

Collaborative Governance for Community Activation:

A Case of Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Seoul

By

KWON, Hee Kyung

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

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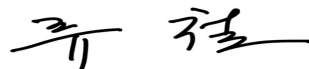
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Abstract

The Seoul Metropolitan Government has been promoting a *Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement Project* that comprehensively improves the residential environment of low-rise residential areas through collaborative governance supporting community activation. However, a recent shift in the urban regeneration paradigm in Seoul has raised questions about collaborative governance as a tool for resident participatory planning in urban planning and management. This study focuses on the collaborative governance supporting community activation in the management-type residential environment improvement project through the example of *Gomdallaekkum Maeul* in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu, Seoul. Especially, Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization shows evidence of establishing a virtuous cycle of public-private partnerships and collaboration between local networks in the COVID-19 pandemic period where community activities are restricted. Therefore, based on the case of reinforcement and extension of collaborative governance following the interaction of the unique community activation of Gomdallaekkum Maeul, a new perspective on the management-type residential environment improvement project is presented.

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1. Introduction

Various social problems, due to gradually developed industrialization and capitalist urbanization in the West, led to urban policy shifting from urban development to urban regeneration (Cho, 2015; Bae et al., 2009; Bang, 2017). In addition, the role and function of the government gradually weakened in line with the participatory democracy and neoliberal policy stance emphasized in the globalization trend, and the concept of urban regeneration began to develop in the form of partnership-based governance operations (Davies, 2002; Blanco et al., 2011). Accordingly, in discussing the performance of urban regeneration, there is a trend of paying attention to collaborative governance to solve social problems by establishing networks through cooperation between various social members (Hwang, 2020; Lee, 2010).

Korea outgrew through rapid industrialization and urbanization in a short period since the 1960s (Bang, 2017; Bae et al., 2009). As a result of the government-led housing supply-oriented policy, conflicts of interest among stakeholders such as residents and developers occurred, and urban problems began to emerge as social and national problems in the forms of social imbalances such as soaring real estate prices (Mok, 2007). As an alternative, the government started to consider urban policies of a bottom-up approach by establishing a voluntary network that can revitalize the community and ensure feasibility in improving the living environment through resident participation (KRIHS, 2019). Accordingly, after the test bed¹ period in the mid-2000s, the urban regeneration project was

¹ In 2006, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport announced the policy direction of *Livable City Mandeulgi* in the 4th National Land Comprehensive Amendment Plan (Korea, 2006). Accordingly, *Urban Regeneration*, one of the top 10 value creation tasks by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport, was promoted in the form of *Maeul mandeulgi* from 2008 to 2013 (Cho, 2015; Oh, 2013).

promoted as a national urban management method by implementing a special law on Revitalization and Support for Urban Regeneration in 2013.

In order to understand urban management methods' paradigm shift in Korea from urban development to urban regeneration, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of the *Maeul-mandeulgi*² project based on residents' participation prior to the introduction of the urban regeneration project (KRIHS, 2019). In the 1990s, the Maeul-mandeulgi project emerged as a residential environment improvement movement centered on residents' gatherings and civic groups³ in response to social interest and demand for solving urban problems and improving quality of life (Mok, 2007). Based on this civil society or private sector environment improvement movement, the transition to the Maeul-mandeulgi policy project promoted by the government began in the 2000s (Ann, 2011). With the support of the central government-level⁴, the Maeul-mandeulgi project began to spread nationally in the mid-2000s in various types of residential environment improvement projects, and a representative example in the early period can be referred to as Seoul Metropolitan Government's *Hangpyeong Park mandeulgi* (2002) (Mok, 2007; Park et al., 2006).

The Maeul-mandeulgi project is a maintenance method in which residents have a sense of ownership and preserve the town (Mok, 2007; Jeong et al., 2013, p. 12). That is, the promotion of the project through voluntary and active participation of residents is the core of

² Maeul mandeulgi was influenced by the British *Urban Village* and the Japanese *Machizukuri* movement (SMG, 2013).

³ *Making Seoul Walkable* Movement by the Urban Solidarity in 1996 is a representative case.

⁴ Representative examples include the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport's *Livable City Mandeulgi* and the Ministry of Public Administration and Security's *Livable Neighborhood Mandeulgi* (KRIHS, 2019).

this project. The Maeul-mandeulgi project, based on residents' participation, was legislated as a Residential Environment Management Project under the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act in 2012 and the Seoul Metropolitan Government reinforced its characteristics by developing an ordinance to promote the Maeul-mandeulgi project. In addition, the expansion of various urban regeneration projects utilizing the characteristics of the Maeul-mandeulgi has been promoted nationwide since 2017 through the introduction of the *Urban Regeneration New Deal Project* under the enactment of the Special Act on Urban Regeneration and Support in 2013.

Urban regeneration and Maeul-mandeulgi⁵ projects share common characteristics of utilizing the Maeul-mandeulgi methodology. However, in the case of urban regeneration projects, the spatial scope and content range are more significantly emphasized than the level the Maeul-mandeulgi project aims for (KRIHS, 2019). Considering the emphasis on community activation by participation, the distinguishing characteristic of the Maeul-mandeulgi project can be referred to as strong resident-driven⁶ involvement results in the improvement of the residential environment (Kim et al., 2010; Bang, 2017; KRIHS, 2019). Furthermore, in terms of supporting the community organization, the community's direct network establishment in developing a core organization of the Maeul-mandeulgi project is

5 Considering that the government and local governments promote Maeul mandeulgi in various formats, it shall be limited to *Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement Projects* under the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act and the Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance.

6 Urban regeneration projects and Maeul mandeulgi projects aim at improving residents' participation, community revitalization, and living environment. However, when classified into relative importance, the Maeul mandeulgi project focuses on revitalizing residents' participation and community improvement while the urban regeneration project emphasizes physical environment improvement (KRIHS, 2019; p 62).

differentiated from the urban regeneration project which forms and operates with the support of a professional intermediate support organization.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government has gone through various projects based on the Maeul-mandeulgi method, such as the *Livable Maeul-mandeulgi Pilot Project* (2008), the *Seoul Human Town Project* (2010), and the *Resident Participation Base Residential Regeneration Project* (2012), and currently, called by the name of *Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement Project* (2018) (hereafter referred as to MTREI project) (Cho, 2015). The MTREI project support residents to take the lead in solving directly, as part of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's Maeul-mandeulgi project, sets a foundation for comprehensive improvement of the community by revitalizing the community.

Collaborative governance means solving social problems based on cooperation (Salamon, 2002; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2004; U.N., 2005; Lee, 2010). Participation among various social members in the efforts of social problem-solving is the core of collaborative governance. So, it is essential to analyze citizens' participation in government policy processes but also citizens' participation in solving themselves directly without government help (Lee, 2021). Therefore, it is necessary to specify a balanced evaluation between various actors in understanding urban regeneration and collaborative governance.

Gomdallaekum Maeul, located in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu, was established by participating in a residential environment management project in 2013, accomplished the implementation completion in 2020, and is currently managed as a representative community of the MTREI project led by a community organization. Since they participated in the residential environment management project based on the previously formed residents' meeting, voluntary and active participation in promoting the MTREI project was substantial. In addition, the movement of residents' direct involvement in revitalizing the community is continuously being observed inside and outside the MTREI project organized by the Seoul

Metropolitan Government. In particular, despite the prolonged COVID-19 pandemic from the end of December 2019, with limited opportunity for community activity⁷, Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization maintains and increases community activities to positively impact the local community by creating conditions to resolve issues through organic collaboration with various members of the community.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze the characteristics of collaborative governance through a single case analysis of Gomdallaekkum Maeul based on the theoretical research trend of collaborative governance. Based on this, I would like to propose a direction to improve the policy of community activation in the MTREI project within the urban regeneration policy that changes according to policy changes.

⁷ In order to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 virus, the Seoul Metropolitan Government suspended the operation of community facilities, and due to this resulted in difficulties in many communities' activities (Kim & Bae, 2022)

2. Urban Regeneration and Collaborative Governance

2.1. Overview of the Governance of Urban Regeneration

In the West, government-led urbanization slowly took place since the late 18th century, but the role and function of government gradually weakened through the rise of the globalization era, emphasizing participatory democracy and neoliberal policies (Bae et al., 2009; Lee, 2010). In this change, various social problems occurred, and the social problems were solved through the competence of the private sector by creating new forms of interaction between various social members that began to occur in the form of governance (Newman et al., 2004; Gose, 2005; Lee, 2010).

Accordingly, major developed countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan shifted from urban developments to urban regeneration (Bae et al., 2009; Bang, 2017). Among them, urban regeneration in the UK has developed with the concept of governance based on partnerships since the 1990s and has significantly impacted urban regeneration and governance development (Davies, 2002; Blanco et al., 2011). Therefore, in discussing the performance of urban regeneration, there is a trend of paying attention to collaborative governance to solve social problems caused by network building through collaboration among various members of society (Hwang, 2020; Lee, 2010).

