

**A REAPPRAISAL OF INTUITION IN THE PERCEPTION OF URBAN SPACE
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT
IN SOUTH KOREA**

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Abstract

This thesis is an inquiry into the aesthetic function and practice of intuition in a multi-sensory world. It is also about how theorising intuition can address the perception of urban space. In the course of formulating a theory of intuition, two case studies are looked at: the Gyeongbok Palace restoration and the Gamdong Public Art Project, the latter taking place in the former mining towns of Gohan and Sabuk. These two case studies provide pertinent cases for claiming that a theory of intuition can be explored within the context of space and time.

My concern with reappraising intuition is motivated by analysing the differences between Korean and Western understanding of invisibility in relation to urban space. I explore invisibility through the dynamics between intensive causes and the material aspects of space. In a Korean context, invisibility indicates the 'temporary absence of a thing' or 'potential visibility' as inherent in the 'real'. This notion of the real informs the methodology of this thesis, making me consider both internal and external aspects of urban space as parts of one indivisible mechanism. Throughout my research, an intercultural method is applied. I adapt a selective marginal European metaphysical theory of intuition to an East-Asian context, in order to formulate new concepts specific to the Korean situation. Thus, *functional gi*, *spectres*, *intuitive visibility*, *intuitive tangibility* and *place-specificity* are the key concepts by which I explore the constantly changing conditions of Korean modernity and the formation of urban space. Obtaining a clearer picture of urban development in South Korea through the use of these concepts reflects back on their role in the formulation of a theory of intuition. This research argues that intuition is not only an individual capacity, but also a phenomenon that is defined by objective, social and collective occurrences that affect the complex dynamics of contemporary urban space and time.

My research attempts to forge a connection between the intuitive and the political. The written part of the thesis explicates how the less visible and undervalued sides of Korean culture interact with political power to give rise to a new visibility from within that culture. My art practice tries to define the moment where a new sensibility takes form, while looking at less visible aspects of society and the spectacle of visibility in urban space as belonging to an inseparable process of becoming.

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Introduction: Towards Invisible Space

You should know that what is capable of seeing, hearing, moving, and acting has to be your original mind; it is not your physical body. Furthermore, the four elements which make up the physical body are by nature void; they are like images in a mirror or the moon's reflection in water.
(Buswell & Chinul 1992: 104)

We have forgotten where we come from. This is double forgetting: of the elements through which all living things are born and live, a cosmological element; and of the specific body, indeed a chain of bodies, from which we come, a genealogical or maternal element. Life is this double debt, and its forgetting is perhaps the condition under which the living come to know the world though not understand themselves.
(Grosz, 2004: 2)

[Motif, Aim, Key Notions, Area of Study]

This thesis is an exploration of how intuition makes it possible to theorise the perception of urban space. I use urban practice in South Korea as an example of how Western theories of urban practice fail to address the culture-specific conditions of urban development and modernity. In other words, I am aiming to open up a discourse on intuition, through a range of sub-concepts, in order not just to say something about urban practice in Korea, but also to explore intuition as an aesthetic practice as well as a critical apparatus. I argue that the practice and employment of Western discourses, as universal ideas by which to address urban space in Korea, are highly problematic. Here, a Korean understanding of 'invisibility', which comes from a different context to that of the West, becomes a central departure for my research (see description of invisibility – Chapter I: Section 3). I will argue that a reversed way of looking at urban space, not from physical space but from the invisible dimensions of space, is required; this is in order to see the current complex cultural dimensions of urban practices in South Korea as a 'whole'. This is based on the argument that I will gradually develop throughout this thesis, i.e. that Korean modernity is not just based on 'the new', but on the continuation of repressed traditions or undervalued histories and beliefs. I observe how these undervalued beliefs and histories existed prior to modernity, rather than coming to be considered merely as the outcome of rapid industrialisation and global capitalism. In Korea, invisibility can mean potential visibility and often refers to supernatural causal powers that many Koreans believe

in implicitly. Within this architecture of belief, invisibility is regarded as a more primary experience than visibility, in terms of what can be defined as the 'real'.

Throughout this research, I employ key notions from Korean religious practices in pre-modern times, (particularly Buddhism and *pungsu*, with their symbiotic relation (Yoon 2006)), which denote invisible dimensions of the world, in order to understand what invisibility means in a Korean cultural context. In other words, by examining the Korean urban situation as a case study, we can develop a theory of intuition capable of addressing complexity and including invisibility. This understanding involves the use of two new terms – *intuitive visibility* and *intuitive tangibility* – which I propose as concepts to articulate, re-evaluate and appreciate a seemingly unreadable part of Korean culture. These terms explain two different intuitive perceptions, yet *intuitive tangibility* denotes a more active condition of intuition than *intuitive visibility*. The aim here is to develop the ideas of *intuitive visibility* and *intuitive tangibility* through an investigation of the structures that order duration, body and urban space. I see *intuitive tangibility* as a potentially frequent occurrence that describes the way in which 'aesthetic experience' can arise as a result of urban development and spatial changes. It is examined as 'aesthetic experience', because *intuitive tangibility* is about a qualitative kind of 'sympathy' that Bergson defines as 'aesthetic feeling' (Bergson 2011: 11-20). This can be further explained as a transitional kind of moment that forms the 'blocks of sensations' we encounter in art (Deleuze 1994: 163-199). In Chapters I, II and III, the notion of *intuitive tangibility* will be gradually developed in order to analyse the complex dynamics of urban development in Korea. In Chapter IV, I will introduce place-specificity as a means for actualising *intuitive tangibility* in the living environment. Thus *intuitive tangibility* will be observed as an urban phenomenon, place-specificity as a method for increasing the observability of this phenomenon. It seems that some parts of culture and history are not always understood by theories alone, especially when they are vernacular in kind or are about history where intensive emotion is involved. I explore certain cases so that it becomes clear that the actual 'practice' of urban space can be influenced by less theorised and invisible aspects of culture, such as spiritual beliefs of the past, or by the repression of such beliefs and the historical memories associated with them. It is not the principles of spiritual beliefs I focus on but the principle of the phenomenon of intensity (invisibility); I try to describe the moment of 'becoming clearly perceived' or the process of 'becoming materialised' (visible). I argue that contemporary urban development is not a phenomenon we can simply evaluate as being successful or mistaken in relation to some concept of past or present values. Urban space is a constantly changing system of dialectics between the visible and the invisible, the powerful and the disregarded, the external and the internal. Thus it

requires subjects to develop a new sensibility in order to perceive their rapidly changing environment as a complex whole, instead of looking at it as a series of disconnected parts.

This exploration carefully examines the intensive reasons underlying two urban development projects in South Korea: the Gyeongbok Palace restoration and the Gohan-Sabuk redevelopment. In a case study of the Gyeongbok Palace restoration, I aim to investigate the less discussed culture-specific background of the demolition of the JGGB (the catalyst to restoring the Gyeongbok Palace), which seemed to motivate a certain direction of development. I focus particularly on *pungsu* discourse and the nationalistic response of many South Koreans to the intuitive forces that were socially formed as a result of the belief in *pungsu*. These intensive forces led to the formation of extensive urban space. In the case of the redevelopment of Gohan and Sabuk, it is revealed that these towns need more cultural-specific development that will balance their current capital-centred development. Thus, through my research, the intensive forces and the patterns they form are investigated in relation to the Gyeongbok Palace case, and reconsidered for the examination of the (re)development of Gohan and Sabuk. However, this does not mean that the Gyeongbok Palace restoration was successful or that its development pattern could be repeated elsewhere. Rather, I argue that intensive forces have brought about a 'different' pattern of development in modern Korea, and that these need to be re-examined and explored in order to format culture-specific discourses of urban space. Thus place-specificity is my proposal for a development methodology capable of exploring these intensive forces within the actual practice of urban space.

This research crosses the boundaries of various intercultural and interdisciplinary disciplines, including phenomenology, metaphysics, urban politics, the philosophy of perception, post-colonialism and aesthetics. I rely on various sources to reveal the intercultural perspective of my research. First, Henri Bergson's interpretations of intuition, duration and memory are introduced, and compared to intuition, as explained in accordance with the contemplative tradition of Korean Seon Buddhism. Bergson argues that intuition can be understood as an act of willing that completes the rational thought process. In a similar way, Korean Seon Buddhism claims that a state of 'full intuition' is gained through a 'gradual cultivation' of the human will. According to Bergson and Korean Seon, intuition is 'strength' of thought, which can be developed, instead of being merely an irrational capability. So I argue that some lines of thought by certain Western philosophers, when read in comparison to Eastern thought, represent a potentially different theory of intuition to the generic or universal ideas that might dominate Western thought. Secondly, Maurice Merleau-Ponty's theory of the phenomenal body will help us to analyse the

specific type of visibility prompted by the demolition of the JGGB. Here, the close relation between body and space that Korean *pungsu* denotes will be further examined through the ‘inter-sensory’ experience of the body as described by Merleau-Ponty. Thirdly, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s concepts of ‘rhizomes’, ‘blocs of sensations’ and ‘the virtual’ offer a further framework for understanding intuitive perception in relation to the function of aesthetics within South Korean urban practice. Finally, I expand on Edward S. Casey’s and Yi-Fu Tuan’s theories of place with the incentive to theorise urban space through dependence on particular cultural contexts. Here, Tuan’s theory of ‘place’, associated with subjective ‘feeling’, is more specifically described by Casey as including both ‘space’ and ‘time’. This will help to understand ‘place-specificity’ as simultaneously comprising both internal and external aspects of space.

[Key Question, Analysing Apparatuses: *Functional Gi* and *Spectre*]

As we will see in Chapter II, I introduce ‘internal’ aspects of space, related to the temporal dimension and ‘external’ aspects of space, as belonging to the spatial and material dimensions of urban space. Hence, throughout my research, the internal aspect of space will denote the intensive forces that have actual influence on the formation of space (e.g. *pungsu*, policy, nationalism and the common expectations formed among Koreans). The external aspect of space will refer to the material aspects of space, which influence the physical formation of space. It might almost be said that the internal aspects of space are invisible, and the external aspects visible. However, as we will see in Chapters III and IV, the internal and external, visible and invisible aspects of space are interrelated, thus it is impossible to make a clear-cut division. For instance, capitalism itself is an intensive force that produces physical changes to urban space, yet capital influence means changes in both the temporal and spatial dimensions of urban space. The question is then, why do we not make use of internal (invisible) space as much as external (visible) space when we theorise urban practices? Thus, I argue that without developing and utilising *intuitive visibility*, we are unable to approach the complex reality of urban space. We tend to see urban space from a strictly material perspective, ignoring internal aspects and invisible processes. Thus, throughout my thesis, I propose ways by which we can approach the internal aspect of space. Based on this, Korean modernity will be understood in relation to both the internal and external aspects of modernisation that closely influence the formation of urban space. I argue that Korean geomancy, i.e. *pungsu*, influenced the formation of culture-specific phenomena such as the demolition of the Japanese Governor-General Building (JGGB). Here, this intensive force is observed as influencing the actual formation of urban space, whether this belief system is

convincing or not to the eyes of modern rationalism. By focusing on *pungsu* and its effects, less-explored aspects of the JGGB case will be examined. In addition, there has been a strong tendency towards nationalism in Korean historiography, something that colonialist interpretations of Korean history and modernity have strongly repressed (Shin & Robinson 2001). I observe that nationalism can also be found in the collective aversion towards Japan in the JGGB case, which was connected with *pungsu* theory. This will make it clear that urban space is a consequence of the intense forces of modernisation.

It will further be observed that the collective response of the public is determined by political power that encourages re-emerging belief in the spiritual or mystical aspects of culture (such as *pungsu*). To explain this dynamics, *functional gi* will be introduced as a term that accurately explains the correlation between politics and the vernacular belief in *pungsu*. I will further argue that the outcomes of the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace generated *spectres* (Derrida 2006), another term that I introduce to analyse the effects of an intensive force (global capitalism) on recent urban development in South Korea. *Functional gi* and *spectre* are two different concepts, implying different historical and contextual backgrounds and emerging patterns of intensive forces. Throughout this thesis these two terms will be introduced as major forces in Korean modernisation, which I examine particularly in relation to urban development (for explanations of the two terms see the Outline of this Thesis).

[Research Methodology]

I consider the linked demolition of the JGGB and Gyeongbok Palace restoration, and Gohan-Sabuk modernisation, as two different but related models of culture-specific development that should be analysed by a culturally specific method. In order to examine how rational modernisation is accepted in accordance with the culture-specific conditions of South Korea, I adapt European metaphysical theories of invisibility and intuition to an East-Asian context in order to formulate new concepts specific to the South Korean situation. *Functional gi*, *spectres*, *intuitive visibility*, *intuitive tangibility* and *place-specificity* are concepts by which I explore the constantly changing conditions of Korean modernity in relation to the formation of urban space. However, this needs to be differentiated from comparative research based on one-to-one examinations of commonalities and contrasts. This is because I produce a new terminology, not just by comparing one idea with another, but by developing a third meaning, which is both Korean and European, through the encounter between different disciplines and philosophical traditions. One common characteristic of these concepts may be that they signify the limit of material space as conceptualised

according to a symbolic order. These terms form a proposal for theorising this inaccessible limit, where the language of rational order breaks down as it confronts deeply rooted spiritual traditions or layered complexities of cultural occurrences in Korea. However, when these concepts are used to explain a situation particular to Korea, the definition of 'limit' itself adds new meanings to the context by which it relates to Western terminology. Thus the intercultural nature of this research first aims to establish a discourse where multiple directions of translation are possible. Further intercultural methods aim to produce an extensive language of off-centrism and non-hierarchy.

In some ways, the inter-cultural research I undertake corresponds to Bergson's theory of intuition. Christopher S. Jones (2002) writes that Bergson was searching for alternatives to 'Western rationalism'. He indicates that one area of thought that Bergson began to investigate was that of Japanese philosophy and religion; Bergson was ready to acknowledge the non-European sources of his inspiration. Jones also remarks that Bergson not only made direct references to Buddhist principles in his work, but also recognised within them a synergy with his own philosophy. From this recognition, we may gain some idea of the importance that Buddhist ideas played in the development of Bergson's notion of intuition. In my research, I seek to analyse and theorise an aspect of this synergy through actual case studies of urban development in South Korea. One example is where Bergson's notion of pure memory is introduced in order to explain the 'unexplored memory' of the JGGB, which I define as the key cause underlying the demolition event. Here, unexplored memory is different to the purely virtual state of memory that Bergson introduces. Although unexplored memory explains the virtual state of unknown memory, this memory is imagined through the Buddhist view of 'dependent arising'. More examples of intercultural research methodology have been illustrated in the 'Area of Study' above.

[Outline of this Thesis]

In Chapter 1 I reframe intuition, known to be a non-intellectual faculty of the mind in the West, as being more integrated with the intellect. I explore this expanded notion of intuition firstly through the idea of enlightenment in Korean Buddhism representing a 'moment of awakening', leading to 'full intuition'. This study reflects my intercultural research methodology of observing differences or commonalities between Korean and European philosophical traditions in order to develop a hybrid way. Key comparative terms will provide the basic framework for my argument. I begin by developing my theories of *intuitive visibility* and *extensive intensity*, which I

examine and develop further in later chapters, with regard to spatial practice on the socio-cultural and aesthetico-political level.

I observe that interpretations of intuition are conditioned by different understandings of how aspects of the world are perceived as either *visible* or *invisible*, based on different historical and cultural backgrounds. Korean invisibility has a distinct meaning in relation to Korean sensibility towards a type of vision that is comparable to Bergson's idea of intuition.

I further examine extensive intensity as an alternative network that might generate a limitless 'connectivity of intensities' (O'Sullivan, 2007: 17-20). This 'connectivity of intensities' does not belong to the dominant systems of production that symbolic language is capable of explaining. From this notion of intensity, the idea of *intuitive visibility* is proposed. *Intuitive visibility* is close to an aesthetic experience where intensity and visibility coincide. I propose two specific examples of *extensive intensities*. One is drawn from Mao's conceptualisation of *gi* in his radicalisation of Chinese politics (Lam, 1993; 2000), and the other is *spectre*, Derrida's specification of Marxist mechanisms (Derrida, 2006). These two concepts are introduced to describe modes by which the invisible becomes visible, which allows us to develop an understanding of how a metaphysical notion of intuition is developed into a collective psyche, and how to expose this process within the socio-cultural and political context of contemporary society.

In Chapters II and III I examine the Gyeongbok Palace restoration, based on the assumption that the experience of 'aesthetic feeling' (Bergson 2001: 13-18) and the experience of urban space have become closer in the modern world. My examination of the demolition of the JGGB focuses on its background in a folkloric belief system. This irrational background to a contemporary building project reveals crucial evidence for the idea that Korean modernisation follows an entirely different pattern to that of European modernisation. Its particularity reveals a new form of modernity associated with the historical, social and political conditions of Korea.

In Chapter II, based on Bergson's notion of 'duration', I propose that urban space is the combined form of external (spatial) and internal (temporal) aspects of space, and that architecture is the combined form of matter and social memory. I argue that understanding and practising urban development in Seoul based only on ideas of 'spatial knowledge' is problematic. This is because, culturally, historically and psychologically, the complex case of the JGGB should be reevaluated in accordance with its own context, instead of being discussed by applying methods based on Western theories of urban studies or case studies of post-colonial buildings in other

countries. Thus I base the analysis solely on public opinion about the actual situation, which provides a source for investigating the internal aspects of urban space with regard to the collective memory by which the public perceived the JGGB. To do this, the results of public polls, articles in daily papers and architectural scholars' theses published around the time of the demolition were looked at in order to collect and analyse different opinions. No written documents relating to this case have been available to the general public, apart from architectural scholars' writings in the early 1990s. However, the theses of architectural scholars have revealed varying opinions regarding the JGGB case, which I consider reflect public opinion.

Meanwhile, *pungsu* will be introduced as one of the causes of *intuitive visibility* in terms of the perception of urban space. The Korean population believe in the idea of *pungsu* to the point that it became a tangible mechanism that brought about a shift in Korean consciousness in relation to the JGGB case. So *pungsu* is a crucial way to view a temporal aspect of a certain site with which common expectation and collective memory are involved. For further investigation of this, a case study of the JGGB will be carried out based on the following four concepts: modern rationale versus the folkloric tradition of *pungsu*, *pungsu* and affect, spatial knowledge versus temporality, and urban space in relation to a Bergsonian notion of pure memory.

Chapter III further develops the ideas from Chapter II; based on existing *pungsu* texts and their practices in pre-modern Korea, it examines *pungsu* itself in relation to the body. A further examination of *pungsu* contributes to our understanding of how ancient conceptions of space and time still impact on the complex conditions of contemporary urban development in Korea. *Pungsu* was, in this context, regarded in Chapter II as a major influence on spectators' perceptual understanding of development. In this chapter, the JGGB event is discussed further in relation to the social dimension of physical space. If there is a social dimension at play, then the blocs of experience and sensation that we derive from urban space could be regarded as being not only personal but also social phenomena, closely related to dynamics of power within society.

From a perspective of examining the demolition event with regard to the present 'restored Gyeongbok Palace', the two concepts of *functional gi* and *spectre* are developed further in Chapter III. *Functional gi* is regarded as the embodied antipathy of Koreans towards Japan, backed by the *pungsu* justification of geomancers and the Korean government's utilisation of *pungsu*. This term denotes the conditions of contemporary urban development, in that one intensive force (*gi/pungsu*) is utilised to support another (government policy). *Spectres* are examined as increasing phenomena of urban space in Korea, resulting from recent neo-liberal development

policies. *Spectre* is the mystical value produced by spatial expansion of modern cities, it multiplies its effects and modes of appearance. *Functional gi* and *spectre* describe the real conditions for urban development in South Korea, allowing both intensive and extensive forces to be regarded as part of the picture. These concepts do much to explain the complex and culture-specific dimensions of the JGGB case, a complexity otherwise rarely approachable by means of rational order or historicism. By introducing these two terms, through my research I try to analyse the performance of the intensive and abstract forces that I consider to be influential on Korean modernity.

Following on from this, I develop one of the key concepts of this thesis: *intuitive tangibility*. *Intuitive tangibility* designates a more concrete experience of an object or phenomenon than *intuitive visibility*. *Intuitive visibility* and *intuitive tangibility* are two different intuitive perceptions, yet *intuitive tangibility* is a more active form of intuition involving a more concrete sense of the touching body and its engagement with the perception of an object. In relying on these concepts while understanding the Gyeongbok Palace restoration, I conclude that a definition of ‘restoration’ could be explored as consisting of two aspects: 1. the actualisation of virtuality as it retains indeterminate possibilities; 2. the establishment of a new spatial order that results in disembodied power.

In Chapter IV I change focus from the JGGB case to the Gamdong Public Art Project in Gohan and Sabuk, two small former mining towns in South Korea. Gohan and Sabuk are adjacent towns which, given their proximity, are often called Gohan-Sabuk. I attempt to see the possibility that public art becomes a means to practise and explore *intuitive tangibility*, a concept I set up in previous chapters, in urban space. By doing this, *intuitive tangibility* is put forward as the active apparatus of a modernisation scheme that could also be developed in particular directions by art. However *intuitive tangibility* is a term describing intuitive perception, the perceptual experience of architectural space. Because intuitive perception is difficult to instrumentalise, I introduce ‘place-specificity’ as a means for understanding how intuitive tangibility is generated, particularly through public art or cultural development projects. Place-specific art not only addresses issues of public space but also describes how art fuses with everyday life through its emerging features. I argue that place-specificity is required to balance a paradoxical situation. By a paradoxical situation I mean the case where a force, e.g. governmental power, diminishes the historical and cultural qualities (internal aspects) of space under economy-driven development policies that strengthen external aspects of space. This is because the same government also establishes a system for increasing these ‘external’ qualities, e.g. through a public art programme. Thus what happens is that, on the one hand, art

becomes part of a modernisation scheme utilised by the government. On the other, artists act against the requirements of capital-centred development that defines art as being merely for the public good. This is what distinguishes place-specificity from site-specificity; place-specificity is primarily motivated by a lack of internal qualities in contemporary urban space, such as the lack of cultural resources in Gohan and Sabuk. Place-specific art practice seeks to build connectivity between the internal and the external aspects of space, with a new meaning of history being constantly produced, and where there is exploration of in-between places and opportunities for the public to engage with a more flexible meaning of art. Thus it will be shown that the role given to public art (conditioned by an economy-centred development policy) and art's autonomous capability to increase intensive experience (through artists' imagination and open collaboration with local residents) are in a constant process of negotiation within the socio-politically and culturally complex situation of Gohan and Sabuk. I call the public art initiative by local government, implemented through development strategies, 'functional art', a term I develop from '*functional gi*'.

While investigating the role of place-specific art, the unique modernisation pattern of contemporary Gohan and Sabuk will be diagnosed as a state of 'hetero-temporality'. In Chapter II, I investigate the JGGB case based on the 'temporality' of space using Bergson's theory of duration. Today, the political and cultural situation of the contemporary towns Gohan and Sabuk is more complex than it was when the JGGB was demolished.

This situation could be described as one of 'hetero-temporality', which I see as the recent state of Korean modernity. In Chapter II, I examined the JGGB case according to the view of 'emptiness' formulated in Buddhist philosophy. If we apply this philosophy to the Gohan and Sabuk case, it helps us to see the uneven development of the towns as a dynamic of complex causes and effects, including internal and external aspects of space. I observe that there is a close association between the visibility of Gohan and Sabuk and the themes that the artists were dealing with in the Gamdong Public Art Project, which proximity I see as an occurrence of *intuitive tanigibility*.

The written part of my thesis introduces intuition as an active ability, which suggests an alternative perception of urban space. By seeing intuition as being closely associated with the 'temporal', 'bodily' and 'spatial' dimensions of urban environment, it is suggested that intuition is a phenomenon that extends beyond individual and subjective feelings, one which can function collectively, socially and politically. Throughout this thesis, I argue that intuition can serve an ethical function, that of a counterweight to the homogeneity of global economic development and

patterns of urbanisation. This is because intuition perceives the less-visible undervalued qualities that we cannot perceive merely from a spatialised perspective. Further, by providing cases studies, the written part of my thesis not only aims at painting a more complete image of intuition, but also aids me to internalise these ideas in a way that relates to my practice as an artist. Thus the initial intent is to see how far the theory of intuition can be practised and, in the course of practice, what other perspectives open up with regard to both social interaction and public art. This possibility of practice is explored in Chapter IV, as is my own art practice; although my ideas on intuition inform both my theory and practice, there are different sub-methodologies and processes at work in these two areas.

Introducing Practice in Relation to the Thesis

The practice that I introduce along with my thesis contains two categories of work. My embroidery paintings are the fruits of studio-based practice, developed by bringing the context of urban space into the gallery space. Through my public art projects, I work directly in public space, intervening in the real living environment and collaborating with the community.

1. Sewing, Collage – Questions of Modernity

Throughout my art practice, I have used textiles as a major source of material and sewing as one of the main skills for making art. My sewing skills have developed through working with sewers at the Dongdaemum Market, situated in the large commercial district of Jongno-gu, Seoul, which consists of traditional markets and shopping centres. In the process of collaborating with ‘market ladies’, I have learnt and develop my sewing skills. But because I am less skilful than those sewing ladies, the collaboration produces rougher finished embroidery than they normally produce.

The textile and clothing industry was the leading sector in South Korea’s early industrialisation in the 1950s and 1960s, accounting for as much as twenty per cent of GDP (Elson 1994: 198). In the 1980s, Korea was ranked third in exporting clothes (ibid.: 193). Because the country’s labour costs were much lower than those of developed countries in the 1980s (ibid.: 198-199), Korea could offer cheap labour to developed countries. Apparently, this was possible within the global organisation of the textiles and clothing industry. Korean government control also became a crucial factor in the strengthening of the industry. For instance, in South Korea, the nationally-owned textiles industry applied various kinds of subsidies to foster investment by the indigenous private sector, combined with penalties if they did not

meet export targets (ibid.: 196-198). For me, industrial machine-sewing is a method of making art that is closely associated with this particular global structuring of the textiles and clothing industry. So I am aware of the fact that my work is produced with a certain dependence on this historical situation, and I want to show that it is possible to produce something creative within the confines of this historical context. I am also mindful that the clothing industry is a labour-intensive and low-wage area of manufacturing in both developed and developing countries (Nordås 2004: 1, 3). This means that although sewing played a crucial role in building the infrastructure of the Korean economy, particularly in the past, it is now undervalued. I want to reveal the potential creativity hidden within these undervalued skills as a resource that can become more tangible.

My written thesis elaborates on the relationship between the intensive forces of modernisation and political power by reappraising a neglected and overlooked side of Korean culture which has been oppressed by the dominant systems of modernisation. In my art practice, I question the meaning of modernity by looking at urban space as a complex dialectics between the real and the fictional. Through developing my own individual use of industrial-machine embroidery, which itself has been undervalued but is significant historically, I have developed my own method for making art. Sewing becomes a transformed sense of place; it does not signify any single culture but carries within it global patterns, such as that of the clothing industry.

In terms of using images, I employ a method of collage whereby the final whole image breaks down the coded meanings and rational orders of representation with which the images were originally associated. When statues, symbols of past eras, are embroidered and their figural components transformed to create plural narratives of history and culture, the hierarchical system of historicism and uniform power that regulates memory is distorted. Collage also corresponds to 'hetero-temporality', which I suggested as being one of the conditions for the recent face of Korean modernity. In other words, collage is a way to reshape these two conditions of modernity on my own terms. Collage is not a universal monotonous method for image production, rather it is a process of creating layers of intensity that are heterogeneous.

In all aspects of my practice, I am committed to creating work that questions the boundaries and social norms enforced by society. This is why I like to blur the boundary between the rational and the irrational by using intuitive processes that will instantly make familiar structures appear different, by essentially presenting contradictory elements next to each other. I simply show the unequal positions of

counterparts rather than trying to establish their supposedly correct place in the hierarchy of a fixed taxonomy.

2. *Miner's Orange* (2009)

The Gamdong Public Art Project that I introduce in Chapter IV is a project with which I was closely involved in its conceptualising stages as a member of the curating team. Then, when I switched roles and produced a piece of artwork, that helped me in trying to understand the project from a wider angle. The parade, *Miner's Orange* (2009), was the main project that I organised during my residency at Gohan. I do not regard *Miner's Orange* as my own individual work, as it was realised in collaboration with the local community, casino and curators, which reveals that my position in this project was neither concerned with promoting the towns' branding through art nor furthering my personal agenda as an artist. The whole context of the Gamdong Public Art Project was one in which public art was sponsored by the very same casino that brought about a lack of cultural development in the Gohan-Sabuk area. This compromised position is what the artists had to negotiate, and they chose to engage with it from the inside rather than refuse to take part on grounds of principle.

Miner's Orange took the form of a protest without any slogan, theme or purpose. Being a protest without slogans meant that the parade represented the distance between the preconception of a certain action and the actual action itself. To distance the actual event from pre-given conceptions was to break with the signifying meanings normally associated with political action. But the props used for the parade were made in accordance with the shape of the banners the ex-miners used for their frequent protests just after the coalmine closures. As a visual language, the idea of a parade was not entirely new to the local residents in the ex-mining towns. As such, the relation of the participants to the artwork was performed through the act of 'walking' itself. Even though people did not understand what the parade meant, and rarely had any experience of contemporary art, walking with pickets would have evoked memories of the coalmine closures and the frequent demonstrations relating to those events that took place around in the mid-1990s. Thus this would be an example of working with memory specific subject matter in an art context.

With around five hundred people from the local community participating in that, parade in such a small town, this meant that most of the people in the area who would normally be *spectators* were instead *walking* in the parade. It can be said that the participants were spectators at the same time and in the same space in which the art was produced, and that a public was produced at the same time as the art was

performed. In this sense the project dissolved the separation between participants and spectators and the time between production and consumption. *Miner's Orange* was a demonstration without being a protest against inequality; rather, it represented equality itself by directly acting out the blurring of the boundaries between art and the public, a dominant system and creative processes. The parade did not represent any static idea, but tried rather to make the community's presence, my proposal for a parade and the participants agreement and response all visible as a set of dependently arising factors. Likewise, the intention behind my project was not to judge or form opinions about urban development, but to make the complexity of Gohan-Sabuk's identity itself become visible.

Rows of local residents wearing orange garments with orange banners walking from the former Sabuk Mining Office in the direction of Gohan produced an unusual aesthetic vision. This was further enhanced by the residents having a strong sense of cohesion due to their shared history as a mining culture, and also sharing the life patterns and experiences that the recent establishment of the casino had brought to the two towns. *Miner's Orange* not only produced a unique vision that stopped cars and passers-by, it also evoked memories of the coalmine closures through the translated sensibility of the colour orange and energetic marching.

Miner's Orange was also an experience to visitors from outside town, walking along with locals and seeing the town differently by following a specific historical route with them. *Intuitive tangibility* signifies the conditions by which previously unnoticed circumstances, objects or events become more visible through the involvement of a certain intensity, and thus it generates embodied perceptions. For example, it signifies the way in which we become aware of the influence of spiritual forces such as *pungsu*. We can see that what matters is not whether this type of influence can be judged to be based on fact or fiction, but how it opens up the possibility to see the urban environment differently, such as by noticing the plurality of claims made for a given space. Perhaps the role of art, as I will describe it further in Chapter IV, with regard to place-specificity, plays a similar role to that of *pungsu* in relation to the JGGB case. *Pungsu* is a signifying and intensive force that influenced public opinion and the actual formation of the physical space of the Gyeongbok Palace. I will observe that *pungsu* closely supported the 'Set History Right' policy of the government and the consequent demolition of the JGGB. We see that art is also a signifying and intensive activity that is often utilized in the 'public good', e.g. to assist in the gentrification of underdeveloped towns and cities. Art's own inherent ideals and purposes often conflict with the economy-centred policies of governmental institutions that fund public art. On the basis of this observation, it can

be said that there is some commonality between art and *pungsu* in the sense that they are both practices that produce affects that can be used for various purposes other than what is inherent to them. Public expectations based on belief (regarding *pungsu* or art's ethical role) are also directed at both practices, and both have been the subject of government initiated projects.

Whether the Gyeongbok Palace restoration is considered a success or not, *pungsu* acted as a force for 'change' in a crucial way. I question then whether art can realise the culturally and historically specific function that *pungsu* performed. If so, then *pungsu* works as an example of how intensive forces can be utilized for different purposes. This raises an ethical question for public art practice. If public art also produces affect which can be used for different purposes and always finds itself in the midst of various conflicting interests, then what is the role of the artist? The artist cannot possibly control all the expectations, economic conditions and compromises involved in public art practice, so a different strategy is required so that public art can still influence social change. Perhaps what I was trying to achieve through *Miner's Orange* was to propose a system of intensity that I expect will mature and grow to produce intensive connectivity in a way that I do not forcibly control, step by step. Through working with local residents as well as encountering random people joining the march, the project tried to encourage accidental events and content that might bring about change for the participants as well as for myself. When intensive forces, such as past mining history, the bonds between two cities, young and old, locals and visitors become visible outside of their fixed habitual patterns, then, there is a chance that people might bond socially in ways less based on prejudices and might discover the strengths and weaknesses of their community. In this sense, I see my role as an artist working in public spaces to be about making the invisible visible, and about having a positive effect on forces beyond my control.

Chapter I. Intuition

1. Introduction

This chapter endeavours to reframe intuition by introducing, explaining and elaborating the terms that provide the basic framework for my research, throughout which, these terms will be used to define and explore the aesthetic experience of urban space. Simply and schematically, these key terms are explored in relation to time, body and space in the later chapters. Thus, the foregrounding of my chosen terminology, provided in the first chapter, will prepare the ground for the structure of my research methodology.

I focus particularly on examining two interrelated philosophical traditions of intuition. One is Bergson's philosophy of intuition, the other is Korean Seon Buddhism's notion of 'full intuition', which is further explored in relation to the Korean understanding of 'invisibility'. Selectively chosen philosophical traditions and concepts will be further explained in the following sections. Relying on intercultural research methodology from the Bergsonian and Korean philosophies, I try to expand on the possibility that the aesthetic practice of urban space can be challenged by a third way. By a third way, I mean both the European and Korean ways but, uniquely, in the sense of the global condition of current Korean urban aesthetics and its practice.

Intuition seems to be a forgotten term in contemporary urban aesthetics and its practice. Thus, I have found it necessary to readdress it in relation to contemporary social, political and cultural contexts, in which intuition is variously practised and embedded. The new terms with which I will reframe intuition (e.g. *intensity*, *functional gi*, *spectre*), are proposed as the means by which to perceive these forgotten and thus invisible aspects of space. Invisibility is regarded as a vital resource for the urban environment which intuition can make visible.

In the first sections, Two and Three, of this chapter, I attempt to reframe the notion of 'intuition' by introducing some ideas about what is intuitive from a number of different cultural perspectives and traditions. In the following paragraphs, I describe how, in the West, intuition is regarded as a spontaneous thought process without reasoning, which often takes place unconsciously. In contrast, East Asian ideas of intuition, informed by Buddhism, posit this form of thought as that which informs not only perception and sensory experience in relation to the 'self', but also acts as a

faculty which incorporates the intellect. This type of intuitive experience can operate with greater or less intensity when it involves the subject's will and intellect.

As we have seen (in the Introduction), Bergson was already searching for alternatives to 'Western rationalism' (Jones 2002) by investigating Japanese philosophy and religion. What I saw as important is that Bergson not only made direct references to Buddhist principles in his work, but also recognised in them a synergy with his own philosophy. Thus, Buddhist ideas played an important role in the development of Bergson's notion of intuition. My research aims to open up and investigate further this synergy implied by Bergson's philosophy. Thus I not only look at Bergson's definition of intuition but also explore further the Korean concepts of intuition by comparing similarities and differences. This will help to build a new theory of intuition that incorporates both Bergson's ideas and Korean concepts of intuition. There are two main reasons why I am introducing Bergson at this point. First, the Korean concept of intuition, though sharing a common sensibility with Bergson, lacks the detailed vocabulary of Bergson's theories. Secondly, I'm interested in the specific conditions for intuition in a Korean context; the notion of 'intuitive visibility' that I will develop later is not simply built on a cultural tradition but is specific to a contemporary situation. In this sense I am aiming to use Bergson and the Korean tradition to arrive at a series of new concepts that explains the aesthetics of intuition. At this point, the intercultural method of my research is to produce a new theoretical framework for intuition, which is inclusive of both the European (Bergson) and Korean (Seon) philosophical traditions. Although both are based on different cultural backgrounds, by building up one from the other, in both directions, new meanings are generated while analysing and comparing the different philosophical traditions. Korean concepts of intuition are examined through conceptualising intuition based on Seon Buddhism. My discussion of Korean Seon Buddhism will be viewed in relation to Chinese Chan Buddhism, which was transported to Korea and later spread to Japan, and also to the theories of Japanese Buddhist philosophers and scholars who contributed to the spread of East-Asian Buddhism to the West. Furthermore, due to the pluralistic nature of Korean religion (Buswell 2007: 31), it seems impossible to mention Seon Buddhism without explaining its close association with other religious traditions. Thus, I introduce the Korean meaning of 'invisibility', in order to approach 'intuition', through broadly shared religious practices and rituals, such as those related to *pungsu* and the folk religion of Shamanism. *Pungsu* and Shamanism existed in close relation to Buddhism in pre-modern Korea. For instance, Buddhist temples were built based on *pungsu*, and there were buildings erected for the performance of shamanistic ritual, *gut*, inside Buddhist temples (Grayson 2007: 211). The Korean meaning of invisibility

associated with these religious rituals help us to gain a deeper understanding of the Buddhist notion of intuition. However, unlike Buddhism, these religious rituals lack theological foundation. Thus, in my research, I rely both on the theoretical part of Buddhist theory and on the practice of religious rituals related to shamanism and the belief in *pungsu* to theorise and understand intuition in the context of Korean spirituality. Therefore, my study of intuition, as it appears in the Korean religious tradition, is based on the 'syncretism' (Grayson 1992, 2007; Hogarth 2002) of Seon Buddhism with its folkloric belief systems. My observation of religious traditions rooted in the pre-modern period of Korea will help in the reframing of intuition from a culture-specific perspective. Shamanism in particular, unlike new religions such as Christianity, is typically considered to represent the continuity of Korean spirituality (ibid.: 15). In addition, reframing intuition based on intercultural research of the European and Korean understandings of intuition will, in later chapters, lead to a key methodology of my research. In this, Korean modernity, based on a particular cultural condition and imbedded Korean spirituality, will be interpreted by Bergson's philosophical terminology of intuition and taken further by Deleuze.

The later sections, Four and Five, in this chapter, focus on the notion of 'intensity' in relation to the experience of art; it is here that I formulate the concept of two *extensive intensities* – *functional gi* and *spectre* – in relation to intuition and vision. By applying the concepts of *functional gi* and *spectre*, I move from describing intuition as an individual faculty to describing it as a collective experience associated with the historico-political conditions specific to time and space, like capitalism. These two terms will be proposed as the means by which to understand how invisible forces can emerge as perceivable phenomena of visibility. This point will be developed further in Chapters II and III, where we see *functional gi* as one of the forces of modernisation and *spectre* as a consequence of modernisation in relation to the strong influence of global capitalism (neo-liberalism). *Spectre* and *functional gi* describe different aspects of forces of modernisation, which assists us in understanding intuition not only as an individual faculty of mind but also as a socially shared experience. Thus, the two terms in this chapter aim to re-introduce intuition as the ability to understand complex conditions of modernity by elaborating the moment where the invisible aspect of society becomes perceivable or visible. In this respect, intuition can be understood as an invisible force of arising as well as a faculty that can be reinforced.

