for one Open Toilet (KRW)
Gangnam	205	1,031,156
Gangdong	33	704,545
Gangbuk	14	567,857
Gangseo	67	584,388
Gwanak	24	1,026,250
Gwangjin	115	516,174
Guro	13	1,562,692
Geumcheon	20	542,450
Nowon	22	1,085,682
Dobong	32	697,500
Dongdaemun	43	909,209
Dongjak	49	664,286
Mapo	62	938,207
Seodaemun	58	938,276
Seocho	44	732,130
Seongdong	48	1,178,824
Seongbuk	23	947,478
Songpa	32	498,750
Yangcheon	35	315,429
Yeongdeungpo	50	789,000
Yongsan	15	460,000
Eunpyeong	32	1,975,969
Jongno	69	468,457
Jung	42	1,710,738
Jungnang	8	543,750

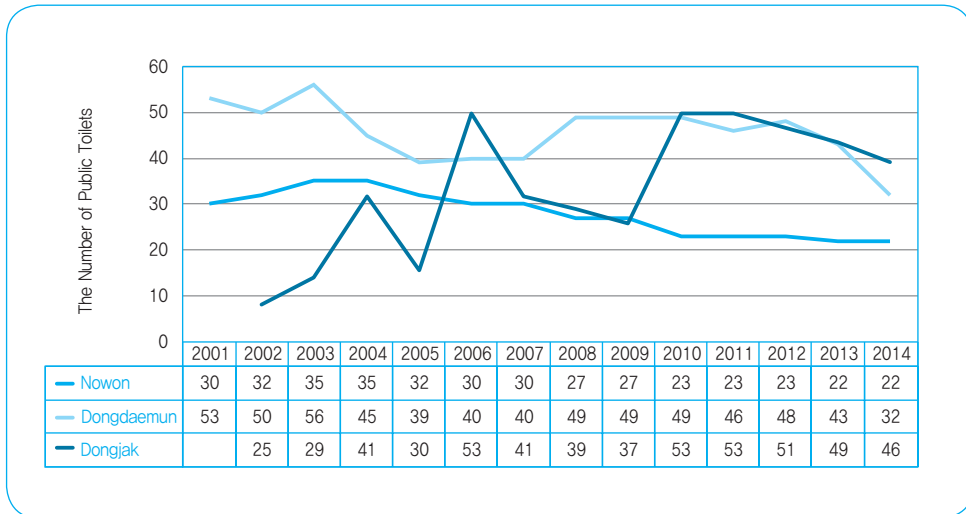
* For Gangdong, Gangbuk, Geumcheon, Dobong, Mapo, Seongdong, Yangcheon, Yeongdeungpo, Yongsan, Jongno and Jung-gu districts, the 2014 material was used.

(Base: The changes in the numbers are slight, or it is hard to identify since they are changed monthly).

* For Yangcheon-gu, the 2014 budget was used.

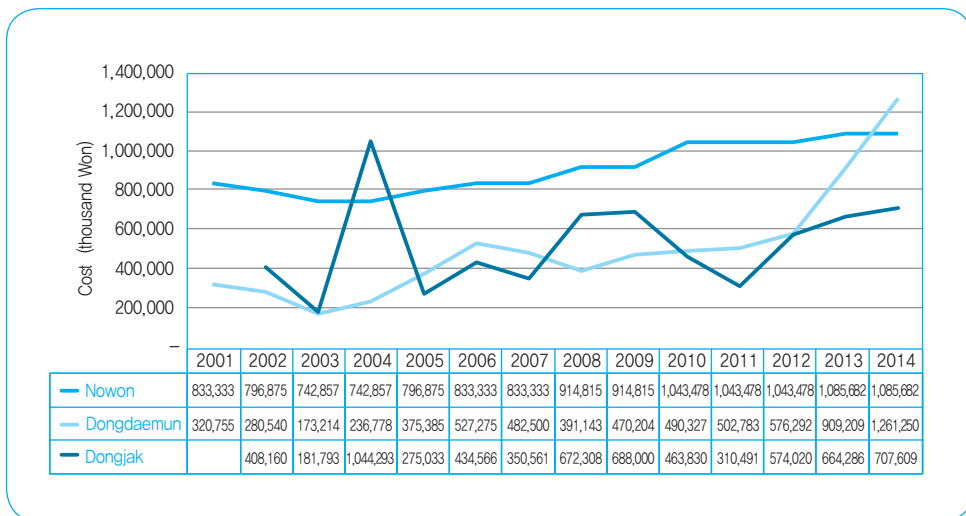
Source: Material for public interest by each Seoul district office, re-edited (Requested on October 11th, 2014).