Modern society emphasizes the role of horizontal and voluntary networks among various partners to solve complex problems, so-called 'wicked problems' (Lee, 2010, p. 25; Agranoff & McGuire, 2003; Lee, 2006b). In other words, modern society is known as a network society (Blatter, 2002). From this point of view, scholars understand collaborative governance as network governance that solves social problems through informal collaboration (Salamon, 2002; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2004; U.N., 2005; Lee, 2010). The fundamental concept is about differentiating from traditional governments, emphasizing a network that does not rely on the government as a way to solve social problems (Peters &

Pierre, 1998). On the other hand, collaborative governance encompasses both formal and informal networks, vertical and horizontal networks, considering conditions in which government participation cannot be excluded entirely (Agranoff & McGuire, 2003; Goldstein et al., 2008). Therefore, collaborative governance cannot be understood as a specific type of social coordination⁸ style (Lee, 2021).

Ansell & Gash (2007) defines *Collaborative Governance* as a social problem-solving method that utilizes structured interactions between autonomous actors and organizations led by the public sector to create new public values beyond existing organizational boundaries and policies. According to Agranoff (2007), *Collaborative Governance* is a ‘public management network (p. 31).’ Public management networks are distinguished from hierarchical systems, characterized by the intentional formation and autonomous operation, reliance on non-hierarchical authority structures, and communication systems (Agranoff, 2007; Lee, 2010). Shergold (2008) defined *Collaborative Governance* as ‘collaboration between organizations (p. 19),’ which emphasizes creating new public values⁹ through collaboration. Lee (2010) defines *Collaborative Governance* as a social problem solution that creates new public values beyond existing organizational boundaries and policies by utilizing various forms of interaction between autonomous actors and organizations in the optimal combination of three forms of the social organization of hierarchy, network, and market.

⁸ The forms of social organizations are mainly ‘market’, ‘hierarchy’, and ‘network.’ (Powell, 1990; Beetham, 1996; Dunsire, 2003; Mueleman, 2006)

⁹ According to Shergold (2018), public value allows participants to learn new ways, thereby providing mutual benefits, promoting and helping the development of mutual culture, and building knowledge of creation and management.

Putting together the definitions of the aforementioned preceding studies (see Figure 1), in common, collaborative governance creates new public values through collaboration. The types of collaboration can be classified in various ways, but it is generally about efforts and actions to solve social problems. In short, collaborative governance has a characteristic of the collective actions of various members of society, namely the pursuit of public values or public purposes to be achieved through collaboration and solving social problems (Lee, 2010).

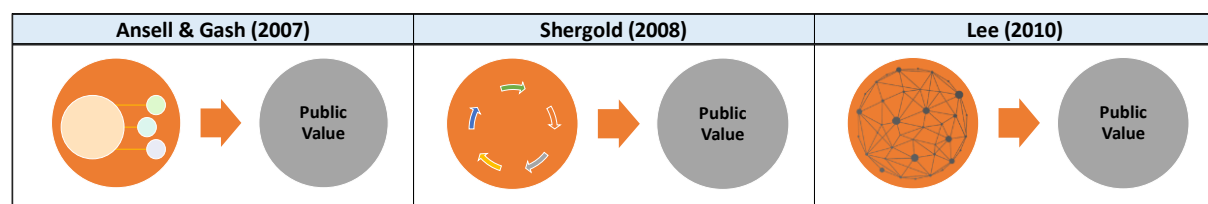


Figure 1. Type of Collaborative Governance

Emphasis on the active role of various members of society other than the government in collective action to solve social problems, collaborative governance pays attention to the necessity and possibility of ‘new participation’ beyond ‘traditional participation’ (Ostrom, 1998; Lee, 2021, p. 303). The role and the function of government in collaborative governance are what Alter and Hage (1993) called the new role of government ‘network-formers (pp. 184-185)’ and what Sullivan & Skelcher (2002) defined as ‘government plays a role in exploring various organizations and working with them to solve social problems (p.81).’ In other words, the government in collaborative governance creates the conditions necessary for solving social problems through collaboration and a catalyst for solving social problems (Lee, 2010; Kickert, 1997; Lee, 2006b).

Therefore, since participation among various social members in social problem-solving efforts is the core of collaborative governance, it is necessary to analyze citizens’ participation in the government’s policy process and citizens’ participation in solving it

directly without government help (Lee, 2021). This perspective differs from the role and function of the government emphasized in the governance model of the type of social problem-solution method of ‘government supplemented by participation and collaboration (p. 291)’ presented in various ways to overcome the limitations of traditional government (Lee, 2021). In short, a balanced evaluation between various actors should be considered in collaborative governance. Furthermore, Nanda (2006) must consider the implications of the political dimension in collaborative governance. Therefore, emphasis on collaborative governance must be noted that it participates with authority in citizen participation, given the characteristics that may be vulnerable to policy changes (Weir, 2010).

2.2. Urban Regeneration Policy in South Korea

Korea has achieved rapid urban growth for about 40 years since 1960 (Bang, 2017; Bae et al., 2009). Discussion of urban regeneration and governance started in earnest in the mid-1990s, followed by the institutional foundation for urban regeneration and collaborative governance establishment through enacting the Special Act on Urban Regeneration and Support in 2013 (Bang, 2017). Since then, urban regeneration projects have begun in earnest nationwide through the Urban Regeneration New Deal project presented as one of the 100 national tasks of the Moon Jae-in administration in 2017.

According to Article 2 of the Special Act on Promotion of and Support for Urban Regeneration, Urban Regeneration means comprehensively revitalizing declining cities through strengthening regional capabilities, introducing new functions, and utilizing local resources. In addition, Article 11 of the relevant statutes explicitly suggests the establishment of an *Urban Regeneration Support Center* that supports public-private cooperation as an intermediate support organization. The trend of emphasizing the necessity of an intermediate support organization is in response to breaking away from the traditional bureaucratic

administration and improving the efficiency of urban regeneration (Kim et al., 2021; Seo et al., 2014). In short, Korea's urban regeneration policy has established and implemented a plan to successfully lead comprehensive regeneration through cooperative governance based on partnerships between the public and the private sector (Bang, 2017).

As of April 2022, from the fact that 534 projects are in progress and 420 urban regeneration support centers are operating nationwide, it is clear that urban regeneration projects are accelerating rapidly throughout the country (URIS, 2022). However, current urban regeneration projects are in the form of one-off projects fragmented and focused mainly on physical development in the impact of frequent changes in the project contents and modifications in project management due to regime change show limitations of government-led projects without considering regional background and conditions (Bang, 2017). The urban regeneration project generally focuses on the 'functional' aspect of urban policy (Kim et al., 2021). Therefore, it is hard to properly understand collaborative governance through urban regeneration projects with a short history.

Despite the poor understanding and empathy for the concept and implementation method of urban regeneration projects due to its short history, resident participation, which is an essential factor in establishing collaborative governance in urban regeneration, has been activated since the 1990s. In other words, the urban policy had undergone a paradigm shift to a participatory urban policy before the introduction of urban regeneration projects (Bae et al., 2011). A project such as *Building a Hanpyeong Park* led by civic groups to government-led projects, including *Livable Maeul-mandeulgi* and *Livable City-mandeulgi*, in the past show similarities to the current urban regeneration projects (Ahn, 2011). Based on this, a 'participatory community building (Maeul-mandeulgi)' was introduced, which is the basis for establishing collaborative governance in urban regeneration projects.

The characteristics of the urban regeneration project and the Maeul-mandeulgi project are similar in that they promote urban revitalization through participants' interaction, creating partnerships between each member, but the distinctive characteristic of Maeul-mandeulgi differentiates in that it is strongly led by residents (Kim, 2010; Bang, 2017). Specifically, urban regeneration focuses on improving the physical environment of underdeveloped towns; on the other hand, resident-participating Maeul-mandeulgi considers the value of life in the community as a method of restoring communities and solving problems.

2.3. Urban Regeneration Policy in Seoul

The Seoul Metropolitan Government led urban policies focusing on housing supply through the development of large-scale residential complexes to actively solve problems that occurred from rapid economic growth due to industrialization and deterioration of the residential environment due to population concentration (Kim & Bae, 2022; Kim et al., 2021; Shin & Kim, 2016). Based on government-led policies and implementations, Seoul was able to outgrow; However, the full-scale demolition project focused on utilizing development profits caused conflicts among residents, revealing the limitations of urban development policies (Seo & Joo, 2019; Jeong et al., 2013, p. 74). In addition, due to the global financial crisis and real estate market slump that began in the second half of 2008, Seoul's urban policy in response to the introduction of the sunset system in redevelopment and reconstruction and the application system for union dissolution in 2012 was a significant turning point (Kim, 2021; MOLIT, 2011).

The *Seoul Human Town Project* was initially introduced as a new low-rise residential maintenance method in 2010, starting with a pilot project for *Livable Maeul-mandeulgi* for low-rise residential areas in 2008 as an alternative to the redevelopment and reconstruction

project (Maeung et al., 2016; Jeong et al., 2013, p. 55-68). It is an example of an attempt to improve the public role in urban policy in Seoul and overcome it through various housing management and activation, such as low-rise housing (SMG, 2010). The Seoul Human Town Project was implemented by creating and deciding plans through residents' workshops and establishing them as actual district unit plans; in this process, participatory planning processes involved expert leadership and residents establishing collaborative governance (Kim & Koo, 2011). Although it is meaningful to introduce resident participation, it is close to a government-led social problem-solution method supplemented by participation and cooperation (Lee, 2021). In this regard, some scholars have pointed out the problem that limited residents' opportunities for voluntary participation and may be forced (Kim, 2012; Won & Kim, 2012).