2. Reframing Intuition: Understanding of Intuition Based on Different Philosophical and Cultural Backgrounds.

The following definitions of intuition, and their comparison, will show that the role given to intuition is conditioned by different understandings of how aspects of the world are perceived as either visible or invisible, based on the historically and culturally different backgrounds against which these ideas of the world are formed. In the Korean case, what lies at the heart of the matter is how a core concept of intuition relates to a notion of the self and the world in Buddhist theory, which in turn reveals a different perspective on the Freudian conceptualisation of the ego.

To begin with, a comparison of the Korean and English vocabularies for these concepts will, in the following section, show how linguistic usage situates the terms within their different cultural contexts.

In the Korean language, the equivalent of the word intuition is *jikkwan* (직관 (Korean)/ 直觀 (Chinese)). This means literally ‘to see (observe) (*kwan* 관/觀) directly (by indicating continuing motion or action) (*jik* 직/直)’. On the one hand, *jikkwan* refers to a transcendental sensibility that sees things through; on the other, it is the base of thought occurring at any moment in everyday life. A Western notion of intuition is linked more to a notion of instinct. When it is said, ‘I knew *intuitively* that something dreadful had happened to him’ (Cambridge Dictionary 2003), ‘*intuitively*’ means something close to *instinctively*, which means ‘without having to think or learn about it’ (ibid.: 2003). It is linked more to a fixed pattern of behaviour, rather than a conscious act. In the Korean language, instinct is *bonneung* (본능/本能), which means a ‘gesture or movement that a living creature is born with’. It also means a ‘psychological emotion or impulsion of an inborn nature’. Instinct, according to the Korean understanding, is a given capacity that all human beings are born with, whereas intuition is a higher state of mind, often pursued by people seeking to cultivate their mind and body. *Jikkwan*, which means ‘to observe things directly’, means equally ‘the ability to perceive directly through the senses’. This means that *Jikkwan* is a faculty of the body as much as it is a mental effect.

In an English dictionary definition, intuition is ‘an ability to understand or know something immediately without needing to think about it, learn it or discover it by using reason’ (2003). Here, intuition is supposed to be a form of *direct access* to knowledge, without the intellectual mediation of logical deduction or reason. It is an ‘organic’ faculty of mind. Intuition in the West is then an immediate experience, in the sense of being an arresting sense of knowingness without any clear impression of how that knowledge arises. So, intuition and instinct are closely related terms in English.

Thus, one distinction to be made here between Western and East Asian ideas is that Korean thought sees intuition as belonging to a higher state of human

consciousness, by distinguishing between immediate experience and the action of 'seeing (observing)'. *Jikkwan* takes place in dreaming, walking and being in a comfortable state of mind; *jikkwan* is not an awareness that can be given a direct expression in language, rather it determines the limits of what can be expressed in language. This would be the meaning of the Japanese modern philosopher Nishida Kitaro's (1870-1945) phrase, 'the grasping of life, that is like the framework of technique' (Nishida 1960: 34). Nishida was interested in Zen Buddhism, a strand of which was first introduced into Japan in the 6th century from one of the three kingdoms of Korea, *Baekje* (18 BCE-936). It was the character of Korean Seon¹ Buddhism and its spirit that were to have a profound influence on his thought and writing. Nishida was broadly familiar with German philosophy, and was to develop his mature philosophy in relation to contemporary Western thinkers such as Henri Bergson and William James, in conjunction with Buddhist philosophy. His effort to bridge the gap between Eastern and Western philosophy contributed to Zen Buddhism being introduced to the West before Seon was recognised there. For Nishida, intuition is not a gut feeling or immediate thought process that is separate from rational thinking. Intuition can be understood as the act of willing that completes the rational thought process. Regarded thus, as an aspect of intentionality, intuition becomes 'strength' (Nishida 1960: 36) of thought, rather than mere irrationality. Nishida introduces the notion of 'intellectual intuition' (ibid.: 31), where intuition is seen to be at the base of all thought and reason (ibid.: 36). We find related understanding of intellectual intuition in the work of the Korean Seon Buddhist monk and scholar of the Goryeo period, Chinul (1158-1120). Chinul is known as someone who philosophically resolved the controversy between the Korean doctrinal (Gyo 교/教) schools and the meditation-practice (Seon 선/禪) schools. He sought a theoretical basis for the merging of Seon and Gyo in the teaching of enlightenment, stressing that the essence of Seon and of Gyo are the same. According to Chinul, the 'understanding-enlightenment' achieved through theory is reached before or in conjunction with the process of cultivation through practice (Keel 1984: 93-94). Here, we see Nishida's conceptualisation of intellectual intuition or Chinul's theory of full intuition (enlightenment) not as a passive or spontaneous act, but as a partly intentional act of seeing and knowing thoroughly through intuition guided by the will of a conscious subject.

¹ Seon means 'absolute truth', which does not seek an 'affirmative' path only; rather it pursues 'negation', where the negative is transformed into the positive as a result. Seon thought teaches that an absolute positive state is derived from an absolute negative state. Seon defines the 'pre-perceptual world' that logic cannot account for. Seon is 'a motor of truth, goodness and beauty' (Seo, 1993: 21-23).

If I explain the Korean understanding of intuition further, it is a pre-subjective aspect of reality as well as a faculty. This is because a directly awakened perception of reality would not separate between subject and object. In Mahayana Buddhism, 'dependent arising' means all the existing entities are coherent to each other, no single thing or human being can be thought aside from the causal hole of interdependency (I will explain 'dependent arising' further in Chapter II). The realisation of Buddha nature, where the physical body and matter are almost alike, is only through 'gradual cultivation' (ibid.), and it is in this sense that it is 'intellectual' rather than immediate. Intellectual does however not just mean judging and thinking, which is what we normally do, but perceiving something more fully, more aligned with this ontological ground. This is why intuition is associated with both life, or what allows us to have perception in general, and with a more refined or trained perception.

Now, I would like to look at the unique way in which *jikkwan* is different to most Western notions of intuition. The differentiation is determined by the Buddhist concept of 'self', which will further assist the formulation of 'duration' in Chapter II. The task here focuses on the questions of what is meant by the true 'self' in relation to intuitive experience in Buddhism, and why the Buddhist notion of 'self' is important in terms of re-framing intuition.

Korean Seon Buddhism belongs to the *Mahayana* tradition that instigated the Chinese Chan teachings. In the Ho Tse School, which is one of the four major Chinese schools of Chan Buddhism, intuition is defined as 'the notion of complete ego arising' (Sim 1999: 106). 'Completed ego' in this context should not be thought of in terms of the Western concept of ego. In Western ego psychology, a stable self is the final goal of therapy. In contrast, in Buddhism, a completed ego means no-self or no-ego, the final goal of practice. Normal 'ego' in Chan Buddhism is the 'fictitious' self. This ego is worldly, changeable and desire driven. In contrast, the true self is believed to be attained by realising 'selflessness'. Here, selflessness does not mean that there is literally 'no-self', as in no conventional functioning of the mind. It means that 'no mind' or true self is immanent to mind; it might be thought of as an openness to the world, a non-dual awareness which lies at the heart of the Buddhist notion of intuition and informs it, just as no-mind informs the mind. For Buddhism, it is not necessary to posit a self (*atman*), not because a self, as conventionally understood, does not exist, but because the self exists as an affliction that gives rise to all human misery. The ego is not an entity, just a mode of grasping at something as substantial. Therefore, having less ego does not in the least affect the mind's ability to discriminate, the ego is not a necessary agent for conceptual thought, just a tendency

of reification. Thus, intuition functions freely only when the state of the mind is tranquil (by meditating, mental training or by other relevant techniques), so that the true self can act. This state is called Samadhi (삼매/ 三昧), the state wherein one understands the true self. This tranquil intuition is an ideal state that is said to be free of thought. However, this is a point about Buddhism that is much misunderstood. It is stressed by Chinul and others that just having no thoughts is not a permanent state, as sustaining a non-conceptual state of meditation is just a temporary technique. Thoughts will necessarily arise of their own accord, in oscillation, with no-thought. But when thoughts are allowed to arise and disappear without identification with an agent or thinker, then delusion is lessened and intuition will function freely and depend on the discriminating faculty of the mind and in accordance with the demands of circumstances. Only the state of 'no-mind', 'no-thought', is held to be in harmony with the universe, but this no-mind does not indicate blankness, to be forever without thoughts, but rather the basic space of phenomena, the timeless lucid awareness or vivid presence that accompanies and is immanent to, but not identical to, thought. This understanding of the true nature of the 'self' or no-self in Buddhism emphasises that the state of 'no-mind' unites the inner self (true self) and an outer (fictitious) self. In Korean Buddhism, intuition arises in the first place from self-reflection. Here, self-reflection is not what we normally perceive as the psychological act of an agent. It is connected with the ability to observe and undo the innate clinging to a notion of a thinker or an agent. Without the concentration that comes from self-reflection, the free flow of intuition will suffer from constant disruption by an 'attachment' to material concerns. As long as the ego is operative in the normal sense, all emotional responses to sense impressions are dominated by attachment, aversion and indifference, which block the free flow of intuition. In this way, a Buddhist concept of intuition is closely related to the mindset of the self when, in concentration, it is united with the essence of the world. If the mind is confused by distractions, intuition will be unable to function in its proper way, which is to concentrate on its 'true' object, that of 'Buddha mind'. In Seon Buddhist meditation, the 'seeing and knowing' of *jikkwan* suggests not only seeing through the eyes but also knowing, as in 'being awakened'.

In this way, Buddhist thought offers an alternative to the notion of construction of the self as it has evolved in the West, for example in Freudian theory. The concept of the ego, as developed by Freud, offers a wholly different characterisation. For Freud (1991: 357-379), id, ego and super-ego, the three elements of which the personality is composed, interact to produce complex human behaviour. Ego, which is the mediator between id and super-ego, controls the inner unconsciousness through exterior defence mechanisms. Ego then, operates by a

reality principle, which satisfies the id's drive in realistic ways. Freud further develops the concept of the super-ego as culturally determined in *Civilization and its Discontents* (2002). In this work he argues that the evaluation a person has of him/herself is not based on the internalised response to the familial developmental drama of his earlier writings; rather, it is the social recognition one internalises, as regulated by the rule of status and shame. The mature superego is a cultural product. In contrast to this, the Buddhist notion of a healthy individual signifies someone in whom intellectual faculties are regulated by a discriminatory awareness that is informed by openness, not by complexes.

In the Buddhist notion of the self, there is further emphasis on how the invisible informs the visible. It is not just that the invisible world is held to be close to everyday lived experience in Korean thought; crucially, an awareness – *jikkwan* – of the invisible world is held to offer a truer insight into the reality of the world. 'To see', as the definition considered above has already indicated, refers not merely to a sensory optical facility but has a fuller meaning of 'to know thoroughly' by integrating dual selves (of the true self and the fictitious self). That is, to know – to 'see' by intuition – the 'invisible world' is to know more fully than to be guided by mere appearance. Invisibility refers to forces that we cannot see. Such forces exist in Western thought as well, e.g. gravity and electricity, or even thought. In the Korean tradition, invisibility might have more religious connotations, referring to other dimensions, other levels of existence or forces not acknowledged in the West. Examples of the notions that represent the Korean meaning of invisibility include the vital force of 'gi', 'pung', the invisible flow of *gi* behind the visibility, and 'ryu', the state of liquidity (Han 2008: 50). Here, *gi*, *pung* and *ryu* are described as invisible phenomena, characteristics shared between Buddhism Daoism and Confucianism (ibid.). Han stressed that these notions are difficult to approach from a materialistic perspective (ibid.) When I am referring to invisibility, here I also mean something more specific. First, I'm talking about the Korean idea that the visible and the invisible are more intimately related, in the sense that the invisible denotes the potential of an object or situation that is *already present* in the thing itself. Secondly, invisibility refers to how we need intuition to perceive invisibility, meaning that the task of intuition is to make this invisible potential perceivable. For example, in the case study that I will later analyse, I am talking about the idea that the site contains the possibility of its later transformation because of a *pungsu* interpretation. This phenomenon is not something we could say was visible on the surface of physical buildings or land but was rather perceived due to a signifying characteristic of *pungsu* that brought about a shift in our consciousness. Western metaphysics, at least

within modernity, treats the visible sensible world as the sole reality. This corresponds to Freudian theory that places great emphasis on how the id, ego and super-ego are projected onto the external world through an external self. Korean metaphysics regards what is visible and what is invisible as supplementary to each other. When we previously talked about the insubstantial ground of no-mind, this is seen as the ontological ground of reality. However, the diffusion of 'true self' and fictitious self defines this groundlessness from a non-dualistic point of view. Thus, 'seeing directly' in the Korean Buddhist tradition means 'getting to know the invisible world' by 'becoming awakened' and by reaching a point where fictitious worlds or appearance are seen as one with reality, through a state of 'no mind' with the potential for a full modality of expression.

In relation to the Buddhist ideas of intuition that we have examined so far, we will now see how an introduction to Bergson's idea of intuition will help in clarifying the broader and more transcendental ideas of Buddhist notions, such as the idea of the 'self'. This is based on the intercultural research method I introduced earlier, by which I adapt a European metaphysical theory of intuition to the Korean context, in order to formulate new concepts specific to the Korean situation. According to Bergson, intuition is a kind of 'sympathy' by which one places oneself 'into the interior of an object' in order to coincide with 'what is unique in it' and 'consequently inexpressible in it' (Bergson 1974: 161). The similarity to intuition through the Buddhist tradition described above is apparent, yet Bergson offers us a more analytical method. Here, Bergson is attempting to offer a definition of 'two ways of knowing a thing' (ibid.). In the first mode, we move around the exterior of an object; in the second, we 'enter into' it (ibid.: 159). The first relies on the symbolic representations by which an object is open to reason. This means that we have knowledge of something only through the concepts we are already familiar with, which corresponds to the Freudian notion of the 'self' as 'culturally determined'. Intuition does not rely on the symbolic representations that form mediated knowledge. In this case, we do not place ourselves outside of the object but, in some fashion, grasp it intuitively or empathetically. At this point, Bergson's thinking appears to correspond to a Korean Buddhist notion of the relation of the self to the world. Bergson understands that symbolic knowledge is limited and relative, direct experience of the true nature of the object allows us to attain the 'absolute' (Bergson 1974: 159). Here, symbolic knowledge is always 'translated analysis' (ibid.: 162), whereas intuition is a 'simple act' (ibid.). The similarity between Korean Buddhist ideas and Bergson's theory of intuition in relation to a notion of the self supports the following hypothesis: Intuitive understanding of the thing means observing the unification of the of true and the

fictitious self, the internal and the external world and, above all, the subject and the object, without viewing the binary division between the two as fundamental. I will develop this idea further as the crucial basis for a theory of intuition and its application to a social context in Chapter II.

If intuition is in any case related to the physics of vision, and if intuition is related to consciousness, then recent scientific research seems to suggest that consciousness engages with the world in a more complex way than simple assimilation of immediately given sense data:

Blindsight refers to the phenomenon that, after a lesion to the primary visual cortex, a subject can exhibit above-chance performance in detecting or discriminating visual stimuli in a forced-choice setting, despite the lack of acknowledged consciousness of the stimuli. In some instances, blindsight subjects can perform at an impressively high level of accuracy (80%) in the forced-choice task, even when the subjects believe that they are guessing. This potentially high level of performance makes blindsight an interesting case study for visual consciousness, because it indicates that *it is consciousness, but not the basic capacity to process information, that is completely abolished...*

(Lau & Passingham 2006)

This research suggests that an awareness of the physical environment and of consciousness are always inter-operative. If what is perceived and what we know about things are in a more complex relation than what we believe to be the case, we can hardly say that what we symbolically express and what we intuit are immediately in correspondence.

From this case study, perception is not entirely based on information-bound consciousness, but also on a type of memory produced by duration. If we do not recognise its activation, it can be said that the capacity of individuals to remember an object, an event and its associations can involve a state of consciousness that we cannot always explain according to a symbolic order. Instead, this type of consciousness will reach towards the essence of the object even when we do not recognise it. In this sense, there is a part of the perception of the aspects of an object that is invisible to our conscious minds. To become more intuitive could mean to become more aware of this. In a transferred sense we tend to be unaware of certain parts of objects which we perceive with more socially given ideas. When I later introduce a series of concepts, including *intuitive visibility, intuitive tangibility, spectre*

and *functional gi*, related to intuition, I address this kind of invisible area to contrast with a habitual way of seeing (depending on symbolic order).

From the above notions of intuition, and the differences of emphasis on one or other system of thought, the question remains: if it is impossible to describe intuition by concepts of materiality alone, then what is an experience of intuition and how can it be represented?

3. Intuition and Invisibility

We have previously considered how the Korean concept of intuition, *jikkwan*, implies a certain kind of visibility of something that lies ‘behind’ appearances. The relationship between intuition and invisibility becomes clearer when we recall the particular emphasis that the Korean notion of intuition places on ‘seeing’, as this marries the corporeal act to its imaginative counterpart: seeing and understanding the essence of the object meet. In this meeting, invisibility has a distinct meaning in relation to Korean sensibility in that it brings the notion of visibility into clearer focus. In what follows, a Korean understanding of invisibility and Bergson’s notion of intuition will be compared by focusing on the similarities and differences between the two. This comparison will offer a key context for developing a new framework for intuition (intuitive tangibility) in the following Chapters II and III. Similarities provide an intercultural context for intuition, which presents invisibility as ‘potential visibility’. Differences will reveal a reason why a certain dimension of Korean phenomena (associated with a culture-specific tradition) cannot be fully understood by Western terminology alone. I will come back to this in Chapter II.

(1) Similarities between the Korean Meaning of Invisibility and Bergson’s Idea of Intuition

In the Korean language, ‘to be invisible’ is: 보이지 않다 (*boiji anta*), which means:

1. To not be able to see.
2. To be unseen/unobserved/not seen; to be invisible; to be out of sight; to be obscured from view.
3. To disappear; not to turn up; not to show up; not to (be able to) be found.
4. Something/someone: does not seem/appear (to be); does not look (like); is not to be found.

In the Korean expression of this word, there is no distinction between the active form of the verb, 'to see', and the passive, 'to be seen'. There is equal emphasis on the active and passive aspects of the act. There is a condition of inseparability between subject and object, without necessarily specifying whether the subject or object is responsible for the potential lack of visibility involved in the act of seeing. Thus, 'invisibility' implies a kind of contract between the participants in the event of seeing, where the subject and the object are indiscernible.

What informs the Korean concept of invisibility is a notion of appearance. Appearance in Korean thought is more closely related to: a notion of the *thing itself*; the property of the thing itself; or the Western notion of 'presence'. If we compare the Korean and English usage of 'invisibility', the first and second meanings of *boiji anneungeot* (invisibility) are closer to the English translation. But the third and fourth meanings of *boiji anneungeot* have a slightly different usage in Korean, which translate as something like 'not being present'.

Where English differentiates between 'To not be able to see/be seen', 'To be invisible', 'To disappear' and 'Not to look/seem', the Korean language uses one expression, '*boiji anta*', for all these different situations. From this, it can be seen that the single Korean phrase for 'it is invisible' can sustain more than one meaning, which entails a cultural understanding of the cause of non-appearance, or what in the West would be called invisibility. With the third and fourth meanings of invisibility in the Korean language, there is a sense that the invisible object retains a potential visibility. The second meaning of invisibility in Korean – He/she/it is invisible/not there – also implies that it is possible that he/she/it might become visible again. Here, invisibility is the *temporary absence* of the (mere) appearance of someone or something that, nevertheless, retains the *potential for visibility*.

The variety and associations given to the meaning of invisibility in the Korean language stem from religious beliefs in invisible powers or forces in the Korean tradition as much as they do in the West. However, the syncretic characteristic of Korean religious belief systems seems to be more associated with shared rituals as a part of culture, which I will look at in the following. A recent survey from 2005, conducted by the Korean National Statistical Office, showed that 53.1 percent of the Korean population were religious. Another statistic by Gallup, also from 1995, showed that over 72 percent of Korean people had had some experience of religious life. It is also known that many Koreans who say they have no specific religious affiliation do so because they want to be free to visit shamans and Buddhist temples, without being confined to one specific religion (Buswell 2007: 3). It is also possible

that some of the respondents to the Gallup poll had a different understanding of 'religion' to those conducting the survey. The term 'religion' (*kor. jonggyo*) is a relatively new term in Korea and so, as a result, for some Koreans, the word 'religion' does not necessarily embrace all the religious beliefs and activities they hold or engage in (*ibid.*). The survey did in any case show that spiritual life is an important part of life in Korea. Following on from this fact, my research focuses on observing how a belief in the existence of invisible dimensions to reality, or certain patterns of appearance emerging from invisibility, are revealed through the many religious activities integral to Koreans' lives. I observe that religious activities and rituals have formed a public form of spiritual life in Korea through being broadly shared. Their more formal religious counterparts are, on the other hand, only practised according to the traditions of the different religions, such as Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism and others. Examples of broadly shared (and known) religious activities and related practices are:

- *Visiting mudangs*: *Mudangs*, Korean shamans, are traditional religious practitioners, held to have paranormal abilities, which they use to mediate between spirits and humans (Hogarth, 2002: 160) through *gut* practice. *Mudangs* are either hereditary or spirit possessed. A *mudang* traditionally tended to be a woman from a low class, something that has since changed in modern Korea. Some *mudangs* are now college graduates or men. They foresee the future or cure various problems that modern Koreans are unable to resolve by other means (such as unknown diseases, fatally bad luck and many other difficulties that people confront). The number of *mudangs* has increased sharply in recent years (*ibid.*: 175), despite the predictions of many modernisers that the tradition would naturally die out with increasing education. The *mudang's* main role in recent times has focused on expelling bad luck, which shows that shamanistic rituals are used mainly for preventing ill luck or undesirable outcomes.
- *Pungsu* (or *Pungsujiri*, literally meaning wind, water, earth principles; Chinese: *feng sui*) is a system of geomancy based on *gi* theory (see definition of *gi*: section 5), the Korean theoretical system of divination performed according to the configuration of the land. Features of the land that could be considered include how mountains and water are situated in relation to the situation of a tomb, house or bed, and this is believed to affect wealth, health, luck and many other aspects of life.
- *Jesa*: A ritual practised on the anniversary of the ancestors. *Jesa* is performed in the oldest son's house, with food and drink prepared according to tradition.

The performance includes offering wine and food to the dead ancestors, to receive blessings or comfort dead parents. Most Koreans perform *jesa* and it is considered to be an important part of cultural life. *Jesa* is based on the belief that the deceased have a continuing influence on the prosperity of the living. This tradition has been developed into a formal Confucian practice since the late Goryeo period, but it began as nature worship in ancient Korea and was later developed as ancestral rites.

Practice of the rituals of *mudang*, *pungsu* and *jesa* originated from folkloric belief, which are often considered as an unaltered part of the cultural life of Korea since ancient times. I see these rituals as involving what directly relates the invisible spirit of the deceased with the material world. The contradictory aspect of these rituals, as practised by modern Koreans, is often viewed as an exotic phenomenon by outsiders. Invisibility, as determined from the broadly shared religious rituals of Korean people, can be summed up as shown below. The following examination will indicate the degree to which invisibility is an inherent principle in understanding the everyday life of Korea. This will also lead directly to the significant definitions of intuition given by Bergson:

- Invisibility is the *dis*-appearance of the thing itself. This conceptual definition of visibility, as the thing itself making itself manifest, structures the way Koreans tend to think of being and non-being, the deceased and living bodies. Further, non-being/disappearance/invisibility designates a 'temporary' absence of the being itself. According to Korean culture, visibility potentially displays the essence of the object that can be sympathetically grasped in order for the subject to 'enter into the object' (Bergson 1974: 159).
- Visibility/invisibility is also determined by the possibility of auspicious/inauspicious outcomes: The *gi* of invisible phenomena will be seen to be present depending on the apparent outcome of good or bad luck. Thus the *gi* inherent in any one situation will be made manifest – that is, be 'seen' – in the outcome of a set of circumstances. So *gi* does not just signify the biodynamic energy of the human body as explained in 'Chinese' medicine (Frantzis 2006), it also signifies energy constellations at large (Khor 2004). What may become manifest can be speculated about before the outcome, and a course of action, with or without a shamanist's/geomancer's intervention, can thereby be chosen. Therefore, the prevention of bad luck or the undesirable outcome of a situation is considered to be controllable depending on what is held to be present and what is about to become visible. As we have

seen, visibility is not lodged in the appearances of a situation but in a kind of contract between the object and the observer that grants the observer a degree of free will across time, and is able to affect the outcome of situations. In other words, the future is not predetermined; like destiny, it is a potential that has some degree of existence and actualisation. The temporal dimension is important here, because what can be intuited at one point in time will determine what will become visible at another point; that is, *gi* flow within the body or the land, or the influence of 'dependently co-arising' (緣起) (Garfield 2002: 26) factors, determines the *gi* of the situation at hand. The consequences of *gi* flow will be perceived to be 'visible' when its presence is evident in the result of an event. This is similar to the primary Bergsonian notion of 'duration', in the sense that the past is present in the tendencies of becoming that mark the present and also characterise the potential future (Grosz, 2004: 156-157). For Bergson, the future functions as a mode of unpredictable continuity of the past (ibid.: 157). Because the future springs from a past, the practice of intuition is important to Bergson when describing the relation between the actual and the virtual, and the relation between the virtual and the practice of intuition (ibid.: 157-158).

(2) Differences between the Korean Meaning of Invisibility and Bergson's Idea of Intuition

Differentiation between the Korean meaning of invisibility and Bergson's idea of intuition will offer a theoretical framework for describing a certain dimension of Korean culture, particularly for phenomena associated with a culture-specific belief systems which cannot be fully understood by Korean terminology alone.

In Korean thought, reality that is considered invisible is seen as more real than that which is visible and changeable and has, itself, the power to control its own visibility. For instance, *pungsu* and the shamanist ritual of *gut* are practices that are meant to either stabilise or foretell the future in order not to have any misfortune. These rituals take as a precondition the invisible principle of *gi* or the ancestor's influence on descendants as a kind of supernatural power believed to influence human life and the physical world. This could be for the simple reason that what is manifested is just a fragment of what potentially has some degree of being or existence. In addition, what is unique to Korean thought about invisibility is that being and non-being are regarded as interchangeable states. Inherited beliefs about

the *cycle of re-birth*² and the affinity between people based on karmic relationships, drawn from Korea's Buddhist heritage, supports this thought. In the philosophy of Indian thinkers of rebirth there are the ideas that: first, a person is believed to be simply an aggregate of mental and physical components that are impermanent and come together in birth, just as they will later disintegrate; secondly, that some of these components can therefore be inherited from parents, just as in the Western belief; and thirdly, that though our personalities and identities are simply conceptual designations that are impermanent, there are traces of the past that enter new life. These traces are associated with the continuum of some deeper strata of consciousness. Individuated streams of consciousness pass through different phases of existence and carry with them forces from the existence of previous actions (Shankar, 1914: 23-24). This theory of rebirth grew gradually and has been mixed with many other religious and popular belief systems (ibid.: 27). Korean Buddhist, shamanist and Daoist traditions all proclaim this idea of the traces of transmigration. In Korea there has been this belief in a conditioned relationship between one life and the next, which is associated with the Buddhist concept of karma, or action, the idea that even intentions have causal consequences. This cycle of life indicates that there is no absolute self or being that persists, only a consciousness that is always in a state of changing from one life to the next in complex ways; it is this that perhaps best exemplifies the fact that Korean people tend to think that they cannot act against the causal law that is seen to regulate the world of the invisible.

For Bergson, it can be said that invisibility has been explained through his philosophy of time and space/matter. For instance, in *Matter and Memory* and *Time and Free Will*, Bergson introduced two opposing hierarchies, one privileging continuity over heterogeneity, the other an exact inversion of this, life as creation, matter as repetition (Mullarkey 1999: 82-84). Mullarkey points out that Bergson evidently believes that social life appears to be a major feature of evolution and that evolving societal forms must deal with two contradictory requirements, which have to be reconciled: These contradictory requirements are 'individualisation and integration' (ibid.). One is the heterogeneous freedom of individualisation, the other the integration of altruistic equality (ibid.). From this, two radically different forms of ontological existence emerge: quality and quantity – which we can think of alongside invisibility and visibility. One example of invisibility in Bergson is the qualitative force of *élan vital* (vital impetus) (Bergson 1998: 87-97), which is an equivalent term to 'life', 'spirit' or 'consciousness' (Mullarkey 1999: 80). *Élan vital* is analogous to the concept of *gi* in East Asian philosophy in the way that both concepts signify

² Within Buddhism, the term 'rebirth' is preferred to 're-incarnation' because 're-incarnation' implies the meaning that there is a fixed entity to be reborn.

movement of the dynamic forces of life. However, *élan vital* signifies the ‘intensive’ mechanism of evolution, which does not proceed by way of association and addition of elements, but by ‘dissociation and division’ (Bergson 1998: 89), which means that the direction of evolution is not predetermined (ibid.: 96). Bergson introduced *élan vital* as a force that signifies the evolution of organisms linked closely with intuitive consciousness, if by intuitive consciousness we mean a potential existing prior to consciousness as an emergent property of beings. This corresponds more to the ground of reality as explained in Buddhist ontology, a groundlessness with the potential for manifestation. The East Asian notion of *gi* denotes an energy system that has more to do with the emergence, or manifestation, of potential. This energy is seen to have a certain rhythm, direction and pattern of flow according to the *yin* (kor. *eum*) and *yang* that are often understood to be beyond the human body and mind.

So far, I have made a comparison between Bergson’s idea of intuition and the Korean meaning of invisibility. It has been noted that Bergson’s theory paves the way for identifying the metaphysical notions of Korean invisibility, such as *gi*. Further, the differences between Bergsonian intuition and Korean invisibility have clarified the unique character of the Korean concept of invisibility as concerning a condition more real than that of visibility. In the later chapters, I will explore this point further by looking at how Koreans’ understanding of invisibility actually functions and changes the order of visibility within urban space in Korea in an entirely different way to how modernisation operates in the West. This will be investigated through case studies describing how a folkloric belief in *pungsu* was used as a development force, and how capitalised development was excessively applied to a small former mining town.

4. Intensity and Visibility

In this section, I introduce a new concept, *intuitive visibility*, which is associated with the meaning of *jikkwan* but stresses the capacity of vision, particularly in relation to the aesthetic experience of art that both Bergson and Deleuze introduce. I will argue that *intuitive visibility* is stimulated when the experience of intensity is increased. Mere intensity cannot explain this specific capacity, which is why Deleuze’s concept of intensity, as the implication of extensity within intensity, becomes crucial. Deleuze is important to my project here because, when we come to look at terms to define the invisible forces of urban development, we are addressing space. It would conflict with Bergson to talk about intensity in relation to extension and space. But the Deleuzian idea of intensity is less associated with subjective experience and more

with what produces effects, the meeting of virtual forces. We will see that many different forces clash to define the invisible sides of urban space in Korea. I will propose that *Intuitive visibility* is a kind of aesthetic experience. I will not therefore limit the meaning of aesthetic experience only to fine art in this research, rather I will consider it in terms of what defines our degree of receptivity to another plane of becoming through increasing intensity.

(1) Intensity, Extensity

In the following, I will outline the basic framework of Bergson's theory of 'intensity' and what he calls 'extensity', which is based on his early work, *Time and Free Will*. Bergson's concepts of intensity and extensity have been further developed by Gilles Deleuze's notion of 'difference', which allows us to raise the following questions in the context of visual representation: Can intensity be recognised? What is the outcome of recognised intensity? Is it possible to represent intensity? If it is indeed possible, how and in what ways is it possible? According to Bergson, there are 'two species of quantity' that are difficult to distinguish: The first is 'extensive and measurable', the second 'intensive and not admitting of measurement' (Bergson 2011: 11). However we translate the intensive into the extensive, we see their differences without any clear identification of either. Bergson thinks that we habitually quantify intensity as 'greater' and 'lesser' and, in this way, we translate the intensive into the extensive, as *relative* values. Values, however, remain qualitative and this is problematic because these 'two species of quantity' must be distinguished by their specific natures.

The essential difference lies in this: extension, which is quantifiable, can be thought of in relation to space (ibid.: 91-99), while it is impossible to think of intensity in the same way. Bergson has said that space depends on a different principle of differentiation to that of 'qualitative differentiation' (ibid.: 95), which means that differentiation by spatial knowledge merely lead us to distinguish a number of identical sensations. In this sense, space is based on the homogeneous reality that is conceived by intellect and clear-cut distinction, whereas pure duration is based on the heterogeneous reality that perceives qualitative differences through intuition. Thus, if pure duration is viewed from the point of view of spatial knowledge, this will reduce the authentic meaning of pure duration to space (ibid.: 90-97). Bergson states:

Pure duration is the form which the succession of our conscious states assumes when our ego lets itself *live*, when it refrains from separating its present state

from its former states ... it is enough that, in recalling these states, it does not set them alongside its actual state as one point alongside another, but forms both the past and the present states into an organic whole....

(ibid.: 100)

Bergson also sees the intensity of psychic states in relation to the pure duration of time and points out that this is the distinctive difference between his thought and that of psychological or other philosophical theories of consciousness. He thinks that these (psychological and philosophical) attempts have been merely the 'artificial re-grouping of conscious life' (Bergson 1974: 13) based on spatial knowledge. The question Bergson raises is then: why are both qualitative intensity and quantitative extensity expressed using the same terminology? Why do we transform intensity into the extensity of spatialisation?

For Deleuze, it is more a matter of the way in which intensity and extensity are interrelated, intensity exists in the extended (Deleuze, 2004: 289). However, because there is no 'depth' or 'distance' when intensity develops in extensity, intensities are incommensurable (ibid.). For instance, intensity is defined only 'independently' from extensity (ibid.), thus there is no 'extended magnitude' of intensities. Deleuze's definition of intensity, as 'difference-in-itself' (ibid.: 287), offers the idea that intensity is 'singularity', an exclusive 'quality' which is difficult to understand from a material perspective.

In comparison to this, for Bergson, the intensity of certain sensations (exhilaration, deep depression) could result in either great happiness or general despair. At the same time, the obscure beginnings of intensity can gradually lead to different unanticipated results. The results of intensity could be 'foreign' and 'isolated' (Bergson 2001: 8) to the remainder of our inner life. This 'foreignness' that allows us to recognize increased intensity occurs when intensity becomes a more shared experience than being in the beginning state of a certain sensation. It is not a measurable state, but it is still recognised through sympathetic experience. Bergson calls this the 'altered nature' of intensity. What happens here is a certain 'movement' (ibid.: 11-13) directed towards the *future* (ibid.). Future-oriented phenomena can, however, either be left until they become a proven fact or, as they stand, they are tentative expectations. If intensity brings with it a direction towards the future, this means that it is already defined by change. This is not a case of defining the magnitude of intensity but of recognising a *change in quality* (ibid.: 9).

Deleuze critiques Bergson's distinction between intensity and extensity as unconvincing because it reduces it to a dichotomy. Deleuze argues that Bergson's

distinction assumes qualities of intensity to be 'ready-made' and those of extensity to be already 'constituted' (Deleuze, 2004: 299). In Deleuze's view, intensity is not implicated in quality, but is an implicated 'quantity' (ibid.: 297). This means that intensity itself is not exclusively about the quality of something, but is always meant to be in the form of intensive 'quantities' due to its extensive nature. Thus, intensity cannot be sensed but constitutes the being *of* the sensible (ibid.: 296). In other words, it is not something we define as a sensation, but is rather what gives rise to sensations, meaning the differences between forces that are external to us. Thus, intensities are not 'entities', they are 'virtual forces' that can be expressed and remembered (Parr 2005: 131). However, the real outcome of these virtual forces is to actualise themselves in states of affairs (ibid.). This gives room for two possibilities, rather than just one conclusion. One possibility is that intensity is not related to a single reason for a certain outcome, but it enlarges its range so that it includes all the faculties of the mind as well as the actualised case of the extended. The second possibility is that intensity does not simply add up as a quantity, instead it repeats between the virtual and the actual. Within this interrelation neither intensity nor extensity is discernable but becomes a pair of the virtual and the actual. It can also be said that extended intensity is actualisation of the virtual, although we cannot access its implicit relation and shifting processes. Throughout Bergson and Deleuze's interpretations of intensity and extensity, I see intuition as being in close relation to the future orientation of intensity. By future-oriented intensity, I mean intensity that is expected to become extensity. In these terms, If *jikkwan* was about observation of the invisible, which is supposed to become visible (or perceivable), then *jikkwan* is the ability to perceive *extensive intensity*, in other words to perceive the actualisation of the virtual.

(2) Intensity and the Aesthetic Experience of Art

We have seen that increased intensity could be recognisable and becomes sympathetic experience in Bergson's view. In the following paragraphs, I use the idea of aesthetic experience as described by Bergson to explain how intensity leads to actual visualisation by and within a form of artwork and brings about a sympathetic experience for the viewer. By doing so, we will see how art can contribute to explicate and visualise intensity by making it 'extensible' and what the possible outcome of extensibility might be.

Bergson says that artists are people who make us see what we do not naturally perceive (1974: 135). For Bergson, perception, despite the ways in which it has been

described in previous philosophies, is not limited to acknowledging what already exists but is something capable of effecting change: perceptions can be increased, intensified or changed through the medium of art, hence *art itself can be an agency for change*. He says that the difference between great art and pure fancy lies in the fact that great art make us 'perceive something of what they show us' (ibid.: 136). This means that art has a way of making perceivable and concrete what, in the normal course of events, is indescribable, and therefore inaccessible to communication. He emphasises the idea that 'we see what we do not naturally perceive' through the aesthetic experience of art (ibid.: 135). This statement differentiates perception as sympathetic intuition from the merely physical faculty of sight. From this, it is but a brief step to understanding art as the creation of the means by which to present sympathetic intuition:

If we reflect deeply upon what we feel as we look at a Turner or a Corot, we shall find that, if we accept them and admire them, it is because we had already perceived something of what they show us. But we had perceived without seeing. It was, for us, a brilliant and vanishing vision, lost in the crowd of those visions, equally brilliant and equally vanishing, which become overcast in our ordinary experience like 'dissolving views' and which constitute, by their reciprocal interference, the pale and colourless vision of things that is habitually ours. The painter has isolated it; he has fixed it so well on the canvas that henceforth we shall not be able to help seeing in reality what he himself saw.