Figure 5-3 | Trend of the Changes in the Number of Open Toilets in Nowon, Dongdaemun and Dongjak Districts (2001~2014)



Source: Material for public interest by each Seoul district office, re-edited (Requested on October 11th, 2014).

Figure 5-4 | Expenses Supported for One Open Toilet in Nowon, Dongdaemun and Dongjak Districts (KRW) (2001~2014)



* For 2014, budget execution details until the end of September was used.

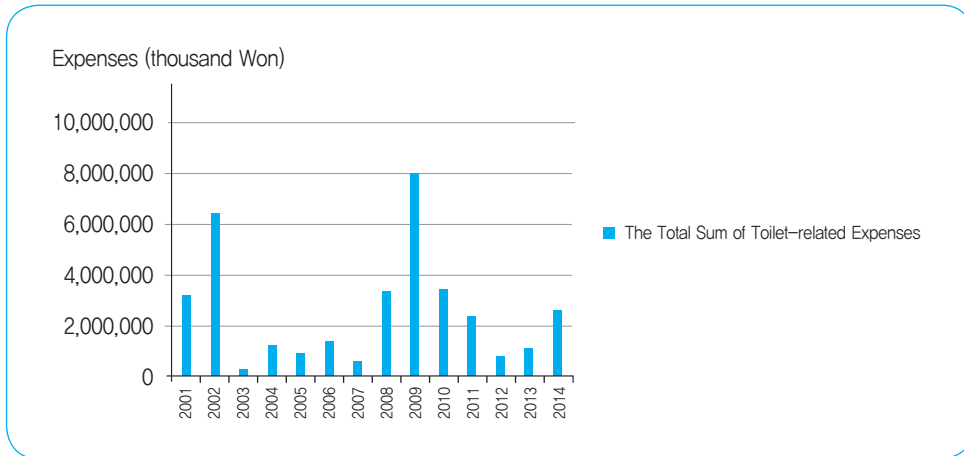
Source: Material for public interest by each Seoul district office, re-edited (Requested on October 11th, 2014).

Additionally, the Seoul Metropolitan Government preferentially supports public toilets in its districts where the number closets for females does not meet the legal standards to be renovated, improved or newly constructed; the necessary cost is carried by both the Seoul Metropolitan Government (50%) and the pertinent district (50%). When the project plan is settled at the district, it applies for project expenses to the City; then the Metropolitan Government reviews the propriety of the projects and supports 50% of the project expenses. In 2014, KRW 180 million in total was supported or settled to support two toilets in Seocho and one in Mapo.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government regularly inspected the actual conditions of public toilet management twice a year, along with the support for improving public toilet facilities. The inspection is particularly concentrated on private open toilets, cooperating with the Silver Volunteers of the Coalition. Each district also inspects toilet signs, facility management, cleaning, consumables furnishing of private open toilets and public toilets more than once a quarter.

Seoul Metropolitan Government's toilet-related budget from 2001 to 2014 is as follows. The year of 2001 and 2002 saw a budget inflation in preparation for the World Cup. From 2008 to 2010, the budget had soared as public toilet improvement projects were promoted focusing on cleanliness and convenience, in accordance with the 'Strategic target 1: To increase greens of park by 3.3 million m²' and the 'Strategic target 3: To use and manage parks comfortable and re-visitible' from the Green Seoul Bureau in the Seoul Metropolitan Government.

Figure 5-5 | The Total Sum of Toilet-related Expenses of Seoul Metropolitan Government from 2001 to 2014



Source: Referred to the 2001~2014 budget reports of Green Seoul Bureau of Seoul Metropolitan Government (Homepage of Seoul Metropolitan Government).

3.3. Private Sector

3.3.1. The Change and Growth of Private Organizations

As the toilet culture drive had abated with the end of the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup, the criticism of the acceptability of public toilets were on the rise again. The number of open toilets continuously decreased year by year, from 8,211 in 2006 to 7,100 in 2007 and 6,097 in 2008.⁷¹ Private toilet owners avoided opening because of the cost of consumables such as toilet paper and soap, utility bills like electric and water charges, and users' indiscretion; even if they had agreed to open, they made a passive avoidance by not attaching the open toilet signs.