Based on results in the previous participatory urban projects, the Seoul Metropolitan Government introduced a residential environment management project to improve highly dense residential areas of single and multiplex housing into a livable community environment by revising City and Residential Environment Improvement Act. The policy development follows the direction suggested by the Seoul Mayor Park Won-soon in (SMG, 2012). In addition, by introducing a plan to revitalize the community in the Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance, a plan to start the socio-economic regeneration of low-rise residential areas through community revitalization was prepared (2014). The Seoul Metropolitan Government has launched a sustainable low-rise residential regeneration project that integrates physical and socio-economic regeneration through public-private partnerships by promoting residential environment management projects in combination with social and economic regeneration projects (Maeung & Baik, 2017). Unlike urban regeneration projects under the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act in 2013, the relevant laws do not specify specific methods for resident participation, capacity building, and fostering urban

regeneration promotion entities such as intermediate support organizations. In this regard, Maeng et al. (2016) points out no specific implementation entity and method of the project as the problem of the limitation of the project promotion.

Starting in 2021, Seoul is promoting *Second-Generation Urban Regeneration* by converting urban regeneration policies focusing on preservation and management that have been promoted for ten years to include development and maintenance (SMG, 2021). The Seoul Metropolitan Government has emphasized the need for citizens to feel the ripple effect of regeneration as an alternative to limited limitations such as housing supply and infrastructure due to preservation and management and to switch to functional urban regeneration (SMG, 2021).

The residential environment management project was integrated into the *Residential Environment Improvement Project* by the 2018 revision of the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act and renamed as *Management-type Residential Environment Improvement Project* to the present through the revision of the Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance (Kim & Bae, 2022). However, implementing the MTREI project following the policy change emphasizes preparing and reflecting active maintenance plans based on internal plan changes, which align with Seoul's new urban regeneration policy. Considering that the MTREI project changed by strengthening the nature of physical maintenance and encouraging the community organization to act as an intermediate support organization for the maintenance project, the function and role of the Seoul Metropolitan Government are expected to grow in the future (SMG, 2021).

In addition, concerns about the Maeul-mandeulgi project in urban regeneration policy continue to rise. In November 2021, in an administrative audit of the department in charge of urban regeneration projects, a Seoul councilor ordered a review of the entire urban regeneration project, saying that most of the facilities (facility construction projects promoted

for the comprehensive regeneration of villages and residents) were closed. Therefore, it is necessary to review the patterns of residents' participation projects, capacity building projects, public-private cooperation projects, and joint use facility creation and operation projects related to the Maeul-mandeulgi project in the Seoul urban regeneration policy.

2.4. Current Themes and Challenges

Conduct of research on urban regeneration (including Maeul-mandeulgi) governance in Seoul focuses on establishing and utilizing collaborative governance according to the activities of participating entities (citizens) or intermediate support organizations.

Keyword	Authors	Topic
Governance	Kim & Koo (2011)	Analyzed the establishment and operation of collaborative governance based on trust, participation, and social capital from the example of the 'Seoul Human Town' project.
	Choi et al. (2015)	Analyzed the collaborative process of various stakeholders by applying the model of Ansell & Gash (2008) to the case of Sori Maeul in Gileum-dong, Seongbuk-gu.
	Maeung & Baik. (2017)	Analyzed community activation in the residential environment management project and suggested the necessity of fostering an intermediate support organization to reinforce the project.
	Yeo (2017)	Analyzed the process of establishing collaborative governance through the participation of professional institutions and others through the case of Maeul-mandeulgi in Jangsu Maeul, Seongbuk-gu, and suggested the role of public institutions (administration) in the successful establishment of collaborative governance.
	Kim et al. (2021)	Analyzed intermediate support organizations' governance construction process and change patterns and presented limitations through the Changshin Sung-in urban regeneration project.
Community Activation	Maeung et al. (2016)	Criticized the MTREI project in proceeding community activation policy without considering residents' capacity and growth speed. Also pointed out that community activities in the MTREI project are not sustainable.
	Križnik et al. (2019)	Analyzed the negative impact of the community facility establishment, disrupting residents' participation due to considerable time consumed from a case of Samdeok Maeul, Seongbuk-gu.

Table 1. Current Trend in Urban Regeneration and Governance in Seoul

Previous studies on urban regeneration and governance in Seoul focused on the perspective of administrative and intermediate support organizations and proposed research subjects on collaborative governance construction and operation plans through supplementation of public functions and roles based on encouraging residents' participation. However, research that reviewed the process of establishing and operating collaborative governance based on residents' autonomous efforts in collaboration is insufficient.

Therefore, this study aims to explore the characteristics of collaborative governance building and utilization through the efforts and collaboration of residents who participate in Maeul-mandeulgi through a theoretical review of previous studies based on the case of Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Yangcheon-gu. First, what are the actions and efforts of Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization to create community activation? Second, how does community activation influence the achievement of the Gomdallaekkum Maeul's collaborative governance? Future research topics are given based on the implications obtained through the analysis after discussing the achievements and limitations of Gomdallaekkum Maeul through the investigation of these research questions.

3. Research Methods

3.1. Research Design: Case Study

This study is an in-depth case study based on Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Yangcheon-gu, which started as a residential environment management project in Seoul in 2013 and is currently operating a community facility as part of the MTREI project¹⁰.

This study chose an in-depth case study method among the qualitative research methods. A more realistic and concrete approach to collaborative governance requires careful consideration of the types of interactions or collaboration between stakeholders (Lee, 2010). Accordingly, most collaborative governance literature tends to consist of a single case study focused on sector-specific governance (Ansell & Gash, 2007). In relation, the attribute is that small group studies can evaluate certain types of collaborative governance at a comprehensive level (Beierle, 2000; Langbein, 2002; Leach, Pelkey, and Sabatier, 2002). Therefore, this study focused on the case of Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Yangcheon-gu and conducted research and analysis on collaborative governance construction and utilization methods.

Gomdallaekkum Maeul, located in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu, a representative of the MTREI project that actively utilizes the community's capabilities in sharing with neighbors in need, was carefully selected as a single case study for this study. In particular, Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization has a stable and positive impact on the local community amid limited participation in community activities and weakening community situations due to prolonged COVID-19. Efforts and actions to contribute to the

¹⁰ Gomdallaekkum Maeul completed the public sector project of the MTREI project through the completion of the community facility construction and the delegation of facility management to the community organization in 2020; currently, the community continues the project in the aspect of community activation.

community, such as creating jobs and encouraging social contribution led by the organization of the Gomdallaekkum Maeul community, are the driving force of Gomdallaekkum Maeul utilized by collaborative governance. In this respect, this study explores the context and use of the collaborative governance process of Gomdallaekkum Maeul in the field of data analysis.

3.2. Data Collection & Analysis

This study was conducted based on the author's direct experience in MTREI project management from 2018 to July 2021. It reflects on my experiences planning, executing, and monitoring the MTREI project. In addition, I directly carried out the project as a person in charge of Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu, for one year in 2020.

Data collection methods are in-depth interviews with project stakeholders and various documents of overall project operation. The time range of data collection consisted of 10 years from 2013, when Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Yangcheon-gu began to participate in the residential environment management project, to the present time with the autonomous continuation of community activity after its completion in 2022. The spatial scope of this project is the MTREI project participated by Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu. The document database, which is comprehensively used together, consists of the internal data of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, including data provided by the community organization (photos, etc.) and articles on news media, including interviews of community members. In addition, through in-depth interviews between residents and project practitioners, collected the interview data. Based on this, the validity of the research data is secured based on both documents and interview data.

The interview subjects were a representative of the Community Management Association, a member of the Preliminary Gomdallaekkum Maeul Social Enterprise, and two

MTREI project practitioners (one public official in the Seoul Metropolitan Government and the other a professional with experience in performing the project-related services). In-depth interviews mainly focused on face-to-face interviews, but additional interviews were conducted using wired and written methods (see Table 2). Interviews with the member of the community were conducted four times from July 2021 to April 2022, and based on the main questions prepared in advance, I tried to examine the overall experience of the project participation process and the significant collaboration process. In-depth interviews with practitioners were conducted twice face-to-face for 60 minutes in July 2021. The intention was to examine the overall operation process of the MTREI project and the collaboration process between stakeholders.