(ibid.: 136)

Art here institutes a different faculty of vision: different from mere observation of the material world. From a Bergsonian point of view, an aesthetic principle can be posited: that absolute intuition, the experience of 'entering into' the object, which cannot be expressed through symbolic representation, can occur in art. Both a 'brilliant' and a 'vanishing' vision of art are made possible, through a 'different faculty of vision', also 'without seeing'. Thus the power of art or artists lies in the capacity to create a vision that becomes the 'vision of all men' (ibid.: 135). Bergson sees 'aesthetic feeling' as altering underlying states of emotion and stimulating the 'stepping in of new elements' (Bergson 2011: 11). This is similar to what we saw previously in the case of the great intensity of certain sensations, when we were talking about simple qualitative intensity, rather than virtual 'intensity'. In the classical period, art was a matter of grandeur, it was decorative and elaborate, to express beauty. Intensity was then derived from visual opulence, the level of physical

labour, from a visual grandeur and from the beauty of nature. In our present time, the range of means to produce the same feelings of intensity has become wider. Labour can now be divided into different kinds, such as intellectual, conceptual and everyday. Likewise, artworks are produced using a variety of techniques (such as computers, tools, ready-made objects, collective teamwork, filming and so on). As well as the changes in the kind of labour required, our concept of beauty has also changed. In contemporary art, the issue of what constitutes the 'beautiful' is often sidelined or overlooked. The growing number of art objects represents a visible manifestation of what artists are looking for in relation to the role of art. The role of art today and aesthetic feeling itself are, in some ways, more socially engaged. Artworks are interdisciplinary, some are shown and produced in everyday spaces, rather than in the white cube of gallery space. There are also artworks without any physical form. 'Relational forms' (Bourriaud, 2002: 11-24) of art have become familiar, work that situates art in relation to social functions and settings. Through the means and the understanding art that is implicit in its production, art continues to increase the ways in which intensity is explored.

The way in which the intensity of aesthetic feelings is relayed to the viewer today can be thought of via the notion of the 'rhizome', introduced by Deleuze and Guattari. A rhizome is a plant structure that can bifurcate and send out a new shoot at any point. A rhizome contributes to the formation of plateaux through its lines of becoming, lines which form aggregate connections without a linear direction for their connections (Deleuze & Guattari 2004; Parr ed. 2005: 232). Deleuze and Guattari use it in contrast to the tree structure, where branches are produced from a central trunk. A rhizome is then the opposite to a model of 'centralised power' (Ballantyne 2007: 25-26). For Deleuze, rhizomatically produced intensities are supposed to be propelled by innumerable levels of affective forces of desire and their resonating materialisations in the world (Parr 2005:232). This point will be developed further, throughout the later chapters, by examining the relation between the interior forces of urbanisation in Seoul and the urban spaces that are the materialised result. These outcomes are unpredictable when we think of the city as rhizomatic connections of different forces and desires. However, a plateau is a plane where forces interact with one another in a relatively stable way, without interference from other planes. Conditions may change, but the changes will always occur from 'within' (Ballantyne 2007: 38). We could describe urban space as a plateau, a kind of culture-specific system, profoundly different from other systems. There will be constant connectivities formed within the space.

Going back to the aesthetic experience of art, Simon O'Sullivan writes that art is 'rhizomatic' in the sense that the experience of art is no longer one of a 'vehicle' transporting a message from here to there but one of a constantly increasing process of 'connectivity' (O'Sullivan 2007: 17-20). This means that artwork, artists, viewers and art history all have the potential to connect in non-linear ways. In the past, this connectivity was seen as one of transportation (even Bergson's understanding of the intensity of art and its 'changing quality' seems to be confined to an artist-artwork-viewer triangular relationship). But in recent art, connections and potentials are made not only through art object and subjects, such as the practitioners and producers of art, but also through 'different semiotic regimes with different organisations of power' (ibid.: 17). This rhizomatic art practice can be understood to consist of 'alternative or counter networks outside those of the dominant' (ibid.: 17-18). In other words, rhizomatic art practice creates more connectivity of intensities that breaks any hierarchical connection and produces 'multiplicities'. Rhizomatic art means the rhizomatic connectivity of intensities and therefore it has an 'affective function' (ibid.: 20). This is because, for Deleuze and Guattari, the rhizome describes the plane of deterritorialisation, of the body without organs, that is 'opening onto the realm of affect' (ibid.: 19).

In the later chapters of this thesis, I will look at urban practices, such as urban development projects, as examples of events that produce aesthetic feelings. I will further explore this idea through the notion of 'place-specific art' in Chapter 4. Before I get that far, I would like to point out what the rhizomatic practice of urban space could mean for the spaces of everyday life. Firstly, the rhizomatic practice of urban practice increases intensity, which often results in a transition of something or being recognised as the effect of actualised outcomes. Secondly, repeated rhizomatic practices of urban space increase aesthetic feelings in everyday space, which means that affective experience could become more and more common. It can be said that the rhizomatic connectivity of urban space is speeding up in the contemporary world, not only within art but also through various cultural practices. Finally, the potential increase in affect, if we are able to recognise it, provides us with the means by which to perceive these changes.

According to Deleuze and Guattari the aim of art is 'to wrest the percept from perceptions of objects and the states of a perceiving subject, to wrest the affect from affections' (Deleuze, 1994: 166-167), to extract 'blocs of sensations' (ibid.: 167). This function of art is supposed to be new and different from any other language code or signifying expression. For Deleuze and Guattari, art is blocs of sensations which 'owe their preservation only to themselves' (ibid.: 167-168). This means that the

experience created by an artwork is unique to itself and cannot be translated into any other form or language of signification. If the intensities involved in artwork bring about sympathetic experiences, which are not based on any other language or system of signification, then art has the power to change our mode of becoming. We see an art object but there is a strange connectivity between the art object and the subject, which is not brought about through vision alone, but through a different form of engagement. This I would like to call *intuitive visibility*.

We have just seen that rhizomatic connectivity in the urban environment is speeding up in the contemporary world, not only within art but also through spatial practices. In other words, there are many voices and influences pushing urban development in different directions. I would like to propose that *intuitive visibility* could be a means by which to perceive aesthetic feelings, such as the intensive experience produced by the rhizomatic connectivity of urban practice. On one hand, *intuitive visibility* is a phenomenon. On the other, it is the perceptual means to experience different conditions of intensities.

Intuitive visibility is close to what Bergson expressed as an 'isolated' and 'foreign' (Bergson 2001: 8) state of mind, in reference to what indicates shifts in conscious states. *Intuitive visibility* is also close to the state of 'no-self' outlined in Korean Seon Buddhism, where subject and object are in a close proximity through a state of non-dualistic vision. However, *Intuitive visibility* is not identical to these descriptions but denotes a new meaning, insofar as it opens towards a more socially practised and produced mode of intuition.

5. Two Extensive Intensities – *Functional Gi* and *Spectre*

We have looked at how, in the accounts of Bergson, Deleuze and Guattari, the aesthetic practice of art 'connects' the beholder and the object by means of increasing intensity. Furthermore, by supplementing this with an additional framework provided by Deleuze and Guattari, it has been possible to conceive of 'rhizomatic' art practice as what connects different regimes of power that produce multiple intensities. By this connection of different elements, intensity can be extended and magnified. From this, *extensive intensity*, in my thesis, refers to the duality whereby *intuitive visibility* is associated with respect to its quantitative *and* qualitative aspects. The object, which is (usually though not necessarily) physical matter, is measurable with respect to its physical properties. However, intensity has more to do with virtual movement, the effects of which can be measured, even if it cannot be measured in itself as a quantity or reduced to a quality. It can, therefore, be deduced that: if the object bears intensity, both intensity and extensity (of the material side)

coexist as a form of amalgam in a fluid relation. With this in mind, I further propose two kinds of *extensive intensity*: *functional gi* and *spectre*. By introducing *functional gi* and *spectre*, I am proposing a methodology that will allow these terms to identify attributes or describe the force of an object (or material world) that is not in itself visible, but which can possibly become perceptible or visible by means of intuition. *Functional gi* and *spectre* represent different qualitative intensities, which are not directly comparable.

It will gradually become clear that when I develop the notions of *intuitive visibility*, *spectre* and *functional gi*, these terms denote certain phenomena as well as their own function as conceptual tools. *Functional gi* and *spectre* describe phenomena related to the structure of social change and the exchange value of objects, respectively; but in my use they also function as these concepts which may themselves serve as an analytical apparatus. At the point where we observe the effects of different invisible intensities on urban development, we can apply these tools to analyse the different components that become apparent. This is an example of how we first have some intuitive comprehension of a situation, we sense that a situation is determined by invisible factors. For example, we know that an urban space that seems static is in reality an expression of dynamic forces of the past and of the future. When visible effects are starting to occur, like the demolition of a building, we can then employ more historically defined terms like *gi* and *spectre* to describe a potential that we sensed at the outset.

Previously, we considered the understanding of visibility/invisibility to be related to differing cultural contexts. Here, I present two specific examples of *extensive intensities* drawn from Mao's conceptualisation of *gi* in revolutionary China (Lam, 1993; 2000), and *spectre*, a Derridian interpretation of one of Marx's ideas (Derrida 2006). In introducing these two examples taken from different cultural backgrounds, the notion of *intuitive visibility* will be examined more closely.

Gi

According to *The Great Dictionary of Chinese Characters* (Zhang 2001), *gi* is 'a philosophical concept of ancient China'. It is said, 'Naive materialists believed *gi* to be the most basic material substance forming everything in the universe'. It was named, '*wongi* (원기 / 元氣)', which means 'original *gi*'. It is also known as '*Yin gi* and *Yang gi*'. Here, *gi* is the spirit of *Yin* and *Yang*, which gathers and disperses to form everything (including nature, human beings, materials, phenomena, etc.). The meaning of *gi* given here, taken from a Chinese definition, is broadly in agreement with its usage throughout East Asia.

First *gi*, 'the most basic material substance forming everything in the universe', exists prior to the object. *Gi* is often translated as 'energy flow' in Western language. Because any object is a temporary state of *gi*, we can say that *gi* keeps changing its state as objects respond to other objects, people and their environment. Though *gi* is believed to be the absolute cause of all effects, in terms of its positive or negative effects, it can be manipulated since *gi* is always changeable into another state. *Gi* is then both prior to and part of the object in a way that is capable of effecting change on the subject as well as the object of a relationship.

Ch'ien Yung of the Ching dynasty stressed three elements the author must fulfil through his writing; these are rationality, theme and *gi* (Lam 2000: 44). Of these three, rationality and theme are secondary to *gi*, because *gi* shows 'life'. As we have previously seen, *gi* can be compared in some respects to Bergson's notion of *élan vital*, although their difference is also apparent (see section 3.2).

Functional Gi:

Lam (1993) relates Mao's policy-making to the traditional Chinese philosophical concept, *gi*. Here, he calls the aspect of *gi* that has practical effects on society *functional gi*. According to Lam, this *functional gi* offered 'rationality and will power' to Mao to 'uproot' worldwide capitalism and imperialism. Mao's *functional gi* was a 'theoretical tool' and a 'methodology' for this momentous project. In Lam's account, *functional gi* became the means by which Mao was able to relate the realities of Chinese life and thought to Marxism and Leninism. Lam adds that the respective works of Marx and Lenin stimulated Mao's vision of 'revolutionising the earth' by dividing all people into two hostile opposing groups: a 'majority, the proletariat' and 'minority, the bourgeois' (ibid.: 101). Mao's adoption of the traditional concepts of *gi* and his success in employing them to impose a Marxist-Leninist model on a Chinese situation proved very successful, as it drew on an existing Chinese understanding of the world. Here, I would like to focus on three aspects of *functional gi*, as used by Mao according to Lam.

1. *Functional gi* was conceptualised through Mao's regular reading of Chinese literature. His national policy formulation was inspired by the art he found in literature. Here, art became an invisible tool for changing the form of society as well as the nature of people.
2. *Functional gi* became a filter through which Mao was able to introduce the political doctrines of Leninism and Marxism. This filter became the conceptual basis through which he was able to transform China into a

modernised country, with regard to the whole spectrum of industry, agriculture, science and defence (Lam 2000). *Functional gi* was part of an ideological method of modernisation.

3. *Functional gi* was deployed against what was seen as the exterior force – capitalism – and aided in the establishment of a regime capable of conducting the violent revolution seen as necessary to transform the country.

Spectre:

Another kind of *extensive intensity* associated with the material world that I refer to is '*spectre*'. This is taken from Jacques Derrida's writing in *Specters of Marx (Spectres de Marx)*. In writing about how the spirit of Marx still exists, if in a deconstructed way, what is pointed out is spectres' semi-mystical character. This mystical character of an object, its spectral value, only arises when it 'comes on stage', to become a commodity, because it is not the use-value but the exchange-value that makes an object 'apparent' in a system as a commodity. The object thus also gains a mysterious or fetishistic presence: an object without exchange value is a curiously dead object, or 'out of joint' within a system of commodity exchange (Derrida, 2006: 156-221). This distinction of a spectral world of capital, that Derrida articulates through Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Marx's legacy, describes how the haunting effect of commodity value is outmoded (like a ghost), yet ideologically widespread at the same time.

In this research, I would like to utilise the notion of *spectre* to analyse the specific conditioning of urban space by economy-driven development. According to Derrida, the ghostly appearance of a *spectre* must be 'a return to the body' (ibid.). This is because the constitution of the ghost effect, for instance, is not simply a spiritualisation of spirit or idea but is the body with a 'fetish' applied and a body without the nature of physical body (ibid.: 158). This specific nature of the commodity object lies in the fact that no aspect of *spectre* can be independent of the actual object and body that engenders the *spectre* through the object's exchange-value. If so, urban space, which has its material dimension, could also be thought of in relation to exchange-value and the 'incorporation of the body' (ibid.). I propose *spectre* as an invisible phenomenon closely related to economy-centred modernisation, which I will explore further in relation to public art in Chapter 4. *Spectre* is a more spontaneous force than *functional gi*, because *spectre* is a force produced by economic relations which becomes immediately 'personified' (ibid.: 198). The 'mystical character' of the exchange-value of the commodity object is thus the immediate force that changes the state of the subject's body as well as the state of

thing. *Spectres* are not something that can be increased or decreased by a subject at will but appear when a subject-object (subject-space) relation is stimulated by its exchange value. In this sense, *spectres* signify how the uncontrollable force of global capitalism characterises every aspect of the contemporary material world. I am going to develop the argument later, that a *spectre* is one of the outcomes of the rhizomatic practice of urban space. A *spectre* could be what hinders the practice of art in the sense that the excessive exchange value of the commodity object alters the value of the art object. However, global capital culture has become a crucial part of contemporary culture. The issue is not to escape from it, but to deal with how this spectral effect actually influences aesthetic experience. In this sense, *functional gi* and *spectre* often become repeated cause and effect. Spectres are the effects of modernisation, but it is difficult to understand how the actualisation of spectres influences the symbolic order of society.

Both *functional gi* and *spectre* can be seen as what stimulates an act of 'seeing and knowing' things more closely, through distinctively different ways. I propose that these two *extensive intensities* describe the different modes in which *intuitive visibility* is practised in everyday space. *Functional gi* and *spectre* are analytical tools to describe the moment invisible forces becomes socio-culturally visible, one is used in a systematic way by a governing power and the other represents the power produced by economic power. To a certain extent, *spectre* and *functional gi* show the intellectual or analytical aspect of intuition. However, these two *extensive intensities*, *functional gi* and *spectre*, are not precisely comparable, this is because both signify completely different qualities and have historically different contextual backgrounds.

I will explore these two *extensive intensities* in relation to the concepts of the 'body' and of 'power' in relation to the forces of modernisation in the following chapters. In Chapter 3, I will develop the two concepts in relation to the implications associated with two kinds of bodies, visible and invisible, suggesting that invisible phenomena are perceived only through the empathetic body of the invisible. These two concepts will further help in analysing a culture-specific event, the way in which one of the most historic buildings in central Seoul had to be demolished for complex socio-historical and political reasons. I argue that it is important to see this event from a culture-specific point of view that has not been discussed or even sufficiently addressed discursively in the academic theory of urban development.

6. Conclusion

This review of Bergsonian intuition and its relation to Korean invisibility, considered above, has enabled us to see intuition not only as an unpredictable state of mind, but

also to understand intuition in relation to the way we perceive the physical world. Furthermore, the notion of intensity, which is differentiated from extensity as qualitative rather than quantitative, offers a particular way of understanding the aesthetic experience of art: as an experience that is different to the experience of any other object, or that changes our experience of ordinary objects by potentially exposing their invisible sides. My proposition of two *extensive intensities* has been inspired by the Deleuzian idea that intensity is explicated by extension and developed into extensity. By this means I have tried to make the intuition-visibility relationship more specific. The relationship between intuition and visibility offers another possible means to analyse the visibility of the invisible.

Jikkwan, which means 'directly seeing and knowing', has been understood through the awakened state of 'no-self' in Seon Buddhism where there is no division between true self and fictitious self. This will later be explored through an understanding of urban space as containing both aspects of exterior space and interior time. Intuitive practice in urban space will then mean diffusing the boundaries between visibility (spatial expansion) and invisibility (the temporal dimension of space) by directly seeing and knowing the invisible forces behind urban development. *Functional gi* and *spectre* will contribute to this examination by seeing how these ideas can be applied to specific case studies.

Chapter II. Duration and Urban Space:

The Case of the Demolition of the Japanese Governor-General Building

1. Introduction

In Chapters II and III, I examine the demolition of the Japanese Governor-General Building (the JGGB) (see Appendix I, Fig 9) as a case study in urban development closely related to the specific cultural and political background of South Korea.

It was in 1993 that Kim Yong Sam, fourteenth president of South Korea (1993-1998), established a new policy entitled 'Set History Right'. As part of this policy, the government made public a plan to demolish the JGGB and initiate restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace. Kim's announcement included the expression, 'I have reached the conclusion that the JGGB has to be demolished as soon as possible, in order to recover our national pride and the spirit of the Korean people' (Yoon 2006: 297). This statement revealed the South Korean government's view of the JGGB as a remnant of Japanese colonial rule, hence one which should be removed swiftly. The demolition of the JGGB and restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace were meant to affirm people's rejection of Japanese colonial rule and strengthen South Korean national pride.

Before starting an examination of the case of the demolition of the JGGB, I would like to provide some background to the palace site with respect to geomantic principles, which I see as one of the crucial but less-discussed influences on the demolition project. It is known that Taejo Yi Seongge, first king of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897), considered *pungsu* to be critically important to the choice of Seoul as the capital of Korea. First, the Gyeryongsan¹ area was examined as a possible new capital site, and construction work began on a new capital there; this continued for about a year (Yoon 2006: 233). However, it was found that Gyeryongsan was not an appropriate place to build a capital due to various watercourses and the positions of mountains according to a *pungsu* diagnosis. And so Taejo halted construction and began searching for a new capital site. After consulting geomancers, Taejo chose present-day Seoul as the new capital site. The city was laid out according to geomantic principles, and Gyeongbok Palace was built in the city's most auspicious location (ibid.: 231). From this, we can see that before Seoul became the site for the new capital, there was a long selection process, based on *pungsu*. King Taejo himself

¹ Gyeryongsan is the name of a mountain located in Chungcheongnam-do, South Korea. Gyeryongsan has long been regarded as a sacred mountain according to geomancy (Yoon 2006: 33).

undertook several field surveys, all primarily based on geomancy (ibid.). It is written in the *Annals of King Taejo* that known geomancers, such as the Buddhist monk-geomancer Muhak, were involved in the choosing of the site of the capital for the new dynasty (ibid.: 235). What this historical background tells us is that people who believe in *pungsu* could not perceive the Japanese-built JGGB without considering its location in relation to its *pungsu* background. This is because, by building it in the front yard of the most auspicious site in Seoul, the JGGB was blocking the flow of the nation's *gi*. Thus there has been much controversy surrounding the issue of whether or not the colonial government purposely built the JGGB after learning about Korean *pungsu*. For those believing in *pungsu*, there was no doubt that the Japanese attempted to cut off the geomantic vein to the main building of the palace in order to nullify geomantic benefits to Korea (ibid.: 278; Choi 2008: 67-68). Meanwhile, there was opposing opinion that the location of the JGGB was decided mainly on the basis of its surrounding environment and the beautiful landscape of the inner and outer palaces (B. Kim 2007: 205)

Taking this background into consideration, we will now examine the case of the demolition of the JGGB from the perspective of how the site has been perceived according to *pungsu*. The reason why I attempt to analyse the demolition event from this particular perspective is this: I would like to emphasise that the historico-cultural background of Korea was the initial driving force that stimulated Korean nationalism and underpinned the 'Set History Right' policy, which preceded the demolition project. In doing so, I focus on a less explored area of urban studies in South Korea by looking at space as seen from 'within' the culture, in contrast to analysing it based on theories that do not take into account such culturally specific features of urban development.

In contemporary cultural studies, South Korean cultural practices are generally explored through the lens of American and European theories and examples. In particular, before major urban regeneration in the form of city planning projects is initiated in South Korea, research into successful case studies in European, American or Japanese cities is generally the first task. This is not surprising, since modernisation, and theories growing out of it, has coincided with Westernisation. When we examine *pungsu* in relation to modernisation in South Korea, it becomes clear that modernity is not necessarily just about the new. It is often the case that previous traditions and new forces co-exist in the same place, or on the same site. From this viewpoint, my research hinges on acknowledging the fact that South Korean modernisation involves complex coexistence between vernacular Korean spiritual beliefs and new forces of modernisation. By giving due consideration to the background to modernisation in South Korea, I argue that it is inappropriate to

analyse urban issues in South Korea only by applying theories developed from European case studies of urbanisation, where the urbanisation process itself and its historical background have been so different. Since the JGGB case was a unique example of urban development, specific to South Korea's historico-cultural and political background, it seems crucial to analyse this case by applying theory that can incorporate a culture-specific perspective.

Through my examination of the two case studies proposed in my research (one is the JGGB case in Chapters II and III, the other is the regeneration of Gohan-Sabuk in Chapter IV), I aim to explore the meaning and function of intuition in the life environment of a people. In this chapter, I propose *intuitive visibility* as a concept via which to analyse the JGGB case. This is both because I think it fulfils the requirement of being able to address a culture-specific situation, and because it helps me establish a theory of intuition that locates aesthetics in the social field. In Chapter I, I introduced *intuitive visibility*, not as a historical concept but as a tool for understanding the contemporaneousness of South Korean modernity. I see intuitive visibility as addressing both the external and internal aspects of urban development, by which I mean both observable changes related to urban sites and the forces that lead to change. Thus the first task of this chapter is to develop the meaning of *intuitive visibility* as both a phenomenon and a methodological tool. I aim to analyse the JGGB case from a viewpoint that sees the temporal dimension as a continuation of the past into the present, and from the present into the future. Bergson's notion of memory and the Seon notion of dependent arising from it will help to explain this further. I anticipate that this will help us take a comprehensive look at the circumstances surrounding the JGGB case.

In the following, Section Two, 'Pungsu and Bergson's Theory of Intuition', I will consider public opinion as it related to the period in which the JGGB was demolished. I will point out the role and influence of the pro-demolition group and frame it in relation to the notion of *intuitive visibility*. In addition, in this chapter, I will further examine *pungsu* because, as we will see, the majority of pro-demolition groups supported the idea that *pungsu* causes justified the demolition on the JGGB site. However, merely describing the performative effects of the belief in *pungsu* does not mean that I support or agree with the pro-demolition group. Rather, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the most irrationally sounding opinions (particularly to people outside South Korea) combined with governmental policy, finally to become the driving force for demolition. In Sections Three to Six, I will analyse the JGGB case according to four categories: 'modern rationale versus folkloric *pungsu*', '*functional gi* and affect', 'spatial knowledge versus temporality'

and finally ‘memory and urban space’. These categories offer a way to classify public opinion based on concepts that helped establish the notion of *intuitive visibility* in the previous chapter, such as Bergsonian and Deleuzian ideas, and ideas related to invisibility in the Korean context.

In terms of researching *pungsu* based on Bergson’s theory of intuition, I share Yoon Hong-Key’s point of view that *pungsu* is one of the belief systems of Korea that has had the biggest impact on Korean cultural life. I neither believe in/practise *pungsu* nor disregard it as merely superstition. Whether *pungsu* addresses real patterns of forces or not is not essential to my aim of observing *pungsu* phenomena in relation to their political utilisation in urban development, as well as the very real social effects that belief in *pungsu* generates. It is not my aim here to consider whether the political use of *pungsu* is right or wrong, but rather to investigate the spectrum of Korean modernity from within the culture, by examining the close relationship between rational schemes of moderisation and *pungsu* as a traditional belief system.

2. *Pungsu* and Bergson’s Theory of Intuition

(1) Analysing the JGGB case with Regard to Public Opinion

The demolition of the JGGB has been highly controversial due to the seemingly illogical procedure of tearing down one of the most historically important buildings from the early modern era of South Korea. In fact, the majority of early modern Korean architecture found in contemporary Seoul, including the JGGB, was built during the Japanese colonial period (Y. Kim & I. Park 2009, p.12). These buildings are neither Korean nor modern in style; rather, they are pre-modern Western style buildings built under colonial rule. We can see that the value and identity of these buildings have been respected neither by the South Korean government nor by the public, because quite a number of major early-modern Korean buildings in Seoul have been demolished² or renovated by altering their main structures. In order to protect historic buildings, the Registered Cultural Properties Law was passed in March 2000. However, this law has the critical limitation of not being able to prevent a building’s owner from demolishing it (ibid.). It merely encourages national heritage sites to be ‘registered’ without imposing any legal restrictions or protection upon them. So, for instance, when the structure of a cultural heritage building did

² Guk Do Cinema (2005), Hwa Shin Department Store (1999), Dong Yang Cinema (1990) and Scara Cinema (2005) are examples of historically important buildings erected during Japanese colonisation and demolished throughout the period of modernisation of Seoul.

not suit its present use or function, the owner could quite legally alter up to 25% of the shape and structure of the original building (ibid.). The owner could also demolish a building if restoration costs were too high. Because the Japanese-built buildings in Seoul were mostly low-rise buildings, many were demolished to make way for modern high-rise buildings. This could be said to be an economy-centred development, in the sense that issues such as rental income for owners dictate (re)development. In this way, architecture from both the latter era of the Joseon dynasty and the early modern period was regarded neither as historically meaningful nor practical and profitable enough to be protected, unlike contemporary buildings (ibid.). There have been increasing numbers of complaints from scholars of architecture, as well as from members of the public, supporting preservation and complaining that no reasonable law has ever existed to protect these modern buildings from demolition. Even the Cultural Heritage Administration of South Korea was unable to prevent the demolition of Taepyeong Hall, part of Seoul City Hall (see Fig. 10). Seoul City Council proceeded with its demolition in 2008 without even reporting its intended action to the Cultural Heritage Administration of South Korea. One of the official reasons given for demolishing Taepyeong Hall was the theory that this building had been erected in the shape of 本 (bon), a Chinese character (Chinese scripture was commonly used between Chinese, Koreans and Japanese) representing 'Supreme Japan' (대일본/ 大日本). According to this theory, based on *pungsu*, the character 日 (il) represents the JGGB and the character 大 (dae) represents Gyeongmudae, one of the old buildings of the Blue House (Cheongwadae). The conspiracy argues that these three buildings together form the statement 'Supreme (大) Japan (日-本)', and were deliberately situated in central Seoul by colonial Japan (Jeon 2006; Lee 2004). This was seen as directly disrupting the prosperity of South Korea as an independent nation. A professional National Treasure Researcher, Lee Soon Woo, argued that this was an erroneous idea (Jeon 2006). However, Taepyeong Hall was dismantled to make way for construction of a new City Hall building a year later. Seoul City Council said the demolition of Taepyeong Hall fell within its legal remit, while the Seoul Metropolitan Government and the Cultural Heritage Administration described it as the barbaric destruction of cultural property (ibid.).

This shows that the preservation of architecture built in the later part of the Joseon dynasty or the early modern period is complicated by the lack of legal protection, and also by varying public attitudes. In this sense, the demolition of the JGGB offered an opportunity for South Korean citizens and architects to think actively about criteria of value in relation to architecture built under colonial rule. For the first time in the history of South Korea, demolition of the JGGB stimulated

the public to express their opinions (although they were not fully publicised) about the modernisation of urban space in Seoul. I see this event as bringing about an important shift in terms of Seoul citizens' mind-set regarding public space.

I begin this examination of the JGGB case by introducing a collection of public opinions that reflect people's views on the government's plan to demolish the JGGB. These opinions have been surveyed and selected mostly from articles written by scholars of architecture between 1990 and 1993, just prior to the demolition of the JGGB.³ The articles expressing these opinions expose individually different and serious concerns regarding both the demolition of the JGGB and the Gyeongbok Palace restoration. The articles found in daily papers have proved useful when examining current governmental policy and up-to-date information regarding the JGGB, which I have also looked at in my research. There is insufficient material to reveal the public concerns about the JGGB case as it emerged in the early 1990s. Even architecture scholars' theses on the subject were published and introduced mainly via architectural journals. Thus, I rely on articles by architecture scholars, the results of public opinion polls and articles in daily papers to provide material that both directly and indirectly reflects the available opinions of different groups.

The main reason for beginning the research with this material is to enable approaching the case from the perspective of public opinion at that time. By analysing the JGGB case based on the real situation as spoken and written about by the public and scholars at the time, I seek to approach the actuality of the event. This may differ from looking at the case from a distance and relying on urban theories and discourses produced and developed by European theorists, which are ultimately external to the case. Initially, I expect that this research method will help us to understand the case from a culture-specific and history-based background of the event. Certain cultural values respond differently to global capitalism, and economic development changes cities in different ways, according to cities' embedded characteristics. Hence my standpoint is that the context of urban change should be understood in terms of its own cultural climate before looking at it from the outcomes of the tendency towards globalisation.

What follows below are three public opinions categorised according to their agreement or disagreement with the demolition plan for the JGGB as announced by the government:

³ In grouping and editing opinions, my own explanations are added to integrate with the necessarily approximate translations from Korean. To sum up long arguments: the original intention of the writer has been preserved as closely as possible.

Public opinion 1 (Anti-Demolition)

A number of academic scholars and intellectuals, including scholars of architecture, claimed that the historical context and value of the building should be respected, and thus the JGGB should be preserved. The demolition of the JGGB was decided by the Korean government and supported by the general public, the majority of whom were in agreement with the demolition policy (H. Park & H. Kim 2010: 223). However, no procedure of open discussion was participated in by architecture professionals, though the government did collect binary opinions (yes or no) from the public. From this it can be understood that historically symbolic architecture, such as the JGGB in South Korea, has a close relation to the government regime (ibid.). For instance, the demolition of historic buildings could have been proceeded with for a 'political purpose' (ibid.), and in the case of the JGGB it was easier when this was sensitive to Koreans' traumatic memory regarding the Japanese colonisation. The majority of the public supported demolition because they saw the JGGB as a vestige of colonial history. However, a number of architect scholars tried to see the JGGB in terms of its value as architecture, rather than as a remnant of colonial Japan, and thus they disagreed with demolition (ibid.). Some selected objections are shown in detail below:

a. The demolition issue needs to be considered in terms of its meaning and architecture, instead of being resolved by an emotional crowd (C. D. Kim 1991)

b. The permanence of the JGGB in the post-colonial period exceeds the period of time when it was actually used by the Japanese general government. The entire history of this building, including the post-colonial period, must therefore be reconsidered more objectively. The Korean government has used the JGGB since 1948, except during the period of the Korean War. This building was renovated to become the National Museum of Korea from 1986 onwards (C. D. Kim 1991).

c. In the history of colonialism and architecture, colonial architects have played an important role with regard to urbanisation and political control. The remains of colonial architecture can also, in time, become part of the cultural heritage of a country (S. H. Lee 1991).

d. The JGGB was not built by Japanese skill alone. Japan started building European-style architecture only in the Taisho period 大正時代 (1912-1926 CE).

Generally, colonial architecture was built in the European style and, for this reason, it has been argued that a building such as the JGGB, designed by a German architect, should be preserved, as the association with Japan is not so visually obvious (Song 1991).

e. There are more urgent issues to be considered before the JGGB can be demolished. If, as the Seoul government announced, the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace provides the primary justification for the demolition of the JGGB, the urban planning of the central area of Seoul has to be re-examined. This is firstly because Gyeongbok Palace was part of a development plan for the central area of Seoul, and secondly because perfect restoration would be impossible, as there are insufficient documents available to consult (S. H. Lee 1991; J. Sohn 1989).

f. The theory of geomantic injury (*iljaedanmaekseol 일제단맥설*) and the location issue are not convincing, if only Gyeongbok Palace is to be considered in relation to cutting the national flow of *gi*. There are many other sites in South Korea which would then need to be mentioned in relation to this theory of geomantic injury (Lee 1991).

Lee even said that it is a criminal act if a culture-related policy is manipulated to satisfy the South Korean president's political ambitions (*ibid.*).

Public opinion 2 (Pro-Demolition)

The majority of *pungsu* specialists and a number of academic scholars supported the demolition plan. Most current daily papers were printing articles or the outcomes of public surveys supportive of demolition.

a. The JGGB was constructed with the explicit aim of blocking the natural flow of *gi*. From this perspective, the demolition of the JGGB would be necessary in order to re-establish the national power and welfare of the nation. Jang Ki-in, a scholar of architecture, supported demolition of the JGGB. He said that demolition of the building would assist the nation in its recovery from a shameful history of colonisation. The demolition would have a symbolically important educational meaning for the next generation (Jang 1991).

b. Although the architectural value of the JGGB is important, the location of the building is critically problematic. It represents the end of the Joseon dynasty as

it blocked the site in front of the palace. According to Jang, it was a 'vicious and barbarous act' (Jang 1991) to block the palace site.

c. The demolition of the JGGB has been suggested since the first presidency of Seungman Lee (1948-1960) but, in fact, it should have been considered much earlier. Leaving the JGGB in front of the Gyeongbok Palace symbolises a weak-minded nation (Donga Daily 1990). The JGGB has to be demolished to get over the vestiges of slavery and colonialism, and to re-establish a sense of national sovereignty. The Gyeongbok Palace has to be restored to its original shape, in spite of the enormous cost and time involved (Segye Daily 1990). The Japanese government's destruction of the old palace site further accelerated the South Korean people's desire to reconstruct the old palace in order to restore national sovereignty.

d. Demolition would affect the National Museum of South Korea, located within the JGGB. In any case, the plan is to move the museum to a new location.

e. According to a public opinion poll in 1991, 65% of the 400 people participating in the survey supported the demolition or re-location of the JGGB. In another survey by Cheongwadae (the Blue House), 51.4 % of 1,500 participants voiced the opinion that the JGGB should be demolished (Donga Daily 1991, 1993).

Public opinion 3 (Seeking Negotiation)

A third category of opinion attempted to balance two contradictory arguments. It suggested that the JGGB could be moved to a different site. This would preserve a historical building and allow the Gyeongbok Palace to be reconstructed on the original palace site. Here is a breakdown of the issues put forward by the third group of opinions:

a. A group of architects in South Korea proposed moving the JGGB to a different site not far from the original one (K. Park 1990).

b. It was suggested that relocation of the JGGB would be an ideal solution. Demolishing it would not help to remember the colonial history of Korea. Confronting past history instead of removing it would help the nation to get over the trauma of colonisation (Song 1991).

c. The Japanese Meiji (明治) Architecture Research Association put forward a similar opinion, i.e. that both preservation of the JGGB and reconstruction of Gyeongbok Palace should be considered. They added that the JGGB was regarded as one of the finest examples of a certain type of modern architecture in East Asia.

d. Since the South Korean government has been solely responsible for decisions regarding the restoration and preservation of the national heritage in South Korea for the last fifty years, the concern was the possibility that political interests might affect restoration projects (D. U. Kim 2006; S. H. Lee 1991).

(2) *Pungsu and Intuitive visibility*

What we can see above is that different opinions regarding demolition of the JGGB could be seen to be different attitudes towards *pungsu*. For instance, most of the pro-demolition group appear to support *pungsu*, whereas the anti-demolition group consider *pungsu* principles to constitute dated folkloric beliefs from the past. There was another category of opinions that expressed a will to negotiate between the two opposing camps. It was known that the pro-demolition group was in the majority (Public Opinion 2-e) according to public opinion polls. This led me to focus on the pro-demolition group's opinion as being the most influential, in terms of its effects on subsequent events. It seems important to examine the public discourse, particularly what took place after the first phase of the Gyeongbok Palace restoration in 2010. Although public opinion polls were conducted by the government, there was no public procedure involving collecting and publicising extensive opinions from all walks of life before demolition of the JGGB. The debates that took place between scholars of architecture were mostly held within the academic milieu.

The anti-demolition group argued in accordance with Westernised scientific ideas, whereas the pro-demolition group supported the anti-demolition group's perspective, the 'unconvincing' idea of *pungsu*. As a result, demolition was supported by a political purpose. If so, it seems important to understand what *pungsu* meant to the pro-demolition group and how it was used in a resourceful way to support the government's policy of restoring 'national pride'.

Pungsu is based on the belief that an auspicious site for a building, one that has positive *gi*, can bring benefits to the lives of inhabitants connected to that building or site. Lee, Hwa (2005) writes that *pungsu* is a 'religious tradition' practised throughout Korean history and describes how Koreans in the Goryeo and Joseon periods fervently believed in *pungsu*. People who believe in *pungsu* are both

consciously and subconsciously cautious of the undesirable effects that could result from acting against *pungsu* principles, and thus its practice has been closely associated with Koreans' desire for a better life. This has often been manifested as a fanatic exercise of burial-geomancy, which we will look at in more detail in the following Section 3. The pro-demolition group appeared to be in line with this pattern of belief originating in pre-modern Korea, which shows that the belief in *pungsu* is still supported by the majority of the Korean public. One of the best-known *pungsu* researchers, Choi Chang Jo, supports this idea. He writes about how the basic thought underlying JGGB demolition has been supported by *pungsu* theory. The *pungsu* claim was that the Japanese act of building the JGGB in the front yard of the Gyeongbok Palace site was 'squeezing the throat and blocking the mouth' of the nation (C. Choi 2008: 65-72). According to this view, because the Bugak mountain is located behind Gyeongbok Palace and is the foremost mountain in Seoul, building the JGGB on the Gyeongbok Palace site meant symbolical annihilation of the Korean nation (ibid.). So it is not difficult to imagine that when the theory of geomantic injury appeared in response to the issue of demolishing the colonial building (PO 2-a), *pungsu* stimulated the collective anger of the Korean public towards what was seen as Japan's intentional cutting of the nation's flow of *gi*. The idea behind this anger was that an impaired flow of national *gi* might have inauspicious effects for the nation's welfare and security. In responding to this, I observe that *pungsu* informed 'the state of consciousness' of the public and the Korean population's relation to the external world. In other words, it can be said that *pungsu* helped Koreans to externalise their inner world in the context of society. Furthermore, we can see that *pungsu* is both a subjective and flexible interpretation of space and time. As an example, it is known that geomantic principles are a product of cultural evolution, there were many different types of geomantic principles in the past (Yoon 2006: 229). These principles often contradicted each other and different geomantic conditions of cities in East Asia, for instance, could represent variant forms of geomancy practice in different times and places (ibid.).