71. Study on activating measures for open toilets, 2008, p.7.

Figure 5-6 | Winner of the 14th Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize in 2012; Toilet at Cheonggyesan Station, Shinbundang Line



Source: “Where is the most beautiful toilet among Korean subway lines?”, The Economy Today, November 17th, 2012; <<http://eto.co.kr/news/view.asp?code=20121117121708713>>

Private organizations attempted to reshuffle and change themselves in order to reestablish a relationship between the government and continue in toilet drives. The Cultural Citizen Council was renamed from its original name as ‘The Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council’, ‘The 2002 FIFA World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council’ in 2004, in order to consistently promote cultural citizen drives. It was reorganized as a legitimate private organization by converting its organization and business to civic drive execution at the time. The Korea Toilet Association was also re-launched as a nonprofit private organization based on ‘Public Toilets, etc., Act’ in 2006.⁷²

However, they intended to maintain continuity of their toilet drives which had continued from the past. The “Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize” contest project of the Cultural Citizen Council had been supported by government subsidy, but the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs started to directly execute it from 2006 onwards. However, the Cultural Citizen Council still superintends the project itself.

72. In the article 15.2 of Public Toilets, etc., Act, the rules of the role and function of Korea Toilet Association were attached.

Korea Toilet Association expanded businesses related to its member companies, that is, toilet-related companies. In 2006 and 2007, it held the International Toilet & Bath Expos. It carried out a study service on public toilet technology development with dissemination measures and assessment of actual conditions of public toilets by the order of the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs in 2007.

The Coalition continued surveys of the actual conditions of toilets at Korean tourist attractions, awareness campaigns like the campaign for toilet using culture, and toilet manager education programs. Since 2009, it has supported the “University-student Supporters of Where You Were At” activity, where university students get to inspect toilets in person, notify what needs to be improved in case there are any problems, and finally to participate in the toilet culture campaigns.

Figure 5-7 | Toilet Culture Quality



Source: Homepage of Korea Toilet Association <<http://www.toilet.or.kr>>.

3.3.2. Toilet Quality Certification and Standardization

From 2006, the Korea Toilet Association started to conduct toilet quality certification and assessment in accordance with Public Toilets, etc., Act. The toilet quality certification program of the Korea Toilet Association, Toilet Culture Quality, had purposes to enhance the competence of the toilet industry and the quality of life for Koreans. This was possible by assessing the overall toilet culture, suggesting the direction of improvement, certifying and publishing excellent toilets, assessing toilet related institutions and companies contributing to make a pleasant toilet environment and creating the pan-national toilet clean-using culture, after they are fairly and objectively evaluated by the certification board made up of experts in various fields.⁷³ The Korea Toilet Association carries out quality certification every year, dividing it into three categories: 1 An assessment of public institutions' with toilet culture policies (TCQ-6000), 2 An assessment on the propriety of the toilet culture quality with regard to toilet-related companies' products (TCQ-7000), 3 An application of public toilets to a open assessment table (TCQ-8000). In particular, TCQ-7000, which applies to toilet-related companies, is subdivided into movable, portable toilets / design, construction, interior design / ceramics, tile / faucet / sewage disposal facilities / maintenance and management and other toilet-related products. The certificate is valid for two years from the date of issue. The Korea Toilet Association strives to maintain its quality by frequent follow-up management.

The Korea Toilet Association also introduced a collective standard certification for movable toilets in 2012. Collective standard certification is a certificate for consumer protection of organizations related industry standardization that lack the Korean Industrial Standards (KS). In the past, the standard for movable toilets was not set, so each company had its own form of movable toilets. As the Korea Toilet Association introduced collective standard certifications, the size, form, structure and material of movable toilets are standardized for each type. Also the product stability is guaranteed by compulsory conduct type tests including a repeated test for opening and closing.

73. From the proposal of the 14th TCQ (Toilet Culture Quality) project.

3.3.3. Enhancing the Accommodation of Toilets

Although public toilets have increased and acceptability enhanced, there were still those who had difficulties in with usage. Private organizations promoted drives to diminish their inconvenience. The Korea Toilet Association promoted the 2011 project of creating “Happy Mom Toilets” with Gyeonggi-do and the Gyeonggi branch of the Planned Population Federation of Korea, which was a guidance drive encouraging consideration for pregnant woman who had difficulties using public toilets.