Representative	Interviewee	Date	Current Position
Community	A	July 9, 2021 (in-person) July 22, 2021(email) February 6, 2022 (phone)	Representative of the Community Management Association
	B	July 9, 2021 (in-person) July 22, 2021 (email) April 5, 2022 (phone)	Member of the preliminary Gomdallaekum Maeul Social Enterprise (previously Gomdallaekum Maeul activist)
Practitioner	C	July 13, 2021 (in-person) July 28, 2021 (in-person)	Public Official (manager) in charge of the MTREI project's Community Activation
	D	July 13, 2021 (in-person) July 28, 2021 (in-person)	Professional specialized in the MTREI project

Table 2. Details conducted interviews

This data analysis process comprises the following stages:

1. Analyze the characteristics of the Maeul-mandeulgi policy in Seoul.
2. Identify the characteristics of the MTREI project.
3. Study the characteristics of Gomdallaekum Maeul in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu.
4. Investigate the process of solving social problems through autonomous collaboration in Gomdallaekum Maeul's community organization.

5. Explore new public values in establishing and operating collaborative governance in Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization.

Based on the efforts of creating and using collaborative governance in Gomdallaekkum Maeul, by reviewing the analysis, this research aims to suggest managing the MTREI project effectively and successfully.

4. Maeul-mandeulgi Policy in Seoul

4.1. Overview of Approaches in Maeul-mandeulgi

Gomdallaekkom Maeul is closely related to the *Managed-Type Residential Environment Improvement Project* development process, which is part of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's Maeul-mandeulgi policy, so it is necessary to understand the development process and characteristics of the project.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government's Maeul-mandeulgi policy has been implemented since late 1990 through the various changes (see Figure 2) from *Bukchon Regeneration Project* (2000), the *Livable Maeul-mandeulgi Pilot Project* (2008), the *Seoul Human Town Project* (2010), the *Resident participation base residential regeneration project* (2012), the *Residential Environment Management Project* (2012), and the *Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement Project* at this present (Jeong & Kim, 2015). Given that policy changes have evolved and operated in a new manner regarding the form of resident participation, the characteristics of Maeul-mandeulgi promoted by the Seoul Metropolitan Government have developed into a 'community building' in terms of applying urban management methods.



Figure 2. History of Maeul-mandeulgi Policy

Source: SMG (2020)

First, by expanding the method of residents' participation, cooperation was developed dynamically and evolutionarily. From the perspective of Crosby and Bryson (2005)'s a continuum of organizational sharing, based on coordination and cooperation, it can be seen that Seoul's Maeul-mandeulgi project operates by sharing ideas and resources to set a common aim of improving the physical environment and restoring local communities. In the

early stage of the project development, based on the case of the *Bukchon Regeneration Project* (2000) and the *Seoul Human Town Project* (2010), residents' opinions were collected through a briefing session or a workshop to build consensus decision-making on the establishment of maintenance plan. Meanwhile, the *Residential Environment Management Project* (2012) and the current *Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement project* (2018) support sharing power and capability with the public sector by facilitating various residents' participation programs such as community facility operation, participatory community projects, and community capacity-building training.

Second, in planning, the focus on the spatial hierarchy of the city was changed to units of 'neighborhood.' The application of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's Maeul-mandeulgi as a planning method for managing the city is common in general. However, the history of policy change in the Seoul Metropolitan Government shows its interest gradually scaled down from the city to the neighborhood in the spatial planning hierarchy. Specifically, the Bukchon Regeneration Project focused on the urban scale, the Seoul Human Town Project on the district scale, and the current MTREI project on the neighborhood scale in developing a plan. In other words, the tendency to increase the competitive ability of residents' participation through changes in focus on spatial hierarchy in the project is notable. In short, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's Maeul-mandeulgi project is developed by emphasizing the importance of 'physical space' as well as 'social space'¹¹.

Overall, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's Maeul-mandeulgi policy aims to improve the neighborhood by achieving social and economic improvement along with physical improvement (SMG, 2021). Through this, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has

¹¹ Based on the perspective of Henri Lefebvre, understand 'social space' as a space in social interaction (2011).

played a role in creating and supporting the conditions in applying the resident-led urban management method where the residents become the active participants of the project. In summary, efforts to convert community building from the public-led to resident-led have been made by applying a method of improving the environment through a community at the neighborhood level. Therefore, over the past decade, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has sought to establish collaborative governance to restore the relationship network through residents' centered values and trust through revitalizing the resident community in urban management and operation.

4.2. Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement Project

The Seoul Metropolitan Government continues to carry out Maeul-mandeulgi policy from the 'Residential Environment Management Project' in 2012 to the 'Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement Project (hereafter referred as to MTREI project)' as of 2022. The MTREI project aims to improve low-rise residential areas for sustainable development through promoting socio-economic revitalization, such as building community networks and supporting small businesses in the community, along with improving the physical environment (SMG, 2021). This project is a type of maintenance project based on Article 2 of the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act. It is a project to preserve, maintain, or improve the residential environment by improving public facilities such as roads and building community facilities in low-rise residential areas where low-rise dwellings are concentrated. In addition, social and economic regeneration is promoted together based on the community activation policy according to the Seoul Metropolitan Government's ordinance and the establishment of the policy (Maeng et al., 2016).

As of May 2022, 87 MTREI projects are managed throughout Seoul, consisting of 68 projects in low-rise residential areas and 19 projects in Hanyangdoseong¹² neighborhoods. As part of the MTREI project, there are 28 community facilities in low-rise residential areas and ten community facilities in Hanyandoseong neighborhoods. In addition, in Hanyangdoseong areas there are 13 additional facilities¹³ built for specialized use to promote the value and the history of Hanyandoseong neighborhoods. Community facilities are the center of community activities and are primarily operated and managed by community organizations in the form of community management associations or consultative bodies. In other words, the community facilities are managed directly by the community under an agreement with the local district through free use approval by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. There are a total of 34 community organizations for the management and operation of community facilities, and in the town, there are organizations in the form of community councils (2), community management associations (30), and social enterprises (2) (see Table 3).

¹² With the revision of the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act in 2012, Hanyangdoseong Neighborhood Improvement Project is included in the MTREI project. The Hanyangdoseong neighborhood shares the value of 600 years old Hanyang City Wall where history and life coexist and specializes in local assets (SMG, 2022).

¹³ The purpose of the space is different from the community facility of the MTREI project because it is used as a museum, tourist information center, etc.

Administrative District	Project Zone	Community Facility	Specialized Facility	Community Organization
Jongno-gu	10	6	7	2
Jung-gu	6	2	-	3
Dongdaemun-gu	2	1	-	1
Jungnang-gu	1	-	-	-
Seongbuk-gu	14	7	6	7
Gangbuk-gu	4	2	-	1
Dobong-gu	4	3	-	3
Nowon-gu	3	1	-	1
Eunpyeong-gu	8	3	-	3
Seodaemun-gu	4	1	-	1
Mapo-gu	1	1	-	1
Yangcheon-gu	3	2	-	2
Guro-gu	9	4	-	4
Geumcheon-gu	4	2	-	2
Yeongdeungpo-gu	3	1	-	1
Dongjak-gu	4	-	-	-
Gwanak-gu	7	2	-	2
Total	87	38	13	34

Table 3. Current Status of the MTREI Project by Administrative District

Source: Summarized based on Seoul Metropolitan Government's Internal Data (2022)

The MTREI project carries out together with the physical environment improvement project and the Maeul-mandeulgi project. The main contents of the project include the establishment and implementation of maintenance plans, the improvement of maintenance infrastructure, the creation and operation of community facilities, and support for activating the community. Specifically, according to the characteristics of the project, the project to create and operate community facilities and support community activation can be seen as the nature of the Maeul-mandeulgi (community activation)¹⁴ project. Community facilities are both physical and social spaces for socioeconomic regeneration through forming close relationships with the community from the development planning stage (Maeung & Baik, 2017; Kim & Bae, 2021). Specifically, residents will directly participate in the entire process of facility planning to create a space for the community desired by the community. In

¹⁴ In order to distinguish it from the 'Maeul-mandeulgi' project as a part of the urban policy, matters related to the revitalization policy of the MTREI project shall be marked as 'Community Activation.'

addition, after the completion of the construction of community facilities, the Seoul Metropolitan Government grants the authority to the community to operate and manage facilities and use them as physical assets for socioeconomic regeneration in the community.

The MTREI project has developed in the direction of strengthening the aspect of ‘community revitalization’. While the policy to improve the physical environment has progressed in a consistent direction, the policy to revitalize the community is expanding and operating through diversification strategies from supporting community formation to strengthening community capabilities and establishing a foundation for autonomy. In this regard, it can be identified into three stages (see Table 4) in consideration of the process of policy change according to the characteristics of the Seoul mayor, a policy actor (Kim et al., 2014).