When the Korean public were informed that the JGGB was blocking the natural *gi* flowing through the Gyeongbok Palace, this would have triggered the idea in the collective consciousness of Koreans that the building of the JGGB was propagated by negative intentions, and hence it would have to be removed. Anxiety increased among the people who took *pungsu* seriously, with regard to the background of the Gyeongbok Palace. I observe the point at which public recognition of the JGGB became negative, due to an informed *pungsu* principle, as the point at which *intuitive visibility* was actualised. Previously, I introduced *intuitive visibility* as the experience that forms between subject and object, which does not occur through

vision alone but through an intimate connectivity between them. It can be said that collective anxiety among the people who agreed with demolition was actualising the intimate association between the JGGB and the subject's body through the feelings of anger, antipathy or empathy that people had about colonial history. When the demolition of the JGGB was announced, people began to see the 'invisible' side of the JGGB, such as the *pungsu* background of the building, the Japanese intention behind the building, and the building's absence as a result of demolition. In response to this, I propose the following methodology for examining the JGGB case:

We can view urban space as the combined form of external space and internal time. Then, architecture is the combined form of matter and social memory.

Now, I would like to view the effects of *pungsu* in relation to what Bergson called the characteristics of duration. The reason to compare those effects and Bergson's duration is that the principle of *pungsu* is based on the broad concept of *yin* and *yang*, and on the five elements of water, fire, wood, metal and earth. This can explain the manner in which *gi* is applied to land or events, but the principle itself does not explain *pungsu's* influence on human cognition, which is what I am trying to explore in this chapter. Thus I take Bergson's theory of 'duration' to specify *pungsu's* effects in relation to a subject's perception of change within space and time.

According to Bergson, 'duration' is not homogeneously related in time to symbolic order, rather it is a complex multiplicity related to human consciousness. He argues that differentiation of the duration of pure time from mathematical time is crucial to exploring the notion of temporality, not only in relation to studies of space but also in relation to the faculty of consciousness. Bergson argues that our mental faculties of perception, sensation, emotions and ideas are manifested in two ways. One is clear and precise but impersonal. The other is confused, ever changing and inexpressible (Bergson 2001: 129). This can be understood better from the following passage: This paragraph, written by Bergson, describes the point where he differentiates between the two different states of consciousness in association with the urban space we confront in everyday life.

I take my first walk in a town in which I am going to live, my environment produces on me two impressions at the same time, one of which is destined to last while the other will constantly change. Everyday, I perceive the same houses and as I know that they are the same objects, I always call them by the same name. But if I recur, at the end of a sufficiently long period, to the impression, which I experienced during the first few years, I am surprised at

the remarkable change, which has taken place... We shall hardly perceive this difference, unless we are warned of it and then carefully look into ourselves.
(Bergson 2001: 129-130)

In the above extract, 'the remarkable change' Bergson refers to is not noticeable 'unless we are warned of it and then carefully look into it ourselves'. This suggests that there is a moment when a shift in consciousness takes place, so that we can recognise subtle changes to the internal perception of space associated with subjective time. This process is described as being more sensitive with regard to the internal self and internal relations than to purely external perceptions of space. According to Bergson, this moment, where subjective time and conscious life are intimately connected, is what can be called 'duration'.

What Bergson stresses in this extract is that the immediate experience of intuition is of equal causal importance to rational and scientific thinking. This is the precise reason why exploration of the temporal dimension of space needs to be differentiated from its material dimension, which is not because one (time) is more crucial than the other (space) but because both need to be considered as having equal importance. Bergson's theory offers a fresh perspective on the Korean situation by highlighting contemporary urban development not only as the predetermined result of apparent forces, but as a result of the undetermined force of *pungsu* associated with nationalism. The demolition of the JGGB was partly as a consequence of a non-scientific interpretation of the Gyeongbok Palace site adopted by some sections of the population.

In the following Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6, I will analyse public opinion regarding demolition of the JGGB according to this methodology. This will distinguish one form of space (internal time, social memory) from the other (external space, matter), while examining urban aesthetics in South Korea from a more culture-specific context than from the *a priori* principles that have dominated relevant case studies in other countries. In addition, I expect that the theory of *intuitive visibility* can be examined more closely through the analysis of public opinions. Throughout the analysis of the Bergsonian terminology of intuition and the Korean concept of invisibility I introduced in Chapter I, I will use these ideas in an integrated way. Politically and culturally, the specific background to this encounter will be examined in terms of what challenges *intuitive visibility* in everyday space.

Some terms will not fully explain the JGGB case, they will only touch upon the state of affairs. However, I expect that this method of analysis, based on the intercultural context of intuition, will draw us nearer to a less-spoken, less-theorised

aspect of modernity in South Korea by working towards a theory of *intuitive visibility*. Thus, the purpose of researching the JGGB case is to explore intuition as a method by which to examine urban space with regard to the above two aspects of internal time and external space. Through a theory of intuition (intuitive visibility), I aim to approach urban aesthetics in Korea by examining Korean modernity with regard to both external and internal dimensions of space. I further suggest that intuition provides a better way of observing the invisible aspect of space. This will, I expect, address the meaning of space as a ‘whole’.

3. Analysis 1: Modern Rationalists and Folkloric *Pungsu* Believers

Henceforth, I will begin to analyse public opinion with respect to the demolition of the JGGB. To begin with, I will examine the most contradictory opinions between the pro-demolition and anti-demolition groups. Throughout the process, we will pay attention to the fact that the non-negotiable and contradictory opinions we find amongst these two groups are not a new phenomenon, rather they have consistently been found since the Joseon period.

Both opposing opinions appear to be paradoxical, as one represents a highly rational modernist view (PO 1-f) (PO 1-e) while the other is based on a folkloric belief in *pungsu* (PO 2-a,b). The rationalist group dismisses *pungsu* as ‘valueless and undisputable folklore’ (B. Kim 2007), while *pungsu* supporters seem solid in their belief. How can we explain that these views may exist side by side in contemporary Korea?

Modernisation in South Korea was accelerated by the rapid economic success that occurred, in particular between the 1960s and 1980s. This growth stemmed from the booming global economy during the same period, which stimulated industry and culture in Korea, as in other Asian countries (Chang 2007: 31-37). Throughout this period of industrial and economic progress, traditional elements of Korean culture and society were forced to adapt to the new capitalistic order. The cultural transformation and modification occurred in various ways, with little time to digest the consequences of these changes. I observe that the case of the JGGB is one example of rapid modernisation. Whilst this does not explain the cause, it does partly explain how contrasting views can co-exist. It seems that establishing standards for assessing colonial history was not an easy task, as seen with the JGGB case. There is another example that exposes the paradoxical co-existence of past traditions and new tendencies: Throughout the early modernisation of Korea, Christians condemned

*Musok*⁴ as ‘demonism’ or at least regarded it as a superstition. Early Christian missionaries hoped that *Musok* would soon be obliterated from South Korean society for the sake of its people (Hogarth 2002: 352). Today, Christians generally see *Musok* as a forgotten phenomenon, and consider it something shameful, although its practice is widespread (ibid.). Furthermore, the early South Korean government politically promoted evangelism, which shared the same principles as Protestantism (Buswell 2007: 421). Consequently, *Musok* was repressed due to its pre-modern nature. In the meantime, *pungsu* has also been regarded as being superstitious in nature in the academic world. This background presents a double aspect to the reality of contemporary Korean life: on the one hand, we see a highly industrialised modern Korea regarding the traditions of the past as outmoded while, on the other hand, we see a less visible but widespread engagement with religious practices such as *mudang* rituals and the practices of geomancers. Although these religious practices may be superficially less visible, they have broadly shared views, as we saw in Chapter 1. It can be said that the coexistence of modernising forces and the so-called out of date traditions of the past have appeared constantly as a characteristic feature of South Korean modernity. This contradictory phenomenon is well represented by the contrasting arguments permeating public opinion.

If we look at the discourse surrounding *pungsu* and its actual practice in the Joseon dynasty, we find that a paradoxical climate similar to that in modern Korea is found there. During the Goryeo dynasty, *pungsu* was fully supported, both by the ruling power and public life, since it was tied to the official religion, Buddhism. Yet, *pungsu* was presented and practised differently, since Neo-Confucianism provided new social ethics and political ideology, thus *pungsu* was accepted and practised differently according to those new ideologies. On the one hand, *pungsu* was criticised by the scholarly gentry (called *sadaebu* or *yangban*) for being fatalistic and deterministic (Lee 2005: 131-143). For instance, auspicious or inauspicious sites based on *pungsu* principles could easily be considered to have good or ill effects (Lee 2005: 131-143). This was regarded as problematic as it is against the Confucian idea of human nature, which is based on a strong belief in the person’s ‘perfectibility’ through self-effort (Oh 2005: 121). On the other hand, *pungsu* was a statecraft in Joseon. There were Government Bureaux of Geomancy, where geomancers worked as advisers to the king and greatly influenced general decisions regarding government affairs (Yoon 1976: 271-275). While *pungsu* was disapproved of by the

⁴ *Musok* means shamanistic customs in Korea. James Huntley Grayson calls it *Musok-kyo*, literally meaning ‘shamanistic religion’ (Grayson 2002: 218-221) from the observation of the fact that Korean folk religion is more than just shamanism. For instance, folk religion’s most diagnostic characteristic is shamanism. Here, Grayson categorises the practitioners of *Musok-kyo*: Shamans, Ritual Readers and Diviners. Geomancers are introduced in the third category of diviners.

scholarly gentry and used only for statecraft, *pungsu* achieved prevalence among the public by modifying its practice according to Confucian social ethics. The essence of Confucian social ethics is summarised in the Five Cardinal Articles of Morality (*Oryun*): They are the loyalty of subjects to the ruler, filial piety to parents, the different roles of husband and wife, respect toward elders and finally trustworthiness between friends (Yoon 2006: 203-204). Of these five principles, filial piety to one's parents was the most important in a traditional Korean family and formed the basis of all Confucian ethical values (ibid.). Somehow, geomancy relates to this practice of filial piety, through honouring ancestors and burial rites (ibid.). Thus, it was possible to consider *pungsu* as a means to practise filial piety: The emphasis on parental sacrifice for descendants is in line with the geomantic principle of transmitting vital *gi* from auspicious sites to living descendants through the burial of parents. As a consequence, finding the right tomb locations for ancestors was an important task for the eldest son in the family, which naturally encouraged *burial pungsu* (*eumtaek pungsu* 음택풍수)⁵. In fact, although *pungsu* practice was constrained by Confucian ideology in the Joseon period, its believers were growing in numbers. Chronicles of the Joseon kingdoms contain reports about *sansong*, the civil actions taken with regard to quarrels over the use or possession of graveyards. Serious fights often took place over stealing someone else's tomb or cutting down trees at others' tomb sites, and the number of such conflicts increased towards the end of the Joseon dynasty, with 241 cases recorded during King Yong Jo (1724-1776)'s reign (Lee 2005: 208-233). The main reason for *sansong* was the 'influence of *pungsu*' (ibid.: 203), which was impossible for a ruling power to control. It is surprising that *sansong* were taken mainly by the scholarly gentry who were not supposed to practise *pungsu* in Confucian society (ibid.: 209). It is well known that Confucian scholars disregarded *pungsu* merely as *jap-seol* 잡설, which means 'silly story' (ibid.: 153-154), and thought of it as a vulgar form of study. However, in real life, they would call a geomancer to find the right place to bury their parents. This shows that the rational attitude of Confucianism was not fully separated from the folkloric belief system but rather coexisted with it, even if there was an inconsistency in philosophy. *Sansong* caused great confusion with regard to issues of social status and family/class ideology, to the extent of causing violent conflicts, even resulting in deaths (ibid.: 201-233). Hence, it can be said that *pungsu* was a major reason for this type of social confusion, as well as the source for a different way to follow the Confucian order in the Joseon period. Here I see *sansong* as a similar case to that of the practice of *Musok* and *pungsu* in

⁵ *Burial (Yin) pungsu*, *eumtaek pungsu* 음택풍수/ 陰宅風水 means *pungsu* related to the burial site. *House (Yang) pungsu*, *yangtaek pungsu* 양택풍수/ 陽宅風水 means *pungsu* related to the site for housing or building.

contemporary Korea, in the way that Confucian scholars' adoption and criticism of geomancy coexisted throughout the Joseon period. Neo-Confucianism was less tied to geomancy than Buddhism (Yoon 2006: 212-213); however, the relationship between Neo-Confucianism and geomancy was well developed as we see the evidence for this in the locations of Confucian shrines and schools (ibid.)

What we see is that a common belief system, based on vernacular Korean religion, and a current politics that aims at a new ideology or a new policy for a regime, are often in a dynamic relation with each other. For instance, *pungsu* was a 'statecraft' for the support of filial piety, which consequently encouraged *burial pungsu* in the Joseon period. The demolition policy of the Kim Young Sam government and *pungsu* believers seemed to agree about the demolition of the JGGB. In both cases, vernacular belief and political use of this belief form a pragmatic alliance. I see this as a moment where a new pattern of modernity emerges. Although the Western convention of scientific rationalisation does not apply here, the pragmatic alliance between *pungsu* governmental power engenders *intuitive visibility*. The demolition event was the outcome of both inside (culture-specific) and outside (capitalist rational) forces of modernisation, *intuitive visibility* seems to occur and correspond to the culture specificity of the event.

4. Analysis 2: *Functional Gi* and Affect

(1) *Functional Gi*

Going back to *sansong* (the civil actions taken with to settle quarrels over the use or possession of graveyards), Lee Hwa (2005) observes that it was particularly towards the end of the Joseon dynasty that quarrels over the locations of ancestors' tombs became excessive. This shows that although *pungsu* was mainly used to assist the country's security through the practice of *house pungsu*, *burial pungsu* was more widespread among the people (ibid.: 253). As we have already seen, although the Joseon rulers officially accepted *pungsu*, they acknowledged its more 'scientific' elements such as the 'form method' (*hyungsaeron*). They were against the fatalistic and deterministic aspects of *pungsu*, trying only to acknowledge its more 'scientific' elements such as the 'form method' (*hyungsaeron*) (ibid.: 134). However, towards the end of the Joseon period, *pungsu* was largely conflated with religious thought, focusing on the fatalistic and deterministic aspects of the theory such as the practice of *burial pungsu*. *Pungsu* had quite a negative impact on Korean culture during the later Joseon dynasty (Yoon 2006: 211). For instance, there was serious poverty in the agrarian society of the time, because the ownership of land was in the hands of a few large landholders (Palais 1996: 1015). *Sansong* came to express the complex desire of peasants to protect their possessions and their right to use the land. *Sansong* was the

only way peasants could possess their land, using the excuse of 'the protection of the ancestors' tombs, which was still regarded as being protected in law, from the scholarly gentry's (*yangban*) extortion from the land (Lee 2005: 205). This phenomenon explains that *pungsu* was no longer regarded as secondary to Confucianism; rather it was instead absorbing Confucian ethical values, to the degree that *sansong* was regarded as an actualisation of filial piety (ibid.: 233).

I observe that, to a certain extent, *sansong* exposed the limits of ruling ideology towards the end of the Joseon period, which seems related to later discussions about how *pungsu* is utilized by the government today. For instance, Korean Neo-Confucianism was structured hierarchically, on the basis of hereditary or semi-hereditary principles, including strict discrimination between the social classes (Palais 1996: 1002-1006). Thus the Confucian ideal of providing an expanded education opportunity for the public could not be realised due to the preservation of a class system based on a scholarly gentry (*yangban*), which made it very difficult to reform society in alignment with the ideal of 'moral' values. When *sansong* became more frequent toward the end of the dynasty, it showed that the Confucian moral system and the intellectual ideals of the literati, which once supported integrity as a social value, had been corrupted by the scholarly gentry (Keum 2000: 57). They used their ability for their own self-interest and tried to preserve their own families' hold over power, wealth and land (Palais 1996: 1007). Since the late seventeenth century, the clan rules were legitimated, which consequently increased the ownership of the mountain monopolised by the scholarly gentry where most of graveyards are located (Lee 2005: 204-205).

I see a similar pattern in the externalised emotional reactions of the public, connected to *pungsu* belief, in the JGGB case. We have seen that people who neither believe in nor practice *pungsu* are likely to find the view of the second opinion group regarding *gi*-flow and its relation to national welfare (PO 1-a) mystical. Nevertheless, when *pungsu* was proposed as a justification for the demolition of the JGGB, public support increased and finally the JGGB was indeed demolished. In this case, *pungsu* can be seen as a case of 'functional *gi*', which Lam defines as *gi* with an actual influence on society. In Chapter I, I introduced a relevant example from the Chinese modernisation period showing how political power and the traditional notion of *gi* have been tied to each other in support of national policy. Throughout his reform of China, Mao Tse-Tung utilised the Chinese traditional concept of *gi* to strengthen Communism and 'wipe out capitalism' (Lam 2005: 5). Mao's idea of *gi* was transformed into a political tool called 'functional *gi*', because it provoked changes in society to support the revolutionary ideas of modernisation. Mao maintained that his interpretation of *gi* represented a 'world-oriented outlook' (ibid.: 8), an important

modernisation scheme benefiting 'future generations' (ibid.: 13). The use of a concept of *gi* for policy-making occurred not only in Mao's era: other political leaders in China have utilised the traditional notion of 'gi' for educating the public and altering society. The South Korean government's resorting to *pungsu* for the sake of demolishing the JGGB largely achieved public consensus. In this case, a political interpretation of *gi* was used for a modernisation purpose, so there is a parallel with Mao's use of *functional gi*. Hence we see that knowledge of the historical and spiritual background of Korea and China is necessary for an understanding of modernity from within that culture. Indeed there have been periods when *pungsu* has been accepted as part of the philosophy of the nation and the capital city (Murayama 1990: 537-613). What happens with modernity in Korea is that the rational strand of thought is further aligned with Western enlightenment ideas, while *pungsu* retains a stronghold as an unofficial belief system. As the anti-demolition group argued, *pungsu* is used in support of nationalistic tendencies. It is likely that these nationalistic tendencies, in contrast to Mao's revolution, are stirred up to support a politics that is largely capitalist. It is important to acknowledge that *pungsu* does not in itself have any features that support this particular ideology. Rather, what I am interested in observing here, is how a system of effect, like *pungsu*, can be exploited to further political agendas. Personally, though I do not support the demolition, I am not hostile to *pungsu*. Perhaps, as a particular belief system that relates to the sacredness of the land, it might be possible to reclaim *pungsu* as a system that does not support the commodification of urban space, but does operate with other values.

(2) Intensity, Rhizome, Affect

When Mao was utilising *gi* to reform the whole country, it was possible because the traditional notion of *gi* has been part of life for the Chinese, and thus it worked efficiently for the theorisation of Mao's leadership. In order to understand *functional gi* in a Korean context, it seems important to understand what kind of consensus was established, and what kind of experience was shared among people who agreed on the demolition plan and supported the *pungsu* principle. Because this consensus includes subconscious forces, I will examine the notion of intensity introduced by Bergson, and the idea of affect and rhizome as explained by Deleuze. This examination will help to clarify the most difficult part of the JGGB case which relates to the 'invisible' aspect of urban space associated with the common expectation of the Korean public. Deleuze's idea of intensity modifies Bergson's idea in a way that makes it easier to understand the meaning of intensity in a social context, as well as Korean urban politics in relation to aesthetics.

When we look at the opinions advocated by the pro-demolition group, we see that they represent an emotional response to the situation, insofar as they are based on national pride and resentment against Japanese colonial rule. These opinions were based on the belief that the location of the building was inappropriate because, according to *pungsu* principles, the building blocks the natural flow of *gi*. A number of Koreans also believed that the location of the building was intended to eliminate the Korean nation's sovereignty and identity. Examples of this view are revealed in such phrases as: 'recovery from the shameful history of colonisation' (PO 2-a), 'The vicious and barbarous act of building the JGGB in the front yard of Gyeongbok Palace' (PO 2-b) and 'Re-establishment of the sense of national sovereignty is an urgent reason for the demolition of the JGGB' (PO 2-c). These expressions appear to be based on the collective feelings of Koreans, rather than on any logical justification to support demolition. Given a simple psychological definition of intensity, we can see that the intensity of feeling among the Korean public functioned as a source of motivation for demolition. When subjective feelings are gathered together and transformed into a social phenomenon, public anger is no longer a collection of personal feelings but a social operation of the intuitive, in that coherence among a group is intuited and performative in the social sense. Thus, a theory of geomantic injury brought about *changes* in the sensory becoming of subjects, first altering the social sphere and then physical space as a consequence. Now, through Bergson's and Deleuze's development of the concept of intensity and moving beyond the psychological definition of intensity, I will attempt to examine the intensive associations that occurred in relation to how the pro-demolition group became part of the JGGB event.

We often mistake quantity for quality and space for duration, says Bergson (Bergson 2001: 72-74). Here, Bergson criticises badly formulated notions such as 'intensive quantity' which applies spatial knowledge to temporality. Unlike Bergson, Deleuze does not distinguish 'difference in degree' from 'difference in kind' (Deleuze 2004: 300). Rather, what is 'between these two differences' includes all the degrees of difference (the intensive) (ibid.). What Deleuze talks about is neither quantity nor psychological quality, like sensation. Intensity describes the dynamics between virtual forces. In relation to the JGGB case, this could mean that a number of forces, potentially supporting opposing public emotions might be operating simultaneously, until at some point one force overtakes another force. This might be beyond our perception, until we start to observe the actualised effects. If we apply this conceptualisation to the case of the JGGB, it can be said that one of the motives for the change was an emotional response by the public that formed a qualitative background for the event associated with the JGGB. The emotional response

operated as a kind of intensive force which steadily increased the connectivity with other forces until the demolition was executed. At the point of demolition, the emotional response relating to the pro-demolition view was materialised (explication of intensity), whereas other opinions (differences), including the views held by the anti-demolition group, received less attention. Although the anti-demolition group and the third group did not receive enough attention, according to Deleuze and Bergson, less explicated opinions represent the state of potential to be actualised.

The intensive emotions aroused among parts of the pro-demolition group were stimulated by *functional gi*, the political use of *pungsu*. According to *pungsu*, the Bugak mountain located behind Gyeongbok Palace is the most important mountain in Seoul, thus the building of the JGGB on the Gyeongbok Palace site symbolically meant annihilating the Korean nation (C. Choi 2008: 65-72). The *pungsu* diagnosis encouraged Korean nationalism and antipathy towards Japan.

Now, I would like to look at *functional gi* in relation to the conditions for what Deleuze calls a 'rhizome'. I do this by looking into the actual effect of intuition with regard to its social function and effect. In Chapter I, I introduced Deleuze's notion of rhizome as a pattern in opposition to the structural model of 'centralised power'. It has no hierarchical order, instead it is produced by the 'inner system' of a plateau. Based on this framework from Deleuze, I propose that the invisible forces and desires that partially influence on the formation of urban space could be considered as the embodied intensities that stimulate rhizomatic connections. In urban space, intensities (social forces and desires such as *pungsu*) are increased and explicated (such as in the JGGB case), and these innumerable levels of affective forces are interrelated. Previously, I also pointed out that intensive forces of desires could be materialised through urbanisation. Possible examples of intensive forces in urban space are capital force, media force and various modernisation forces that form a web of connectivity that keeps expanding in a non-linear manner. Here, the relation between intensive forces and the extended conditions of urban space may describe an invisible connectivity between causes and effects. If so, rhizomatic urban practice can be described thus:

1. Rhizomatic connectivity in urban space is not motivated by material changes, but by invisible forces. For instance, *functional gi*, the modernisation force underlying the demolition project, led to rhizomatic connectivity that connected different people and different systems of power (such as governmental power).

2. The JGGB event represents a complex co-working of governmental policy, public response, media response and the traditional belief system of *pungsu*. Here, elements that work together look incoherent, since this connectivity is internal.

3. The rhizomatic connectivity within urban space continues, without us recognising its causes and effects. This process of connecting and developing intensive experiences into a social event is rhizomatic, without linear or hierarchical order. Here the motif and the result are not perceivable because the consequences do not occur in a single direction. This is why this connectivity must be intuited rather than directly perceived.

4. Rhizomatic connectivity within urban space is not only forged between abstract experiences, it also connects to places, buildings and materialized aspects of space. In this process, intensities are explicated and become a state of extensity.

If we see the rhizome as a system of internal structures of urban space, some of the materialisation of these internal structures can be seen as the urban space. I would like to look at the outcome of rhizomatic connections, which is ongoing movement without stopping, through the notion of 'affect'. As we have seen already (O'Sullivan 2006), Deleuze's notion of affect is no longer simply feelings or affections as in Bergson's notion of intensity (Deleuze 1994: 164). So, for instance, when an artist creates blocs of percepts and affects, this experience of the work of art has to 'stand up on its own' (ibid.). This means that affect is independent from the art object or any situation or individual body. Although affect can be associated with emotion and consciousness, it is an autonomous non-signifying occurrence.

Earlier, in the *sansong* (the civil actions taken with to settle quarrels over the use or possession of graveyards) case, *pungsu* was producing internal relationships between different classes of people, belief systems, national ideology, the connectivity between the bodies of the living and the deceased, land and the structure of society. The way *sansong* was generated could be seen as rhizomatic connectivity. As a result, the class system and family order were threatened and people felt mentally threatened too. This result can be seen as a state of affect, not only because of the emotional volatility caused by *sansong*, but because of the state where socially and ethically transitional moment occurred. Compared to *sansong*, the recent example of the JGGB showed a direct contact between the building as architecture and the subject. The JGGB itself started to evoke certain feelings when

pungsu theory appeared, which in time changed the value and definition of the building in the sense of Koreans' perception of the Gyeongbok Palace site where the JGGB was standing. These changes explain the moment of affect, since the changes were the effects of encounters between different forces of vernacular religious belief, rationalist ideas of the modern, nationalism, media influence and different people. The demolition of the JGGB was a state of affect, in that a symbol of colonial history had been destroyed, by a complex interconnection of these different forces of modernity, in order to move Koreans' common expectation towards being independent and free from an unpleasant history. I thus argue that the decision to demolish the giant historic building in the centre of Seoul city was 'indetermination' (ibid.:173), in the sense that though the result was physically evident, the causes were too complex to be defined from a set of consequences. Rather, the demolition was the shifting culmination of complex consequences that were materialised through architectural space.

According to political statements, as we have seen in Kim Young Sam's speech, the demolition was meant 'to recover national pride and the spirit of the Korean people'. This was intended as an emotional appeal to Koreans' nationalism. It can be said that the sympathetic experience initiated by *functional gi* connects people in an intuitive way and lets this stimulus work through complex connectivities of other forces, thus the demolition itself could not explain the linkages between different ideas, ethics and patterns of a political system. Likewise, consensus over the demolition of the JGGB based on the *pungsu* argument was also based on an enduring spiritual belief system, which has layers of time and space within it. For these reasons, the end result can be seen as the consequence of what Deleuze calls affect, where complex ideas, opinions, feelings, desires and systems of power interact to transform a space into a new guise of consensus. The demolition was the result of this state of indeterminacy.

5. Analysis 3: Spatial Knowledge versus Temporality

As I mentioned earlier, the main reason for surveying public opinion is that I consider the actual voice of the public a means by which to approach the event along its 'qualitative' dimension (Bergson). Further, an examination of duration, through looking at public opinion, helps to view the event from within society (by understanding the voice of people living within society) and also helps to expand the definition of space to include both inner duration and external space-time.

In this section, I will approach an idea of the 'real self', based on Bergson's ideas and that of the Korean Buddhist tradition, in order to explore how this relates

to the foundation of the experience of urban space. So far we have looked at how dynamic forces interact to form urban space. This has forced us to acknowledge a dimension of invisibility associated with the intensive movement of such forces. However, to understand more deeply what the intuition of such forces might mean, we must understand how intuition is associated with the ontology of forces in the Korean context, where forces themselves express a fundamental insubstantiality, 'emptiness' or objective 'selflessness' (see Chapter I), where subject and object merge. From a cultural perspective different to Deleuze's above notion of affect, the meaning of emptiness will help us approach the JGGB event from its 'qualitative' dimension by explaining urban space as a state of 'multiplicity'. Thus this section will interpret the range of public opinions in relation to the Bergsonian-Korean perspective of 'self' and 'time', and through seeing external space as the projection of a correlation between different selves and their association with different durations.

(1) The Concept of the Real Self in Bergson and Seon Buddhism

According to Bergson there are two 'selves': one of these selves is the external 'projection' of the other, i.e. a social representation of the inner self. The other self is the 'produced' self that we deploy in the processes of self-definition. The external self is 'clear, precise and impersonal', while the inner self is 'confused, ever-changing and inexpressible' (Bergson, 2001: 129-139). In theorising these two different selves, Bergson emphasises the necessity of 'isolating the fluid inner states from their images' (Bergson, 2001:129). This is suggested as a means to recover the real self. Image is a conceptualisation of 'matter'; more precisely, image is an existence placed halfway between the 'thing' (a further realisation of matter) and its 'representation' (the idealisation of matter) (Bergson 1988: 9-10). Thus, isolation of the inner self from its image means differentiating the real self from 'matter' and, further, it represents a clarification of the thing itself through differentiating it from its representation of an 'aggregate of images' (ibid.: 9).

Deleuze's *Bergsonism* provides an incentive to think further about the key stages of Bergson's concept of duration. Bergson argued that ideas about the temporal are frequently flawed because our theories and terminologies derive from spatial concepts. Deleuze interprets the situation that Bergson describes as related to 'false problems' (Deleuze, 1998:17-29). These are problems that are inadequately framed or simply non-existent. In the case of poorly framed problems, temporality is often confused with spatiality. A false problem is fundamentally 'illusion' (ibid.: 18), i.e. not reality. In a similar way, what is reality for Bergson lies within 'duration'. Bergson originally writes that the immeasurable subjective time of 'duration' is the

quality' which 'consciousness reaches immediately' (Bergson 2001: 127). Here, 'immediacy' is not about speed (ibid.: 107-110), rather it describes the moment where the real time of duration occurs without interruption from spatialised time that mainly forms the 'illusion' of reality. However, Bergson argues that we 'rarely' occupy the pure time of duration, thus cases where the real self is activated are rare. I will now introduce the notion of true self in the practice of Buddhism and compare it to that of the 'inner self' described by Bergson. In Chinul's theory of enlightenment, 'understanding-enlightenment' occurs before 'sudden enlightenment'. This indicates that 'sudden' enlightenment in Seon Buddhism does not mean that enlightenment occurs abruptly and without warning. In fact, 'sudden enlightenment' means the 'sudden discovery' of one's true self, which is accomplished through 'gradual cultivation' (Keel, 1984: 95) (Buswell & Chinul 1992: 101-102). The process of self-realisation can thus be understood as an intellectual accomplishment (Keel, 1984: 100), because it requires an initial 'understanding' of the process of enlightenment, prior to actual realisation taking place. Tsung-mi metaphorically explains the enlightenment process as follows: 'it takes time for ice to melt into water under the warm sunlight' (ibid.: 112). Here, the 'time for ice to melt into water' explains a law of nature which is based not on mathematical time, but on the intrinsic order of ice. Likewise, enlightenment is a process that cannot be measured step by step but which unfolds according to its own causality. According to this Buddhist theory of enlightenment, the true self is only released within subjective time; this is analogous to Bergson's notion of 'duration'. Seen the other way round, duration can only be released through recognition of the true self. In *sibiyeongiseol* 십이연기설 / 十二支緣起說, one of the most crucial parts of Buddhist studies, *Mumeong* 무명 / 無明 (*Avidyā*) is introduced as the primary reason for *karma*, understood as conditioned becoming. *Mumeong* means the point at which people are unable to distinguish real being from false being. *Mumeong* can thus be seen as the condition of all human beings; only gradual recovery from this lack of recognition of true nature can elevate the human condition (Gyoyangyojae 2008: 79-86). According to *sibiyeongiseol*, the purification of the human condition is possible by recognising the true nature of the real being. Thus it can be said that the differentiation of duration from spatial time, the true self from the false, can solve the problem of a dualistic vision of the world as the basis for the human condition, *Mumeong*. If so, how can we differentiate our true self from the fictitious self?

The characteristics of the true self in Seon Buddhism are theorised in comparison to Daoism in South Korea by Hang Bae Kim (1999). He says that 'the true self can only be obtained through the purification of the false knowledge or the practice of pure intuition such as in *prajñā*' (transcendental wisdom) (Kim, 1999: 279-

280). For instance, for Laozi and Zhuangzi, both false and pretentious knowledge turn people 'against nature'. Genuine freedom is therefore only gained from experience of true reality (ibid.: 181-182). Another characteristic that Kim observed to be shared by Daoism and Buddhism is the fact that 'both do not restrict the state of true self to a certain group of people only, for it can be obtained by everyone' (ibid.: 279-280). If, as Kim argues, the practice of pure intuition can, potentially, be accomplished by anyone, is this possible through everyday experience other than serious Buddhist meditation leading to *prajñā*? Can we realize the 'differentiation of the true self' so that we can understand the essence of the living environment?

The solution Bergson suggested was 'isolating the inner self from the images'. According to him, the only way to return to things themselves is through differentiation between the nature of space and time. Since space is a 'mixture' of spatial order and durational order, perception and memory, geometrical order and vital order (Mullarkey 1999a: 45), this mixture is considered a blend of tendencies, which are different in nature. However, differentiation is not about finding contradictions; rather, Bergson's differentiation means 'self-differentiation' (ibid.: 49). Duration does not mean the differentiation of real time from fake time, it means the self-differentiation of duration, which means that differentiation has to be made through intuition, based on the principle of the indivisible, not on the principle of the divisible. In Buddhism the problem of confusion is *Mumeong* (confusion between false being and real being), which is a condition for all human beings. Therefore, it is suggested that this problem be resolved by the 'purification of false knowledge'. This is explained as being possible by relying on the order of nature, such as in the example of 'melting ice', through the subjective time of duration. In other words, even if Bergson and Buddhism differ in their interpretation of the true state of the individual in some respects, they share the idea that there is an underlying reality that is obscured by false perception. This must be differentiated by the intuitive self and duration, not by the spatial principle. Next, we will look at the ontology of this underlying reality.

(2) The Reality of Urban Space and 'Emptiness'

So far, we have seen in both Bergson and Seon Buddhism that the idea of two selves reflects two modes of reality. In the following passages, I will examine these two modes of reality as a method by which to analyse the results of the demolition of the JGGB. The aim is to theorise urban practice in Seoul according to the Buddhist terminology of metaphysics. I would like to describe my own perspective of researching *pungsu* by using Buddhist terminology in this section. *Pungsu* and

shamanism are vernacular belief systems in Korea, they can also be seen as folkloric beliefs. However, as we saw in Chapter I, the folk religion of Korea is lacking in theology, scriptures and doctrine (Buswell 2007: 18). It is known that *pungsu* and shamanism do not fall within the remit of religious studies departments in Korean universities (ibid.). However, in my thesis, I see *pungsu* and Shamanism as the authentic religion of Korea, which has lasted the longer than any imported religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity or the new religions⁶. Further, I see the shamanist elements of *pungsu* and their correlation, especially around the understanding of the deceased body, the crucial departure point in Chapter III, as describing a relation between the body and land in indigenous Korean belief systems. Thus when I examine the JGGB and its built site based on these spiritual beliefs, I need more theoretical sources to describe these religions. Although Bergson's and Deleuze's theories contribute to this task from an intercultural approach, I still think that it needs further approaches from within the culture. Thus I look at Buddhism in order to theorise some of the effects of *pungsu* and its shamanistic nature. This is firstly because Korean *pungsu* has developed in close relation to Buddhism (Yoon 2006: 179-200), so one can easily explain the other through this interrelation. Secondly, it is because I see the JGGB event as an 'intuitive' occurrence in urban space, which I would like to examine through the framework of intuition I set up in Chapter I, where I reframed the meaning of intuition by comparing Bergson and Buddhist notions of 'self'. Thus, this does not mean that I look at the JGGB and its demolition as an influence of Buddhism. I use Buddhist terminology to approach the way *pungsu* operates in contemporary urban space from a culture-specific contextual viewpoint. I put forward an argument that *pungsu* cannot be understood solely via Western theories or metaphysics. Thus the ideas of true self and selflessness that I am going to explore in this section will offer a different framework to help understand the links between subject and life environment within Korean urban practice. Previously, we used the term 'affect' to approach the empirical aspect of the JGGB case. In comparison with the notion of 'selflessness' (or emptiness), we will approach this event from a more Korean cultural aspect. For instance, the divisions between the anti-demolition and pro-demolition groups were polarised, some people seriously believing in *pungsu* and others believing in 'rational' solutions. Both parties held opinions which were mutually *exclusive*. Thus I would like to question what this phenomenon means, why the divisions could not harbour any inclusive perspective.

In Chapter I, the state of the 'real' self in Buddhism was understood to be close to a state of 'selflessness', it was also emphasised that 'selflessness' does not

⁶ New religions in South Korea: Cheondo-gyo, Taejonggyo, Dhan World School, Cheongsando, Won Buddhism, Daesun Jinrihoe, and the Unification Church (Buswell 2007).

mean non-existence of the self, as in agency, but means rather a state without division between inner (true) self and the outer (fictitious) self. The fictitious self is realised for what it is and is allowed to have a conventional function without obscuring the true selfless state or 'true self'. Selflessness means that the mind is not interrupted by the fictitious self but can see things from the anti-perspective of non-duality. In Seon Buddhism, the state of 'selflessness' arises when one's intuition reaches the level of 'no-thought' (Sim 1999: 106). This moment of no-self and no-thought occurs as part of the process of enlightenment and is based on the idea of two realities described by the concept of 'emptiness'. According to Nāgārjuna, who is credited with founding Mahayana Buddhism:

Whatever is dependently co-arisen,
That is explained to be emptiness.
That, being a dependent designation,
Is itself the middle way.

(verse 18, chapter 24, *중론/中論/Fundamental Verses on the Middle Way*. In. Garfield 2002: 26)

This verse from the *Mulamadhyamikakārikā* suggests that the fundamental identity of emptiness is defined by dependent origination, which means that all existent entities depend on other entities for their existence as well as for their conceptual designation. All phenomena as we normally perceive them are products of verbal conventions (ibid.: 26) (conventional truth) insofar as they depend on our conceptualisation in order to be seen as separate entities with inherent properties. In the Mahayana tradition, dependent origination is described as what defines the coherence of the world, in that no entity can be apart from the causal whole of interdependency. The emptiness of reality (ultimate truth) lies in the fact that there is no more substance to the world than the reification we assign to it. The 'middle way' refers to the view that emptiness and the phenomenal world are not two things in opposition, like existence and non-existence, but two characterisations of the same thing (ibid.: 36) (the unification of two truths). The only difference is that one is conceived, the other perceived (ibid.: 39). From this, the essence of this understanding of reality can be explained as follows: emptiness is neither non-existence nor independent reality, but rather an inclusive way of looking at the world instead of dividing or isolating one thing from another. Cause and effect are part of the same event.