The Cultural Citizen Council and the Coalition promoted toilets for the disabled by publicizing toilets as a ‘multi-use toilet’: for females accompanying infants or children, pregnant women and the elderly. In case toilets for the disabled were limited to facilities that were only for the disabled, the utility rate was frequently very low. Some were reluctant to install toilets for the disabled because the utility rate did not co-opt with installation cost. As they were rearranged into multi-use toilets, those with extra needs that are not provided by ordinary toilets could use them conveniently and therefore more multi-use toilets could be installed.

Figure 5-8 | Green Toilet Quality Certificate



Source: Homepage of Korea Toilet Association <<http://www.toilet.or.kr>>.

3.3.4. Changes to Environmentally-friendly Green Toilets

Since 2008, environmental-friendliness has been another major indicator in addition to the existing 5A. A green toilet is defined as an “environment-friendly toilet that has enough functions for a toilet that is convenient for anyone, saves energy and helps to be in harmony with the environment.”⁷⁴ In particular, it introduces facilities and management methods to save energy like water and electricity. Some ways to save water are an electromagnetic-induced faucet, electromagnetic-induced urinals, no water urinals, water-saving closets, biological vacuum toilets, water reusable systems and so on. The ways to save electricity are using materials with good insulation, double-skin construction, photovoltaic power generation systems, energy-saving coolers and heaters, sensor lighting recognizing the users’ presence and so on. The Korea Toilet Association organized the first Green Toilet Culture Festival in 2010 where the Green Toilet Culture Grand Prize was Awarded, Green Toilet & Bath 2010 and also conferences a symposium were held. With the year 2010 being the beginning of this celebration, it holds a Green Toilet Culture Festival every year. Since 2010, it has also introduced Green Toilet Culture Quality (GTCQ) for the certification of the environmentally-friendly toilet.

74. Toilet Revolution in Korea Was Made Like This, p.456.

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Chapter 6

Success Factors Analysis

1. Public Toilet Improvement Policies as a Part of the Preparation for Large-scale International Events
2. Efficient Role of the Central Government
3. Beautiful Toilet and Changes Focusing on Providers
4. Leadership

Success Factors Analysis

1. Public Toilet Improvement Policies as a Part of the Preparation for Large-scale International Events

Korean public toilets remarkably advances with large-scale international events such as the 1986 Asian Games, the 1988 Olympic Games and the 2002 World Cup as the starting points. Since the government considered public toilet improvement as one of the major tasks to successfully host those sporting events, the budget and workforce could then be concentrated on it.

The pan-national awareness of public toilets had been raised with the hosting of large-scale international events that also contributed to public toilet improvement. Koreans in the 1980s knew it too clearly that the number of public toilets was absolutely insufficient in proportion to the number of expected visitors and that the facilities were extremely unclean. Under such circumstances, public toilet improvement was recognized as a prerequisite to welcome visitors and to make our economic progress acknowledged on the world stage of (1988), and to be recognized as a developed country in (2002), which provided a sufficient basis for Koreans to concentrate on the budget before the Olympic Games and the World Cup, and also to participate in user campaigns. As Korea hosted the World Cup jointly with Japan, public opinions for public toilet improvement were manipulated by the perceived competition against Japan. As Koreans came to recognize public toilets as “the field where we will lose face if it is left untouched, a field where it could fundamentally greatly upgrade the level of the Korean society if it is changed,” (Ministry of Public Administration and Security Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 2011: 11) the public toilet improvement drive was greatly supported.

2. Efficient Role of the Central Government

An efficient role of the central government can never be excluded when we list all the major factors of the successful public toilet improvement in Korea. The central government played a role of a substantial matter that made short-term, mid and long-term plans, allocated budget and executed actual policies in the 1980s; During the 1990s, it constitutes a platform on which government departments, local municipalities and private organizations cooperated.

In the 1980s, Korea had not yet shifted to political democracy and had a decision-making structure focused on the central government, so the budget and workforce mobilization for a certain purpose was relatively easy. Moreover, since the hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games was limited to Seoul City, whose scale could only be carried by the lead of the central government. Furthermore, the direction back then of public toilet improvement was focused on clean toilets, so the integral decision-making structure of the central government was efficient for grasping necessary facilities and equipment and allocating a healthy budget.