Year	Community Activation Policy	Challenges	Breakthrough	Mayor
2011	-	Increased interests for citizen participation	-	Park, Won-soon (2011-2014)
2012	(Ordinance) Establishment of basis for building community facilities	Increased needs for physical spaces for community activation	Establishment of the legal and budgetary basis for building community facility in the MTREI project	
2013	(Plan) Promotion of professional activist dispatch service and monthly subsidies for community activities	Lack of voluntary community activities in the MTREI project	Introduce informative and inspiring professionals and support financially to the community to stimulate community activities	
2014	(Ordinance) Establishment of basis for the composition and operation of the community organization (Plan) Operation of Residential Environment Management Advisory Group	Increased concerns about one-off community activities	Establishment of the support for authority and responsibility of the community organization	Park, Won-soon (2014-2018)
2015	(Ordinance) Establishment of basis for community facility free use	Lack of socioeconomic infrastructure in the community	Extension of authority and responsibility of the community organization	
2016	(Plan) Implementation of community activation plan in developing maintenance plan E.g. temporary communal space operation, etc.	Lack of support for the stages in the MTREI project where the Seoul Metropolitan Government's participation is less	Extension of systematic support for community activation across all phases of the MTREI project	
2017	(Plan) Promotion of community capacity building projects *continuance of the project	Lack of support for community capacity building	Facilitation of smooth implementation of projects by strengthening the capacity of the communities	Park, Won-soon (2018-2020)
2018	(Plan) Promotion of Community Business Building Project * continuance of the project	Lack of self-managing capability for community facility	Promotion of participatory community project as part of the MTREI project to support in developing community business	
2019	-	-	-	Park, Won-soon (2018-2020)
2020	COVID-19 Pandemic	Social Distancing	Temporary closing of community facilities	
2021	(Plan) Promotion of community activist capacity building (Plan) Suspension of community capacity building Project	Community failure of managing community facility	Check up on actual conditions of community facilities and levels of community capabilities	Oh, Se-hoon (2021- ing)
2022	(Plan) Suspension of community business building project (Plan) Suspension of support for professional activist dispatch service and monthly subsidies for community activities			

Table 4. Development of Community Activation Policy

Source: Summarized based on Seoul Metropolitan Government's Internal Data

From 2011 to 2014, the first term of Seoul Mayor Park Won-soon was a test bed period for the ‘people-centered’ community policy. Related laws and systems were introduced to establish a foundation for rapid settlement and revitalization of the policy. From 2014 through 2018, based on the second term of Mayor Park Won-soon stably implemented and focused on developing and strengthening capabilities to promote continuous support in community activation with a consideration of the maturity of the community organization. In 2018-2020, the third term of Mayor Park Won-soon’s tenure, he began to support the independence of the resident community based on securing the continuity of the policy.

After Mayor Oh Se-hoon began his position as mayor of Seoul in 2020, the policy to activate the community shifted downward. Policy changes according to the characteristics of policy leadership explain the trend in policy direction. However, due to the COVID-19 outbreak, the complex situation was formed by restrictions on community activities such as facility closure and suspension that continued from December 2019, affecting the policy direction of Seoul to some extent.

4.3. Community Activation Policy in MTREI Project

Policies for revitalizing the community of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's MTREI project (see Table 5) are divided mainly into physical, social, and economic support matters (Maeung & Baik, 2017). First, a base space for revitalizing the community in the project area is provided by establishing and creating community facilities for the community (SMG, 2013). Second, professional activist dispatch services and education opportunities are provided to strengthen the composition and capabilities of community organizations (SMG, 2012; SMG, 2017). Third, economic activities in the community are encouraged through support for activity expenses and the operation of participatory community projects (SMG, 2013). Overall, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's managed the MTREI project in preparation of an institutional foundation to establish the composition and operation of community organizations and the continuity of community activities.

Phase	Physical	Social			Economical	
	Community Facility	Community Organization	Professional Activist Dispatch Service	Community Capacity Building	Monthly Subsidies for Community Activity*	Community Business Project
Preliminary (a motion for consent)	temporary communal space	temporary consultative body for residents	One Activist	-	400,000 won/month (first month 500,000 won)	-
Planning (Plan Development)	Plan Development	consultative body for residents	Two Activists	Community Capacity Building Project (Since 2017)		
Implementation (Design & Construction)	Establishment	community management council	Two Activists			
Operation (Completion of Public Sector)	Operation & Management	Social Cooperative Community Enterprise Non-profit Organization	One Activist	Community Capacity Building Project (Since 2017)	Graded Monthly Subsidies according to the development phase	Community Business Model Strategy Development Project (Since 2018)
Activation (self-supporting)		Social Enterprise	-		-	

Table 5. Community Activation Policy

Source: Summarized based on Seoul Metropolitan Government's Internal Data

* The amount of 10% from the monthly subsidies is required from the community to be eligible for the financial support

The community facility development project starts by sharing the needs and goals of the space through residents' participation process of a community plan development and continues taking part in the operation and management of the facility on their own after completion of the physical facility development (SMG, 2013). In the preliminary stage, before purchasing land for the community facility development, the operation of temporary communal space is indirectly supported through financial aid that covers activity expenses (SMG, 2013). In the planning stage, an on-site office within the project area is opened and used as a temporary communal space for the community (SMG, 2016). At this stage, the community considers, measures, and derives activities and spaces to secure appropriate spaces for the community together with experts. Through this, based on the necessity of community facilities, the capacity of community organizations, and appropriate operation plans, the final decision on whether to create facilities will be made after consultation by the resident environment management advisory group¹⁵ managed by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG, 2017).

In the implementation stage, the design and construction of the building are carried out according to the consultation results determined in the planning stage, and the community's opinions are reflected throughout the process. In order to maintain the vitality of the community, the Seoul Metropolitan Government provides financial support necessary for the operation of temporary public spaces during the construction period of residential facilities (SMG, 2019). In the operation stage, the residential environment management

¹⁵ The Seoul Metropolitan Government reviews related matters through on-site consultation and operation of the formal consultation; and based on the result of the consultation of the residential environment management advisory group, the purchase and design direction of community facilities are determined (SMG, 2017).

advisory group reviews the facility operation plan of the community organization to ensure space for the community's direct operation and management organizations by approving the free use of the community facility (SMG, 2013).

Secondly, the MTREI project supports the composition and operation of community organizations and capacity building for the sustainable revitalization of community communities (SMG, 2012; SMG, 2017). The professional activist dispatch services and capacity-building education is provided steadily throughout the MTREI project. Through this, the community can actively utilize its capabilities to continue community activities. In principle, the professional dispatch service appropriately allocates necessary community activists, considering their specialized abilities such as communities, urban regeneration, social economy, and other areas (cultural, artistic activities, etc.). The community activists are selected based on the conditions for completing urban regeneration education or activist capacity training, and based on this, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's dispatch by recommendation of the autonomous district who knows the community situation in detail (SMG, 2016). Apart from the dispatch of activists, the community capacity-building project started in 2017 offers an opportunity to strengthen the network through public-private collaboration based on the accumulation of experiences and visible effects of community activities by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG, 2017).

Thirdly, the community's economic independence is encouraged via monthly subsidies supporting community activity and a community economic revitalization project (SMG, 2013; SMG, 2018). Financial support for community activities is a basic program offered to the MTREI project communities to promote the revitalization of the community from the beginning of the MTREI project, along with the professional activist dispatch service. In the preliminary stage, 400,000 won per month is provided (500,000 won per month for initial application). In the operating stage, monthly subsidies are differentiated

accordingly to the development stage of the MTREI project (first year: 400,000 won/month, second year: 300,000 won/month, third year: 200,000 won/month, fourth year: 100,000 won/month). Monthly subsidies are generally supported through a thorough review based on a business plan prepared by the community. A 10% payment from the community is required to ensure the responsibility in using a cash-supported project. The Seoul Metropolitan Government manages, and the autonomous district supervises the project throughout the project development (SMG, 2013; SMG, 2018). Furthermore, in 2018, the Seoul Metropolitan Government announced a project to support revitalizing the community economy by actively developing community businesses to induce community independence. The project is managed as a participatory community project to support community business model strategy discovery, economic independence, and efficient operation of community facilities (SMG, 2018). Evaluation of the community's initiative plan determines an eligible community, and project participation encourages communities to improve their satisfaction by forming solidarity and bonds with customized consulting for community businesses.

5. Case Study: Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-Gu

5.1. MTREI Project in Gomdallaekkum Maeul

Gomdallaekkum Maeul in Sinwol 1-dong, Yangcheon-gu, started as a candidate site of MTREI project in October 2013 (SMG, 2013). After securing 53.1% of residents' consent, it was decided as a project site for the MTREI project in June 2014 (SMG, 2014).

Accordingly, from October 2014 to December 2015, a maintenance plan for the MTREI project was developed to designate a maintenance zone for MTREI project through establishing a resident participation-based maintenance plan accompanied by 26 community workshops, 27 community newsletters, 33 Master Planner meetings, community festivals, and regular community meeting (SMG, 2017). Following the Seoul Metropolitan Government Notice No. 2017-106 to designate the maintenance zone and activate the MTREI project's maintenance plan in March 2017, the construction project for implementing infrastructure and community facilities such as roads and CCTVs maintenance was carried out. In December 2019, the public-supported physical environment improvement project was completed (SMG, 2022). Since the completion of the physical environment improvement project, the community organization of Gomdallaekkum Maeul has continued its community activities through the operation of the community facility.

In connection with the development process of the community activation policy summarized in Table 4, it can be seen that Gomdallaekkum Maeul was influenced by the development process of the community activation policy of the MTREI project systematically expanded in Seoul. Gomdallekkum Maeul is based on a public-private partnership formed in the process of improving the physical environment based on resident participation, that is, Maeul-mandeulgi (Maeung et al., 2016; Jeong, 2012). After completing the public sector, the community organization is expanding its activities in the local community without the direct support of the Seoul Metropolitan Government.