Based on this view, I propose to view the JGGB case via the notion of emptiness introduced in the above verse. Dependent arising explains the nature of

all phenomena in Buddhism, which explains fundamental identity as emptiness, with emptiness being the ultimate truth. Yet, we have to be careful not to confuse the ordinary idea of conditioned effects with dependent arising, which is not about one condition and its straightforward outcome. According to Nāgārjuna, the condition of something means that it can process another event or state, another kind of condition as a result, not of its own inherent power to produce something, but as a result of the totality of movements. This idea indicates that the lack of essence is the essence of all things. Based on this view of reality, the demolition of the JGGB can be understood as follows: If the demolition was the causal effect of dependent arising, the demolition of the building is an ongoing event that cannot be traced back to a final or primary cause as such. Rather it describes the dynamic relationship between causes and conditions. If the demolition is seen as the conventional result of some limited conditions, we will not be able to understand the essence of the event. For instance, from a conventional point of view, the JGGB can be said to be the result of a dominant political power, the result of nationalism, or a mistaken outcome of the theory of geomantic injury. But from an interdependent perspective, each causal point of view does not in isolation explain the essence of the event. Further to this, our interpretations or conceptual designations of causes and conditions are also relational and included in the equation. If true causes include the nature of the event, then we only see these causes through *intuitive visibility*. That means that Bergson and Seon both claim that, at the level of the true self, we cannot separate our point of view from the object of observation, or the other way round.

For Nagarjuna, causation is important because it is at the heart of our experience of the world, and of our understanding of our own agency in the world. Without a clear view of causation, we can have no clear view of anything. Thus it can be said that, from a causal point of view, the demolition of the JGGB cannot be explained as the outcome of superficial conditions. Rather, it needs to be looked at from a perspective in opposition to the spatial understanding of what we can isolate as the physical event. *Pungsu* is, in this sense, considered as the single strand of causal conditions related to the demolition event. This does not mean that *pungsu* was the essential reason for the demolition. Rather, it means that the *pungsu* background allows us to look at the dialectics of this event, by looking at the demolition from a conventional point of view on the one hand, and from a perspective of emptiness on the other. My analysis of the opinion groups sought to reveal these dialectics and approaches more closely in relation to the reality of urban space.

Buddhist philosophy came to represent the educated ontology for more causal theories, describing the emptiness of which all forces are energetic expression.

This does not mean that the pro-demolition followers would have an appreciation of the ontology of emptiness, they would be more concerned with the relative causal principles of *pungsu*. But, as an outside observer of the event, I believe that the theory of emptiness supports my own perspective for how we can develop an intuitive way of perceiving the aesthetics of urban space, or how the urban phenomenon itself can be intuitive practice. I argue that the intuition that Bergson and Seon advocate is one of total inclusion, a principle whereby we can see urban space from a non-dualistic point of view. Even if we do not perceive all events through the immediacy of duration, we can be guided by the principle of co-dependent arising. This means that an ‘outside observer’ does not have an objective position. Emptiness is suggested as a way by which to distinguish the subtleties of the event, while knowing that this term is part of the event as I describe it.

In Buddhism, just as with physical phenomena, ‘I’ and ‘other’ are also interrelated entities; therefore, there is no first person behind the grammatical convention ‘I’. Viewed from this Buddhist notion of extended ‘I’ (related to all other dependent phenomena), the JGGB case could be understood as not corresponding to any isolated first person experience – because there is no first person, though there is experience. In other words, different groups perceive the JGGB site according to their own patterns of reification and identification, which emptiness explains as arising through dependence on each other.

I observe that the mystic and shamanistic characteristics of *pungsu*, as the practice of unique spirituality, are embedded throughout the various social phenomena we find in contemporary Korea, although the causal relations are complex, as we have seen.

6. Analysis 4: Memory and Urban Space

If indeed we are looking at interdependent events, it means that we must also consider the principle of time beyond that of the actual actions leading up to the physical demolition. Co-dependent arising is all-inclusive, but not without patterns, and those patterns are routed in the past. In response to the demolition of the JGGB, Baek Young Kim (2007: 189-219) critically points out that the demolition revealed the existing influence of ‘collective memories’ (*jiphap-gieok* 집합기억) of the Japanese colonial domination over the politics of urban space in contemporary Seoul. According to Kim, a ‘collective victim mentality’ (*jiphapjeok pihae-eusik* 집합적 피해의식) eventually supported the demolition of historic buildings and re-created a kind of ‘symbolic space’ based on the strong nationalistic emotions widespread in post-colonial Korean society. Kim argues that a loosely formed ‘theory of geomantic

injury', based on the Korean collective emotion of seeking revenge over the Japanese, is highly problematic since it has grown to exert the strongest influence on the formation of urban space in South Korea. Kim defines 'collective victim mentality' as the misguided popular version of the concept of 'geomantic injury'. From Kim's argument I borrow the expressions of 'collective memory' and 'symbolic space' as a starting point for investigating the particular relation between memory and urban space. I will put forward the argument that the JGGB case resulted in urban visibility of complicated intersubjective states. Here, the notion of 'pure memory' introduced by Bergson will help to approach the unexplored past associated with the JGGB which is inexpressible and involuntary. Bergson's theorisation of pure memory, and its virtual dimension, will offer a closer look at what is meant by 'collective memory'. Regardless of whether we share Kim's political view or not, it is important to emphasise the point that memory was an active component in the demolition event.

(1) Unexplored Memory, Virtuality

When reading Bergson's philosophy it is important to bear in mind that memory, referred to as 'pure recollection', is not considered from a psychological viewpoint – which is what Bergson actually criticises (Bergson, 2001: 155-164; Deleuze, 1988: 55-56). Psychology starts from *a priori* experience and tries to explain the complicated transitions between psychic states. For Bergson, the present could not be explained on the basis of psychological analysis as the pure past is both inexpressible and involuntary.

Bergson differentiates habit-memory from representational memory (Bergson 1988 : 79-90). The first is a physical motor-mechanism that the body can repeat at will; the second is memory representing the past so that, for instance, we can remember a specific event with its date and the name of a place. Considered in its architectural context, the JGGB was the chief administrative building during the Japanese colonial rule of Korea, and was the seat of the Governor-General of Korea. This fact is a representational memory as recollected by the collective public. In comparison to this, that the theory of geomantic injury stimulated an emotional response from a number of Koreans is what I see as somewhere between habit (and bodily) memory and representational memory. This is because an emotional reaction immediately formed among some Koreans and this response was of a 'bodily' kind, associated with the *pungsu* principle. If we see the demolition of the JGGB as reflecting associated memories, it is important to note that these effects of memory were no less real. Bergson, apart from the above differentiation between memories,

proposes three further stages of memory. This latter differentiation includes the above two memories and 'pure memory' (ibid.: Chapter III). Pure memory is unrecalled memory at a virtual stage. If habit-memory is repeated through our habitual acts and representational memory is imagined by our conscious acts, then pure memory is neither repeated nor imagined. Pure memory is always there as the 'whole', thus it cannot be the same as our mental recollections, which are partial. According to this framework of 'pure memory', the JGGB, as a symbol of colonial rule, is either a selected or a weakly perceived 'memory-image' (ibid.: 81) of the colonial period. We try to believe that pure memory and memory-image are the same but, in so doing, pure memory disappears and fake memory-images seem to be real. The anti-demolition group saw the JGGB in continuation to a potential future, whereas pro-demolition groups saw the JGGB as an unpleasant history of the past. Although the *pungsu* principle itself is based on the subjective time of duration, its expected negative effect on the nation amplified the impression of the JGGB as a remnant of the past. It can be said that Opinion Groups 1 and 3 interpreted memory associated with the JGGB as 'unexplored memory' that could, potentially, be explored; however, the pro-demolition group saw the JGGB as a symbol of colonial rule, an active entity of the past. These are all selected memory-images pertaining to the interests of the two groups (ibid.: 40). Based on the theory of emptiness, we can say that all the different memories of the past can hold reality. What matters is not to determine which memories are real and which are not, but to analyse how these memories operate.

It appears that the unexplored memory perceived by Koreans in relation to the JGGB case comprises selective recollections, all pertaining to the same whole that Bergson introduced as the pure past or 'pure memory'. For instance, as we have seen in relation to the religious rituals of Korea, the theory of geomantic injury, *gi* and *gut* (see Chapter I), explain that the present continuum and human affairs are the result of dependent arising. Seen from this perspective, unexplored memory is only a temporary state, which means that it will soon shift into recollected memory. Unexplored memory is always at hand, ready to be actualised. Thus, perhaps for those Koreans who have the idea of invisibility as potential visibility, and unexplored memory as potential for recollected memory, the shift between the virtual and the actual is more normal than what we have seen with the Bergsonian-Deleuzian ideas.

Returning to the point made above by Kim, demolition of the JGGB could be seen as based on a 'collective victim mentality'. If Kim's argument is applied, it was a memory-image rather than memory itself that was in operation when the JGGB was demolished. Through this recollection, people projected their antipathy and

anticipation with regard to the future by expressing their deep-rooted feelings about what the site represented to them. This was possible because, as Bergson explains, they did not see an image of the whole but only a local identity of the site pertaining to their own 'interests' (ibid.: 40). Thus, the collective memory formulated among the pro-demolition group, which became a base reason for supporting the demolition project, could be seen as being based on selective memory. Consequently, according to Kim, collective memory supported the idea of producing a national 'symbolic space' by eliminating the JGGB, a symbol of Japan's seemingly permanent power over Korea. Previously we saw that the three opinion groups represented different attitudes toward the JGGB, and this division of opinions was based on different ideas of space and time. I observe that the uncompromising opinions held by each different public group actually revealed the condition of the real JGGB by expressing differing opinions and temporalities. *Pungsu* might perhaps to be interpreted as a force that lets people see space from different perspectives of duration, as we observed earlier, thereby encouraging *intuitive visibility*. However, *pungsu's* complex associations with other forces, such as political power and the will to move towards national sovereignty and nationalism, have limited the way that unexplored memory is explicated. If we see the history of a city as a succession of qualitative changes, then unexplored memory should not be regarded as implicating a determined future, because city space is a constantly changing form of an un-representable memory that we cannot judge solely on the basis of selected or recollected memories.

(2) Unexplored Memory, Intuitive Visibility

So far, Bergson's theory of duration and memory offers us a way to investigate the temporal dimension of the JGGB associated with history, intensity and the desires of different observing bodies. The temporal dimension of the JGGB can be understood as a result of the internal forces of modernisation in Korea, which are different from the external forces that are more obviously recognisable, such as capitalism. My aim in this chapter has been to investigate the less perceived and less discussed aspects of urban space, which I have considered to be more important causes underlying the demolition of the JGGB. I have argued that the reality of the Gyeongbok Palace site, if we can call it that, is best thought of in relation to its dimension of temporality.

Deleuze (1988) says of Bergson's conception of 'pure recollection' that 'not only does the past coexist with the present that has been but, as it preserves itself in itself, it is the whole, integral past'. Then, according to Bergson, the pure past is unperceivable until it is recollected. In contrast, Koreans' understanding of the unexplored past is that of a temporary state of the inactive, which will soon be

actualised. Here, we can say that the actual and virtual states are more intimately related. If we take the view of dependent arising, emptiness and the phenomenal world are two characteristic aspects of the same reality, which also means that the phenomenal world and unexplored reality are two aspects of the same world. In comparison to Korean understanding, according to Bergson as understood by Deleuze, 'by putting ourselves back into the past, we leap into ontology' (Deleuze, 1988: 57). Here, 'making the leap' (ibid.: 62) and the 'appeal to recollection' (ibid.: 63) are a voluntary action to make a jump so that 'I place myself in the area of the virtual'. This means that this effort of appealing to (pure) recollection accompanies the will to experience an unknown area of the virtual. Hence, according to this view, the phenomenal world and the virtual state of the pure past are divided, although interrelated. Bergson's theory of memory is about an intuitive understanding of our own being and phenomena joined together by making the leap into ontology, whereas the Korean meaning of *intuitive visibility*, as we have examined it through public opinions, is close to the state of selflessness. Instead of making a leap, *intuitive visibility* requires a non-dualistic perspective on the phenomenal world and the nature of the world at the same time. This is what I see as a potential outcome of the rhizomatic connection between invisible forces; this generates the affective experience to observers. Perhaps, it is up to us whether we want to perceive events partially or holistically.

The reality of the JGGB case is then what we can see through the notion of 'emptiness'. Within a non-dualistic perspective there is no clear-cut division between different subjectivities, subjecthood, desires and forces, because they are different parts of one whole. I will call this 'non-subjectivity'. The state of 'non-subjectivity' is not a state where there are no subjects, but where subjectivity exists in accordance with a qualitative differentiation that sees differences in relation to the whole, rather than an analysis that relies on the quantitative differentiation that sees only partial effects of an event. From this and according to Seon theory, we can think of non-subjective history as a biased interpretation of what is, in reality, a pre-personal experience. If this concept is understood as essential to other narratives, it could combine the given contrasts of others and I, visible and invisible, past and present, present and future in the complete intuition of an event. Having this intuition of a whole is not the same as perceiving a totality from outside. It might entail us perceiving how different opinions are causally conditioned, but we still have the ethical choice of how we want to participate in a given event. This is something I will return to when I come to examine the role of the artist and public art practice in Chapter IV.

The old Gyeongbok Palace has recently been reconstructed in the original style, but with contemporary techniques and materials. Thus this modern version of the traditional palace may not quite recreate the same sensations as the original. If the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace initiated by the demolition of the JGGB meant re-establishing national power by reconstructing the old palace on the same site, then the aim of the restoration becomes questionable, since inherent in the view of emptiness is the notion that each temporal situation is singular. The restoration cannot possibly achieve the preservation of a selected past (through eliminating the history of colonised period), because this is only a mode of what we have called recollection. Why are newly-built buildings less affective than old buildings that have been there longer? Why do the new palace buildings not engender *intuitive visibility* as the old palace buildings did? These questions will lead us to look at what restoration really means, which will be the task for the next chapter.

Chapter III: The Body and Urban Space: The Case of the Gyeongbok Palace Restoration

1. Introduction

So far, we have seen that urban space in South Korea is the result of the dialectics between existing cultural resources and the new forces of modernisation. Now this is even more visible, as the urbanisation of Seoul has continued to accelerate, driven by economy-centred and government-led development schemes. In Chapter II, this observation about the dynamics of modernisation was supported by an analysis of the demolition of the JGGB, based on public opinions accompanying this event. It can be said that the commodification of space is a result of our failure to perceive 'duration' and its significance for everyday living space. I also proposed a research method for looking at urban space consisting of two aspects, internal time (unexplored memory) and external space (physical space). This framework highlights the influence of culture-specific and historical conditions as the crucial, yet *invisible*, dynamics constructing the identity of urban space. By looking at 'internal' urban space, my aim was to find, within the modernisation process of Seoul, the becoming of complex culture-specific conditions, rather than just provide another example of the global tendency towards Westernisation resulting from capitalism.

This main point was stressed in the last section of Chapter II, 'Analysis 4: Memory and Urban Space', where I observed how the JGGB and the Gyeongbok Palace became involved with public memory. The notion of 'pure memory', introduced by Bergson, helped us to address the conditions for the demolition of the JGGB. However, I identified the collective memory of Koreans as a type of 'unexplored memory', closer to a potential state of recollection. In this case, the paradoxical coexistence of the tradition of *pungsu* and economic modernisation, as overseen by the government, was analysed as being embedded in complex memories: combining habit-memory (bodily memory), memory-image (imagined memory) and unexplored memory. Thus, the result of the demolition was neither the completion of national sovereignty nor the achievement of Koreans' desire to erase the unpleasant memories of colonial Korea, but rather an unpredictable and unsystematic event comprising these complex modes of memory. This is a process that conventional theories of urban space or a historical explanation could not address. Based on this framework, the theory of *intuitive visibility* has helped me to

formulate a new method through which to analyse the demolition event – not at a material and spatial level, but from a perspective of temporality that encourages the experience of urban space to be more in accordance with the ‘real’, through perceiving unexplored memory embedded in space.

In relation to the framework of *intuitive visibility* that I have developed in the previous chapters, I will begin Chapter III by examining *pungsu*. In this chapter I will however focus more on the intimate relation between body and space that the pre-modern *pungsu* textbooks emphasise. Based on this emphasis, I assert that the cultural tradition of *pungsu* has been used as a basic theory for constructing social, political and aesthetic topography, particularly in pre-modern Korea. Even the current location of Seoul is based on this legacy, though *pungsu*'s preservation and interpretation have been undermined and transformed into a different set of dynamics. However, this does not mean that *pungsu* in modern Korea has been entirely undervalued or ignored as a phenomenon. Although there has been a tendency for Korean academic discourse on topography to dismiss *pungsu* as mere ‘witchcraft’ (C. Choi 1997: 476, 518), ‘with a lack of scientific evidence’ (ibid.: 515), being merely a folkloric belief (ibid.: 473-527) and so forth, a number of *pungsu* scholars (Yoon 2006: 48-51) have continued their research. The practice of *pungsu* has grown in modern Korea in forms appropriate to contemporary life. The undervaluation of *pungsu*, or lack of acknowledgement of its existence, was the result of a modernisation scheme for early modern Korea, when an ideology of industrialisation was highly emphasised. From the perspective of this ideology, folkloric belief systems were regarded as obstacles to the spirit of Korean modernisation, and *pungsu* was regarded as mere ‘superstition’ (C. Choi 1997: 489). This seems to be one of the reasons why *pungsu* practices are performed unofficially or secretly in contemporary Korea, even today.

For this reason, I will look at *pungsu* as denoting a set of ‘invisible’ forces supporting different forms of spatial order. I suggest that the invisible force of the *pungsu* effect can be understood through ‘bodily’ intuition. This will help to expand the previously formulated concept of *intuitive visibility* and thus become a more concrete experience. Hence, in my research, the invisible force of *pungsu* is reevaluated as one of the crucial factors for formulating ideas about urban space in contemporary South Korea, first with regard to a temporal dimension, secondly in terms of its implications for the body.

In Section Three, ‘Invisible Bodies: *Functional Gi* and *Spectre*’, I suggest that the urban space of Seoul is a result of the dialectics of invisible bodies and the material conditions of space. Here, the concepts of *functional gi* and *spectre* that I introduced in

Chapter I will be explored further as two singular concepts that indicate the body as being what conveys the formation of space. Thus, urban space will be considered as the embodied outcome of the dynamics between *functional gi* and *spectre*. *Functional gi* and *spectre* are concepts by which I approach both the socio-political and metaphysical background of the demolition of the JGGB. In Section Four, 'Intuitive tangibility and Spatial Experience', I introduce the term *intuitive tangibility* as a more concrete experience of intuitive perception than *intuitive visibility*. Through examining the meaning and function of *Intuitive tangibility*, I point out that the JGGB case is an example of urban development whereby intuition produces social effect. The forthcoming discussion will demonstrate the importance of the phenomenal body in supporting the formation of 'active intuition'. This idea of the phenomenal body extends the notions of body and space beyond the common-sense ideas of an empirical body and a physical architectural space. Finally, in Section Five, 'The New Gyeongbok Palace', I will examine the definition of 'restoration' in two ways: through the actualisation of an unexplored past and through the establishing of a new spatial order.

2. Body, Land and Ethical Space

In this section I will examine *pungsu* as a means by which the body bonds with the land and, further, as a way of regulating family and society in pre-modern Korea. The ethical function of *pungsu* implies an understanding that the Earth has a life force, expressed through the land, which has a direct influence on human life. Thus *pungsu* in pre-modern Korea indicated a balance between the order of the land and that of human life (C. Choi 2008: 22); and in that sense, *pungsu* was seen to determine how certain forms of space are possible and others not, according to the *yin* and *yang* principle. In contemporary South Korea, capital accumulation has been rapid and became a direct influence on the formation of urban space. A political regime that supports neo-liberalism has increased the gap between rich and poor, and stimulated a complex pattern of socio-economic development in South Korea. If *pungsu* is still practised in contemporary Korea, then the question is how the effects of this invisible force and its specific values can be reevaluated from a contemporary perspective.

To begin with, I will look at *pungsu* in relation to folklore in Korea. According to Choi, when Korean *pungsu* first came from China it embraced existing religions without conflict (C. Choi 1997: 63-64). The most notable examples of such religions are animism, Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism (C. Choi 1997: 63). Doseon (826-898), a Seon master living at the end of the Silla dynasty, was the person who developed Korea's own geomantic principles by differentiating them from Chinese

feng shui. What was important in Doseon's *pungsu* was finding a balance between nature and human culture. Thus Korean *pungsu* was rooted in the public culture of the time. The essence of the Korean geomantic principle is often best reflected in Korean folklore and in the unedited records of geomantic prophecies (Yoon 2006: 33). This shows that *pungsu* was always an integral part of Korean folklore. This is evident through the existence of Doseon's *pungsu* method. This sees the concept of the 'motherland' as the crucial foundation of *pungsu* (Choi 1997: 115), closely related to *jimosin* (worship of the 'mother of the land') belief, which has existed since the pre-historic period of Korea as a form of folk religion. In contrast to the general nationalistic idea of the 'motherland' as one's place of birth, the 'mother of the land' relates more to the notion of 'mother Earth', the idea that the land itself encompasses the topological features of a divine female or nurturing consciousness. I observe that *jimosin* is a crucial belief which is important to the formation of ethics in Korean geomancy, and I will look at it in this section.

In addressing any influence of *pungsu* on urban space, it is crucial to notice that modern Korean interpretations of folk religion have been similarly applied to *pungsu*. Kim, Kyong Ju (2006) highlights the interesting point that the difference between the Japanese and Korean modes of development of modernity lies in the roles of their respective indigenous religions. Kim says:

By institutionalizing Shinto, Japan achieved a unique combination of symbolic integration and structural differentiation. The failure to institutionalize Shamanism (*Musok-gyo*/ folk religion) in Korea, however resulted in the less successful construction of a Korean collective identity than was achieved in Japan. Shinto was institutionalized as a national religion to differentiate it from other imported religions even though it adopted Buddhism and incorporated ideas from Confucianism and Taoism.

(K. Kim 2006: 27)

Kim argues that by failing to institutionalise folk religion as a way of integrating it with the imported religions of Buddhism and Confucianism, Shamanism in Korea was not given the official stamp of approval that Shinto had in Japan. Rather, Korean folk religion was absorbed into other religious systems during the modernisation process in a less open way, or its elements remained part of popular culture. This suggests that, with the advent of modernisation, Korean folk religion did not find its central place in the national identity. Under the economy-driven development policy, the tradition of folk religion was even ostracised as being of a superstitious kind, and therefore considered outdated, irrational and unconvincing.

I believe that the negative preconceptions about folk religion that were prevalent in the early modernisation period are worth looking into. The phenomenon of overlooking folkloric beliefs, in order for 'progress' to occur, fostered the tendency to present folk religion as an outdated system of thought. This further strengthened the tendency to isolate religious tradition from theoretical discourses on contemporary culture and urban life. Hence, I argue that rethinking South Korea's traditional legacy within the field of urban practices will help to identify the flexible relationship between the forgotten values of urban space and their current representation. Even though the relation between folkloric *pungsu* and its contemporary expression is complex, a closer examination of this relationship will assist us in contextualising periodically underestimated cultural values such as the question of ethics in urban space.

(1) Body and Land in the Korean Tradition: Three Points from Cheongogyeong and Geumnanggyeong (청오경, 금낭경/青烏經, 錦囊經)¹

The long-lasting belief system of *pungsu* and its acceptance by the public are based on an idea of the intimate relation between the body and the land. This is typically found in the burial costumes of pre-modern South Korea, which I will look into presently.

Two classic textbooks, *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong*, introduce the most important *pungsu* theories practised since the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392); they focus on the principles of *burial pungsu*. These books inform us that *burial pungsu* was more widespread than *house pungsu* in Korea. Chinese geomancy began as a form of house feng shui (Yoon 2006: 21-24). Since Korean *pungsu* was imported from China, this theme must have been practised seriously in early times. However, Korean *pungsu* has developed differently by focusing more on *burial pungsu* (Murayama 1990: 427). Murayama considers the close relationship between *pungsu*, folk religion and Buddhism to be one of the reasons for the particular development of *pungsu* in Korea. These religions were based on the idea that an auspicious burial site brings benefits to the descendants of the deceased, and that the deceased's body is connected to the descendants' bodies. *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong* were even included as

¹ Section 2-(1) is based on the Korean translation of *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong* (青烏經, 錦囊經) from Chinese into Korean by Chang-Jo Choi in 1993. *Cheongogyeong* is known to have been written by *Cheonggoja* during the Yuan dynasty in China (1271-1368). The original version of *Geumnanggyeong* is known to be the 'Burial Book' (*Zang Shu* 葬書) written by the legendary Guo Pu 郭璞 (276~324) and translated into English from the original Chinese by Dr. Stephen Field in 2003, which I have looked at in parallel with *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong*.

topics in the civil service examination, called *Gwageo*, during the Joseon dynasty. They were the only subjects for which examinees had to memorise the whole content (Choi 1993). Because *Gwageo* was the only pathway to achieving positions in aristocratic society, we can understand that *pungsu* specialists in the Joseon dynasty had high positions in society, and that the *burial pungsu* content had to be fully understood to become an official geomancer. Yoon also argues that *burial pungsu* has been the most important and popular form of *pungsu* in Korea in the way that *pungsu* has had a great influence on the cultural life of Koreans (Yoon 2006: 119). He exemplifies this idea with a contemporary example: In 1995, Kim Daejung (1925-2009), the president of South Korea from 1997 to 2000, moved his family's cemetery to a supposedly auspicious site before he became president (ibid.: 5). Before the presidential election in 2002, several candidates, including Han Hwagap and Kim Deok-Ryong, are said to have secretly moved their ancestral graves to auspicious sites before beginning their campaigns (ibid.). Whether these stories can be verified or not, they show that *burial pungsu* is still a functioning belief in contemporary Korea. If this is so, then the most crucial *pungsu* texts, *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong*, should give us insights into the recent *pungsu* phenomenon in relation to the current formation of urban space. Thus I will focus on three concepts found in *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong*, where I locate *pungsu*'s fundamental, yet less-discussed, content in relation to public awareness of *pungsu*.

Firstly, the practice of the 'Gi of Bones'² contains embedded ideas about the body-land relationship. When a dead body is buried in the earth, only the bones remain after a long period of time, the rest of the body decays. The 'Gi of Bones' therefore implies that the perpetual *gi* of an ancestor's body is present within the residual bones. Ancestor and descendants are believed to be connected through these bones buried in the earth. According to *Geumnanggyeong*, if the ancestors' bones acquire *gi*, then descendants' bodies are consequently endowed with it too (C. Choi 1993: 62-69). Because a man originally receives his body from his parents, the blessings of ghosts (ancestor spirits) are believed to extend to his living body. In this belief system, the 'Gi of Bones' implies that a dead man's spirit asserts a direct influence on his descendants' living bodies and their well-being. A logical corollary is that people never really die, rather they live on in the world after their death through their descendants (Buswell 2007: 208). I would like to develop this point further by saying that belief in the interconnection between dead and living bodies has generated a unique view of life in Korea, whereby life and death, the visible and the invisible, are equally valued. It seems important to understand that, according to

² The Inner Chapters 1. In: *Burial Book (Zang Shu 葬书)* by Guo Pu (276-324), Translated by Dr. Stephen Field (2003).

burial pungsu, 'space' is thus deemed to be halfway between the land of the material order and the metaphysics of *gi*. In other words, topography in traditional Korea does not rely on a substantial environment alone; rather, it embodies the relation between visible bodies and the invisible.

Another point is that *pungsu* is always understood in relation to the most representative characteristics of *gi*, called 'gameung' 감응/感應 (C. Choi 1993: 66-67). *Gameung* means 'being mutually responsive and reacting sensitively'. As similar kinds of *gi* respond to each other, an ancestor's spirit is supposed to react sensitively to family members. Here, what links the ancestor's spirit to the descendant's body is called *saenggi* 생기/生氣, the vital energy flowing and spreading 'underneath the earth' (ibid.: 61-62). The earth is believed to be the actual place where *saenggi* is located. Hence, the obsession with ownership of auspicious land is, for Koreans, linked to seeking a place where natural *gi* flows without unnecessary blockage, since the natural flow of *saenggi* is believed to control prosperity and good fortune (ibid.: 61).

Understanding *gameung* requires a basic grasp of the relationship between body and *gi*, and between different bodies, since *gameung* is seen as the energy interacting between different bodies because of shared *gi* (H. Choi 2004: 50). By those days' standards, Han Gi Choi (1803-1877), a scholar living at the end of the Joseon dynasty, did thorough research into *gi*. (H. Choi 2008; H. Choi 2004). According to Choi, the flow of *gi* in the body is closely associated with sensations and sensibilities (ibid.). Thus *gi* is the vital driving force and the essential energy of the body and mind; it controls our thoughts and emotions as well as our moral sensibilities and the physical activities that stimulate our social life. According to its proponents, *gameung* theory can be applied to the JGGB case as follows: the *saenggi* flowing and spreading 'underneath the earth' of the former JGGB can directly influence the prosperity and good fortune of the State as well as of the Korean people. Thus, the physical space of the Gyeongbok Palace site and the South Koreans' collectively formed expectation are not separate, as there exists a shared sensibility between different bodies, through *gameung*.

Finally, *pungsu* has long been understood as being in close relation to the capability of a nation's leader. In *Cheongogyeong*, the author says, 'one can establish the State and regulate the districts if he makes his best efforts for the right divination; whereas, if there is one single thing inadequately applied he will fall down and face poverty' (C. Choi 1993: 36-38). This rather extreme comment regarding the responsibility of the nation's leader and his capability to interpret *pungsu* for the benefit of the nation indicates that *pungsu* was not considered an individual issue, but an issue related to responsibility for the whole nation. In the Goryeo period, it

was known that the king was supposed to raise *jigi* 지기/地氣 (land energy) by choosing the right location for the central palace in the capital (Lee 2005: 120-125). If we can formulate a theory to assess the former South Korean president's official comments or attitudes regarding the demolition of the JGGB, the following analysis is possible: relying on *pungsu*, as illustrated in *Cheongogyeong* and shown to be operative in the Goryeo period, could still be seen as a necessary part of the president's natural responsibility with regard to deciding on the future of the JGGB. The demolition of the JGGB, for the sake of strengthening the nation's sovereignty and welfare, was not a groundless decision but a political act aimed at strengthening national sovereignty and economic development and relying on the cultural tradition of *pungsu* to secure public support. So what is evident is that *pungsu* is not a marginalised belief system in Korea, even if it does not quite have the official status or academic endorsement it had in previous times. However, it is quite possible that the president is not a supporter of *pungsu*, but was simply using *pungsu* to gain support among the population. But this would still show us that *pungsu* is a legitimate belief system among some strands of the population, even if believers and non-believers might be more polarised in modern times than they were during the period of conflict between rational Confucianism and shamanistic *pungsu*. The three aspects of *pungsu* within *Cheongogyeong* and *Geumnanggyeong* that I have highlighted provide culturally specific explanations for the JGGB's demolition, particularly with regard to the subject's body and its experience of the environment. In particular, the 'Gi of Bones' and *gameung* theories tell us that the body is always associated with the *gi* remaining from a deceased's body, which is a specific understanding of the body unique to Korea. Later, I will examine how *gameung* becomes a culture-specific system of thought that connects space and public consciousness, and what could be the consequences of the inexpressible operation of *pungsu* in the background to the case of *sansong* (contestation of tomb ownership in the Joseon period) and with regard to the JGGB case. Consequently, I will argue that both cases show a shifting situation where a significant cultural force influences the formation of space and thus the distribution of power.

(2) Collective Anxiety, a New Spatial Order

In Chapter II, we looked at *sansong*, whereby a number of people move graves or steal others' tombs with the desire to enhance their own social status, acquire greater wealth or produce more sons. Seen from the opposite point of view, choosing an improper location for an ancestor's grave could bring ill luck, poverty and even the death of sons. It was seen that the practice of *sansong* during the end of the Joseon

reign was on the increase, indicating a collective anxiety particular to a patriarchal society. It was also pointed out that *pungsu* could be seen as a means for compensating for society's shortcomings through reliance on a supernatural power.

I saw the collective anxiety in *sansong* as being closely related to the public responses to the theory of geomantic injury in the case of the JGGB, which was likewise motivated by the belief in *pungsu*. In fact, the 'theory of geomantic injury' emerged just before the demolition of the JGGB in 1995. This so-called 'theory of geomantic injury' was based on the belief that imperial Japan utilised Korean *pungsu* as a cruel scheme for controlling Korea and that this scheme was associated with some 'steel shafts' found throughout the country. The South Korean government started a campaign to remove the 'steel shafts', which were believed to have been driven into major mountain peaks in South Korea by the Japanese. Hundreds of steel shafts have now been found and it is presumed by many that their placement was ordered by the colonial government to cripple the spirit of the land. In 1995, 17 steel shafts were found at major strategic locations in the mountain ranges (I. H. Jung 1995). *Pungsu* theorists claimed that the Japanese involvement was indisputable, since the locations where the steel shafts were embedded are crucial geomantic points. On the other hand, there was criticism of the state's campaign; this expressed the view that the shafts were not put there by the colonial government but were simply for land surveying purposes. Again, a land measurement specialist, Jo Gi Seong (Professor, Civil & Environmental Engineering Department, Jeonbuk University) opposed this criticism, saying that the steel shafts used for land surveys have a totally different shape (An & Kim 1999). Although discursive opinions were widespread, the theory of geomantic injury was a view widely held among Koreans, who believed that steel shafts had indeed been driven purposefully into strategic sites by the Japanese. What is interesting is that there was such a strong belief in the theory of geomantic injury, without there being any evidence to support the accusation of the colonial Japanese administration driving steel shafts into Korean mountainsides. Japan officially denied this rumour: The Japanese scholar Mitsuhiko Nozaki, a specialist in South Korean studies, sought evidence to determine the factuality but found no proof and an absence of witnesses (Nozaki 2000: 200-223).

When *sansong* was prevalent, collective anxiety led people to steal from the tombs of others so as to prevent possible harm to their own family members and descendants due to the improper application of *pungsu*. This, as we have examined, brought about a disturbance in the Confucian order and the family system during the Joseon period. Koreans' fanatic interest in obtaining auspicious burial sites for the well-being of living descendants relates to a family identity based on blurring the boundary between oneself and other family members (Yoon 2006: 208). This means

that Koreans always tend to think of 'I' in relation to family members and deceased ancestors. It can be inferred from this that Koreans might try to enhance their security by reinforcing (family) identity.

In comparison to the *sansong* case, the steel shafts event appears to be slightly more complex. When the steel shafts were found, there was collective anger based on the immediate perception that the Japanese had enhanced the geomantic injury already inflicted on the country, and that this influence would act in a negative way. Therefore, some form of counter-action was considered necessary. All the steel shafts had to be located and removed as soon as possible, in order to prevent anything impeding the nation's growth. The anger was caused not only by concern about ill-directed *pungsu* practices, it was also stimulated by nationalism, causing the South Korean army as well as a number of citizens to participate in the shafts-removal campaign led by the government.

According to Ernest Gellner, religion and religious culture are the primary cultural mechanisms of socio-cultural integration that operate within industrialisation and modernisation (Gellner 1992: 1-21). It can be said that *pungsu* was functioning as a national idiom, which shows how an old belief system, suitably modified, can adapt to the modern world by repudiating Japanese domination. We can see that the degree to which the old belief system of *pungsu* is integrated with national culture has an impact on the direction of urban development. When the majority of South Koreans supported the demolition of the JGGB and the shafts-removal campaign was widespread, there was a deep-seated cultural mechanism that automatically motivated people to agree with the state's political agenda, although this support eventually died out due to lack of proof concerning the true function of the steel shafts. It might be said that Koreans' immediate and emotional response to the steel shafts case related to a selected 'memory-image' associated with Korea's colonial past (See Chapter II). In this case, oppressed memories about Japanese colonial rule could have been externalised and materialised by imposing a specific meaning on the steel shafts. In this case, the memory-image of Koreans produced a selective history through focusing on a set of objects associated with unexplored memories of the past. Hence, the collective action supporting the removal of the shafts was intended to remove anxiety, by getting rid of these unknown objects and thus eliminating any possible harm to the national identity of South Korea. It might be said that unexplored memory was selectively actualised by forming a subjective history. Whether the theory of geomantic injury is true or not, the 1995 campaign inflated anti-Japanese nationalism and implicitly justified a reason for the demolition of the JGGB. The demolition began shortly after the shafts-removal campaign and completed in 1997.

Thus, to some extent, both *sansong* and the 'theory of geomantic injury' determine South Korean identity by producing a certain spatial order. This spatial order is based on a unique understanding of space in relation to the *gameung* principle that connects the deceased with living bodies (*burial pungsu*), and which also connects different subjects (H. Choi 2004). Further to this, in the JGGB case, South Koreans internalised social space as a subjective becoming. The interrelation between the spatial order and the collective mind-set of South Koreans found in these two case studies explains that *pungsu* has been operating as a specific mechanism linking space and public consciousness.

(3) Ethical Space

So far, it has been noted that *pungsu* has not only been a belief practised at an individual level, but has also a force that has social impact. For many reasons the ancient system of *pungsu* does not sit easily with modern ways of thinking. As we saw earlier, this is the reason that *pungsu* became somewhat undervalued and seen to be an outdated, irrational and unconvincing system of beliefs. However, because of the previous social impact of *pungsu*, which continues today, the social function of *pungsu* in Korea is still important. Hence, instead of looking at *pungsu* from a modern perspective, I have examined its key meanings according to old *pungsu* texts. Further, we have seen how these *pungsu* principles have been externalised through stimulating the association between space and public consciousness, both in relation to *sansong* and to the steel-shafts event.

Now, to approach the primary reasons why *pungsu* has a social impact, I would like to turn to Doseon *pungsu*'s main focus: finding the balance between nature and human culture. The close tie between the subject's body and the 'mother of the land' developed through *burial pungsu*. This concept was influenced by a folkloric belief, which saw deceased and living bodies as being connected. We also saw that the pattern of collective anxiety, in relation to both *sansong* and the theory of geomantic injury, is based on a view of the body-land relation formed by the ethics of the time. In the following section, we will examine what the ethical values of *pungsu* practised in pre-modern Korea were, and how these values have been transformed and live on in modern society.

First, in the old days, geomancers were considered to possess spiritual qualities and were greatly trusted by the public, as well as the government, to the extent that they were considered to have a direct influence on the welfare of the Korean people (Choi 1993: 37-42). In the Goryeo period, a geomancer could be a Buddhist monk, in

the Joseon period a Confucian monk or a highly trained government official who gained the required qualification by passing a *Gwageo* test. It was also written in *Cheongogyeong* that the capability to find auspicious sites is one of the most important abilities for a nation's leader to possess (ibid.). According to the common norms of *pungsu*, geomancers obtaining undue benefits from their divination, and its misuse would bring misfortune to the land and its people. There are numerous folk narratives about good people obtaining auspicious places and receiving benefits from them (Yoon 2006: 143). These stories explain why both geomancers and the people who use their services should be ethically decent (ibid.). It was largely for such ethical reasons that the Japanese-constructed building was considered a problem. Most *pungsu* specialists considered the location of the JGGB to be intended to obstruct the prosperity of the palace and the capital. This was considered to be symbolically oppressing Joseon and the national spirit (C. Choi 2008: 69). Also, 'filial piety and loyalty' are important values that *pungsu* was aiming for, and which are directly influenced by Confucian ethics. Filial piety and loyalty explain the idea of self-identity in Confucianism. It is known that, in Confucian culture, there is no isolated self; rather, the self only has meaning in relation to the individual as a member of a family, a being whose existence is dependent on the existence of others (Oh 2005: 123). This value explains that what has, to some extent, become *pungsu* was the support for a group-minded spirit, which could have contributed to the kind of nationalism that we found in the JGGB case.