It was a different story in the late 1990s when the central government prepared for the World Cup. Also at that time, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Culture and Sports (Ministry of Culture and Tourism), and the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs conducted surveys of the actual conditions of public toilets respectively and invested a budget for public toilet improvement with the ministry's plan based on those surveys. However, it needed the cooperation with local municipalities of the ten World Cup host cities and private organizations to decide the budget scale, as well as decisive efforts on the direction of public toilet improvement, and to maintain and manage the improved toilets.

After a pan-national reform drive of national consciousness was promoted in the 1996 Cabinet meeting, "The 2002 FIFA World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council" was launched as the aggregate cooperation in jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Sports on June 21st, 1997. It provided a platform on which the central government, local municipalities and private organizations could cooperate. Since the level of public toilets varied with regions, it could be customized from toilet management to user campaigns through that platform.

3. Beautiful Toilet and Changes Focusing on Providers

In order to maintain clean public toilets, a symbiotic relationship should be made between three elements: facilities, manager and user. It is only possible when sanitary facilities, managers who maintain the facilities, and users who use the facilities responsibly co-exist. In the past, it was attempted to make such relationship through guidance campaigns for users. However, the vicious cycle could not be stopped.

The key to the success of civic drive during the preparation of the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup was the discovery of the weakness that situation. It was to change the focus to providers from the users. As the core of the change was shifted to providers, it brought several advantages. Firstly, the subject for changes became clear. Not users, who are many and unspecified, but persons in charge of public toilet management were specified the first subjects of priority. The number of persons in charge of public toilet management nationwide was just 680 in total. After educating them, the actual toilet managers were educated as the second priority. Secondly, with the clarification of subjects, their education could be converted into knowledge delivery from simple guidance. Private organizations had made manuals for public toilet managers on how to deliver on successfully maintained, clean toilets. Thirdly, a competition system was introduced among providers. The representative example is awarding the “Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize”. A substantial number of persons in charge of the public toilet provision engaged in public sectors including the government. For them, the incentive was additional prizes offered by the government and the publicity effect offered by the press, winning the award was effective. It was also effective to make second movers see and learn from the successful examples found throughout the competition system. The curriculum of toilet manager education should include visits to the toilets that are winning the Grand Prizes.

However, this process beginning with the providers might not have had such significant effects if it just pursued qualitative improvement. The former leaders of private organizations intended to change toilets to a much greater degree and to make an extreme departure from the standard. They pursued beautiful toilets beyond cleanliness. Toilets with fragrance instead of odor, music and a beautiful view began to appear. Toilets that used to be hidden in corners were installed in major locations of a space. The competition system accelerated such changes much faster. When we enter the toilet in Cheonggyesan station on Shinbundang line, we feel as if we are in the woods. Users experiencing beautiful toilet facilities behave differently as their feeling are different from the past. The conscientiousness of users, who had been apathetic to guidance campaigns, also began to change.

4. Leadership

During the interviews with the persons related to the Korean public toilet improvement, the authors had confirmed that the role of the leaders had been one of major decisive factors, and they had brought about new improvement measures and promoted them firmly by persuading others.

Park Yeonsu, the second Director of Operations of the Cultural Citizen Council, spoke of the difficulties in converting one-way user guidance campaigns into provider-centered drives, and he mentioned how severely others had objected when he had proposed the creation of beautiful toilets. Jeong Seungryeol, the former president of the Korea Expressway Corporation, described in detail the opposition of rest area management companies in the process of promoting the changes of toilets in rest areas on expressways. Pyo Hyeryeong, leader of the Coalition, mentioned the diverse difficulties in continuing the toilet culture drive as genuine private organization without economic support from outside. The late Sim Jaedeok, former leader of the Korea Toilet Association, also gave great contributions. He devoted his life to toilet culture improvement as the former mayor of Suwon City during the preparation of the World Cup, and thereafter founded the Korea Toilet Association. We can see the qualitative improvement of the Korean public toilets in the difficulties these leaders face and their ability to overcome the difficulties.

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Chapter 7

Implications

Implications

The process to break out of custom and achieve changes is not easy in any field. Most people are used to the existing custom. New changes are considered just a vague possibility. If they had experiences of failure, the possibility seems even more impossible.

The history of the Korean public toilet improvement was no exception. Korean public toilet improvement experiences show how public toilets have been improved in diverse aspects. It should be noted what roles the government sectors, including the central government and local municipality governments and private sectors including public-private cooperative organizations and genuine private organizations, had actually played in terms of being the main agents of the changes.