5.2. Background of Gomdallaekkum Maeul

Gomdallekkum Maeul had sufficient consensus and residents' participation in major issues in the town before participating in the MTREI project (Participant A, Personal Communication, July 9, 2021). Gomdallekkum Maeul has situated in weak geographical characteristics, exposed to repeated heavy rain damage during the rainy season and aircraft noise caused by the proximity of Gimpo International Airport (Participant A, Personal Communication, July 9, 2021; SCSC, 2017). In addition, there was a great need to improve the town's overall physical environment where parking difficulties and illegal waste dumping were rampant (SMC, 2017; SCSC, 2017). Moreover, an interest in improving the socioeconomic environment for vulnerable groups such as single-person households and single-parent families was high (SCSC, 2017; SCSC, 2019).

Regarding the situation at that time, Participant A said, "Our town is close to Gimpo International Airport, so conversations are easily suspended while planes pass by in Yangcheon-gu. Also, there are many vulnerable groups such as low-income families and single-parent families. In particular, there were no schools close by, so many young families moved to other places when their kids entered school age. There were many elements of distrust and conflict among residents due to parking difficulties and illegal dumping in narrow alleys." (Han Gyerye, 2018).

According to Participant A, he was not particularly interested in or concerned about the community. However, as he participated in rice-sharing services to overcome the heavy rain, he became interested in the community and his neighbors (Participant A, Personal Communication, July 9, 2021). From this point on, through developing a relationship with neighbors, he participated in communal activities within the community network. Through this, he had a chance to learn about the MTREI project at the recommendation of his neighbor (Participant A, Personal Communication, July 9, 2021).

In addition, Participant A naturally became interested in the socioeconomic environment of the town through the difficulties faced by many low-income and single-parent families based on his experience in operating daycare centers (Participant A, Personal Communication, July 9, 2021). Through this, the interest and curiosity, which began with the question of what can be solved without worrying about a meal on the way home from work, were the foundation of the driving force for the community to cooperate and develop into a representative community kitchen¹⁶ of Gomdallaekkum Maeul using talent donations from an excellent capacity of residents (Han Gyerye, 2018).

5.3. Gomdallaekkum Maeul's efforts in the Community Activation Policy

When you Look at the status of policy reflection to activate the community of Gomdallaekkum Maeul (see Table 6), Gomdallaekkum Maeul has developed with the progress of the MTREI project. Interestingly, here, Gomdallaekkum Maeul's unique characteristics appear in the process of development. Specifically, the continuous autonomous activities of the community organization in improving the spatial environment for community activities have been found. Moreover, with the long-term dispatch of one specific activist, a strong network between residents and activists has been established.

¹⁶ The community uses "Maeul(community) table," but in order to deliver the meaning within the context, hereafter referred to as "community kitchen."

Phase	Year	Community Facility		Community Organization	Professional Activist Dispatch Service	Community Capacity Building	Monthly Subsidies for Community Activity	Community Business Project
		Space	Operation					
Preliminary (a motion for consent)	2013	an auditorium, church, etc	Used of Public Space	temporary consultative body for residents	-		-	
	2014				Lee			
Planning (Plan Development)	2015	Storage space (Basement)	Used of free space provided by the representative of the temporary	consultative body for residents (10% of consent required)	Lee & Cho → Lee	-	Supported	
	2016	Rented Space (Ground floor)	Used of ground floor space in the same building with expenses payment covered					
	2017	SMG owned Property	free-use					
Implementation (Design & Construction)	2018			Kang		Selected		-
	2019	Rented Space	Rent assistance from SMG				Selected	
Operation (Completion of Public Sector)	2020	Community Facility	free-use	community management council				-
	2021			community management council Preliminary Social Enterprise		suspension		Selected
Activation (self-supporting)	2022				Suspension	suspension	Suspension	Suspension

Table 6. Community Activation in Gomdallaekum Maeul

Source: Summarized based on Seoul Metropolitan Government's Internal Data

(1) Efforts in Creating and Operating Communal Spaces

The community organization of Gomdallaekum Maeul has continuously made efforts to create and operate space for residents to gather and communicate (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022). For the first two years of MTREI project, by securing and utilizing space in the town with the efforts of residents themselves, Gomdallaekum Maeul's community organization used it as a community-based space for full-scale project promotion (Participant B, Personal Communication, April 5, 2022). According to interviews conducted by Participants A and B in 2022, in the early days of the MTREI project, the residents had difficulties in promoting community activities in poor spatial environments, Gomdallaekum Maeul's community organization urged the need to secure space voluntarily.

Gomdallaekum Maeul's community organization, at first, went around to a nearby church or café and started using the underground storage space of a building owned by the first chairman of the temporary organization of the community in 2015 for ten months and then to the first floor of the same building for a year. For about two years, the community

secured and operated its own space. There were no rent expenses incurred due to the consideration of the temporary representative of the community when using the underground storage space. When it comes to using ground floor space in 2016, the community organization covered the rent expenses from the subsidies from the participatory community project known as ‘Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekum Maeul community’ and membership fees (Participant B, personal communication, April 5, 2022; Participant A, personal communication, February 6, 2022). According to Participant A, based on an interview conducted in February 2022, it was essential to expand social interactions with many residents despite the incurred expenses of renting space to promote the MTREI project smoothly, and by securing more accessible space, the community was able to engage in community activities more actively. To sum up, the implementation of the MTREI project impacted the voluntary cooperation of the community by utilizing the personal resources of members and covering space operation costs by themselves.

By taking a step forward in securing a physical space, the residents of Gomdallaekum Maeul improved the spatial environment in the taste of the community (SMG, 2017). The community organization purchased equipment to enhance the internal space environment and improved the environment through donating talent (Participant B, Personal Communication, April 5, 2022; Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022). A comprehensive study of online social media photographic materials managed by community organizations for communication and archiving (Table 7, Environment Creation) confirms residents’ voluntary movements in improving the spatial environment from 2015 to 2021. Specifically, the community activities in relation to donating for talent to create a pleasant internal environment (such as wallpaper replacement and furniture placement) and the purchase of furniture necessary for community activities can be found (such as bowls).

	2015	2016	2017-2018	2019	2020-ing
Community Facility	Basement (free-use)	Ground Floor (rented)	SMG owned property (free-use)	Basement (rented) * financially supported by	Operation & Management (free-use)
Environment Improvement	voluntary work	participatory community project	voluntary work	voluntary work	participatory community project
Community Activities	Communal Dining		Community Kitchen		

Table 7. Community Activities in Community Facility

Source: Summarized based on Gomdallaekum Maeul's photograph database

If you look at the community activities related to the operation of the community space, you can see the characteristics (see Table 7, Community activities) of the 'community kitchen¹⁷.' Gomdallaekum Maeul's community organization developed focusing on 'food' to secure the driving force for expanding temporary gatherings to regular gatherings (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022). For example, the community developed into a 'community kitchen' held every Thursday based on the experience of hosting 'mom's kitchen' events for the many double-income families in the early days of the project and expanded the scope of participation and activities in town festival in the sense of 'community kitchen' (Han Gyerye, 2018). Therefore, the 'community kitchen' is the driving force for the participation of the Gomdallaekum Maeul community and an important focal point for enhancing the sense of the community.

¹⁷ Participant A explained the purpose of the 'community kitchen' saying, "If we eat together, we will become close." (Seoul Village Story vol. 60, 2017)

(2) Efforts in Network Building

Looking at the professional dispatch services in the status of the policy for activating the community of Gomdallaekum Maeul (see Table 6), participant B continued to be dispatched sole for five years, from 2017 to 2021. Professional dispatch services in the MTREI project dispatch experts who serve as bridges between residents, experts, and administration to effectively promote the project as ‘experts who can strengthen residents’ capabilities and promote the project’ (SMG, 2012). After completing the 2016 Seoul Metropolitan Government Urban Revitalization Forum competency training, participant B was dispatched to Gomdallaekum Maeul in 2017 as an entry-level activist in the beginning and participated as an intermediate activist till 2019. After the end of professional dispatch services following the completion of the public sector, she is currently working as a member of the Gomdallaekum Maeul Social Enterprise (Participant B, Personal Communication, April 5, 2022).

In an interview conducted by wire in April 2022, participant B said that although she is not a resident in the Gomdallaekum Maeul, she is a resident in the same living area (southwest of Seoul) causes ongoing interest in Gomdallaekum Maeul. Participant B was first dispatched at the time when community space began to operate stably with the support of the Seoul Metropolitan Government and contributed to the community activation in Gomdallaekum Maeul regularly. Participant B, in particular, said that she played a role in creating conditions Gomdallaekum Maeul to participate in various participatory community projects based on her excellent documentation skills. She said it had a positive impact on the formation of a reliable network of relationships with the community organization. (Participant B, personal communication, April 5, 2022).