Finally, according to many geomantic tales, 'cheating and tricks' were not considered sinful behaviour in traditional Korean society as long as they were in accordance with *pungsu* principles (Yoon 2006: 146-147; Yoon 1976: 187-188). There are many stories about people cheating their families in order to obtain an auspicious burial site for a father, or someone committing suicide to obtain an auspicious site, or even a geomancer tricking people. And the people who cheated and tricked others are not punished in these stories. This shows that playing tricks or cheating to obtain an auspicious site was accepted to some degree, even when it was happening in a Confucian society with a strict ethical system (ibid.). Hence, the fanatical quest for auspicious burial sites was undertaken in order to avoid unwanted misfortunes for either family members or the country, due to an inappropriate constellation of *pungsu* forces.

As Choi Chang Jo argues, it is noted that the significance of the 'ethics' (*yulisseong*) of *pungsu* was closely related to 'the logic of the land' (Choi 1997: 482). It was this logic of the land that produced different value systems that were applied to *pungsu*. As we have seen in relation to the above values found in the tales of geomancy, *pungsu* contributed to form the ethical foundations of pre-modern Korea

that were shared by family clans. In a contemporary context, the question of ethics becomes more complex. As we have just seen, the transformed ethical values practised in contemporary Korea may have been influenced by *pungsu*. However, some of these ethical ideas do not appear convincing by global contemporary standards, or otherwise they can be understood only from a *pungsu* perspective. For instance, Choi Chang Jo sees *pungsu* as a way for contemporary cities to 'cure the land' (ibid.: 483), and as a process to restore and heal the 'motherland' (ibid.). Seeing urban development as a healing process that must follow 'the logic of the land' implies a will to improve the environment by restoring a human-centred value system for nature. The law of the land is however based more on the narratives of ancient vernacular beliefs, which contradict the scientific narratives of geography and urbanology of postmodern times.

Thus the question which arises is: how can restoring and healing the 'motherland' be explained in the complex settings of contemporary cities? How can 'ethical space' be defined within a global context? It seems that ethical space is in need of being redefined using criteria appropriate to the current time and situation. Going back to the JGGB case, the majority of the pro-demolition group who supported the demolition policy were motivated by *pungsu* principles. *Pungsu* was partially responsible for the demolition. Further, there was a group-based judgement of imperial Japan that deemed the erection of the giant building on the palace site to be morally wrong. This group-based mind-set has also been found in the family-oriented way of thinking in Confucianism, which I perceive to be a uniquely Korean phenomenon that partially influences the actual formation of urban space. In the shafts-removal campaign, we saw a group-based idea was emerging. This was likely that Koreans define the ethical standards of urban practice based on selective memory of a colonial past. The question then arising is: what would have happened if the government had supported the anti-demolition groups? What would have been the public response if the government had said that the steel shafts had nothing to do with the Japanese? When public opinion varied as it did, the opposing views did not result in open mainstream debate or discussions in the media. However, within the world of architecture that did see some consideration of this issue, a debate did take place, albeit among a limited number of professionals. I identified and listed differing opinions regarding the JGGB in Chapter II. Although the majority of Koreans supported its demolition, we see from the opinions disclosed that the judgement of the case was not always based on group consensus. Thus, if we try to establish different individual perspectives on the ethical values of urban space, urban aesthetics in Korea could be discussed in a more objective way. How is ethical space

defined within an 'open' public culture? This is one of the questions regarding urban aesthetics which I will explore further in Chapter IV.

3. Invisible Bodies: *Functional Gi* and *Spectre*

Given the definitions of *functional gi* and *spectre* (Chapter 1: Section 5) and looking at *pungsu* as *functional gi* (Chapter 2: Section 4), in this section I will look at *functional gi* and *spectre* in order to examine how our bodies are motivated by intuitive perception. Both *functional gi* and *spectre* will explain, in different ways, that our body perceives social phenomena; this will help prepare the basis for understanding *intuitive tangibility* in the following section.

(1) Embodied Antipathy and *Functional Gi*

According to Bergson, we do not experience pure memory, but rather an immediate blending of perceived memory and conceived memory. This is because our perceptions are always interlaced with memories and a memory only becomes actual by merging with perception. Thus bodily perception and recollection always 'interpenetrate' each other (Bergson 1988: 67).

Applying Bergson's point to the 'steel-shafts-removal' event tells us that colonial memory created a story of Japanese-driven steel shafts, based on *pungsu* beliefs, by a blending of perceived memory (memory based on embedded beliefs) and conceived memory. We saw that the shafts were firmly believed to have been driven into the mountain peaks, at the behest of the Japanese colonial government at geomantically-strategic points, in order to disturb the nation's vital flow of *gi*. Officially, the Korean government supported this view. We do not know whether this was because the government genuinely believed this to be true, because they sought to gain support among the population for a more nationalistic politics, or because they sought to remove the JGGB merely for economy-centred development reasons. Large segments of the population also supported the view of geomantic injury, even though some voices, mostly from people within the educational establishment, disagreed. This view dominated the scene for quite some time, although no eyewitness or proof was ever found to substantiate the claim. Belief in *pungsu*, an invisible reality to South Koreans, was reinforced by the convenient discovery of the steel shafts and their locations. Encouraged by this discovery, the popular imagination rationalised an abstract belief, and the steel shafts became a symbol of the colonial government's enduring evil power.

Concerning this event, the real story behind the steel shafts and actual knowledge about them do not coincide. Without the assertion of *pungsu* specialists, these steel shafts would have been regarded as mere measuring rods. There were three elements that turned the steel shafts' removal into a public campaign: 1. The *pungsu* justification (supported by specialists); 2. A shared belief in *pungsu* by the public; 3. The South Korean government's utilisation of *pungsu* to support the government's refurbishment plans. I view this particular state of affairs, where unverifiable knowledge is reinforced by the support of political power, as 'embodied antipathy' that projected Koreans' anti-Japanese views onto the steel shafts. Aside from legitimising the steel-shafts theory, antipathy increased through the actual act of searching for and removing the steel shafts, backed by a public campaign. In this way, at the border between historical 'facts', which have not been proven so far, and judgements based on imagined scenarios, accessibility to the truth of the event became obscured. Previously, we saw *pungsu* as phenomena capable of producing a new spatial order. We previously examined how this new order is based on a specific belief in the *gameung* principle that connects the deceased with living bodies, and also connects the different bodies of subjects. It can be said that the 'embodied antipathy' projected onto the steel shafts was neither an intentional nor an unplanned phenomenon. For instance, disagreement over the steel shafts was an occurrence produced by both emotional and political forces, in a similar way to how unexplored memory is actualised in an inexpressible manner.

The demolition of the JGGB and the steel-shafts removal campaign were examples of intuition-based events supported by the ruling political power. Both events were intuition-based in the way they employed a mystic element for the purpose of changing the physical features of the city and its landscape. So without understanding this mystic background of *pungsu*, this event is difficult to understand as a whole. Perceived memory, for Bergson, means memory whereby our body remembers (habit-memory) and unconsciously repeats through its actions. If we understand *pungsu* according to this idea, it can be considered a type of perceived memory which supports the theory of geomantic injury and the removal of 'evil' objects.

The 'embodied antipathy' diffused the border between historical facts and judgements, based on imagined scenarios regarding social phenomena. In a way, the JGGB was embodied antipathy for the Korean government and the pro-demolition groups. This diffusion gave rise to a logical inaccessibility, where logical analysis was no longer applicable. We previously observed the idea that *functional gi* stimulates *intuitive visibility* based on a shared belief in *gi* (Chapter II), whether *pungsu* is utilised politically or not. *Functional gi* is associated with the ambiguous intentions of political

power, yet the performance of *pungsu* exists on its own, and operates as the actual means by which to change the physical formation of space.

I will develop this idea further in relation to the function of public art in Chapter IV. When I introduce *functional gi* as a concept, it is a tool for understanding the operation of forces. But, as described in the passages above, whether or not, for example, a government deliberately uses *pungsu* as a means to combine the rhetoric of power with occult beliefs, *pungsu* itself operates as a force of change that stimulates the public consciousness.

(2) *New Spectre*

In Chapter I, I introduced *spectre* and *functional gi* as two different forces of modernisation, concepts which can make invisible aspects of society become more visible to us. In this section, I will first explain what is meant by *spectre*, in accordance with Derrida's interpretation of Marxism, and how I use this term for my own research in relation to urban space and its development. I will then look at how the spectrality of global capitalism takes on the form of spiritual beliefs in contemporary Korea, and thus produces a new type of *spectre*, according to which *spectre* does not appear only with the exchange value of the object, but also as a form of spiritual belief system, such as *pungsu* or *functional gi*.

By the invisible form of *spectre*, I mean that it has a mysterious and unrepresentable aspect as well as a powerful and even an inhuman one, in the same way that we have just seen with regard to *functional gi*. But *spectre* is based on the idea of the 'carnal form of the spirit' (Derrida 2006: 5), which is expressed as a process of 'becoming-body' (ibid.). It is this 'bodily phenomenality' which gives the spirit 'spectral apparition' (ibid.). When we look at *functional gi*, this dual aspect, where a certain spirituality becomes embodied or produces an incarnate spirit, seems almost similar.

Spectre (or *spectres*), in comparison with *functional gi*, represent(s) the way in which capital value has been associated with 'becoming-body', through the notion of commodified space. The notion of *spectre*, that Derrida used to rethink Marxism, is a complex notion that explores Marxist ontology through the critical idea of the emancipatory. In response to this and in order to understand how capitalist power operates in Korean urban development, I claim that it is vital to employ concepts that can help us describe the invisible forces underlying visible changes to contemporary urban space. Such terms help us to think further about the tendencies and dynamics of Korean modernity, often rarely seen from a perspective of superficial visibility. Thus the term *spectre*, in my research, describes the effects of the modernising forces

of global capitalism, in relation to Marx's ideas about commodity objects and fetishism.

In Derrida, commodity is always attached to a kind of ghost, which is not simply the spiritualisation of a metaphysical idea but a 'simulacrum' of the body (Derrida 2006: 157). From this, we can see Derrida's idea in a more extensive way; the object is a recreation of the body, or the body becomes a recreation of the object. Thus, within this making and remaking of the human body through a commodity object, we can observe a dialectic of the visible and the invisible operating. This rule of spectre can be applied to urban space as well. We produce urban space according to certain aims and directions. But urban space influences us according, for instance, to the laws of capitalism. Marx's main point would be that the human power of creation has an ethical requirement, but the economic system of production repeats and extends the scale of control until the body is subordinate to the commodified object.

The spectral effect of the Gyeongbok Palace after the first phase of the restoration shows how an outmoded space, once destroyed (after colonisation), gains contemporary value through being the symbol of the cultural capital of the nation. We have also seen how buildings that were part of the cultural heritage were demolished, partially due to a market-oriented modernisation process, and how the law helped this system endure. When the newly constructed Gyeongbok Palace was opened, Gwanghwamun Square was also opened, in front of the entrance to the palace, and the whole area has since been advertised as one of the first places for tourists to visit. We can see that the urban landscape in Seoul has been remade and changed by the government's urbanisation plan, which is not conservation of the actual heritage itself but a remaking of space according to the gravity of capital forces. Spectral effects have consequences for complex bodies, consisting of cultural beliefs (such as *pungsu*) and systems of power, coupled with a type of economic development widespread throughout the country, and the co-workings of these elements.

For Marx, capitalism brings about an extended version of artifice (Scarry 1985: 249-250). For instance, the simple labour of farming means that 'the land', 'the tool' and 'the material object' are considered as one with the site at which they occur. All three are artefacts into which the maker's body is extended (*ibid.*). This is self-materialisation. Whereas more extended phenomena, such as the capital involved in production, are not identical to the site at which they occur. Here, the worker's body is separated from the three materials through capital (possessing property), which can extend this separation limitlessly. This is a cultural materialisation where spectre

detached from the body begins to operate and increase. Perhaps the restored Gyeongbok Palace is a result of this cultural materialisation, where the *pungsu* spirit has been transformed according to the system of capitalism. If so, then *pungsu's* spirit is not to be found within the outcome. However, in contemporary Korea, the geomantic balance pursued in pre-modern Korea is no longer found. The once sacred mountains, hills and sites are all covered by modern houses and apartments. New, urban patterns of *pungsu* practice are increasing, and *pungsu* itself becomes an exchange value, although such high-end exchanges are mainly found among wealthy Koreans. According to Park's research (C. Park 2010: 115), the influence of *pungsu* in Korea continues. Park surveyed the responses collected by Korean Gallup (2006) regarding the question of whether Koreans believe that the prosperity of descendants is determined by ancestors' tombs lying in auspicious sites. In fact, the number of believers decreased from 47 per cent in 1994 to 37 per cent in 2005 (C. Park 2010: 115). Although the survey results show that the number of people who believe in the theory of *pungsu* has decreased, Park's argument is that *pungsu* remains influential in Koreans' mind in relation to general affairs. *Pungsu* has now become part of an industry of 'well-being' (S. Park 2007) and its practice has become widespread. For instance, 'interior *pungsu*' has become a popular expression to indicate homes, office space, bedrooms and living rooms decorated according to *pungsu* principles, with the belief that this can help promote a 'healthy and wealthy' life by balancing the *gi* of family members (ibid.). Apart from the varying practices of *pungsu* by the public, as we have seen already, upper-class people and people of power and position, including politicians, have become frequent customers of geomancers in modern Korea, the affluent being those who can best afford the high costs of consultations. For instance, Chang Jo Choi is regularly consulted by giant South Korean companies, such as the Samsung, LG and Tongyang groups (E.Y. Lee 2007). As we saw previously, Korean politicians often change their ancestors' tomb locations before presidential elections. The tendency towards the increasing patterns of *pungsu* use by different people for different purposes reveals that *pungsu* is itself demonstrating capitalism spectrally through its exchange value.

Originally, the ethical value of *pungsu* was not tied to its exchange value in this spectral manner. As we saw earlier, in the principle of *gameung*, the flow of *gi* is known to be associated with, for example, filial piety. The initiation necessary to gain insights into being able to locate an auspicious place is not given to anyone but is believed to be available only to honest and righteous men. The commodified *pungsu* of modern times now has a 'spectral effect' created by its exchange value within the context of urban space. In other words, the spectrality of global capitalism appears not only within commodity objects but within specific forms of spiritual beliefs (such

as *pungsu*). The Gyeongbok Palace restoration and the demolition of the JGGB are examples of this spectral operation of *pungsu*. The economic structure associated with urban space is, however, not as simple as that surrounding the commodification of a single object. For instance, the spectral effect of the Gyeongbok Palace is, as we have seen, the result of the conflation of internal (e.g. *pungsu*, Koreans' mind-set subconsciously related to folkloric belief) with external forces (capitalism, governmental power). Derrida observed that these new kinds of apparitions, called *spectres*, are encouraged to form by different forces such as media discourse, intellectual discourse and political discourse (Derrida 2006: 66-67). These apparitions increase in their monetary importance by connecting together different systems, discourses and values, and consequently generating different forms of spectral effects.

Spectres function as a form of power, the challenge a material object or an event to become doubled by the invisible. The JGGB disappeared; instead, the new palace now boasts increasing income from tourism. This change can be summarised as follows: the Gyeongbok Palace restoration has reformed central Seoul according to the principle of *pungsu*. This reform process was driven by economic development. The newly restored palace has become an experience of new *spectres*.

So although *functional gi* and *spectre* are different in kind, we can make a comparison between the two by the way our body engages with them: *Functional gi* explains political involvement with spiritual belief that our body is deeply associated with. Thus *functional gi* tends to attract the empathetic experience of people who share that belief. *Spectre* is the spirit of the commodity object or commodified event that attracts our bodily engagement through its exchange value. As we have seen above, the range of places where *spectre* appears varies and is not confined to a particular type of place. A wide range of *spectres* displays a decreasing sense of ethical space, seen from a *pungsu* perspective.

In any case, both *functional gi* and *spectre* are thus the effects of intentional schemes of modernisation that allow less-visible values to exist alongside material-centred conditions of urban space. Both *spectre* and *functional gi* are haunting effects that let us approach the invisible aspect of space. By observing these two types of invisible force, it can be said that the Gyeongbok Palace restoration describes how politics negotiates the reality of urban space across the spheres of two invisible bodies: *functional gi* and spectral effect. The co-workings of these invisible bodies explain key aspects of urban politics in South Korea. For instance, it is not easy to think of the Gyeongbok Palace case separately from *pungsu* because of its location, the 'auspicious' site where the Joseon kingdom and the colonial government were established. Accordingly, continual invasions and changes in sovereign power are an

integral part of the history of Gyeongbok Palace. The spectral effect that the recently restored Gyeongbok Palace generates is not merely to do with its luxurious appearance, but also with the atmosphere evoked by the remains of the past, which it still inhabits. Judging by its surface, the Gyeongbok Palace is a good replica of the old palace complex, bearing no trace, on the surface, of colonial history. Yet, there is a spectral effect associated with the layers of hidden history, which is present and is transformed effect of unexplored memory.

4. *Intuitive tangibility* and Spatial Experience

We have investigated two modes of invisibility that describe our bodily involvement with the social dimension of space. It was seen as important that *pungsu* played a part in the operation of social forces. Based on this understanding, in the following section I will finally introduce one of the key concepts of my research; *intuitive tangibility*. To begin with, I will breakdown the *pungsu*-generated collective empathy (and antipathy) formed towards the JGGB in the following way:

- Public support for demolition of the JGGB implied *collective antipathy* owing to the influence of an anti-Japanese mind-set, partially boosted by the media. Scholarly talk about the background *pungsu* theory relating to the JGGB's location accelerated this process. This collective antipathy developed to become an intensive collective experience surrounding the JGGB. Though invisible, this experience of intensity was evoked by the physical presence of the architecture.
- If we suppose that the pro-demolition opinions expressed a refusal of the JGGB due to anti-Japanese feelings fuelled by the theory of geomantic injury and nationalism, then the issue becomes more complex than the sheer destiny of a historical building. The actual justification would then be based on the belief that, since the JGGB symbolised the sovereign power of Japan, its existence might undermine the nation's prosperity. I consider this motivation behind the demolition of the JGGB to be a specific occurrence of affect, where the consequence is *changes* in the sensory becoming of subjects and their relation to physical space.
- Therefore, the pro-demolition opinions explain the empathetic message that the observing bodies of the subjects and the visibility of the JGGB interacted. Thus the demolition was the result of this empathetic message, empathetic as in identifying with the site as such.

According to this analysis, I would like to explore further the notion of *intuitive visibility*, which I have developed in previous chapters. We have examined how *intuitive visibility* is particular to vision, according to Korean and Bergson's definitions of intuition. Now, I would like to develop the idea of intuition further in relation to inter-sensory experience. I expect that this examination will help to explore intuition as an inter-sensory experience of space resulting in 'embodied intensity' in space. *Intuitive visibility* delineates the aesthetic function of intuition, which we looked at through the Bergsonian definition of intuition and the Deleuzian notion of 'rhizomatic connectivity' (Chapter I). *Intuitive visibility* is stimulated by either an exterior force or the will to perceive the essence of the thing (or phenomenon), since 'inexpressible change' (Bergson 2001) can easily be overlooked unless 'we are warned of it and then carefully look into it ourselves' (ibid.: 130). Thus, the JGGB could be seen as a warning motif stimulating the public to engage with the identity of the architecture, which also meant the identity of the public themselves. The complex history of the JGGB (see Appendix I) and the associated issue of the identity of the Koreans generated a phenomenon of *intuitive visibility*, leading to the concrete action of demolishing the building. Visibility here refers to the way that hidden forces are made visible through an action or result. This visibility works on two levels. For people supporting demolition, their collective empathy and antipathy transformed the visible perception of the JGGB; meanwhile, when analysing the demolition in retrospect, the intentions generated by these attitudes are made visible through the demolition process and the restored Gyeongbok Palace.

In Chapter II, when analysing the JGGB case, I developed Bergson's notion of intensity in relation to a broader social context relating to the notion of 'affect' (Deleuze). In Chapter 3, I would like to examine 'collective empathy' by looking at the intimate relation between body and space as informed by the theory of *pungsu*. To develop this point I will use Merleau-Ponty's formulation of 'flesh' to explore the idea of *intuitive visibility*. In particular, the issue of the identity of Koreans in relation to the demolition of the historic building cannot be explained fully through the notion of *intuitive visibility*. Our understanding of *intuitive visibility* is still metaphysical, abstract, describing affect and forces that are not identified with particular bodies. It is important to think of *intuitive visibility* in a more bodily context, in order to understand how the metaphysical becomes embodied, and thus alters the life of particular social subjects or social spaces.

In 'The Intertwining – The Chiasm', the fourth chapter of Maurice Merleau-Ponty's book, *The Visible and The Invisible*, the notion of 'flesh' (Merleau-Ponty 1968:

135) is introduced as the 'thickness between the seer and the thing'. In other words, 'flesh' is 'the means of communication' (ibid.: 135), whereby the observed world and observing subject are intimately interrelated. We can appreciate better what this means from the following remark:

My personal existence must be the resumption of a prepersonal tradition. There is, therefore, another subject beneath me, for whom a world exists before I am here, and who marks out my place in it. This captive or natural spirit is my body...

(Merleau-Ponty 1990: 254)

Merleau-Ponty identifies that the body and the world are interrelated before our logical understanding is formed. Thus it can be said that our bodies perceive a world because our bodies are already 'in sync' with the world. This is perhaps what 'flesh' means; our bodies flesh out a world through synchronising with it. Going back to the analysis of 'collective empathy' above, it seems possible to see a change in public consciousness, which we examined previously through the notion of 'affect', in relation to the moment at which this synchronisation occurs. When the public emotion was encouraged by anti-Japanese nationalism, the presence of the giant building could have attained unpleasant visibility, thus becoming more tangible in such a way that we cannot describe the moment of change. This transformation is not caused by audible, visual or tactile experiences of the building, but is rather a transitory moment of 'intensive' experience.

If we try to understand the *collective empathy* generated by the theory of geomantic injury as an emotional occurrence (Bergson), we tend to miss the more bodily dimension of this experience. In Merleau-Ponty's view, Bergson's 'ways of knowing' are considered to be limited because they only occur through 'vision' (Bergson 1974: 13; Merleau-Ponty 1968: 128). In comparison to Bergson's theory of intuition, Merleau-Ponty's theory of perception stresses the body being a more complex sensory system. We can see this in the following description regarding intertwined sensory experience of the visible and the tangible:

We must habituate ourselves to think that *every visible is cut out in the tangible, every tactile being in some manner promised to visibility, and that there is encroachment, infringement, not only between the touched and the touching, but also between the tangible and the visible, which is encrusted in it, as, conversely, the tangible itself is not a nothingness of visibility, is not without visual experience. Since the same body sees and touches, visible and tangible belong to the same*

world ... There is double and crossed situating of the visible in the tangible and of the tangible in the visible; the two maps are complete, and yet they do not merge into one. *The two parts are total parts and yet are not superposable.*

(ibid.: 134)

Hence we see that the visible and the tangible are like two sides of one coin. Both always exist jointly although they do not coincide. Considering the intertwining of the visible and the tangible, I would like to think of *intuitive visibility* in relation to what I would call '*intuitive tangibility*'. I suggest that *intuitive visibility* and *intuitive tangibility* describe both the conditions whereby something becomes visible or tangible but also the perceptual way in which intuition is performed, if *intuitive visibility* describes a visibility that is perceived by free will or by the act of seeing. This is a partially intentional visibility as we have already seen (See Chapter II: section 2.2), whereas *intuitive tangibility* is more of a spontaneous occurrence of intuition through the sense of touching. *Intuitive tangibility* and *intuitive visibility* could be thought of as two different intuitive perceptions. However, the tactile characteristic of *intuitive tangibility* delineates intuition in relation to a more concrete sense of the touching body and its engagement with the object.

Additionally, it is important to notice that Merleau-Ponty sees that one sense is not separable from another, they are often integrated in experience. The body is an inter-sensory system. Here is a description regarding the correlation between the object and the 'inter-sensory' system of the body:

The sensory 'properties' of a thing together constitute one and the same thing, just as my gaze, my touch and all my other senses are together the powers of one and the same body integrated into one and the same action ... any object presented to one sense calls upon itself the concordant operation of all the others ... I perceive a thing because I have a field of existence, and because each phenomenon, on its appearance, attracts towards that field the whole of my body as a system of perceptual powers ... If a phenomenon strikes only one of my senses, it is a mere phantom, and it will come near to real existence only if, by some chance, it becomes capable of speaking to my other senses...

(Merleau-Ponty 1990: 317-318)

This claim offers a useful way to differentiate *intuitive tangibility* from any other forms of perception. In relation to how Merleau-Ponty emphasises the importance of inter-sensory experience, we can construe the JGGB case thus: The intuitive body of the subject's inter-sensory experience towards the JGGB occurs

more spontaneously than intentionally to the subject, but through a physical building that stimulates ‘tangibility’ associated with other sensory experiences. For instance, people who believe in *pungsu* principles may see buildings and sites differently, and may try to move house, rearrange furniture etc. accordingly; the action of physical change for living environments is determined based on people's beliefs or intensive causes that transform inter-sensory experience of the buildings or sites. Here, they not only see their houses differently, but also sense differently, thus taking spontaneous action for change. Based on this framework, I attempt a further analysis of the demolition of the JGGB based on the idea of *intuitive tangibility*.

My discussion in Chapter II focused on perceiving the ‘invisible aspect of urban space’ that I saw as playing a crucial part in Korean modernity. The invisible aspect of urban space is often about the cultural and historical background of what is already embedded in space, although we do not recognise it as such. Thus, *intuitive visibility* was an idea that challenged the dualism of the separation between the visible and invisible aspects of space. Developing a non-dual theory aimed at including invisible ‘unexplored memory’, thereby aiming to restore the temporality of space. Chapter III began by examining the Korean notion of an intimate land-body relation based on *pungsu* principles and folkloric beliefs. *Pungsu* history tells us that in Korean belief systems, as well as in the minds of Koreans, there is a recognition that an auspicious site is not only of symbolic importance but can also have real influence (e.g. property, wealth, health, longevity, etc). As we have examined, according to the key *pungsu* classic textbooks, the bones of ancestors means the physical part of the body that lasts enduringly and a spiritual link between deceased and living bodies. This extends our understanding of space to be ‘incomprehensible’ as long as it is associated with the world of the deceased, yet the outcomes of these associations are physically produced only through the body. Those who believe in *pungsu* might say that *pungsu* can be reason enough to lead to a historic heritage building being demolished. The demolition explains how our bodies could be interrelated to the site or a certain building. In summary, it can be said that changes in the physical state of the JGGB were the embodied result of inter-sensory experience of the JGGB. Perhaps the changes in the physical state of the building could be interpreted as a moment where inter-sensory experience that enabled a material result associated with capital and political forces. The demolition event also embodied desires and wishes for the future which will, consequently, lead to heterogeneous events or social productions.

As we saw earlier, in comparison to *intuitive visibility*, *intuitive tangibility* is a less selective, less intentional inter-sensory experience of the world. This means that *intuitive tangibility* could be a more frequent phenomenon than the intentional

phenomenon of intuitive visibility. If *intuitive visibility* explains the immaterial association between intuitive forces and their effects at a more conscious level, by suspending the dualistic perspective, *intuitive tangibility* explains how intuitive forces are materialised and embodied in the actual living environment by merging the dualistic perspective into a holistic one. Because *intuitive tangibility* describes a more 'lived though' experience, it does not reduce the experience of urban space to a visible and invisible binary division. Rather, it approaches the essence of urban phenomena through the inter-sensory system of intuitive 'body', perhaps in a similar way to how geomancers in pre-modern Korea understood the land. In Chapter IV, I will look at *intuitive tangibility* as a potential ability to be developed in order to balance the conditions for the accumulation of capital in space and time. If *intuitive tangibility* is based on the intimate relation between the body and its environment, this will be the means by which to realise the ethical space that *pungsu* was aiming at in pre-modern Korea, but now in a contemporary context.

5. The New Gyeongbok Palace

This chapter has hinged on exploring the theme of the invisible body through looking at the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace. So far, based on Merleau-Ponty's theorisation of 'flesh', I have formulated *intuitive tangibility* as a concept describing a more bodily, instantaneous, active and thus concrete mode of intuition. I have used the concept of *intuitive tangibility* to gain further insights into the issue of urban space in Seoul, through seeing the body and space as an interrelated dynamic. It is always difficult to explain what our activity is within the world as it is right now, as we are immersed within it. So, by accepting the phenomenal body as the body that confronts space and temporality, I have tried to develop a notion of intuitive vision in relation to practically active intuition, not only by analysing a given notion of bodies, but also by putting forth an idea of more actively shared bodies.

Restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace has included restructuring a large number of buildings, which were once abolished under colonial rule. Since this restructuring process has to rely mainly on existing blueprints, it is a more complex project than any normal restoration. According to an English dictionary definition, restoration first means 'the action of returning something to a former condition'. The second meaning is 'the return of a monarch to a throne, a head of state to government, or a regime to power'. I see the second meaning as more apt to describe the Gyeongbok Palace restoration and the first meaning as debatable in relation to the fact that most of the buildings from the Joseon dynasty had already disappeared and the original plans would not provide the entire picture of the buildings once situated on the site.

Thus, the result of the first phase of restoration (1990-2010) produced a unique visibility where the official aims and outcomes of the development plan did not coincide; it would have been impossible to restore the form of the palace that existed in the late Joseon dynasty to a true authentic state. For instance, in 1867, there were over 500 buildings in the palace grounds, yet there were only 36 buildings still standing on the palace site when the restoration began in 1990 (K, Lee 2010: 19). The first phase of the restoration completed 125 buildings, which represents about 25% of the original scale of the complex (ibid.: 22-23). The second phase of the project began in 2011 and aims to complete the construction of an additional 253 buildings by 2030 (ibid.: 23), which will be 76% of the palace's scale in 1867 (ibid.). This explains that the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace is actually about rebuilding the majority of the former buildings on the palace site. In accordance with the restoration of Gyeongbok Palace, development of the adjacent Gwanghwamun Square (see Fig 11) is a new project aimed at developing a public space that stretches 557m in length and 34m in width at the centre of Sejongno, connecting Gwanghwamun (the gate to enter the Gyeongbok Palace)(see Fig 12) to Cheonggye Square (A, Lee 2010). Towards the southern end of the square is a new statue of King Sejong, who led the invention of the Korean alphabet, which was erected in October 2010 (ibid.). According to Mayor Oh Sehoon's remark, the plaza was built as 'a landmark of Korea, that represents national identity' (A, Lee 2010). But at this point we encounter the question of what is meant by the word restoration. The replica buildings of Gyeongbok Palace, the artificial square built to represent national identity and the newly-built façade of Gwanghwamun look more like theatrical than historical sites (see Appendix I for further detail).

By looking at the results of the first phase of restoration of Gyeongbok Palace, I conclude that the completed palace will not provide a focal point for a unified people as intended, neither temporally nor spatially. Further, in an empirical sense, the new Gyeongbok Palace does not reinforce the identity of any group, nation or regime of power, because what it makes visible is not unity but a divided view of values, not authenticity but imagination. These visibilities do not explain what the restoration was originally intended to be.

Given what simulacrum entails, it might be unrealistic to strive for authenticity in the first place. Based on the consequences of the first phase of the restoration project, I will finally examine the process and results of the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace as a state of 'simulacrum'. Deleuze's essay 'Plato and Simulacrum' (Deleuze 2004b) introduces the notion of a distinction between 'copy' and 'model'. According to Brian Massumi's response to this essay, a copy, authentic or fake is defined as 'the presence or absence of internal, essential relations of resemblance to a

model' (Massumi 1987: 91). A simulacrum, on the other hand, bears only 'an external and deceptive resemblance to a putative model' (ibid.). The section to follow, which describes my investigation of the restored Gyeongbok Palace thus far, is also the conclusion of this chapter:

1. The restoration is no mere conservation of the old buildings that originally constituted the Gyeongbok Palace: it is rather a complex process of creating a combined state of the new and the old by reconstructing most of the vanished buildings and restoring the existing old ones. It is a radical transformation of the palace site into an *untimely* space in the sense that the authentic value of the heritage buildings cannot simply be reproduced. According to Deleuze (Deleuze 2004a: 302), modernity is defined by the 'power of the simulacrum'. By simulacrum, he means something that needs to be differentiated from a copy. Deleuze writes that a copy is an image endowed with resemblance, whereas a simulacrum is an image without resemblance (ibid.: 295). This means that a simulacrum is built upon 'dissimilarity' (ibid.: 295-296). If there is no original, so that it can simulate something external to the original, there can be no copy either, only a process of simulation and change. The notion of the 'untimely' does not only designate the present, it also implies the future. If so, the newly restored Gyeongbok Palace can be seen as embodying virtual space-time, since it is a simulacrum that does not copy the original spirit of the Gyeongbok Palace but becomes something other than the original. The Gyeongbok Palace is disconnected from the time and space of the original and provides, at most, a tourist attraction through having a surface identical to that of the original. Besides, the Gyeongbok Palace is surrounded by *spectres* that produce a new order of space relating to present bodies existing in this current socio-economic situation. It can be argued that the belief in *pungsu*, which supported demolition of the JGGB, has been developed into a form of capitalistic spectral effect. This might be the reason why *spectres* are, in turn, open to the dynamics of the future.

Thus we reach the first conclusion of this chapter: *The restoration can be considered an actualisation of virtuality, as it retains indeterminate possibilities, and thus becomes a revelation of an unexplored past.*

2. The restored Gyeongbok Palace is the result of complex 'quasi-causes' (Massumi 1987: 93) springing from the aim of achieving a true copy of the old palace, and the influences of capitalism, nationalism, politics and the

involvement of the public. These quasi-causes (causes that are not in themselves finite), finally led to chaotic results, chaotic in the sense that the results of the demolition of the JGGB (and the continued restoration process) do not correspond with the announced aims of the restoration, as we previously examined them. The demolition of the JGGB was based on the complex political and cultural conditions existing in and around 1993, which cannot be reduced to a simple set of reasons. Thus, the causes and the outcomes of the Gyeongbok Palace restoration are *disconnected* in terms of what was stated as being the official intentions behind the project and what are the actual results. From the perspective of the Korean philosophical tradition, we can say that Gyeongbok Palace represents non-subjectivity; and from the perspective developed by Bergson, Deleuze and Merleau-Ponty, we can say that the experience of the real space of the Gyeongbok Palace is only possible through *intuitive visibility* and *intuitive tangibility*.

Thus there is a second conclusion that we can draw from this chapter: *The restoration is not about regaining lost power but about establishing a new spatial order*. This results in a disembodied power consisting of an untimely space, in the sense of a space of mixed layers of periods and, further, in a sense of disconnection or effective illusion. Either we sense the disconnection between the past and the present or we adhere to the illusion of authenticity. As far as this confusion relates to the current economic climate, it is a result of the spectral effects of urban space, thus creating the situation that I have called *confused visibility*.

In the following chapter, I will further explore the operation of *intuitive tangibility* in the urban development of South Korea. I have been developing the concept of intuition, as a means to experience the reality of urban space, by investigating the JGGB case and the Gyeongbok Palace restoration. I have looked at intuition both as a tool that can be developed through a particular terminology and purpose, and also as a phenomenal aspect of automatic perception. In the final chapter, I will use this framework of intuition to analyse examples of recent spatial practice in Korea, where public art was invited to contribute to regional redevelopment. Here, the possibilities and limits of *intuitive tangibility* will be explored in relation to examples of what happens when developmental strategies encounter artistic practice.

Chapter IV. Place and New Modernity

Development of the Casino Town and the Intervention of Public Art

1. Introduction

In the previous chapters I built a theory of *intuitive tangibility* as a means to discuss invisible aspects of urban practice. The case study of the demolition of the JGGB and the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace highlighted the idea that *intuitive tangibility* is an inter-sensory capacity that exists as potential within the body, but which has not been explored enough as a theory to be employed practically. Thus, I have stressed the importance of developing a theory of *intuitive tangibility*, in order both to discuss the intensity of urban space and to develop a practice of intuition. We have already seen that, according to Chinul, full intuition is achieved through theoretical understanding before practical cultivation is reached (Keel 1984: 93-94) (Chapter I: Section 2). In accordance with this idea, I argue that a theory of *intuitive tangibility* could assist further in developing our range of perception and our practice of intuitive perception.

In this final chapter, I stress that the theory of intuition that we examined through the previous case study is meant to assist in understanding the practical side of intuition better, so that the theory can be internalised through practice. Based on this premise, this chapter tries to see how a theory of intuitive tangibility might provide a close understanding of current urban practice, and how such practice could be effective as a counterbalance to the materialistic capital-centred urban development that dominates urban space today. I hope that some of the abstract theorisation of metaphysical concepts that I developed in previous chapters will become clearer by being framed in relation to the ongoing practice of urban development in South Korea.

This chapter suggests that the theory of urban space and the process of change could be considered in closer proximity to each other, instead of just thinking of a theory to help a practice or a practice to explain a theory. Thus, I offer some reflections and proposals to explore and develop the previously described case studies and theories. I hope that this chapter will move us one step further towards a view of intuition as practice as well as theory, particularly in relation to one of the most politically and culturally complex features of spatial practice in South Korea, as we have examined it so far. In this chapter, we will see that these specific features

caused by state-initiated urbanisation and development, particularly at the early modernisation stage, still influences the Korean pattern of urban development.

As a more extended concept of *intuitive tangibility*, with which to view the rapidly changing urban situation in South Korea and its inner aspects of urban formation, I propose the term 'place-specificity'. According to Casey, place is neither the limited concept of space that Bergson criticises, nor the intangible reality of temporality. Instead, place offers 'a way out of a limited notion of space and time' (Casey 2009: 11). Based on Casey's theory of 'place', I argue that place-specificity might suggest a means to counteract the exceeding materiality of urban development and create a more balanced temporality and spatiality in the living environment. The term 'place' also means 'inherent in the local' (Lippard 1997: 7). In other words, place is the land/ town/ cityscape seen 'from the inside' (ibid.: 9). In this sense, place is an invisible domain of space, in that we feel (through inter-sensory experience) rather than merely see it (ibid.: 8). Thinking of urban space through the notion of 'place' means understanding urban space from the 'inside' and observing its specific characteristics through *intuitive tangibility*. Place then is a key word by which I define the means to restore certain intensities within an urban life dominated by economy-centred development patterns. Place also means restoring the balance between space and the body in a contemporary context.