Public toilet improvement began from quantitative expansion. The number of public toilets rapidly increased from just 3,185 in 1971 to 64,036 in 2008. However, quantitative expansion was just a mere aspect of the public toilet improvement. If accessibility, affordability, accommodation, acceptability and environment-friendliness were all not met, it could not be said that substantial availability had been enhanced.

As open toilet systems had been introduced in crowded areas, accessibility was largely improved. Legal and institutional modifications were continuously made including the amendment of the Filth Cleaning Act in 1982. The government also supported a budget. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism planned to invest KRW 10 billion solely to improve public toilets in major tourist attractions from August 1998 to 2001, as part of the preparation for the 2002 World Cup. However, the results of the actual condition surveys showed just how difficult it was to maintain clean toilets. Toilet cleanliness seemed to have improved during the period of the government budget injection and interest concentration like the 1986 Asian

Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, but unfortunately returned to the past state of five-bul: unclean (bul-gyeol), poor (bul-nyang), inconvenient (bul-pyeon), uncomfortable (bu-ran) and unpleasant (bul-kwae).

The links of bad facilities, bad management and bad use were considered as a vicious cycle that could hardly be broken out of. Civic consciousness had been improved in other fields, but it was not differentiated from the past, at least in the use of public toilets.

The 2002 World Cup can be said to have been the most important turning point in Korean public toilet improvement. Before any mega event, movements in public toilet improvement were shared by both the government sectors and private sectors, but there were too many opinions for concrete measures under such situations. The provider-concentrated changes through drastic severance and subsequent changes in user consciousness were measures much like gambling; those measures ran into many objections in the initial period and hardly got any support.

However, overall and consistent improvement that was not limited to specific divisions had been made through that period. The major role that private sectors played in the process is remarkable. The unilateral improvement led by the government could bring quantitative expansion and facility improvement of public toilets, but was limiting. New construction of public toilets in crowded areas like city centers is of considerable cost. Open toilet drives to make private toilets open to the public was a measure to enhance toilet accessibility drastically, but it was impossible without the cooperation from private toilet owners. It was also difficult to maintain clean toilets through the cooperation from toilet users.

Since the democratization of the Korean society, the competence of the civic society has consistently grown. However, it did not make a great change in the aspect of the toilet using culture until 2002. How can we make the improved civic consciousness also apply to the use of public toilets? How can we make provider-centered changes and affect the proposed drastic change from the existing ‘vicious cycle of using dirty toilets that stay dirty’ into a ‘virtuous circle of using clean toilets’? It is with a correct understanding of the starting point in the triangle of facilities, managers and users; this brought about success in the changes.

What should be noted is the driving force for the changes in that triangle has been accumulated enough all the while. The democratization of the Korean society had made the general citizens have a sense of ownership of the public facilities. The economic progress provided a physical foundation to make facility improvement possible.

One of the interesting points that brought about facilities improvement is the introduction of the competition system. The Korea Toilet Association's selection of the Best/Worst Toilet in each region, while the Coalition's selection of Good/Ugly Toilet as well as the "Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize" sponsored by the Cultural Citizen Council and the Chosun Ilbo that became an inductive motivation for toilet improvement among persons in charge of the public toilet management. To win the prize, measures for toilet facility improvement and successful examples were competitively created. Also, the successful examples were disseminated to other regions through toilet manager education and media publicity. As the contests repeated, the prize winners developed better in their own quality. It can be inferred that through a successful competition system, improvements to the public toilet facility can significantly improve in a very short period of time.

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Appendix 1. Chronological Table of the History of Korean Public Toilet Improvement

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
1857	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first modern public toilet was installed 	
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first pay toilet appeared 	
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Filth Cleaning Act' was legislated 	
1963		President Park Chung-hee (1963.12~1979)
1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male and female toilets were separated 	
1973	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water-closet type toilet installation was mandated to the newly constructed building over 66m² • Seoul City's Ordinance on Toilet Renovation was legislated [7. 12] 	
1977	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water-closet type toilet installation was included in the conditions of permission of restaurants and adult entertainment spots 	
1980		President Chun Doo-hwan (1981.9~1988.2)
1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys of the actual conditions of 1,750 public toilets 	Seoul was selected as the host city of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games
1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seoul City's, four-year plan to improve public toilet management by year • Five-year plan project (public toilet improvement project) • Complete amendment of the Filth Cleaning Act-public toilet installation, sewage and excrement purification facilities installation • Legislation of Enforcement Rules of Building Act (1982.10.30)-Window installation for natural lighting and ventilation shall be installed in toilets • Article 55 of Enforcement Decree Of Building Act-Toilets shall be installed dividing male and female toilets 	