5.4. Gomdallaekkkum Maeul's efforts in the Participatory Community Projects

In the case of Gomdallaekkkum Maeul, residents continued to increase their activities to revitalize the community through various participatory community projects while promoting MTREI projects (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022; Participant B, Personal Communication, April 5, 2022). It is necessary to analyze the autonomous activities of Gomdallaekkkum Maeul in participatory community projects (local subsidy projects) that are voluntarily conducted from planning to application, selection, implementation, and settlement to understand the activities of Gomdallaekkkum Maeul.

Gomdallaekkkum Maeul's community organization has consistently participated in various participatory community projects managed by the Seoul Metropolitan Government, Yangcheon-gu Office, and the Seoul Community Support Center¹⁸ voluntarily. In a face-to-face interview conducted in July 2021, participant A was introduced to various participatory community projects besides MTREI project with the support from Yangcheon-gu Office, and by this, the community has had an opportunity to participate in the 'Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkkum Maeul community' project for three consecutive years. In particular, the creation of 'community kitchen' activities through the 'Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkkum Maeul community' project in 2016 allowed the community to gain momentum in revitalizing the community of Gomdallaekkkum Maeul (SCSC, 2017).

With the guidance of the Local Community Division of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, The Seoul Community Support Center managed an 'Activating alleys for a

¹⁸ The Seoul Community Support Center was established in August 2012 and systematically supports the community development led by residents to contribute to the realization of resident autonomy and the development of democracy following Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance on support, etc., for the creation of village communities (SCSC, 2022).

happy community' project based on 'A pilot project plan for activating alleys for a happy community for a small-scale governance development (2016).' Since 2016, as an intermediate organization, the Center implemented the project to support collaborators in various fields in the future by implementing unique and active alley creation through autonomous cooperation between neighbors (SMG, 2016). Similar to the MTREI project in the activation of community, the project's goal is to support a community group or community organization with a will to activate a small-scale community centered on low-rise residential alleys. While the 'Activating alleys for a happy community' project and the MTREI project share an approach to managing a project to promote community attachment, this project focuses on 'activating the community' in the project to lay the foundation for establishing a regional-based network (SMG, 2016).

Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization promoted communal harmony by organizing the Alley Festival and improving the alley environment such as improving fences and installing public trash cans through the 'Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkum Maeul community' project (Han Gyerye, 2018). The festival was planned with various programs, including a demonstration performance of the community orchestra and other events. In particular, the 'Community dining' was established to make and share food by the residents as an event of the community festival and based on this; this activity impacted the development of the 'community kitchen' (Participant A, Personal communication, February 6, 2022; Participant B, Personal communication, April 5, 2022). Therefore, as Participant A interviewed in the 2018 Ondongne Newsletter, the 'Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkum Maeul community' project can be referred to as the driving force behind the big growth of Gomdallaekkum Maeul.

In particular, by analyzing the characteristics of the participatory community projects participated until recently, it can be said that Gomdallaekkum Maeul has intensively

developed the community by actively linking the character of the ‘community kitchen’ (see Table 8). Moreover, since 2019, Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization efforts have been made to establish community business by incorporating the concept of ‘community kitchen,’ with an expansion of residents’ gatherings into economic activities. Considering that community service activities were also carried out in the process, overall, Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization has expanded its capacity in the scope of socio-economic.

Year	Participatory Community Project	Purpose of the Project	Community Activities
2021	Gomdallaekkum Maeul, Food Jump up! (Part of the MTREI Project)	Community Business Development	Creating jobs and preparing establishment of social enterprise by operating lunch box sales and catering business
	Community Activation Service (Yangcheon-gu)	bottom-up collaborative job creation	Collaboration with Yangcheon Economic and Social Cooperative in creating and operating jobs related to community facilities
2020	Community kitchen for the low-income and the youth (participatory budgetary)	Social contribution	Collaboration with local business revitalization project through volunteering activities (food sharing)
	Community Activation Service (Yangcheon-gu)	bottom-up collaborative job creation	Collaboration with Yangcheon Economic and Social Cooperative in creating and operating jobs related to community facilities
2019	Gomdallaekkum Maeul thinking energy and environment (Yangcheon-gu)	Energy conservation practices and campaigns	
	Community facility environment improvement (Part of the MTREI Project)	Improvement of the Internal Environment of Community Facility	Carving a sustainable path for self-sustaining community through the implementation of a physical infrastructure
	Community business model strategy development through communal dining 'mom's kitchen (Part of the MTREI Project)	Establishment of business model for utilizing community resources	recipe development and profit-generating experience
2018	Gomdallaekkum Maeul thinking energy and environment (Yangcheon-gu)	Energy conservation practices and campaigns	
	Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkum Maeul community (Seoul Community Support Center)	Building small-scale regional governance	communal dining in every Thursday
2017	Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkum Maeul community (Seoul Community Support Center)	Building small-scale regional governance	communal dining in every Thursday
	Gomdallaekkum Maeul thinking energy and environment (Yangcheon-gu)	Energy conservation practices and campaigns	
2016	Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekkum Maeul community (Seoul Community Support Center)	Building small-scale regional governance	communal dining in every Thursday

Table 8. Gomdallaekkum Maeul's History of Participatory Community Projects

Source: Summarized based on Seoul Metropolitan Government's Internal Data, YESES (2022)

5.5. Gomdallaekkum Maeul and COVID-19

Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization prepared in earnest for one year before the completion of the community facility (December 2019) so that the community organization could operate the facility stably without relying on the Seoul Metropolitan Government. To induce local residents' interest and curiosity about the new community facility in town and seek a plan to stably settle the community facility in the region, the community organization planned ahead to participate in the participatory community projects (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022).

Specifically, the community organization sought the possibility of independent operation of the community facility through the participatory community projects to discover community business model strategies related to the community kitchen and cafe operation (SMG, 2019). As part of this preparation, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's civic participation budget implementation project for food services to low-income and youth and the Yangcheon-gu Social Economic Support Center's 'bottom-up and Cooperative Job Creation Project' were selected early in 2020 (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022).

However, with the spread of the COVID-19 outbreak, which broke out at the end of December 2019, Gomdallaekkum Maeul has overcome the situation with a quick response to the change of its original plan amid an unexpected crisis and continues to revitalize the community.

According to an interview with Participant A in 2021, Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization originally planned to introduce and promote a new community facility to residents by conducting a face-to-face event in the form of a community festival, which has been held annually since 2016. However, due to COVID-19, it was inevitable to change the plan in a situation where face-to-face meetings became difficult. Even with

difficulty in the situation, encouraging minimal face-to-face contact was essential to induce the curiosity and interest of residents of the new community facility (Participant A, personal communication, February 6, 2022; Participant B, personal communication, April 5, 2022).

Accordingly, Gomdallaekkom Maeul's community organization led the project by changing its operation plan from a community festival to food pick-up from the community facility (Participant A, Personal communication, February 6, 2022). The project was carried out as Seoul Metropolitan Government's citizens' participation budget project¹⁹ in 2020, and members of the community organization gathered at the community facility every Saturday from April to December to cook side dishes helping out in prevent skipping meals in the community through providing food services every week (SMG, 2022).

In addition, originally based on encouraging residents to communicate and interact and generate a stable income, Gomdallaekkom Maeul's community organization planned the first floor of Gomdallaekkom Maeul's community facility as a cafe and improved its physical environment by preparing equipment and furniture in 2019 (SMG, 2019). Furthermore, by promoting a 'bottom-up and cooperative job creation project' in 2020, Gomdallaekkom Maeul's community organization intended to reduce the direct labor cost burden caused by the operation of the community facility and create jobs in the community (Yeses, 2022). In particular, this project was planned to be carried out smoothly by December 2020 based on cooperation between Yangcheon Economic and Social Cooperative based on the signing of an agreement to create jobs in the local community and revitalize the community's social economy. This participatory community project was a "bottom-up and cooperative job creation project" promoted by Yangcheon-gu Social and Economic Support Center, which

¹⁹ Based on the results of the project, Gomdallaekkom Maeul received an Award for the Excellent Execution Project of the Seoul Metropolitan Government's Citizen Participation Budget in 2021 (SMG, 2021).

planned to open and operate a cafe in May at that time by hiring four residents to operate the cafe (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022).

However, due to the prolonged COVID-19 situation, the Seoul Metropolitan Government's order to temporarily close community facilities was directly hit by the cafe operation (SMG, 2020).

Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization changed its strategy from a cafe-specific operation plan to a lunch box and catering service plan to overcome the prolonged suspension of the use of the community facility as well as the pause of participation in participatory community projects but suffered from opposition from participants with no kitchen work experience (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022). During the test period from July to August, Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization provided catering services to related institutions (Yangcheon-gu Office, etc.). It especially attracted attention to the community through food services for Yangcheon-gu clinic employees and medical staff striving to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 virus. From this, in November of the same year, the active activities of Gomdallaekkum Maeul led to an opportunity to the involvement of supplying lunch boxes to the residential treatment center at the request of Yangcheon-gu Office (Participant A, Personal Communication, February 6, 2022).