The Gamdong Public Art Project (see Appendix II) was organised in two small former mining towns, Gohan and Sabuk¹. The Kangwon Land Casino was established in Sabuk and the Kangwon Land Hotel built in Gohan as a means to revitalise the local economy after the coalmine closure. A Gamdong Public Art Project team was employed by Kangwon Land to enhance the cultural atmosphere of the casino town. This project is what I will reflect upon via the theory of *intuitive tangibility* and will reframe through specific situations that emerged during the project. The Gohan-Sabuk project had to deal with an economic development policy that has exercised strong control over the ex-mining towns. Based on my own experience of working in Gohan and Sabuk, through participating in the Gamdong Public Art Project, the case study I will conduct will help understand why *intuitive tangibility* has become such a crucial question for me, and how it has been practised in an actual developmental situation. In the following section, we will look at the

¹ The small towns of Gohan and Sabuk are located in Jeongseon County, Gangwon Province. Since the towns are geographically adjacent and very small in scale, they are often called Gohan-Sabuk. For instance, the official bus terminal for the two towns is located in Gohan, but is called 'Gohan-Sabuk Station'. Kangwon Land's main hotel is located in Sabuk, but the resort is in Gohan.

current conditions of urban development and will see public art as a popular regeneration strategy in South Korea. This will lead to seeing the location of the Gamdong Public Art Project and its specific functions as being partially generated by such strategies.

2. Gohan-Sabuk Redevelopment, Gamdong Public Art Project

I begin this section by referring to the notion of 'hetero-temporality' (Chakrabarty 2000: preface xvii) introduced by Dipesh Chakrabarty. Using this term, Chakrabarty argues against the universal logic of European historicism that sees the history of the non-European world as the 'not yet' of historicism (ibid.: 8-9). According to Chakrabarty, this 'Eurocentric' attitude is problematic because, if Europe is seen as a sovereign power, then on a global scale local histories will be considered merely as cases of a universal paradigm for modernity. To the degree that this is happening, we are all, whether European or non-European, inescapably victims of a Eurocentric fallacy (ibid.: 27). Thus the key problem raised here is that, if the history of Europe is a generic master narrative, then the particularities of each local singularity become merely a third history or a marginal other to the dominant universal history. Europe is always considered to be a centre for the 'theoretically knowable' (ibid.: 29), in a way that shapes the ideas of the fundamental structures that dominate historical thinking. All other histories of the world are then subject to a type of empirical research which, in fact, fleshes out a theoretical skeleton that is substantially an idea of 'Europe' (ibid.: 29). In Chakrabarty's writing, the notion of 'hetero-temporality' is used to describe the dynamic history of India, which is impossible to explain from a perspective of European historicism. Agreeing with his theory, I argue that the history of Gohan and Sabuk needs to be understood differently, based on the culture-specific background of Korea, otherwise it is difficult not to be blinded by Eurocentrism or Western historicism. The particularity of the temporal dynamics of Gohan and Sabuk cannot merely be explained as a universal effect of Western capitalism either. For instance, the origins of the government-associated corporative body of Kangwon Land casino that I introduce in this chapter are rooted in the early modernisation pattern of the Korean economy and government power. It may not be easy to understand this particular pattern without understanding the history and politics of Korea. In previous chapters, I argued that *functional gi* and *spectre*, although these are terms borrowed from Mao's revolutionising idea and Derrida's interpretation of Marxist capital, describe South Korean phenomena that are specific to Koreans' common expectations and Korea's associations with a history of spiritual belief. Even if global neo-liberal capitalism could be seen as part of the reason for the

unsystematic development of Korean cities and towns, its pattern of operation appears to be specific to the political and cultural situation of South Korea. For instance, the Gyeongbok Palace development followed a culture-specific pattern of modernisation, where the appearing pattern could be better understood by examining the invisible aspects of such patterns – the religious systems of Korean society.

Kangwon Land is the only casino open to Koreans, there are no competitors, and thus it has ‘power of monopoly’ and ‘great security’ in terms of its financial stability, as Harvey (2006: 99) asserts. However, capital accumulation in small mining towns such as Gohan and Sabuk means that the towns are lacking in physical infrastructure. Besides, in the case of Gohan and Sabuk, the cultural infrastructure is fragile and the residents are struggling with survival issues. Monopoly power, representing a global pattern of ‘capital accumulation’ (ibid.: 95-96), could be seen as a questionable strategy for the situation of Gohan and Sabuk. Korea’s economic growth and the resulting social and cultural transformation over the last five decades have been unusually rapid (Chang 2007: 12). It has gone from being one of the poorest countries in the world to a country on a par with Portugal and Slovenia in terms of income *per capita* (ibid.). We can see that the coexistence of bustling Kangwon Land next to the closed coalmines could be considered an example of this pattern of rapid development, carrying social and cultural transformation, where there is scarcely enough time to digest such change.

(1) Urban Development in South Korea

In South Korea, coal was the major national energy source during the 1970s and 1980s, but it has been replaced by gas and oil since the 1990s, thus the coalmines in the Kangwon province were closed down. The Korean government opened the Kangwon Land casino at Gohan-Sabuk in order to help revitalise the local economy after the economic downturn caused by the coalmine closure in 2000. 51% of Kangwon Land shares are owned by local and central government and Kangwon Land is expected to spend a certain amount of its profits on local residents’ welfare. Thus the Gamdong Public Art Project was initiated, based on this funding system, and given the responsibility to address the lack of culture in the town. Industrial restructuring throughout the modernisation period has resulted in rural-urban imbalances, partly due to the depopulation of rural areas and urban growth in the bigger cities.

Global capitalism and economic development have changed Korean cities and the urban landscape enormously over recent decades and produced hybrid

spaces everywhere within a short period of time. Okwui Enwezor (1998: 28) describes the recent East-Asian development as creating 'brand new urban conditions and cultural spheres'. These 'brand new urban conditions' will result in growing East-Asian cities with constantly changing appearances. It is not difficult to imagine that the rapid development was so excessive that its results could indicate a disregard for residents' quality of life. Kyoung Park describes it in this way:

The process seems so similar to wars that destroy existing cities and communities and build new cities and new communities afterwards. And just like in the real wars, there are large shifts of population from one place to another. Then you start to think that the Korean War never ended, and instead has continued within, amongst the citizens in an economic warfare. And you begin to wonder if the Korean urban population is simply a vast collection of refugees...

(Park 2010: 31)

A nomadic lifestyle² among Koreans has become more common as a result of the government's redevelopment policy. As economic development of the nation was proceeding well, the Joint Redevelopment Project was established. This formed a partnership between homeowners and construction companies under government regulations. Thus, what happened was that investors were buying up properties in possible redevelopment areas, and residents who could not afford the higher rents for these properties were evicted before new high-rise apartments were built on the same sites. These new apartments were often sold by investors before they were even built (Park 2010: 29). This system excluded residents' participation in the redevelopment of their own communities, and instead produced a supplier's market for housing which increased housing prices (*ibid.*: 39). This tendency to distance residents from participation in decisions fundamental to their own life environment seems to have dominated in Gohan and Sabuk. From the beginning of the building of the resort, construction companies were investigated for alleged corruption associated with Kangwon Land (Jung 2008; Choi & Kim 2011; Yoon 2011). Land values in Gohan-Sabuk trebled between 1997 and 1999 (Jeongseongun 2006: 337), 70-80 per cent of empty housing and buildings were bought by private out-of-town investors (*ibid.*).

² For instance, between 1985 and 1988, informal housing located in poor areas of Seoul was cleared by the government, thus more than 700,000 squatters were violently evicted to build high-rise apartments and infrastructure to prepare for the 1988 Olympics in Seoul (Park 2010: 27).

(2) Public Art in South Korea

As economic development progressed, a new tendency appeared in the urban development of South Korea: public art became popular as a regeneration strategy. It is said that the 21st century is the first period in which public art has been positively and actively invited by the South Korean government and supported by an unprecedented amount of funding. 'Public art' has seen a boom in Korea as a 21st century phenomenon. There have been numerous mega-scale public art projects in Korea in recent years, including art projects for Cheonggyecheon stream restoration (2005), Art In the City (2006-2008), City Gallery Project (2007-), Anyang Public Art Project (2005-) and Maeul-Misul Project (2009-). Kim Jang Un (2009) argues that neo-liberalism in Korean society has influenced the way in which public art is recognized and operates. However, as Kim points out, most public art projects were used selectively to support economic development coupled with the political aims of governing regimes and institutions. Two problematic outcomes could be pointed to here.

First, the government's funding for public art has become a kind of commodity. Furthermore, short-term undifferentiated plans for different places have repeated the same problem Kyong Park articulated: market-oriented development dominates without enough consideration for the sustainability of city space. In recent years in Korea, there has been an increasing number of business organisations that make a profit from public art commissioning (Hong 2011). Now, public art is found everywhere, both in public spaces and private properties. For instance, in South Korea, public art installed based on a 'one per cent policy' is mostly owned by the owner of the property where it stands, in which case public value and the contribution of the work to public space might be lessened (Lee 2006). Public art is found almost everywhere throughout the country because it became an enterprise that produces a quantity of, for example, street art, mural paintings and monuments. We can say that public art in South Korea has become a 'spectral effect', through its decorating of cities and towns, and that its exchange value has risen by increasing the 'need' of consumers (such as local governments, building owners, etc).

The appearance of new criteria for evaluating art's usefulness, according to funding criteria or superficial responses from the public, is another issue that contributes to the enterprise of public art. These tendencies have been problematic in the sense that they limit the role of art to a specific programme, funding system or official request, thus art's own standards for criticality have been ignored. In this way, neo-liberal policy encouraged public art to celebrate regional development by advertising its 'public use' (Deutsche 1996: 259). Here, art becomes 'functional' under

a political populism that promotes art's public use at the disposal of organising bodies. Public use is considered a 'beneficial and valuable' thing for everyone, in the sense that public art promotes global economic restructuring.

The reason why I am describing this development in the practice of public art is to highlight the fact that public art is suffering under contradictory demands. It is expected to be independent and counter the negative side effects of neo-liberal policy, which at the same time supports its continuation. Art is thus subject to a contradiction that is inherent within the economic system itself, whereby the overall ambition of society is capitalisation, but where this ambition includes a blind spot concerning denial of its social consequences. Spectral effects are generated in the sense that the value and purpose of art are detached from the intentionality inherent in the art and appear within new systems of values. To a certain extent, the effect public art is producing in urban space is a state of simulacrum, similar to that represented by the restored Gyeongbok Palace. The public space of the art object, which does not link it to the historical identity of the town, produces instead a sense of disorientation. The role of art can thus be seen in comparison to the way in which the mystic idea of *pungsu* was incorporated in the concept of *gi* to serve national interests. Just as *pungsu* had a major influence on the formation of major cities and towns in pre-modern Korea, art is now forming the urban environment of contemporary Korean cities. *Functional gi* was a modernisation force reinforced by the mystic idea of *pungsu*. In a similar way, 'functional art' can be seen as part of a rational scheme for the continuing modernisation process in South Korea, reinforced by the a-signifying quality of art. It can be said that neo-liberal policy encouraged art to be a means for economic development, to contribute to the gentrification of underdeveloped areas. However, in contrast to the official aims of public art, it has also been the case that public art isolates residents by producing artworks that do not address the local situation (Paek 2007).

(3) Introduction to Gamdong Public Art Project (2009)

Gamdong Public Art Project was the first-year project for the cultural regeneration of Gohan and Sabuk. Gamdong literally means 'feel (gam) and move (dong)'. This title represents the project's aim to strengthen the identity of Gohan and Sabuk and reflects the locals' most positive expectations with regard to the future of their towns (Lee, Jung & Yoo 2009: 17). Gamdong Public Art Project was a pilot project designed to test the effect of art on the culturally marginalised region of the ex-mining towns, with a view to providing an alternative cultural resource for them (Gohan-Sabuk).

This was because, since the establishment of the casino in Gohan and Sabuk in 2003, there have been increasingly negative side-effects of gambling, which have spread throughout the towns. Thus, art was expected to supply qualitative culture with an aim to ameliorate the negative image of the casino town. From the artists' perspective, the ethical dilemma or challenge set by the Gamdong Public Art Project was tied to the fact that the project was funded by the casino, which is the source of the social problems in question (e.g. drug addiction, prostitution, increasing numbers of homeless people locally, etc).

One of the most difficult conditions facing the artists that took part in the Gohan-Sabuk project was that they had to establish positive communication with local residents who are reserved towards outsiders, having a strong cohesion among themselves since the coal-mining period. Further, the majority of residents in Gohan and Sabuk are poor, thus financial survival is the most urgent issue; they would not be interested in art unless it could directly assist their daily life, which seemed to be one of the reasons that local residents were not very enthusiastic at first about an art project suddenly being foisted on them by outsiders. Besides, art was expected to offer cultural education to people who had rarely experienced contemporary art. Thus finding the right way to communicate with local residents was a crucial concern for the artists throughout the project.

Although the project faced difficult issues, participating curators and artists, including myself, thought it better to be involved than not be involved, because as long as the negative influence of global capitalism is becoming a universal condition for public art, increasing the qualitative function of art seems urgent, especially to underdeveloped towns and cities. It was also important to acknowledge on this occasion the idea that art could address these ethical problems of production as the central conditions for creativity would have to tackle.

Before we examine the general issues raised by this public art project, here is an introduction to the artworks included in the Gamdong Public Art Project, to which I will return when discussing Gamdong Project in the following Section Three:

Moon Soo Choi and Myeong Kyo Jeong's *The Old Miner's Quarters/ A Truck* (Fig. 13) was supposed to be driven by the artists inside Gohan and Sabuk without any specific purpose. The former miners' housing, which was swept away with the urbanisation of the town, was built with the aid of a scaffolding structure and was loaded onto the back of the truck. *This truck* drove around town, while the scaffolding structure of the house added a temporary atmosphere to the scene.

Eon Gyeong Kim's *Culture Map* (Fig. 14) was produced based on her personal experience of Gohan and Sabuk during her stay. She walked around the towns, ate out and stayed some nights in a hotel room, then recorded the stories she heard in her encounters around town, often through her day-to-day meetings with people. In fact, *Culture Map* turned out to be more useful to first time visitors of Gohan-Sabuk than a map found in the local tourist office, thus it contributed to the planning of future tourism in the towns.

One of the major components of the Gamdong Project was a contemporary art exhibition at the former Sabuk Mining Office belonging to the Dongwon Corporation (*Dongwon Tanjwa*). Artists were inspired by the remnants of the once bustling coal town and focused on absorbing remnants of mining life into the 'here-and-now' through contemporary art idioms (Lee, Jung & Yoo 2009: 18). Most of the artworks installed inside the Sabuk Coal Museum became part of the new collection of the museum, where a few former miners are now working. The artists helped with installation, finding the right places to install the artworks inside the museum, and learnt about the contents of the artworks so that they can now guide visitors. The project became a site where curators, artists and former miners collaborated. Artworks included in the Sabuk Coal Museum project closely investigated details of the museum collection, the history of Gohan and Sabuk and their cultural environment.

Min Sook Park & Eon Gyeong Kim's *Flower Flags* (fig. 15) were attached to the pole on top of the former Gohan Town Office building. There must have been a national flag there and flags of the regional communities at the time when the coal-mining town was bustling with activity. When a flower flag is attached to the empty poles instead, it symbolically replaces the identity of the town with an image of flowers.

Sang Gyun Kim's *A Trophy for the Victims* (Fig. 16) is a memorial to miners who died in accidents at the old Dongwon mining site between 1965 and 2004. The trophy, in the shape of the nearest mountain of Hambeak, has 301 real inlaid diamonds. This number is identical to the total number of victims of the mines between 1965 and 2004. The trophy is installed next to the list of victims inside the exhibition room at Sabuk Coal Museum.

Miner's Orange (Fig. 8) was a parade that I organised during my stay in Gohan-Sabuk, in collaboration with local residents. I visited each community group in the town to invite people to participate in the parade. The participants did not seem to understand or be interested in knowing whether this was art or not. However, local residents showed interest in marching from Sabuk to Gohan, as it was viewed as a celebratory event for them, connecting the two towns symbolically. Gohan and Sabuk are in close geographical proximity, almost like one town but, due to the rapid development of Sabuk with its close proximity to the Kangwon Land Casino Resorts, there is now a competitive atmosphere between the two towns. Whether intentionally or not, the participants encountered art by participating in a parade and walking through the two towns.

3. General Issues Raised by the Gamdong Public Art Project.

On the one hand, what Chakrabarty called 'hetero-temporality' outlines the subjective time of 'duration' (see Chapter II) that connects the experiencing 'self' to the given environment. Yet, hetero-temporality is also about the accumulation of space and time, which are no longer divisible, because they grow and interconnect, to the point where differences blur. Thus hetero-temporality can be understood as a more developed pattern of duration, which does not only appear between subject and object, but is a contemporary phenomenon within urban spatial practices as well as a creative force of modernity.

In this section, by examining the issues emerging from the Gamdong Public Art Project, the function of art in public space will be examined as a realisation of the internal aspects of urban space. Here, art plays a part in realising intuitive perception that approaches specific local situations. If so, art proposes a new perspective on urban space through 'intuitively' responding to the urban conditions of Gohan and Sabuk. If we become our 'selves' only by locating ourselves 'within duration', then it can be appreciated that the genuine function of art will only be realised by perceiving the hetero-temporality of the towns.

(1) Embodiment of Intensity

It seems apparent that the cultural, economic and political background of Gohan and Sabuk produces a sense of disconnection for the residents, and changes the living conditions of Gohan and Sabuk. The Kangonwon Land establishment meant new job opportunities for people who had lost their jobs at the coalmines, yet it also brought

changes to established living patterns and work ethics of the people in the mining towns. Further, it seemed that dominant structures set up in the towns by the casino and its prevailing influence were creating what Rosalyn Deutsche would call 'exclusions' (Deutsche 1996: Introduction xiii), a phenomenon where dominant structures of space-making end up excluding the concerns of the local community, contrary to the original purpose of regeneration. According to Deutsche, exclusions are justified, naturalised and hidden in discourses of the urban-aesthetic; they protect authoritarian strategies that aim to construct unitary images of space (ibid). In the case of Gohan-Sabuk, public art itself becomes another way of regulating the different geographical and cultural resources of the towns. Art is then combined with the constantly increasing casino business, and so both the voice of the minority (since public art is the activity of those in power) and political criticality risk being excluded from this picture.

In response to these conditions, what the artists of the Gamdong Public Art Project did was to search for the internal aspects of the town, which have more to do with the subjective memory of space and individually different modes of thoughts. For instance, as we have seen with the Sabuk Coal Museum project, Min Sook Park & Eon Gyeong Kim's *Flower Flags* and Eon Gyeong Kim's *Culture Map*, when the artists began working with a site, they were looking for spots the villagers had a historical connection with. Kim recorded places on the *Culture Map* that resonated with the residents' sense of aesthetics, from the exterior decoration of someone's house to the planted garden in front of a small inn. Members of the local community often told us that they did not have enough cultural resources left in Gohan-Sabuk after the coalmine closure. Yet, for the artists, desolate or disregarded spots were attractive, they were potential resources reflecting the history of Gohan-Sabuk. Thus art had to function as an intensive force, which could initially restore the temporal and internal aspects of the town, where its external side is still growing excessively and its internal side is diminishing or becoming less recognisable. In this way, most of the artists started working on sites they were empathetically impressed by or started work based on encounters with the community.

(2) New Spatial Order

Because the Gamdong Public Art Project was involved with the community, it was difficult to predict its outcome, given that requests from the residents could be very specific. The artists had to take their projects in new directions in response to input from the residents. In the previous case study of the JGGB, we saw that *intuitive tangibility* is stimulated by the mystic force of *pungsu*, which constitutes an abstract

and a-signifying force. Probably, in a reverse direction, artworks in the Gamdong Public Art Project were externalising *intuitive tangibility* through art's a-signifying characteristics, thus making their mark on public space. For instance, Moon Soo Choi and Myeong Kyo Jeong's *The Old Miner's Quarters / A Truck* tried to reinterpret the history of Gohan and Sabuk through subjective memory. A truck might normally be called for to meet the need to deliver something to a specific point in a town. But when it drives around randomly with a somewhat haunting visibility, covered by old photographs of the former miners' housing, the history-specificity of the town is being re-interpreted. *A Truck* becomes part of the town while still being a nomad. This might be the moment where intensive history selected by the artists and the landscape of the towns become blurred and generate a new sense of space-time

Intuitive tangibility, as we examined it in relation to the JGGB case, was ultimately action-oriented, in the sense that the state of affect that the demolition brought about represented a moment of change in terms of the social, architectural, ethical, emotional and political contexts of space. In the case of the Gohan-Sabuk project, the artists tried to remind the local community of the abundance of cultural resources they already possessed, by introducing a slight change to the perception of space-time. Sang Gyun Kim's *A Trophy for the Victims*, installed next to the list of victims at the mines in the document collection room of the Coal Museum, attempted a subjective interpretation of the mining towns' history. Min Sook Park & Eon Gyeong Kim's *Flower Flags* was installed at former Gohan Town Office building. There must have been a national flag there and flags of the regional communities at the time when the coal-mining town was bustling with activity. When the flower flag is attached to the empty poles instead, it symbolically replaces the identity of the town with the image of the flowers. In a way, these works aimed to evoke the connection between local residents and the history of the coal-mining period. In this sense, the Sabuk Coal Museum project has been a more active attempt to restore a sense of disconnected history by installing contemporary artworks side by side with the coal museum collection, evoking a unique sense of temporality, connecting past, present and future in a subjective reading of time produced directly at the former mining site. This did seem to draw new audiences to the museum. The history-embedded sites within the mining office building museum evoked emotional resonance and sympathetic experience for the artists and the residents connected to those places that the modernisation process had overlooked. Through this process of collaboration, the artists developed networks between different groups of people, culture, customs and disciplines. They worked in response to the local community, signs, language and the coal tradition, by arranging different encounters and working with layers of experience. Through the 'relational' (Bourriaud 2002: 11-24)

and spatio-temporal experiments of the artists, Sabuk Coal Museum was transformed into a space capable of instigating a new spatial order.

(3) Intuitive Space: Emerging Public, Emerging Space

It can be said that the demolition of the JGGB helped form a new 'community', the members of which shared a certain experience of the sensible, which occurred in dependence on the demolition event. A division was created between people, according to which spatial order people would adhere to. In the case of the Gamdong Public Art Project, most of the artists were trying to find a way to work with the community (although the ways in which they involved the community varied) by intervening in the everyday living spaces and life patterns of the residents. According to Merleau-Ponty's theory that we looked at in Chapter III (see Section 4), the visible world and the body are not ultimately divisible into observer and observed. In terms of the relation between artists and the community (and their living environment), when artists tried to be sympathised with the community, it was to generate this kind of moment where the body of the observer (artist) and the observed (local community) become intimate.

Miner's Orange tried to bring about this kind of communication between the artists and the residents. What actually happened was an encounter between different languages, expectations and ideas on art, which produced an end result that was surprising to both parties; the participants, including myself, became both the producers and the public of the project. Miwon Kwon illustrates the meaning of the public, by emphasising that complex positioning does not define the public as a collective body or audience waiting to be addressed by the artwork, but as a newly emerging subjectivity generated by the encounter with the artwork (Kwon 2009: 199). According to Kwon, 'a public is unpredictable, inconsistent and incoherent, thus far more democratic in its non-form than how we normally imagine a collective democratic public body' (ibid.). To a certain extent, *Miner's Orange* encouraged newly emerging subjectivities to be generated by encounters with the artworks, whether or not the participants were informed about art or not. According to Merleau-Ponty's theory, above, these emerging subjectivities can be seen as representing a moment where different bodies are in 'sync' with each other. This does not mean that different people suddenly agree with each other's perspectives, rather it means that the emergence of a new community through the language of intensity – art – engenders a new social constellation of space. In other words, if the community changes, space changes too, although the process will always take a specific period of time.

If we call the space that generates the experience of *intuitive tangibility* ‘intuitive space’, then this is not only a space that we understand through direct perception and given information, but a space we develop by way of sensibility towards active involvement (with other bodies or the environment). Intuitive space thus defines a space in progress, rather than space with definite characteristics. In this sense, intuitive space is future-oriented. By space, I do not mean just the physical environment, such as urban architecture, but also a qualitative connection to space, which involves such qualities as memory and a sense of belonging. Thus producing intuitive space potentially generates qualitative change within the community as well as impacting on the future environment of people.

4. Place-Specificity, New Modernity

Through the emerged issues we have looked at so far, I define the artists' perception and exploration of hetero-temporality in Gohan and Sabuk as being a type of ‘place-specific’ practice. As we briefly saw in the Introduction, Casey (1997; 2009) differentiates site from place. Site has a homogeneous character that counteracts place by cancelling out memory, history and subjective feelings (Casey 1997: 186). Site thus defines the ‘imperfection’ of space by revealing the ‘features of homogeneity, planiformity, monolinearity and seriality’ (ibid). Site is more about how its external visibility directly reflects different systems of space, whereas place advocates the experience of the sensible, which is an invisible part of space. In addition, Casey’s differentiation of place from site criticises the Bergsonian differentiation of time (duration) from space (Casey 2009: 9). Casey argues that Bergson’s mistake is to equate ‘spatialisation’ and ‘placialisation’ while obsessively distinguishing time from space (ibid.). The focus of Casey’s point lies in the fact that time merely represents abstract reality, which exists only in the conceived mind, not as tangible reality (ibid.: 10). Unlike Bergson, who focuses on taking a comparative approach to space and duration in order to emphasise the importance of time, Casey’s perception of place is inclusive in its consideration of place and time as ‘siblings’ at an equal level. Time is an ‘extension of the extensiveness of place itself’ (ibid.: 13). Here, Casey’s most important contribution is that he prioritises neither time nor space, but reappraises the notion of place to be inclusive of both space and time.

In a way, Casey’s definition of ‘place’ is not dissimilar to Merleau-Ponty’s conception of ‘flesh’, in that our body and the material world are interrelated, which was seen as a crucial basis for the formation of *intuitive tangibility* in the previous chapter. For Casey, space and time, mind and matter operate on an ‘equal’ level, only

in place, because 'site' distinguishes space from time and does not see both in an inclusive manner. Thus, the theory of place offers us a concrete mode for exploring *intuitive tangibility*. I argue that this is possible for place, because place is neither space nor time alone, but space that is inclusive of time, which capacity is doubled up. When we perceive Gohan-Sabuk as space inclusive of temporality, we begin to see an unnoticed aspect of space, through the expanded notion of space and time. It can be said that the issues we have raised so far were about practising the expansion of an unnoticed aspect of space through 'place', in circumstances where the role has to enrich the qualitative life of the community which is socially and culturally marginalised and whose living environment is an increasingly economy-centred casino town.

In the following, we will see why place-specificity matters in terms of alternatives to the theoretical and practical interpretations of the new modernity. It will be also argued that rethinking 'intuition' in terms of a culture-specific practice of urban space becomes crucial in respect to distinguishing place-specificity from repeated patterns of site-specific development.

(1) Modernity as Urban Experience

Since Kangwon Land Casino was established, it has brought an unusual visibility to the former coal mining towns. This has to do with the unique appearance of urban space in the area, relating to distinctly capitalist criteria associated with the casino development of Gohan and Sabuk. But the particular space we explored as artists working in the Gohan-Sabuk area also relates to the abandoned and unused sites that are remnants of the former mining industry, and still appear as part of the new face of the town. The visibility we encounter in the Sabuk-Gohan area seems to reveal a compressed history of modernisation in Korea by disclosing what Chakrabarty might call hetero-temporal features.

For instance, the Kangwon Land Centre, which opened in 2003, is located a short distance from the former Dongwon mining site. Kangwon Land displays a style of architecture that does not have any association with Gohan and Sabuk or the surrounding landscape (Fig. 17). Instead, the design and shape of the buildings expose a sense of disconnection. The Dongwon coalmine was established in 1962. The coalmine tower is a giant shaft structure, which now looks almost haunting, probably because it withholds the past now that the coalmine does not operate anymore (Fig. 18). From a certain viewpoint, both buildings can be seen side by side, which creates an interesting contrast, because each building symbolises the dominant industry of a different period. The buildings are very disparate in style

and their embodiment of time and space, yet they stand on the same ground in Sabuk. In a similar way that Kangwon Land is located close to Dongwon Coalmine (Fig. 19), newly constructed sites are burgeoning next to abandoned sites that have been left disused for some time. I would like to look at this paradoxical type of visibility as what reveals the modernity of Gohan and Sabuk.

In fact, this unique appearance of urban space in the area is prevalent in both towns, I will look at this in more detail and categorise it into places and sites. We found that there were temporary buildings, such as the pawn shops in Sabuk, sitting side by side on the main road going towards Kangwon Land (Fig. 19). These were motel buildings (more in Sabuk than in Gohan due to the shorter distance to Kangwon Land), saunas, restaurants, cafes and car parks (to keep cars pawned by casino customers). It was found that the motels (called love-hotels for their short-stay usage and associations with vice), which appear to be the tallest buildings in Gohan and Sabuk, and which expose the same style of architecture found throughout the country, became the most noticeable buildings within the landscape of the town (fig. 20). There are also recently built but rarely used facilities, such as the sports field on the middle of the mountain (Gohan), and the monorail (Gohan) which was built for the convenience of residents living on the hill. These facilities were built according to the casino's promise to use '5% of their net profit' (Lui 2008) to improve the life of the community, but were rarely used due to the inefficiency resulting from their poorly planned construction. For Casey (1997: 193), influenced by Foucault, site is a 'flat surface that repeats simultaneity' (ibid.: 183-184), without creating 'depth' in association with history, or a subjective feeling of place. Site is the 'undoing of place', more accurately 'anti-place' (ibid.: 186). Based on this formation, we can say that the rapidly expanding buildings resulting from the casino development represent 'site', while the location where the history of the coalmine period is embedded is a type of 'place'. Place, associated mostly with abandoned buildings or sites, is what the artists were most interested in. In this case, place could be roughly categorised as consisting of industrial buildings related to coalmining and non-industrial buildings such as miners' housing. The former miners' residences were located in nice spots, which is the reason why these run-down buildings are so easily noticeable to visitors. On the small scale found in these two towns, it was not difficult for the artists to come across these haunting sites by chance. The classrooms of schools which, in the coalmining period, were full of students are now only partly used. Of the two main coalmines, Dongwon Mine and Samcheok Mine, the latter, located in Gohan, was too huge to refurbish or use for an alternative function, unlike Dongwon Mine in Sabuk. Dongwon Mine was transformed into the coal museum through the residents' voluntary work on organised collections. We also found an old stationery store still

selling the type of supplies we hardly find in big cities any more, a market (although the building was recently modernised, it still retained the shape of a traditional market) and a *dabang* (a traditional-style coffee shop of the type that first appeared in the late Joseon period). The old style of housing in Gohan has, in general, been better preserved than in Sabuk due to Gohan's greater distance from the casino.

Newly-built facilities and buildings erected after Kangwon Land's establishment do not have the same connection to the history of their locations. This is obvious because these newly-built sites are shaped by the logic of capital circulation and accumulation, so their architectural design is in line only with what suits the homogenous space of capital. In contrast, the disused and abandoned buildings remaining from the coalmining period retained their original function and appearance throughout the modernisation process, although most of them were abandoned and in a transitory state, waiting to be demolished or commercially developed.

Yi-Fu Tuan writes that human beings not only create abstract spaces in their minds, they also try to embody their feelings, images and thoughts in tangible material (Tuan 1977: 16-17). If so, it can be said that the contrasts that we find in the appearance of Gohan-Sabuk are projections of different feelings, expectations and thoughts, since the manifestation and revelation of these qualities relates to an inwardly affected 'self' (ibid.: 9) of the community, people who lived in Gohan and Sabuk in the past and people who live there now. The unique appearance of space in Gohan and Sabuk, the intertwined experience of the community, also builds up what we experience from it in our turn.

I further argue that the juxtaposition of place and site, its paradoxical contrasts such as we have just differentiated them, produces 'new *spectres*' (see Chapter III: Section 3.3) in Gohan and Sabuk. As we have noticed, accumulated history is visible in the appearance of the two small towns, i.e. the run-down old buildings exist next to buildings where casino customers constantly come and go. Previously we looked at how the spectrality of global capitalism takes on the form of spiritual beliefs in contemporary Korea, and thus produces a new type of *spectre*. Thus *spectre* does not appear only with the exchange value of the commodity object, but also as a form of spiritual belief system, such as *pungsu* or *functional gi* (Chapter 3: Section 3.2). If so, then the disconnected sensibility produced by juxtaposition of the old and the new, the sense of loss seen in an ex-miner's face, all these effects caused by the casino development generate a spectral effect too. So when we see empty apartments or sites bought by investors and abandoned until the owners get planning permission, they can be seen as a transformed type of spectral effect. When we previously examined the restored Gyeongbok Palace, it was argued that it is not

only material objects or sites that evoke the spectral effects of commodity capitalism, but also the spirit of *pungsu* that turns out to be a spectral effect. Thus, the complex conditions of Korean modernity can be seen as an increase in emerging spectres, associated with different beliefs and expectations. This is because these apparitions are increasing their monetary importance by connecting different values, and generate different forms of spectral effects (Chapter 3: Section 3.2).

Furthermore, it is important to observe that spectral effects adjust to the locality. In Gohan and Sabuk, spectral effects are closely related to labour in the ex-mining towns because, in those mining towns, the residents are familiar with considering everyday labour in relation to its exchange value. Thus, what happened was that there was a certain type of residents' expectation to get 'value for money' from the public art project. For example, the residents appreciated it when artworks were donated to the towns or when artists opened free workshops for young students. In fact, the residents' desire to claim 'ownership' of the artworks made the artists' service to the community quite high, so that artists were often asked to take family photos, to make a small decorative picture for a church community, etc. Probably, to the local community, the artists' labour and commodity value were also inseparable, which affected the ways in which the artists communicated with the local community. As we saw in Chapter III, ex-miner's labour can be seen as 'self-materialisation' where the mining site and coal are the extended miner's body. But when the situation is changed, the worker's body is separated from the mining site and the living environment. In this situation, art too is transformed according to the capitalist order. According to Patricia Phillips (2009: 285-286), public art offers a democratic experience with 'complex dimensions of exchange, expectation, risk and desire' (ibid.). This means that the value of public art in the contemporary urban space has become similar to the way commodity objects are consumed. Probably, what Phillips meant by these changed patterns of public experience is similar to what we have seen as spectral effects. *Spectres* here are what signify the conditions for how aesthetic experience is formed by monetary value. Hence, it can be said that various effects associated with capitalism are increasing in Gohan-Sabuk and are deeply rooted in the living patterns of the ex-mining towns (or casino towns), thus they influence the function and nature of aesthetics in consequence.

(2) Place-Specificity, Practising Modernity

Based on the urban context of Korea in relation to the Gohan-Sabuk case and the issues emerged from the public art project in Gohan-Sabuk, the definition of 'place-specificity' in public art practice can be summarised as follows:

1. Place-specificity differentiates memory from the material aspect of space, and by doing so, we can think equally of both the memory and material aspects of space. In this sense, place-specificity pursues the idea of 'space as a whole' (both internal and external space) that we looked at in Chapter II.
2. Place-specificity is focused on producing the identity of a town/city, in questioning, built on what cultural resources are available and potentially beneficial to *future* development. Thus place-specific development does not simply mean promoting regionalism, but balancing contrary aspects of modernity by bringing forgotten elements back to the region if lost or neglected.
3. Place-specificity makes the notion of intuitive space a more tangible and approachable idea by engendering integration between the subject's body and physical space.
4. Place-specificity encourages new communities to emerge along with their environment.

What the Gamdong Public Art Project tried to achieve was 'place-specificity': the artists tried to expand the memory of the towns, and to restore the balance of space where its qualitative side had been overlooked. The artists worked with the local community as they considered the community to be another possible place where the genuine history of the town could be heard. I argue that these features of place-specificity offer a way by which *intuitive tangibility* could become more frequently practised in urban space. As we have already seen, place-specificity builds integration between the body and the environment. I further argue that the Gamdong Public Art Project, through generating place-specificity, extended practice to cross the territory of art. For instance, artists had to negotiate with their authority as artists, they had to give up ownerships of the works. They had to question what the ethical function of art should be, and how art can generate intuitive space where art can produce new meaning for community and the living environment.

Based on the above summary of place-specificity, it can be further argued that place-specific art itself practises hetero-temporality. As we saw earlier, Sabuk Coal Museum tried to restore a disconnected sense of history by installing artworks next to the coal-museum collections. *Culture Map* tried to reveal hidden places and make them visible. These examples show what we have examined as hetero-temporality,

which involves the subjective time of duration, though this temporality includes spatial qualities associated with culture-specific differences. Art acted as a system to disempower monopoly power, by imposing aesthetic values and experience and focusing on the internal aspect of space. If hetero-temporality explains a culturally different formation of space and time, place-specific art was aiming to realize hetero-temporality, which we have defined as one of the conditions of modernity in Gohan and Sabuk.

Modernity can be shaped out of varying degrees of differences, and all these differences will become meaningful only when they are 'practised'. If so, what place-specific art was trying to achieve was a way of practising modernity that does not remain a static concept, but is rather a practice of producing differences in locality. The unique background of Gohan and Sabuk and the existing cultural resources seemed abundant for the artists. However, the development pattern present appeared to be lacking in temporalisation of space. It can be argued that modernity of Gohan-Sabuk is on the edge, in the sense that the hetero-temporal qualities of the two towns are in the hands of the developers. Thus, place-specificity was a proposal for the qualitative development of Gohan and Sabuk suggested and practised by the artists. Probably, It could be said that the temporality that 'place' implies should probably be the key method for the future of modernity.

(4) Place-Specificity, Practising Intuition

Place-specificity is therefore practised as a counterbalance to the global tendency of economic development. However, I conclude that place-specificity is not a broad-based anti-capitalist movement of some kind, rather it aims at the improvement of qualitative and culture-specific elements of urban space. In order for artists to make this happen, they needed a perspective from 'inside' the space in which they chose to work which, I argue, is only possible through implementing 'duration'.

I also argue that modernity is always viewed in relation to a time prior to it. For instance, in the case of the Gyeongbok Palace restoration, past history and belief systems were closely associated with modernisation. In the Gohan-Sabuk case as well, the history of the former mining area became a crucial background to the casino development as well as to the regenerative strategy of art. This dual aspect of modernity has been questioned and explored in my research. While the division between past and present is based on a conventional idea of temporality that I have proposed in this chapter, that hetero-temporality is a newly emerging meaning of history that does not rely on chronologically formed history; it is based on a heterogeneous kind of space-time that includes duration (subjective notion of time)

and on the material dimension of space at one and the same time. Thus heterotemporality becomes a way to rethink past modernity, while place-specificity becomes a way to re-think the conventional understanding of the dualistic structure of space and time. Chapter IV has thus proposed a method to develop the culture-specific aspects of urban practice in South Korea, one not based on identity politics but on a more fundamental theory of intuition and its performance in social space. Place-specificity is that methodology.