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5. 10. The government’s guidance for the maintenance and management of public toilets • Amendment of Article 20 of Building Act-Sewage purification facilities of excrement disposal tanks shall be obligatorily installed • Amendment of Enforcement Rules of Petroleum Business Act <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The permission standard of petroleum business mandates that more than one toilets publicly available shall be obligatorily installed • The plan of the Environment Administration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It planned to change 1,137 public toilets into the water-closet type where they had been equipped with water supply and a drainage system among 3,598 public toilets nationwide, and to newly construct 660 public toilets until 1985 	
1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seoul City <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Confirmed the public toilet construction plan - Planned to construct water-closet type toilets and to repair existing toilets - Installed one stall for the disabled and one toilet bowl in the newly constructed toilets 	The 1986 Asian Games
1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environment Administration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Made cards for 6,301 public toilets nationwide (1987.7~1988.10) - Dispatched a walk-around inspection team by each branch of the Environment Administration, and conducted general inspections 	
1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environment Administration and women’s organizations- Campaigns for using public toilets clean, carried out the public toilet clean-up • Korea Anti-Communist League <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Carried out cleaning public toilets and erasing scribbles, and distributing 100,000 fliers related to those activities on the main streets of Seoul 	President Roh Tae-woo (1988.2~1993.2) The 1988 Seoul Olympic Games
1989		Korea exceeded GDP per capita of \$5,000 (\$5,860)
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation of The Act on the Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater (1991.9.9) 	
1993		President Kim Young-sam (1993.2~1998.2)
1994		Korea exceeded GDP per capita of \$10,000 (\$10,275)

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial amendment of The Act on the Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater (1996.1.8.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The standard of the installation and management of the internal public toilet facilities was specified • 5.31. Korea was selected as the host of the 2002 World Cup • 6.4. Cabinet meeting, proposed the promotion of pan-national reform drive of national consciousness 	Korea joined the OECD (1996.12.12)
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6.21. "The 2002 FIFA World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council" was officially launched • 9.18. Complete amendment of The Enforcement Rules of The Act on the Disposal of Sewage, Excrementa and Livestock Wastewater <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited to the newly installed public toilets, the gross area shall be over 33m², and more than 11 closets (three for male, eight for female) and more than five urinals shall be installed - The standard of closet partitions was specified while closets and urinals shall be water-closet types in principle • 1997.3.15 The Ministry of Internal Affairs (Drive to Clean Our National Land) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conducted a real-name system for public toilets where senior officials were in charge of the inspection and management - Newly permitted filling stations shall obligatorily open their toilets to the public for 24 hours a day • Suwon City <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In March, it made a maintenance plan for 788 toilets, both public toilets and those in general businesses - Expanded public toilets to 38 in 2003 from six in 1997 by new construction - Carried out "the specified operation of one toilet by one civil servant" and "public toilet patrol and supervision by senior officials who are in charge" - Regularly dispatched one or two public laborers to each public toilet for cleaning and managing - Posted cleaning and management tips and toilet checklists every week and conducted inspections by appointed managers - In April, the Best Toilet Contest was held - In July, the symposium on "Beautiful Toilet Creation" was held 	

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Culture and Tourism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Planned to improve public toilets in 64 major tourists attractions in Korea to invite foreign tourist • Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secured budget of national subsidy and special subsidy tax and supported it for local branches of the Cultural Citizen Council via local municipalities • Ministry of Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allocated a budget after reviewing the environment improvement project programs planned by the ten World Cup host cities • Legislation of The Enforcement Decree of the Act On Promoting and Securing Accommodation for Disabled Person, Elderly and Pregnant Woman (1998.2.24) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A toilet for the disabled shall be obligatorily installed for building permits of new public office over a certain standard - In order to enhance toilet accessibility, the threshold of the entrance shall be lowered • Suwon City <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contest and award of public toilet signs 	<p style="text-align: center;">President Kim Dae-jung (1998.2~2003.2)</p>
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation of Public Health Control Act (1999.8.9) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improvement of acceptability and environment-friendliness of public toilets • Korea Toilet Culture Council was launched as aggregate corporation (Renamed as Korea Toilet Association in 2003) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participated in the representative meeting of the World Toilet Association (October, Singapore) • Suwon City <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conducted a poll of customer satisfaction and toilet census - In February, the symposium on "Beautiful Toilet Creation" was held - Created a new team in charge of toilet culture in the Cleaning Administration Division • In December, The Citizen's Coalition for Restroom (The Coalition) was founded as a genuine private organization • The first contest of the "Beautiful Toilet Grand Prize" was held 	