In response to COVID-19 in Gomdallaekkum Maeul, the community has developed its strategy from pick-up to catering services to local institutions and expanded food services from side dishes, café specialized drinks, snacks to lunch boxes. Taken together, in the COVID-19 situation, the scope of community activities has expanded while minimizing face-to-face contact with residents in the community facility. From this, the nature of the 'community kitchen' also developed. At the same time, it was possible to build a community business based on the uniqueness of the Gomdallaekkum Maeul and contribute to the local

community. As Participant A said in a face-to-face interview in 2022, “We will continue to practice various sharing for the community,” it can be seen that Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization is moving to their interest in community contribution.

Response to COVID-19	
Change in Plan	Voluntary Services (food sharing, donation, etc.)
	 

Table 9. Community Activities in Response to COVID-19

Source: Summarized based on Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s photograph database

6. Discussion

The critical factors of collaborative governance by synthesizing the case analysis of Gomdallaekkum Maeul are as follows:

- a. In the characteristics of Gomdallaekkum Maeul's community organization in activating the community, it was possible to confirm the expected performance of the 'Maeul-mandeulgi' policy operation through the MTREI project.
- b. Through community organizational autonomous efforts and interactions, synergy effects were created to promote and expand networks between various social members.
- c. The capacity of the community organization of Gomdallaekkum Maeul was strengthened in this process.

Gomdallaekkum Maeul has established a physical environment that can systematically promote community activities by developing plans involving residents in the MTREI project, providing an opportunity to strengthen community consensus and participation in voluntary cooperation. In addition, the diversification of the MTREI project's policy support for activating the community had a positive effect on the development of the community consciousness of Gomdallaekkum Maeul. In other words, based on this, it can be seen that Gomdallaekkum Maeul was able to explore the purpose and the direction of the development of the community. Therefore, the MTREI project provided opportunities for the community to participate and helped create collaboration-friendly conditions to use collaborative governance as an effective means of managing and improving the residential environment (Lee, 2010; Maeung et al., 2016).

The community organization of Gomdallaekkum Maeul made efforts to activate the community in the process of MTREI project. With the community's participation, the community space environment was improved comfortably, allowing the physical space

supported by the MTREI project to be more actively utilized. Through this, the capacity of the community to operate and utilize the space was built. In addition, due to the high dependence on community activists in general, growing concerns over guaranteeing the continuity of community activities grew after the suspension of activist dispatch. In response to this, Gomdallaekum Maeul accepted an activist as a community member based on their long-term cooperation to overcome the impact of the suspension of the activist dispatch on the community (Maeung et al., 2016).

Looking at the broad scope of community activities in Gomdallaekum Maeul, it can be seen that the participatory community projects had a positive effect on the development of activating the community. Taking together the characteristics of the participatory community projects in which Gomdallaekum Maeul participated, it is a short-term project of less than a year that can achieve tangible results. However, since the community participated in the ‘Activating alleys for a happy Gomdallaekum Maeul community (2016-2018)’ and ‘Ondongne Economic Community Activation Project (2019, 2021),’ the community overcame the limitations of short-term projects by selectively expanding and utilizing the repetition benefits of the participatory community projects.

Moreover, increased fatigue in the community through implementing the MTREI project, which takes more than four to five years on average, was dissolved through the participatory community projects. From this, the community’s satisfaction was enhanced to encourage continuous participation. Therefore, community participation through the participatory community projects promoted complementary development of the community activation policy in the MTREI project (Shergold, 2008).

Specifically, Gomdallaekum Maeul’s community organization is expanding and using the concept of ‘community kitchen’ from promoting community through relationship formation to providing food for the socially underprivileged at the community level and

guaranteeing food in the local neighborhood (Kim & Kim, 2019). This shows the development of the community culture of the ‘community kitchen’ transformed into a form of community business with a change in community activities that provides services that meet local needs. In this process, Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization expanded its existing network to establish a foundation for linking and cooperating in the scope of the local community (Lee, 2010).

The collaborative governance of Gomdallaekkum Maeul has expanded the scope of collaboration and public value in terms of its complexity and diversity (see Figure 3). In other words, citizen participation-based public-private partnerships of the MTREI project are developed and operated in the form of collaborative governance that solves community problems based on locality and autonomy of the community. In particular, in the case where Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization autonomously provides public services, the efforts of Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization can be seen as having certain publicness. Therefore, concerning the public value shown in Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community activities, Gomdallaekkum Maeul’s community organization is solving problems through collaborative governance that exerts influence on the local community (Lee, 2010).

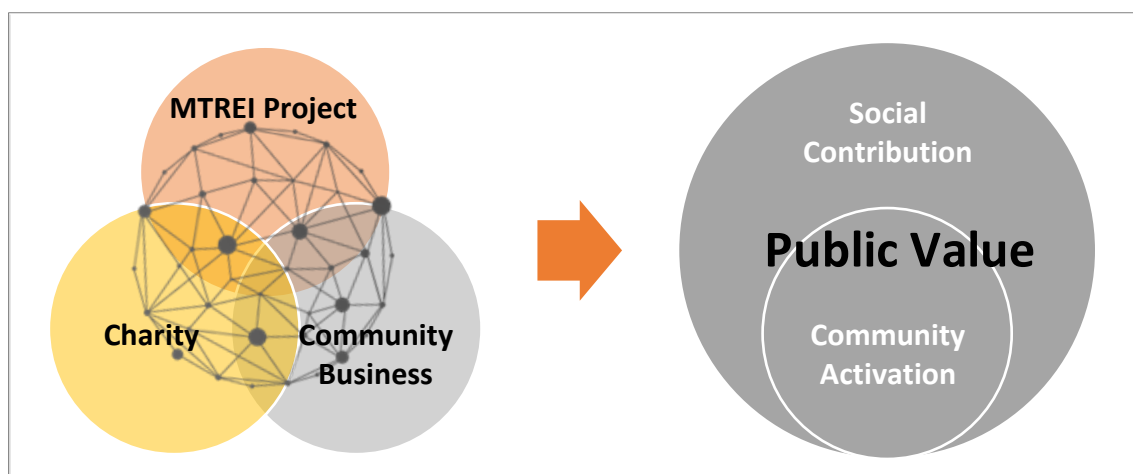


Figure 3. Collaborative Governance in Gomdallaekkum Maeul

7. Conclusion

Urban regeneration projects and Maeul-mandeulgi projects are bottom-up approaches in urban planning and management methods by establishing a network that can activate the community and ensure feasibility in improving the living environment through resident participation (Park et al., 2019). In common, it can be seen in the same context in that it is an urban policy based on the governance as a tool for social problem-solution of ‘government supplemented by participation and collaboration’ as a way to overcome the limitations of traditional government (Lee, 2010). However, the characteristics of the Maeul-mandeulgi project can be classified in that it supports the creation of new subjects to improve the physical environment based on the voluntary and active participation of residents. In contrast, the urban regeneration project focuses on improving the physical environment to promote community revitalization (KRIHS, 2019).

Gomdallaekkum Maeul has developed through a ‘Management-Type Residential Environment Improvement project’ to promote the comprehensive regeneration of low-rise residential areas by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Interestingly, combining the participation of residents prior to participating in the project and their continuous efforts to activate the community, the strong characteristics of Maeul mandeulgi can be found in promoting the MTREI project of Gomdallaekkum Maeul. Therefore, in the case of Gomdallaekkum Maeul, collaborative governance can be understood through a balanced evaluation of public institutions and resident organizations.

In the case of Gomdallaekkum Maeul, step-by-step support for the MTREI projects from the Seoul Metropolitan Government has impacted activating the community. Further developed in the engagement of the MTREI project, the community organization of Gomdallaekkum Maeul made efforts to activate the community. In short, collaborative governance has strengthened and expanded through the active efforts of Gomdallaekkum

Maeul's community organization. Based on public-private partnerships in the MTREI projects, the community organization has been initiating solving local problems through the establishment of new partnerships in the community.

This study conducted an in-depth analysis of Gomdallaekkom Maeul. In order to achieve a successful qualitative analysis of Gomdallaekkom Maeul's case study, various methods were included, such as literature analysis, interviews, and policy data in this research, and implications were proposed based on this. This study is expected to be used as primary data necessary to suggest the direction of the MTREI project policy for promoting comprehensive regeneration by utilizing collaborative governance. In this study, the characteristics of the continuous and voluntary efforts of the community were analyzed by dividing them into efforts linked to the MTREI project policy and efforts outside the policy. The correlation between community activation and collaborative governance can be understood from this.

Appendix A: Sample Interview Questions

1. Community Activation

- A. Why did you (the community) decide to participate in community activities?
- B. How do you engage in the community activities?
- C. What makes a strong participation in community activities?

2. Networking & Partnership

- A. Has working with government partners presented any benefits and challenges?
- B. Does working with various stakeholders' impact on community activities?
- C. How do you see the community in terms of position in society?

3. Challenges

- A. What is the most significant challenge in participating community activities?
- B. What were the most significant challenge with the community during COVID-19 pandemic?
- C. What drives autonomous continuation of community activity?
- D. Does partnership with other stakeholders in the local take up a significant impact on the community?

4. Solution

- A. What are the community's efforts to overcome the challenges?
- B. What kind of collaboration is associated in these efforts?
- C. Did the community share a vision?

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