Again, it is important to this perspective that modernity is about the on-going practice of space-time. In previous chapters, temporality has been thought of as a linear concept of the past, present and future in association with spatial practices. In Chapter II, I particularly proposed a new way of approaching the reality of urban space based on the Buddhist concept of 'emptiness'. This was in order to understand how the culture-specific conditions of the JGGB case have been associated with complications of space and time. Thus the subjective time of duration was proposed as a method for looking at both the internal and external aspects of space together. As Chakrabarty argues, the formation of space cannot follow a universal pattern, it needs to be approached in accordance with its diverse particularities. When I proposed 'emptiness' as a concept which could help us to analyse the JGGB case, emptiness indicated an inclusive perspective for Korean history. According to the theory of 'emptiness', the formation of space cannot be fully understood only through looking at selective elements, but needs to be approached as the totality of a movement. From a perspective of 'emptiness', cause and effect are subject to ongoing conditions. Thus we cannot simply isolate a set of causes and effects according to what can be reduced to the visible. According to 'emptiness', as an example, the analysis of the development of Gohan and Sabuk requires more in-depth contemplation on how the development should be processed, what the real reason is behind the drive for economic development, why the casino was introduced and how the local community's involvement with the development becomes significant. If this kind of analysis is approached superficially, it could end up merely projecting an idea of Gohan and Sabuk as either the victims of rapid modernisation (seen from the perspective of the residents) or a successful case of economic revitalization (seen from the perspective of the casino owners). However, as the artists observed on the site, the situation is more complicated than it seems, and there are many unexplored cultural resources in the two towns that need more attention and a careful plan for activation. As we have seen, the casino and the future of Gohan-Sabuk are in a cause-and-effect relationship with each other, which produces constant demands and issues due to conflicts of interests between the casino and the residents of Gohan-

Sabuk. In a way, it can be said that there is no authoritative controlling power in Gohan-Sabuk. Instead Gohan-Sabuk is the scene for constant negotiations between different causes, such as systems of power. If so, it seems fair to say that constantly produced intensive causes and materialised effects relating to conflicting interests explain the real identity of Gohan-Sabuk. This shows that, from a holistic perspective of emptiness, our understanding of space and time can approach more closely the essence of the events than details we encounter in an urban space. Within a time frame of emptiness, there is no fake or copy of the event, but only a simulacrum of the new, which is based on the past, but which also has a direction towards the future. Emptiness is about neither subjective nor objective states, but suggests a total aesthetic experience of the world.

From a vision of emptiness, our intuition is an ability to perceive intensities and their actualisation of the virtual. Because emptiness is an inclusive perspective, we are guided to observe intensive forces as much as their actualising patterns. Further, emptiness is proposed as a new perspective to view history as culture-specificity, which means that history becomes something 'lived through'. Then, this bodily culture-specific non-dualistic perspective that is guided by emptiness is what corresponds to the *intuitive tangibility* that I developed as a theory of new sensibility, which may stimulate more frequent practice of intuition in everyday living space. Later I argued that this theory could be completed by place.

Why then does increasing new sensibility become important? Firstly, this is because *intuitive tangibility*, from what we have seen so far, can produce ethical space. Unlike the ethical space in pre-modern times, I see the ethics of space more in relation to 'open' public culture. As we have seen from place-specific art, its practice aims to produce new meaning for the community and a wider range of spectres by strengthening and embracing different forces until it crosses different disciplines (i.e. art and life). This is what we saw as the rhizomatic connectivity that is motivated not by material changes but by invisible forces. This process of connectivity develops a non-hierarchical order in space. Secondly, it is because *intuitive tangibility* is an inclusive practice. As we have already examined, *intuitive tangibility* occurs only when there are established conventional systems of power and order. In this sense, intuitive tangibility embraces the existing order with new limited systems within practice, a marginalised community and culture, oppressed history through (place-specific) practice. It is in this sense that there is political significance for *intuitive tangibility* – *intuitive tangibility* occurs by embracing conventionally less-prioritised, less-visible and less-practised sides of culture. This political significance lets us rethink modernity as the ongoing practice of unexplored space and time. The

Gamdong Public Art Project was probably trying to be the agency for this change in Gohan and Sabuk.

Conclusion: In the Place

Thus the relation between the things and my body is decidedly singular: it is what makes me sometimes remain in appearances, and it is also what sometimes brings me to the things themselves; it is what produces the buzzing of appearances, it is also what silences them and casts me fully into the world.

(Merleau-Ponty 1968: 8)

These places, spread out everywhere, yield up and orient new spaces: they are no longer temples, but rather the opening up and the spacing out of the temples themselves, a dis-location with no-reserve henceforth, with no more sacred enclosures-other tracks, other ways, other places for all who are there.

(Nancy 1991: 150)

Rethinking Intuition: Place-Specific Art for Intensive Urban Spaces

What I have examined in this research is how the extensibility of intensity comes to be manifested through the intervention of art within contemporary urban space. Place-specific art, introduced in the last chapter, proposes a way that *intuitive tangibility* could be practised in urban space. *Intuitive tangibility* is considered a new sensibility to understand urban space as the constantly changing dynamics of both intensive and extensive causes. Intensive causes that contribute to form urban space can be recognised when, as Bergson argues, they are ‘increased’ (Bergson 2001: 11), or intensive causes of urban space can result in actualisation of the virtual in a Deleuzian sense. In this way, I propose that the demolition of the JGGB is the result of magnified intensive causes (Chapter II). I also propose that the restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace as a consequence of that demolition, as actualisation of the virtual, which I have examined as the state of ‘simulacrum’ (Chapter II). But for intuitive tangibility to be perceived in urban space we have to understand inter-sensory systems of the intuitive body that have not fully developed, although we already live through this sensibility. Hence, the two case studies I introduced and have analysed in my thesis (the Gyeongbok Palace restoration and the use of public art in the redevelopment of Gohan and Sabuk), demonstrate how *intuitive tangibility* is an actual phenomenon in everyday living space and how it can be theorised in order to explore the perceptual dimension of urban space. As an example, *pungsu* (in the guise of *functional gi*) and neo-liberal economics (*spectre*) were examined as two concepts by which we can approach the demolition of the JGGB being associated with invisible

forces. In a slightly different way, in the Gohan and Sabuk cases, place-specific art integrated with a politically complex background and a tendency towards economic development as incentives to realise *intuitive tangibility*. Thus, in this research, *functional gi* (*functional art*) and *spectre* are seen as mechanisms that generate *intuitive tangibility* in urban space.

Then why is it important to enhance *intuitive tangibility*? Intuition can mean individual faculty of mind. However, I have tried to develop its meaning and function by observing how intuition is formed collectively and functions socio-politically, by showing its operation in the actual formation of urban space. I argue that intuition functions by revealing forgotten orders from internal culture, which triggers a shared experience of collective bodies. This has become a proposal for an alternative approach to urban studies, one that refuses to comply with the established narratives of historicism. In the preceding examination of the two case studies, intuition has been reframed from an intercultural perspective, thereby provided a contextual framework capable of addressing actual spatial practices in contemporary South Korea. By theorising intuition as concept as well as practice, with concern for understanding the integration between space and body (here, not only as a corporeal body but also with perception and feeling), I have aimed to establish an alternative to the mainstream discourses on urban space. I have not been rejecting Western theories but have instead contextualised them by integrating European and Korean philosophies and belief systems. Throughout this written thesis, I have explored the operation of intuition with regard to inter-sensory experience of space, vernacular belief systems, space and time, socio-economic phenomena, political affiliations and art. This has been necessary because intuition alone is not recognisable without an object for intuition, but evidence for the practice of intuition could be visible in a social context (Chapter I: Section 5).

Practising Intuition: Intuitive Tangibility as Disclosing New Sensibility

At the outset of this thesis, when I viewed intuition from different cultural and philosophical backgrounds I examined intuition in relation to Korean Seon Buddhism, where intuition is seen as a sensibility that can be developed to reflect increasingly a more objective reality of 'selflessness' (Chapter I: Section 2), a type of perception less disturbed by subjective ways of thinking. Seeing that this idea is based on arising concepts of emptiness and dependent (Chapter II: Section 5.2), I developed intuition beyond the realm of the individual. Instead, I suggested that *intuitive visibility* and *intuitive tangibility* describe the way that dependent arising occurs throughout the formation of urban space. Visibility and tangibility are

conditions that allow us to perceive the formation of urban space, and they both define the operation of intensive forces and our ability to observe these forces. The formation of urban space includes, as explained above, processes that are both intensive and extensive, invisible and visible. The current state of global capitalism creates urban conditions in South Korea where *spectre* and *functional gi* define the form of modernity associated with collectively formed social values. For instance, in relation to the JGGB case, a belief in *pungsu* was used for nationalistic policy. Thus vernacular belief can be channelled according to a political agenda and lead to the formation of space in a particular direction.

As an artist, when was I involved in the Gamdong Public Art Project, this was an issue for my art practice in the public sphere. The analysis I have conducted regarding the formation of urban space has informed my practice in different ways. First, with the Gamdong Public Art Project, I made the decision that even though the project was funded by the same body which led to negative social problems in Gohan and Sabuk, Yet, to take part, it was important that alternative strategies be discussed and employed. Throughout the project, I worked collectively with curators, artists, the local communities and the casino. We researched the history of the towns, met the communities and communicated with them. We wanted to create a kind of affect that could somehow be taken further by the local community, whether at the surface level of reacting or offering something practical to the community, or at a more profound level of strengthening the independence of the community through appealing to its strengths. In this way we did not exercise complete control over the meaning and purpose of the project, but we were also not reducing art practice to the agenda of the public institutions involved. Thus *Miner's Orange* was, in this sense, about letting the community voluntarily be part of the urban landscape by walking as a collective in the public space. Consequently, this let the invisible and the unexplored aspect of space (and the community's creative ability) become visible. The local community raised the idea of the colour orange for props. Former miners suggested that it would be good idea to borrow and wear an actual miner's uniform from the Coal Museum. The walking route was decided in discussion with a musician group and the community. Gohan elementary school contacted me and joined the parade, so I had to change the rows in the parade and reschedule its route. A local carpenter made a number of wooden props with a bird sculpture on the top of each pole and wanted participants to have them for the parade, so we used those. At some point I realised it was not possible to control the project, so I let the work increase in visibility (and tangibility), so that we became aware of processes that were already happening. If we turn our attention to intuition as an aesthetic practice, relating to my work as an artist, whether I collaborate or not, the processes that were

shared by the community without having a fixed content becomes ones of signification.

Secondly, in contrast with my work in public space, with my embroidery pieces I am more obviously producing new space-time from images or photographs of an already existing world. Again, I am not standing outside the methods of production that work depends on; I am choosing, in part, to use industrial sewing techniques that have been part of South Korea's major exporting industry for the developed countries under the government's strict control until the end 1980s. But instead of using this technique in conventional and predetermined ways, I combine skill with painterly images to represent intensive histories of people and places and express the area that could intuitively be shared by the viewer; for the spectator, it is not important whether they recognise the figures or places that appear in my work, but it is important that they are intrigued by the images due to a certain 'intensive sensibility' that the images inspire. I then compose whole imagery that becomes a place that has never existed before. Yet the final images are not unfamiliar to the viewer, because they represent the hetero-temporal space and disembodied power that we saw as a current condition for the contemporary urban space (Chapter IV: Section 3.2) that, consciously or unconsciously, we live with. In the process, I combine or juxtapose different categories of images, different species or forms of life and different styles of architecture in order to confuse the hierarchical order. Again, I do not completely determine the reading of the work, nor hiding the individual elements it contains. Perhaps the final images represent a possible future or unexplored memories. This process refines my own intuitive sensibility and thus the intangible history of urban space becomes tangible. I see my role as an artist as developing a new sensibility, individually as well as a shared experience.

Thus the proposal for a place-specific art is about disclosing new sensibilities that we all already possess, in a similar way that the cultural resources of Gohan and Sabuk were found within the space, not outside it. In a way, the Gamdong Public Art Project can be seen as a kind of resistance, where the artists used their role as outsiders to observe and engage with place-specific development and tried to play out their role in a casino-sponsoring project in a way that was different from what was expected by that casino. If the formation of urban space is a process of embodying and disembodying different systems of power, art's encounters with different bodies and systems will have to be in an integrating rather than an exclusive way.

Summary

1. Chapters I, II and III: Intuitive Tangibility

Throughout the chapters, I have tried to reframe intuition as the key notion to analyse the complex dynamics of urban development in South Korea. To begin with, I investigated culturally and philosophically different conceptualisations of intuition. First, I focused on intuition as defined by Bergson and in Seon Buddhism. Then, I explored the contextual framework of intuition as a practical mechanism of inter-sensory perception based on Merleau-Ponty's definition of 'flesh'. Throughout the chapters I gradually developed a notion of intuition as a functional mechanism of change, arguing that close examination of internal aspect of urban space can be perceived through *intuitive tangibility* and actualised through place-specificity.

Bergson's distinctive definition of intuition lies in his differentiation of the qualities of time from those of space. He argues that intuition only functions within the duration of pure time (Bergson, 2003). Although Bergson's dualism has been criticised for its lack of structure (Mullarkey 1999: 31), and even though duration is not relevant to every situation, his theory offers a way to differentiate between mere perception and pure memory. This became a crucial starting point for my analysis of the JGGB demolition and the Gyeongbok Palace restoration. In a sense I could differentiate the internal aspect of space (that is perceived within duration) from the external aspect of space (that is perceived based on spatialised time). When we look at urban space, not as physical change and expansion, but from a temporal dimension, we start to see some of the entirely different aspects that I have been exploring in my research. For instance, analysing the pro-demolition group's opinion, based on the effects of *pungsu* theory, allowed us to look at the JGGB case more as the outcome of intensive forces of modernisation.

Nishida's (1960: 31) and Korean Seon Buddhism's ideas of intuition, as theorised by Chinul (Sim 2004: 131-132), require applying the intellect before complete intuition is realised. This idea differs from the prevalent common sense notion that intuition denotes inexpressible states of consciousness that cannot be conceptualised. Thus, 'intellectual intuition' in East Asian philosophy supports the idea that intuition can be utilised to theorise the invisible and inexpressible aspects of urban space via more intellect-involved concepts such as *spectre* and *functional gi*. *Spectre* has been a phenomenon associated with the exchange-value of an object, while *functional gi* describes the modification of concepts belonging to vernacular belief, according to political purposes. In other words, both concepts can operate to describe indescribable socio-cultural specifications rationally.

While investigating the case of the demolition of the JGGB and the Gyeongbok Palace restoration, *pungsu* has been observed as an intensive force that influences the formation of urban space by stimulating rhizomatic connectivity between different intensities, such as public consciousness, systems of power and different groups of people. Although *Pungsu* has, at times throughout the period of Korean modernisation, been disregarded, it initially brought about a shift in public perception of the historical building, which I viewed as the state of 'affect'. I first deduced from this that restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace could be defined as an actualisation of the virtual, in the sense that its restoration would produce an entirely new Gyeongbok Palace, not a copy of the original spirit of the old palace, but a new palace generating a sense of 'dissimilarity'. Secondly, I observed that restoration of the Gyeongbok palace would reestablish a new spatial order, which reveals a sense of being 'untimely' and 'disconnected'.

Over the course of the chapters, one of the key concepts that I have introduced is that of *intuitive tangibility*, which explains a reciprocal and intertwining relation between subject and object that is not brought about through vision alone, but through a different form of engagement. *Intuitive tangibility* can be seen as bodily intuition, and its features, qualities and functions are as follows:

1. If *intuitive visibility* is the ability to perceive immaterial conditions, such as intensity and forces, then *intuitive tangibility* is a more bodily capacity of intuitive vision that perceives how the metaphysical becomes embodied and tangible.
2. *Intuitive tangibility* is the concept I have used to look at the experience of architectural space as involving both physical and mental aspects of the body-mind.
3. *Intuitive tangibility* is a holistic perspective that sees both the internal and the external, intensive and extensive, invisible and visible, as equally important.
4. The proximity between the subject's body and material space.

2. Chapter IV: Place-Specificity

The internal aspect of urban space is less familiar and thus less recognisable unless there is a strong will or motivation on the part of the perceiving body, as Bergson argues (Chapter 2: Section 2.2). I observed that the modernisation process in South Korea has been mainly focused on the development of external aspects, while its internal aspects have been disregarded.

The latest redevelopment of the former mining towns of Gohan and Sabuk into The Art Village involved a dilemma, since the project was partially initiated to

fill a cultural gap generated by the earlier development of the casino establishment. Nevertheless, in away, the paradoxical location of public art in Gohan and Sabuk did enable artists to respond to the internal aspects of space. I have proposed place-specificity as a term to describe the way art practice is associated with the memory-specificity of place, for exploration of the internal aspects of space, such as forgotten history and customs, a community's routines and the imbalance in life patterns.

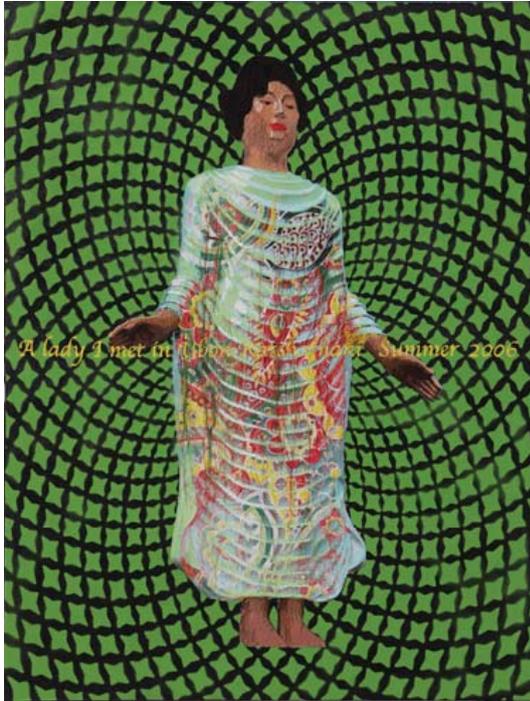
The Gamdong Public Art Project has been examined as part of the cultural regeneration of Gohan and Sabuk, where art was expected to offer qualitative change to towns and local residents a better cultural life by improving the negative image of the casino town. It has been seen that public art in South Korea has often been part of economic development due to neo-liberalism, and is based on institutional control, competition for the branding of cities and government funding. Thus the Gamdong Public Art Project offered a paradoxical opportunity to realise economic aims via the funding body and art's own affective function. Here art becomes 'functional' to promote political populism while it struggles to build aesthetic and ethical function. Under specific conditions, the Gamdong Public Art Project revealed its specific features: Connecting an internal aspect of space to an external one, establishing a new meaning for history using in-between places and the production of an accidentally emerging public. I have argued that these features could explain what 'place-specificity' means. Place-specificity offers a possibility whereby *intuitive tangibility* is practised in urban space. This is a positive proposal, throwing open a possibility that our place-specific practice could change social space and consequently social bodies.

Throughout the research, it has been proposed that the identification of urban space and urban aesthetics needs an alternative discourse that is capable of addressing the singularity of the different socio-cultural and historico-political conditions associated with a particular space. Such identification is possible not only in art discourses or urbanology, though it requires more fundamental approaches. Intuition is thus proposed as an alternative way to question our habitual way of predominantly looking at space from its external aspect.

Figures and Descriptions

Introduction

Fig. 1



A Lady I Met in Ubon Ratchathani, Summer 2006 (2008)
Embroidery and acrylic on scenic cotton fabric, 112x150cm

Fig. 2



Ladies I Met in London and Daejeon (2008)
Embroidery and acrylic on scenic cotton fabric, 125x170cm

Fig 1,2,3

Title of each of these works represents the location where the statues are found and photographed before the image is transferred into the embroidery. Because of the way the works are made, they appear to be halfway between digital images and paintings seen from a distance.

Fig. 3 (right)
Beautiful Men I Met in Incheon, London, Barcelona and Liverpool (2008)
Embroidery and acrylic on scenic cotton fabric, 120x170cm

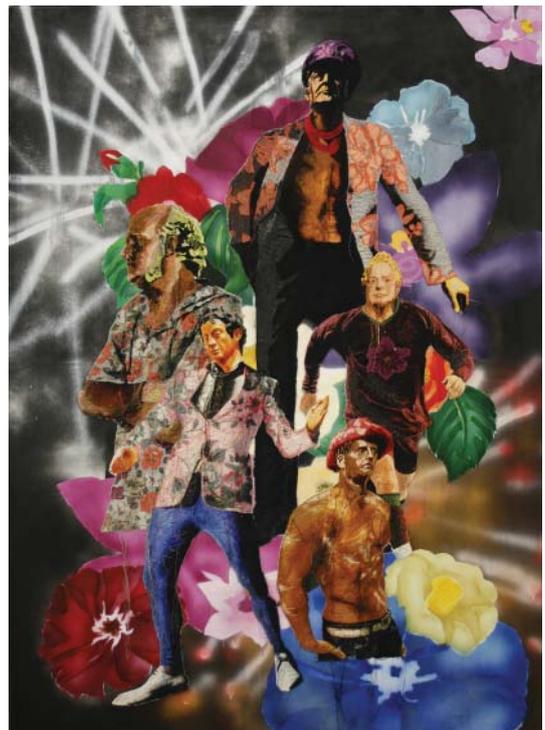


Fig. 4



Theatre without Sounds, without Actors, without Anything (2007)
Embroidery and acrylic on scenic cotton fabric,
280x280cm

This piece was one of the earliest works where I started experimenting with embroidery and the photographs of statues and the architectural structure of pillars, a roof, plinths and the texture of buildings. Most of the details are originally from the photographs I took when traveling through different cities and towns.

Fig. 5 (Blow)

The Evolution of Space-Time (2010)
Embroidery and acrylic on scenic cotton fabric,
260x200 cm

The image of the heads of these figures are taken from photographs of statues. I have collaged and sewn (drawn) these images together with images of dinosaurs photographed at the National History Museum in London.



Fig. 6



Procession (2010)

Embroidery and acrylic on scenic cotton fabric, 320 x 200 cm

One image recalls a carnival parade, the figures are originally from photos of statues. The original colours are transformed and the images are collaged together with images of animals. The proportions of the figures in relation to each other represent a fictional situation.

Fig. 7



Double Encounter (2009)

Embroidery on transparent scenic fabric, three stage lights, approx. 900 x 280(h) cm
I-myu Projects, London

Three stage-lights projected the silhouette of the figures embroidered on the transparent fabric, on to the other side of the gallery wall. The images were taken from the photographs of people and statues I took on street or were given by others. The complete composition is a row of statues and people, drawn next to each other on the transparent screen, without any specific order. A wide curtain screen was hung on the ceiling so that the drawn

Fig. 8

Miner's Orange (2009)
Gamdong Public Art Project, Sabuk-Gohan, Korea



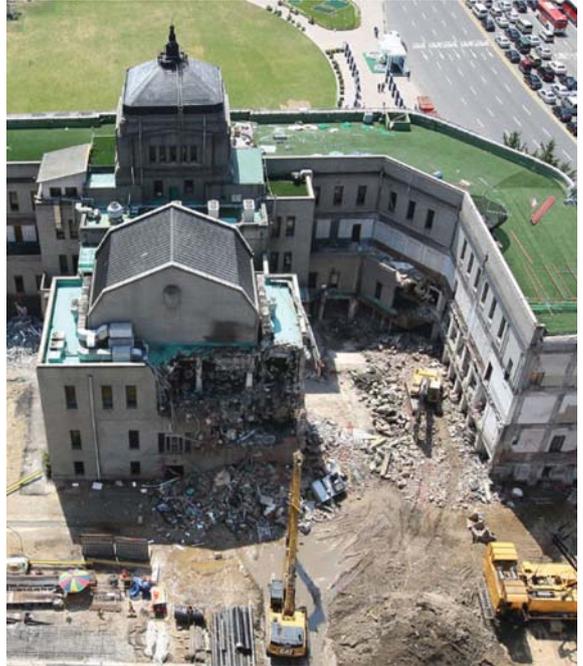
Chapter II and III

Fig. 9



The Japanese Governor-General Building, located behind the Gwanghwa Gate before the demolition. (Photo: ohmynews 2011)

Fig. 10



Taepyeong Hall (Photo: Chosun Daily 2008) (Left) (see page 49)

Fig. 11



Gwanghwamun Square (Photo: Korea Times 2010)



The New Gwanghwa Gate recently installed after the demolition. The new palace buildings have been built on the site where the JGGB used to stand. (Photo: ohmynews 2011) (see page 105)

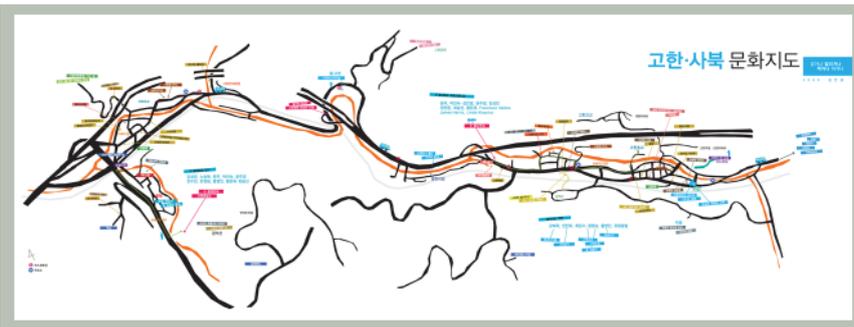
Chapter IV
Gohan-Sabuk

Fig. 13



Moon soo Choi, Myeong Kyo Jeong
The Old Miners' Quarters / A Truck (2009)

Fig. 14



Eon gyeong Kim
The Gohan-Sabuk Culture Map
(2009)

Fig. 15

Eon gyeong Kim, Min sook Park
Flower Flags (2009)
Installation of four flags designed with images
of wild flower, the former town office of Gohan.



Fig. 16

Sang gyun Kim
A Trophy for the Victims (2009)
Bronze casting, 301 diamonds, cement
Documents exhibition room, Dongwon Coal Mu-
seum, Sabuk



Chapter IV Gohan-Sabuk

Fig. 17



Kangwon Land Casino
(Photo: Kyunghyang Weekly
2009)

The main building of Kangwon Land Casino viewed from the back where the parking lot is located.

Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Former Sabuk Mining Office
(the present Sabuk Coal Museum)
A photo was taken during Sabuk Coal-
Culture Festival period in 2009.

The rooftop of Kangwon Land and the mining tower next to each other as seen from a distance (2009)

Chapter IV Gohan-Sabuk

Fig. 20



Pawnshops, Sabuk (2009)

This photo has taken from the side of the main road connecting the casino and the entrance facing Sabuk.

Fig. 21



Two motel buildings next to the residential area in Gohan (2009)
The uncharacteristic design of the motels could be said to ruin the face of the landscape surrounding Gohan.

Appendix I

Gyeongbok Palace and the Japanese Governor-General Building

Gyeongbok Palace was built in 1395, in the heart of the capital, as the primary palace of the Joseon dynasty, its location being the most auspicious site according to *pungsu*, the traditional practice of geomancy. This was three years after the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897) was founded. Thereafter, Gyeongbok Palace was synonymous with national sovereignty. During the Japanese invasion of 1592, Gyeongbok Palace was completely destroyed by fire. It was only in 1867 that its restoration was completed on a grand scale, under the leadership of Prince Regent Heungseon Daewongun. A group of 330 buildings were built in a labyrinthine arrangement including offices for the king and state officials and living quarters for the royal family.

However, Gyeongbok Palace was largely torn down again and dismantled during Japan's occupation of Korea (1910-1945). In 1911, ownership of the palace land was transferred to the Japanese Governor-General and more than 90% of the buildings were demolished by 1915. The occupying government sold these buildings with the intention that they should be rebuilt as Japanese restaurants, temples and private residences for wealthy Japanese living in Seoul, leaving only thirty-six buildings standing (Yoon, 2006: 288). After the destruction of the palace, the headquarters of the Japanese Governor-General, the Japanese Governor-General Building designed by German architect Georg De Lalande, was built in the front yard of the old Gyeongbok Palace site in 1926. The location and giant scale of the building projected the idea of permanent Japanese sovereignty. The building was a five-storey granite structure, built by the Japanese at great cost and considered an important piece of East Asian architectural heritage thereafter (ibid.: 277). It was argued by Korean geomancers that the Japanese government researched Korean geomancy (e.g. Murayama Chijun's research on *pungsu* was well documented in his book, 'Joseon eu pungsu' (1929)) and from the location of building it was obvious that the Japanese were attempting to cut off the geomantic vein to the main building of the palace in order to nullify any geomantic benefit to it (ibid.:278). By such means, they argued, the Japanese were forcing Koreans to accept Japanese colonial rule (ibid.).

After regaining independence in 1945, the Korean government used the JGGB as its National Assembly (1948-1984) before transforming it into the National Museum of Korea in 1983. During the Korean War (1950-1953) the building was badly damaged but president Seungman Lee refused to repaint it, as he wished to

demolish it (ibid.: 294). The usage of the building as the National Museum of Korea (1983-1995) was symbolic, in that the museum housed only materials from the past, which meant the end of Japanese colonialism.

In 1993, Kim Yong Sam, the fourteenth president of South Korea (1993-1998), announced that the JGGB was to be demolished, based on the 'Set History Right' policy. In 1995, during a national ceremony to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japan, which was attended by President Kim and other important representatives and foreign diplomats, the steeple of the dome of the JGGB was torn down. During the ceremony, President Kim stated that: 'Only by dismantling this building can we truly restore the appearance of Gyeongbok Palace, the most important symbol of legitimacy in our national history. Manifest in the removal is the will and determination of our people to sweep away the remaining vestiges of the days of foreign colonial rule and fully revive the righteous spirit of the nation' (ibid.: 298). After this ceremony, the body of the building could not be dismantled for about a year due to court litigation initiated by a group of Koreans. This group, including prominent lawyers and scholars, opposed the government's plan and insisted that the building be designated a historical monument to commemorate the modern history of Korea (ibid.: 299). To prevent demolition, pressure groups requested an open civil trial. This request was turned down though a legal appeal was made. However, the high court in Seoul quashed the appeal in 1996 and supported the Korean government's plan to demolish the JGGB (ibid.: 299).

The first phase of restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace officially began in 1990 and was completed in 2010. The ultimate goal of the Gyeongbok Palace restoration project is to reproduce the Palace's overall appearance at the time of its reconstruction in 1867. However, when the restoration project began in 1990, only 36 buildings were left standing on the site, which meant that the majority of buildings had to be reconstructed in order to match the original group of 330 buildings. The first phase of the restoration work cost around 178.9b. won (about US\$155m.) and equated to a quarter of the original palace's shape in 1867 (Lee 2010: 22-23). During the second phase of the restoration programme, an additional 253 buildings will be restored, bringing the total number of buildings to 378, which will amount to the restoration of three-quarters of the original palace complex in 1867 (ibid.).

The first phase of restoration included major projects, such as reconstruction of Gwanghwamun¹ and the adjacent Gwanghwamun Square. The Japanese colonial government relocated Gwanghwamun as a result of the location of the Governor-

¹ Gwanghwamun is the main gate of Gyeongbok Palace, founded in 1395 by the first king of the Joseon Dynasty. Gwanghwamun was destroyed by the Japanese Governor-General in order to build the JGGB.

General building. When the Japanese colonial authorities constructed the Governor-General building, they deliberately positioned the building 3.5° off the central axis. Gyeongbok Palace originally faced Gwanak Mountain, but the Japanese shifted the alignment by 3.5° so that it faced the Japanese Shinto shrine they had built on Nam Mountain. Now it has been re-constructed at the original location. Gwanghwamun Square has been redeveloped as a place for citizens to relax. Over 44.5b. won (US\$37m.) was spent refurbishing Gwanghwamun Square, which is 34 meters wide and 557 meters long; it stretches from Gwanghwamun through the Sejongno intersection to Cheonggye Square (Lee 2010). Towards the southern end of the square, a new statue of King Sejong was erected on Hangeul Day in 2010. It was King Sejong who led the invention of Hangeul, the Korean alphabet. 'The Square will become a landmark of Korea that represents national identity like the Champs-Elysees in Paris, the National Mall in Washington, and Tiananmen Square in Beijing,' Seoul Mayor Oh Se-hoon said on the opening day (ibid.).

Given this background, restoration of the Gyeongbok Palace was not only about rebuilding the palace according to its original configuration, it also meant revitalising past history and Korean tradition, as well as national and cultural pride that had been injured by the Japanese colonial government.

Appendix II

The Regeneration of Gohan- Sabuk and the Gamdong Public Art Project

1. The Establishment of Kangwon Land after the Coalmine Closures

The small towns of Gohan and Sabuk are located in Jeongseon County, Gangwon Province, in the northeast of South Korea. Since the towns are geographically and socio-politically adjacent, they are often called Gohan-Sabuk. For instance, the official bus terminal for the two towns, located in Gohan, is called 'Gohan-Sabuk Station'.

In both towns, coal mining was the biggest source of income for their residents from the beginning of the 1960s. Dongwon Coal Company was established in 1961 in Sabuk, Samchuk Coal Company in 1962 in Gohan, the latter becoming the biggest non-governmental coal company in Korea. In 1989, the Coal Industry Reduction Policy was announced by the Korean government, in the wake of the increase in use of LPG (liquefied petroleum gas). Soon coalmines began to close and the mines at Gohan and at Sabuk were closed in 2001 and 2004, respectively. The population of Jungseon County was 139,862 in 1978 but had decreased to 80,133 by 1995, due to the economic contraction caused by the coalmine closures. In the middle of the 1990s, the number of homeless people also increased and housing prices fell by 60-70%.

In 1995, the Special Law for Disused Mines for this area was passed by the National Assembly to boost its economy. Consequently, a proposal to establish a casino industry in Gohan-Sabuk was made in 1997. As a result, the Kangwon Land Corporation was established in 1998 and the main casino opened in 2003. Kangwon Land Casino is the only casino in the country open to Koreans, and was first supported by the investment of public shareholders, including the Development Agency, Gangwondo Development Corporation, Taebaek City, Samchuk City and the towns of Jungseon and Yongwol (Jungseongun 2006). Besides the casino, a state-run regional corporate system supports the running of Kangwon Land and accommodates various leisure facilities established there, including a golf course, ski resorts and hotels.

The reasoning behind the original plan to establish the casino was to build alternative industries in the area and provide job opportunities for the unemployed. Kangwon Land claims that 66% of the employees in the region are local (Lee 2010), yet the reality is that over 1,300 local employees are temporarily employed, working

for the minimum wage and employed by subcontractors (Jung 2011). Since Kangwon Land was first established, 10% of its profits, amounting to 758b. won (US\$661.73m.) in 2010, have been used to revitalise the former mining towns (Lee 2010). These funds have been spent on various ventures to support the local communities, including prioritising the purchase of local produce used in meals, hiring local construction companies for Kangwon Land's building projects, etc. (ibid.). However, aside from this monetary gain that has helped the recovery from economic contraction, some social problems have gradually developed. There have been an increasing number of non-registered pawnshops in Sabuk. Prostitution and gambling provide rare opportunities to earn money, and gambling addiction has become a serious social problem. It is understood that around 2,000-3,000 people are so-called 'casino panhandlers', wandering around Gohan-Sabuk (Hong 2010). They sleep rough near a '24-hour sauna' (jjimjilbang), and make money from selling casino seats, taking 'bets' on behalf of other people and encouraging illegal gambling. It is estimated that the number of crimes associated with gambling and other social issues is steadily increasing. According to the Jeongseon police, up to 2010, 40 people had committed suicide since the establishment of the casino because of losing money (ibid.). Since the establishment of Kangwon Land, the lives of the residents of Gohan-Sabuk have been affected by their new environment, new sources of income, new patterns of living, less safety and stability.

2. Gamdong Public Art Project

Given this background, 'Art In the Village' was proposed as a new plan to transform the casino town into an 'art village'. The plan was launched by the Social Responsibility Department of Kangwon Land. AIV was a Kangwon Land-led public art project funded by profits made from the casino. Kangwon Land's initial intention for AIV was to use art as a regeneration strategy for Gohan-Sabuk in order to make amends for the negative effects on the quality of life resulting from the casino's development. Thus the project was expected to transform the negative image of the 'casino towns' into a healthier one by using art as a means to improve the area. The title of the project was changed to the Gamdong Public Art Project when the project was finalised by three curators and twenty-four artists. Gamdong literally means 'feel (Gam) and move (Dong)'.

The project consisted of two major projects. One was the pilot project for the international artists-in-residence. The other was a contemporary art exhibition organised inside Dongwon Coal Museum. Artworks have been permanently installed as part of the museum's collection since the exhibition, due to the artists

voluntarily donating their work. Apart from these two projects, temporary outdoor projects were organised in the town, including a parade, a music performance and a map project. There were also programmes for residents' education, including workshops and talks.

The first project, a pilot project for the international artists-in-residence scheme, sought to examine the possibility for art to have a lasting impact on the area, including through short-term projects. Part of the vision behind establishing a long-term programme, such as artists in residence, was to foster a new cultural scene in the area. The broader vision included enhancing cultural exchanges, setting up education programmes and increasing job opportunities for residents as well as opportunities for resident artists. The residency programme was meant to invite artists and writers from all over the world who are particularly interested in the culture-specific situation of the ex-coal mining town. It was expected to stimulate artists from different cultural backgrounds to respond to the local area as well as generate activities involving the community through various means. Hence, contributing to the cultural diversity of the area was considered important. This was meant to be achieved by encouraging intercultural and interdisciplinary art activities through the creative contribution of artists. The aim was to offer ideas, imagination and inspiration for further regeneration of the towns.

The second project, the art exhibition, transformed the coal museum into a contemporary art venue for a time and the works were planned to be a part of a permanent collection at the coal museum. The Dongwon Coal Mine, which used to be one of the biggest mines in the area, was changed into the Coal Museum after the coalmine's closure. The museum collection was established through voluntary donations, with items being collected by the residents themselves, including a whole range of objects used in the coal mining industry, materials showing the personal lives of miners and their families, photographs showing different periods of Gohan-Sabuk and texts conveying the oral history of the mine. Artists produced and installed artworks in various different spots inside the museum space, such as in a document room, a former miners' office and a former miners' shower room. The artworks were either given entire rooms or installed in-between the mining collection items, on a wall or in a corner space of the exhibition room. Dongwon Coal Museum preserves and displays the former mining site almost in its original configuration. Thus this intervention led to a collaborative process with the collection of historical items as well as the local residents working for the museum.

Following the Gamdong Art Project, the duration of the 'Art in the Village' project has been extended due to Kangwon Land and the local community agreeing that cultural development should aim at a long-term process of building a

development substructure. The second year of the project was dedicated to further research and detailed planning for the years ahead. The third year of the project began with an open competition for innovative ideas from young professionals working in the cultural field in autumn 2011. One of the projects will be selected and realised the following year. It is planned to continue the artists-in-residence scheme which is currently seeking an available building in the right location and enough funding. The collection of contemporary artworks at the Coal Museum is still on display.

Project Diary Summary

2009.2	Project began.
2009.4.1.	First field survey by curators
2009.7	Focus-group interview with residents at Gohan-Sabuk
2009.7.23-9.31	Artists and curators' field surveys
2009.8.13-9.15	Invite Choi & Jeong, the directors of a previous public art project at Sabuk-Gohan, to be consultants for the Gamdong Project. Curators' meeting with local representatives and residents.
2009.8.23	Curators' presentation to Kangwon Land with the first draft for the project.
2009.9.21	Completion of proposal for the first year plan.
2009.10.1-10.31	Artists-in-residence scheme established.
2009.10.12	Artists' first meeting with local representatives at the former Gohan Town Office, now used for the artists in residence.
2009.10.31-11.8	Exhibition at Dongwon Coal Museum and the artists-in-residence building opened to the public.

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