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Korea Tourism Organization-conducted 'drive to open toilets in crowded areas for 24 hours a day' • Seoul Metropolitan Government-Ordinance for Subsidizing Open Toilets • The Coalition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - From January, opened an accusation call center to receive beautiful toilet recommendations and ugly toilet reports - Educated toilet managers in local municipalities, educational institutions, and other public institutions - In December, selected 220 excellent toilet managers for the first time • Korea Toilet Association-conducted surveys of the actual conditions of 1,000 public toilets in the 10 World Cup host cities 	Korea exceeded GDP per capita of \$15,000 (\$16,502.57)
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use public toilet clean publicity project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manufacturing and distribution of toilet using culture publicity stickers, open toilet drive, volunteers' activities to clean toilets 	
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Campaigns for opening toilets-sponsored by the Chosun Ilbo and the World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council 	The 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup
2003		President Roh Moo-hyun (2003.2~2008.2)
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation of Public Toilets, etc., Act (1.29) • Ministry of Public Administration and Security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Became a competent ministry, as the entire businesses of public toilet management were transferred to the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs - Supported beautiful toilet creation business expenses to each local municipalities • The composition of the central consultant council <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessed business policies of each municipality's public toilet creation project - Supported business expenses as an incentive limited to excellent local municipalities only • 'The 2002 World Cup Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council' was renamed as the 'Cultural Citizen Drive Central Council' 	
2005		Kyoto Protocol came into effect

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amendment of Public Toilets, etc., Act (2006) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The number of the closets in female toilets shall be 1.5 times or more than the number of the closets and urinals in male toilets - The stalls for a disabled person, elderly and pregnant woman shall be installed in public toilets, etc. - Closets, urinals and washstand for children shall be installed • The central assessment of the public toilet creation project was conducted every year for the institutions recommended by local municipalities • Korea Toilet Association was re-launched <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 2006, it was re-launched as a nonprofit private organization based on 'Public Toilets, etc., Act' - Held the International Toilet & Bath Expo - Conducted the study on public toilet technology development measures and assessment of actual conditions of public toilet management - Executed a quality certification system of toilet culture and conducted an assessment business 	<p>Korea exceeded GDP per capita \$20,000 (\$20,917)</p>
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In March 2007, the Cultural Citizen Council, Korea Toilet Association and the Coalition inspected the actual management conditions of public toilets nationwide • Seoul Metropolitan Government promoted Females' Happiness project (Until the end of April, 2010) 	<p>The World Toilet Association was founded (Inaugural Assembly in Seoul)</p>
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstration project of water reuse in toilets • TCQ (Toilet Certificate of Quality) and the standardization of movable toilets were introduced 	<p>President Lee Myung-bak (2008~2013)</p>
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'University Student Supporters of Where You Were At' activity-inspected public toilets and participated in campaigns 	

Year	Incidents Related to Public Toilets	Major Incidents
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amendment of Public Toilets, etc., Act (2010) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The article that mandates the installation of diaper changers for infants and children in male and female toilets was attached - The basis of facility inspection and correction order is specified in case the standard of the installation of closets, urinals and washstand for children is violated - The water used at the washstand installed in public toilets over a certain size shall be obligatorily recycled • Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessed the actual management conditions of public toilets by each local municipality and reflected the results to the year-end institution evaluation • Korea Toilet Association <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Started the first Green Toilet Culture Festival - Introduced GTCQ (Green Toilet Culture Quality) to execute the certification of toilets with environment-friendly facilities 	
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korea Toilet Association <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promoted 'Happy Mom Toilet' creation project 	
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seoul Metropolitan Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Executed the Ordinance for the Operation and Support of Open Toilets (1.5) • Collective standard certification was introduced for movable toilets 	

* Source of GDP per capita: Homepage of the World Bank (www.worldbank.org).

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